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Engraved by D. Pound, from a Daguerreotype

*Victoria*

*Portrait of Her Majesty Queen Victoria by A. Easton*



Engraved by D Pound, from a Daguerreotype.

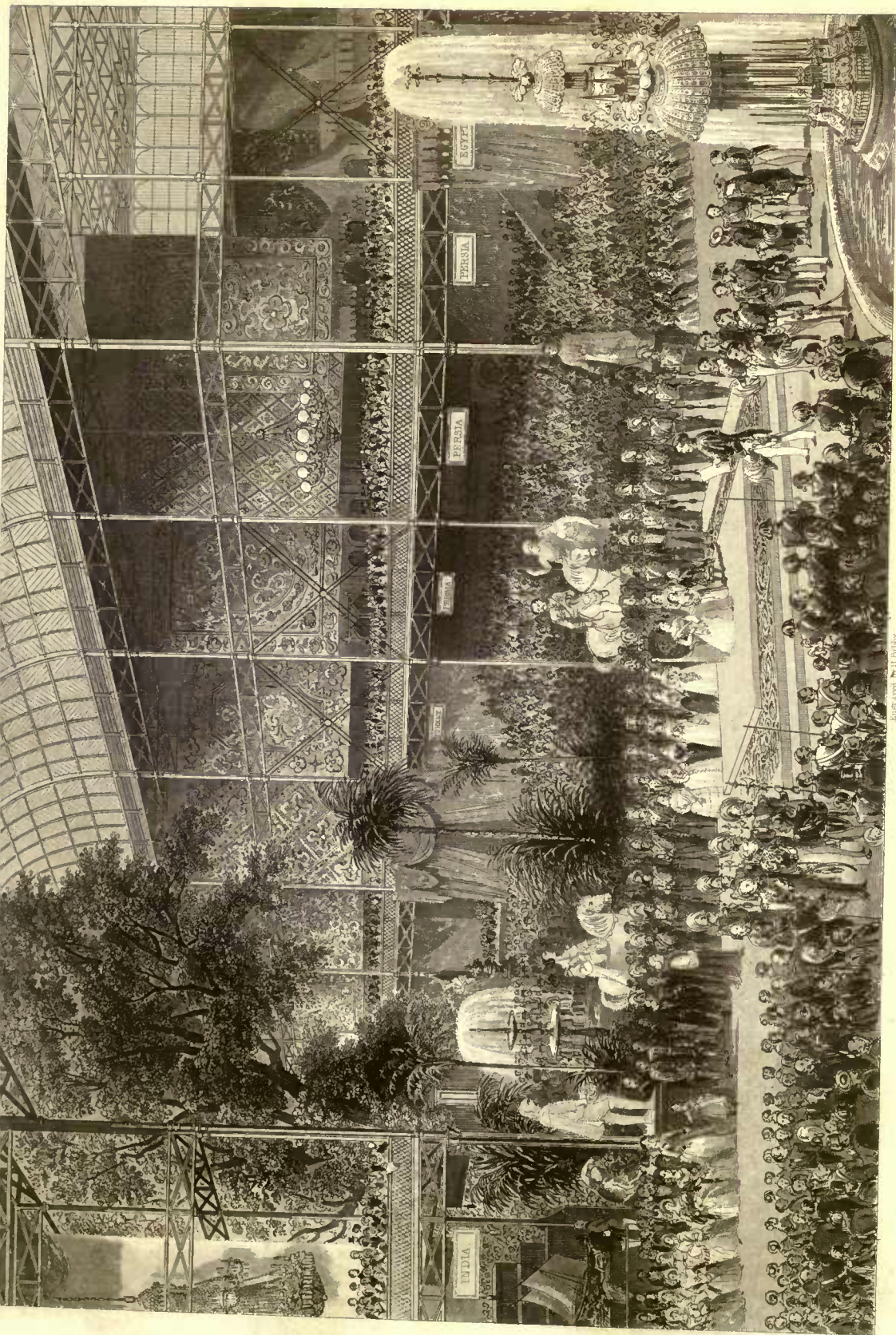
*Albert*

*Portrait of A. B. M. Prince Albert on Torres China by A. Duchateau  
Exhibited on the Great Exhibition by the French Government*









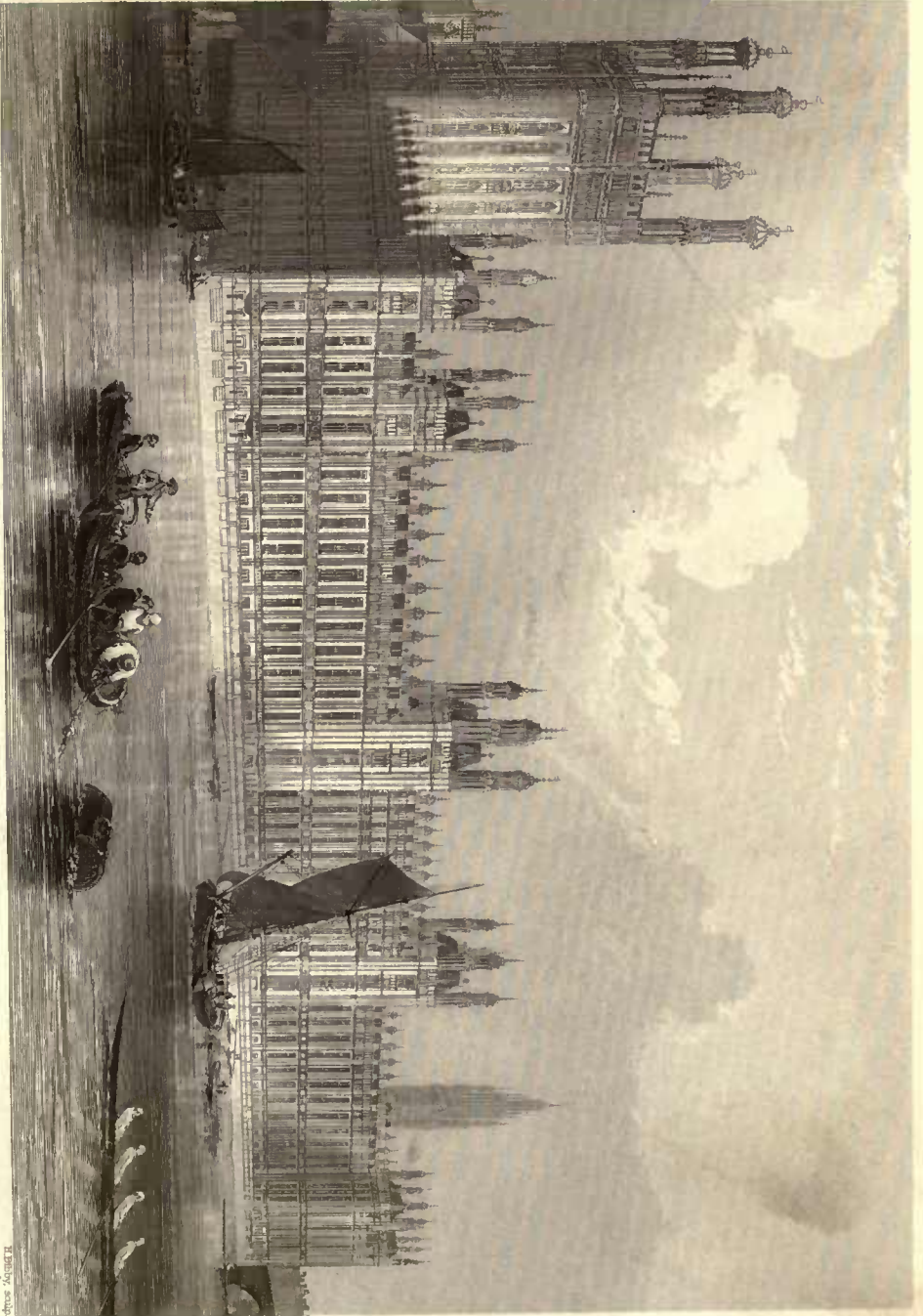
Engraved by H. D. Day

# THE OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION,

BY HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA MAY 1 1851



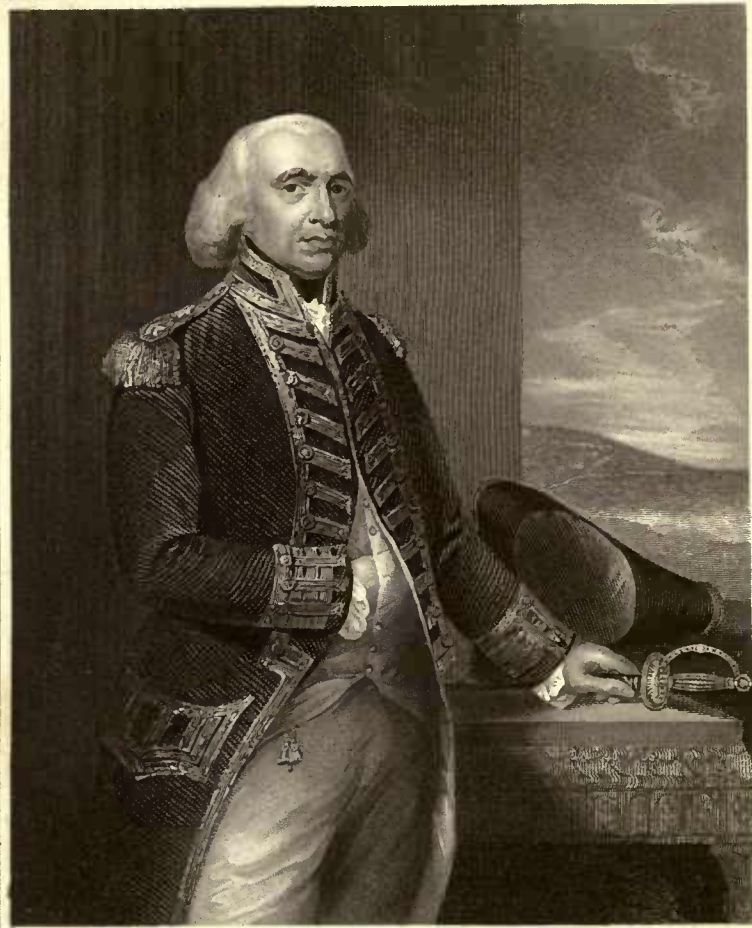




*The New Houses of Parliament.*







Engraved by H. Robinson.

RICHARD, FIRST EARL HOWE.

OB. 1799.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF GAINSBOROUGH IN

THE TRINITY HOUSE, LONDON.









Engraved by W. T. Motte

ADAM, FIRST VISCOUNT DUNCAN.

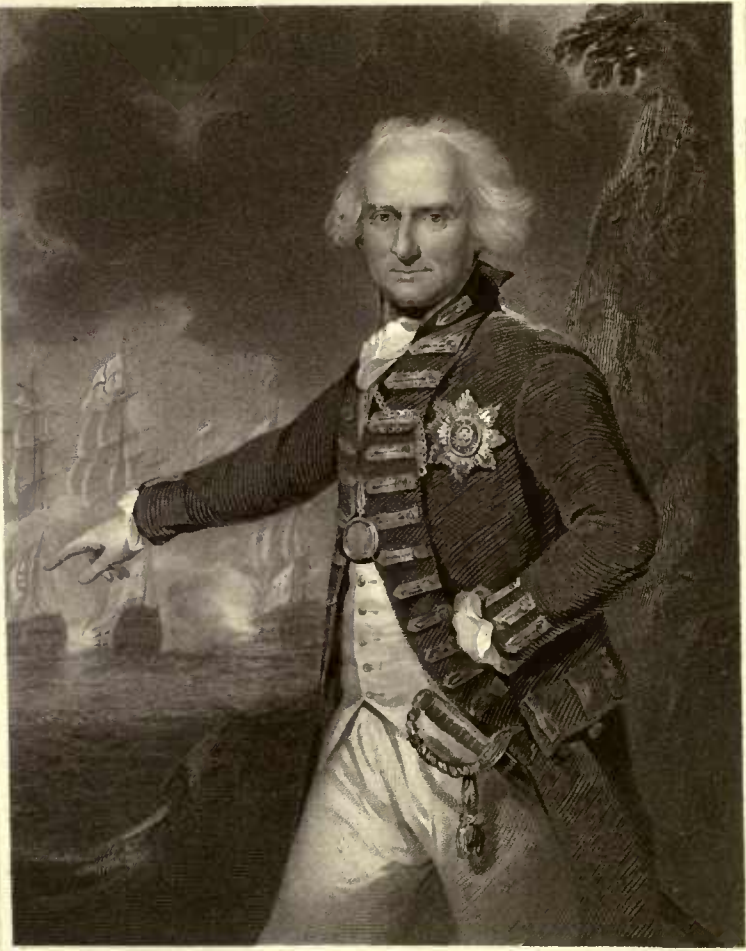
OB. 1801.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LOFFNER, IN

THE GUILDHALL, LONDON.







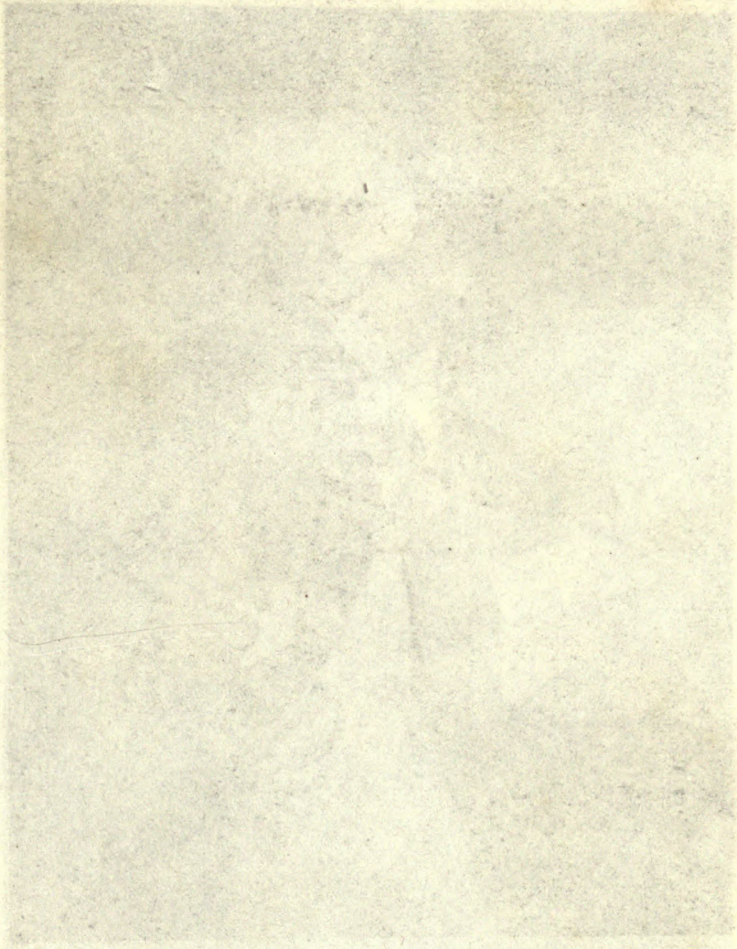
Engraved by J. Robinson.

ALEXANDER HOOD, VISCOUNT BRIDPORT.

OB. 1814.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ABBOT, IN THE COLLECTION OF

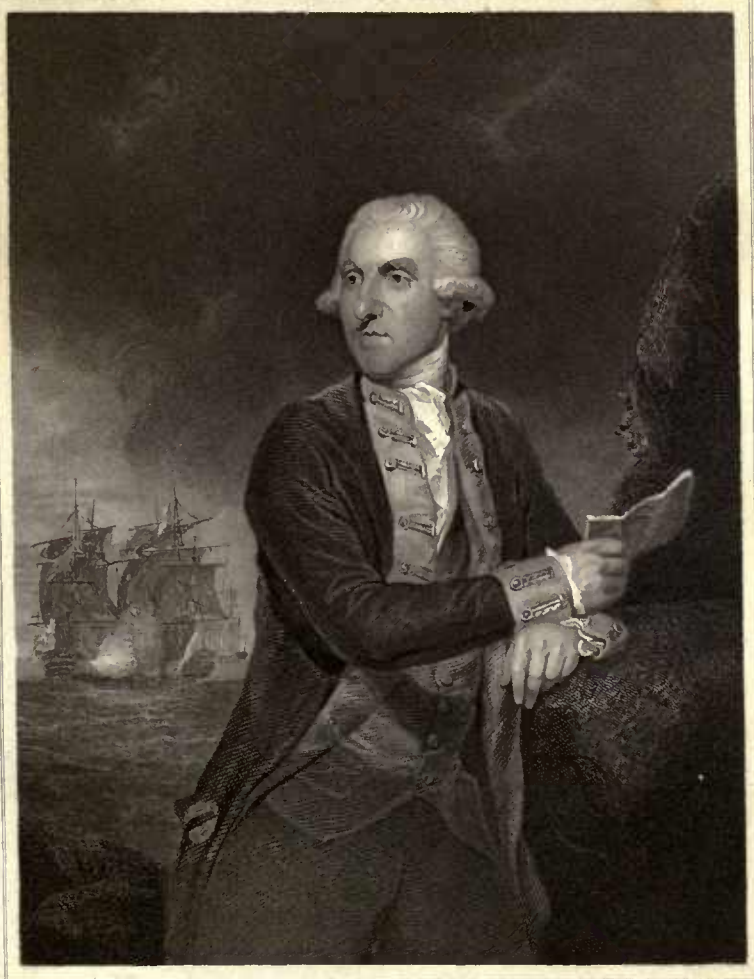
THE RT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE VISCOUNTESS BRIDPORT.



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Engraved by H. Robinson.

SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT HOOD.

OB. 1816.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR J. REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> THE VISCOUNTESS BRIDPORT.







DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ.

*Printed by J. Haverty, Esq. for the late Catholic Association of Ireland.*

*Engraved by J. W. O'Neil.*



THE TRIAL OF DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P. FEBRY 1844.

O'CONNELL LEAVING THE HALL AFTER HIS TRIAL.







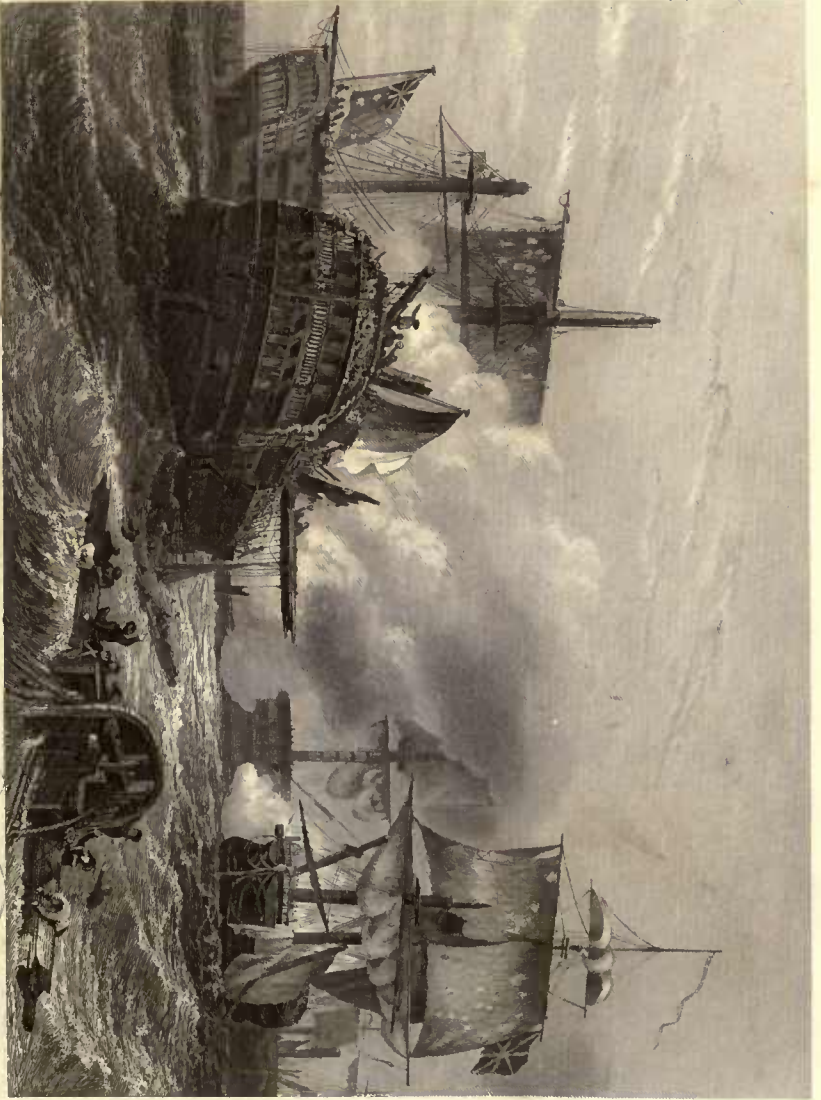
ADMIRAL NELSON RECEIVING THE SPANISH ADMIRAL'S SWORD ON BOARD THE SAN JOSEF.

FEB. 14. 1797









NELSON  
RODNEY.

*Drawn by A. Kneller*

CAPTURE OF LA FLORE.



HOWE  
JERVIS.

*Engraved by J. Rogers*

LORD HOWE'S VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH.

(JUNE 1, 1794.)



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tain the house any further except to observe, that I could not allow the house to come to a vote on this subject without justifying myself on the various points adverted to in the course of the debate. I can assure your lordships, that I have not intended to say anything unpleasant to the feelings of others. I have only been anxious to vindicate myself and my colleagues from some unfair and unfounded imputations which have been cast upon us."

The earl of Eldon, in explanation, assured the noble duke, that he had never thrown either "a great paving-stone or a small pebble" against him, and had not accused him of acting with improper secrecy on the question. What he had said was, that it would have been better if he had not mentioned his intentions on this subject till he was able to explain every detail of the measure he proposed to bring forward. He thought the country had been taken by sur-

prise in consequence of two circumstances—one of them, the speech which the noble duke made upon this subject at the close of the last session; and the other, the publication of his letter to Dr. Curtis. He blamed not the noble duke for the publication of that letter; on the contrary, he thought he had been extremely ill-used by its being published without his consent.

The earl of Falmouth, also, in explanation, denied that anything had fallen from his lips to raise an outcry against the duke of Wellington, and repelled with scorn the insinuation that he had ever attempted anything of the kind.

On the 4th of April, their lordships divided, when the numbers were—Content, present, one hundred and forty-seven; proxies, seventy: two hundred and seven-teen. Not content, present, seventy-nine; proxies, thirty-three: one hundred and twelve.

## CHAPTER XV.

QUALIFICATION OF IRISH FREEHOLDERS' BILL; THE RELIEF BILL IN COMMITTEE; WELLINGTON REPELS A CHARGE UNDERSTOOD TO BE PREFERRED BY LORD ELDON; DISTRESSED STATE OF GEORGE IV.; AFFRONTS OFFERED TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; SPEECHES ON THE THIRD READING OF THE RELIEF BILL; THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION BILL IS PASSED; APPEAL TO THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY; A STATUE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON PROPOSED TO BE ERECTED IN DUBLIN.

THE second reading of the qualification of freeholders' (Ireland) bill was carried on the 6th of April. On this occasion, the duke of Wellington said—"It was his duty to state to their lordships, the nature of the measure submitted to parliament with the catholic relief bill, in consequence of the recommendation from the throne, namely, a bill "for regulating the qualification of persons voting at elections for counties in Ireland. The Irish act of 1793, gave to the catholics of Ireland the power of voting in elections of members to serve in parliament; and, very shortly after that period, an evil practice commenced, which had since grown to such magnitude as excited the attention of parliament about five years ago, and, at the present moment, called for an immediate and effectual remedy. Shortly after the passing of the act of 1793, certain persons in possession of leases of land, for one or

more lives, under the proprietors, commenced a system of granting under-leases of that land in small portions, so as to increase the number of those who thus became possessed of a title to vote. This was done for the purpose of creating or extending the political influence of those parties in their respective counties; and he was sorry to say, that the example of those parties was followed by their superiors in station, fortune, and intelligence. The effect was, that the number of electors in counties was increased much more than was necessary for the freedom or purity of election: and, at last, the evil had become of such magnitude, as to call loudly for legislative interference. The people—he spoke of the great mass of forty-shilling freeholders—who thus became entitled to vote were of the very lowest classes of that country. In taking out their right of

voting, and possessing themselves of their freehold, there were but too good reasons for believing, that perjury was committed to a frightful extent; and in that, and other respects, the system tended so much to demoralise the people, that on that ground alone, a revision and alteration of the law deserved the serious attention of their lordships. It appeared by the reports of the committees, that the great mass of those electors were by no means sensible of the advantages which the franchise conferred. The law which gave the right of voting said, that a forty-shilling freehold should be registered twelve months before the party registered could vote. Now, if those parties were sensible of the advantages of the freehold, they would go willingly to register, and pay the small expense of one shilling, which was all that was required; but it was well known, that even this small sum they did not pay: the whole affair was managed, and the money paid by the landlord, or the candidate, or was in some other way made the object of a job for promoting the political influence of those who took the trouble of managing it. It also appeared, that the people were often driven to the hustings in large numbers—that they were looked upon as part of the live-stock of the estate—and were scarcely treated like human beings. This of itself, he thought, would be a sufficient ground for the serious attention of the house to the system. But these were not the only grounds on which the bill was submitted to the consideration of their lordships. As he had stated in the outset, the great number of freeholds were created for the purpose of giving political influence to the landlords, and those who held immediately under them; but it appeared from the evidence taken before the committees of that and the other house, that that influence had since fallen into other hands—into the hands of those to whom there could be no doubt it never was the intention of the legislature that it should be given—he meant the catholic priests. The continuance of such influence, in such hands, would, under any system that might be adopted towards that part of the United Kingdom, be extremely impolitic; but after the passing of the measure which their lordships had adopted the other night, it would be pregnant with considerable danger. If a Roman catholic gentleman, possessed of property, talents, and influence, were ambitious of a seat in parliament, it was desirable that he

should have one; but it was not desirable that he should attain it by popish or religious influence over those who had the power of conferring it. On this ground, therefore, it was necessary that some alteration should take place in the system. One object which he had pointed out in the other measure which he had introduced to their lordships was, that it would put an end to illegal combinations founded on religious opinions. Now, let their lordships consider the advantages which they would give to such combinations, if they allowed the present system of election in Ireland to remain. This was another ground why he thought they ought to alter that system. He knew it would be asked, if they took away the votes of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, why not take them also away from the same class of electors in this country? In answer to this, he would again refer to the reports of the committees before-mentioned, which had declared, that the two classes were extremely different. He admitted, that, in some cases, improper influence might be exercised on the votes of forty-shilling freeholders in England; but the circumstances of the two countries, with respect to that class of electors, were widely different. To prove the absurdity of comparing the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland with the same class of persons in England, he would beg leave to read a statement respecting those recently registered in several counties of Ireland. In Antrim, there had been registered, since 1822, six thousand one hundred and twenty-six forty-shilling freeholders, and of those, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight could not write their names; in Armagh, there had been registered eight thousand eight hundred and thirty, and of those, three thousand five hundred and ninety could not write their names; in Clare, ten thousand seven hundred and twenty-three had been registered, of whom, three thousand three hundred and thirty could not write their names; in Limerick, there had been registered, four thousand six hundred and thirty-two, of whom, three thousand three hundred and thirty-six could not write their names; in Mayo, twenty-three thousand six hundred and seventy-two were registered, of whom, nineteen thousand two hundred and five could not write their names; in Waterford, five thousand three hundred and thirty-five had been registered, of whom, three thousand four hundred and twenty could not

write their names. It was absurd, therefore, to compare those men with the forty-shilling freeholders of England. It should be remembered, that all the freeholders to whom he had referred, had been registered since 1822. It was urged, as an objection to the measure which he had the honour to propose to their lordships, that it would deprive the freeholders in fee of their rights, as well as the freeholders for life; but the returns which were made to parliament in 1825, showed, that only a very small number of those freeholders existed in Ireland. There were many abuses connected with this description of freeholders which deserved their lordships' attention. Amongst the rest, he was credibly informed, that there were many instances of persons in Ireland, having created large bodies of freeholders for lives in the expectation of an election; and when the election occurred sooner than was anticipated, having then turned them into freeholders in fee." The noble duke closed by stating, that the bill would not only prevent improper persons voting at elections, but would also enable individuals, whose property and talents entitled them to seats in parliament, to attain that object more readily than under the present system.

On the system thus described, little commentary is necessary. To confide the elective franchise to persons so ignorant as vast numbers of "the forties," as they were called, were shown to be, was obviously to give them that which could be of no real benefit to the parties themselves, while it rendered them liable to be converted into a formidable engine of mischief by a political priest or a tyrannical landlord. Had they been capable of judging what duty required from them for the general good, could they have ventured to oppose such influence? The bill was, however, resisted.—The duke of Richmond said, on principle, and on principle only, he must give his decided opposition to it.—Lord Redesdale maintained, that the bill infringed no constitutional principle, but rather went to restore the ancient constitution of Ireland.—Lord Farnham had strong objections to its provisions.—Lord Manners could not conceive any measure more calculated to improve the general state of Ireland.—The marquis of Bute, the earl of Roseberry, and the earl of Mount-Cashel, supported; the marquis of Clanricarde, the earl of Malmesbury, and the earl of Winchilsea, opposed the bill.

The last-named peer, at the conclusion of a forcible speech, to the effect just mentioned, took the opportunity of assuring the duke of Wellington, that whatever opposition he had offered to his measures, had been dictated by the most conscientious motives. His lordship added:—"I sincerely trust it will turn out that the apprehensions I have expressed of the effect of these measures, will not be verified, and that I shall have a future opportunity of acknowledging that I have entertained erroneous opinions, and of congratulating the noble duke and the country upon his having settled the question in a way which, if it should be so settled, certainly does appear to me at variance with the principles of the constitution."—Lord Holland objected to some of the changes, but supported the principle of the bill.—The earl of Enniskillen, the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Longford, the earl of Haddington, and the earl of Dudley, gave it their support.

The duke of Wellington, in his reply, confessed he was "not surprised that on the bill there had existed, even amongst the friends of the accompanying measure, a difference of opinion. He felt it, however, necessary to remind their lordships, that a few years ago, when a measure something like that which he had had the honour to introduce last week, relative to the catholic disabilities, had been introduced, another measure similar to that now before them made some progress through parliament. To those measures, differing in various respects, though generally resembling these in principle, he could not, he felt, be a party, because they did not, in his mind, appear to be complete. He could assent only to a complete system of measures, which would be likely to effect the great objects of the pacification and improvement of the condition of that country to which these measures were directed. He should have deceived those with whom he acted, and deceived the nation, if he had brought down a project which he did not feel convinced was a complete one. To the objections, which were not weighty in his mind, the answers would be found in the state of the bill now before parliament, in the anxiety of all classes of the community, and in the state of Ireland. He conceived that the appointment of assistant-barristers to register and examine the value of the freeholds, was a better regulation by far than that resorted to by the magistracy heretofore

In fact, the magistrates had been tried, and failed; and he believed no class of men were more independent than professional gentlemen, who had a character to lose, and professional respectability to uphold. He believed no class of men in society would be less likely to yield to the seductions of ministerial authority or influence. In reply to a noble lord on the cross-bench, that it was likely the priesthood would have the same influence over the ten-pound as over the forty-shilling freeholders, he begged their lordships to remember, that it had been proved before them, that the influence alluded to existed always in proportion to the degree of ignorance and poverty of the parties. Could any parallel of this unfavourable nature be drawn between the man who could neither read nor write, and the better informed?—between the person who had been found by a barrister to be, in his own clear right, without connivance, possessed of a freehold of ten pounds a-year, besides possibly a business or property of another description, and the poor dependant or beggar, who swore himself or forswore himself, to be the possessor of a forty-shilling freehold? I have brought," said his grace, in conclusion, "your lordships this bill in as nearly perfect a state as I could conceive to be practicable; I entreat you will allow it to be read a second time to-night, that it may go simultaneously to a committee with that other measure, and if your lordships deem it expedient, there to be amended. But I also entreat that your lordships will not unnecessarily amend it so as to deprive it of its essential character—as an appendage and auxiliary to the greater measure which it accompanies." The second reading was carried by one hundred and thirty-nine to seventeen.

From the large majority which declared for the bill, it will be seen that the arguments adduced by the duke were judged, in the house of peers—as elsewhere they were by all impartial observers—irresistible. Surely something of judgment and education may fairly be required from those who wield a power which affects the interests of the whole empire; and could that power be safely trusted to a class of persons like the forty-shilling Irish freeholders, so likely to be rendered, by the passion of the hour, the unreasoning instruments of a father-confessor, or an ambitious demagogue?

The more important measure—the relief bill—when committed in the lords as in

the commons, was much debated, and many amendments were moved, but without effect. On the clause being read, enacting the forfeiture of one hundred pounds for giving ecclesiastical titles to the catholic clergy, other than those recognised by law, the earl of Mount-Cashel moved an amendment, providing that whoever should address a catholic bishop or archbishop by the title of a peer of the realm, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. The duke of Wellington said he could not support the amendment, but begged to offer a few words on the clause itself:—"It was certainly no security, but it would give satisfaction to the united church of England and Ireland. In 1792, a law was passed in Ireland, which prevented catholic priests from assuming the titles of the established church; but that law was repealed by the act of 1793, and since then the assumption of these titles had increased. According to the law of England, the title of a diocese belonged to persons appointed to it by his majesty; but it was desirable that others, appointed to it by an assumed authority, should be discountenanced; and that was the reason why the clause was introduced. This was one of the instances which showed how difficult it was to legislate upon this subject at all. He was aware that the clause gave no security to the established church, nor strengthened it in any way; but it was inserted to give satisfaction to those who were disturbed by this assumption of title by the catholic church."

Lord Tenterden thought the clause gave no security at all. It would be better, instead of it, to introduce one declaring it to be unlawful for any person to accept of any such nomination to the title of archbishop or bishop hereafter.

The duke of Wellington then said:—"If he could be a party to the introduction of such a clause as that proposed by the noble and learned lord, he should be guilty of a recognition of that which he conceived to be highly illegal—that he should be acknowledging an assumption of authority by a foreign power, which was utterly inconsistent with the constitution of this realm. He did not mean to say that it was not time that those persons were nominated as bishops, and even placed in the care of dioceses by that usurped authority. He certainly would not say that: but he did not, and would not recognise, in any manner, appointments of such a nature; because it was evident that those appointments were made



by the power of usurpation. They knew nothing of that usurpation, nor of the assumption of those titles. He repeated, that of the assumption of such titles, the framer or author of the bill knew nothing. It was true, as had been stated by the noble mover of the amendment, that the clause would have been more perfect if persons could have been prevented by it from using those assumed titles of archbishops and bishops in writing. But he begged their lordships to advert to the difficulty of carrying such a principle into effect. Let them look to their own proceedings—let them examine their own journals, and they would find places, over and over again, where those titles were given in print to those individuals. It was impossible to deal with writings under such circumstances. All their lordships could do was, to declare that those titles should not be assumed by those persons in future. He could not conceive that they would suffer any inconvenience in carrying on their spiritual concerns because they were prohibited from assuming those titles. Though he meant not to urge the clause as a powerful security in Ireland, it would give great satisfaction to many persons in that part of the United Kingdom. A noble and learned lord had attributed to him a certain expression; but he had never said one word of the description which had been ascribed to him. What he had said was this—that the measure which he should have the honour to propose to that house, would, in his opinion, give satisfaction to the house and to the country; and that, in its effects, it would be found to be a measure more calculated to prevent the growth of popery than to increase it. As nearly as he could recollect, these were the words of which he had made use in speaking to his noble relative. This took place within two days of the period when his right honourable friend brought this bill into the house of commons; and certainly it would be admitted, that he could not have intended to deceive their lordships with respect to a point on which he knew they would be set right in two days. What he had said was, that the measures which would be proposed were calculated, in his view of the subject, to give satisfaction. He was still of the same opinion. He thought that they were likely to produce tranquillity, and to prevent bloodshed."

The clause was agreed to without a division, and the bill—several amendments having been proposed and lost—was got

through the committee on the 8th of April, when, on the motion of the duke of Wellington, the third reading was fixed for the next day but one—Thursday, the 10th of that month.

In defending himself from the charge which, he understood, had been brought against him by lord Eldon—of keeping his intentions with respect to the catholic question improperly or unnecessarily secret—the duke of Wellington had spoken of the silence he had observed, till the consent of the king to the great measure which he was inclined to submit to parliament should have been obtained; but, for obvious reasons, he had not dwelt on the great difficulties he had to encounter in accomplishing this preliminary step, which furnishes a most remarkable chapter in history. It must gratify curiosity to trace, as we are enabled to do, from the correspondence of lord Eldon, what was the state of the royal mind at this moment. What it was in the preceding month, has been seen; but it remains to be shown, that even now, at the eleventh hour, George IV. was half-disposed to retrace his steps. The king felt that he was fast approaching "that bourne from whence no traveller returns;" and revolved in his mind the awful future; and the dangerous present, with no common anxiety. He probably remembered the language of Bradshaw to Charles I.—"The sovereign was as much bound by his coronation-oath as the subject was bound in his allegiance; that if the bond were once broken, farewell sovereignty." At the close of the interview, described in a former page, lord Eldon left his majesty in a pitiable state, with an understanding that the king would see him again. The ex-chancellor probably expected to be consulted on the possibility of forming a new administration, but was not sent for. On the 9th of April, he waited on the king with some addresses, and found the monarch most distressingly agitated. A very singular conversation then took place, which, to mark its long duration, his lordship states, commenced a little before two o'clock. The king, he reports, "expressed his anguish, pain, and misery, that the measure had ever been thought of; and as often declared that he had been most harshly and cruelly treated—that he had been treated as a man whose consent had been asked with a pistol pointed to his breast; or as obliged, if he did not give it, to leap down from a five-pair of stairs' window. What could he do? What had he to fall back upon?"

Lord Eldon continues:—"I told his majesty, it was impossible to maintain that his assent had not been expressed, or to cure the evils which were consequential, after the bill, in such circumstances, had been read a second time, and in the lords' house, with a majority of one hundred and five. This led him to much conversation upon that fact—'that he had,' he said, 'been deserted by an aristocracy that had supported his father; that, instead of forty-five against the measure, there were twice that number of peers for it; that everything was revolutionary—everything was tending to revolution; and the peers and the aristocracy were giving way to it. They' (he said, more than once or twice) supported his father; but see what they had done to *him*.' I took the liberty to say, that I agreed that matters were rapidly tending to revolution—that I had long thought that this measure of catholic emancipation, was meant to be, and would certainly be, a step towards producing it; that it was avowed as such with the radicals in 1794-'5-'6; that many of the catholic association were understood to have been engaged in all the transactions in Ireland in 1798: and what had they not been threatening to do if this measure was not carried, and even if it was carried? But I thought it only just to some of the peers who voted for the bill, to suppose that they had been led, or misled, to believe that his majesty had agreed and consented to it. He then began to talk about the coronation-oath. On that I could only repeat what I had before said, if his majesty meant me to say anything upon the subject. Understanding that he did so wish, I repeated that, so far as his oath was concerned, it was a matter between him, God, and his conscience, whether giving his royal assent to this measure was supporting, to the utmost of his power, the protestant reformed religion. That it was not my opinion, nor the opinions of archbishops, bishops, or lay peers (*all which he must know*, as well the opinions in favour of the measure as those against it), that were to guide and govern him; but he was to act according to his own conscientious view of the obligations under which such an oath placed him. Little more passed, except occasional bursts of expression—"What can I do? What can I now fall back upon? What can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched; my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my as-

sent, I'll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover: I'll return no more to England. I'll make no more Roman catholic peers. I will not do what this bill will enable me to do. I'll return no more: let them get a catholic king in Clarence.' I think he also mentioned Sussex. 'The people will see that I did not wish this.' There were the strongest appearances, certainly, of misery. He more than once stopped my leaving him. When the time came that I was to go, he threw his arms round my neck, and expressed great misery. I left him about twenty minutes or a quarter before five."

All this, it should be borne in mind, took place on the 9th of April, after the relief bill had not only been read a second time, but had gone through its committee—had been reported, and was to be read a third time, and passed on the following day.

While the measure was advancing to maturity, besides the serious encounter with lord Winchilsea, the duke of Wellington was exposed to some personal danger, or at least interruption. The ancient feeling among the common people against popery was still alive, and wanted but a little encouragement to exhibit all its former vigour and violence. On the Thursday, when the second reading of the relief bill was to come on in the lords, an angry mob, assembled in Palace-yard, obstructed his way, breathing reproaches and menaces. While he was thus surrounded, one individual kept near the duke, and repressed the most boisterous during the tumult. On a subsequent interview with sir Richard Birnie, the Bow-street magistrate, this man was alluded to, and described by the duke. Sir Richard recognised the party, and replied—"The officer mentioned by your grace was in the army on the continent, and followed the fortunes of your grace four years; and because of the man's devotion and attachment to his commander, I appointed him to this especial service."

On the Saturday, when the bill was to pass its last stage, the duke, when in St. James's-park, on his way to the house of lords, was rudely accosted by a man, who called out, "My lord Wellington, I wish to speak to you:" the duke said, "I cannot speak to you." The defendant followed, and spoke about some money, which he asserted the duke owed him, and he wanted payment. The duke turned round, and asked him to what regiment he had belonged, and

the man replied, the forty-eighth; he then abused his grace most grossly, and called him a d—d old rascal. His grace then gave him into custody. When brought before a magistrate, in answer to questions put to him, the prisoner said—"My name is John Appleyard. I don't mind the duke of Wellington, or any one of them: they are all in league with Beelzebub, the prince of devils. I am one of the lineal descendants of Henry VIII." In the same spirit, he said—"I glory in what I have done: the duke owes me money; and what can I do upon sevenpence per day pension." The magistrate said he must find bail; to which he replied, "I will find no bail. I defy you, the duke of Wellington, or his majesty, George IV." The prisoner was then removed by the officers; and the opinion of a medical gentleman was taken as to whether the defendant was insane or not. He appeared to be about fifty years of age, and was evidently of unsound mind.

In modern times, the houses of parliament have seldom met on the Saturday to debate any measure of importance; but in this instance, it was thought desirable that all suspense on the subject of the emancipation bill should be terminated as soon as possible, and the rule was not observed. The debate was to be resumed at one o'clock in the day. When the hour arrived, there were not more than twenty peers present. The duke of Wellington, with his uniform attention to punctuality, entered precisely at the time; and prayers having been read, he immediately moved the order of the day for the third reading.

The earl of Guilford entered into an historical review of the question, from the time of James II. He entirely denied the principle promulgated by the Roman catholic association, that all power emanated from the people: if this were so, what would be the state of Ireland, where Roman catholics formed so large a majority of the population, when it was admitted on all hands, that the people were under the sway of the pope, and at the direction of the priests. It was to guard against the undue exercise of this influence, that the restrictive or penal laws had been enacted. He conceived that this bill was an absolute infringement of the bill of rights. He would not deny the omnipotence of parliament to make and repeal laws; but he thought their lordships ought not to sanction a measure which was subversive of protection, in regard to two

branches of the state, particularly when the most respectable and intelligent classes of the people had expressed an unequivocal dissent from the bill now before their lordships. It had been said, in support of this bill, that the causes for the exclusion of papists no longer existed—that the Roman catholic religion had changed its objectionable character; but his lordship conceived that there ought to be some evidence of that change—there ought to be some solemn assurance to that effect, by a council of cardinals, sanctioned by the pope, before this bill could be supposed to pass into a law. He denied that any such change had occurred, or if it had, it was of very recent date; for he found in a work, called *The Roman Catholic Spectator*, published only in 1825, a distinct affirmation, that the Roman catholic religion was unchanged in its principles or tenets. For these reasons, he was bound to oppose the motion of the noble duke; and he was ready to affirm that the friends of the constitution were determined to defend their rights.

Lord Lilford considered that one of two alternatives must be adopted—either further concessions must be granted, or martial law must be resorted to in Ireland. The latter course, he was convinced, could not keep that country in a state of permanent tranquillity, while its operation would be productive of the most appalling results. With respect to security, his lordship thought that the best security for the maintenance of the protestant church, would be found in the superior excellence of its principles.—The earl of Westmoreland supported the bill.

Viscount Sidmouth objected to the manner in which it was attempted to hurry it through its stages. He was of opinion, such a measure ought not to have been submitted to parliament, without being preceded by a general inquiry into the state of Ireland. Nothing was known of the state of that country now, which was not formerly known. What was the plea upon which they were called to pass this measure? The influence of the catholic association was talked of—its terrors magnified! For his part, he should be disingenuous indeed, to withhold from ministers the praise of sincerity. It was but fair to say, that he believed no set of men could be influenced by greater regard for the constitution of this country than his majesty's present ministers were. It did not follow, however, that he was of necessity to take for granted, that all their

measures were of the most judicious kind. Quite the contrary: respect was one thing, confidence another; but a blind and indiscriminating reliance upon the infallibility of any set of men, was a degree of self-denial to which he could not pretend. What, then, was his opinion of the present measure? Did he think, that under the present conjuncture of affairs in Ireland, nothing ought to be done? Certainly not. He agreed that that country was, and had ever been, in a condition to require the closest attention of the members of government; and no man was less disposed than he to withhold a remedy, when a proper one was pointed out. Much of the evil now complained of was traced to the catholic association. Why, then, had not that body been put down sooner? They were told it would not have been safe to do so. Nay, it was said, that so affectionate had the house of commons become of this favourite body, that it would never consent to its suppression by law, unless some other measure, by way of indemnification, was made congenial with that extinguishment. What then; were we come to that pass, that concession was the only basis of our legislation? Were we in future to pass no law, without first throwing a sop to the people of Ireland, in order that they would be pleased to condescend to submit to our imperial legislation? The evils of Ireland were long admitted to be poverty, ignorance, and bigotry. Which of these would catholic emancipation remove? Rid the people—the poor benighted people—of the trammels of priestcraft: that was the true and statesmanlike, humane emancipation. The great grievance of Ireland was distress, arising from the want of food. The remedy for that was acknowledged, on all hands, to be the influx of capital; but by a strange round-about mode of reasoning, the measure of catholic emancipation, which, after all, must influence only remotely and circuitously the sources of capital, was said to be the means of curing those evils.

The earl of Liverpool, though formerly opposed to catholic emancipation, thought it right now to declare himself a supporter of this measure.—Lord Tenterden had been educated in the church of England. He had all his life admired its principles, and he should be among the most ungrateful if he had not done so. His esteem for that church had grown stronger and stronger with his years. He was fully persuaded that there was no church so moral as this. “Can we,

then,” said he, “betray it, my lords? Others may betray it, if they think proper. I cannot, on looking at the present measure, but think that there is that in it which is calculated to overthrow the protestant church.” He would support the bill, if he could hope it would produce those results which its supporters expected from it; but this he could not do. He showed that it was at variance with the principles contended for by the former law-givers of England. “If,” said his lordship, in conclusion, “we pass this measure, we shall be much less able than we are at present to resist the attempts of those to whom, by the measure itself, we are giving, in the true sense of the word, political power, and who have long been making attempts against our existing laws. I hope, my lords, I may be mistaken in my views of the measure; but, in my opinion, should it pass, the time will soon come when your lordships will find the apprehensions I entertain of it realised.”—Earl Grey rose with considerable fear, that something like presumption would be imputed to him, if he ventured to differ from a noble lord (the lord chief-justice of England), who had rested the greatest part of the arguments he had addressed to their lordships on statements of law, with which he was necessarily more acquainted, which he had studied more, and of which he had a more perfect knowledge than he (lord Grey) could possibly have. He was, however, led by a sense of duty to state what his opinions were, and feeling assured the noble and learned lord himself would promote the measure if he thought it would tranquillise Ireland. He would abstain from entering into that debate which he had so often entered into on former occasions—namely, whether the act of union and the act of the revolution had been made so irrevocable, that, notwithstanding any inducement of policy or expediency, it was utterly impossible for parliament, without a breach of the contract which existed between the king and the people, to make the slightest alteration in those laws. “The noble lord,” he went on, “does not maintain that proposition: to what, then, are we to address ourselves? Why, my lords, to this—that, in the days of Elizabeth, it was thought necessary to guard against popery. I admit that; but in the time of Charles II. it was thought necessary, in the then circumstances of the country, to enact other laws for the exclusion of the papists and to guard the religion of this country. I

am also ready to admit that, under the same impression, at the passing of the bill of rights and the union with Scotland, parliament did proceed to enact certain laws against the Roman catholics. That I am ready to admit. But the question we have to consider this day is, whether these enactments are, in the present state of circumstances, so binding upon us, that we are precluded from applying the remedies we think most likely to prevent the dangers with which we are threatened. The noble and learned lord has talked much of the danger of Roman catholics being admitted into offices of the state. I thought these antiquated notions had, long ago, been exploded. The late lord Liverpool himself, in all his opposition to the Roman catholic claims, never imputed to them disloyalty. Now, my lords, can there be any better security than the security of the oath proposed for the Roman catholics to take? We all know the regard the catholics entertain for the obligation of an oath. It was because they would not take the testing oath, that they were excluded from various offices. Could it, then, be said, that they ought not to be trusted? In the time of queen Elizabeth, to which allusion had so often been made in the course of the debate, it should be recollected that the catholics were trusted and appointed to high offices. Who was it that destroyed the Spanish armada? Who was the admiral who commanded the fleets of England then? It was a Roman catholic—lord Howard, of Effingham, whose statue now adorns a neighbouring edifice. Perhaps, it would be said, he might have obtained a license from the pope, to fight the battles of a sovereign who had been excommunicated by the see of Rome, and which power had absolved its subjects from their allegiance. It is, however, certain, my lords, that Roman catholics were appointed, by a protestant queen, to oppose the most powerful force ever directed against this country; and that, too, acting under the banners of popery. Why, my lords, what more is necessary to show the confidence that can be reposed in Roman catholics? My lords, the acts imposing these disabilities, were passed under a strong sense of necessity, and I am, therefore, free to admit, that they are entitled to the greatest regard and attention; but I never can agree with those noble lords who wish to make an impression, that these laws were intended to be permanent, and that it is not

in our power to alter them. I say, my lords, we are called upon to make an alteration. It was never intended, when those laws were passed, but that, when circumstances changed, they should be repealed; and, in doing this, we are doing no more than what it is our duty to do; and, I may add, it is a matter of reproach that it was not done earlier. These laws were passed at the time of the revolution, and I fearlessly say, that it was the intention of the legislature—and they left that intention to their successors—to make those changes which circumstances might, in after ages, require; and if they could now legislate, no doubt they would bring forward the measure we are about to adopt.”

As to the effect which might be looked for from concessions made to the Roman catholic body, his lordship said:—“It has been objected, that concessions would be dangerous, in consequence of the physical power of the Roman catholics. That, in my apprehension, is one argument why those concessions should be made. The very ardour they display is a sufficient reason for not refusing their claims. Let us look, my lords, to the power which they at present possess, and let us then see how that power has been employed. Eligibility to office, and to seats in parliament, is, I admit, political power; but I admit that they are also civil rights; and the Roman catholics aim at nothing more. They possess the eligibility to certain offices—the army and the navy are open to them. They enjoy the elective franchise; and since the abrogation of the penal laws, they have the power to purchase and acquire property, and are consequently in the possession of that power which is derivable from wealth. But there is no proof that they have abused that power, unless it be contended that the assertion of what they conceive to be right, can be construed into such abuse. Possessing all those privileges, they still consider themselves unjustly treated; and still labouring under a grievance which they feel ought not to be imposed upon them, they naturally exert the power that they possess in the assertion of rights too long withheld; and this is the only way that the catholics exert the power they possess against the government. What are the evils we anticipate from this measure? It would have the effect of introducing five or six peers into this house, and a number of members, not large, would be returned to the other

house. Catholics would also become eligible to civil offices, with few exceptions. What, then, is to be the consequence? It is argued, that all at once the king is to be influenced by some catholic charm—some Hohenlohe spell, which would work on his mind a miracle of conversion; and that he is to abandon the principles of the house of Brunswick. It is also argued, that the people who had been so alarmed at the very prospect of this law, will become so enamoured of the catholic faith, that their opposition to it will cease. To believe this, my lords, will be equal to a belief even in transubstantiation itself." He proceeded to argue, that till a measure like that now under their lordships' consideration were adopted, it would be impossible to tranquillise Ireland. What reprobation would not a statesman deserve if he did not attempt, in a time of tranquillity like the present, to bring forward some measure for the purpose of conciliating the people of Ireland, and avoiding that danger which they had so long failed to avert by means of force.

He then noticed the suggestions which had been thrown out in favour of using more vigorous means for repressing disorders in Ireland. "A noble peer," he remarked, "had said—'Why not enforce the laws which are at present in existence?' My lords, it is very easy to say this; but though the catholic association was in existence for such a length of time, and with the danger hourly increasing upon them, still it was found impossible to relieve Ireland from the danger which attended it. But I say, my lords, if this be charged against the government, those who are disposed to bring forward such a charge, should take especial care that the arguments they use will not apply with double force against their noble and learned leader. He applied himself to show that the church of England could be in no respect endangered by this measure. That church will, in consequence, increase in magnitude and prosperity. I do not mean, my lords, by means of conversion; for I think any injudicious attempts at conversion would only create injury; but I mean, by its superior truth and reason, it will prevail to a greater extent, as soon as you have relieved it from the invidious situation in which it now stands, by avoiding all means of provocation—as soon as you have taken away those pretended supports which only encumber its efforts. This prospect, also, may fail, and a

catholic association may again be established; but I believe, if anything could prevent such a recurrence, it is the measure which is now before your lordships. In the course of this debate, my lords, allusion has been made to Mr. Tone. I would strongly recommend to your lordships to read his memoirs. I would refer your lordships to the expected invasion of Ireland by general Hoche, which, had it taken place, notwithstanding the superiority of the British navy, must have caused a separation between the two countries. Such would have been the result, had he effected a landing; and that this country escaped on that occasion, was almost miraculous. It was like a merciful interposition of Providence; and surely, my lords, common sense would dictate that we should do our utmost to avert the recurrence of such dangers. My lords, I will put to you the case of Ireland invaded by a foreign force—of her people joining with a foreign enemy. I will suppose the Irish people united with the intruders, and departed from our government: what, then, will be the extent of their wishes? Will it be merely the emancipation from their civil disabilities? No, assuredly not; but that of having their own church established as the church of the state. And, my lords, what consolation would you have in saying to yourselves—'Oh, we have been at least consistent—we have done our utmost to maintain the 25th and 30th of Charles II.—we have clung by those statutes which prescribe the oaths of supremacy, and proscribe the doctrine of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints; we have laboured and succeeded in excluding from seats in the legislature, and from all high and influential offices, the catholics of Ireland; and, in so doing, have lost the most precious jewel of the crown, and lopped off the right-arm of the country. We have at least this consolation, that we have persevered against all the warnings which have been given by the most sensible men—against all the voices of the greatest men who have adorned the senate—against the conviction of the most eminent statesmen who have adorned either house of parliament—and against the advice of the greatest generals who have adorned our arms;—we have done all this, and we can console ourselves with the thought that we have done our duty—'

"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum."

His lordship warmly enulogised the conduct

of the duke of Wellington, in relation to this important measure, in adopting the course he now pursued to avert the horrors of a civil war. "I receive," he said, "with unqualified gratification the measure which the noble duke has proposed, and sit down, stating my conviction, that the country will feel towards that noble individual the same gratitude for this boon of peace, which they confess to have received at his hands as the triumph of war, and be as little churlish to admit the one, as they have been prodigal in testifying to the other."

The earl of Eldon had been alluded to, by earl Grey, as the *leader* of the opponents of the bill. This caused that learned person to take part in the debate. "I was strongly disposed," he said, "to abstain altogether from offering myself to your notice, conscious that to those who concur in opinion with me I could have but little new to advance, and that to those who differed from me, this was a question upon which I could but little hope, by any reasoning of mine, to make any impression. I am willing to give full credit to the noble earl (Grey) who has addressed you, for the compliment which he was pleased to pay me, by erecting me into the situation of a leader of a party; but I can assure your lordships, that there is no one who more sensibly feels his incompetence to discharge the responsible office to which that noble lord has appointed me, than I do." He addressed the house, probably, he said, for the last time. After four-and-twenty years of conscientious opposition to measures like the present, he was anxious to take this final opportunity of stating his opinion and the grounds of it. He assured the house that, after this bill should have passed, strong and deep-rooted as were his objections to it, he should feel it to be his duty, by every means in his power, to soothe down the agitation it had created; to let his countrymen know it was their duty to obey the laws, however they might have been opposed to them while in their progress through parliament. It was not his desire—God forbid!—to add, in any way whatever, to the agitation which he knew existed in the country, to an extent at which he was affrighted. He would be satisfied to pass the remainder of his days in retirement, confident that, during the many years in which he had been engaged in public life, he had endeavoured to do his duty, and that he had done it, sincerely and conscientiously, in oppos-

ing the present bill. During a long course of years, he had considered the nature and tendency of such a bill as this with all the attention in his power; and though, he admitted, that consistency in error was one of the greatest blots that could attach to the character of a statesman; and though he should be ashamed to claim credit for consistency in any opinion, if he should for an instant see that it was one which he could not justify—yet, with every disposition to discover the error (in his opinion, if error there was), he had considered this question over and over again, in every possible point of view; and after all that consideration, he would say, that so help him God, he would rather perish than give his consent to the bill before their lordships. He thought this bill the most dangerous one that had ever been submitted to parliament. Could it be a matter of pleasure or of comfort to him to stand in the situation he did—in opposition to the noble duke and those other friends from whom he now differed so widely on this point? He owned, it would have given him pleasure to support this bill, if he could have done so consistently. The noble duke would do himself the justice to acknowledge, that he had not found him inflexible on other points, or in any public measure, except on this. That he differed from him on this, he regretted; but his opposition, after all he had heard, was unaltered and unalterable. With respect to the right honourable secretary, the leader in the other house, he must say, that there never was a man to whose feelings and opinions he was more sincerely attached; and no circumstance of his life gave him more pain than the division from him on this subject. He adverted to the general impression, from the publication of the duke of Wellington's letter to Dr. Curtis, that no concessions to the Roman catholics would be introduced in that session, and complained of the present measure as being, consequently, a surprise on the public. He insisted upon the incompatibility of the pretensions of the Irish priesthood with the law of the land. He blamed the government for not having instituted prosecutions against Mr. O'Connell and other leading agitators; and forboded, that the bill then in progress for the suppression of the Roman catholic association would be ineffectual for its purpose. He quoted a declaration of Dr. Doyle, in his pastoral letter, that matters would never be set right until there

were a Roman catholic king and a Roman catholic legislature. In that opinion he could not avoid coinciding. If the present law were considered an insult by the catholics, they would still feel themselves insulted so long as a catholic was disabled from sitting on the throne. When Roman catholics were admitted to power, the principle was conceded, and there could be no limit as to numbers. When noble lords looked at the manner in which the house of commons was filled, he would ask, whether all that was stated about only twenty Roman catholic members getting into the house, was not, in the opinion of every man who knew what was going on in the world, downright nonsense? The forty-shilling freeholders would be disfranchised, but the influence of the priests would be exercised on the electors who remained; and after the act was passed, what was to prevent as many Roman catholic members from getting into the house of commons, as there were means to provide seats for, whatever those many might be? The advocates of the measure contended, that little danger was to be apprehended from it, because it was not likely that a protestant king would place a Roman catholic in any important office of trust. What would be the consequence? Why, that instead of the feelings of dissatisfaction, on the part of the catholics, being directed against the law of the country as heretofore, the king would be placed in such a situation that it must be directed against him.—After reviewing and insisting on the settlement made of the constitution by the revolution of 1688, and the act of union with Scotland, and indicating his doubts respecting the fitness of the Irish disfranchisement which was intended to accompany the relief bill, he protested against the present measure, as fraught with ruin to the purest church and the purest system of Christianity which the world had ever seen. "I believe," concluded he, "that I know something of the catholic clergy, and of their feelings towards our protestant church; and, though it is late in life for me to alter my opinion, I should be willing to think better of them if I could; but I do declare, my lords, that I would rather hear at this moment, that tomorrow my existence was to cease (an illustration, however, which I put as of no great force, since I should look upon that event as anything but an affliction), than to awake to the reflection that I had consented to an act which had stamped me as a violator of

my solemn oath, a traitor to my church, and a traitor to the constitution."

The speech just given is transcribed from the *Life of Lord Eldon*, but, in the reports of it, which appeared immediately after its delivery, some passages were given which are not uninteresting in themselves, and which, from their describing the career of one so long and so intimately connected with the duke of Wellington, belong to his political biography. His lordship said:—"I am too old, abruptly to change opinions which I have long cherished. I am now at that stage of life when I have the most indisputable authority for knowing, that what remains to me of life must probably be spent in infirmity and sorrow. I am, in fact, now verging on four-score; and I would fondly trust, that such has been my conduct through a long and arduous life, that I can look back upon it without being struck by the taint of any mark or stain affecting my character. If I have gone on so long without being compromised, I will not now expose myself to the agony of a change. Imputations have been cast upon me, however, which I feel I do not deserve, and I am emboldened to repel them in the presence of the parties who gave them. The first of these attacks upon me seems to be, that I was a willing party to the act of relief of 1791. Now, I was officially no party to this act; it was introduced, I know, into the other house of parliament by lord Redesdale, and had that sort of support, I admit, from me, which my affection and respect for him dictated, and which has been maintained between us for half a century. In the bill of 1791, I saw then, and see now, no alteration of the policy of our constitution as cemented in 1688. I am also identified with the act of 1793, which was, in fact, an act passed by the parliament of Ireland, with which I, of course, could have had nothing to do. Then comes the Scotch act of 1794, for which I am also to be rendered responsible. Now, my lords, allow me to say, that though I was, about that time, a good deal employed at your lordships' bar as counsel in Scotch causes, I found myself so little proficient in Scottish law, and felt such a difficulty in being master of it without an intense, and to me an inconvenient, application, that I left all matters connected with that law, to those who were more competent to undertake them. Noble lords should recollect that there was then such a person in parliament, the father of a noble lord



whom I now see opposite.”—Lord Melville said (across the table):—“You mistake: my father was not then lord-advocate for Scotland.”—Lord Eldon:—“So far, I am wrong; but I recollect that the noble lord’s father was then a member of his majesty’s government, and that he always assisted the lord-advocate of Scotland with his able and competent advice, upon matters connected with Scottish law; I had, therefore, little or no concern at that time with such matters; but I am quite ready to say, that I was an assenting and assisting party to that law. My mind, at that time, was not so much taken up with politics as some noble lords appear to think; my ambition was then directed to the chief-justiceship of the common pleas, to which my revered and dear sovereign presented me. I was afterwards, by the gracious condescension of my sovereign, made lord chancellor in 1804–5, where I remained, with the exception of a short interval, for twenty-five years. I know well, that during that period few persons were more exposed to obloquy than I was. I met that obloquy, however, by as careful and attentive devotion of my time to the duties of my office as it was possible for me to give it.”

An opinion prevailed, that the duke of Wellington, from his habits as a military disciplinarian, was, in many cases, unnecessarily severe. He, however, did not escape censure for a failing of an opposite character; and certainly there is reason to believe, that before he was a convert to catholic emancipation, he was more than sufficiently guarded against interfering with those who were its most daring advocates. In the speech just quoted, the duke’s government was censured for not prosecuting “the disgusting, seditious, and treasonable speeches which had been made in the catholic association.” Lord Eldon said—“When he was attorney-general, he had felt it his duty to prosecute Mr. John Frost, an attorney of the king’s bench, for seditious language. Mr. Frost was not a member of a convention, nor did he receive contributions from France or other foreign countries; yet what was the punishment which the court of king’s bench visited Mr. Frost with? Not three months’ imprisonment—the punishment provided by the suppression bill for the agitators, provided they could be laid hold of—but three years’ imprisonment. Now, take the case of O’Connell. He was called king O’Connell, and well he deserved

to be so called. He had a princely revenue, no doubt. If it were not already in his pocket, it would soon be there. This O’Connell had designated an act passed by the legislature of the country, as an Algerine act. Was he liable to no punishment for that? Then the lawyer who, three months ago, figured away at Penenden-heath (Mr. Shiel), had over and over again, traduced every character in the country entitled to respect. Lately, however, this person had indulged in the most extravagant praise of the very men who, not three months ago, he had held up to the scorn and abomination of mankind. No reason had been stated to their lordships why those men had not been prosecuted; unless, indeed, it was to be found in the declaration, ‘If you knew what we know,’ &c.”

The debate was continued on that day, and on the last stage of the measure, with almost as much animation as if the subject had not previously been discussed. The bill was supported by the marquis Camden, viscount Granville, the earl of Harrowby, the bishop of Norwich, the duke of Athol, lord Middleton, the bishop of Litchfield, the duke of Sussex, and the marquis of Lansdowne; its opponents were, besides the earl of Eldon, the earl of Abingdon, the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Roden, the earl of Falmouth, the duke of Cumberland, and lord Redesdale.

The debate was closed by the duke of Wellington. Adverting to the speech of the earl of Eldon, he said—“I had hoped that the noble and learned lord would have come down this evening with some legal arguments, in answer to those which have been so ably urged by my noble and learned friend on the woollack, and by my noble and learned friend who sits opposite (lord Plunkett.) But instead of doing that, the noble and learned lord has again occupied the time of the house with personal attacks upon me and my right honourable friend in the other house of parliament; and he has repeated the charge against us, that in bringing forward this measure, we have taken the country by surprise. My lords, I conceive that the noble and learned earl should have borne in mind that we could not, as the responsible advisers of the crown, have brought forward this measure until we had known the king’s sentiments upon it; and we could not declare those sentiments to the country, up to the precise moment when they were and ought to be made known—namely, in the king’s speech. I there-

fore positively deny the charge which the noble and learned earl has preferred against us upon that head. I say, that the public were not taken by surprise in this case, or by this measure. The public were informed of the nature of this measure at the earliest possible period that they could be informed of it—by the king's speech; and nearly two months have now elapsed since that announcement has been made. The very number of petitions which have been presented against the bill—the petitions which have been presented by the noble and learned earl on the cross-bench, and by another noble lord, amounting, I believe, to nearly two thousand in the whole, sufficiently attest the fact, that the public have not been taken by surprise on this question. I rejoice that those petitions have been presented. I consider them, after the endeavours which have been made to impress the people with a notion that the government intended to introduce a measure in favour of popery and arbitrary power—I consider them, notwithstanding that such efforts have been made to get them up, an advantage; and I rejoice that they have been presented, because they demonstrate the truth of my position—that the public have not been taken by surprise by the introduction of this measure. The noble and learned earl has found fault with the manner in which this question has been hurried through this house. I certainly feel that your lordships' consideration has never before been given more deliberately to any measure, than it has been devoted to the bill now before us. It appears to me, that to no question has more attention been given than to the present one; and no question, I think, has been more fully or fairly discussed. It is quite true, that I have been anxious that this bill should be carried before the Easter holidays: it is quite true, that I am desirous that parliament should now, as soon as possible, pass it; because I am anxious to put an end to the agitation which prevails on this subject—I will not say in the country, but in this town, where the great majority of the inhabitants of Westminster, and of the city of London, and of the people at large, are in favour of the measure. The noble and learned earl complains that this measure will do away with the safe-guards of the constitution; and he has entered into a long discussion as to the oath of supremacy. I should like to know from that noble and

learned earl, whether, after this bill has passed, there will be a greater number of persons than we find at present who will not take the oath of supremacy? Surely the noble lord does not say so! What does this bill do, my lords? It admits to parliament five or six noble lords, who, at present, will not take that oath; and a certain number of members to the lower house of parliament, who are also, at present, unwilling to take that oath. I am asked by the noble and learned lord, what are the securities which I propose? But before I answer that question, suffer me, for a moment, to advert to the assertion, that the constitution and the religion established in this country will be destroyed by this measure, since it goes to repeal the oath of supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation, and to substitute the oath of allegiance in their stead. My lords, the acts of the 25th and 30th of Charles II. were passed, not on account of dangers to the protestant establishment of this country, from the concession of liberty to papists, but on account of dangers arising from the prospect of a popish sovereign and a popish successor. Is there any danger of a popish sovereign, or of a popish successor now? As the danger, then, no longer exists, the present bill proposes to substitute the oath of allegiance in the stead of the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation, which were framed at that period, with a view to provide against such danger. The noble lord says, that we offer no security in this bill. Now, I think this bill would produce great mischief, if such securities as those which have been suggested by some noble lords had been adopted. If they had been adopted, we should want securities against securities. The noble earl is mistaken, in supposing that this measure would be attended with any possible danger to the established church. By this measure, the established church is untouched; and the catholic religion, in this country, left in the same state as it is in at the present moment. All that this measure does is, to admit Roman catholic peers to this house, and Roman catholic members to the other house of parliament. The noble earl next talks of the dangers of the usurpation of popery, and he refers to an act of Philip and Mary, to confirm his apprehensions. The noble earl has also referred to the pastoral letter of Dr. Troy, and to a variety of other circumstances, which I must say, have nothing whatever to do with the question

now before the house, any more than they have to do with the established religion of Scotland. The noble earl spoke of the excommunicating power exercised by the pope, and the power exercised by the catholic bishops, in respect to marriages; but it is plain, that no individual in these kingdoms can be compelled, by law, to submit to those powers, after the passing of this bill, more than at present; and that then, as now, the authority of the pope will not for a moment stand against the sentence or decision of our ecclesiastical, or against the authority of the courts of common law in this country. When the noble and learned lord talks thus of the power of the pope, he seems to indulge in a strain similar to that which he adopted some time since, when he talked so much of the power of the common law to put down the catholic association. The noble and learned lord did not speak of such a power existing in the common law of the country, while he was himself a member of the government. Oh, no! his plan then was, 'let things go on as they are in our time, and when we have done, we will leave it to our successors to set matters right.' That was the system which the noble and learned lord advocated and adopted, and which has been the cause of bringing about a state of things in Ireland, to remedy which a measure of this kind must be passed, or it will be impossible, I say, to govern that country. The noble and learned lord has given his opinion in favour of the measure proposed by a right honourable gentleman, who was the first to move this question in this country—I mean the late Mr. Pitt. Will the noble and learned lord be bound by the plan of securities proposed by that right honourable gentleman? One of these was, to establish a provision for the catholic clergy in Ireland. Will the noble and learned lord agree to that? The measure before your lordships is far better; because it contains no such provision whatever. The noble and learned lord says, he sees no ground for the measure. I imagined, my lords, that I had already amply detailed the reasons which existed for the passing of it. I thought I had already clearly explained, that the state of Ireland was such, as to imperatively call for this measure; and that it has been brought to such a state, in consequence of a long series of mis-government. The position is one that no man can deny. I could certainly understand the noble and learned lord, if he were not aware

of the evils which demand such a remedy. But the noble and learned lord is fully aware of the existence of these evils: he has been cognizant of their growth and their increase; and it is, therefore, most extraordinary that, under such circumstances, the noble and learned lord should profess himself unable to discover the necessity which exists for a measure of this description. I am certain that those evils exist, in a degree, in Ireland, unknown in any other civilised country in the world; and I am equally certain that there is no remedy for them, with the exception of that to which I adverted on a former occasion, but the measure now before your lordships. But I am asked, what are my prospects of the success of this measure? My lords, I am sanguine enough to imagine that the greatest possible amelioration will be effected in the state of the country, in consequence of the passing of this measure. A noble lord says, that the agitation will only become greater in consequence: but I am inclined to think that the people will find that they are interested in preserving the tranquillity of the country, and will be rather disposed, than otherwise, to maintain the public peace, and thus to promote the prosperity and happiness of their native land. I am therefore satisfied, that this bill will do much at present; and that, in the long run, it will effect all that the most sanguine amongst us can possibly expect or desire. But, my lords, if such effects shall not follow this measure—if it shall be attended by the consequences predicted by the noble and learned earl (and in which predictions, give me leave to say, I place no faith)—then, my lords, I and my colleagues, who are the responsible advisers of the crown, in this instance, will come down to parliament, and ask your lordships to adopt other measures, that may tend more effectually to maintain the security, prosperity, and happiness of Ireland. It has given me great concern, that my advocacy of this measure has been the cause of separating me from many of my noble friends; and I have particularly to lament, that it has occasioned the separation of the noble and learned lord. I am sorry, too, to have observed, this night, that this measure has led a noble and illustrious personage to withdraw his confidence from me. For the opinion of that noble and illustrious personage I entertain every respect; but I confess, that though I know the zeal, anxiety, and intensity of feeling which that

noble and illustrious individual manifested at an early period of this session against the measure, before it had come under the consideration of this house, I flattered myself that, when the measure had been fully discussed by your lordships, it would not induce that noble and illustrious individual to announce the withdrawal of his confidence from me and my right honourable colleagues. The duty which I have performed has, unfortunately, separated me from many of my noble friends; but it was a duty which imperiously devolved upon me, and from the discharge of which no consideration whatever could induce me to shrink. I am confident that the results of this measure will be such as to convince even those who are now most opposed to it, of its wisdom and necessity under the existing circumstances of the country. All I will add is, that I have not uttered a word on this question, nor done anything in regard to it, which I have not considered it my duty to his majesty and the public, either to do or to say. I must add, that though I have to regret the separation from some noble friends, I have the consolation to think that many noble lords, who have hitherto differed from me on other subjects, have done me the honour of giving to me their confidence and support on this question. I have to return my thanks to the noble lords opposite, with whom I possess no political connexions, and from whom I had no right to expect support, for the cordial and handsome manner in which they have assisted me throughout the discussion of the measure in this house. I cannot sit down, my lords, without congratulating the house and the country, that this measure has now arrived almost at its final stage; and I confidently trust that, ere long, we shall behold its beneficial effects displayed in Ireland, and in the establishment of the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of the united empire."

Their lordships divided, and the numbers stood thus—Content, present, one hundred and forty-nine; proxies, sixty-four: total, two hundred and thirteen. Not content, present, seventy-six; proxies, thirty-three: total, one hundred and nine. Majority, one hundred and four.

Thus closed the struggle on this important question. The excitement which had prevailed on the subject soon, in a great degree, subsided. It was hoped the effects of the measure would not contradict the

bold predictions of its promoters, who declared it would give tranquillity and general prosperity to Ireland, and thereby confer an important benefit on the whole empire. The annoyances to which the duke of Wellington had been exposed while this business was in progress, were more generally understood from what speedily followed. "Ministers, of course, had assured themselves of the royal assent, and it was their duty to do so before bringing forward the bill. The difficulty of obtaining the consent, and the late period at which it was obtained, were put forward by the duke of Wellington as the causes of delay on the part of government in announcing their intentions, which looked so like an arrangement to take the protestant community by surprise. Beside the objections which his majesty was understood to have always entertained to the measure, or principle, it appeared, from the communications between the ministers and the lord-lieutenant, subsequently made public, when the recall of the latter was mentioned in the house of peers, that the king had felt strongly the indignities cast upon his government by the proceedings of the agitators, and by the connivance which allowed them to be continued with impunity. On the 11th of November, 1828, the duke of Wellington, in a letter to the lord-lieutenant, after referring to those measures of the viceroy which were considered to betray a friendly and encouraging inclination towards the association, said:—'I cannot adequately express to you the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create, in all discussions with his majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is violated every day with impunity by those whose duty it is to preserve it, and that a formidable conspiracy exists, and that the supposed principal conspirators—those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country—are admitted to the presence of his majesty's representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the king's most loyal subjects.' His grace added, in a subsequent communication of the 19th of November:—'I might have, at an earlier period, expressed the pain I felt at the attendance of gentlemen of your household, and even of your family, at the Roman catholic association. I could not but feel, that such attendance must expose your government to misconstruction. But I was silent, because it is painful to notice such

things; but I have always felt, that if these impressions on the king's mind should remain (and I must say that recent transactions have given fresh cause for them), I could not avoid mentioning them to you in a private communication, and to let you know the embarrassment which they occasion.' In a still earlier communication, dated the 28th of September, the duke of Wellington told the lord-lieutenant that the catholic question was 'a subject of which the king never hears or speaks without being disturbed.' Of the reluctance with which his majesty, therefore, was brought at length to consent to the introduction of the bill, no doubt could be entertained. The duke of Wellington admitted, that his efforts to obtain that consent had been continued during the summer and autumn; and it was pleaded, as the excuse for the short notice, on which the measure was proposed, that that consent had been wrung from the king only a few days before parliament met in February. His majesty's resistance, therefore, had been long and firm. It was not wonderful that he should at last have yielded to the representations daily urged by those in whom he most confided: that a continued refusal could have no other effect, than to keep one part of his empire in misery, and expose the whole to rebellion—it might be to dismemberment."\*

The feelings of the marquis of Anglesey were much hurt by his recall, on account of the part he had taken in favouring agitation in Ireland; nor was the wound so inflicted by the duke healed, when it was made known that his grace was to become the advocate of that catholic emancipation which the noble marquis had maintained, was necessary for the well-being of Ireland. His impression was, that the duke wished to have all the glory of the measure to himself, and removed him, that, as lord-lieutenant, he might not share the triumph of the cause. On the 5th of May, his lordship brought the whole subject before the house of lords, and on moving for certain papers, went into a long statement of what had taken place. He read to their lordships the letters which had passed between the duke and himself, till his lordship was informed, that his conduct was deemed inconsistent with his duty, and the king was in consequence pleased to relieve him from his vice-regal duties. It is not necessary here to discuss the degree of praise or censure which might be due to the

\* *Annual Register.*

gallant marquis for the view he took of this important question, or for the steps he took in consequence of such view; but there can hardly be a difference of opinion on this point—that the duke judged right when he came to the conclusion, that "he and the marquis could no longer go on as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and prime-minister of England, with advantage to the country." The duke, in the house of lords, very fully replied to all that was advanced by the noble marquis, and concluded with the following statement of the circumstances connected with his dismissal, which was determined by other facts than the writing and sending an objectionable letter to Dr. Curtis, which had been particularly noticed. The question having been first submitted to his colleagues, his lordship was informed by Mr. Peel, that he would be relieved from his government, but it was intended he should be relieved in a manner agreeable to himself; and till that could be effected, he was not to be recalled. The marquis replied, that he was dutifully disposed to await the time, manner, and circumstances under which it might be his majesty's pleasure to relieve him from his duties. The duke proceeded:—"My communication was dated the 28th of December: the noble marquis's reply was dated the 30th. In the meantime, however, I received a letter from Dr. Curtis, dated the 4th of December, to which I wrote an answer on the 11th, which the doctor thought proper to publish. I know it is said, the letter, to which mine is called the reply, was never written. My answer is, that I shall not follow the example of the doctor, by making that letter public: publish it I will not; but if any noble lord wishes to inspect that letter here, it is on the table for his perusal. On the 1st of January appeared the letter of the noble marquis to Dr. Curtis, being, as it seemed, a running comment on that letter which I had addressed to the same person on the 11th of December. The noble marquis says, that his letter was written on the 23rd, and that it was on the morning of that day my letter was first shown to him, in his official capacity of lord-lieutenant. It seems, however, a most extraordinary circumstance, that, on the morning when the letter was thus shown, it was also published in all the Dublin papers. This is, certainly, a most extraordinary circumstance; and the first thing I remark upon it, with respect to myself, is, that the noble lord there asserts, that he did not

know what I thought on the catholic question. Another remarkable circumstance in that letter is, that the noble lord observes on my feeling of the necessity of tranquillity in Ireland, previous to any further parliamentary discussion of the question. In answer to this observation, I beg to refer your lordships to a letter, written by the noble lord in the month of July previous, and which I wish he had read over attentively before he made the observation contained in his letter to Dr. Curtis. The letter goes to show, that the noble lord did not, at that time, object to that part of the subject; for in it he says—"If I should fortunately be enabled to keep this country in a quiet state, and if the association should cease, I sincerely conjure you, to suggest that it is the interest of the country to take the state of Ireland into consideration in the first week of the next session of parliament. I hold it my duty thus to explain myself." From this extract, your lordships will see that it is quite clear, that the opinion of the necessity of tranquillity is not mine, but was that of the noble lord himself. It was he that, at that period, judged it was necessary that tranquillity should come, before the catholic claims were conceded."

His grace proceeded—"But this is not the only point to which I have to call your lordships' attention. The noble lord has told the house, that he wrote the letter to Dr. Curtis confidentially, and that it was published afterwards with a view to put the country in a state of tranquillity. But let me ask, was it calculated to produce any such tranquillity? I will tell your lordships what Mr. O'Connell said on the subject. The words of Mr. O'Connell were—"The marquis of Anglesey recommends that all constitutional, in contradistinction to merely legal means, should be resorted to, to forward the cause: that is the only part of his letter which we are inclined to disobey; for though the measures may be unconstitutional, if they are against the law, we ought not to adopt them." So that it appears, the noble lord, by way of tranquillising Ireland, publishes advice to these agitators, which even they will not follow, because they think it too strong a measure to adopt. But the noble lord says, that the tenor of this letter is misunderstood; and that, although there is the word 'agitate' in it, it does not mean agitation." [The marquis of Anglesey here stated it was his impression that the word "agitate" was not used in the letter at all.]

The duke of Wellington, resuming, said—"The word 'agitate' certainly appears here:—"I fear that advantages might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent re-action; and by proclaiming, that if the government at once and peremptorily decided against concession, the catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-acted." Now, with respect to agitation, it certainly does appear that the letter contains not only advice to persevere in that course, but even goes on to show, by what means agitation may be made most effectual; for the word is not only mentioned incidentally in the letter, but the noble lord refers back to the past history of Ireland. And what is it that we understand by agitation? Why, if I may at all judge of its meaning by experience, it means something just short of rebellion—and that is all: it means a state of things in which the government of the country becomes absolutely impracticable, and where everything is bordering close upon irremediable confusion. Let me ask, whether that is the condition in which the noble lord contemplated leading the people of Ireland? Let me, also, beg your lordships to remember, that when the noble lord wrote thus, he was still in his majesty's service: let me beg the noble lord himself to look at the instructions he received when he assumed those functions—to look, also, at the sense of duty which he entertained during the whole period of his continuing in office. The noble lord began his government of Ireland by entering into discussion with the king's servants here, respecting the point of whether or not he should follow up the step he had taken, by an application to parliament to revive the laws that had reference to the disabilities of the Roman catholics. After this, the noble lord had received directions to consider (in conjunction with the law-officers of the crown) of the practicability of putting down the catholic association by means of the law, either through the medium of the common law, or of a specific act of parliament. The noble lord did consider that point; and I need not tell your lordships, that it was with a view to putting an end to agitation that the direction was given. Now let me ask, whether the noble lord's letter to Dr. Curtis corresponded in spirit with these previous steps? The next step adopted by his majesty's government was, to give directions for the proclamation of the 1st of October,

in consequence of the representations made to the ministry. Again, I ask the noble lord, whether agitation was consistent with the spirit of that proclamation? I ask, whether agitation was really consistent with his previous efforts? After that, the noble lord gave directions for the arrest of Mr. Lawless. These circumstances will serve to show your lordships the whole tenor of the noble lord's correspondence, from which I might read much more copiously, but that I have already occupied too much of the time of the house. Those extracts, should I read them, would all go to show that the noble lord, at the commencement of his government of Ireland, was fully sensible that the evil of that country was the agitation carried into effect by the catholic association. It was evidently impossible, after the letter which the noble lord addressed to Dr. Curtis, not to withdraw him from the government of Ireland; and I must say, that however painful—and certainly I never felt more pain at anything, than at the adoption of that step—however painful it was to me to form such a resolution, I should not have done my duty by his majesty or by the country, if I had opposed myself to the withdrawal of the noble lord from the government of Ireland."

The motion—which was but a matter of form—was negatived.

It was the lot of Wellington to witness many extraordinary changes in the course of his public career. The great alteration in the constitution, to which he so largely contributed, caused strange varieties to appear. While old friends stood coolly aloof, doubtful whether to lament imbecility, or condemn apostasy, those whose business it had been to traduce and lampoon him for many years, united to do him honour. On the 6th of May, a great meeting was held at the London-tavern, for the purpose of considering "the best means of raising a sufficient fund, by voluntary subscription, to erect a statue, in or near Dublin, of his grace the duke of Wellington, commemorative of the most glorious of his public services—the introduction and passing of the Roman catholic relief bill." Among those who attended on this occasion were the duke of Leinster, earl Fitzwilliam, the marquis of Downshire, earl of Darneley, the earl of Beective, the earl of Cork, lord Shannon, lord Stourton, lord Clifford, lord Dunally, lord Stafford, lord Gosford, lieutenant-general Thornton, the Knight of Kerry, sir C.

Coote, bart., M.P., the honourable George Agar Ellis, the honourable Mr. Jerningham, the honourable F. Ponsonby, the Rev. Mr. Courtney, the Rev. Mr. Wade, the Rev. Mr. Keating, Thomas Moore, Esq., James Grattan, Esq., Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, O'Gorman Mahon, Steele, Henry Hunt, and C. Phillips. The earl of Fitzwilliam presided, and a series of resolutions were proposed—laudatory of the duke, of course—in furtherance of the object of the meeting, and adopted. They were introduced with appropriate speeches by lord Stourton, the marquis of Downshire, lord Killen, lord Clifford, the earl of Beective, and Messrs. O'Connell, Lawless, O'Gorman, and others. Mr. Thomas Moore, the poet, was among the speakers. He said—"The resolution which had been allotted to him expressed how much the great cause of religious freedom owed to the living and the dead. It was to the dead that he should first call their attention: there was, he believed, a superstitious notion among the ancients, that, in their battles, the shades of the dead stood beside them in the ranks, and helped to achieve their triumphs. Certainly it had been so in this great combat: in it the great and eloquent dead, still living in the words of wisdom they had left behind them, were present with their mighty aid, and the conquerors fought under the shadow of their shields. It was pleasant to look back upon past proceedings: still the pleasure was mingled with a degree of astonishment at the strange shifting of the political scene which had brought him malcontent—Irishman—to appear there as the eulogist of a prime minister of Great Britain; and a voter for a statue. All knew the story of the doge of Genoa, who, being asked what it was that most astonished him at Versailles, replied—'Nothing half so much as to find himself there.' Such, in part, might be our own feeling at the position we occupied; but between the feeling of the doge and ours there was this difference—that his was an uneasy and uncomfortable feeling, which dictated the famous answer; while ours is one of satisfaction and gratitude. The doge was astonished to find himself (who had been hitherto independent) at the feet of a haughty master: we, heretofore enslaved and degraded, are surprised at discovering ourselves in the arms of liberators and friends. The day of argument on this subject was gone by—the trite prosing of persecution—the tautology

of intolerance, which made the necessity of listening to and answering our antagonists not the least of our penal grievances: luckily, these were all gone by; and no longer was the land divided by two theological factions, which, raking back the dust of past ages, industriously employed themselves in discovering therein causes of polemical contention, like the Greeks of the lower empire, who, when the enemy was at the gates, were busily engaged in discussing the light on Mount Tabor. Pope said, there was every chance that he would never be worth a groat, for he was born a papist and a poet. Now, gentlemen, this saying of Pope, with the simple alteration of poet to poetaster, will be exactly applicable to me. But I add a third office to the catalogue—and, so far, I have the advantage of Pope—I claim to be a prophet also. Many years ago, after the great victories of the illustrious duke, I followed up the conqueror's renown with that sort of penny-trumpet eulogium which a small poet—in all respects small—could contribute. I afterwards regretted that praise, and became for the time an example of the truth of an assertion of Dr. Johnson—that poets are generally in too great a hurry: but I now blush no longer at it; since the duke of Wellington is not only the conqueror of other lands, but the pacificator of his own. I congratulate you upon this event, and also that it has been attended with no bad consequences (in spite of all auguries to the contrary.) But I am wrong. Addison makes his tory fox-hunter say,

'there has been no good weather since the revolution.' In that respect we, also, have cause of complaint since the passing of the relief-bill; but it is the only one. The resolution says—'We must ever bear in mind how much the great cause of religious freedom owes to the many illustrious persons, both living and dead, who have lent their powerful aid to its advancement.' This included many individuals whom it was not the object of to-day's meeting more particularly to commemorate. We had to think, however, not only of the illustrious dead, who welcomed the spirit of civil and religious liberty at a time when but very few welcomed it—like the nymph, whom few would praise, and still fewer love: to them, first, were we to direct our attention; next, to the efforts of that great political party, which could have no more illustrious representative than the venerable nobleman now presiding. We ought never to forget those distinguished persons who, by the toil of years—by the sacrifice of popularity—by abandoning power and place in their consistent support of this question—brought the cause to the situation in which the duke of Wellington found it. Next to the noble duke—that great and admirable man—thanks were due to his no less admirable colleague, Mr. Peel, who, in his sacrifice of self, and by abandoning preconceived opinions, had shown his superiority to narrow prejudices, achieved a victory over himself, and afforded an instance of rare moral courage and high-mindedness in our days.'

## CHAPTER XVI.

MOTION FOR AN INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE SILK-TRADE; DISTURBANCES IN SPITALFIELDS AND OTHER PLACES; BILL TO IMPROVE THE POLICE OF THE METROPOLIS; THE BUDGET; MR. O'CONNELL CLAIMS A SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; STATE OF PORTUGAL; MOTION RESPECTING IT; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT; POLICY OF RUSSIA.

VARIOUS branches of the industry of the country suffered at this period very seriously. The silk-trade had greatly declined, and the weavers of the metropolis, especially those located in Spitalfields, Bethnal-green, and their vicinities, were most loud in their complaints, and violent in their proceedings. A motion for a committee to inquire into the

state of the silk-trade was made by Mr. Fyler, on the 13th of April. The proposed inquiry was not to be confined to ascertaining its present state, but was to extend to the causes of its decline. That it had declined, and that those who depended on it for subsistence were in great distress, were facts which could not be denied; and its origin



was said to be identified with certain recent changes in the commercial system of the country. The weavers in Coventry suffered in common with the weavers of London; and the number out of employment in that town was stated to have been increased by five hundred, since the middle of the last month. The total number out of employ reached four thousand two hundred; and in Congleton, twenty-six mills were standing still. The following additional facts were brought forward:—"In 1824, the average rate of wages had been 12s. 8d. per week; in 1828, it declined to 4s. 7d. In Paisley, but one-third of the mills continued working at that period, which were employed in 1824. In that year, the average rate was fifteen shillings; in 1828, it had fallen to 8s. 1½d. There were fifty-two mills employed in March, in 1824; and of these, at the time the subject was pressed on the attention of the house of commons, sixteen were standing idle. At Taunton, fifty were standing still, out of seventy that were working at the former period, and wages had been reduced seventy per cent. In Spitalfields, in 1824-'5, Gros de Naples was paid for at the rate of tenpence a-yard; it had come down to sixpence: lutestring, then paid for at the rate of one shilling, now could obtain no more than sixpence. Other fabrics which, at the former date, commanded 1s. 2d. per yard, were now woven for ninepence. There were seventeen thousand looms working in Spitalfields in 1824-'5. Not more than nine thousand were employed in 1829. Then, the rate of wages averaged seventeen shillings; now, it was not more than nine shillings. For figured and fancy goods, the rate, in 1824, was twenty-two shillings; now, it averaged but fourteen shillings. One-third of the whole manufacture of Spitalfields then consisted of fancy goods; now, only two thousand looms, out of nine thousand, were employed in that way. Like distressing representations were made with respect to the weavers of Dublin: and the inference drawn from all these facts thus collected was, that a great amount of labour had been displaced, and a loss of more than a million of money, in consequence, thrown on the industry of the country. The English mills, in many parts of the country, were at present idle; their working-hands reduced to miserable want; while the masters became importers instead of manufacturers."

Such were the grounds on which the mo-

tion rested. It was resisted, on the part of ministers, as pointing, which it certainly did, to a return to the prohibitory system, which it was their determination not to restore, from a conviction, that to take such a course would be to increase the existing evil. Were the restrictions on monopoly restored, it was argued, all the probabilities were, that monopoly prices being revived, consumption would decline; and one consequence of that would be, the total ruin of the establishments which had grown up since, and because, prohibition was at an end. They held, that one of the main causes of the distress complained of, which was felt in France as well as in England, was overproduction, together with overtrading. That was proved by many circumstances: by the immense increase of the quantity of raw silk imported; by the high prices at which, owing to the competition of throwsters, the raw silks had been purchased at the East India-house, at the end of January; the number of new mills and works which had been established since 1823; and the distress experienced simultaneously in France;—all proved the causes of the evil were those which have been named. The change of system dated from the commencement of 1824; and in the five years which had since elapsed, the importation of raw and thrown silk had been eighteen million five hundred and eighty-four thousand two hundred and thirteen pounds. In the five preceding years, it was ten million nine hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and forty-six pounds; making a difference of seven million six hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and sixty-seven pounds in favour of the latter period; and long before 1824, a silk-trade was rising up in the provinces, which began to be severely felt in Spitalfields. It was then contended, that if the consumption were to be contracted, in the degree to which it would be on a return to the former system, the looms of the metropolis could not be kept at work, in opposition to the new establishments set up in the country. It was judged likely that changes of fashion, more than overproduction, had formerly caused distress to be felt in the trade, and to Spitalfields, those seasons must become more and more disastrous, in proportion as competition in the country had become more extensive. In former times, it was not possible to force a trade by low prices: cheapness was not regarded as important by the regular consumers; and the greatest degree

of cheapness which could then be reached, was not such as to bring in a new class of customers. If the manufacturers in England were distressed by French imports, the French manufacturers would be in a flourishing state; but the reverse of this was the fact. The French manufacturers were convinced, by fatal experience, that they could not undersell the British manufacturer, and this had thrown many thousands of hands out of work in France. In certain considerable towns, there had been a great increase of manufacturing establishments, where, previously to 1824, the number of spindles employed was seven hundred and eighty thousand: in 1829, the number was one million one hundred and eighty thousand; showing an increase of four hundred thousand. It, therefore, resulted, that admitting, previous to 1824, all, without exception, had been employed, the number returned, in 1829, as unemployed being three hundred thousand, served to show that there was no diminution of employment as compared with 1824.

These arguments prevailed. The motion of Mr. Fyler, after a debate, continued through two nights, was negatived, and resolutions were moved, by the president of the board of trade, which went to abate the duty on the importation of raw silk. These were carried, as was a bill founded on them, after being angrily opposed. While the measure was under the consideration of parliament, Bethnal-green and Spitalfields were the scenes of great disorders, which Mr. Peel declared had been created in the vain hope of deterring the legislature from taking that step which the government were satisfied would prove a benefit to the malecontents themselves.

When Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, president of the board of trade, offered his resolutions to the house of commons (the object of which was to reduce the duties on the different species of raw material), it was maintained, on the part of the government, that admitting the principle of drawbacks on manufactured silks, equal in amount to the duty on foreign thrown silk, were all that could be done by government to relieve the trade. If, by the aid of foreign thrown silk, required in the English manufactured article, an export trade could be created, it was obvious that by this the English weavers must be gainers. Mr. Fitzgerald's resolutions were carried, and a bill founded on them was introduced; and, after being warmly opposed, passed into a law.

If the disorders in Spitalfields and other places, to which Mr. Peel adverted, were not very formidable, they were still of a serious character, and marked by a ferocious determination to do mischief. As one specimen of the tactics of the Spitalfields malecontents, the police intelligence of the period shows a woman, named Mary Dove, to have been placed at the bar of Worship-street office, charged with conniving at the destruction of two hundred yards of rich puce-coloured silk, belonging to her employers. The foreman of the establishment stated, that the prisoner had that morning informed him, that the cutters had entered her house by force, and destroyed the work entrusted to her care. The woman said, in answer to the charge, that she was a widow: that she and her family, consisting of a son and daughter, retired to bed about half-past ten o'clock on the preceding night, and at about twelve she was awoke by a loud knocking at the window-shutter, when she asked, "Who's there?" Some person outside, replied, "A friend." She rejoined, "I won't let any friend in now:" whereupon, the same voice said, "For God's sake open the door, for my wife is just taken in labour." She got out of bed, and opened the door, and, that moment, in rushed three fellows, who swore if she made the least noise, they would kill her. She was very much alarmed, and they told her not to be afraid: if she was quiet, they would not hurt her. They then destroyed the silk by cutting it with a razor. She added, she knew none of the men of the gang; so she could not recognise any one of them. The magistrate inquired, if her son had come to her assistance. Her reply was, that the invaders of her dwelling threatened, that instant death should requite any interference on his part. The magistrate doubted the truth of this story; but there was no evidence on which she could be detained. The whole affair was believed to be a concerted outrage. She was dismissed with a caution; and the following hand-bill was posted about the neighbourhood:—"Public-office, Worship-street, May 8th, 1829.—Whereas, several persons, suspected to be journeymen weavers, have, for several nights past, feloniously cut and destroyed silk in the looms: the magistrates of this office hereby warn them of the dangerous consequences of such conduct; and assure those who have committed, or connived at these offences, they will leave no

exertions untried, either now or hereafter, to bring the offenders to justice; and further apprise them, that if they should be convicted under the statute 22 George III., cap. 40, sec. 2, they will be subject to the penalty of death: or, if convicted under the statute of 7 and 8 George IV., they will be liable to be transported for life, or not less than seven years, or to be (if a male) once, twice, or thrice publicly whipped.

At Manchester, delegates were chosen and resolutions were passed, declaring, that "nothing short of the prices paid for weaving in 1824, would be satisfactory." The masters consented to return to those prices, but expressed a fear that the arrangement could not be permanent. That they should so far have given way, was regarded by the workmen as a matter of great rejoicing. At Rochdale, there were dangerous riots. A mob attacked the factory of a Mr. Chadwick. That gentleman, expecting an attack, had barricaded the doors of his mill with large bales of wool. The assailants, finding the doors fast, entered through the windows—abused all the persons employed in the establishment, including joiners, millwrights, and labourers, all of whom they drove into the street with their coats turned inside out. Even the children did not escape their vengeance. Some of these they threw from the windows into the street; others they carried out by the hair of the head. A young man who remonstrated with the chief actors in this barbarous proceeding, they threatened to throw into the river which runs close by. They shamefully attacked an old man about seventy years of age, whom they struck several times with a crowbar. Detachments of troops arrived from Stockport, Oldham, and Manchester. A troop of the king's dragoon guards had been dispatched by colonel Shaw from Manchester. They immediately proceeded, headed by the magistrate, to the rendezvous of the rioters at Cronkey Moor, whom they completely surrounded, and apprehended five of the most active. Other parties were subsequently captured; and twenty-three persons, in all, were brought before the magistrates, of whom, sixteen were committed to Lancaster castle, for trial at the assizes. At the close of the examination, the prisoners were placed under an escort of about forty of the 1st dragoon guards, and conveyed back to the lock-ups, where they were lodged under the protection of five soldiers of the 67th foot. When the dragoons had retired,

a mob collected round the lock-ups, and began to throw stones at the soldiers. There were among the crowd a number of women, who encouraged them to this outrage. One of the soldiers being struck on the head with a stone, by which he was severely cut, his comrades fired several blank cartridges over the heads of the excited frantic rioters, for the purpose of intimidating them. While this was going forward, a reinforcement of a sergeant and six soldiers arrived, making a force of twelve men. The rioters continuing to throw stones, the soldiers loaded their muskets with ball, and again fired over the heads of the people. By this discharge, a boy, about six years old, who was standing at a window in the top storey of his father's mill, at some distance from the lock-ups, was unfortunately shot. He lingered a day or two, and then died. As the mob kept still rushing on, throwing stones, and expressing a determination to rescue the prisoners, the soldiers again loaded, and were compelled, in their own defence, and for the protection of the prisoners, to continue firing amongst the crowd, until they had discharged eighty-five shots. Several persons were killed on the spot. One man, named Abraham Taylor, was killed in the act of throwing stones, and after his death, a stone was found in each of his hands. A party of dragoons, hearing the discharge of musketry, hastened forward, and having made a charge upon the people, soon dispersed them. The remainder of the foot-soldiers in the town came to the assistance of their comrades, and charged the mob with the bayonet. Besides those who were killed, there were about twenty-five persons wounded, some with ball, and others with sabre and bayonet wounds.

Notwithstanding the melancholy scenes to which the prevailing excitement gave rise, it will be seen, from the reasoning opposed to Mr. Fyler's motion, and the important facts stated, that it was impossible to comply with the demands of the poor men, whose distress could not be doubted, though they were in error as to the causes by which it had been produced. To unsettle the commercial policy of the country, under the circumstances of the time, must have led to fatal consequences; but this was not acknowledged by the sufferers; and the duke and his colleagues were subjected to bitter reproaches in the localities which have been named. If, in relation to literature, "a little learning is a dangerous thing," as-

surely it is not less so in connexion with politics. Men in humble life, on the information which reaches them, have no doubt as to the course which a wise government should pursue; but were they possessed of that which is furnished to those entrusted with the management of public affairs, they would, in most cases, know embarrassments which never crossed their minds before. That this must necessarily be the case, is obvious—

“For just experience tells, on every soil,  
That those who think, must govern those who toil.”

Great was the alarm expressed by the weavers, and others connected with the silk-trade, at the decision pronounced by the legislature. While this prevailed, an application was made to the government to provide means for enabling the sufferers to emigrate. A letter, addressed to the duke on this subject, from a Mr. Brutton, was thus answered:—

“London, July 9th, 1829.

“Sir,—I have had the honour of receiving your letter, and a memorial signed by a committee of the unemployed weavers in this city, the object of both of which is to require me to find money to pay the expense of the emigration, to New South Wales, of four thousand silk-weavers. I don't know whether you or the gentlemen of the committee have estimated the expense of such emigration; but I can assure you that I have it not in my power to advance, from the public funds, any sum which could be considered as at all adequate for such a purpose, even for a small proportion of the number, upon the most reduced estimate that has ever been formed. I lament that the weavers continue to feel distress: I attribute that distress to causes over which the government have no control, and which you so feelingly lament.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.

“Robert Brutton, Esq.”

The late inquiries into the state of the police proved that some change had become indispensable to the well-being of the metropolis. It was shown to be necessary by Mr. Peel, on moving for leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of the police, as it appeared, from returns before the house, that the state of crime in the metropolis, as compared with Wales, was very unfavourable for the former. Calculating the number

that criminals in London and Middlesex bore to the population, they would find that not less than one person in every three hundred and eighty-three had been committed, for some crime or other, in the year 1828. If, in the same manner, they determined the ratio between the number of persons similarly committed in England and Wales, the proportion would be found to be one criminal to every eight hundred and twenty-two of the entire population. Crime had, of late, been on the increase. In 1821, the number of persons committed, in London and Middlesex, was two thousand four hundred and eighty; the population being one million one hundred and sixty-seven thousand. In 1828, he regretted to say, the committals for crime amounted to three thousand five hundred and sixty. There was no official returns of the population up to that date; but assuming it was in a corresponding ratio to other periods, the number of individuals, in London and Middlesex, would be one million three hundred and forty-nine thousand in the year. The result, therefore, of a comparison between the ratio of increase of population and the ratio of increase of crime in the metropolis, showed that the former was not in proportion to, and could not account for, the great increase in the latter; for there was an increase of forty-one per cent. in the number of committals; while there was only an increase in the population of fifteen and-a-half per cent.

In the course of the able speech Mr. Peel made on this subject, he showed that, while there was so startling an increase of crime in the metropolis, there was, generally, a diminution in the committals throughout the country. In Lancashire, in the last year, there had been but four hundred and forty-eight commitments; in 1827, there were no fewer than two thousand four hundred and fifty-seven. He proposed to unite under one head all parochial police authority, including, of course, night-watchmen; the whole to be under a board of police, whose duty it would be to superintend and be responsible for all the agents required by the police. He would abandon the term watchmen, and speak of their substitutes as a species of nightly patrol; and the bill which had been prepared he would propose to refer to the police committee of last year, for the completion of its details, that committee to be re-appointed for that purpose.

The budget was submitted to the house of commons on the 8th of May, when it ap-

peared that the revenue—which the chancellor of the exchequer had estimated last year at fifty-three million nine hundred thousand pounds, while the expenditure was taken at fifty million one hundred thousand pounds, giving about three million eight hundred thousand pounds applicable to the reduction of the public debt—had exceeded all he had hoped to realise: The actual income of the year 1828 had reached fifty-five million one hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds; while the expenditure was not more than forty-nine million three hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds; giving a total surplus of five million eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, instead of three million seven hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds, on which he had reckoned. With the exception of about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, that increase had arisen from those two great branches of the revenue—the customs and excise. The former had been estimated at seventeen million six hundred thousand pounds; but the amount produced was only seventeen million two hundred thousand pounds—an apparent diminution arising from the tea-duty, in Ireland, being transferred from the Irish customs to the English excise. The estimate of the customs was reduced eight hundred thousand pounds by the loss of that duty; while, in the excise, there was a counteracting increase of six hundred thousand pounds, and it had actually exceeded seven hundred thousand pounds. The excise—estimated at nineteen million two hundred thousand pounds—had reached twenty million seven hundred and fifty-nine thousand pounds. The tea-duty deducted, the amount would be twenty million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, giving an excess of one million pounds above its anticipated produce. He anticipated the revenue of the present year would be fifty-one million three hundred and forty-seven thousand pounds. The expenditure, he showed, would be forty-eight million three hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and ninety-three pounds, which, deducted from the former sum, gave an excess of three million thirteen thousand four hundred and seven pounds. The finance-committee having recommended that a clear sum of three million pounds should always be applied to the redemption of the national debt, it was not proper to abate any of the existing burthens of the country. In making these statements, on which he wished the house

to form their own opinion, he should not do justice to his own feelings, Mr. Peel said, if he did not take the opportunity of saying, that whatever might be the temporary difficulties of the country, he saw nothing to lead to any doubt as to the extent of the means and the resources of the country; on the contrary, when the cloud which had lowered over it should pass away—and pass away he was confident it would, at an early period—the country would present a picture of prosperity, happiness, and wealth, such as had scarcely been equalled at any former period.

Mr. O'Connell's pledge—if returned for the county of Clare, that he would repair to Westminster for the purpose of taking his seat—was now to be redeemed. On the 15th of May, he made it known that it was his determination to claim a place in the house of commons. On that day, immediately after prayers had been read, the speaker, in the usual way, desired, if there were any member to be sworn, that he would come to the table, that the oaths might be administered. All the members then rose in expectation of a scene; and a few minutes afterwards, Mr. O'Connell was introduced by lords Ebrington and Duncannon. The clerk tendered the oath which had been repealed by the late act, but which act was in force at the time of Mr. O'Connell's election. He declined taking it, as it was no longer required by law. Mr. O'Connell conversed for a few seconds, in an undertone, with the principal clerk of the house, and the latter communicated the substance of what passed to the speaker. The speaker then said—"It is my duty to state to the house, that the course the honourable member at the table intends to pursue cannot be permitted; and I must consider I am right, unless corrected by the authority of the house. The honourable gentleman claims to be admitted to take his seat under the authority of a recent act of parliament. If I properly understand that act, it repeals the oath of transubstantiation, and appoints an oath to be taken by all Roman catholics, in lieu of the oaths of abjuration and supremacy, but with this condition, that the honourable member thus applying, must be returned after the passing of that act. Now, the honourable gentleman at the table was returned long before the passing of that act, and, therefore, it cannot apply to any person circumstanced as he is. I think I have put the proper construction upon that act.

It is, therefore, necessary for the honourable gentleman to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before the lords of the privy council, and those in conjunction with the oath of abjuration here, the same as all other members, before he can take his seat. I feel it my duty to state that the honourable gentleman must now withdraw. If I am wrong in my judgment, there is an appeal open by petition."

Mr. O'Connell had not obeyed the mandate of the speaker; when Mr. Brougham rose to speak, but was immediately pronounced by the speaker to be out of order. Upon this, Mr. O'Connell left the table, and Mr. Brougham proceeded to say, he considered the speaker in error when he came to the conclusion that the honourable member for Clare, according to the usage of parliament, had not a right to be heard. The first difficulty in the case did not present itself until the honourable member for Clare was ordered to withdraw; and then he (Mr. Brougham) endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was called to order by the chair, until the honourable member had withdrawn. What he wished to contend for was, the right of the honourable member for Clare to be heard in his place, or—as he had, perhaps, no place—at the table of the house, without taking the oaths, in order to state his objections to taking them. There were two or three precedents directly in point; and these he particularly described, contending that, as in those cases members had been heard by the house, Mr. O'Connell might be permitted to speak before any further proceedings took place. He then moved that the member for Clare be recalled, and heard at the bar of the house.—Mr. secretary Peel said, he could not entertain a doubt but that the honourable and learned gentleman was not entitled to be heard on the question; because, in that case, every man who was returned to that house, had an equal right to state his objections to taking the oaths.—It was, however, apparent that the house was disposed to hear Mr. O'Connell; but as a question arose, whether he should be heard at the bar or at the table, the debate was adjourned to the 18th, when it was decided that he should be heard at the bar. Mr. O'Connell being called in, after briefly apologising for his ignorance of the forms of that house, proceeded to state the grounds upon which he claimed to sit and vote, as the member for Clare. He reviewed the various enactments

respecting Roman catholics, from the 30th of Charles II. down to the passing of the relief bill. He contended that, although the act of union with Ireland prescribed certain oaths, yet the obligations of that act were done away with by the relief bill. He had, he said, already taken two oaths, which were all that the statute required; and he could not, therefore, be denied a participation in the privilege which that bill conferred on persons of every religious denomination: the bill was for protestants, dissenters, catholics—all, all—and not for catholics alone. The only statute that could exclude a person in his situation from a seat in that house—he meant the statute of Charles II.—was not now in force. He asked the house to allow him to take the new oaths at his own peril—he was ready to do so. If they did not, what then was to become of him? Was he to remain the representative for Clare, the house not allowing him to come in, and being unable to turn him out? He claimed to sit and vote in that character as a civil right; and he implored the house to consider what it was they were about to do, if they resisted his claim—to look at the consequence of their declaring that civil right was not civil right.

The speech which Mr. O'Connell made on this occasion astonished some of his hearers, by its mild and conciliatory tone, as well as by the force of the arguments he employed. A debate followed on the question, whether or not he could be allowed to take his seat? By some of the legal authorities of the house, it was argued, that as there was a doubt on the subject, Mr. O'Connell ought to have the benefit of that doubt, and be admitted, on taking the oath required by the new law. This doctrine, which, in the case of a prisoner charged with a capital offence, could not be questioned, was deemed less applicable to a gentleman elected to sit in the English house of commons; and the solicitor-general submitted to the house a motion, which ran thus:—"It is the opinion of this house, that Mr. O'Connell having been returned as a member to this house before the commencement of the act passed in the present session, for the relief of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, is not entitled to sit or vote in this house, unless he first take the oath of supremacy." A long debate ensued, and the result was unfavourable to Mr. O'Connell's pretensions. On a division, a majority declared for his exclusion;

the numbers being, one hundred and ninety to one hundred and sixteen. The next day he appeared at the bar of the house, when he was asked, if he was prepared to take the oath of supremacy? He desired to see the oath; and having perused it, remarked that it contained one assertion, as to a matter of fact, which he knew was not true; and he also remarked in it an assertion as to a matter of opinion, which he believed to be untrue; and, therefore, he must refuse to take it. A question was next raised, whether a writ should issue for a new election, or an act be passed for the relief of Mr. O'Connell, to avoid the excitement of a new election? The final decision of the house was in favour of the former course.

The state of Portugal continued to be anything but satisfactory. That the friends of Don Pedro were active in stirring up discontent, and in spreading disaffection far and wide, admits of no question; and hence it may be conceded, that the situation of Don Miguel was one of great difficulty. But this admitted, the course he thought fit to take, was as remote from good policy, as it was repugnant to humanity.

When the insurrection at Oporto had been suppressed by his troops, he used the late outbreak as an instrument to ruin or destroy all who were supposed to be favourable to Donna Maria, however forbearing their conduct might have been. Many individuals, who were anonymously accused, were arrested and committed to the dungeons of Limaro, or shut up in the castle of St. Julian. This hateful tyranny was felt by all classes. The judges, before whom the Oporto insurgents were tried, sentenced many of the prisoners to banishment. Miguel, not satisfied with this, on his own authority, punished them capitally. "The prisons were crowded, and the parties so incarcerated, were subjected to great severities. There were among the captives, persons of affluence, who gave from their means to relieve their humbler fellow-sufferers. With an extraordinary refinement in cruelty, the satellites of Miguel caused the richer prisoners to be withdrawn, that their unfortunate neighbours might not have the rigour of their destiny mitigated by their means. They were denied all communication with their families, but not brought to trial. Many of them sunk beneath the cruelties to which they were exposed; and, in some cases, it was reported that poison had been administered. The rage of the oppressor

seemed to urge him almost to madness. Neither age nor sex found favour in his sight, or mercy at his hands; and among his prisoners, a little boy, but five years of age, is mentioned, who was detained several days in solitary confinement, with a view of frightening the child into giving evidence against his father and mother. There was in Lisbon a refugee Spanish bishop, who had been a member of the cortes in 1812. He had latterly lived in obscurity in Portugal, but was now cast into the cells of St. Julian, where the ill-treatment he experienced from Telles Jordao, the governor of the place, a wretch described to have been a savage monster, terminated his existence in the course of a few days. The queen-mother was believed to prompt and abet the violence of her son. She was the elder sister of Ferdinand VII.; a woman of good capacity, but endowed with little of the gentleness of her sex. The priests were charged with encouraging the usurping prince in his dreary career of misgovernment at Oporto and Lisbon. A pamphlet was put forth by a monk, named Jose Agostino, a court preacher, entitled *The Beast Flayed*. In this publication, the importance of exercising a salutary severity was insisted upon. It undertook to prove, that all who had favoured the constitution, 'ought to be hung up by the feet, that the people might be joyfully treated, daily, with fresh meat from the gallows.' The sister of Miguel, who had acted as regent, having made some representations in vindication of her fame, which served to show that she was not the author of the arbitrary proceedings of the usurper, and having, moreover, dispatched a servant to England, as he concluded, to report on his proceedings, raised his wrath so excessively, that he burst into her chamber with a pistol, to which a bayonet was affixed, and attempted to strike the princess. Her chamberlain, the comte de Camarido, interposed, and received the blow. Miguel then fired. The bullet missed the lady, but killed a servant who was in attendance. The domestics hurried the princess away, and saved her from further violence." Such were the facts now published respecting the conduct of Don Miguel.

Towards the end of May, accounts were received of the execution of ten persons, condemned for high treason by a special commission. Senhor Gravito, one of them, was the friend of lord Heytesbury. His

ease, and his melancholy end, were much commented upon. Before leaving his prison, Gravito, addressing the parties there confined, declared, that he and those who were to suffer with him, died for their country—for their lawful sovereign, Donna Maria II., and for having supported that excellent charter which Don Pedro had given to Portugal, as the only means of remedying the many evils it had endured. He recommended to his hearers perseverance in the same good cause; adding, that although many more might, and no doubt would, fall in the struggle, yet liberty would conquer in the end. On the steps of the scaffold, he again addressed the comparatively few persons who were looking on—and few they were—when he was launched into eternity. The rope by which he was suspended broke, and he fell to the ground before life was extinct. Recovering his senses, he began to utter some indistinct expressions of inquiry after the fate of his friends. The executioner rushed up to him with fury; and, uttering horrid imprecations against him for being yet alive, proceeded to finish the work of butchery by cutting off his head.

The dismal reports of Miguel's severities were the subject of much indignant criticism in England; and many were of opinion, that the British government, which had so greatly exerted itself to save Portugal from being oppressed by a foreign power, ought now to interfere in order to snatch her from the grasp of an odious usurper. On the 1st of June, sir James Mackintosh brought the subject forward in the house of commons. He spoke of Portugal "as a country connected with Great Britain by an alliance originating four hundred and fifty years ago, keeping up a connection unparalleled in the history of mankind; being scarcely interrupted by clouds of enmity for a single day;—a country bound by the strictest treaty of alliance and guarantee with England for one hundred and twenty years, which had never in that time drawn her into a war, nor even exposed her to the risk of one; but had been thrice invaded for her steadfast fidelity to this country—in 1761, 1801, and 1807; in the last of which years she had endured a severe and rapacious conquest;—that country," he said, "is now under the yoke of an usurper—of one who has made his way to the throne by a series of falsehoods, perjuries, and frauds, which, in any one amenable to

law, would have subjected him to the most disgraceful, if not the most extreme punishment—a man, against whom lies the imputation of private crimes, unconfuted and almost uncontradicted—who reminds us rather of Commodus and Caracalla, than of the mediocrity of modern vice, or, perhaps, of modern virtue—and who still bears upon his brow the pardon of his king and his father for a parricidal rebellion. The king has twice told parliament from the throne, though in milder language, that he had been obliged to cut off all diplomatic intercourse with this ancient and renowned member of the Christian family for the last twelve months. This was a thing without example between two states which were not at war; and was the strongest and most decisive proof that Miguel's conduct had been displeasing in the highest quarters. Europe had sat in judgment upon the conduct of that man; and it had decided, that with him who had brought dishonour upon an ancient and respectable kingdom it would hold no intercourse. His majesty and his ministers, with equal propriety and justice, though with doubtful expediency, have recognised the rights befitting and due to her majesty, Donna Maria II. She has been received by the king with all that courtesy which is so characteristic of him, and by the nation with all that sympathy and interest which her youth, innocence, rank, and character inspire."

Notwithstanding this, sir James Mackintosh remarked,—Donna Maria was in England—a queen only in name; and he bitterly complained of the conduct of the English government towards the Portuguese emigrants. "Those brave men," he urged, "had sought protection in this country at a time when there were three ambassadors connected with the house of Braganza in London. There was, first, the marquis of Barbaena, the guardian of Donna Maria, the young queen, and representing the person of Don Pedro, the head of the house of Braganza; the marquis Palmella, in behalf of the Portuguese nation; and viscount Itabayana, the minister of the emperor of the Brazils. How did the government act to each of these? It said—'Marquis Palmella, we cannot recognise you, for Don Pedro has left Portugal; the government is changed, and you are no longer the functionary of an existing government.' To viscount Itabayana it said—'You are the minister of the emperor



of Brazil; we cannot recognise in you any right to interfere in the affairs of Portugal.' And, lastly, to the marquis Barbacena, ministers said—'You are here as the representative of the father of Donna Maria; but we deny that Don Pedro has a right to interfere.' This was what, in the courts of law, would be called sharp practice. The formal acknowledgment of the minor queen, at the same time that she was denied a protector or guardian, was but putting a 'barren sceptre' into her hand." He contended, that under all the treaties from Edward to George III., the people of Portugal had fairly a right to look to Great Britain for military succour. After animadverting on the many and great atrocities of the usurper Miguel, particularly at Oporto, the right honourable gentleman asserted, "that he had given a deliberate defiance to all Europe—holding up, as it were, the bloody heads of his victims to the sovereigns of the nations of Europe, to tell them how he scorned their judgment and defied their power."

Firm to the principle which he had previously declared ought to govern the conduct of England, in her relations with Portugal, the duke of Wellington, while he took no pains to conceal the disgust inspired by the conduct of Don Miguel, would not recognise his enormities as justifying, on the part of this country, interference with the internal affairs of Portugal. Mr. secretary Peel, in reply to sir James Mackintosh, offered the following exposition of the policy of England:—"The state of our relations with Portugal I apprehend to be this—that there exists between England and Portugal a long series of treaties, imposing upon England the obligation of protecting the territorial integrity and independence of Portugal; but, on the other hand, I must deny that there exists in those treaties, either in their letter or spirit—either in their literal construction, from any expressed provision of separate treaties, or in their accumulate construction from the general sense of them—any engagement or obligation, on the part of Great Britain, to guarantee the succession of any particular individual, or to guarantee the existence of any political institutions in Portugal. No claim for such guarantee has ever been preferred in the history of those two countries before the year 1820. In consequence of the unfortunate dissensions which have prevailed in Portugal since the year 1820, frequent appeals have been made to England, by

different parties, either for a guarantee of political institutions, or for an interference with the internal affairs of the country, for the purpose of giving a character to those institutions; but the uniform answer, with respect to every application, given by every minister of England, has been this:—"Our guarantee is for the security of Portugal against foreign invasion: there is no guarantee—no engagement, expressed or implied—of interference with institutions; and the general rule which England lays down, not to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries, applies with undiminished force to this." He said, "this was the line of policy upon which both lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning had acted, and quoted a passage from Mr. Canning's memorable speech on the message from the crown, in support of his assertion. It was no part of his duty to vindicate the conduct of Don Miguel; but he thought the private vices and crimes laid to his charge, were for the consideration of the people of Portugal: if such matters were to be mixed up with the general policy of England, public peace could not long be preserved. The only question now was, as to whether England was called upon to undertake the conquest of Portugal for the sole purpose of asserting the rights of Donna Maria da Gloria? There were only two courses open to us: either to observe a complete neutrality, or to undertake the conquest of Portugal for the young queen. Of what avail would it be to give advice to Don Miguel, without having the power to oblige him to follow it? To threaten him, without having the means of carrying our threats into effect, would be altogether unworthy the dignity of the country. But were England to undertake the conquest of Portugal, she must, from her proximity, become a principal in the war; while Brazil, being at such a distance, could only take a secondary part. He contended, however, that there was nothing in this case to justify the forcing upon a reluctant people a sovereign whom they were not willing to accept. It was sufficient that Don Miguel was king *de facto*; and he did not think it would be either prudent or politic in England to attempt to displace him. With respect to the refusal, on the part of the British government, to permit the Portuguese emigrants to proceed from Portsmouth to Terceira, it would have been inconsistent with the strict neutrality upon which this government had determined to act, if a body of three or four

thousand men were suffered to embark from one of our ports, with hostile intentions, against a nation with whom this country was at peace; and it would have been a violation of existing treaties. That was the answer given by the duke of Wellington on the application of the marquis Palmella and the marquis Barbacena."

The motion for the production of papers, which, on the part of the government, there was no objection to give, was, in fact, merely one of form, to afford an opportunity of commenting on the conduct of Don Miguel, and was, therefore, agreed to.

The prorogation took place on the 24th of June. In the speech delivered by the lords commissioners, the houses were told:—

"His majesty laments that he has not to announce to you the termination of the war in the east of Europe; but his majesty commands you to assure you, that he will continue to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the extension of hostilities, and to promote the restoration of peace.

"It is with satisfaction his majesty informs you, that he has been enabled to renew his diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Porte.

"The ambassadors of his majesty, and of the king of France, are on their return to Constantinople; and the emperor of Russia, having been pleased to authorise the plenipotentiaries of his allies to act on behalf of his imperial majesty, the negotiations for the final pacification of Greece, will be carried on in the name of the three contracting parties to the treaty of London.

"The army of his most Christian majesty has been withdrawn from the Morea, with the exception of a small force destined, for a time, to assist in the establishment of order in a country which has so long been the scene of confusion and anarchy.

"It is with increased regret that his majesty again adverts to the condition of the Portuguese monarchy. But his majesty commands us to repeat his determination to use every effort to reconcile conflicting interests, and to remove the evils which press so heavily upon a country, the prosperity of which must ever be an object of his majesty's solicitude."

Russia prosecuted the war against the Turks with apparent success; but England could no longer rejoice in her triumphs. It soon transpired, that conscious he was playing an artful and a selfish game, the emperor Nicholas was haunted with apprehensions that the British government would

consider they had been made the tools of his all-devouring ambition, to depress the Ottoman power. An article in the *Smyrna Courier* reported that the Russians had some idea that a rupture with England might be expected, and that admiral Heyden deemed it prudent to consult with count Capo D'Istria in what port he could be secure from the hostility of the English. This might be untrue; but the mere rumour, as was remarked at the time, betrayed a strong impression in that quarter, that the politics of England and Russia were decidedly at variance. In the Hamburg papers, able writers described, in glowing terms, the power and means of Russia. It was believed that these representations were prompted by agents of the czar, to awe into acquiescence those who might deem their interests affected by his proceedings. That he felt the bonds of amity, which had lately connected him with England and France, were seriously weakened, and might suddenly fail altogether, was past conjecture. Men were led to review the modern history of Russia; and, doing this, they could not but remark circumstances which justified suspicion of her present designs. It was remembered, that forty years before, the eyes of the empress Catherine were fixed on Finland, as those of Nicholas were believed to be then on the Turkish capital. Gustavus III., when he declared war against his mighty neighbour, in 1788, accused Andrew Razumofsky, the Russian ambassador, of attempting to raise an insurrection in that country, by sowing dissensions among the Swedish nobles, to pave the way for its future conquest by Catherine. The charge was indignantly denied at the time—as the wish to possess Constantinople was at the time this retrospect was entered upon; but it was truly remarked, that what had since occurred (the snatching Finland from the Swedish nation), justified the suspicion of Gustavus. The voluntary restoration of conquered territory by Russia was sarcastically proclaimed "to be a spectacle which, whenever it may be presented, will have for the rest of the world, all the splendid attraction of novelty."

These reflections, which were called forth by the circumstances of the period, would seem more than justified by the following *resumé* of Russian acquisitions. It was estimated, that the territory she had gained from various powers stood thus:—"From

Sweden, there had been wrested as much as equalled the whole remainder of that kingdom; from Poland, that which equalled in extent the Austrian empire; from European Turkey, dominion not less than that of Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces; from Asiatic Turkey, what might be deemed equal to the German small states—Rhenish-Prussia, Holland, and Belgium. The cessions gained from Persia were equal, in extent, to all England; and those from Tartary, to European Turkey, Greece, and Spain! The Russian frontier had advanced towards Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Paris, about seven hundred miles; towards Constantinople, five hundred miles; towards Stockholm, six hundred and thirty miles; and towards Teheran, one thousand miles. When Peter the Great ascended the throne, in 1688, Muscovy contained only sixteen million of inhabitants; its numbers, up to the period of which we are writing, were computed to amount to fifty-six million, the greater part of the increase having been the result of conquest.\*

In the contest the Turks fought bravely, sometimes successfully; but, in the end, fortune favoured Russia. In the meantime, the French and English ambassadors had returned to Constantinople. The Wellington government had begun to look with a jealous eye on the advance of the emperor's troops towards Constantinople. A curious and interesting view of the feeling which then prevailed, is furnished in a leader of a popular journal of that date (July 26th, 1829.) The facts which it embodies are important:—"It was on the 11th of June that the ambassadors of England and France entered Constantinople, and it was on that same day, that victory crowned the arms of the Russians, under general Diebitsch. And what was the consequence of this event? No exulting threats were issued—there was no talk of pushing on for Constantinople, to make the Russian flag wave over the towers of St. Sophia. No; with the apparent gentleness of a Tamerlane, the women and children belonging to the Turks, who had fallen into the hands of the conquerors of the day, were restored; and, at the same time, it was intimated, on the part of count Diesbitsch, that though the good fortune of his master must prove to the Turks that eventually his cause would triumph, it was still the sincere wish of the emperor to make peace; and he solemnly renounced all idea

of acquiring any portion of the Turkish territory. When the war commenced, it was justly feared by many, that if the Russians proved conquerors, and upon easy terms, all the moderation and magnanimity of the emperor Nicholas, which were then the theme of daily laudation in the ministerial papers, would not suffice to induce him to forego the sweets of conquest. And why, it may be asked, should he do so now? Has the autoerat of all the Russias become a philosopher? Has he on a sudden discovered that—

“All heads must come  
To the cold tomb?”

And that—

“Only the actions of the just  
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust?”

“No,” the writer continued, “we do not assume this; but we believe that the experience he has had—the losses he has sustained—and, more than all, the great financial efforts, which he has ascertained will still be necessary to conduct the war to that termination which he originally contemplated, added to the certainty that France and England, one of them at least, aided by another great European power, would ere long interfere in behalf of the Turks, and either turn the scale in their favour, or render triumph valueless—we do, we say, believe, that these considerations have had due weight with the emperor. Hence, we are led to conclude, that he seeks peace with sincerity.”

This reasoning was justified by the event. Of course, the good offices of France and England were not wanting to effect a pacification; and it was soon announced, that peace had been concluded between Russia and the Porte. The terms, all circumstances considered, were pronounced to be less favourable to the latter than might have been expected. It was arranged, that the Pruth should continue the boundary line on the European side of Turkey; but Silistria was to be dismantled. The eastern coast of the Black Sea, from the Cuban to the harbour of St. Nicholas, with the fortresses of Anapa and Poli, were to remain to Russia. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be confirmed in their rights, but the hospodars were to be nominated only for life. There was to be allowed to vessels belonging to Russia, free trade and navigation through the Black Sea, and to the commerce of all other countries at

\* Bell's *System of Geography*, 1811.

peace with the Porte. The sultan was to defray the charges of the war, and accede to the treaties concluded by England, France, and Russia, for putting an end to the Greek contest.

The course of events was bewildering. Before the duke of Wellington was placed at the head of affairs in this country, a strong feeling had been raised in England and France in favour of the Greeks. It suited the policy of Russia to act in accordance with that feeling. The Turkish government of that day adopted a tortuous course,

which was not consistent with the frankness which more enlightened nations find identified with true policy; and this led to a fatal catastrophe. Russia then pressed her ancient foe, unaided (but, for a time, wholly unrestrained) by England and France. There is, however, reason to believe, that but for the gathering clouds in the west, added to the losses and the expense incurred, she would have spared no effort to make Constantinople her own. That enterprise, from the circumstances stated, it was judged well to defer for a season.

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#### CHAPTER XVII.

AGITATION IS CONTINUED IN IRELAND; THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION RE-ASSEMBLE UNDER ANOTHER NAME; O'CONNELL AGAIN OFFERS HIMSELF TO THE ELECTORS OF CLARE; HE QUARRELS WITH COBBETT; AN EXTRAORDINARY FESTIVAL SCENE; NEW CHARGES AGAINST THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; LIBELS PROSECUTED.

THE catholic question was now carried, and the voice of exultation was loud in celebrating the triumph of a measure described to be identified with wise and benevolent legislation. If lively gratitude from those most largely interested in the decision were not to be expected, it might reasonably be hoped that angry feelings, previously aroused, would have been laid aside. But even this could not be conceded by the Irish patriots—or, as they should rather have been called, tyrants of that day. The language held continued to be—"Agitate!—agitate!—agitate!" It was incessantly pressed on the Irish people, that nothing had been gained but by agitation; and they must proceed in the same course to obtain all they were told they ought to desire. Mr. O'Connell distinctly intimated, that he was determined to annoy the English government by every means in his power. It was well remarked by a contemporary, "The no-popery terrorists were scarcely more mistaken in their anticipations of woe and destruction from the emancipation of the catholics, than the liberal politicians of the time were in their expectations of the contentment and tranquillity which were to ensue in Ireland. The last reasonably laughed at the hobgoblin images of the pope and the jesuits which the London Tories and the Irish orangemen

conjured up, to frighten themselves and everybody else whom they could alarm: they reasonably insisted on the impossibility of doing anything for Ireland, till this measure of relief should be granted: but they unreasonably went further in their expectation, and concluded, that the tranquillity of Ireland would follow from the measure of relief. It was now Mr. O'Connell's daily and nightly care, that the people should not be the better disposed towards the law for its having become favourable to them."

Whether by design or not, crime of the blackest dye would seem to have been used in furtherance of this object; not by the immediate direction or desire of the leader, but by excited listeners, who could discover no other instrument suitable to the purpose which he was supposed to have in view. Daring violations of the law were of frequent occurrence; and, worse than these, there was a systematic denial of justice, or rather a league against it by jurors—a miserable trifling with conscience—(and that, too, for the purpose of securing the escape of a blood-stained criminal)—was, in many instances, to be deplored. Twenty-one persons were brought to trial, under a special commission, on the 30th of July, for a conspiracy to murder. The four individuals first brought to the bar were found guilty; but two other

efforts to punish men who appeared to have been savage offenders, failed. In one case, eleven jurors out of twelve—in another nine—refused to convict, and no verdict being delivered, the jurors were discharged, and the accused parties liberated. At the close of the trials, the solicitor-general, speaking of the assistance the crown had received from the gentlemen and magistrates who had to take an active part in the prosecutions, said he had never witnessed a more anxious desire to have the ends of justice satisfied, associated with the more tender feelings of humanity. "Would to God!" he exclaimed, "that some of the infatuated people who now disturb and distract that part of the country in which these trials had their origin, could have been present at the different consultations it fell to my lot to have with these gentlemen; they would find, that in marking them out as objects for assassination, they were dooming to destruction their firmest friends and most anxious benefactors."

The dreadful crimes perpetrated at this period, called forth from the catholic priest, Dr. Doyle, condemnation appropriately severe. Of the scenes which had been witnessed, and associations which had been formed, he said:—"They have, on account of the ignorance, the depravity, and malice of the men who took a lead in them, been marked in their progress by the committal of the most horrid and barbarous excesses. The innocent and the guilty have become the victims of the bad men who composed them. These men framed without authority, and enforced by the most shocking cruelties, laws destructive of both property and life. The leaders and the followers in those associations became idle and vicious. Drunkenness, theft, lewdness, murder, blasphemy, became their daily and nightly companions, until at length, wearied with the weight of their own guilt, they became traitors to one another, and the law, the gibbet, or the sword, inflicted on them the punishment which their crimes deserved. This has been the origin, the progress, and the end of every association such as yours, which has been formed in Ireland these last 300 years. First, because to preserve any union of men, for any purpose, there must be rules and regulations, founded in justice and supported by good morals, or by some external force, stronger than any other force that can be brought in opposition to it. But, in such associations as yours, the rules and regulations are directly opposed to order

and justice: these rules, in place of resting on good morals, are subversive of all morality; for disobedience to parents and superiors, drunkenness, plunder, and the profanation of God's holy name, are mixed up with them in all their stages and operations. Nor, again, can they be sustained by force; for I need only ask yourselves, or your predecessors in the same cause,—have you ever been able to appear, whether by night or day, unless as thieves or plunderers, murdering the defenceless, oppressing the weak, but always obliged to fly from the first appearance of that force which is brought against you by the laws and government of the country?"

The monstrous iniquity of such conspiracies as had recently been brought to light, he thus awfully denounced:—

"But it is the wrath of God, which your impiety and evil deeds provoke, which makes all things fight against you. You endeavour, by your sinful oaths, to make this God a witness and a party to your combinations. He is, indeed, a witness to it; for to his eye all things are naked and revealed: but he witnesses your oaths only to record them as evidence of your guilt; and on the last day, when, as the gospel tells us, the books which record all our actions in life will be opened, these oaths of yours shall appear against you; and if they be not blotted out by tears of repentance, they alone will exclude you for ever from the kingdom of heaven. You seek to make God a party to your combination; but do you think there can be any society between light and darkness—between justice and injustice—between Christ and Belial? or, that he who loves justice and hates iniquity can look, unless with horror, on the violation of all right—on the disturbance of all order—on the abandonment of all the sacred obligations which, as Christians, you are bound to fulfil; but which, alas! as members of these secret societies, you utterly disregard?"

O'Connell had staked his professional reputation on the success of the claim he preferred to sit in the house of commons, before the emancipation bill passed. He had two pleas to advance: the first, founded on the legal quibble, that although the act of union forbade a Roman catholic to sit in parliament, it imposed no penalties in case of taking his seat; the other was founded on the enactment of the new statute. But, however plausible the great agitator's application of it, it was expressly limited to such persons

professing the Roman catholic religion as should, after its commencement, be returned. He was mortified by the result. It was supposed he felt personally aggrieved, that ministerial influence had not been effectually exerted to gratify his vanity, by conceding the point for which he contended. "Because an existing statute had been impartially applied, the unsuccessful redeemer of his pledge chose to consider himself persecuted, and hastened back, inflamed with anger, to his constituents, who listened with delight to the vile and revolting epithets which he heaped upon the men who had just been instrumental in conferring a mighty benefit upon his country—one which neither he nor his predecessors, 'with all means and appliances to boot,' had been able to obtain, by their combined efforts, during a century and-a-half. In a similar vindictive spirit he announced his long-vaunted project—which he had always reserved for trying times as a special tub to the whale—of repealing the union by a fresh system of agitation. He must have been perfectly aware of the extent of Irish fanaticism and gullibility at the moment he was speaking. But all the inflammatory harangues, and various threatening demonstrations on the part of the priests and agitators, failed to shake the premier's resolves with regard to measures which he conceived to be just and necessary."\*

Mr. O'Connell, on returning to the electors of Clare, was not sorry that a new offensive weapon had been put into his hand. Because that cause had triumphed for which he had contended through a quarter of a century, he was not disposed to lay down his arms, as he desired nothing less than that England, or England's minister should enjoy repose. While the registration was going on, he took measures to secure his re-election. He addressed a long letter to the electors, in which he described the parliament and the ministers in terms very different from those which, when he pleaded his cause in the house of commons, had gained him credit as a temperate and moderate-minded man. He now spoke of himself and his constituents as the conquerors of the government; he spoke of the government as faithless and insulting. "The house of commons," said he, "have deprived me of the right conferred on me by the people of Clare. They have, in my opinion, unjustly and illegally deprived me of that

right; but from their decision there is no appeal, save to the people. I appeal to you. In my person, the county of Clare has been insulted. The brand of degradation has been raised to mark me, because the people of Clare fairly selected me. Will the people of Clare endure this insult, now that they can firmly, but constitutionally, efface it for ever? Electors of the county of Clare! to you is due the glory of converting Peel and conquering Wellington. The last election for Clare is admitted to have been the immediate and irresistible cause of producing the catholic relief bill. You have achieved the religious liberty of Ireland. Another such victory in Clare, and we shall attain the political freedom of our beloved country." That victory, he told them, was still necessary, to prevent catholic rights and liberties from being "sapped and undermined by the insidious policy of those men, who, *false to their own party, can never be true to us*—and who have yielded, not to reason, but to necessity, in granting us freedom of conscience. A sober, a moral, and a religious people cannot continue slaves; they become too powerful for their oppressors: their moral strength exceeds their physical powers; and their progress towards prosperity is in vain opposed by the Peels and the Wellingtons of society. These poor strugglers for ancient abuses yield to a necessity which violates no law, and commits no crime; and having once already succeeded by these means, our next success is equally certain, if we adopt the same virtuous and irresistible means."† Such was the strain of invective which this representative of the feelings and interests of Ireland thus early directed against the granters of emancipation: this was the first sample of the gratitude and affection which, in the catholic body, were to take the place of hostility and insult. The relief bill itself did not escape his censure; and the prohibition contained in it against the growth of the monastic orders, he frankly declared would not be obeyed. "I trust I shall be the instrument of erasing from the statute-book that paltry imitation of the worst and still-existing portion of French jacobinism—a miserable imitation, which pretends to do that which nature and religion forbid to be done—to extinguish monastic orders in Ireland. While it is law, its penalties will be submitted to; but let me add, as a matter of fact, that its mandate will most assuredly not be obeyed.

\* Alexander's *Wellington*.† *Annual Register*.

It was formerly death in Ireland to be a friar; and the Irish earth is still scarcely dry from the blood of martyred friars: the friars multiplied in the face of death. Oh, for the sagacity of Peel, and the awful wisdom of Wellington, that meditate to suppress monastic orders in Ireland by a pecuniary penalty, and the dread of a foreign mission, under the name of banishment!" The grounds on which he claimed the voice of the county, now that the stalking-horse of religious inequality was removed, were simply, that whatever the county wished, or ought to wish, he would take care should be done, and that no other could do it. He would accomplish the repeal of the disfranchisement act, which was "a direct violation of the union;" of the sub-letting act, which was "calculated to make the poor more wretched, and render the destitute more miserable;" and of the vestry-bill, which "enabled a few protestants to tax, at their fancy, the property of catholics." He would assail the system of "grand-jury jobbing and grand-jury assessment:" he would procure an equitable distribution of church property between the poor on the one hand, and the really laborious portion of the protestant clergy on the other: he would struggle hard to cleanse the Augean stable of the law, "for which Herculean task," said he, "my professional habits give me peculiar facilities:" he would procure for every catholic rector of a parish, a parochial-house and an adequate glebe: he would make manifest the monstrous injustice that had been done to the jesuits and the monastic orders: he would labour hard for the improvement of their river and the construction of a harbour: he would wage war on the East India charter: he would strain every nerve in the cause of parliamentary reform: he would provide for Ireland a system of poor-laws, containing everything that was good, and not a particle of anything that could be detrimental—no, not even to the pockets of those who were to pay. Of these, and many other matters, his language was, "if you wish to see them done, send me to parliament. If the gentry of Clare are desirous to have, as their representative, a man who is able and most desirous to protect, in parliament, their properties and permanent interests, let them do me the honour to elect me. But let them not 'lay the flattering unction to their souls,' that they can, without an independent man of business as their representa-

tive, postpone the introduction of the English system of poor-laws."

He had no sooner taken the field, than what was termed an "aggregate meeting" of the Roman catholics was held, to consider what steps should be adopted to forward his re-election. This was, under another name, a meeting of the Roman catholic association. It was held in the old association-room: it was held for old association purposes. A large sum of the catholic rent still remained on hand: this meeting was held, and was followed by others, to consider how that fund should be disposed of; and only the catholic association could dispose of that fund. The first thing done by the meeting, was to vote five thousand pounds of the rent, as an aid to Mr. O'Connell in standing for the county of Clare. This was the very thing which the catholic association had done in 1828. The one was as much an act of the catholic association as the other had been, and was in the very face of that law suppressing it, with which the relief bill had been so pompously introduced. The vote was strongly opposed by some members, on the ground that such a mode of appropriating the money was not among the objects for which it had been contributed; and Mr. Eneas M'Donnell gave the treasurer's warning, that if they applied any part of these monies towards such a purpose, it would be at their own peril. Mr. M'Donnell probably acted from resentment; but the very cause of his resentment was the doings of this revived catholic association. He had put in a claim to be remunerated from the fund for what he had done and suffered in the catholic cause. That claim was rejected; but it was rejected only after a debate of three days, regularly adjourned from day to day; and these meetings took place under the very eye of the government, without interruption.\*

The conduct of O'Connell surprised both friends and foes. The fiercest opponents of the emancipation bill, while they expressed a perfect conviction that the measure would not produce the happy effects which its advocates predicted must follow in its train, had not anticipated that the mask would be thus audaciously thrown aside the moment it was passed. In one of Mr. O'Connell's orations, delivered on his entry into Ennis, he said:—"The forty-shilling elective franchise has been taken from you, and the ten-pound substituted in its stead. You

\* *Annual Register.*

will give me an opportunity of having that franchise—that right—restored. I promised you religious freedom, and I kept my word. The catholics are now free; and the Brunswickers are no longer their masters: and a paltry set they were, to be our masters! They could turn up the white of their eyes to heaven; but, at the same time, they put their hands very slyly into your pockets. They would discount God Almighty for the ready-money. The Brunswick clubs of Dublin have sent down one—a miniature in flesh, poor Bumbo, and his land-calf brother—to disfranchise the brave freeholders; and crooked-eyed Fitzgerald swore to it: but I call on the gentry of Clare to separate themselves from the disgraceful Dublin bloodhounds, and join what is intended for the good of the people. The question is no longer a question between protestant and catholic—that is at an end: it is, now, who is a good or a bad man? If you thus decide, which will you choose—Bumbo or me? I hope you will rub off the foul stain of any connexion with those bloodhounds, and ratify the former election. What good did any member, ever before in parliament, do for the county of Clare, except to get places for their nephews and cousins, &c.? What did I do? I procured for you emancipation. Does the sub-letting act oppress? I shall not be six months in parliament until all your oppression shall be done away with.”

He did not conceal his ulterior views. Whenever opportunity offered, he made a speech, and announced his great object now to be, a repeal of the union with England; and the means by which he was to seek it, “the same organisation of the people to which his majesty’s government had lately told the empire it was impossible for them to say no.” “We have now,” said he, at Youghall, “a brighter era opened to us; and I trust that all classes of my countrymen will join together, and, by forming one general, firm phalanx, achieve what is still wanting to make Ireland what it ought to be. Ireland had her 1782: she shall have another 1782. Let no man tell me it is useless to look for a repeal of the odious union—that blot upon our national character. I revere the union between England and Scotland; but the union which converted Ireland into a province—which deprived Ireland of her parliament—it is for the repeal of that measure we must now use all the constitutional means in our power;—that union which engenders absenteeism,

and the thousand other evils which naturally flow in its train. We are bound to England by the golden link of the crown; and far be it from me to weaken that connexion by my present observations. I want no disseveration; but I want, and must have, a repeal of that cursed measure which deprived Ireland of her senate, and thereby made her a dependant upon British aristocracy, and British intrigue, and British interests. I may, perhaps, be told, that to attempt a repeal of the union would be chimerical. I pity the man who requires an argument in support of the position that Ireland wants her parliament; and that individual who pronounces the attainment of such a consummation to be utopian, is reminded of the catholic question. Look at the catholic cause. Do I not remember when it was difficult to procure a meeting of five catholics to look for a restoration of our then withheld rights! I recollect when we, agitators, were almost as much execrated by our fellow-slaves as we were by our oppressors. For the attainment of the repeal of the union I shall have the co-operation of all classes and grades in society; the orangemen of the north, the methodist of the south, and the quiet, unpresuming quaker, who may think his gains shall be thereby augmented:—all shall be joined in one common cause—the restoration of Ireland’s parliament. I am now on my way to Dublin; nor shall I be there a fortnight, when a society, having for its title, ‘Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-two,’ shall be formed. I dare say I shall have but a few persons enrolled in it at the first; but, like the mighty oak, which spreads and overshadows the desert, resisting for centuries the most furious blasts of the elements,—so shall ‘Seventeen Hundred and Eighty-two’ extend its influence throughout Ireland, nor cease till her parliament be restored—her sons be of one creed;—all joined in the common cause of seeing Old Ireland great and glorious amongst the nations of Europe.” In another and earlier oration, delivered at Carrick-on-Suire, he had said:—“What was to be done for Ireland? The contentions of religion were over; freedom was obtained; they never desired more; they never were base enough to be contented with less. The people shall no longer be misrepresented: what was done in one county, another county can accomplish. Waterford owed it to Clare to imitate it; and Waterford should imitate it: nor should the scions of *Knockloftiness*, and



the paltry *Prittiness* of another county [Messrs. Hutchinson and Prittic, members for Tipperary] be suffered to prevent the just representation of its feelings;—no, the men of that county were too brave to be intimidated. However pure the intentions of the duke of Wellington might be, the designs of his ministry betrayed no symptom of improving the internal condition of Ireland.”

He was never weary of telling what wonderful things he meant to accomplish on taking his seat in the house of commons. He would be in the house with the speaker, and only leave it when he did. With questions affecting the creed of the church of England he would not interfere; but, as the measures he should propose would be to equalise the salaries and emoluments of the clergy, he would never sanction the filthy and abominable compromise which the East India company had entered into, for the purpose of supporting their monopoly, by permitting the bloody sacrifices which were offered to Jaggernaut. He would also oppose the horrible system of perjuries connected with the customs and excise. There were, at present, no fewer than seventeen or eighteen hundred oaths which were regarded as matters of course; and perjury was not regarded, because it was of constant occurrence: as if its frequency diminished the crime. He proclaimed religion to be the only basis for liberty. The men of Clare had been successful, because the voice which was raised for their country had first been raised in prayer to God. “And now,” he concluded, “the song of freedom is heard in the green fields of our country: it has ascended the hills; it has filled the valleys; its echoes are borne along the mountain-streams; and its sweet music has been wafted over our rivers; while the universal voice of the people proclaims Clare independent, and Ireland free.”

His pretensions, however, were not universally allowed to escape ridicule. At Clare, a Mr. Glasscock (above described as *Bumbo*) came forward as a candidate in opposition to O’Connell. His address to the electors, conceived in a sportive vein, was wanting in dignity and propriety, but was not without point; and its rudeness, though startling, was amusing. “I cannot say,” Mr. Glasscock wrote, “that I have the honour to be personally cognizant of many of you; but, as more people know Tom Fool than Tom Fool knows, I dare say I am not an utter stranger in your county. No; I flatter myself that in no

part of England, Ireland, Scotland, or the Isle of Man, would Toby Glasscock be mistaken for a fellow who had just dropped out of the clouds. Let Shiel steal from Shakspeare, according to his usual custom, and exclaim—

“‘Little shall I grace my speech  
In speaking of myself.’

I am of another way of thinking. Nothing advances a man so well in this world as the puff-personal; and, therefore, I am not altogether such an anti-egotist as Dickey Shiel. I will make but few positive pledges; for (between you and I) they are a d—d sight more easily made than redeemed: that I know by experience. This, however, I will say—send me to parliament; and, upon my honour—as a gentleman and an attorney—I will take my seat.”

He afterwards added:—“Send me to parliament; and I will never shake hands with Cobbett, after what I have said of him. Send me to parliament; and I will not slinge about the lobbies for three months, whilst your interests are in jeopardy within doors, hawking my patriotism from Peel to Goulburn, and from Goulburn to Billy Holmes, that I may sell it to the best advantage. Send me to parliament; and, if the government enter into a league with your hard-hearted landlords to exterminate you, I will not write over to Ned Dwyer, that ‘my heart is so full of joy, and so fraught with sorrow, that I don’t know whether to laugh or cry; but that, to-morrow, please God, I will write to my constituents, and put them in a way not to be bamboozled.’ I will not write all this, I say, to Ned Dwyer, and afterwards remain as mute as a shark with its mouth open in the wake of a hospital ship, until my constituents are fairly bought and sold, ejected and undone. Send me to parliament; and I will not call upon you to raise a new catholic rent for my exclusive benefit, and for the use of my ‘fine family.’ Send me to parliament; and I will not flatter ministers to their faces, and tell lies of them when I come home. Send me to parliament; and I will do all that my honourable opponent promises to do; and I solemnly pledge myself to do no one thing that he will do.”

The promise made by Mr. Glasscock—not to shake hands with Cobbett—had reference to a recent scene, which though not of great importance, was, in some respects, so striking as to deserve being noticed, affecting, as it did, two of the fiercest assailants of the duke of Wellington.

Cobbett and O'Connell had long been considered friends in politics—most warmly attached to each other. Their harmonious action was proclaimed to the world; and each delighted to sound the other's praise, and to laud the all-surpassing talent, public spirit, and disinterested virtue, which entitled the journalist and the orator, as appeared from their writings and speeches, to the admiration of all mankind. Suddenly their love changed to hate. When O'Connell claimed to sit in parliament, under the law as it stood, he gave Cobbett offence. They quarrelled, and assailed each other with all the virulence they had been accustomed to pour on the common enemy. At the close of the month of May, the journals of the time gave, in juxta-position, the sketches which follow:—

*Mr. O'Connell's character of Cobbett in December last.*—"I deeply regret that the ears of the meeting have been shocked and insulted by the name of that savage, Cobbett. After all the outrages that that miscreant has been guilty of—upon public and private feelings—upon public and private reputation—the fell monster has again returned to strike at and lacerate the feelings of all those persons who were interested in the fate of the late lamented John Bric. This monster has been threatened as an infliction upon the catholic association. The man whose name was without a blot, has been made a subject for the ferocious and ribald jests of one of the greatest monsters that ever disgraced any age or nation. When this assembly is told that it should regard the censures of such a practised liar—of such a living libel on the human species—I lose my patience. Let not the name of this beast—for man I will not call him—be ever again mentioned in this assembly. He is, as he should be, an outcast from all that is respectable and dignified in society, and a disgrace to the literature of the age."

*Cobbett's character of Mr. O'Connell in March last.*—"I have had three years to fathom the depth of O'Connell's hypocrisy, falsehood, impudence, and political perfidy. It is impossible for me to describe how very base the man is. I will make him despicable in the eyes of the people of Ireland. He is a fool as well as knave—a profound hypocrite—a trembling poltroon—a stupid, profligate, impudent brawler. The fellow has no bottom. He has no regard for truth. To deceive and delude people, and to gain by the deception, are the trades of his life.

When the toad spits his venom at us, we do not answer in words. No: with stick or stone we knock the reptile on the head. If O'Connell were placed conveniently within my reach, I might thus answer him. He has committed an enormous offence against me. I never will forgive him until he make atonement."

The meeting which called forth this unexpected display of returning amity, was a perfect political curiosity. Sir Francis Burdett, through many years retained all the popularity which belonged to him when he was imprisoned in the Tower; but of late it had been rumoured, that he was no longer what he had been. He had been annually glorified by those who returned him to parliament as "Westminster's pride and England's hope," when the anniversary of his election was joyfully celebrated at the crown and anchor tavern. It was at the twenty-second festival in honour of the patriotic baronet, that Mr. Cobbett and Mr. O'Connell, after the wordy war in which they had engaged, came together. There, some of the company succeeded in prevailing on them to sit down as friends.

Mr. Hobhouse, long the colleague of sir Francis Burdett, presided; and, on giving the great toast of the evening—the health of sir Francis Burdett—who was absent from indisposition, a most extraordinary scene was produced, the object for which the meeting had been convened borne in mind. The toast was opposed by Cobbett, who insisted, that the honourable baronet had changed of late years. He asked, "Has he kept his compact with us? Has he protected the rights of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland?" Then, looking for O'Connell's support, he proceeded to explain the grounds on which peace had been made between himself and that learned gentleman. He said, "Gentlemen, here is Mr. O'Connell present. If he let this opportunity slip—! I have to-day shaken hands again with Mr. O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell has disavowed some expressions which had been imputed to him, and which I conceived him to have used, very derogatory to my character. I told Mr. O'Connell that I would shake hands with him if he disavowed those expressions. He has disavowed them; and I now say, that I would not have shaken hands with him, even upon the retraction of these expressions, if he had not been discarded by the honourable house. If the honourable house had not done Mr. O'Con-

nell gross injustice, I would not have condescended to shake hands with him." He went on to censure the course sir Francis Burdett had pursued with respect to several public questions, describing his conduct to have been mean, cruel, and inhuman.

Such a speech, addressed to parties assembled to do honour to the subject of it, offended many, and surprised all the company. The great majority disapproved of what they had heard, and considered it an unwarrantable intrusion on the part of Cobbett; but enough favoured his views to induce the chairman, Mr. Hobhouse, to put the question, whether or not they should drink the toast he had proposed? (which was nearly the same as raising the question, whether those he addressed ought or ought not to be there on such an occasion?)

This course being taken, it was at once decided that the usual honours should be rendered to the honourable baronet, and the toast was drunk with shouts of approbation from his admiring friends.

Mr. Hobhouse, in the course of the evening, having risen to return thanks for his own health being made the subject of a toast, thought it right to take some notice of the assailant of his old friend and colleague. It had been asked by some of the company, whether sir Francis had recently brought on his annual motion for a parliamentary reform? On this, the chairman remarked, there were persons present who well knew the taunts, outeries, and laughter directed against his honourable colleague when he had brought forward this subject, and not from the opposite side of the house, but by the friends of parliamentary reform itself, who said—in the expressive language of a gentleman (Mr. G. Lamb) once opposed to him in his attempt to represent the city of Westminster—that in making those annual motions, sir F. Burdett, and those about him (with the exception of lord Cochrane), were, in military language, merely keeping time, making much dust and little progress. Let any man put his finger on the occasion which offered, where he or his honourable friend had not stood forward as the advocates of the cause, and he would confess himself guilty. But they could not do this: he appealed to what had passed on this subject, respecting which some men could not easily lie, though some men did lie.

This strong language was rendered more pungent by the speaker (while he uttered the offensive word) fixing his eye on Mr.

Cobbett; and that called forth a shout of applause. However great the merits of Mr. Cobbett, reverence for truth was not the qualification for which he was most admired. Mr. Hobhouse continued:—"If they found a man standing honestly and truly before the public for more than a quarter of a century, never fluctuating or undecided in any matter that concerned the general good or that of his constituents—if they found a man of unblemished private character, against whom not the finger of scandal, or even of scorn, could be raised—you might predict, without any pretensions to the character of a prophet, that such an individual would stand true, not only in his public, but his private capacity. If, on the contrary, there were any individual in the world (such, he was happy to say, was not a common character) who was never known to be true to any public or private trust—if an individual, who, after having been only half trusted, thought proper to appear before the public as if he had been wholly trusted, and played not a single but a double game of villany—if there should be any man who, in order to convince the people what care he would have taken of the public purse, had shown the consideration he had for the private property of his friend;—if there be a man such as I have described—a person who has been scouted, not by parties (for that an honest man well may be), but by society at large—any person whose character is thus declared by his conduct, that individual may well 'read his history in a nation's eyes;' and it is not difficult to tell what is to be predicted of his future fame. Those who acknowledge his talents (even his best friends) must sigh for his baseness, and be sorry, that a mind qualified to illustrate the days in which he lived—a mind qualified to shed lustre over the great stage of his contemporaries—should have been disgraced only by the misfortune of casting its own blacker, deepest, and most disgraceful shade on the era to which it belonged."

The odious picture of a public man thus presented to the meeting, was recognised as intended for the portrait of Cobbett, and the bitterest passages were welcomed with tumultuous cheering. They were known to refer to transactions with sir Francis Burdett, who, having accommodated Cobbett with a loan, the latter failing to repay it, did not hesitate to declare, that the lender had no right to expect his money back while that political system was upheld from

which Cobbett alleged he largely suffered. Mr. Hobhouse further remarked on some disparaging comments made on his own conduct in parliament, and, in particular, on his supporting a bill for giving bodies of poor persons, under certain circumstances, to professors of anatomy. Upon this, Mr. Hobhouse said, such a charge was amusing, and treated it with ridicule. Many of the hearers, by this time much excited, called out insultingly to Cobbett—"Bone-grubber, what do you say to that?" alluding to his having brought the remains of Paine to England, and proposed to sell the hair in rings, for which a guinea each would be charged. He proceeded:—"Allow me to ask, whether this objection, brought forward by men of ability against sir Francis Burdett, and so humble an individual as myself, does not partake of something exquisitely ludicrous? Is it not strange, that the serious charges previously brought against us should have degenerated into this 'most lame and impotent conclusion?' If I thought those very intelligent and able individuals sincere, I confess I should be somewhat surprised that they had so much care for the bodies of the dead, particularly as one of them does not appear to have cared much for the bodies of the living. Certainly I have not found in the public career of one of these gentlemen evidence of any very tender regard for those who walk about above-ground, though he takes the persons of those under-ground under his especial protection. (He was here interrupted by laughter, and exclamations of 'Poor Tom Paine!') I was not aware," he went on, "that this gentleman cared much for the persons of those living, to whom he is so kind after they are dead. His conduct reminds me of the lines—

"'But still the great have kindness in reserve;  
They help to bury whom they help to starve.'

The honourable gentleman thinks it necessary to bring a grave charge against sir F. Burdett and myself, because, not having thought enough of the living, our neglect has also (according to Mr. Cobbett) extended to the dead. Allow me to make a contrast between our conduct and that of Mr. Cobbett in this respect, who, having made as much as he can of the living, wishes also to make as much as he can of the dead. However, gentlemen, having met for higher purposes than the dissection of base and infamous characters, I shall presently pass from this subject. Passing by the case of

the poor, I may say there are a great many individuals who, though they have done no good in their lifetime, perhaps might be found serviceable in their death. When we hang up these gentlemen in surgeons'-hall, being well-limbed, stout men, they may do credit to a scientific dissection, and afford an example calculated to enlighten and illustrate us in a physical, if not in a moral, point of view."

A visitation like this, might have disturbed the serenity of a gentleman more remarkable for patient endurance than Cobbett was at any period of his life. He indignantly replied by making a new attack on sir Francis Burdett and his colleague: he complained that they had ceased to meet the people out-of-doors; said they had not met them for the last three years; and predicted that they would never meet them again. He lengthened his defence, which, with the running commentary of the meeting, was thus reported:—"As to the attacks which Mr. Hobhouse has made upon me, one is, that I have cheated somebody—he dare not say whom—out of money; another is, that I starve the poor whilst alive, and only take care of them when dead; and a third, that I take up bones, and dispose of 'em for a profit, after a man is dead. As to the charge of cheating somebody out of money, I have only to say, that Mr. Hobhouse dare not say whom I have cheated; no, nor the mighty don, his master. (A voice, 'Why you bamboozled him.')

That is one of the most barefaced and impudent lies that was ever stated by man, or retailed by the dirty rump of Westminster. Let the tellers of it come into a court of justice, and I'll prove the charge against me a base falsehood. As to starving the poor, I have had great delight, during the whole course of my life, in being beneficial to the poor. (A loud laugh, mingled with hisses.) I have, I say, with my slender means, done more for the poor, than Burdett with all his thousands. Then, as to the bones. (Cries of 'Now for the bones,' mingled with laughter.) A dead body sold to be cut up! (Cries of 'What's become of your rings with Tom Paine's hair?') Yes, there is a mighty difference between selling a dead body to be cut up by surgeons, and bringing the bones of a great man home, which were lying in neglected obscurity, for the purpose of burying them in his native land."

Mr. O'Connell spoke in the course of the day. He applied himself to disparage the

government of the duke of Wellington. The disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, on which he now deemed it fitting to enlarge—the subjecting to such treatment those heroic and magnanimous freeholders (these laudatory terms he bestowed on the helpless, unreflecting crowd brought to vote—on imaginary freeholds—at an Irish election), he declared would work on the relief bill as a canker and gangrene, until the people cut away from it that corrupt and unsound part. Ministers might think, that by passing that measure they had put down the cause of freedom in Ireland; but they would find themselves deceived. In the county of Clare there were six thousand forty-shilling freeholders; in a fortnight's time there would be three thousand ten-pound freeholders ready to set an example to the rest of Ireland, which the rest of Ireland would follow. If the people of England bore with tranquillity the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in Ireland, they would, before long, witness the same disfranchising experiment made on the forty-shilling freeholders of England. After they had struck off the forty-shilling freeholders, they would then attack the ten-pound freeholders, then the twenty-pound freeholders, and then the fifty-pound freeholders; till at last the lords would not go through the present form of electing members for the commons' house of parliament, but would send down a warrant under their sign-manual to Mr. Speaker, desiring him to admit Mr. So-and-so as their representative into the house of commons. After making severe remarks on the conduct of lord Eldon, whom he described as a person who looked at his conscience and wept, and at his purse and doubted, he turned, by way of contrast, to the contemplation of the conduct and character of his friend, the illustrious Burdett. He recollected that that illustrious man was once convinced that the catholics of Ireland ought not to be emancipated. He went over, however, to the green fields of that country, saw the desolation and oppression which paralysed the exertions of its inhabitants, and turned all that was meant for blessings into curses, and he became enlisted at once into their cause. His exertions—his patriotic exertions, had rendered him dear to all the natives of Ireland. Her matrons and her maids sent up their prayers for his happiness; and her streams poured forth in a voice of thunder echoed back

again from her mountains, "Long life to the illustrious Burdett." Mr. Cobbett had that day condescended to shake hands with him; but when he got into the house of commons, no honest man should shake hands with him, if he did not contend for freedom of conscience for men of every class, description, and colour—if he did not oppose monopoly, both in small corporations and in the accursed system of the East India company—if he did not oppose that bastard species of free-trade, which, whilst it gave commodities free to the rich, gave bread dear to the poor.

From the glowing panegyric pronounced by O'Connell on sir Francis Burdett, it was felt that, notwithstanding the former had shaken hands with Cobbett, the thoughts of the two champions of the people were not exactly in unison. The duke of Wellington and the friends of his government, if they were disappointed at not witnessing any symptoms of the loyal thankfulness which the two sanguine advocates of catholic emancipation had prophecied would spring from that source and live for ever, were not displeased to see the union of the most active and unscrupulous of his adversaries proved to be rotten to its core; and that the instruments of ridicule and invective, powerful in such hands, heretofore directed by the Irish orator and the English writer in concert against him, were likely, as they had lately been, to be employed against each other. Those to whom the fame of Wellington is dear, will be entertained, if not gratified, at seeing in what estimation his most virulent adversaries held each other.

As might be expected, he was not less offended with the creeping servility of some, than with the rampant insolence of O'Connell. A morning paper gave a ludicrous report of the course he took, in one instance, when annoyed by the corporation of Dover proposing to offer him their congratulations at Walmer castle, on one of his appointments. His reply was described thus:—"Tell their worships that I am ready to receive them, if they have any business of importance to communicate, or anything useful to suggest to me touching the wardenship of the Cinque Ports; otherwise I have no leisure at this time to attend to them." And then, the writer added, "their worships looked at each other a bit; and so came back to Dover, each man with a flea in his ear. Never was the corporation of the town and port of Dover so cavalierly treated by any

constable of Dover castle since the days of Odo, bishop of Baieux, the first constable, down to Robert Jenkinson, earl of Liverpool, the one hundred and thirty-seventh and last constable! And nobody can make out why they were so treated—except that on the 14th of May, 1827, only twenty-one months ago, they sent up their hearty congratulations to the king for having allowed Mr. Canning to form a cabinet from which the duke was excluded; and in which hearty congratulations, they took occasion to insinuate, that the duke had been engaged in ‘an attempt to control the just prerogative of the crown.’”

It must be admitted, that the temper of a minister is severely tried who has, by turns, to meet such servile adulation and such unmeasured condemnation as were offered and heaped upon him. By a considerable portion of the press, he and the members of his government were fiercely assailed for their conduct in reference to the catholic emancipation bill. A paper, called the *Morning Journal*, was distinguished for the violence of its articles; and sir James Scarlett, who had succeeded sir Charles Wetherell in the office of attorney-general, thought it right to take proceedings against Mr. Alexander, its editor. On the 11th of September, the grand jury for the county of Middlesex returned two true bills against Messrs. Marsden, Alexander, and Isaacson, charging them with the publication of libels on the duke of Wellington in the *Morning Journal* newspaper.

The first indictment, which contained eight counts, recited that his grace the duke of Wellington was, at the time of the publication of the alleged libels, first commissioner of his majesty's treasury and a member of the privy-council, and that George Marsden, of Westminster, printer, Robert Alexander, and Stephen Isaacson, of the same place, gentlemen, had contrived to defame and vilify the said duke as first commissioner of the treasury and privy-councillor, with the view of bringing him into public scandal, infamy, and disgrace with the king and his subjects; and to cause it to be believed, that the said duke was “proud, overbearing, grasping, dishonest, unprincipled, and capable of a design to overturn the throne, and prostrate the laws and liberties of England.” The indictment then proceeded to set out the following words of the alleged libel, as published in the *Morning Journal* of the 17th of July:—

“We leave so important a question to be answered by the silent response of the reader's own heart. But we can imagine a case, and one of not mere visionary application, when the devolvement of royal honours on the next in succession would place in the hands of the prime minister of such a sovereign all the power and patronage of the crown. If such a minister were an honest one, no danger might be created; no abuse of power might be indulged in; no arbitrary measure sanctioned; no family interest erected into a monopoly of all the gifts of the king. But if it should happen, as it might happen, that the minister of such a sovereign were an ambitious soldier—a man of vast wealth and great family connexions; proud, overbearing, grasping, dishonest, and unprincipled—a man having the army at his command, the navy at his nod; every situation under the crown at his disposal; every sinecurist, every commissioner of taxes, every dignitary of the customs and excise at his mercy,—what could not such a man do to overturn the very throne itself, and prostrate to the earth the laws and liberties of England?”

The third, fifth, and seventh counts charged other libels, as having been published in the same *Morning Journal* on the 18th, 22nd, and 24th of July, viz.:—On the 18th of July.—“All the declamation in the world will not convince us we are wrong; and we shall continue to warn those more immediately interested, of the danger in which they would evidently be placed, were they for one moment to relax in their vigilant opposition to an ambitious and haughty minister. We would say to the duke of Cumberland, ‘*Respice, aspice, prospice.*’ And we say it with that confidence, rationally inspired by the certainty that all the great and good are on his side. For we do not believe that Cromwell, in the most hated period of his most hated career, was ever looked upon with more jealousy than the duke of Wellington. He is feared, not loved: neither in his civil nor his military career did he ever make a friend. Witness the proofs of his sincere affection for the marquis of Anglesey and sir H. Clinton! His has been a reign of terror: the ‘bonnie gallows-tree’ was the link that united the army to him in Spain: the fear of being cashiered made Mr. Peel lick the dust beneath his feet. Esteem or respect form no part of the cabalistic spell which forces the cabinet into apparent harmony. No: he is

the Atropos, and holds the shears, and the political thread only waits the wave of his mighty hand to be severed."

On the 22nd of July—"We look to the duke of Wellington for a reply. We have a right to ask the man whose unbounded ambition and stubborn indifference to the wishes of the majority of the nation, has brought on the accumulated distress and awful position in which we find ourselves, what he intends to do? We ask this man of carnage, whether the blood of Waterloo has not slaked his thirst; and we, moreover, tell him, that his truckling, heartless, and dishonourable reply to the starving weavers of Spitalfields will not satisfy us nor the country. \* \* We know, and we confidently proclaim the fact, that, finding himself embarrassed and foiled, he has resolved to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the nation, and pursue his heedless career as long as possible: in the first place, to deter every honest tory from assuming the responsibility of the premiership; and in the next, that affairs may be left in such a complicated state as almost to require a miracle to save the nation. We beg to call our readers' attention to this fact. We have the most unquestionable authority for the assertion; and to this cause alone may be imputed the miracle that the cabinet still hangs together."

On the 24th of July—"We are in possession of certain circumstances connected with the political career of this *Marius*, which convince us that the welfare of the country is but a feather in the scale of his ambition. We know, that provided the territories of Strathfieldsay are extended, the weavers, the agriculturists, and the merchants, may starve and die in the streets and highways, and that, to stay the progress of an Egyptian plague, he would not retrograde one step; and we farther know, that while Apsley-house rears its magnificent front at the expense of thousands of the public money, no mite comes from him to assuage the sorrows and sufferings of his perishing countrymen. How long will England—Old England, once merry England—bow the knee to this golden image, who has been made great at the expense of the tears and the deprivations of all classes of the king's subjects. We repeat it, that no hope, no relief, no prosperity, no commiseration can ever be looked for from the present ministry. Every individual complaint is treated with contempt. Every collective peti-

tion affords matter of amusement to the pro-poperity ruffians who swagger in the cabinet."

The second indictment charged the same parties with publishing a libel, in the shape of a letter from John Litton Crosbie, M.A., &c., inserted in the *Morning Journal* of the 30th of July, addressed "to his highness the duke of Wellington," charging him with entertaining disloyal and undutiful designs and projects. This indictment consisted of three counts, varying the form of the charges. The following are the libellous passages:—

"To his highness the duke of Wellington. —In the miserable state to which your united ignorance, vanity, and ambition have reduced a once exalted and flourishing nation, it only remains for your highness, and your whig attorney-general, to put down the press of the country, silence public opinion, and ultimately stifle the complaints of the surviving but persecuted protestants of Ireland, now weeping over the murdered remains of those relatives who have been slaughtered at the shrine of your highness's popish relief bill. Did your highness tell the truth, when you assured a right reverend and venerable prelate, that the relief bill (so called) was calculated not only to preserve the protestant institutions of this country, but also to overturn popery altogether? Did your highness, really from your heart, tell the truth, when with despicable cant, and affected consideration, you drew so pretty a little picture of the horrors of a civil war, and in a whining, weeping tone, deprecated the crushing treason by the law of the country and the bayonet? Oh! yes, indeed! When did your highness acquire these fine feelings? Whoever suspected or even presumed to accuse your highness of compassion or moderation, or any of those more kindly or tender sympathies which distinguish the heart of a man from that of a proud dictator and a tyrant? But what has your highness done? You have, as you allege, avoided a civil war. I deny your assertion: you have put off the evil day. The conquest of the traitorous and confederate papists did not suit your present ambitious views: and I hereby publicly arraign your highness of the grossest treachery to your country, or else the most arrant cowardice,—or, if you please, treachery, cowardice, and artifice united. How have you avoided a civil war? By suffering the sanguinary papist to issue forth from his den, and murder his protestant subject

in cold blood. How have you avoided a civil war, I ask you again? By seeing the decent, loyal, free-born, educated protestant impaled to the very earth on the pike of the popish assassin, at the very moment when the last drop of blood flowing from his heart, was not sufficient to glut the vengeance of his enemies, because the wretched man had dared to wear an orange lily, or drink the memory of a prince who gave us a constitution which your highness has destroyed; and yet, with an effrontery only equalled by the fraud, tyranny, and perfidy with which you carried your odious relief bill, you say you have given peace to Ireland. \* \* \* If you possess, however, one particle of honour, bravery, loyalty, or justice—if you be not actually driven to insanity by the reckless ambition which characterises your well-known and ulterior objects—if you wish now, in your old age, to conciliate a confiding and affectionate people, who once believed you to be their own—if you know that your projects are known to an illustrious individual whom you permitted to be vilified, traduced, defamed, and calumniated, without ever once denouncing his traducers—if you think that the blood of those loyal murdered subjects cries aloud for vengeance—if you be a Christian—if you know the certainty of death—that you are but a man—that you may be a kindred of the worm before you can wield the sceptre of an infant princess—that this infant has, in case of necessity, a rightful guardian in a royal and exalted protestant relative, and that the best and proudest blood of England shall be shed in the defence of that prince and his royal house—if, duke—if, I say, your highness knows that these things are so,—then, in God's name, I conjure you to restore peace. \* \* \* If I discover your base hireling press again daring to insult and calumniate my royal master, the duke of Cumberland, and if ever I find you to suffer the foul libellers to pass by unnoticed and unpunished, I will, by God's blessing, hold your highness up to public view, and unmask you more openly than you have been hitherto exposed to your insulted and betrayed country; and further, let me tell you, duke, that I will do so in defiance of your highness, your whig attorney-general, your whole cabinet, and the popish mob of Ireland into the bargain; for I am determined to try, either with the sacrifice of my own life, or your highness's head, whether

it be in your power to keep the protestants of my native land in the degraded, miserable, and humiliated state to which I again repeat your vanity, ignorance, treachery, ambition, and artifice have reduced them. One word more. There is not a sensible man in the kingdom who believes the flippant and well-contrived report that your highness's eldest son is about to be married to the accomplished daughter of your physician. Trust me, that we know your highness too well. Long, long since has your highness aspired to a higher place for the heir of Apsley-house. Do you understand me, then, duke? If not, my next shall speak in plainer terms than those which bewildered my lord Lyndhurst on the interesting story of *My Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*. I will watch you. I will unmask you. I have the power to do the first: I have the power and the courage to do both; but, as I once told your highness, you are watched by deeper and wiser heads than mine. I leave you to the consolations of your conscience, while you reflect on the blessings and advantages of the relief bill, although I do not know what bill you intend to introduce to relieve yourself from the scorn of every loyal subject in this land of former pride and liberty.

"I am not hypocrite enough to say—

"I am your highness's obedient servant,

"JOHN LITTON CROSBIE, M.A.,

"Minister of Sydenham, Kent, and domestic chaplain to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, a prince before whom I hope to see you quail."

To imitate the bitterness of Junius was evidently the object of the reverend gentleman. At this time rumours were abroad of an extraordinary character;—of nothing less than a plot to interfere with the succession to the English crown. Attention was directed to the proceedings of certain political associations, known as orange lodges, with which a captain Fairman, an enthusiast in politics, and in circumstances far from affluent, was connected. Indignant at what they deemed the overthrow of the protestant constitution, by the large concessions which had been made to Roman catholics, their wishes and designs, it was said, pointed to the setting aside, at the proper time, the duke of Clarence, who had supported the emancipation bill, that the duke of Cumberland, its opponent, might be offered to the nation as the protestant successor of George IV.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

LIBELS ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE KING AND THE GOVERNMENT; TRIALS AND CONVICTIONS OF THE LIBELLERS; GROWING DISAFFECTION IN FRANCE; FRENCH EXPEDITION TO ALGIERS.

MORE than the usual conflict of opinions as to the character and stability of the duke of Wellington's administration was now witnessed. With too much reason, the opponents of the great measure recently carried, insisted that as yet there were but slender proofs of its having benefited Ireland and strengthened his grace; while its advocates declared that it could not fail of doing both, and fix his government on a basis not to be moved. Reports had got abroad, that George IV. could neither forget nor forgive the pain his minister had caused him to experience, and could confide in him no longer; but these were boldly contradicted. A popular journal thus pleasantly described what had been said on this important subject:—"Some of our contemporaries have busied themselves this week with speculations on the amount of confidence with which the king may be presumed, at present, to honour the duke of Wellington. The *Morning Chronicle* has brought forward the fact of the duke having had an interview of three hours on Tuesday, as a proof of increased cordiality between the parties, and an assurance of the stability of the present government. The *Standard* again professes to have consulted the court calendar on the subject, and to have discovered there, that the three hours, on which the *Chronicle* lays stress, when added to the amount in time of the interviews of the last twelve months, yield a sum-total of twenty-seven hours devoted to confidential communication between the king and his prime minister. The *Globe*, without entering into these minute calculations, thinks that the king may, like other masters, be well pleased to be as little as possible intruded upon by his servants; and that it is no slight merit in the duke, to get through his work without fuss or agitation—without finding it necessary to unbosom his griefs, day by day, to the king on the one hand; or to exhibit in Parliament-street, dressed in black, with broad weepers on his sleeves, shedding tears as large as pistol-bullets over the fate of the sultan, or the obstinacy of

Don Miguel. For our own parts, we believe that the duke of Wellington's administration stands, at this moment, as firmly as any which England has ever known."\*

The agitation for a repeal of the union was continued by Mr. O'Connell; and it was now proposed to give a public dinner "in honour of the Irish volunteers of 1782." Irish affairs were said to occupy much of the attention of government at this moment; and it is easy to perceive that the success of the efforts to disturb that ill-fated country anew (so perseveringly continued by a traitorous and savage clique), could not be viewed by the minister without anxiety.

The year had nearly reached its close, when the trials of the parties charged with libelling the duke and his government, came on before lord Tenterden. In the court of king's bench, on the 22nd of December, the case of *The King v. Alexander and others* was submitted to a judge and jury. The defendants were John Matthew Gutch, the proprietor, John Fisher, publisher, of the *Morning Journal*, and Robert Alexander, the editor. The libel on lord Lyndhurst was first taken. It spoke of its being in contemplation to appoint Mr. Sugden solicitor-general. This was ridiculed by the attorney-general, as indicating that the editor of the *Morning Journal* knew more of the secrets of government than ministers themselves. "The reasons (said the writer) which led to this promotion (of Mr. Sugden to be solicitor-general) are really so natural, that we beg leave to explain them as Sterne would have done, by the mouth of his inimitable *Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*." "The reasons of what promotion? The reasons of Mr. Sugden's promotion to the solicitor-generalship. Now, gentlemen, we shall see what the writer considers to be the causes or reasons of my learned friend's promotion. They are contained in a dialogue between *Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*.—

"*Uncle Toby*.—If a paymaster, or a barrack-master, lend money to his commanding officer, what should he expect?

\* *Spectator*, November 21st, 1829.

“ *Trim.*—To be promoted, of course, your honour.

“ *Uncle Toby.*—If a captain—a tall, broad-shouldered fellow, for instance, who has married a rich dowager—should lend a thousand pounds to his colonel, what does he look for?

“ *Trim.*—To be made a major the first opportunity; and, as your honour knows, (God bless you!) to be placed in the way of higher preferment.

“ *Uncle Toby.*—And if a major should lend his general all his fortune—say thirty thousand pounds, for example—what then?

“ *Trim.*—To be placed in the general's shoes, your honour, before the end of the campaign.’

“ Now comes the remark of the editor:—‘This is, we admit, quite satisfactory.’ Satisfactory! In what sense? Why, in the sense in which he introduces his reason for Mr. Sugden's promotion—‘There is reason in this merit.’ What merit? Why, in the merit that the individual who is the ‘learned personage’ mentioned here, should, for the advance of thirty thousand pounds, appoint Mr. Sugden to the solicitor-generalship. ‘And there is point, too, in the argument, which Mr. Sugden and another learned personage will be at no loss to comprehend.’ Now, gentlemen, let us pause here for a moment, and ask ourselves what other possible meaning this writer could have had, or rather what other possible meaning those who read it could attach to it than this—that the cause of my learned and honourable friend's promotion, is that species of promotion pointed out in the libel—that he has lent thirty thousand pounds; that there is reason in that merit; and that Mr. Sugden will understand the point of argument, and that another learned personage will also understand it? Under the head of ‘Gossip of the day,’ there is a paragraph with this title: ‘Let it stand over till next session;’ and it runs thus:—‘This parliamentary cant-term, which has been so constantly used by our procrastinating, vacillating ministers, has lately been adopted in another house—that of a great legal lord and lady, who are so much sought after by certain loud single-knock visitors, that the servants, to save themselves time and trouble, have hung up in the hall the following written answer—let it stand over till the next session.’ Now, take these two paragraphs together, and tell me, gentlemen, to whom you would apply them? He first makes an insinuation,

which nobody, on the first reading of it, can doubt is aimed at the lord chancellor; and then, by turning to this paragraph among the ‘gossip of the day,’ you find an allusion to a legal lord, as he is called—a legal lord and lady, both of whom are represented in a state of pecuniary distress, and to whom, therefore, an advance of thirty thousand pounds would be a great accommodation. I think it is impossible to read these two paragraphs without seeing that they referred to the lord chancellor; and if any man were to swear himself black and white in that box, I should refer his statement to your judgment; but, whatever your opinion might be, I, for my own part, should not believe him.”

Mr. Alexander appeared in court, and defended himself; but without success. The jury, with little hesitation, found all the defendants guilty. On the following day, the libel on the duke of Wellington and his majesty's ministers was tried. In laying the case before the jury, the attorney-general said—“In the early part of the present year, the public mind was a good deal excited by the discussion of the question of catholic emancipation, brought forward in parliament by his majesty's ministers. However the jury might differ from him in regard to that great question, he was quite sure that after it had been settled by the voice of parliament, and after it had been ratified by the assent of the sovereign himself, it was incumbent on every man to pay obedience to the law; and any subsequent attempt to bring either his majesty or the legislature into disgrace and contempt, was most wicked and reprehensible. The writer of this libel, in the early part of the discussion, entertained a notion, that the measure was impolitic, and that it could never pass into a law: he affected to know more of the secret springs of government than he really did; but, after the question was disposed of, he thought fit to continue that hostility and personal attack in which he had previously indulged. Pending the discussion, full latitude was given to the public prints: no steps were taken against the press at that time, although the most violent attacks were made on the person who brought forward the measure. But when all should have been peace, what would the jury think of the writer of this publication, who undertook to state that his majesty was acting solely under the authority of others—that he was under restraint, and subject to an influence unworthy of any sovereign what-

ever—inconsistent with his dignity, and affecting his personal honour? By the publication which this gentleman thought fit to send forth under an affectation of pity, which is insulting, addressed from such a quarter to such a quarter, and an affectation of compassion, he chose to represent the king of England as a person destitute of a will of his own, enthralled, subject to fetters and restraint, not daring to show himself in public, having become unpopular, and so bound down by the control of an imperious minister, as neither to have a capacity or voice of his own.” He then read the libel, as follows, commenting on parts of it as he proceeded:—“We have the best reasons for stating, that his majesty has lately evinced something more than even marked coolness towards his grace the duke of Wellington. The cause of this is known; but, as stones have ears, we shall, to a certain extent, be silent for the present. His majesty, it is said, complains bitterly that his ministers have placed him in such a position that he cannot enjoy the pleasure of exhibiting himself to his people. George the Fourth was, till now, a popular monarch. That he has been rendered otherwise is the act of his imperious minister. We deeply lament the occurrence; but public feeling is an ever-moving tide, that is affected by causes, which, although invisible, often lead to disastrous results. We pity our aged and revered sovereign.” How very condescending in Mr. Alexander to pity his majesty!—Mr. Alexander pities George the Fourth! The article proceeds:—“But there are sorrows which are too poignant to be relieved by the secret tear: they must be rendered torpid by other appliances. It is sufficiently obvious, that there never was a more ambitious or a more dangerous minister in England than the duke of Wellington. But if his ascendancy over the monarch be such as is represented, or, rather, such as it is represented to have been, then we are sure that national sympathy must spontaneously flow toward the king. The people must feel intensely the restraints imposed upon the sovereign, and regret that, overflowing with goodness as he is, kind to excess, fondly attached to his subjects, and paternally anxious to see them all prosperous and happy, he cannot mingle with their public entertainments, or receive those congratulations which must be gratifying to his majesty in the wane of existence. But his majesty may yet have strength and intre-

pidity to burst his fetters, dismiss from before his throne evil councillors, and assume that station in public opinion which befits a popular monarch.”

Mr. Alexander again addressed the jury, but with no better fortune than before. The other defendants, on this and on the former trial, attempted no defence. A verdict of guilty was pronounced.

The prosecution of another libel on the king and the legislature immediately followed. The attorney-general read the article, commenting upon it as he proceeded. In the first place, he remarked, there was a charge against the house of commons, that they had no sympathy with the distresses of 12,000 of their countrymen; and then all the members of his majesty's government, who, for the best security of the liberty of the people, were members of the house of commons—all these persons were described as eaters of taxes and suckers of the life-blood of their country. Then, with respect to individuals, there was a gross attack on Mr. Peel. He appealed to the jury to judge whether such accusations should be allowed to be published. It would be observed, that the libel did not point out any particular measure of the government, but charged the government, in vague terms, of being guilty of the most unfeeling conduct. His majesty was represented as being held in chains, prevented from appearing in public, insulted by his serviles, and kept in the dark respecting all the questions which a constitutional king should be acquainted with; as destitute of mind, firmness, and authority; as wanting all those attributes which belonged to a voluntary agency. One of the passages ran thus:—“We must have bread, though St. Stephens' and all the *Stephens* suffer martyrdom in Smithfield;” and another represented that his majesty's head “the likeness of a kingly crown had on,” but he was destitute of judgment and energy. The result of this trial was the same as that of the preceding cases.

On the next day, the libel contained in Mr. Crosbie's letter was proceeded against. Commenting on this, the attorney-general said, with reference to the passages relating to the prize the duke aspired to secure for the heir of Apsley-palace:—“By these passages it will appear, that in them the writer intends to make an insinuation affecting the loyalty and the honour of the duke, by pointing to an infant princess, and the ambitious views of the duke in his ex-

pectation of wielding her sceptre. Now, gentlemen, you will consider whether this is, or is not, a statement fit to be borne by a minister. This libel pretends that the duke of Wellington is to take the sovereign power, and that he means to do it in this way:—the son of the duke of Wellington, through the power and authority of his father, is to effect a marriage with an illustrious princess, who, in all probability, is destined to fill the throne of these realms. If the duke of Wellington, or any minister, were to make use of his power and influence to accomplish this species of treachery, if not treason, to his sovereign, he would betray the trust reposed in him, and render himself justly liable to condemnation and punishment. The question, then, is, gentlemen, whether the duke of Wellington is to endure this charge, and is it to be passed over with impunity? The person who makes the charge appears in the character of a gentleman: it is not the dull production of Mr. Alexander. Most unquestionably the duke of Wellington has felt that such a libel was not to be endured; and I think with him. The libel, gentlemen, is not brought before you by what is called an *ex officio* information, but by an indictment; the only difference between the two proceedings being, that in an *ex officio* information there is no need of the previous opinion of the grand jury that the libel deserves prosecution. The libel concludes thus:—‘I am not hypocrite enough to say, that I am your highness’s obedient servant, John Litton Crosbie, A.M., minister of Sydenham, Kent, and domestic chaplain to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, a prince before whom I hope to see you quail.’ Whether his royal highness the duke of Cumberland has such a chaplain as this Rev. J. L. Crosbie, I do not know; but if he has, I am sure he could not desire him to state that he wished to see the duke of Wellington quail before the duke of Cumberland. As to the duke of Wellington quailing before the duke of Cumberland, it was rather extraordinary that, in the said paper, his grace should be charged with exceeding the bounds of respectful influence over his sovereign, and yet at the same time should be supposed to quail before any other individual. If there were any person whom the duke of Wellington approached with reverence and submission, it was his sovereign, for whom he felt all the respect which was due, as well to his personal qualifica-

tions as to his royal dignity. But, as to fearing or quailing before any man, the duke of Wellington was the last man in the world whom he could suspect of it.”

The verdict in this case was—guilty. Another action, brought against Mr. Bell, the editor of the *Atlas*, for a libel on the lord chancellor, produced a conviction, but with a recommendation to the merciful consideration of the court.

The defendants in these cases were dealt with very leniently, with the exception of Mr. Alexander, who, for each of the three libels of which he had been convicted, was sentenced to be imprisoned four months in Newgate, and for each offence to pay a fine of one hundred pounds; and give security for future good behaviour, himself in five hundred pounds, and two securities in two hundred and fifty pounds each.

The spirit in which sir James Scarlett (a whig attorney-general, or rather a tory attorney-general, though a whig lawyer) conducted these prosecutions, called forth sharp animadversions; and it was contended, that the duke’s government was in no respect bettered by the convictions which had been obtained. It was pointedly asked, “If the *Morning Journal* were a formidable enemy, will these trials diminish its power?—if a feeble one, will they accelerate its downfall? Will any man that respected the ministers before, now respect them more highly? Will any man who hated them before, now hate them less? Will the duke of Wellington’s renown be enhanced, because he has shown himself equal to the conquest—not only of Napoleon, but of Mr. Alexander?”

A new subject of anxiety was now pressed on the British government. The Bourbon rule was again complained of as intolerable; and England was looked upon with an evil eye, when prince Polignac, who had been ambassador at the court of St. James, was chosen by Charles X. to be his prime minister, and a cry was raised that the duke of Wellington, who had brought back the Bourbons, had appointed the prince to further the views of despotism in France. This feeling was so strongly manifested, that the other French ministers objected to his being appointed; and Polignac having made a speech, in which he repelled the charges preferred against him, returned to England as ambassador. He did not remain long in London, but reappeared in the French metropolis; and on the 8th of August, 1829, a royal ordinance announced

the formation of a new administration, of which he was considered to be the head, though the office assigned to him, in the first instance, was that of foreign secretary. It was industriously proclaimed that the new ministers were far from contemplating any violation of the charter; and the *Moniteur* remarked, that "if they had for a moment contemplated governing by ordinances instead of laws, the king would, on the first hint of such a design, deprive them of power, which had only been confided to them that they might govern according to the laws." The people, notwithstanding, remained unsatisfied, and the government of prince Polignac was reproachfully named "the Wellington ministry."

The irritating and disparaging remarks made on the minister, were certainly well calculated to render him hostile to a free press; and the freedom claimed by the Parisian writers of that day was most unbounded, and was exercised with an extravagance of rancour. New restrictions were judged necessary by the government; but the means could not be discovered of rendering them efficient; and articles continued to be published which spared not the monarch, but reproachfully declared there was no union between him and the millions he claimed to govern. In the *Journal des Debats*, it was said, "the bond of affection and confidence which united the monarch with the people is broken. Unhappy France! unhappy king!" On this a formal accusation was preferred, and the article was prosecuted as an offence against the king's person and authority; as any impeachment of the king's judgment in choosing his ministers must so be considered. M. Bertin, the editor, was acquitted, on the ground that however improper the expressions in the article objected to, and however at variance with the moderation which ought to be kept in view while discussing the acts of government, they did not constitute actionable offences against the royal person or dignity. When judgment was to be pronounced, after three hours' deliberation on its form, silence within the walls of the court was strictly enjoined; notwithstanding which, the moment the decision was made known, loud acclamations burst forth, which were heard, echoed, and prolonged by the assembled multitude in the street.

Events succeeded events, all pointing to a new political catastrophe. The duke D'Angoulême had been president of the

council. He withdrew, and his place was supplied by Polignac. That appointment caused new discontents, which were not abated by the evils consequent on a bad harvest. The year closed gloomily; but the public mind appeared tranquillised by the chambers being summoned to meet at the beginning of March.

Charles X. was indignant at the libels and caricatures which unceasingly held him up to hatred and contempt. His situation was, in some respects, not unlike that of James II. of England. James, looking back to the story of his father, read that Charles I., after yielding much, closed his life on the scaffold. Charles X. remembered that Louis XVI., after accepting a constitution, and wearing the *bonnet rouge*, perished by the guillotine. Had he acted with less gentleness and more determination, many writers and speakers confidently declared such would not have been his melancholy fate. Charles, like James, determined to act with vigour, and to vindicate his authority. So resolved (when, at the opening of the new year, the president of the court before which M. Bertin had been acquitted, attended, according to ancient custom, to offer to the king and royal family the usual congratulations and loyal assurances), on M. Seguier expressing satisfaction at the privilege he enjoyed, of thus attending to express his wishes, the king replied to him, "that it was his desire that the magistrates of the court should never forget the important duties they had to fulfil, and should labour to render themselves worthy of the marks of confidence they had received." The harshness of the admonition, breathed at such a moment, was not abated by the suavity of the royal ladies present. The only reply they vouchsafed to like homage tendered to them, was conveyed in the abrupt direction or command—"move on." Such a reception given to M. Segnier, whose recent judgment had been extolled to the skies, gave great offence to the French public; and the newspapers, at once exasperated and emboldened by what had occurred, now in various shapes put the question, "what had France gained by the return of the Bourbons; and might she not hope for happier days under another dynasty?" New prosecutions were instituted; convictions were obtained, and heavy fines were exacted; but still the blow aimed at the press, failed to accomplish the object in view; as the people being appealed to, came

forward with liberal subscriptions, and saved the editors from pecuniary loss; and for other inconveniences they were largely consoled by public applause, and an increase in the sale of their journals.

This state of things continued through January and February. When the day named for the reassembling of the chambers arrived (the 2nd of March), Charles went, accompanied by the royal family, to open the session. The ceremonial was marked by more than ordinary grandeur. The speech delivered by the king gave satisfaction for the most part. It told of France being at peace with all foreign powers, the finances were improving, and it also spoke of fidelity to the charter; but in conclusion, the king called upon the peers to assist him in governing the nation; and he declared, that he put his trust in them to repudiate wicked insinuations. It added, "if obstacles to his government should be thrown in his way, which he could not, and would not foresee, he should find strength to overcome them in the loyalty of his people." When the last paragraph had been read, though the customary demonstrations of loyalty were made, the words of his majesty were supposed to have a latent meaning, which threatened new attempts on the liberties of France. The peers coldly replied. Their address set forth that there was nothing to dread from the efforts of faction, if the government had the support of both chambers, and of the great majority of the people; the crown, the charter, the rights of royalty, and the liberties of the people, being inseparably connected, and as such, to be transmitted undivided to posterity.

The chamber of deputies went further than the peers. In the address moved there, which, as usual, echoed in laudatory terms all that was communicated in the speech, paragraphs were introduced which told that the charter supposed, in order to its beneficial working, a concurrence between the mind of the sovereign and the interests of the people, and the painful duty devolved upon the deputies, to declare that such concurrence existed no longer; all the acts of the present administration, being founded on the assumption that disaffection prevailed among the people, an assumption which the nation felt was derogatory to its character, while it threatened its liberties. It added, the distrust spoken of was not entertained by his majesty. His heart was too noble,

too generous to admit of that; but he could not be farther from coveting despotism, than his people were from desiring anarchy; and he was implored to place confidence in the loyalty of Frenchmen, as they securely reposed in the sincerity of his assurances. In conclusion, he was entreated to choose between his faithful parliament, and those who misrepresented the calm and enlightened views of the loyal French people.

Language like this in France recalled the proceedings of other days, when warm affection was expressed for the person of Louis, and his confidence was invited by those who were preparing to effect his overthrow. Charles appointed the 18th of March for the reception of the address. On that day, at noon, there was a more numerous attendance than usual, and the president of the chamber proceeded to read the document. Charles listened with composure; but when he pronounced the reply his voice evinced considerable emotion. "I have listened," he said, "to the address which you have presented to me, in the name of the chamber of deputies. I am justified in relying upon the concurrence of the two chambers, in accomplishing all the good which I contemplated. I am concerned to find that the deputies proclaim that on their part such concurrence no longer exists. Gentlemen, I announced my intentions in my speech at the opening of the session. They are immutable. The interests of my people forbid my receding from them. My ministers will make my further purposes known to you."

It was now expected that some arbitrary proceeding would be witnessed, and the expectation was not disappointed. On the next day, the 19th of March, the chambers were prorogued to the 1st of September. "Long live the king!" was shouted on the ministerial side. It was responded to by the cry of "Long live the charter!" from the opposition. The galleries were crowded; and one ardent citizen in that part of the building, recurring to what had been the practice forty years before, raised the cry of "Long live the constitution!" Then the royalists called upon the president to clear the gallery; but the session had now been closed, and the president's power was no more. Of course great confusion ensued. Though the chambers were prorogued, no budget had been brought forward, nor had any provision been made for the ordinary expenses of the year. A dissolution of the chamber of deputies followed. The elec-

tions were ordered for June and July, and the new parliament was to assemble on the 3rd of August.

While the suffrages of the people were being collected, Polignac and his colleagues made every exertion in their power to secure the return of members who were likely to support their views; and they even instigated the king to solicit votes for them. On the 14th of June, a proclamation was issued, commencing thus:—"The elections are about to take place throughout the kingdom. Attend to the voice of your king." It went on to speak of the blessings secured to France by the charter and the national institutions; but represented, that to preserve these intact, the royal prerogative must remain unassailed; and finished by calling on electors to hasten to the place of voting. "Let not guilty negligence induce you to absent yourselves!" it urged. "Let one sentiment animate you—one banner be your rallying point! It is your king who claims this from you: it is a father who thus exhorts you. Do your duty, and I will do mine."

Some years before this period, differences had occurred between the dey of Algiers and France. Angry discussions occurred; and, in one of them, the dey struck the French consul with his fly-flap. The insult thus offered being unatoned for, led to a declaration of war on the part of Charles X. Arbitrary visits and depredations were complained of, committed on board French ships; while the sovereignty of France over that portion of territory which is comprised between the river Seibus and Cape Roux, and which she had possessed since the middle of the fifteenth century, had been disputed. Satisfaction was peremptorily demanded; and, as negotiation failed to produce the desired result, the ministers of Charles X., in the hope of exhausting or fixing the attention of that restless spirit abroad which they could not control at home, thought fit to prepare an expedition against Algiers, to claim reparation for all the wrongs of which French subjects had complained. So formidable an armament was assembled in the ports of France, that it attracted the serious notice of the duke of Wellington, and explanations were in consequence demanded by the British government. Lord Aberdeen, as the foreign secretary, wrote to the French minister of war, that the magnitude of the force assembled appeared more than sufficient for the object in view,—exacting satis-

faction for insults, which it was admitted his most Christian majesty had a right to avenge. Explanations were in consequence claimed. "Whatever," lord Aberdeen said, in an official despatch to lord Stuart de Rothsay, "may be the means which shall be found necessary to secure the objects of the expedition, the French government ought at least to have no difficulty in renouncing all views of territorial possession or aggrandisement. The expressions of a former despatch from the French minister, and the substance of which was communicated by the duke de Laval to his majesty's government, were sufficiently precise in this respect; and it is therefore to be presumed that the cabinet of the Tuileries will feel no reluctance in giving an official assurance to the same effect. \* \* \* \* Your excellency may recall to the recollection of the French government the conduct observed by his majesty upon an occasion not dissimilar from the present. When his majesty found it necessary, for the vindication of his own dignity and the reparation of his wrongs, to prepare an armament against Algiers, the instructions addressed to the commander of his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, were communicated to his allies without any reserve; and the whole plan, objects, and extent of the expedition were laid open."

The vigilance thus exercised by the duke of Wellington and his government, was not in the sequel sustained with that energy and decision which might have been expected from the character of the prime minister. A satisfactory answer was not returned. Lord Stuart de Rothsay having communicated the demands of his court, still found them studiously evaded. Adverting to the despatch quoted above, his lordship wrote back to the earl of Aberdeen:—"After hearing the contents of that paper, the prince de Polignac said, that having in the first instance made it known that the expedition was not undertaken with a view to obtain territorial acquisitions, he had not thought it necessary to insert the positive declaration which your lordship appears to expect; but that he can have no difficulty in giving me any assurance which may be calculated to remove the uneasiness of his majesty's government; though he begged me to remember, that he does not mean to abandon the establishments of La Calle and Bastion de France, together with the rights which have accompanied the possession of those ports, during more than a century, and which are

necessary for the protection of the French fisheries on that coast."

There was something very like mean duplicity apparent in the language held by the French government. The throne of their master they probably felt was tottering to its fall; and they feared to precipitate his ex-

posed ruin by frankly and unequivocally declaring that to obtain reparation justly due, and with no view to future aggrandisement, the meditated expedition would sail. This question, however, became one of minor importance by the side of mighty changes soon to be witnessed.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE IS ADDRESSED TO PUT ASIDE THE CHARTER; ORDINANCES ARE FRAMED FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION; THEY ARE SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED.

THE operations against Algiers were completely successful. All France rejoiced at the triumph thus obtained; but the murmur of discontent was heard mingled with the shouts of victory. Prince Polignac and his cabinet had hoped that the glare of success would restrain disaffection. They were miserably disappointed; and having exhausted every expedient which they thought likely to stem the torrent now set in against them, they were forced to decide that they were in no condition to meet the new chamber of deputies elected in consequence of their appeal to the nation. Such being the case, instead of resigning, they took the rash course of addressing a memorial to his majesty, petitioning him to set aside the charter. They declared it to be their opinion, that no means remained for saving the monarchy, but by a daring invasion of the constitution. They held that in them it would be cowardice to desert the king at such a moment, and discussed among themselves a plan of three ordinances, which, issued by Charles, might at once relieve the government from the interference of the press, and the opposition of the chambers. On the 21st of July, certain ordinances were laid before the king in council, with a memorial explanatory of their object and of the circumstances which rendered their adoption expedient. In this it was stated, that "no provision had been made in the charter for the proper regulation of the periodical press, which had never been anything but an instrument of disorder and sedition. It had established for itself a despotism in the chamber of deputies, where every man who advocated the cause of order,

exposed himself to the outrage of the public journals." It further represented, that the success of the expedition to Algiers, had been greatly endangered by the disclosures and criticisms of the press; and the language and sentiments of his majesty himself had been disrespectfully treated in the newspapers. The ministers therefore, considered that it was for his majesty to decide whether such offences should be continued with impunity. They held, that government and a free press could not coexist; and the prolonged cry of indignation and terror from all parts of the kingdom against the Paris journals, pointed to the necessity of their suppression. With respect to the representative body, the memorial urged, that the right of government to provide for its own security must, in the nature of things, be paramount to all law. All legal measures to check the growing disorders had been resorted to in vain; and if the ordinances now submitted were not framed according to the letter of the laws, they were animated by the spirit of the charter, and, therefore, the memorialists did not scruple to recommend that they should be forthwith issued, feeling, as they did, that they were founded in justice, and that justice must prevail.

That a free press is valuable—eminently valuable to a nation—few men will be bold enough to deny. Its civilising influence is confessed: it extends the bounds of knowledge, and it teaches all reflecting minds the importance of obedience to the laws. Still must it be admitted, that it is a blessing often abused; and, perverted by the hands of madness and violence, it may, under



some circumstances, cause enormous disorders, and produce fatal catastrophes. This Polignac and his colleagues believed to be the danger they had to guard against in the then state of France; and such considerations disposed them to frame the ordinances which have been mentioned. By the first of them, the liberty of the newspaper press was suspended: no newspaper was to be published but under the express sanction of government, which was to be renewed every three months, but which might at any time be withdrawn. All writings containing fewer than twenty pages of print, were to be subject to the same regulations. The second ordinance dissolved the chamber of deputies. This was justified on the ground, that in various parts of the kingdom, during the late elections, extraordinary efforts had been made to mislead the judgment of the electors. In order to correct the abuses which had prevailed, a third ordinance abolished certain provisions of the charter which had led to such a result, and power was given to the king to lessen the number of deputies, shorten the duration of their powers, and alter their qualifications and the mode of their election. The ordinances contained other articles, recalling to the council men who were known to be unpopular. They were countersigned by the six ministers present in council, and kept profoundly secret till near midnight on the 25th of July, when they were forwarded to the *Moniteur* for publication the next day.

On the 26th, they saw the light. All Paris was astounded. The opposition newspapers were not slow to assail them; and opinions were obtained from the most eminent lawyers, which declared them to be illegal. A protest against them was framed in the office of the journal called the *National*. It set forth, in strong terms, the arbitrary and illegal character of the obnoxious edicts; and those from whom this document emanated, unequivocally avowed it was their determination not to submit to them, while they invited the deputies to meet on the 3rd of August. The protest described the government to have wholly put aside that character of legality which rendered obedience to its ordinances a duty. In the course of the day, M. Belleyme, a magistrate, gave the sentiments of the protest his sanction, by authorising the printer of the *Journal of Commerce*, to continue the publication of the protest, till the ordinances of the 25th should

have been legally promulgated. Crowds assembled near the exchange at an early hour, and when the gates were opened, a violent tumult arose. The funds declined. The alarm spread in every direction; master manufacturers decided on closing their establishments, and workmen thrown out of employment, swelled the general confusion. The theatres continued open, and there every passage that could be construed to indicate a political feeling, was eagerly applied, and applauded or hissed by the audiences. Notwithstanding these startling symptoms, the ministers remained unmoved, and expected the excitement would subside in impotent murmurs. Numerous groups of malecontents assembled in the leading thoroughfares, and no authorised attempt was hazarded to disperse them. No preparations were made to check the disorders by the interference of the military, and officers obtained leave of absence as usual. Marmont, the duke of Ragusa, commanded the troops, and from the feeling manifested by the soldiers, was soon aware, that in case of an outbreak, he could not depend on their fidelity. Of the force under him (six thousand men) nearly one-third were required in the regular routine of duty, in various parts of the capital, and at the palace. This reduced the number on which he could rely, in case of emergency, to about four thousand. On the 27th, the police were employed to stop the offensive publications, but the conductors of the newspapers resisted them with bold determination. They barred the doors of their offices, and continued to print, and copies were thrown from the windows to the expectant crowd without, as fast as they could be taken from the press. Many thousands were thus put into circulation. The police, to vindicate their efficiency, resolved to break open the doors of the offices, and blacksmiths were required to employ their sledge-hammers for that purpose. The call was disregarded, and one patriot blacksmith after another flatly refused his assistance. An entrance was at last forced, and the papers, manuscripts, and types, were scattered or destroyed, with the presses. But this still more inflamed the indignant populace. One printer, connected with the *Courrier Francais*, fearing to print the paper in violation of the ordinance, was sued by the editors for breach of contract. The tribunal before which this question was to be decided, participated in the general disaffection, and

M. Ganneron pronounced a decision, that as the ordinances were at variance with the charter, they could not be binding on Frenchmen; and the printer was required to fulfil his contract within the ensuing twenty-four hours.

It is not necessary here to describe the scenes which ensued in detail. Let it suffice to say, the disorders increased in the course of the day. Gunsmiths' shops were rifled; barricades were erected; the arsenal was invaded; and still ministers remained firm to the purpose they had avowed. At seven o'clock on the following morning, the prefect of the Seine thought it necessary to apprise the government that a stronger guard was necessary, for the defence of the Hotel de Ville. If this were not promptly supplied, he expected the mob would force an entrance, and establish a provisional council within its walls. This serious intimation appears to have been thought of little importance; and the framers of the ordinances were still confident that declar-

ing Paris in a state of siege would restore order. They met in council at the king's palace at St. Cloud, where the royal family then remained, but nothing was done in consequence of the prefect's communication; and by this time his apprehensions were realised: the Hotel de Ville had been stormed, and its guard, which consisted of but sixteen soldiers, turned out. The intruders then sounded the tocsin, and displayed from the window the tri-coloured flag, surrounded with crape for mourning. The Parisians were now awfully reminded of the dismal scenes of the former revolution; and soon afterwards the tri-coloured flag waved from the ancient towers of Notre-Dame, while the great bell sounded to call the Parisians to arms. Long insensible to the danger, Charles X., when at last he was startled by the belief that Paris had become the scene of a serious revolt, and inquired if such was the case, had to listen to the portentous rejoinder—"Sire, it is not a revolt, but a revolution."

## CHAPTER XX.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLES; AMENDMENTS PROPOSED TO THE ADDRESS; DISTRESS DECLARED TO BE UNIVERSAL; PARLIAMENTARY REFORM CALLED FOR

CONSIDERING the part which the duke had acted during the French revolutionary war; the sentiments he avowed at its commencement; the share he had had in bringing it to a close, and restoring the Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors, it seemed desirable to trace the progress of the disaffected in France, from their refractory proceedings towards the close of 1829, till they produced a new revolution in 1830, before narrating the course which, as one of its consequences, Wellington held it his duty, as prime minister of England, to pursue in the latter year.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 4th of February. In the speech delivered by the lords' commissioner, the following were the most important passages:—"His majesty has seen with satisfaction that the war between Russia and the Ottoman Porte has been brought to a conclusion. The efforts of his majesty to accomplish

the main objects of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, have been unremitted.—His majesty having recently concerted with his allies measures for the pacification and final settlement of Greece, trusts that he shall be enabled at an early period to communicate to you the particulars of this arrangement, with such information as may explain the course which his majesty has pursued throughout the progress of these important transactions.—His majesty laments that he is unable to announce to you the prospect of a reconciliation between the princes of the house of Braganza. His majesty has not deemed it expedient to re-establish, upon their ancient footing, his majesty's diplomatic relations with the kingdom of Portugal; but the numerous embarrassments arising from the continued interruptions of these relations, increase his majesty's desire to effect the termination of so serious an evil. His majesty commands

us to inform you that the export in the last year of British produce and manufactures, has exceeded that of any former year.—His majesty laments, that notwithstanding this indication of active commerce, distress should prevail amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom. It would be most gratifying to the paternal feelings of his majesty, to be enabled to propose, for your consideration, measures calculated to remove the difficulties of any portion of his subjects, and at the same time compatible with the general and permanent interests of his people. It is from a deep solicitude for those interests, that his majesty is impressed with the necessity of acting with extreme caution in reference to this important subject.—His majesty feels assured that you will concur with him in assigning due weight to the effect of any favourable reasons, and to the operation of other causes, which are beyond the reach of legislative control or remedy. Above all, his majesty is convinced that no pressure of temporary difficulty will induce you to relax the determination which you have uniformly manifested to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and the permanent welfare of the country.”

The address was moved by the duke of Buccleuch, and seconded by lord Saltoun. It produced a warm debate. Earl Stanhope said, a speech more inapt and inappropriate had never been delivered from the throne. After congratulating parliament on the close of the war in Turkey, it informed them that distress prevailed among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in “some” parts of the country. Surely it would have been much more correct for his majesty to have told parliament, that unexampled distress prevailed in every class, and in every interest. A portion of his lordship’s speech was especially levelled at the duke of Wellington. He severely remarked on the mention made of the existing distress. It was said that it existed in some parts, when, in truth, it was universal. What part of the country was it in which ministers had not found distress prevailing, and that, too, general, not partial? The kingdom was in a state of universal distress—one likely to be unequalled in its duration, as it was intolerable in its pressure, unless parliament thought fit to inquire for a remedy. It was not confined to agriculture; it had extended to manufactures, to trade,

and commerce. All these great interests had never before, at one time, been at so low an ebb, nor in a condition which demanded so loudly the prompt and energetic interference of parliament. The speech found not only mere partial distress in some parts of the country, but ascribed what it did admit to unfavourable seasons. Unfavourable seasons did, of course, operate upon grain; but was their effect usually visible in a reduction of prices? Did a bad harvest make corn cheap? The evil was so notorious, that nobody but his majesty’s ministers doubted its existence; and how could even they feebly pretend to deny it, if they only cast their eyes around, and saw the counties spontaneously pouring on them every kind of solicitation for relief? Why, then, was inquiry evaded or denied? The petitions of the people, he maintained, had been treated with neglect, and the circumstances of the country were such as imperiously called for inquiry. A course different from that which had been pursued must be adopted to extricate the country from its present difficulties. It was mainly to save the house from the disgusting ridicule and scorn (for he could not use milder terms) to which it would be exposed if the address were carried, that he should propose an amendment which had this recommendation,—that it would neither prejudice the cause of the distress, nor the remedy that ought to be applied; it would merely pledge parliament to institute a minute inquiry into the existing distress, with a view to the amelioration of the suffering classes in all parts of the country. The terms of it would be—“That this house views, with the deepest sorrow and anxiety, the severe distress which now afflicts the country, and will immediately proceed to examine its cause, and the means of affording effective and speedy relief.” His lordship said, should he be unsuccessful, as probably he should be, he should then enter his protest against any further proceedings; and in a very short time, as soon as a sufficient attendance could be obtained, he should submit a motion for inquiry—not by any “select” committee of members to be named by the duke of Wellington, but an inquiry by the whole house into the state of the nation, as to its internal condition. His taking that course would not preclude any noble lord from moving for an inquiry into the state of the foreign relations of the country: but that he did not intend to do;

first, because he was not sufficiently informed on the subject; and secondly, because, though he might see much to deplore in the foreign policy which had been pursued, he also saw much to admire in the pacific course which had been preferred by the duke.

The address was supported by lord Goderich. Doing this, he assured their lordships, that insensibility to the distress which prevailed in the country could not justly be imputed to him; but, while looking at that, they ought not to neglect other important subjects which were brought under their consideration by the speech. That his majesty saw with satisfaction the termination of the war with Turkey, he could believe; but he could not feel great satisfaction at the mode in which it had been terminated. His lordship had never thought it could come to any other end. For the last hundred and thirty years, the power of the Turk had dwindled every day; while the power of those states which would be most likely to contend in warfare against him had been progressively and naturally increasing. The principle of his government and his faith made it impossible for him to advance in the same degree as others: he was the victim of a blind, stupid, prejudiced fanaticism; while those powers whom fear before restrained—but whose cupidty was now awakened by the hope of deriving benefit from his weakness—had been making a daily progress in those arts which first make a country independent of, and afterwards superior to, her less civilised neighbours. That had been strongly exemplified with respect to Turkey. There had not been a single war in which the Turks had been engaged for the last hundred and thirty years, which they had not come out of shorn of a portion of their strength. He had been convinced that nothing could save the sultan but a combination of the other powers—a combination which he could never have counselled.—The earl of Carnarvon dwelt on the distressed state of the country, and declared the great and overwhelming cause of it was the line of conduct which had been adopted within the last few years, which had brought the country down from the pinnacle of prosperity to its present depressed state. He charged the government of the duke with partiality to Don Miguel. They had, in fact, acted as constables for his protection. The conduct of the government in preventing the landing of the Portuguese, who went out unarmed to join the force of

their lawful queen at Tereira, was a decided violation of the neutrality which ministers professed to observe, and was an interposition unwarranted by the law of nations. England was certainly not bound to assist in conveying them there; but he defied any man to prove that she was justified in preventing an unarmed body from landing on that island. Even if the government knew that the men were afterwards to be all armed, and sent to attack Portugal, still he would contend that England, as a neutral nation, had no right to interpose. He would ask the noble lord at the head of the admiralty, if he had ever heard of such a naval or military armament as an unarmed vessel, containing six hundred unarmed men? In regard to the distress which prevailed, if a wide step had been taken in error, it was only by taking as wide a step in retreat, that they could hope to recover their lost advantages. "The government," he remarked, "had confessed themselves not only unable to relieve the distress complained of, but they now declared that they could not even distinguish it." He could not vote for the address, as he thought it would pledge him to a blind reliance on ministers, and to an opinion as to the state of the country which he believed to be inconsistent with truth; and he was astonished that that opinion could have found its way into the speech.

The duke of Wellington followed the noble earl, and made a speech, in which he maintained that the distress was not universal. His view of the then state of the country he thus expressed:—"If, my lords, I could entertain any doubt of the propriety of the determination which I had formed, not to refer to those points of the motion of my noble friend near me, relative to foreign affairs, in answer to noble lords opposite—I say, my lords, if I had ever harboured any such doubts, they would be entirely removed by the latter part of the speech of the noble earl (Carnarvon) who has just sat down. Instead of referring to those parts in his majesty's speech, and in the address of my noble friend, which have relation to the transactions of the present year, he has found it necessary to refer to the history of the last two years, in order to find ground of blame against his majesty's government. In the very last session of parliament, I declared my earnest anxiety that your lordships would be pleased to discuss the very question which the noble earl has taken the advantage of this night's discussion to intro-

duce to your consideration—taken advantage of to introduce without notice to any one concerned, or opportunity given them to consult the documents, that we might see whether the noble earl quoted them correctly, or whether any others were necessary to the elucidation of those transactions to which he has referred. It was not to those transactions that the noble earl addressed himself, but to certain papers for which he had upon some former occasion moved; and to-night, upon the occasion of considering an address in answer to the speech from the throne, he loses sight of all the topics of that speech and address, and refers to other transactions, upon which no information has yet been given to the house—or, at least, but very partial information—and charges government with certain things—where he found them, God only knows—most certainly not in the dispatches which have been laid before this house, or which have reached the public office.” In reference to complaints made, that the British army in Portugal had been disposed of to favour the views of Miguel, while steps had been taken or sanctioned, which caused the failure of the insurrection at Oporto, continuing his speech, he said:—“I say, my lords, there was no such communication as that which the noble earl refers to. It was desired by Don Miguel, that the British troops should continue in Portugal, but the proposal was negated by the British government; and it is not true that any such proposition was made by any individual, or set of individuals, on the part of this government, that I know of. But the noble earl considers that to us is attributable the failure of the insurrection of Oporto. Surely not, my lords; we had nothing to do with it. The truth is, that the insurrectionists of Oporto had all the strength of troops, abundance of ammunition, and all the muniments of war necessary to carry their points, and they were joined by the very officers who (the noble earl says) were absent, and who, if present, would have obtained all the ends of the expedition: but they withdrew from Portugal; they quitted the ship which carried them; they left the country, because they saw the whole country was against them. That was the fact, and it appeared upon the face of the correspondence. But not only has the noble earl referred to transactions for which there are no documents, but also to others, of which the documents are before your lord-

ships, and to which he might as well have given notice of his intention of referring to-night. I say, my lords, that we were neutral in the contest between Don Miguel and his niece or brother; that we were neutral in the civil war of Portugal. The neutrality was never violated by us. We were bound in commercial relations with Portugal—bound by a commercial treaty before the time that he usurped the government of Portugal, and under that we had rights to maintain. Being so situated, could we suffer an army to be organised at Plymouth for the purpose of invading Portugal, the Azores, Terceira, or any other place within his dominions? Don Miguel might be an usurper, or he might not; that was not a question which we had a right to settle by appeals to such arguments as would show a disposition to violate the strict neutrality it was our duty to observe in the contest. The noble earl talks of the cruelty of that transaction at Terceira, and regrets that blood had been spilled. I regret it too. I believe that one man was killed, though the evidence on that point is not so clear as the noble earl would make it appear. The fact has not been proved. But this was not our affair: we did no more than was required to keep his majesty’s neutrality, and we were fully justified by the laws of nations, and by that treaty, in taking those measures. The noble earl has also adverted to the correspondence having been carried on through the person who filled the situation which I had the honour to hold upon that occasion, as if I had taken upon myself the duties of that noble lord (lord Aberdeen.) But if the noble earl would quote accurately that correspondence, he would see why it devolved upon me; why my noble friend did not undertake it; and why it was afterwards transferred to my noble friend. It remained in my hands while the person acting here for Portugal did not assume an official character, a state of things it was our object to prolong; but as soon as an official person did appear, the business was then transferred to my noble friend, and from that time he took upon himself the negotiation. Such was the history of that transaction, so far as I recollect. For, not thinking that an affair which happened so long before last session, would be made the subject of discussion to-night, I do not pretend to speak with any accuracy upon it, and, in fact, trust entirely to my recollection of its circumstances. I

had intended to confine myself in what I had to say to the latter part of the speech from the throne, and the latter part of the address, which was particularly alluded to by the noble earl at the table, and which, notwithstanding the great pains that have been taken with other topics, I consider the most important part of the speech. His majesty has thought proper to recommend to this house that it should proceed with great caution in the consideration of the subjects which are to be submitted to it. But what does the noble earl opposite do? He not only does not attend to the recommendation of his majesty—a recommendation to proceed with prudence and discretion—but he calls upon your lordships to pledge yourselves not only to inquire into those transactions for the good of the country, but he points out the very measures which ought to be adopted; namely, an alteration of the currency. This, I say, my lords, is the measure pointed out by the noble earl. He has thought proper to make some observations on the speech, as if his majesty's government had neglected to ascertain the true state of the country—as if they were ignorant of its distress, and as if I, in particular, was negligent of my duty in this instance. I can assure him, that no one is more sensible than I am of the state of things, and that no one laments it more sincerely than I do; and I am certain, that independently of motive or interest in this subject, arising from my official situation, there is no person in the country who feels for its distress more acutely, than the person who fills the situation which I have the honour to hold. The noble earl has said, that in the speech the whole of the distress was attributed to the state of the seasons; but what is the statement of the speech upon that subject? Without affecting to quote it literally, is it not in substance this,—that in considering the remedies to be applied to this state of things, you are to give due weight to the unfavourable nature of the seasons, which occasioned enormous expenses in collecting the harvest, and which has, in fact, occasioned one bad harvest, if not another; so that the collection of it was excessively expensive. Surely these circumstances must not be overlooked in taking the subject of distress into consideration. But, besides the agriculturists, there is another class labouring under great distress—the manufacturers. I want to know whether the competition of machinery

with labour in all departments of mechanics—the general application of steam—the competition abroad with our manufacturers—and the general imitation of our fabrics—have not produced very great distress among the manufacturers at home? These are the circumstances to which his majesty refers as important to be considered in connexion with the subject of distress, and they are those over which parliament has no control. Can this house prevent competition by foreign markets with our own? Can we prevent improvements in machinery? Can we prevent steam from being applied to foreign manufacture? And yet we all know that this injurious competition is ruinous to the manufacturer, by lowering his wages, or throwing the labourers out of employ. But then, the noble earl says, the distress is general—universal. My lords, I am afraid the distress is very general; but notwithstanding the distress which prevails, there are symptoms to show that the country is advancing. I say—and it can be proved by the documents—that the exports of British manufactures have increased—have been increasing for the last few years; and that in the last year they were larger than they ever were before. There are, upon all sides, shown the strongest symptoms of improvement in the condition of the country: there is not a railroad or canal, upon which the traffic has not increased of late years, including last year. True it is, that the profits of trade are now smaller than they were formerly; but if profits, however small, are being derived from the labour of man and animals, surely it is impossible but that some advantage must accrue to some one. These advantages are not so great as they were ten or fifteen years ago; but there is some advantage, or would the increase of traffic exist? And where that is the case, the distress cannot be said to be universal. There is in this country a very large class of persons who are retail dealers: I ask if they are distressed? This class is very numerous in every town and village in England: I want to know if they are distressed? Are they able to pay their rents? Who build and rent all the new houses that one sees in all directions? These, my lords, are circumstances, say what you please, which every man must feel and acknowledge as indications that the country, notwithstanding the pressure upon it, is still rising, and in some points must continue to rise. I will now say

one word, my lords, upon the remedies proposed by the noble earl, who had entirely misunderstood the argument of the noble viscount (Goderich.) The noble viscount had said that the revenue in the year 1815 produced eighty millions sterling; and that the taxes had been reduced, first to the amount of eighteen million pounds, and afterwards to the amount of nine million pounds; making, altogether, twenty-seven million pounds: the revenue produced in sound currency now, the same amount as it did in a depreciated currency before. Does not, then, this fact of the revenue keeping up, though the taxes were taken off, prove that the consumption of articles had increased one-third since the period when the taxes were taken off—a proof also of the better state of the country. It would be impossible for the country to increase in its consumption one-third in fifteen years, if it was suffering under the universal distress which the noble lord talks of. The noble lord opposite, and the noble lord who spoke last (Carnarvon), have thought proper to refer the distress to a deficient circulation. Now, my lords, I hold in my hand a paper which gives the relative amount of the circulation at different periods. By this, it appears that the largest sum ever known to be in circulation during the bank restriction, was sixty-four millions sterling. The sum was made up of—bank of England notes, thirty million pounds; country bank-notes, twenty-three million pounds; gold, four million pounds; silver, seven million pounds: total, sixty-four million pounds. But in the last year the circulation consisted of—bank of England notes, nineteen million nine hundred thousand pounds; country bank-notes, nine million two hundred thousand pounds; gold, twenty-eight million pounds; silver, eight million pounds: total, sixty-five million one hundred thousand pounds—being an excess over the largest circulation ever known. If the question be about the actual amount of money in circulation, I beg to observe that there is more money in circulation now than there ever was at any period of the bank restriction; and that whoever considers there is abroad sixty-five millions, cannot say that money is scarce. Why, the truth of the matter is, that noble lords want not extended circulation, but unlimited circulation—that is, to give an unlimited power to some individuals—not the crown—any one but the crown—to coin as much money in the shape of paper as they please,

that they may be enabled to lend a fictitious capital to all sorts of speculators. This is what the noble earl opposite wants, but what the country cannot have, without exposing it to a degree of ruin from which it so narrowly escaped in 1825 and 1826. If your lordships will attend to the arguments of the noble lord, you will see that this is what he wants. For what is the language now held? 'In the west of England,' one says, 'I inquired, and found the farmer could not borrow any money: his corn-yards and hayricks were full, but he was not able to raise money upon them; and why? Because the country banker cannot coin one-pound notes.' If these bankers, says the noble earl, cannot lend their money, they cannot get any interest upon their capital. I beg his pardon. The banker may have discount upon cashing the farmer's bill; but he is not content with that profit; he wants to be coining one-pound notes, and to have profit upon these insecure notes, in addition to the discount. And what is it the noble earl wants now, and will move for, perhaps, in a few days? Not to increase the circulation, for there is as much now as at any former period; but to give certain persons power to lend as much money as they please upon any or no land—security or no security. I submit to your lordships, that the noble earl has not proved the want of money: there never was a period when money was less wanted. Is there any man, however speculative—any scheme, however visionary, provided only it is a little plausible, which now-a-days lacks support? Is there any power, however bankrupt—even Portugal and Brazil, though the creditors of these countries have been so ill-treated—but can borrow money in this city, upon any security or no security? In fact, capital is more abundant now than it was ever known to be; and the evil is certainly not too limited a circulation. I will now pass to more important topics in his majesty's speech—namely, the measures which affect the permanent welfare of the country. In answer to all the declamation that we have heard to-night, as to the evils resulting from free-trade, and this system of currency, I beg to state to your lordships only one fact. Since the year 1815, but principally since the bank restriction was taken off, measures have been adopted by which this country has been relieved from twenty-seven million pounds a-year taxes, besides three or four millions of interest, representing a

capital of a hundred millions of debt. I will tell the advocates of what is called an 'equitable adjustment,' that with all their measures, they could not have accomplished so much. I repeat, that since the bank restriction has been taken off, the country has been relieved to the amount of nine millions, and eighteen millions beside. I wish to take no credit for this: I give it to those to whom it is properly due—to my noble friend upon the cross-bench (lord Bexley), and to the noble viscount (Goderich) opposite. Your lordships, then, perceive what may be done by economy: we give our pledge to strive to attain similar ends, by the like means; and we call upon you, and count upon you giving us that aid, in putting that economy into practice, which will enable us to imitate and rival our predecessors. I trust that your lordships will believe that his majesty's ministers will do all in their power to relieve the distresses of the country."

The marquis of Clanricarde justified the comments of the earl of Carnarvon, and held them to be seasonable when ministers, by their own confession, were about to recognise Don Miguel.—The earl of Aberdeen said due notice would be given before any steps were taken towards that recognition. He would not say that at that moment any intention existed on the part of the government to recognise Don Miguel; but for himself he had long considered such recognition as only a question of time; for take place it must, at one time or other, though the period might be precipitated or retarded by different considerations.

Upon this, lord Holland indignantly said, he understood the noble earl to tell their lordships, that when the happy period arrived when they were to acknowledge as king of Portugal the usurper whose whole course had been marked by the greatest hostility and perfidy to this country, that then parliament was to be made acquainted with all about it. From the papers which were already before them, the conduct of ministers appeared to him to have been very disgraceful. He hoped before they resolved upon the disgrace and ignominy of recognising the bloody usurper and tyrant of a country which was of more importance to England than any country in Europe, that full information would be given to their lordships as to what had been done in that matter.

To this it was bluntly replied, by the earl

of Aberdeen, that when ministers thought fit to advise their sovereign to renew diplomatic relations with Portugal, it would not be thought necessary to ask his advice as to the course proper to be adopted; but such information would be laid before the house as would, he trusted, fully justify the government. He spoke of the unfavourable reports affecting Don Miguel as having been much exaggerated. At all events, he was the choice of the Portuguese people; and it was for the interest of England to be connected with Portugal, whether it was governed by one brother of the house of Braganza or the other. The interruption which had now taken place in the relations of the two countries, had been of greater duration than had ever occurred before in the course of two hundred years. That interruption was calculated to injure the union which had so long subsisted between the two countries; and it could not, therefore, be wondered at, that ministers were anxious to get back to that state which had been the settled policy of the country for so long a period.

The amendment was supported by the earl of Winchelsea; but lord King said he found it absolutely necessary to submit to their lordships an amendment of his own. He objected to the speech, because it conveyed no adequate idea of the distress of the country, of the nature of the disease, and none whatever of the proper cure. They had heard in the speech the tenth time-told-tale of "temporary distress;" but he wanted to know why, after fifteen years' peace, the country experienced a recurrence of what was constantly called "temporary distress." There had been a variety of reasons assigned at various times for the distress. At one time there was a superabundance of food; at another, a superabundance of goods; at a third, they were labouring under a load of paper; and at a fourth, under a load of money. All these foolish reasons were assigned for the sinking and going down which every one experienced. The cause of the evil would be found in the monopolies which met them at every turn. They had a monopoly of beer, a monopoly of corn, a monopoly of sugar, and a monopoly of tea; and the effect of all these fell upon the consumer. He verily believed, that the relief which might be afforded by the repeal of the monopolies would amount to at least one-half of the national debt. He was confident that the nation would be a gainer to that amount: the relief would produce a



saving at least equal to fifteen million pounds per annum. The amendment which he had to move, when that already offered should be disposed of, and which he proposed should be inserted in the thirteenth paragraph of the address, set forth, that after fifteen years of peace, great distress existed; that it was the duty of parliament to examine into the cause of the distress; that the necessaries of life were rendered dear by taxation and regulation, too much being taken from the industrious classes, too much given to the privileged classes; that it was a grievous aggravation of the taxation, that further enormous sums were permitted to be extorted from the people by the intolerable monopoly of corn, beer, sugar, tea, and other articles, for the private benefit of powerful and favoured classes. The amendment enumerated the partial and exorbitant duties of excise; the monopoly conferred on the cultivators of sugar in the British West India islands; the exclusive trade and navigation to China conferred on the East India Company; and, in conclusion, it set forth that permanent relief could only be expected from the strictest economy in every branch of the public expenditure; from the abolition of all exclusive privileges and monopolies; from an unrestricted supply of the first necessaries of life and of the materials of manufacture, and from a really free trade, by which the whole community, as consumers of goods, would be greatly benefited, the labouring classes enabled to procure a fair reward, while the capitalist augmented those funds by which all labour was supported.

The earl of Darnley and the marquis of Lausdowne spoke in opposition to the amendment. On a division, the original address was carried by a large majority; the numbers being—contents, seventy-one; non-contents, nine.

The address was moved in the house of commons by the earl of Darlington, eldest son of the marquis of Cleveland. It was seconded by Mr. Ward. The same objection which had been taken to the speech in the lords, was made to it in the lower house. Sir Edward Knatchbull complained that the speech stated distress to exist in some places. He marvelled how such language could find its way into the speech. He knew that the distress was not so great in some places as in others; but the question was—was not distress universal? "We are asked," said he, "on this important day—perhaps the

most important we have ever witnessed—to approach his majesty with a declaration very like a falsehood." He proposed, as an amendment, to add to the address, after the words "any former year"—"But that we lament the distress which his majesty informs us exists in some places: we are, however, in the faithful discharge of our duty, constrained to declare to his majesty our opinion, that the distress is not confined, as his majesty has been advised, to some particular places, but that it is general among all the productive interests of the country, which are severely suffering from increased pressure: we beg to assure his majesty, that we will adopt the caution his majesty has recommended in the consideration of such measures as may be proposed to us, and that our earnest endeavours shall be directed to relieve the country from its present difficulties."

A sharp debate ensued, and another amendment was read by Mr. Protheroe, which he proposed to move when the one already before the house should be disposed of. In that which he desired to carry it was declared, that the measures which had been recommended by ministers and adopted by parliament, had failed to mitigate the calamities under which the country was sinking. That the tendency of the present political, financial, and ecclesiastical system was to accumulate in few hands enormous masses of property, leaving the middle classes struggling to support a precarious credit, and the lower in a degraded dependence for daily food. It further set forth, that neither the landowner nor the farmer had been enriched by the corn-laws; while the bread of the poor was made dear, and the labourer was stinted in his hire; that the merchant, the shipowner, the manufacturer, and trader, were proceeding with hopeless efforts of industry; that the peasants and operative mechanics were hastening to a state of universal pauperism; that the pleasures of the rich were purchased at the expense of the poor, under the administration of the game-laws; that the nation was bowed down by taxation and by a wasteful, blundering, and jobbing expenditure of public money in the erection of palaces and public buildings in the metropolis, alike devoid of taste and utility; that the tithe system was peculiarly galling at such a season of distress, while the unequal distribution of the revenue of the church of England and Ireland, and the inadequate

provision made for those who performed its most active duties were viewed with serious concern by the friends of the establishment, and afforded just cause of scandal to its enemies; that the colonial interests of the country were plunged in a state of equal depression; and finally, the amendment closed with these words:—"We cannot but feel how uncertain must be all dependence upon the acts of a legislature which does not, and cannot as now constituted, adequately represent the talents, the sentiments, and the wishes of the country; yet we will not fail, while maintaining the integrity of our admired constitution, to consult in all our deliberations the spirit of an enlightened age, and the just petitions of the people, by a decided retrenchment of expenditure, a large reduction of taxation, and by a needful reform, commencing with our own 'house.'"

The question of parliamentary reform, during the last half century, had been frequently debated. Brought forward year after year, the subject seemed to have been worn out; and the public, which had often eagerly joined in "the call," wearied with the repetition, had almost abandoned the hope of seeing that organic change effected which, through a series of years, had been demanded in vain. The time had now arrived at which the flame (which had burned so fiercely twenty years before, when its great champion, sir Francis Burdett, was sent to the Tower) was to be rekindled. The proposed amendment, praying for many reforms, and recommending that the first step should be to effect a reform of the house of commons, called forth the warm applause of Mr. Alderman Waithman, who declared he had never been better pleased with any speech than with that by which the subject had now been introduced. The worthy alderman spoke to the gloomy aspect of things generally, and reported the distress of the traders in the city of London to be great in the extreme. Their stocks, he said, had suffered a depression of forty per cent. from the circumstances of the times. He added—their interests were not so fully represented in that house as were those of other classes; but at present, the fact was, that the distress was not confined to any particular class—the great body of the people were all equally distressed. Things had come to that pass, that something must be done. They must either bring up prices to a level with the taxation, or bring down the taxation to a

level with the prices. If parliament did not adopt one or other of these plans, he was as certain as that he stood there that he should live to witness—and, at his time of life, he could not expect to see many years—a scene of dreadful confusion in the country.

This view of the then situation of things was supported by Mr. Davenport. He said, the boast made on the subject of the exports had been shown to be a fallacy, as it was notorious the master-manufacturer was obliged to sell his goods for less than prime-cost. Of the duke of Wellington he said, his grace entertained very singular ideas as to the actual situation of the country. The duke had said that the extravagant habits which had prevailed during the war must be abandoned, and moderate and sober habits introduced. Sober habits, he admitted, were good; but why not extend them to all—to ministers, to sinecurists—to all who lived on the taxes. If

"Order and sobriety

were

The rules of his society,"

why not make them general?—He went on to assure the house that, in many parts of the country, the people were sober enough to satisfy anybody, as they were reduced to live on potatoes and water. The duke of Wellington, he said, "ought to recollect that each of those sober people had contributed his mite to present him with the most splendid reward that ever soldier had received. He doubted if they would have granted his grace seven hundred thousand pounds, if they had thought he would have favoured laws which had a tendency to double that large sum. He considered that, with respect to national credit, there were two debts owing by the nation,—one, that which the government borrowed, and that which, by Mr. Peel's bill, was doubled. The first would be paid; but the other never would be, never could be, and never ought to be paid."

Many who were disposed to support the government, concurred with their opponents in describing the distress of the period to be severe in the extreme. Mr. Alderman Thompson, while avowing his belief that the measures which ministers were about to suggest, would be those best calculated to relieve the overwhelming calamity which spread itself over every part of the community, cautioned them against relying too confidently on the exports of the country, as indicating a revival of prosperity. Of late, British manufactures

had found no market at the price they could command a few years ago; but the merchants were compelled to send their goods abroad on the chance of sale anywhere, and at almost any price. The capitalist of London had changed his mode of dealing, and had lately assumed the character of a pawnbroker. British goods were sent in this way, not to the continental markets merely, but to the whole world. There were goods then lying in the custom-house, which had been offered for sale in vain, and could be sold by no house at all in the city. Since 1826, British manufactures had decreased from forty to fifty per cent. in price. He had been assured that both masters and workmen were fast coming down to despair; and he knew that labourers went through most painful toil, and after fourteen hours of hard and constant labour could only earn a few shillings, which were utterly insufficient to procure for them the common comforts of life. He did not support the amendment, as he thought it better to wait till government had developed their scheme for abating the evil: should that prove insufficient, he said he should then give his immediate support to the gentlemen opposite, who, however, he satirically added, were quite as anxious for a change of men, as they were for a change of measures.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in replying to those who had supported the amendment, assured the house that, much as those gentlemen might feel for the distresses of the people, none could participate more largely in the regret which they awakened, than those who were responsible for advising his majesty on the subject. They had judged it their duty to counsel him not to present an exaggerated picture to parliament, but one that they, from the best information they could gain, believed to be correct. It was not to be denied that there was a great and severe pressure on the manufacturing and agricultural portions of the community in some parts of the United Kingdom; but he believed that there were parts, which, so far from being visited with such an affliction, were enjoying comparative ease and comfort. If the state of agricultural produce in Ireland were examined, it would be found that great prosperity and comfort were existing in that part of the empire; and it would also be found that there were parts of England in which much of the pressure which existed had arisen from the free introduction of Irish produce; so that, in proportion as one part of the United Kingdom was depressed,

at least another was benefited and advanced. The object of the speeches made in support of the amendment was to make an alteration in the standard of value, or at least in the currency of the country, so as to change those laws which parliament had sanctioned, after the most mature and anxious deliberation. He now declared that, to entertain the proposition of altering the standard of value which was laid down in 1819 as the basis of the circulation of the country, or to concur in the restoration of the circulating medium of one-pound notes, were concessions which the government would never be prepared to make. The government, pursuing the course which he had indicated, might not be providing for their popularity at that moment, but he believed they were pursuing the true course to benefit the country—a course which would ensure its future acquiescence in the soundness of their policy.

The speech from the throne was attacked by Mr. O'Connell as meagre and unsatisfactory; but, in reference to what had been stated of the improved state of Ireland, he said, the chancellor of the exchequer considered he had found "one oasis" in the desert—a country where no distress at all existed. Who would have thought that that country was Ireland? Was it, then, not true, that there were seven thousand registered persons, in Dublin alone, actually living on three-halfpence a-day; and that even that miserable pittance was nearly exhausted? The first subscription, with the lord-lieutenant at its head, amounted to three thousand five hundred pounds; the second, to no more than three hundred pounds. If what had been stated were true, what very cruel landlords, what very stingy agriculturists Ireland must contain, that they should be in such a state of prosperity, and not even contribute a farthing to such miserable objects of pity. He described great distress to exist in many parts of the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. There had been various instances in which the rents had been obtained only by the sale even of the very blankets with which the unfortunate tenants had been covered. In the production of that distress many causes concurred, but unquestionably the state of the currency was one of them. He was convinced that ministers could not make good the pledge which had been given by the chancellor of the exchequer, without diminishing the taxation of the country, and reducing it, not by

candle-ends and cheese-parings, but by millions upon millions. Instead of keeping up a taxation of sixty million pounds, if a gold currency were persevered in, it must be cut down to fifteen or twenty millions. He would support the amendment then before the house; and if that were lost, he could wish to propose a resolution, to the effect—that the existence of distress being admitted, and that distress not being caused by any fault of the people, it was the first duty of the house to inquire into its causes, with a view to afford radical and satisfactory relief to all parties; and supposing his resolution to be adopted, he would then move that the house should sit from day to day until it had ascertained the causes of the general distress.

Mr. Huskisson took part in the debate, and declared that the statement made in the amendment on the subject of the distress which prevailed, was more correct than the statement on the same subject contained in the address of the noble lord. Entertaining that opinion, he could not support the address. He was not one of those who thought the difficulties of the country so great as they had been represented in many quarters: he did not despair of seeing the country restored to a state of prosperity; but, from all the information he possessed, he felt satisfied that there now existed that degree of pressure on the productive classes generally, which, were it to be permanent or long-continued, would be incompatible with their continuous existence. Some gentlemen, he remarked, attributed the distress to a supposed deficiency in the currency. That was a proposition which he thought they would find it difficult to maintain; for money was more abundant in London than it had been at any former period—as exchequer-bills, paying two-and-a-quarter interest, were selling at a premium of seventy-five shillings; and it was seen every day, that money was borrowed at a very low rate. The fact was, there was a stagnation, in several parts, of the productive industry of the country, and an overflow of capital in others. In almost all branches of productive industry the profits were so small, as not to compensate for the amount of capital employed, or afford sufficient support to the individuals whose labour was required. In conclusion, he repeated—that he felt bound to support the amendment, because it expressed the facts of the case with more justice to the feelings of the

house, and to the duty which the throne and the country had a right to expect from them, than the original motion.

It was from dread of the horrors of a civil war, that the duke of Wellington had consented to introduce the catholic emancipation bill. If he expected it would give him popularity, or his government stability, his disappointment must have been great. The whig party had become his allies and the eulogists of his policy while that important measure was under consideration; but when it was carried, the good feeling between the ministerialists and them was soon perceived to be on the decline. They could not cordially act together. The duke of Wellington, it was believed, now that the immediate cause of difference was removed, would gladly have brought about a reconciliation with his old political friends; but this could not be suddenly effected; while the imputed disposition to favour it, tended to alienate altogether his whig supporters, who, however, were still disposed to afford him just so much aid as might keep him separated from the old tory or conservative body. Such being the state of things, the powerful voice of Mr. Huskisson, raised in favour of the amendment before the house, was a serious blow to the administration.—Mr. Peel followed that right honourable gentleman, and expressed surprise at the course which he had thought it right to take. Hitherto, he remarked, he had always been anxious to guard against raising false hopes, which might in the end cause severe disappointment. His advice had constantly been, to trust to time, and to those resources which had on former occasions exhibited that elasticity which had enabled this great nation to rise superior to difficulties of greater magnitude than those they had now to meet. Notwithstanding the gloomy statements which they had heard, the internal state of the country was less disheartening than many were disposed to believe. While some interests were depressed, others were in an improving state; and the distress which was the subject of complaint, he could not be persuaded grew out of the present state of the currency. If he and his colleagues could be convinced of the contrary, they would as readily abandon the opinions they had held on that subject, as they had those which were known to have been theirs on another important question. For himself, he could see no shame in public men giving up opinions

they had formed in their earlier days, when circumstances proved that they were erroneous. Every hour he lived convinced him more and more of the folly and presumption of binding themselves irrevocably to opinions once avowed. On mature deliberation he was satisfied that more serious evils would arise from unsettling the currency, than any which were to be apprehended from adopting an opposite course. He denied that there was any want of sympathy, on the part of ministers, for the existing distress; but they could not consent to the amendment, as they felt that it would be dangerous to excite vain hopes. Rash experiments would tend to introduce permanent evils, instead of affording the sufferers (whose case was now pressed on their attention) immediate relief. He remarked, with satisfaction, on the language which had been held respecting England in the American president's recent message to congress, and showed that Dom Miguel had been recognised by the government of the United States. He was prepared to show, from documents in his possession, that there had not been the falling off which had been stated in the national consumption of the country. He had been furnished with complete statements of the amount of tonnage carried, and of the amount of tonnage duties received upon the principal canals. The returns commenced with the year 1820—that year when the bill which he (Mr. Peel) would never disclaim (though so much obliquely had been thrown upon it—he meant the bill for regulating the metallic standard, and restoring the currency) took effect. He had expressly desired that they should be made out that year; for he well remembered, that when that bill came into operation, prophecies without number were propounded, that the commercial transactions and concerns of this country were so complicated and so multiplied, that any attempt to carry such a measure into effect, would tend to cramp and depress the energies of the nation. He was ready to take his stand by what had occurred in our foreign trade; but he would fortify himself by proofs of an increase also in our home consumption. The returns which he had procured were from the Forth and Clyde canals, from the duke of Bridgewater's canal, from the Grand Junction canal, from the Kennet and Avon, and from the Berkeley and Gloucester canals. In the year 1820, the amount of tonnage on the Forth and Clyde canal was three thousand two

hundred and ninety; in the following year, four thousand and twenty-eight; four thousand four hundred and sixty in 1822; four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four in 1823; four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four in 1824; five thousand eight hundred and four in 1825; five thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight in 1826; five thousand eight hundred and eighteen in 1827; and in 1828 (the last year to which the accounts were made up), five thousand nine hundred and seventy. Thus, in the year 1828, the amount of tonnage was five thousand nine hundred and seventy; while the average of the eight preceding years was four thousand eight hundred and forty-three; giving an increase, in the year 1828, to the amount of one thousand tons upon this canal. Upon all the other canals a similar progressive increase had taken place in their business from the year 1819 to the year 1828. On the duke of Bridgewater's canal, in the year ending the 1st of January, 1830, the average amount of tonnage was one thousand five hundred and eighty-six; while, in the year 1829, the average was one thousand one hundred and fourteen; so that it appeared that the average amount of tonnage on that canal, for the last year, exceeded that of the former year by nearly five hundred tons. It might be said, that though the tonnage had increased, the tonnage-duties had not. Now, he had expressly inquired as to the amount of duties received, and this was the result:—Upon the Grand Junction canal, the average amount of the tonnage-duties received for the eight preceding years was eight thousand six hundred and six pounds; last year, the average had risen to nine thousand pounds. On the Grand Trunk canal, the average of the eight preceding years was eight thousand and one pounds; but last year it had risen to fourteen thousand and forty-nine pounds. Upon the Kennet and Avon, the average for the same period was one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine pounds; last year, it amounted to two thousand one hundred and ninety pounds; the average amount of tonnage-duties on the river Avon, for the same period, was one thousand five hundred and forty-seven pounds; last year, it amounted to one thousand seven hundred and six pounds. The average amount upon the Gloucester and Berkeley canal, for the seven years preceding 1828, was one thousand and sixty-nine pounds. It had increased in 1828, to two thousand two hundred and thirty-five

pounds; and, last year, to two thousand three hundred and sixty pounds. Here, on this canal, the average was more than doubled in the course of two years. These facts should induce the house to pause before it sanctioned the statement that universal, irremediable distress prevailed throughout the country.

In reply to what had been said on the subject of the distressed state of Ireland, Mr. Peel said—"No doubt distress prevailed in the country, and God grant that some measure might be devised to remedy it. But was there any proof before the house that the agricultural interests of Ireland were suffering under universal distress and depression? Could it be said that universal distress existed among the agriculturists of Scotland?" He doubted if such was the fact, and called on the house to use due precaution before it expressed such an opinion. He maintained that the address in answer to the speech, gave a truer description of the state of the country than the amendment proposed by the honourable baronet. It was perfectly consistent on the part of his majesty's ministers, while they felt sincere sympathy for the distress which did exist, to be extremely cautious as to the adoption of rash experiments, with a view to its alleviation. The distress which did exist had originated in causes over which government had no control; and it should be borne in mind, that it was not exclusively confined to the dominions of his majesty. The agricultural interests had also experienced similar depression in America, and in other countries. In France, for instance, the distress had been, in many places, as severe as in any part of this country. In parts of the United States, the distress had been equally great. In Russia, at that moment, a proclamation had been issued for lowering the rate of interest, with a view to remedy the agricultural distress prevailing there; therefore the causes (whatever they might be) which had operated to produce distress, were not confined to this country. Great weight was certainly due to the effects produced by unfavourable seasons. He believed that the expense incurred by the agricultural interest, both in cultivating the soil and collecting the harvest, had never been so great as in the last two years, owing to the extreme wetness of the season. That was sufficient to account, in some degree, for the depression experienced by the agricultural interest; and besides, he did not think that due weight

had been assigned to the effect of the importations from Ireland. That was a cause beyond remedy or control. Ireland was fairly entitled to a free access to the markets of Great Britain; and no man would be mad enough to propose to restrict the importations from that country. He held in his hand an account of the importations from Ireland into the port of Liverpool during the last year. During that period there had been imported into Liverpool, from Ireland, forty-nine thousand oxen, thirteen thousand calves, eighteen thousand pigs, one hundred and eleven thousand sheep, one thousand three hundred lambs; and the total value of agricultural produce thus imported, amounted to one million two hundred and seventy thousand pounds, exclusive of corn. It was impossible to deny that such immense importations from Ireland, had the effect of depressing the agricultural interests of this country. The same argument applied to Scotland; and he submitted to the house, that the crown was quite justified in calling upon them to use extreme caution before it should attempt to remedy, by legislative interference, the distress which existed. It was because ministers believed that any rash experiment with the currency would (though it might possibly afford some immediate benefit) only be productive of more permanent evils than those from which the country was relieved, that they had come to the determination of maintaining the present system, and exposing themselves to whatever obloquy might attach to their pursuing that line of conduct.

The result of the debate was a majority of fifty-three in favour of ministers; the numbers being—for the amendment, one hundred and five; against it, one hundred and fifty-eight.

The address ordered by the house being prepared by a committee, their report was brought up on the following day, when another lengthened debate took place, in the course of which some explanations were offered by lord Palmerston, modifying the support he had given in the amendment on the preceding day. An amendment was moved by the marquis of Blandford, which, in strong language, called for a parliamentary reform. It declared that "in the awful and unusual distress into which the landed, commercial, and all the great productive interests of the country were at that moment plunged, that house felt itself called upon to take care that his

majesty should not be the only person in his dominions that remained ignorant of such an astounding fact, as well as of the consequent impending danger to the throne, and other great national institutions. The house," it went on to say, "was at no loss to indicate the cause of this most unnatural state of things; and, in justice to his majesty and the nation, could no longer hesitate to proclaim that cause to the world. That cause," it added, "was a fact already too notorious, that the house of commons, which was intended by the ancient and admirable constitution of the country, to be the guardian of the nation's purse, had been nominated for the greater part by the proprietors of close and decayed boroughs, and by a few individuals who, by the power of money, employed in means absolutely and positively forbidden by the laws, had obtained a domination over certain cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom. The result was, that in a period much shorter than the life of man, taxation had increased from nine million pounds to nearly sixty million pounds a-year; while the poor-rates had been raised from one million five hundred thousand pounds, to eight millions annually. To render such a mass of taxation supportable, recourse had been had to tampering with the currency, which had plunged one class of the com-

munity after another into poverty, misery, and ruin; and the house therefore declared its solemn conviction, that no effectual measures of salvation would or could be adopted, till the people should be restored to their rightful share in the legislation of the country—to their undoubted right of choosing the members of that house."

The amendment was seconded by Mr. O'Connell. Sir Francis Burdett approved of the sentiments it expressed, but remarked, the question was of such magnitude—of such paramount importance, that, in order that justice might be done to it, it would be well to postpone the consideration of it to a future (not distant) day, when, if his were the only vote in its favour, such a motion should have his support. The noble marquis, notwithstanding this, determined on pressing his amendment to a division, though left almost without a supporter. It was resisted by Mr. Peel, who considered, that whatever the merits of the question, it could not then be properly discussed. Several other members, though favourable to a parliamentary reform, were of opinion that the subject was indiscreetly brought forward by the noble marquis; and in consequence, when the division took place, there were but eleven yeas to eighty-five noes. The original motion was then carried.

## CHAPTER XXI.

MR. O'CONNELL CONTINUES TO AGITATE; THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION IS REVIVED; RIOT AT LIMERICK; GREEK AND TURKISH AFFAIRS; SIR JAMES GRAHAM CALLS FOR A REDUCTION OF SALARIES; RETRENCHMENT; ANGRY DEBATE ON THE ESTIMATES.

It has been seen that Mr. O'Connell lost no time in manifesting his hostility to the government, both in and out of parliament. From common observers it called forth satirical comments on the texture of Irish gratitude; but with all his popularity among a certain class, he had no just claim to be considered the representative of Irish feeling.

It can hardly be supposed that politicians so experienced as the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, were greatly taken by surprise at finding the attacks of O'Connell continued with unabated rancour. They

had not to learn that he did not consider it his mission to teach his countrymen obedience to the laws, and good-will to England; and must have been aware that whatever was granted, he was desirous of seeing used but as a means to an end—as a stepping-stone to gain something more. That much had been granted, but emboldened him to demand that nothing should be withheld. The wish would have been wise and patriotic, had it prompted him to recall those who had wandered from the right path to a sense of duty, and to teach abstinence from outrage; that it might be seen English

good-will confirmed Irish loyalty. But such was not the lesson which he taught—such was not the course which he deemed it his mission to prescribe. The cry was still, “agitate! agitate! agitate!” and the speeches addressed to the crowds that followed him, were, in effect, exhortations to riot and disaffection. He, at this time, personally, found it necessary greatly to exert himself to preserve that popularity which he had so long enjoyed, and which had been so productive of rent, or tribute. It was, from certain recent occurrences, seriously endangered. Those who once listened to him with profound admiration, and almost worshipped him as a sublimely disinterested patriot, began to suspect that his love for his country was somewhat alloyed by the common-place anxieties of a professed man of the world. His impetuosity was continually the cause of his being involved in serious quarrels with those who had been his confidential friends: angry disclosures followed; and many irregularities were from time to time imputed to him. At an early period of his political career he killed a man in a duel, and subsequently declared that he would never take part in another mortal combat. No one blamed this declaration, till, regardless of it, he grossly insulted parties, who felt aggrieved that by his vow, or resolution, they were precluded from taking a course which would otherwise have been open to them. Towards the close of the last year, an imputation was thrown on him of having been in negotiation with the Beresford family, on the subject of acting as their counsel in the Waterford election. He put forth an account of the affair in a letter to the electors of Waterford, in which he made it appear that he had refused a very large fee, the accuracy of which statement was denied by Mr. Mahony, an eminent solicitor, who had acted for O’Connell in the first Clare election. The consequence of this, was a scene which ended very little to the credit of the great agitator. It was thus given to the public in *Saunders’s News Letter*:—“On the day after the publication of Mr. O’Connell’s address to the electors of Waterford, Mr. Mahony was conversing with some gentlemen in the hall of the Four Courts, when Mr. O’Connell joined the group.—‘Well,’ said he, addressing Mr. Mahony, ‘have you seen my letter; and what do you think of it?’—‘I have seen it,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘and I am sorry, for your own sake,

that you ever wrote it.’—‘Why?’ demanded the counsellor.—‘Because,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘it is untrue.’—‘Untrue! in what respect?’—‘Why, with respect to the amount of the fee. You never were offered the sum you state; and, therefore, you never could have refused it.’—‘The sum,’ said Mr. O’Connell, ‘was mentioned in your letter.’—‘Positively not,’ responded Mr. Mahony; ‘I have perused my letter on the subject since I read that published by you; and I positively assert that you have stated that which is not true.’—‘Well, then,’ said Mr. O’Connell, ‘you mentioned the sum to me in conversation.’—‘That,’ replied Mr. Mahony, coolly, ‘was impossible, for I was in England.’ Driven from one falsehood to another, the counsellor lost his temper, and exclaimed, with great warmth and some vehemence, ‘Well, no matter. This I can say, that I will not be bullied nor put down by the Beresfords, or by their panderers or agents.’—‘Mr. O’Connell,’ said Mr. Mahony, ‘you well know that you are the only man who dare use such expressions in my presence with impunity. You have earned an infamous protection for yourself, and no gentleman can take notice of what comes from your lips.’”

Notwithstanding this attack, which must have awakened bitter resentment, and many affronts of a character equally offensive, he did not abate his pretensions. He might feel that this could not be done with safety. The course he took was to affect a laugh at all that could be said to disparage him, and gaily to proclaim that he was “the best abused man in the kingdom.”

It must astonish every one, that with the duke’s known views of the importance of maintaining strict discipline in the army, and even in the cabinet, that he could have allowed such proceedings to continue as were witnessed in Ireland during his administration. The truth is, if there were anything on earth that he could be said to fear, it was civil war. He had marked its horrors on the continent, and shuddered at the bare idea of looking on them again in the country which gave him birth. Hence it was, that under the name of constitutional agitation, he suffered the demagogues of the day to preach rebellion, and almost to practise it. Early in the year, an association was formed in Dublin, under the soothing comprehensive name of “The friends of Ireland of all religious persuasions.” This body, under O’Connell’s instructions, called



for a series of legislative measures, which they declared were indispensably necessary to the welfare and tranquillity of the country; and they proceeded insolently to declare, that it was their determination to agitate till all their demands were conceded. One of the measures called for was the repeal of the subletting act, a law which was generally considered to have operated most beneficially. They further called for a radical reform in parliament, and a repeal of the union. The new society, as it was called, was, in truth, no other than the catholic association with a different appellation. All the efforts formerly made, in the name of catholic emancipation, to exasperate the lower orders against England and the duke of Wellington's government, were again resorted to; and the distress of the peasantry and others, which it must be admitted was dreadful to contemplate (as the tenants of Mr. O'Connell, under their patriotic landlord, knew right well), they were taught to believe was all owing to the legislative union with England, and the want of a separate parliament for Ireland.

At a meeting called to raise a subscription to relieve the starving poor, over which the lord mayor of Dublin presided, Mr. O'Connell cautioned those present not to let their anxiety to abate the misery pressed on their attention, make them overlook the cause from which it sprung. He told them, "it could not be attributed to the badness of their soil; and why, then, was pauperism so prevalent among them? It is," he said, "because seven million pounds annually are taken out of the country by absentees. If the duke of Leinster, who has been named, had a house in Dublin, would not his grace and his family employ our starving artisans? He has not even a lodging in Dublin, but he gave fifty thousand pounds for a house in London." His own patriotism he exemplified by stating, that when he went to England, he took care to wear clothes made in Ireland. It was remarked by a gallant admiral present, that such language was likely to do harm rather than good. If the English, in a spirit of retaliation, should refuse Irish beef, butter, and linen, it would greatly injure the industrious classes in Ireland. Than that, nothing could be more reasonable. It would be a strange system of political economy that could regard the loss of so large a customer as England, to a poor productive country as other than an awful calamity; though this was not admitted by the O'Connell party.

The lord-lieutenant now found it neces-

sary to avail himself of the power given to him to suppress the catholic association; and a proclamation issued, forbidding the society called "the friends of Ireland" to meet. As a matter of course, this was described to be a tyrannical or Algerine mandate; but it was not openly disobeyed. O'Connell next advised that, in order to prove to the government how dangerous it was to resist the demand of what he chose to call the Irish people, that a run should be simultaneously made on all the banks, in order to shake credit and create confusion. This mischievous counsel was not acted upon to any considerable extent—a proof that the misled followers of the so-called liberator had no banks to run upon; and that the Irish people generally—the intelligence and property of the country—were not favourable to the extreme measures which he was prepared to advocate. He directed attention to the revolutionary triumphs which had been won in other countries, expressing a fervent hope that the actors in them would see others were ready to follow "their bright example." Among the changes which were called for, was the total severance of the protestant church from the state; and, till that were effected, he declared perfect liberty never could be known.

The assembling of "the friends of Ireland" being prohibited, a new confederacy was set on foot, named the "anti-union association." This barefaced attempt to set the viceroy at defiance, was met by a proclamation, on the day named for the meeting, which compelled the members to desist from their purpose in appearance, but in appearance only, as a meeting was immediately called with the same object in view, the name only being changed to "the association of Irish volunteers for the repeal of the union." O'Connell insisted that the repeal of the union was absolutely necessary for the well-being of the people, and therefore enjoined them to prepare petitions in every county, city, town, parish, village, and hamlet, to which every male person should affix his name or his mark; as, that done, the unanimous voice of the people of Ireland would convince England that the union must be repealed. Another proclamation was issued by the lord-lieutenant, prohibiting the meeting of the Irish volunteers; and they did not venture to assemble. Volumes of abuse were poured on the government for the determination thus evinced; but the necessity of setting some bound to rampant

disaffection, calling itself "agitation," was established to the satisfaction of every thinking man; and meetings were held, which were attended by noblemen and men of property, at which resolutions were passed in favour of the connexion with England, and declaring the readiness of those who subscribed them to uphold the union by all the means in their power.

The distress which prevailed, and the excitement thus evoked, kept the country in a very unsettled state, and serious disorders occasionally broke out. Later in the year, in the middle of June, a riot occurred at Limerick, which caused some alarm to be felt. A mob, comprehending several thousands of persons, attacked the Blackwater-mill stores, on St. George's-quay, and they next seized four or five cart-loads of oatmeal on Thomond-bridge. To Arthur's-quay they next went, where they seized more than four tons of meal; and other places were visited by the still increasing multitude, and seizures were made of pork, bacon, lard, and even (in the hungry spirit of plunder) of a quantity of bay-salt. A party of dragoons at length stayed the violence of the rioters, and compelled them to disperse; but they ventured to reappear in the vicinity of the Linen-hall, and their operations being directed against the butter-house, a great quantity of butter was carried off; but the greater part of it was subsequently recaptured. During these tumultuous movements property was attacked valued at ten thousand pounds, and two or three of the plunderers lost their lives.

The affairs of Greece were much remarked upon at this time, both in and out of parliament, and the conduct of ministers with regard to them seriously questioned. Turkish despotism had become extremely odious. Much tyranny towards the Greeks, and many imputed enormities, had caused a strong feeling in the minds of many English politicians, that the power of Turkey in Europe ought no longer to exist.—Lord Holland, on various occasions, turned his attention to this subject; and on the 11th of February, he brought forward a motion respecting the settlement of Greece, in doing which, he said, "though he was no lover of the Turk, yet, being a lover of good faith, he could not think it consistent with the honour of Great Britain to behave to Turkey as she had done, her conduct having been that of a deceitful and hollow friend, and

eventually of base and pusillanimous desertion, though the Turks on that memorable day, when the duke of Wellington took his seat in that house as first lord of the treasury, had been called 'our ancient ally,' and one, the integrity of whose empire and dominion this country was bound by the ties of interest, and the faith of treaties, to maintain." The resolution with which he concluded, declared no pacification or settlement of Greece would appear to that house permanently advantageous to the interests of Europe, or honourable to his majesty's crown, which did not give to that country a sufficient territory for national defence both by land and sea, and which did not establish therein a government with full powers to adapt its laws and institutions to the wishes of the people, and to protect its subjects from all foreign interference in their domestic concerns.

Explanations of great interest of the policy of England were offered by the earl of Aberdeen, to show that the course pursued by ministers had for its object to carry into effect the treaty of London, which did not profess to have in view the independence of Greece to any extent. If they had deviated from the strict letter of the treaty, this had been uniformly in favour of the Greeks; and in this they had gone beyond the most sanguine expectations of their friends. "The noble baron," lord Aberdeen said, "appears to have some notion that the new state should be of certain dimensions, and that to make them so, the island of Candia must be taken from Turkey. Upon that part of the subject, as well as all the rest, the noble baron seems to be very imperfectly informed. The existence of any war at all in Candia is to be attributed to ourselves and to our allies: at the date of the treaty of London that island was tranquil. A mountainous district in that part of the world, indeed, was always in that state of insubordination which is too frequent in Turkish provinces; but Candia, at the date of the treaty of London, was as tranquil as it had ever been under the Turks. In the execution of the operations directed, it was found necessary to establish the blockade of Candia; and what was the effect of it? The Greek pirates were driven to take refuge with their brethren in the mountains; and this was the signal for excesses, and the commencement of a civil war. By means of assistance of money and men from the provisional government of

Greece, a war was kept up, which is not yet entirely at an end. The noble baron has also alluded to a report, if possible more inaccurate than most of those on which he has founded his motion: he has supposed that there is some intention to interfere with the establishment of the form of government most desired by the Greeks, and this design he has gratuitously attributed to that demon which seems to haunt his lordship's thoughts whenever he talks of foreign politics, and which he imagines has influenced us to adopt a course which he holds in abhorrence. If he alludes to Austria, I can assure him, that Austria had about as much to do with the settlement of Greece as the noble baron has had, or not so much, indeed. I deprecate any interference with the internal government of the new state: for God's sake let the prince and the people settle their institutions for themselves. We must not force our institutions upon them, but give them full liberty to act as they please, and to found a constitution adapted to their wants and wishes. The noble baron has not omitted to renew his charges, in consequence of the opinions expressed by my noble friend near me (the duke of Wellington) and myself, upon the importance of preserving the Turkish empire. These opinions I have no objection to repeat; and I therefore regret the change recently effected in the relative position of that power, as compared with its neighbours. I do not regret it from any love of the Turks or of the Turkish government—God forbid! I have seen and know the effect of the barbarous rule existing there; and nobody can be more alive to the horrors with which it abounds. But give me leave to say, that the improvement of Turkey may be purchased at too dear a rate; and I still think that the conquest of that country would be paying dear indeed for the amelioration of its condition. The power of Turkey has been considerably weakened; and it remains to be seen how it may be affected by the change, and whether the apprehensions entertained are warranted. The noble baron treats these opinions with ineffable contempt—as notions not to be tolerated in a member of this house; but surely he must have forgotten that they are not only not new, but that they have been always entertained by this government. By no man have they been more strongly felt than by a right honourable gentleman for whom the noble

baron naturally feels the greatest regard and the highest veneration—the late Mr. Fox, who declared that he was not only most anxious for the independence of the Turkish empire, but that he was ready to guarantee its integrity. With this authority on our side, I do not think that the noble baron is again likely to treat us with such supreme scorn because we profess the same opinions, not for the sake of the Turks, but for the sake of the peace of Europe.”

In his reply, lord Holland urged that the charge he had preferred against the duke of Wellington was, that his observations, which had buoyed up the sultan with an expectation that England would throw herself between the combatants as a shield to our “ancient ally,” and had then left her to her fate, had not been answered. The noble earl stated it to have been the wish of Mr. Fox that the Turks should be driven out of Europe. He believed he knew what had been the views of Mr. Fox as well as any man living, and doubted if he had expressed, with respect to Turkey, the opinions said to have been his. This produced a very remarkable statement from the earl of Aberdeen. The opinion of Mr. Fox, to which he had referred, was taken from no speech or report of Mr. Fox's opinions, but from his own letters, written with the deliberation due to an official document—for such it was. A letter had been addressed to Mr. Fox by M. Talleyrand, dated April 1st, 1806, in which the French minister, among other matters, said, “The integrity and complete independence of the Ottoman empire, form not only the sincerest desire, but constitute also the undeviating object of his policy.” To this Mr. Fox replied, in a letter dated April 8th, 1806, “As to what has been stated relative to the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, no difficulty can present itself, those objects being equally dear to all the parties interested in the present discussion.” The motion of lord Holland was negatived without a division.

Though little sympathy was felt for the Turks, the aggressive movements of Russia, and the great extension of her empire, friendly as she was to England, were watched with suspicion and viewed with displeasure; but various circumstances conspired to call attention from the foreign policy of ministers to matters of more immediate concern at home.

That great distress existed in many parts of the country was beyond all doubt; and in such cases, whatever the true causes of the evil, those who are not well affected to the government of the day, blame the minister for all the people have to endure. Relief from taxation was loudly demanded, and retrenchment was fiercely called for. Ministers declared themselves willing and anxious to effect every retrenchment that could be safely adopted; but with anything they thought it right to propose, their opponents, and, indeed, the people generally were not satisfied. A motion was brought forward by sir James Graham, in the house of commons, on the 12th of February, for a reduction of all official salaries. He showed that subsequent to the passing of the bank restriction act, all salaries had been increased in consideration of the additional expense of living, and that restriction having ceased, he contended salaries ought to be diminished, now that a return to cash-payments had been effected. The bank restriction act had produced a depreciation of the currency and a rise in prices, which was the ground for an increase of salaries. Calling for an increase of the civil list, in 1802, lord Sidmouth had said—"When gentlemen refer to their experience in the increased value of every article in the course of the last two or three years, I am sure the excess of the civil list, which renders an addition to it necessary, will be readily accounted for." Like reasons, he showed, had been urged by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Perceval, while calling on parliament to make up a deficiency, and to increase the salaries of the judges. The value of money having been restored, operated in a two-fold manner,—adding to the weight of all fixed payments, while it lowered wages and the prices of provisions. Hence the miserable state to which the people were reduced, and hence arose the necessity for rigid, unsparing economy; and one great source of reduction must be the abating the salaries of those who had their hands in the public purse; excluding, however, from their consideration, the privy purse and the royal establishment. The measure of 1819 had produced great changes. Sir James Graham said, he being then a young member, and overborne by authority, had voted for it. Mr. Ricardo, on whose faith he had pinned his own, had told him the return to cash payments would only make a difference of three per cent.; the earl of Liverpool had since frankly acknowledged that the

difference, instead of three, was not less than twenty-five per cent. When government increased the value of money, and did not reduce taxation, they encroached on the comforts of the labouring classes. Taxation prevented the fall of prices. He had heard something of luxuries, he said (alluding to a remark made by the duke of Wellington, that in certain cases the luxurious habits of parties, which had been acquired during high prices and the war, must be abated.) Sir James said, he knew not whence the notions of luxury were derived: were they drawn from the gorgeous palaces of kings, or from the rival palaces of ministers, or from those of East India directors, rich with the monopoly of the China trade, or from those of Jew loan-contractors, who supplied to foreign states the gold from the coffers of the bank of England? He added—

"Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey  
The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,  
'Tis yours to judge how wide the limits stand,  
Between a splendid and a happy land."

"What," he asked, "was now the boast of this happy country? Where was the furniture that adorned the poor man's cottage? All was gone—pinching hunger and despair now held their place in the labourer's habitation. The weaver in the county which he represented (Cumberland), earned but 4s. 2d. a-week, out of which he had to support his family. Oatmeal, water, and peas were his sole food, and for these he had to work fourteen or fifteen hours a-day."

On the subject of the revenue, he said, he thought the time was come when the gross amount of the assessed taxes and customs should be carried to the public account. These returns now amounted to nineteen millions, and there was a per centage of nearly six pounds: in 1810, the per centage was only £4 9s. The salaries of public officers, too, had been raised in an extraordinary manner since 1821. There was one to which, as a sample, he would call the attention of the house. He did not wish to be hard upon the humble clerk, but he thought the extravagant salaries of the higher officers might be advantageously diminished. Now, the case to which he alluded was, that when the father of his honourable friend, the member for Northamptonshire (lord Althorp) was first lord of the admiralty, he was content with a salary of three thousand pounds a-year; and this was at a time when we sent Nelson to annihilate our enemies at the Nile, and

Duncan to conquer at Camperdown, and at a time when we had fleets on every sea in the civilised world; and yet now, in a year of profound peace, my lord Melville received five thousand pounds a-year. Thus it was that now, sixty per cent. more was paid than had been granted to lord Spencer. He would next refer to a paper for which he had moved in 1828. It related to the number of persons employed, and the comparative amount of their salaries, in the years 1797 and 1827. In 1797, there were sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-seven persons employed in the civil service connected with the revenue, and their salaries amounted to one million three hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds. The average salary, therefore, of each man amounted, in 1797, to eighty-four pounds. In 1827, there were twenty-two thousand nine hundred and twelve persons employed, whose gross salary amounted to two million seven hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds, while the average salary of each was one hundred and twenty-one pounds. Thus it appeared, there was an increase of one-third in the number of persons, and that fifty per cent. was added to the amount of salary. But it was, at the same time, curious to observe the difference in the price of wheat now, and at a more remote period. And here he would observe with Mr. Horner, that although it was usual to take the precious metals as the standard, yet that bread-corn was the real standard; and in this he was borne out by Mr. Locke, who had declared that wheat was, in fact, the standard by which all things must be ultimately determined. Now, in 1810, wheat was one hundred and five shillings a quarter; it was at present fifty-five shillings a quarter: five hundred thousand quarters, therefore, in 1810, were equivalent to one million quarters at present. It was, consequently, obvious, that there was great unfairness in our having salaries doubled, while we have our standard at but half its former value. "I am not," continued the honourable baronet, "one of those who viewed, without the utmost jealousy, in 1828, the elevation of the duke of Wellington to the highest office in the state. I had observed, with deep regret, his opposition to the government of Mr. Canning, stated to proceed from an irreconcilable difference with respect to the catholic question; and differing from the honourable member for the county of Hertford (sir J. Sebright), I did not

think that a military education was the best preparation for a statesman seeking to administer the affairs of a free people. I remembered what the historian had said, that he who had been trained amidst arms, and had obtained a consummate knowledge of his art, might be disposed to transfer to the cabinet the doctrines of the camp, and recognise no submission but implicit obedience. A little reflection, however, led me to hope that he who had acquired a knowledge of the people in every clime and circumstance of danger—who had never failed to lead them on to victory—must, more than any other, respect that nation whom he had proved to be the lords of human kind. I was not altogether disappointed in these expectations. In the first session, the noble duke supported a bill for the repeal of the test and corporation acts, which had been introduced by a noble friend of mine (lord J. Russell), who thereby added another to the many obligations which the people of this country are under to his family. He also conferred the merited honours of his profession upon a distinguished barrister, (Mr. Denman)—an ornament to this house, whom I should again wish to see amongst us. In the last session he carried a measure which Mr. Pitt declared to be the keystone of the union; which Fox, though he ably advocated it, never ventured to bring forward; which hurled from power Grey and Grenville, because they attempted to bring it forward; which Grattan, the warm-hearted champion of the Irish, would have died to accomplish; which, because Mr. Canning could not accomplish, he died from chagrin and despair—so deeply did he feel the effects of bitter calumny and gnawing care. This bolder minister, however (nothing daunted by the fall of his predecessors), effected a religious peace on the solid base of equality of civil rights. All these are great obligations; but political gratitude is short-lived. Events press upon events—day by day we are called upon for decision—we cannot, we must not, lag behind. If the fundholder, the political economist, the lawyer, whig and tory, are to rally under the banners of the Wellington government, the time is come, when, on the part of the tax-payer, it is necessary to form another party to reduce the burthens of the country."

The secretary to the treasury (Mr. Dawson) undertook to oppose the motion; and, doing this, to vindicate the government, and especially to show what, in respect to patronage,

the conduct of the duke of Wellington had been. He brought before the house what had been done since the year 1797, when all practical retrenchment, and the abolition of sinecures and reversions had been recommended by a committee. Those recommendations had been acted upon, as far as it was possible. If the wardenship of the Cinque Ports had been allowed to exist, the salary formerly attached to it had ceased. The office of governor of the Isle of Wight, and of the two chief-justices in Eyre, and the clerkships of the rolls in Ireland and in England, had been abolished. The office of auditor of the exchequer, in the former country, had also ceased. The same place in England would be abolished as soon as a vacancy occurred, and the salary (four thousand pounds a-year) would be saved to the country. Twenty-three other offices had been abolished since 1807: making, in all, thirty-two sinecure and reversionsary places that had ceased, since the recommendation of the committee. The office of comptroller-of-barracks had been transferred to the ordnance department; that of the commissioner of the transport board, to the navy victualling board; and that of commissary-in-chief, to the treasury. The office of store-keeper-general had been abolished; the board of customs in Scotland and Ireland, the boards of excise in Scotland and Ireland, and the boards of stamps in both those countries, had been abolished. Of all these different boards, the number of commissioners had been fifty-nine: they were now reduced to twenty-eight. This had been done with no other desire than to diminish the public expenditure: for that purpose, thirty-one commissionerships, with salaries of from one thousand to one thousand four hundred pounds a-year had been abolished. But the motion now before the house, it was said, concerned the rate at which the public servants still retained should be paid; not the number of them which might be necessary for the public service. Even in this point of view, however, it was nothing new; and government had already made considerable progress in the very course to which sir James Graham pointed. In 1821, an address had been moved for reductions in the public expenditure, founded on the increase of salaries since 1797. That proposition had embraced, with a very few exceptions, everything which was now sought to be attained. In consequence of it, government had been desirous to adopt the scale of 1797; and

though that object had not been fully accomplished, yet, looking at the difference in the extent of public business now, and in 1797, he thought the house would see, that salaries had been brought, as nearly as possible, to the rate of the latter year. The rules laid down by the treasury, with respect to all future offices, were to the following effect; viz.—“That every office should be restored, with respect to numbers and emoluments, to the standard of 1797, unless in cases where there should be some adequate cause for departing from this rule: that where, from increase of business, or the necessity of greater dispatch, it should be necessary to enlarge the numbers, and increase the emoluments of officers, the increase thus made should be assimilated to the salaries of those officers who held similar situations in 1797: that if any office, existing in 1797, should cease to be necessary, or cease to become capable of being reduced, such office should be abolished or reduced.” Such were the orders made by the treasury in 1821: they extended over the whole range of public offices; and a glance at any one department would show how much had been done, and how little the resolution before the house was called for. Under the old establishment, the minimum expense of the treasury was forty-six thousand pounds a-year; and the maximum, sixty-four thousand pounds a-year. Under the new regulation, the minimum was forty-one thousand pounds a-year; and the maximum forty-eight thousand pounds a-year. The reduction, therefore, under the new regulation, was as forty-eight thousand to sixty-four thousand pounds; or, in other words, thirty per cent. The effect of it on the salaries of the junior clerks was a reduction of twenty-six per cent.; on the salaries of the assistant-clerks, forty per cent.; on the salaries of the chief clerks, twenty per cent. What, however, had been the effect of this regulation on the salaries of the superior officers? Why, by a comparison between their salaries in 1797 and 1821, it would be found that they were greater in the former than in the latter year; and, consequently, that, if the present proposition were adopted, it would cut off from the salaries of those who could not afford to part from anything, while it would increase the salaries of the very persons whose emoluments it was wished to reduce. In 1797, the salary of the first lord of the treasury was, as now, five thousand pounds per annum; and that of each of the junior lords of the treasury, as

now, one thousand two hundred and twenty pounds; the salary of the secretary of the treasury, in 1769, 1770, and 1771, was three thousand seven hundred pounds; in 1797, the salary amounted to five thousand pounds, including emoluments. It was reduced to four thousand pounds in 1800; and, by the operation of the treasury regulations of 1821, it was further reduced three thousand five hundred pounds—the amount at which it now stood. Then compare the labour of that department in 1797 and 1821. In 1797 there were registered at the treasury four thousand six hundred papers; and in 1821, there were registered no fewer than twenty-seven thousand papers. Now, when it was recollected that this was done by individuals who received only the same salaries as in 1797, and by subordinate officers, whose salaries were less, but whose labour was ten times greater than the labour was in 1797, he did think he had made out a case which would induce the house to deliberate long, before they came to the resolution of depriving an industrious and valuable body of men of any part of their fair remuneration. The same regulations had been followed in the offices of the secretaries of state. In 1797, the salary of a secretary of state was six thousand pounds. It was now the same; but in 1782 it had been eight thousand pounds. The salary of an under-secretary, in 1797, was two thousand pounds. It was afterwards reduced to one thousand five hundred pounds: again it was raised to two thousand pounds; then to two thousand five hundred pounds; and, by the treasury minute of 1821, it was once more reduced to two thousand pounds—the amount at which it now stood, and above which it could not be increased. A similar reduction had taken place in the office of the secretary-at-war. The number of persons employed in that office had been increased since 1797, while the total amount of salaries had been diminished. In 1797, the number of persons employed in that office was fifty-eight, and the amount of salaries thirty-six thousand pounds. In 1829, the number of persons was ninety-nine; and the amount of salaries, thirty-three thousand pounds. The deputy-secretary, in 1797, had a salary of two thousand five hundred pounds, and perquisites, which amounted to fourteen thousand nine hundred pounds. The three chief clerks had salaries of three thousand pounds a-year each. The salaries of three clerks had been reduced to one thousand two hundred

pounds, to one thousand pounds, and to nine hundred pounds a-year; and the salary of the deputy had been reduced to three thousand pounds. Similar reductions had been made in the customs and excise. In the former, since 1818, two thousand five hundred and eleven officers had been reduced, and the amount of reduction of salaries was two hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred and seventy-eight pounds. Many of the officers, of course, retired on superannuation allowances; and it was but justice to the noble duke at the head of the government to state how he dealt with them, because his conduct, in this respect (though without parade and often unknown), showed how little he valued patronage, when placed against the public good. When the board of customs was abolished in Scotland, a gentleman connected with that establishment retired on a superannuation pension of seven hundred and fifty pounds a-year. It happened that the comptrollership of the customs in Quebec became vacant; and as soon as the duke of Wellington understood that the gentleman in question was capable of filling it, he waived his claim to the patronage, and appointed him to the office, the salary of which being one thousand five hundred pounds a-year, the superannuation pension was saved to the country. Very soon after, by a similar appointment, the noble duke saved the country one thousand pounds a-year. A certain office falling vacant, the duke of Wellington again waived his claim to the patronage, and appointed to the situation a gentleman whose pension was a charge on the country to the amount of from seven hundred to eight hundred pounds a-year. Since, therefore, parliament had already directed its attention to the very object which the proposition now before the house has in view, since government had been successfully employed in accomplishing that object, and had shown no disposition to relax in their exertions, he trusted that the house would negative the motion; in which case, to show that he had no disposition to get rid of the question, he would himself move the following resolution:—“That whereas his majesty was graciously pleased, in answer to an address of that house, to assure the house on the 27th of June, 1821, that his majesty would cause an inquiry to be made into all the departments of the civil government, with a view of reducing the number of persons employed in the various offices, and the amount of salaries paid.

Resolved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty might be graciously pleased to lay before the house an account of the progress which had been made in such inquiry, and of the measures that had been taken in consequence. Also, that it was the opinion of that house, that in every establishment of the state, every saving ought to be made consistently with the due performance of the public service, and without the violation of existing engagements."

Mr. Croker remarked, the honourable baronet had stated the salaries of the officers of the admiralty to have been, in 1797, only fourteen thousand one hundred and forty pounds; and that in 1827, their amount was twenty-five thousand six hundred pounds. This was a great apparent increase; but it would be seen from the report of the finance committee, in 1797, that gratuities and other emoluments brought up the fourteen thousand one hundred and forty-six pounds to twenty-seven thousand pounds; giving an excess over the present charge of between one and two thousand pounds.

Mr. Peel was among the opponents of the motion; and in the course of his speech expressed great satisfaction at the effects produced by catholic emancipation, which at a subsequent period he could not feel. He said, that measure had been imposed upon the government by a positive and overwhelming necessity; and he proceeded with great emphasis,—“I solemnly declare that subsequently everything has convinced me, that by taking that course we averted great calamities, the pressure of which would now be felt in aggravation of the distress, which is described as universal and severe. Had parliament refused to grant the long-aggitated question of catholic emancipation, owing to our perseverance or obstinacy, or whatever name may be given to it, at this moment, Ireland and England would be in a very different situation from what they are now. I firmly believe, that from the settlement of the question, greater benefit will result than I contemplated, and greater dangers have been averted than any one could have foreseen. There have certainly been individual acts of atrocity, which were a disgrace to those concerned in them; but it is not from individual acts that we are to judge of the conduct or character of a nation. I see in the condition of that country the elements of future religious

peace and national prosperity. The upper classes are falling into an oblivion of past animosities, as rapidly as can be expected in so short a time; and the example of those classes is fast extending through the great body of society. Deeply as I regret the loss of the confidence which a portion of the members of this house has withdrawn from his majesty's government, and clearly as I foresee the possible consequences to which the combination of parties may lead, I yet cannot purchase their confidence by expressing regret for what has occurred. I say this with no feeling of hostility or asperity. I had, at the outset, a perfect knowledge of the painful consequences which might arise to me individually, and in my public capacity, from proposing the measure of catholic emancipation; but if the same juncture were again to occur—if the business were to be transacted over again—with still greater deliberation and determination, and with increased preparation to make any personal sacrifice that might be necessary, I would this very night give notice of a motion for the introduction of such a measure. Sir," Mr. Peel said, in conclusion, "we made the concession and the sacrifice for the public good, and for the public good alone; but we have not made, and we will make no concession and no sacrifice for the purpose of maintaining ourselves in office. We will uphold the established institutions of the country, with such salutary and well-considered reforms as circumstances may render necessary, and so far as shall be consistent with the preservation of the permanent interests of the country." The resolutions of sir James Graham were withdrawn, and those of Mr. Dawson adopted by the house.

Ministers were anxious to meet the view of the nation by effecting great retrenchments; and sir Henry Hardinge, when moving the army estimates, was enabled to state that though a reduction had been effected last year in the medical staff of nineteen thousand pounds, a further one had been made in the present year of seven thousand and eighty-eight pounds. The office of adjutant-general had been abolished. The clerks employed in the war-office had numbered one hundred and seventy, but were now reduced to seventy-three. A saving appeared, under the head of general officers, of ten thousand pounds; and the expense of the full amount of force for the current year was fixed at six million one hundred



and twenty-three thousand one hundred and twelve pounds, being the lowest estimate submitted to parliament during the last twenty-five years.

The reductions thus effected by ministers, were treated as anything but what the country had a right to expect by the opposition in parliament.—Colonel Davies protested against the extravagance of the estimates, and said it was disgraceful to go on voting away millions in the way proposed, when the country was in such a distressed state.—Sir Henry Parnell objected to the estimates; and the marquis of Blandford, on behalf of an oppressed and insulted people, protested against ministers laying their sacrilegious hands on the public money as they were inclined to do. If they persisted in their present course, he added, they would urge on the existing distress, till the foundations of society were shaken to the very centre.

A still more angry onslaught was made on the government by Mr. Hume. The amount of the estimates appeared to him so enormous, that speaking on that subject, he lost sight of that calmness and moderation in language which is exacted by, and generally conceded to the rules of the house. He said, many of his friends had pressed him to offer no further opposition to the votes called for, but the distress of the country urged him on. It was now certain that eighty-eight thousand soldiers, and thirty thousand seamen, would be forced on the country. Such was the case. Every man to whom he had spoken had said—"This is very bad—the estimates ought to be reduced." Then he said, "Why don't you vote with us?" "No," they replied, "we can't vote with you, but we will do anything else." Out of the house, therefore, where they could do nothing, gentlemen would express their real wishes, and say what the people wanted; but in the house, where they could do something, they were silent. Now, was not this a proof that gentlemen came there to serve themselves, and not to serve the country? If they should continue in the same course of indifference to the wishes of the people, what remedy was there but force? He would repeat it,—that was the only remedy. Out of the six hundred and fifty-eight members of whom the house was composed, and who pretended to be the representatives of the people, there were but ninety-three individuals who gave it as their opinion that the

amount of force in Great Britain ought to be reduced. The whole country was crying out for reduction, and the house refused to grant it. Ministers went on despising the wishes—contradicting the prayer of the people; and contemning everything that was valuable, while they felt secure of the support of a few grandees. Parliament was now of no use, save in so far as men might state there what, with the present attorney-general, they dared not speak out of it. People were dying every hour from the sad effects of poverty: distress was driving them to commit acts of depredation. The time would come when the patience of the people would be exhausted. Should he be sorry for that? Not at all; he should be rejoiced: it was a time to be sought for—to be desired, when he saw ministers, deaf to the voice of the country, adding to their burdens, and the house of commons supporting them in such acts. The attorney-general might perhaps say that he was bringing the house into disrespect. It ought to be brought into disrespect. A crisis had now come, when, if ever there was a reason for the people of England rousing themselves from their lethargy, it was at this moment. When a fair trial had not been had, what he might call an unfair trial ought to be made. He should not be responsible, happen what might; for he had warned them over and over again. His only hope was, if no reductions were granted, that the people would take the matter into their own hands. It was the right of the people to do so.

Mr. Peel felt it to be his duty to enter his most earnest and most decided protest against the doctrine involved in the speech of Mr. Hume. "I cannot," he said, "help thinking that the honourable gentleman opposite, to-night, stands in the character of a disappointed prophet. His declaration a former night was, that he did not think it possible for ministers to make any reduction: that they promised much, but he expected nothing. He now finds, to his grievous disappointment, that the extent of reduction is so great as almost to have spoiled his trade. The honourable gentleman asked, why not reduce the estimates to those of 1822? Does he not know that this very estimate is actually below that of 1822, by more than one hundred thousand pounds? He had made an attack on the majority that voted in favour of government, and he has imputed base corruption and personal motives to those who voted

against the side which he wished to prevail. Let me inform him, that many honourable gentlemen voted on that occasion in our behalf, who are averse to our general policy. I will venture to say that those gentlemen who voted in favour of the present amount of the army estimates were gentlemen as honourable, and to the full as free from personal corruption as the honourable gentleman himself. So much as to the members of this house; but the honourable gentleman made also an appeal to the physical force of the country; and what says the honourable gentleman? He says, 'I, the instigator of rebellion (for it is nothing less than that at which he aims), am not only safe myself from the penalties of treason, but I take care to make my appearance in a place in which even the attorney-general dare not touch me.' The honourable baronet, the member for Westminster, took a very different course—one becoming the manliness of his character: by the avowed publication of what he said, he laid himself open to the visitation due to those who are guilty of libel; but the honourable member for Montrose shrinks behind his parliamentary privilege. He addresses those who are suffering affliction (with which we all sympathise), and he tells them, 'Do not be pacified; do not be moderate; do not be temperate: it is your duty to resist the decisions of the legislature by force, and I myself will do'—what? Does he say, 'I will head you in your revolt?' No. Did he intend to participate in the storm he so eagerly invoked? No: far from it. His exhortation might rather be paraphrased in such language as this: 'I who instigate you to rebellion—I who invite you to take up arms, am myself safe. I will stand aloof. I will take care of my valuable life for the sake of the public; but I shall be glad to see you resist as long as I am safe from peril and prosecution.'" Here the right honourable gentleman was interrupted by loud cheering, but with some cries of dissent. Thereupon, he asked, if he had not repeated the honourable gentleman's very words? The cheering was renewed, but cries of "No," were heard. He went on—"O! the honourable gentleman I suppose would be glad, in his cooler moments, to recall what he has said."

Mr. Hume declared that he did not retract one single word of what he had uttered; and Mr. Peel proceeded—"The honourable member distinctly asserted that

the majority of the house was corrupt—that government was supported by corruption—that the expenditure was extravagant—and that the people had no remedy but a resort to physical force; and that he should rejoice in seeing that physical force displayed. Suppose the people listened to this sage advice, what must be the inevitable result? Could the government have any other resource but to meet force by force, and to make a decisive, unqualified, and successful resistance? I cannot deprecate too strongly the appeal, nor could I lament too bitterly the consequences of its success. Surely, no honourable man, of any party or of any opinion, can be found to second that opinion: and the honourable member will be left to the enjoyment of the solitary distinction, of having sheltered himself behind his privilege to express it. If, unfortunately, any portion of the community suffering from distress, should lend an ear to this appeal, what, let me ask, is the responsibility resting on the head of the man who, safe himself from the penalties of the law, has excited them to such a fruitless, hopeless, and wicked resistance?"

The spirited rejoinder of Mr. Peel was approved by the house. It was loudly cheered in its progress. Mr. Hume retorted, by sternly asking—"Is it I, or the government, who stimulate resistance?—I, who warn them of the impending danger, or they who precipitate themselves into it, by pressing an iron hand upon a suffering people? If a starving population address a government, and say, 'we cannot bear your pressure of taxation;'—'O, you are mistaken,' replies the right honourable gentleman, 'I know better, for you can bear it well.' who is the person, I ask, who promotes rebellion? The right honourable gentleman mistakes the effect for the cause. I wish to ward off uproar by timely concessions; and he to promote it by withholding just economy. I stand here (thank God it is here I stand) when I say these things; for I see the attorney-general just entering the house; and I know that if I repeated my words out-of-doors, he would have me in his fangs in another place, where I could expect no justice from him. But I will take care of myself out-of-doors. I am not to be caught by the law officers. A little prudence (they say) is worth a good deal of valour; and is it for practising it, that I am to be stigmatised as a cowardly rebel? It is not I, but the minister, whose acts tend to

arouse the people to the exercise of physical force: and I have no hesitation in saying, I shall be ready to repeat every word which has drawn down upon me the animadversions of the honourable gentleman opposite." The estimates were eventually carried.

Still, the depression of the industrious classes continued; and with the cry of distress the demand for a reform in the representation of the people was constantly heard, and was thought to have become louder than ever. The popular discontent on the subject was manifested in every possible way. A waiter employed at Bellemey's tavern (a tavern connected with the houses of parliament, for the refreshment of members), charged, at Queen-square office, a man and woman with begging of the members on their way to the house of commons. The woman had stationed herself on one side of the entrance, and the man on the other; and when their applications were unsuccessful, the woman "cursed the bellies" of the honourable and right honourable gentlemen, and said, "for all they were so big, they contained no bowels for the poor." Before the magistrate, she insisted that she had a right to petition the representatives of the people. This did not save the unfortunate pair from being sent to the house of correction for eight days; but their impudence was not seriously disapproved by the public.

On the subject of parliamentary reform, the marquis of Blandford had promised, on the first night of the session, when his amendment was rejected, that he would shortly bring forward a motion in due form. That promise he redeemed on the 18th of February, but with no better success. His lordship had been opposed to catholic emancipation, and the carrying of that bill had led him to think a parliamentary reform necessary. The plan which he opened to the house was so little approved by the opposition, that on the ministerial side very few speeches were made against it, resistance on their part being uncalled-for. An amendment was moved by lord Althorp, which simply declared a reform in the representation of the people to be necessary. Both the motion and the amendment failed. The numbers, when a division took place on the amendment, were one hundred and sixty to fifty-seven. The original motion was then negatived without resistance or defence.

There were anomalies in the representation which could not be satisfactorily ex-

plained—which could only be tolerated because the consequences of them were less disastrous than they might have been. That great towns should remain unrepresented was thought a crying evil; and on this subject a motion was submitted to the house of commons, on the 23rd of February, by lord John Russell, which had for its object to transfer the elective franchise from boroughs convicted of corruption, to Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester. For this purpose his lordship proposed to introduce a bill. He said the representatives so brought into the house, he intended should only be a temporary addition to their numbers. He would prepare a clause to provide, that when hereafter the legislature should find it necessary to disfranchise any borough for corrupt practices, the franchise should not be transferred, but let drop altogether. So that when those boroughs should have been thus dealt with, the number of members would be reduced to what it was at the present moment. He should also propose that the qualification for voting should be a pretty high one. The right of voting should be confined to resident voters, which would tend to shorten the time of election, and would also tend materially to prevent bribery. His lordship then enforced, at great length, the claims of these towns to a share in the representation. As to the measure being an encroachment on the constitution—why, the constitution, he said, had often been encroached on; and the question, he apprehended, ought always to be,—will the encroachment in question be for the general good?

The motion was lost by one hundred and forty to one hundred and eighty-eight. In resisting it, Mr. Peel, for the first time, stated his view of the general question of parliamentary reform, which may be considered that of the government at this period. He said, having maturely weighed those powerful arguments which were first brought forward by Mr. Burke, and afterwards no less ably by his late right honourable friend, Mr. Canning, he confessed that they had established, to his mind, conclusive proof of the great danger there was in tampering, on slight grounds, with the constitution. He thought that the argument of those two great men,—that we were not to seek the principles of the representation of the house of commons, either on any fine-spun theories of democracy, or on any of the institutions of the free republics of an-

cient times, and that we could not find, in any portion of the history of England, any trace of any principle of democratic representation, to serve as a model for a reconstruction of the representative system,—he thought, he said, that those arguments were decisive upon the points for which they were advanced. His late right honourable friend, Mr. Canning, had argued that the constitution of the house of commons was founded on prescription—that we lived under a limited monarchy—that we had a house of lords and a king—that the house of commons was only one branch of the legislature—and that if we admitted a democratic principle of reform, we should give to the house of commons that overwhelming power, which would render it inconsistent with the existence of the house of lords, or of a limited monarchy. As to the effects produced by the house of commons, and the operation of that assembly on the country, he must say that he saw nothing in either which led him to think that an alteration in the mode of its construction was necessary. For his own part, he completely distrusted the prophecies which had been uttered respecting the beneficial results of such an alteration. It had been said, that the adoption of a scheme of reform would, by the infusion of a greater portion of the popular voice into that assembly, discourage the expenditure of public money, and the embarkation of the country into improvident votes for war. He believed that the doctrine of universal suffrage would find but few advocates in that place; but if honourable members were to be rendered infinitely more subservient to the will of the people than they were at present, he doubted much whether the house would be a whit less inclined to war than it had hitherto shown itself. The examples of the ancient republics of Rome and Athens, and also those of the republics of more modern times—he meant Genoa and France—which all for a time, had possessed popular governments, would not by any means favour the inference, that because the government was popular, there was a disinclination in the people to involve their country in war and its concomitant expenditure.

A motion was introduced, on the 25th of February, by earl Stanhope, “on the state of the nation.” His lordship described, at great length, the distress which had come over the nation; urged the importance of instituting a searching inquiry into the

present causes of it; and therefore moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the internal state of the country. The resolution was opposed by viscount Goderich, but favoured by the duke of Richmond and the earl of Eldon.

The duke of Wellington, in replying to arguments urged in favour of the motion, declared he had already stated that he had no doubt of the extent of the distress; but he could not see that the inquiry called for was likely to abate that distress. The usual course, when such a motion was made, was to state what substantial measure it was intended to propose. Did the noble earl mean to propose a repeal or an alteration of the corn-laws? If he did, he would at once tell him that he would oppose him. The corn-laws could not be repealed without injury to the country. They had worked as they were intended to work—by preventing the price of corn rising so high as to injure the country at large, while they enabled the agriculturist to receive a beneficial reward, in some degree, for his labour. In the second year of the existence of that corn-law, there had been a greater importation of corn than had ever been known before, to the extent of three million quarters, of which two million five hundred thousand came from Ireland; and the price had not been lowered in this country beyond what was deemed a remunerating price. Other interests, he showed, were not so depressed as had been assumed. He called the recollection of the house to the state in which the world was at the end of the war—in the years 1814 and 1815. Europe was then absolutely overrun with armies, and had been so for thirty years. There was nothing but armies in the world, and nothing was thought of but the means of sustaining them. Except in France and this country, there were few manufacturers in Europe; but when peace took place, all the world became manufacturers, and a great fall in prices necessarily ensued. He would read, from a paper he held in his hand, a few extracts of the prices of several commodities in different places since the peace of 1814. Cotton in England—the raw article, in 1814, had sold at 2s. 2d., or, with duty included, 2s. 4d. the lb. In 1815 and 1817, it had sold at 1s. 8½d., and in 1829 at 6d. the lb. This was a fall in price equal to what had taken place in any other article. Silk, in 1814, had sold for £1 4s., or, with

duty included, for £1 9s. the lb.; whilst in 1829 it sold for 8s. 10d., or, with the duty, at 8s. 11d. the lb. Siceps' wool, in 1814, had sold for 8s. 2d., or, with the duty, at 8s. 3d. the lb.; whilst, in 1829, it sold for only 2s. 3d., or, with the duty, at 2s. 4d. the lb. These were circumstances beyond the control of parliament, and which could not be remedied; and yet they must affect the situation of the country. Another article he would quote was fir timber, which had fallen equally. Profits had fallen equally with the fall of the raw material. Cotton yarn, which, in 1814, had sold for 4s. 4½d. in 1830 sold for 1s. 5½d. the lb.; and cotton manufactured goods had fallen in price, within the same period, from 1s. 5d., 1s. 8d., and 2s. 0½d., to 6¼d., 8¾d., and 8½d. Irish linens had fallen from 1s. 7d. to 1s. 0¾d. Woollen cloths from £1 8s. 11d. to £1 5s. 5d. Other articles had been reduced enormously in price by the competition with foreigners. In those articles in which there was no competition with foreigners, prices had been reduced very much; such, for instance, as in the iron and pottery trades. Here were causes evidently beyond the control of parliament. Parliament could not, by any act of theirs, raise the price of the manufactured goods. He pointed out various errors into which he considered the noble earl had fallen, and said, in conclusion—"The noble earl had thought proper to arraign him, because, on the first day of the session, he had stated certain things which had induced him to believe that the distresses of the country were not so extensive as had been stated. If the noble earl thought that he did not feel fully the distresses of the country, he was very much mistaken; but he must tell the noble earl, that although he was ready to acknowledge the distress to its utmost extent, it was not for him to exaggerate the amount, or to suffer the house to be led away with inflated statements and distorted views. Was it possible that the revenue could continue to be so productive, if the distress of the country was so extreme as it had been represented to be? Did an increased produce, from reduced taxes, show the existence of that general extremity of distress? Let their lordships look at the produce of the malt-tax, in 1828 and in 1829, notwithstanding the bad harvest in the former year. Let them look at the produce of all the other taxes. He was justified, also, in referring to the increase of buildings, not

only in London, but throughout the kingdom. That must surely be the consequence of a progress making by the people towards prosperity. Other circumstances bore him out in his opinion. For instance, the condition of the savings' banks. It was true that, at one period, large sums had been drawn out of those banks, but they had since come back. Whence did they come? Was not that a circumstance which showed there was some progress towards a better state of things? Then there was an increasing traffic on roads, canals, railways, &c. That traffic had been increasing for ten years, and was now nearly double what it was ten years ago. A noble marquis, in remarking on the state of the currency, a few nights before, had observed, that the amount of currency at present in circulation, might not be enough for the wants of the people. Did not that show an increase of trade? All these circumstances, notwithstanding the distress which did exist—which he did not deny, which no man could deny—still impressed his mind with the conviction that the country was in progress to an improved state of things. He begged their lordships to consider well the circumstances to which he had requested their attention. Let them call for what documents they thought proper: let them inquire, carefully and extensively, into the subject; but let them not agree to the present motion, for no purpose but to make an attack on the existing administration."

The marquis of Lansdowne would have supported the call for an inquiry, could he have seen that it was likely that inquiry could be successfully carried out; but as this was not apparent to him, he should be obliged to vote against it. An amendment was moved by lord King, which called for the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the depressed state of the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any and what relief could be afforded by an extension of foreign trade. This amendment was not more acceptable to their lordships than the motion of earl Stanhope, and it was withdrawn by lord King. A division then took place on the original motion, when it was lost by a majority of ninety-three; the numbers being twenty-five to one hundred and eighteen.

A petition was presented to the house of commons, on the 1st of March, from the borough of Newark, the prayer of which

forcibly directed public attention to that which was now the subject of daily discussion—parliamentary reform. In bringing it forward, Mr. Poulett Thomson said, the borough of Newark consisted of about two thousand houses and ten thousand inhabitants. The duke of Newcastle was owner of about two hundred houses; but the property held by the duke in this town was not of itself sufficient to give him a commanding influence there: his principal influence was derived from his being the lessee of a portion of land (about nine hundred and sixty acres), which formed a sort of belt, inclosing about three-fourths of the circumference of the town. It was held by the duke as a lessee of the crown, and he used all the influence it bestowed to convert Newark into a close borough. Mr. Thomson asked, was this to be endured by a free people? Would they suffer this immense power, obtained from the crown—or, more properly speaking, from the people—to be turned against themselves? Assuredly they would not. He called upon the house to reflect how the duke of Newcastle lorded it over their fellow-subjects, the inhabitants of Newark. That town carried on a flourishing trade in malt, which rendered large premises indispensable. This being the case, did a farmer want a barn for his husbandry—did a mechanic require a workshop for his labour—did a cottager apply for a shelter for his family—he must have recourse to the underlings of the crown lessee. He must pay the highest monopoly-price for the tenement he sought to obtain, and sell soul and body beside, in consideration of his purchase. He must, from that hour, abjure all his rights as a citizen and a subject; he must thenceforward abjure all political power—all moral volition as a sentient rational being.

The facts, as related in the petition which has been mentioned, he stated to be these:—In September, in the last year, the individual who had been member for Newark, lost his seat for not voting according to the wishes of his patron. A vacancy occurred in the representation of this borough. The individual who had lost his seat for honourably asserting his independence, was also deprived of a situation which he held under government. The gentleman sent to fill the seat vacated (Mr. Michael Sadler), was duly returned. He had appeared among the inhabitants as the duke's nominee; but the inhabitants, claiming a right to consult their own inclinations, had selected another gen-

tleman to take charge of their interests—Mr. sergeant Wilde. Their attempt to get that gentleman returned was unsuccessful, and those who favoured him were soon visited with the duke's displeasure. The election over, and the time gone by within which that house could interfere with the return, every person who had presumed to vote for Mr. sergeant Wilde, and possessed land under the duke, was served with a notice to quit. One elector, however, who had received notice, went to the office of the crown lessee, and stated that he had voted for the obnoxious candidate by mistake. "Then," replied the official dignitary, "your notice to quit was a mistake also." No merit, no respectability could plead successfully, for the tenants who had so offended the duke. "They," Mr. Thomson said, "were guilty of that most unpardonable sin—the assertion of the right belonging to every freeman in this free state; they had refused to prostitute their votes at the good pleasure of their landlord." A meeting was called for the purpose of considering of a remedy, and offering the combined representations and remonstrances of those who suffered, and those who witnessed the proceedings by which they were aggrieved, and a letter respectfully worded had been sent to his grace, and also to the present member for Newark (Mr. Sadler), requesting them to attend the meeting. They had not done so; but the duke of Newcastle sent an answer justifying his conduct, unequivocally declaring that he considered the franchises of his tenants his property, and boldly asserting that he "had a right to do what he pleased with his own."

Mr. Thomson said, he wished the allegations contained in the petition to be thoroughly examined, with a view to found an address on it to the crown, praying that the lease which had been so wrongfully used, might not hereafter be renewed, as it involved a serious loss to the country, while it affected the constitutional character of the representation. "The first lease of this great property was granted, in 1760, to the earl of Lincoln, by the duke of Newcastle, the then prime minister, the earl having married the duke's sister; and for what rent? It was not one thousand pounds—not the half of that sum; nor yet one hundred pounds; but literally, thirty-six pounds a-year! The lease was renewed in 1806, nine years after it had expired, and the fine exacted was no more than the rent for the nine years which had

not been paid. The rent, since 1806, had been two thousand and sixty pounds, which attested the advantages the duke's predecessors had enjoyed, when thirty-six pounds was all that was claimed. The duke was said to receive three thousand five hundred pounds, or, at least, three thousand pounds annually for the property, and thus the pecuniary loss was worthy of attention, and the property was yearly increasing in value. Not long since, four acres of land, the property of lord Middleton, in the neighbourhood of Newark, were sold for four thousand pounds—for one thousand pounds an acre. Why was not the crown lands to be sold to the highest bidder? He might be answered, that the lease had not yet expired; but was not the reversion available for sale? Instead of renewing the crown lease, how much more eligible would it be to sell the lands altogether?"

The petitions presented on this subject set forth the facts stated by Mr. Thomson, and showed that Mr. Sadler had been returned as the duke's nominee, "by means of the prevailing belief, founded on the experiences of former elections, that such of the duke's tenants as should vote against his grace's nominee, would be expelled from their tenancies; and many of the voters who polled for Mr. Sadler, avowed, that but for the fear of such a result, they would have polled for the other candidate."

Lord Ingestre and Mr. F. Clinton, declared the petition to contain, if not gross misstatements, at least many perversions of fact.—Sir F. Burdett wished it to be understood that he had not applied any opprobrious terms to his grace personally, when describing him as he had done on a former day, to be a boroughmonger. In early life, he (sir Francis Burdett), having acquiesced in the wishes of his friends, was told one day, that he had been returned for Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire. The duke, then an infant in law, was innocent of the transaction; he (sir Francis) himself, was equally uncontaminated. The matters were arranged, as such matters usually were, by other parties. A sum of money was received on the part of the duke, and paid on his (sir Francis Burdett's) part, and he became the independent member for Boroughbridge. "He was bound to say, the sum which procured him his seat was not unusually large, all things considered—it amounted to four thousand pounds for six years: no matter if a dissolution took place in the meantime."—

Mr. Sadler described some of the allegations in the petition to be erroneous—to be false. The duke of Newcastle, he said, proved himself a kind landlord, or he would have dispossessed poor widows who held his tenements at Newark, to make way for voters; but he had never done this in a single instance. As to any influence exerted on himself, he declared to God he had been exposed to none. He had been left by his grace as a representative of the people, to promote and secure their interests according to his own judgment. The influence of that noble person, he added, was not that of property alone,—it was that of a kind master, and of a man estimable for all the domestic virtues, which, even more than his elevated rank, had secured for him universal respect.

A motion made by Mr. Thomson, to refer the petition to a committee, was lost; the numbers being sixty-one to one hundred and ninety-four.

When the budget was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 15th of March, he stated the revenue to have fallen short by fifty-six thousand pounds of the amount which, in the last year, he had expected it to reach. He explained how this arose, and showed that it was to be accounted for from various circumstances, not indicating a diminished consumption; and that four hundred thousand pounds was, in point of fact, the extent to which his expectations had been disappointed. The income of the year, as compared with that of 1828, fell short by one million one hundred thousand pounds. In the course of the year, however, there had been applied to the purpose of reducing the debt, no less a sum than a surplus of revenue to the amount of two million four hundred thousand pounds: not an imaginary surplus, but a surplus actually and really applicable to the reduction of the debt, after making every payment for the year to which the country was justly liable. The house, in 1828, gave its sanction to a measure, which had for its object the conversion of permanent annuities into annuities terminating with the lives of the holders. While the surplus revenue had paid off two million four hundred thousand pounds, permanent annuities, to the extent of two million seven hundred thousand pounds, had been converted into terminable annuities, which would, in the course of thirty years, relieve the country from a portion of its debt to that amount. Look-

ing at the distress which prevailed, in preparing their measures for the year, ministers had considered it desirable to lighten the pressure on the labouring classes; and it had been matter of deliberation, whether this object might be best attained by shifting the load to the wealthier ranks, by means of a property tax, or by making the relief absolute by repealing a portion of the taxes. The latter plan had seemed the more eligible; and, therefore, he proposed to repeal the beer-duty, the cider-duty, and the duty on leather. It had been deemed more advisable to repeal the beer-duty than the duty on malt, because it pressed more severely on the labouring classes, and because the malt trade would be stimulated by the increased sale of beer. The duty on beer amounted to three million pounds, but there were other taxes to which beer was subjected; and though government relinquished but three million pounds, the country might calculate on relief to the extent of four million and-a-half. By reducing the whole of the beer-duties, instead of part of the beer and part of the malt-duties, government was enabled to reduce the establishments. Along with the remission of the duties, however, it would be absolutely necessary to make the trade in beer free. The repeal of the tax must be delayed till October, because the licenses were renewed then, and because duty had been paid, till then, upon stocks by the persons engaged in that trade. To repay such duties would be an expensive process: for without meaning to insinuate anything against the dealers in beer, he must observe, that government had always been called on, in such cases, to repay more than they had received. The duty on leather amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. It was an extremely vexatious tax, and pressed severely on the poor. To reduce it partially, would give no relief, and the same establishment must be maintained for collecting the half as for collecting the whole. He had, therefore, determined to repeal it altogether from the 21st of July. The duty on cider, while it amounted to but twenty-five thousand pounds, or thirty thousand pounds, had given rise to many frauds: its total abolition had been deemed expedient. From all these reductions government anticipated a diminution of revenue, to the amount of nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds. The estimate for the present year was fifty million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds. The total

amount of the public charges for the present year would be forty-seven million eight hundred and twelve thousand pounds, leaving a clear surplus of two million six hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds. From a projected consolidation of the stamp-laws, an increase of revenue was expected to the amount of one hundred and ten thousand pounds. It was intended, at the same time, to increase the duty upon spirits, in Ireland and Scotland, to the extent of twopence per gallon; in England, to the extent of one shilling. From this measure the increase of revenue was expected to be three hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Little doubt, moreover, could be entertained of the possibility of reducing the interest of a part of the national debt; and government was resolved, in future, to look for a part of their resources in a diminution of the rate of interest on four per cent. stock. It was proposed further, to institute inquiries into every branch of the public service; and it was the intention of government to empower a commission to deal with the whole of the colonial expenditure. The house had to look to the effect of the proposed reductions on the revenue. To meet it there were many resources: one of them was the reduction of the interest on the national debt. Looking to the state of the exchanges with foreign countries, to the great occupation of capital, and to the diminished rate of interest in the public market, for all public and private securities, he could not doubt that the house had the power effectually and conveniently to reduce the interest of that part of the national debt, which bore an interest of four per cent., and it was his intention shortly to propose fixing a time to give notice, on some early day, of the terms which government could offer to the holders of the four per cents. with a less rate of interest. He enlarged on the circumstances which, in his opinion, justified him in taking so much from the income of the country as the revenue would lose from the measures he had announced. He estimated the expenditure of the ensuing year, including the interest and management of the debt, as already stated, at forty-seven million eight hundred and twelve thousand pounds; while the income of the country he expected to reach fifty million four hundred and seventy thousand pounds, leaving a probable balance of two million five hundred thousand pounds applicable to the reduction of debt. Last year there had been



a deficiency of more than five hundred thousand pounds; but notwithstanding, four million pounds had been appropriated to that object. The loss the revenue would sustain from the abatement of the beer and leather duties would be, to some extent, covered by the small additions made to those on ardent spirits, while, by the conversion of the four per cents., he looked to realise a saving of seven hundred and seventy-eight thousand pounds.

It was objected to the plan, that the chancellor of the exchequer was undoing all that had been done by his predecessors, and had, in effect, declared that all hope of a surplus applicable to the reduction of the public debt must be derived from the sanguine, though distant expectation, of a future improvement in the revenue. "Ought they to go on for ever, without making an effort to get rid of the load which weighed down the energies of the country?" Mr. Baring asked; and reminded the chancellor of the exchequer, that when Mr. Pitt proposed the establishment of the sinking-fund, he expressed a conviction that no minister would ever dare to come down to the house, and call for the repeal of a measure, the tendency of which was to relieve the people of their burthens. He further declared, that to suffer the fund, at any time, or on any pretence, to be diverted from its proposed object, would be to ruin, defeat, and overturn the whole of his plan. He hoped, therefore, when the bill should pass into a law, the house would hold itself solemnly pledged not to listen to a proposition for its repeal on any pretence whatever. Mr. Fox had re-echoed the words of his rival, as he felt it was necessary to give increased stability to the principle of security on which the public creditor relied. That conviction stifled any eager spirit of party feeling which, at that time, existed in the house; thus exhibiting a shining contrast to the degeneracy of the present time, when, within and without the house, no repugnance was shown to a total departure from those just and inflexible principles, upon which Mr. Pitt mainly relied to conquer impending difficulties.

The brewers and publicans complained, that the capital embarked in their trades would be lost, if every man who paid two guineas for a license might open a public-house. They threw great blame on the government for entertaining a project which, they contended, would be fatal to the morals

of the people, as it could not fail to convert England into one immense tipping-house. Their anxiety on this subject was not treated with great respect. The feeling of the public generally was in favour of breaking up a monopoly prejudicial to them, which, it was considered, had existed too long. The fears expressed on the subject of the temptation which would be thrown in the way of the lower classes, by the opening of new public-houses, which would lead them to habits of intoxication, were laughed at. These arguments proved of no avail. The resolutions brought forward on the part of ministers were voted, and the bills founded on them were passed. A clause was proposed to be added to the beer-duty bill, to enforce the statute of James I. against "the odious crime of drunkenness." This was rejected. Mr. Brougham said he was one of those who thought the general interests of morality were more consulted by permitting such clauses to slumber in the cells of the statute-book, than by having them enforced. "What was the real meaning of the statute of James I.? Why, that a penalty should be inflicted on any person who committed the odious and ungodly crime of drunkenness, from any liquor except claret or champagne. If morality was to be enforced by act of parliament, let the law be impartial; and not punish the poor and illiterate for a crime less pardonable in the rich and educated, whom it was intended to spare."

On the following day, earl Darnley called the attention of ministers to the importance of adopting a system of poor-laws for Ireland. He did not advocate the introduction of the same system which prevailed in England, but some plan of affording compulsory relief to the aged, the sick, and the helpless, ought to be brought forward. He wished to know whether the head of the government had had time to turn his attention to this most important subject. To this question the duke of Wellington replied, by stating that ministers had it not in contemplation to introduce anything like a general system of poor-laws into Ireland. He, however, had to state, that the condition of Ireland had engaged the particular attention of his majesty's government; and several measures were preparing, which (either directly or indirectly) had for their object—and would, he trusted, have the effect of affording relief to the aged and infirm, and the sick, and of giving work to the able-bodied poor. In the first place,

there was a measure for the relief of the labouring poor, by having them employed by the grand juries. Then there was a measure for the care of natural children; but that was one which would demand much revision before it passed into a law. Another measure was under consideration, which went to provide the city of Dublin with the means of erecting an hospital for the distressed, in the same manner as means were provided for that object in the counties in Ireland by the 58th of the late king.

The introduction of poor-laws into Ireland was deemed very objectionable by Irish peers. English peers remarked on the great expense created in several parts of England by passing Irish labourers to the coast. To this it was replied, that if the rich Irish came to England as buyers, the poor Irish ought to be allowed to come as sellers of labour. Their coming, however, was described to be a great grievance, as they worked at very low wages; took the bread out of the mouths of the English labourers; and thus compelled the latter to seek parochial relief.

The distress admitted by ministers to exist at the opening of the session, had but little abated; and the day following that which presented the budget to the house, brought a motion for referring the petitions, which had been presented on the state of the nation, to a committee. Mr. Davenport, who was the mover, complained that the sufferings of the people had not been duly attended to. He, however, admitted that the petitioners were now treated somewhat better than they had been; but more, he thought, might be conceded, and ministers ought, therefore, to grant the committee for which he had thought it his duty to call. Why were the sufferings of a whole people not to be attended to? If their prayers were now resisted, the doors of that house might be considered as locked against them; and, as had been said on a former occasion,—in that case, if its members were thrown into the Thames, that would be their proper fate. The noble duke at the head of the government seemed indisposed to believe in the distresses of the people. On that point he was impregnable—inaccessible as when behind the lines of Torres Vedras. He had said, the retail dealers were exempted from the prevailing distress; but he (Mr. Davenport) had that night presented a petition from Manchester, signed by hundreds of persons, which declared the distress to be great beyond all precedent.

In the debate to which this motion led, while distress was universally admitted and deplored, a great diversity of opinions were expressed as to its causes; and, as might be expected, an equal variety of suggestions were offered, as to the steps proper to be taken in quest of a remedy. While some pointed to a return to small bank-notes, others wished for the abandonment of the free-trade system. The advocates of the latter course of proceeding, Mr. Huskisson considered, were holding language which was calculated to mock or mislead a suffering people. Free-trade, he maintained, promoted the best interests of the country; it had led to a beneficial settlement of the customs, exports, and navigation laws. But it had been said that the exports, as then carried on, were ruinous to the country. To that he had only to reply, "if you export, you must meet the prices of the foreign markets. When this cannot be effected without loss, you must not export at all." The debate was continued with great spirit through several nights. The idea of tampering with the currency met with the most determined opposition from Mr. Peel; and the state of things which was then the subject of complaint, he insisted were not produced by a return to cash payments. Of the eight hundred million pounds of public debt, a vast proportion had passed into the hands of persons who did not pay for it in a depreciated, but in an improved currency, the standard of value being nearly the same as it was at that moment. If a change were then to be made, what was to be done with all the parties who did not advance their money in the depreciated currency of 1813, but had since purchased into the funds at the full price? It was only fair that the claims of those should be deducted who had advanced their money at the present rate of currency; and that done, it would be found that the eight hundred million pounds, which it was common to say had been borrowed in a depreciated currency, would dwindle down to a very small sum. The return to a metallic standard was no error. It was contended that there had been a depreciation of twenty-five or thirty per cent., and that the panics which had occurred were caused by the act of 1819. In reply to this, he begged to ask, were there no panics before the passing of that measure? Was there no panic in 1797? Did the distress complained of in 1810, when a commission was appointed to inquire into its causes and

their remedy, grow on a metallic currency. In the report of that commission, it was stated that all confidence was destroyed; that trade was in a dreadful state of stagnation; that masters were unable to offer workmen employment; and that contracts were suspended. These grievances were then deplored, notwithstanding the country had a paper currency; which currency was then stated to be the cause of the distress. Every symptom of the country was worse then than it was at the present time, yet there was then no appearance of a return to payments in gold. Towards the conclusion of his speech, the right honourable gentleman felt justified in announcing to the house, that certain indications of a return to prosperity were beginning to exhibit themselves; and letters received that very morning from Manchester and Leeds, induced him to believe that the lowest point of depression had been reached.

In the course of the debate, statements were made which justified the favourable view Mr. Peel was led to take of the prospects of the nation at that moment. On the fourth night a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight appeared against the inquiry called for by the motion. The numbers were two hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and sixty-eight.

Pensions enjoyed by the honourable R. Dundas and the honourable W. L. Bathurst, became the subject of a debate, the result of which was to leave ministers in a minority. A grant being moved of one hundred and seventy-four thousand five hundred and eighty-four pounds, to defray superannuations, granted to commissioners and clerks formerly employed in the civil departments of the navy, Sir Richard Heron pointed to the names of the parties above-mentioned: to the former, a pension of five hundred pounds had been granted; to the latter, one of four hundred pounds. In the returns before the house, the columns in which the time of service was usually marked, was, in the case of those gentlemen, left blank, and sir Richard said, he concluded that that gave a very proper and significant description of the services those gentlemen had rendered. He proceeded to say, they had heard much of the assiduity which ministers showed in considering what places and pensions could be abolished without detriment to the public service, and he was astonished to find the amount of saving effected by all this anxiety was little

more than one million pounds a-year. If they were to rely only on the assiduity of ministers to curtail the expenditure, he must say he thought the case desperate, when he saw these pensions granted in the last year. To those gentlemen whose names he had mentioned, he imputed no blame: the blame must fall on ministers, and on two of them especially—he meant the fathers of the individuals in question. They were noblemen who, for a great number of years, occupied, with little intermission, some of the most important and lucrative situations in the government. Viscount Melville, at that moment, presided as first lord of the admiralty, and earl Bathurst was lord president of the council, one of the tellers of the exchequer, and joint clerk of the crown. Their grandfathers were also men of high consideration: one of them for many years filled the situation of lord high chancellor of England, and the other was a sort of viceroy of Scotland, holding places which produced great emolument, and performing services which were rather equivocal. That such miserable pensions should be accepted by gentlemen whose families had been so gorged with the public money, and that they should continue to receive them at such a time of distress, appeared to him very paltry. He finished by moving, that the grant under consideration should be reduced by the amount of the two pensions—nine hundred pounds.

The chancellor of the exchequer told the house, the treasury had dealt with these cases, by a reference to considerations which would have applied equally to the highest or the lowest persons in the kingdom. It was rather unfortunate that the length of the services of the gentlemen had not been stated. He believed it was about four years; the appointments having taken place in 1825. The treasury had felt bound to adhere to the principle on which, upon the reduction of boards at former times, officers had received allowances; and offices of this description (though, technically speaking, held during pleasure) had always been considered as granted for life, or during the good behaviour of the party. Persons embarking in such offices frequently abandoned some profession which they had previously embraced, and lost opportunities which they would otherwise have had in their several professions. These gentlemen were precisely in that situation. Mr. Bathurst had been a considerable time at the bar.

A laugh here interrupted the right honourable gentleman. He remarked, he did not see anything to excite laughter in the statement that a gentleman had been pursuing an honourable profession. Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Dundas both embarked in professions,—had given them up on being made commissioners of the navy; and the principle of compensation and allowances, when reduced, applied perfectly to them. If gentlemen had the fortune or the misfortune to be born of distinguished families, he could not see, in the circumstances of their families, or in the services of their ancestors, anything to disentitle them to the fair consideration which the house would be prepared to afford in another case.

Ministers were sharply blamed for sanctioning the vote, which was described to involve a most extraordinary principle of superannuation and allowances. Mr. Hobhouse said it might be unfortunate, that the period of these gentlemen's services was omitted; it might be unfortunate that they were the sons of cabinet ministers; it might be unfortunate that they held other places; but of this he was sure, that all these unfortunate circumstances made it very unfortunate that these pensions should have been granted. The chancellor of the exchequer had said they laughed because they saw the scion of a noble house taking up an honourable profession. The house had not laughed at that; nor had they laughed at the scion of a noble house abandoning that profession: what they laughed at (but what the country would be indignant at, if these votes were passed), was, to find that noble scions, if they could not get briefs at the bar, managed to get themselves pensioned by the public. He intimated that the government must lose the independent support they had received, if the pension-list were thus filled.

The official correspondence on the subject of the appointment was read by sir Robert Peel. He remarked:—"The estimate before them, the house could reject if they thought fit: but what he had read, he hoped, had proved that ministers had not been influenced by any corrupt motive in the transaction." The amendment was carried against the government by one hundred and thirty-nine to one hundred and twenty-one.

The state of the labouring classes occupied the house of lords, in consequence of a motion brought forward by the duke of Richmond, on the 20th of March, for a select committee to "take into consideration

the internal state of the country; more particularly with respect to the working classes, and the effect of taxation upon productive industry." He showed the distress then existing in the country to be very great, and thence drew the inference that the inquiry he called for ought to be granted. The debate to which it gave rise was long.—The motion was objected to by the earl of Eldon, because no specific measure was mentioned as that which it was intended to found on the proceeding; and under such circumstances, to appoint a committee would be a mischievous delusion.—The marquis of Lansdowne supported the motion, being impressed with the utility of parliamentary committees, and hoping the committee called for, would suggest measures that would effect a considerable improvement in the condition of the working classes.

The duke of Wellington approved of making inquiries by committees, but was of opinion, their lordships ought to adhere to the usual practice of parliament, and not grant a committee, till it was stated what object was expected to be gained by means of such committee. He thought the house had reason to doubt whether there was not some object, in the present motion beyond that which appeared on the face of it. The noble duke, in bringing forward the subject, stated, that it was a motion to inquire into the internal state of the country, with a view to the condition of the labouring poor, and in order particularly to ascertain the manner in which taxation affected productive industry. As the noble president of the council had truly stated, there was not a single branch of the government, or of the internal policy of the country, which might not, and would not, come under discussion before a committee appointed according to the terms of this motion. Each of the noble lords who supported the motion, stated a different object for the committee: he had taken the trouble to write these objects down as they were mentioned, and he declared, he believed there were not less than twenty important subjects proposed for consideration, including even a measure relative to the management of private property; and three or four questions concerning currency and coinage, some requiring the adoption of a silver coinage on one system, and others on another. When he found a motion thus proposed and supported—when he found that the words of it might be made to

include everything—he concluded that the purpose of noble lords was to go into what inquiries they liked, or if not, that there was some ulterior party object in view directed against the existing government.—One noble baron had misunderstood his friend, the noble earl, who opposed the motion. The noble baron was mistaken when he assimilated the committee moved for by the noble duke, to a committee lately appointed on the motion of an honourable gentleman in another place. That was a committee appointed to investigate the expediency of establishing poor-laws in Ireland; and the gentleman who moved its appointment, stated specifically—at least so it appeared, as far as the report of what he said upon that occasion went—what object he had in view in his motion, and to what points he intended to direct the inquiry which he proposed to the house of commons to institute. The conduct of the noble duke (Richmond) was very different. A noble friend of his, it was true, had complained, on a former night, that the same ministers who now consented to that inquiry in another place, had objected to a similar motion of his two years ago. This was perfectly true; the ground of objection which he had stated to the noble lord's motion at the time was, that the noble lord intended to propose the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland, and as he (in common with their lordships) was not prepared to consent to the establishment of poor-laws in Ireland, he had opposed the motion, and the house agreed with him in rejecting the noble lord's proposition. A noble lord, in alluding to the recent reductions of taxation, stated, that he felt full confidence in the intentions of his majesty's servants, to make further reductions if they found it possible to do so. The noble lord thought proper to state his confidence in ministers—a confidence which he (the duke of Wellington) trusted they would appear to merit; and the noble lord refused his assent to the motion now before the house, on the ground that it implied a want of confidence in his majesty's servants, which was not warranted by their acts. The motion was neither more nor less, in point of fact, than a demand upon their lordships, within eight-and-forty hours after the minister had come down and proposed a large reduction of taxation, to agree to a declaration of a want of confidence in the intention of government, to carry on the public service as economically as pos-

sible, and to do everything in their power to relieve the country. The noble marquis misunderstood what had been stated by his friend, the noble baron. He described the number of subjects proposed by different noble lords for inquiry; and he went further, and said, that no doubt each of these noble lords thought he should be a member of the committee, if appointed, and he stated the inevitable consequences of such a committee being established, and the manner in which the business would, in all probability, be done under such circumstances. The noble marquis must have seen in the conduct of his noble friend upon different committees, that it was that which became a minister of the crown performing his public duty, and endeavouring, by every means in his power, to elucidate the subjects under consideration upon such occasions. The noble marquis forgot a material feature in the committee appointed, a few years ago, to inquire into the whole state of Ireland: he was a member of that committee, as well as a noble earl who had taken part in this discussion, and begged leave to remind the noble earl, that there was one subject which, on account of the difference of opinion existing on it, was wholly excluded from consideration. [The marquis of Lansdowne—“It was excluded one year, and included the next.”] The duke of Wellington thought the noble marquis would find that his statement was correct, and that the matter in question was excluded from the inquiry, because it was considered impossible, at the time, to come to an agreement upon it; and besides, it was thought a subject too important to be taken into consideration by the committee. The same might be said, to a certain extent, with respect to the great and important question of taxation. He must here observe, with respect to this committee, upon the appointment of which so many noble lords had spoken, and to the motion for forming which so many noble lords had given their support, that, in point of fact, many of those who had said that they intended to vote for the noble duke's proposition, had declared their opinion, that it would never produce any result. The noble lord who sat on the cross-bench, had stated that it was probable there would be no result from the appointment of a committee. The noble lord appeared to dissent from this; but he begged his lordship's pardon: he had taken down his very words, and they

were—"It cannot be expected that relief should be given." But it was to afford relief that it was proposed to appoint the committee; and if "relief cannot be expected," for what good object move for its appointment? It was not, surely, in order that the discussion of questions before the committee might excite in the people hopes of some favourable result, which expectations, according to the noble lord, must necessarily be disappointed! Surely their lordships would not appoint a committee, in order merely to give noble lords an opportunity of discussing a variety of subjects in the committee, without the prospects of any solid advantages arising from their discussions. Nor could it be well believed, that the last effort of the noble and learned lord, was made with a view to annoy and derange the king's government. Supposing that no result could be expected from the labours of a committee, was a committee to be appointed to try this question? Did government, or did it not, put the truth into the king's speech with regard to the state of the country? On former occasions, he had stated various reasons for believing that the truth was told on the subject in his majesty's speech, and he had not since altered his opinion. He was fully convinced that there was great distress in the country; but he did not believe that the distress was general; and he did believe that it was gradually subsiding: such was his belief at the present moment. But a noble lord, who formerly attacked ministers for stating that the relief of many of the evils complained of, was beyond the power of parliament, had said to-night, that a committee might not be able to afford relief. Ministers stated, in the king's speech, that his majesty was convinced no pressure of temporary difficulty would induce parliament to relax the determination it had invariably manifested, to maintain inviolate the public credit, and thus to uphold the high character and permanent welfare of the country. The king's servants had thought it their duty to propose a large reduction of taxation, in order to lighten the pressure of the public burthens,—a measure, that he was happy to say, had given great satisfaction to many, and which had been handsomely mentioned by his friend, the noble duke at the table, and by a noble marquis and baron who took part in the debate. In executing this project, ministers had done no more than what they thought to be their duty on this oc-

casion with reference to the public advantage; and if, instead of a remission of taxation, they had been under the necessity of maintaining the revenue, and keeping up the taxes, of which they had been enabled to propose the repeal, they would have endeavoured to prevail on parliament to maintain these taxes, as readily and manfully as they had proposed their repeal. It afforded him great gratification to believe, as he conscientiously did, that this measure would give relief to the country, without impairing the necessary efficiency of the public establishments. He thought ministers had chosen the best mode of affording relief that was in their power: they had repealed precisely those taxes that, as compared with others, would take the smallest sum out of the treasury, and put the largest amount into the pockets of the people. He was satisfied that the repeal would be a great relief to the country. The noble marquis and other noble lords, stated their expectation that the repeal of taxes would not be carried further. He would not, at that hour of the night, go into calculations which induced him to believe that (certainly, at the present moment) reduction of taxation could not be carried further, consistently with a due regard to the security of the country. As government had proceeded hitherto on the principle of reducing every establishment and office, as far as possible, which was not necessary to the public service, it would continue the same practice, and endeavour to curtail every branch of expenditure, not absolutely necessary for the attainment of that object, hoping thereby to produce such a saving as might place other resources of economy, and the means of a further reduction of taxation at their disposal. If ministers succeeded in this object, so much the better; but if not—if the public service prevented it—they would throw themselves with confidence upon parliament, and in the discharge of their duty, trust to their aid for support. If the motion of the noble lord had been a motion to inquire into the state and administration of the poor-laws, it might have been worth while to consider whether or not it ought to be adopted; but at the same time, he begged to remind the house, that the subject of the poor-laws had been already repeatedly under consideration; that there were now upon the table of the house of commons, and he believed upon that of their lordships' house, reports of two or three committees, some of them detailing the very

facts contained in the letter which the noble marquis had read to the house: consequently, parliament, government, and the public were in complete possession of the facts; and the end of the inquiry, as far as the attainment of information was concerned, had been accomplished. It should be recollected that some of the greatest statesmen that ever lived in England—that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wyndham had attempted to deal with the difficult subject of the poor-laws, without success. It was a subject equally important, difficult, and complicated: the system, as far as local practice and arrangements went, varied almost in every parish in England, more or less; and, he repeated, it was almost impossible to deal with it successfully. He appealed to the noble earl whether it were not a subject which parliament should approach with the utmost caution, and meddle with only after a most deliberate inquiry. They ought not to enter into it hastily, or at an inopportune period, like the present: it would be better to wait till the country was restored to a complete state of prosperity, and then investigate the subject with a proper degree of attention. The motion was lost; the numbers being, on a division, sixty-one to one hundred and forty-one.

On the 29th of March, a series of resolutions were moved by lord King, on the subject of the corn-laws, wishing to place upon their lordships' journals a statement of his views on that important subject. The resolutions declared all regulations, duties, and prohibitions which prevented the importation of corn, to be impolitic and unjust; and strongly condemned the restrictions which had been imposed, and which were described "to have checked the prosperity of the country, impoverished all the productive classes, and, by the most perverse policy, compelled our natural customers to become our competitors, our rivals, and almost our enemies."

The resolutions were negatived, after a short debate, in the course of which the duke of Wellington stated his view of the important question thus raised. His grace said, he agreed entirely with the noble baron in wishing to have plenty of cheap corn; because he thought it would be highly beneficial to the country, and would tend to improve the condition of every class of society. But he was anxious to see that effect produced in a manner different from that pointed out by the noble baron. He wished

to see plenty of provisions created in a way that would confer benefit and advantage on the native agriculturist: he wished to see that plenty derived from the improvement of Ireland, and from the increase of her productions. If cheap provisions were produced by these means, great national good must be the result. And he would say farther, that a plentiful and steady supply of provisions could not be produced by any other means. In reply to the observations of the noble baron, he would call on their lordships to look at the returns which had been laid before that and the other house of parliament. Let them advert to the long period from 1791 to 1815, during the whole of which times the ports were open, at a duty of twenty-four shillings per quarter, when the price was beyond fifty shillings, which duty was maintained up to 1815; let them advert to that very long period, and they would find that there was not one single cheap year of corn. It never was below the price at which importation was prohibited. If their lordships would refer to the last year, they would perceive that corn had been, in the course of that year, as high as seventy-four shillings; and his noble friend had stated what the amount of grain imported was—namely, eight million of quarters of grain of different kinds, of which three million five hundred thousand quarters were wheat. Now, he begged to ask, did the price of corn come down in consequence? It did not, although there was an importation, in one week, to the amount of four hundred thousand quarters. The price, however, still remained the same: it experienced no fall. The noble baron had made a set-off attack on him with reference to the measure connected with this subject, which he had the honour to introduce, some time since, into that house. The noble baron affirmed that the measure had not worked well. Now, he would assert, that the measure thus noticed had worked well. It protected the agriculturist; by its operation the produce of the country was rendered sufficient for its consumption; and it prevented the price from rising to an exorbitant rate. Such was the fact; while it was equally true, that the introduction of foreign corn to this country, did not bring down the high price of from seventy shillings to seventy-four shillings a-quarter. Their lordships might look at the subject in another point of view. Let them look at the price of wheat at Dantzic, from 1791 to

1815, and let them also consider the price at which it was sold in recent years, when it was required in this country. In January, 1826, the price of wheat at Dantzic was 18s. 11d., in June it was 19s. 5d.; in December it was 27s. 3d.: in January, 1827, 25s. 7d.; in June it was 22s. 4d.; in December, 22s. 9d.: and in December, 1828, it was 57s. 8d. Was it owing to any deficiency of the harvest in Poland that this rise took place? No such thing: it was caused by the demand in this country. Was that the mode of procuring cheap corn? It was the very reverse; for our demand had the effect of raising the price. In January, 1829, the price was 58s. 8d., and in June it was 45s. 8d., an alteration which arose from the circumstance of the harvest in this country not turning out so badly as was expected. In December, 1829, the price was 30s. 8d., being a fall of nearly one-half between January and December. Why, he would ask their lordships, had such a fall taken place in the price of wheat at Dantzic? Simply, because the demand for it in this country had ceased. This clearly substantiated his argument, that the high price was occasioned on the continent by the demand of this country. Then, he would say, if we are to pay a high price for corn, let us give it to the English or Irish agriculturist, and not to the foreigner. That was exactly the principle of the existing corn-law; and he would assert that it had worked well. It had one great advantage which preceding corn-laws could not boast: it had been carried into execution without interruption, while the previous law and the amended law had been infringed on by the government every year, or every second year, by the introduction of corn without any duty, to the advantage of certain individuals, but without any advantage to the agriculturist. Another effect of the present corn-law was, to give protection to the agricultural interest of this country; and, in his mind, it was a most important point to effect that object. It was a great political object, not only when viewed with reference to the duties which the nobility and gentry, throughout the empire, were called on to perform; but it was also an object of the first importance, so far as the interests of the people of this country were concerned, in order to ensure them a certain supply of corn of home growth, whether the year happened to be unproductive or otherwise. The noble baron ridiculed the idea of a duty

being levied abroad on foreign corn about to be shipped to this country. But there was nothing ridiculous in the matter; for the noble baron would find that a duty of twenty shillings per quarter had been levied on corn about to be exported to this country; and, therefore, it was not wise that we should place ourselves so much in the power of foreigners. Bonaparte had levied a duty on corn, the growth of France, as well as of Austria and of Prussia, when he was in possession of the capitals of those countries, which was intended for exportation to England. If Bonaparte did so, what was to prevent the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, or Russia from taking the same step? In fact, the king of Prussia did lay on such a duty in 1801. And it ought not to be overlooked, that a great portion of the corn intended for this market must come through the territory of Prussia. Were they, then, to rely on the forbearance of these foreign sovereigns, to obtain the necessary supply of corn to England? He said, certainly not; and, therefore, he would contend that this country could not wisely do otherwise than secure the interest of the agriculturist, who ought to be encouraged to raise a sufficient supply of corn to meet the wants of the country, either in time of war or at any other period of distress. The noble baron had taken up much of their lordships' time, in discussing the amount of profit which the manufacturer derived from exporting his goods to foreign countries; and he argued, that if we allowed foreign corn to be imported at a small nominal duty, that profit would be vastly increased. But the noble baron had forgotten one great cause of the small profits that were realised on our goods when sent to foreign parts—namely, the great increase of manufactures abroad. The greatest difficulty was experienced in exporting our manufactures. In some countries there was a total prohibition of them; in others, there was an extremely high duty; and in all, there was much competition and jealousy. The government, in every one of those foreign countries, did everything in its power to prevent the sale of British manufactures. He was convinced, that if the people of this country went to the continent, and purchased all the corn in Poland, not an additional article would they be enabled to force into France, Germany, Prussia, or Russia. If the merchants of this country were allowed freely to purchase grain, foreigners would get as much for



their corn as they possibly could; but their rulers would not allow a single article of our manufactures to be imported, in consequence of our being obliged to buy the grain of those countries. There was, undoubtedly, a certain quantity of manufactures in this country, more than the population itself could consume, which it would be very desirable to get rid of. But was it exactly true, that taking foreign corn, would have the effect of enabling other countries to purchase our manufactures? And, even if such were the case, what were we to do with our own corn? If those countries wished for our manufactures, why, when Russia and Prussia disposed of their corn to other states, did they not come and purchase goods from us?

The prospect of Dom Miguel's recognition by the government of England, found favour with no party. There was something offensive to English taste, from the first, in the conditions on which he was to become king of Portugal, involving, as they did, the marriage of an uncle with his own niece. Miguel's deceitful and cruel conduct, after he was installed as regent, had caused his name to be so hated, that any movement to favour him or his cause failed not to call forth the strongest demonstrations of anger and disgust. The interference which ministers had thought necessary with the partisans of the queen at Terceira, was generally viewed with displeasure; and on the 28th of April, a series of resolutions, declaring that proceeding "to have been neither justified by the necessity of the case, nor by the general law of nations," were moved by Mr. Grant, in the house of commons. The debate produced many able expositions of public law, which of course can only be mentioned here. The principal facts of the case, and the grounds on which ministers had acted, were thus stated by Mr. Peel:—

"The port of Terceira is a strong position, within the limits of which, on a memorable occasion, the Spanish and Portuguese vessels found refuge: it was equally known that soon after Dom Miguel ascended the throne of Portugal, his authority was recognised in every part of the Portuguese dominions, except that island; and there, also, his authority would have been recognised, but for the presence of five regiments, who were in the interest of Donna Maria, and held the fortress in her name. There was a despatch on the table from general Caffera, dated October 3rd, 1828; and he could not con-

ceive how it was possible for any person to read the despatch, and doubt for one moment that civil dissensions had existed at Terceira, antecedently to that time, and that, but for these regiments, the whole island would have acknowledged Dom Miguel. He had, he thought, fully justified his majesty's government from the accusation of seeking a pretext, in subsequent disturbances, for its own antecedent conduct. The disturbances existed long prior to that part of the conduct of the government which the motion went to censure. The next question for consideration was the character of the expedition; and his right honourable friend contended that, going unarmed from our shores, the refugees were not to be considered as a military body, and that their conduct was no breach of our neutrality. Was it, then, to be contended that no expedition was a military expedition, except the troops had their arms on board the same vessels with them? If they were on board one vessel, and their arms in another, did that make any difference? Was such a pretence to be tolerated by that common sense to which the honourable baronet had appealed? During the whole time the refugees were in this country, the marquis Barbacena spoke of them as troops; and general Stubbs addressed them as such in a military order of the day. Would it do, then, for this country to tell all Europe, that it had no knowledge of their character, and no cognizance of their departure? Arms were already provided for them at Terceira; the men were proceeding thither for the purpose of using the arms; and no person could, for one moment, doubt what was the real nature and character of the expedition. Some time before, the marquis Barbacena requested permission to send some arms and ammunition out of the country; and he then distinctly declared, in answer to the foreign secretary, that they were intended for the Brazils. It was on that declaration that permission was given. The emperor Dom Pedro, it was said, was not desirous of being the Brutus of Portugal; and he was aware of the danger of committing the Brazils with the civil dissensions of her ancient European dominions. Dom Pedro left the defence of the principles of liberty in Europe to the members of the English parliament. After the assurance to which he had alluded had been given—after the declaration thus made—the arms and ammunition were taken, not to the Brazils, but to Terceira, and deposited in the fort at

Angra. The arms were sent previously to sending the troops; and would any man say that this did not make the expedition as completely a military expedition as ever left the shores of any country? The marquis Palmella admitted that the arms had been sent to Angra; and he stated unequivocally that he was preparing a further supply, if the quantity already sent should be insufficient for the troops. The troops were embarked on board eleven transports; and it was not possible for the government of this country, knowing all the facts of the case, to shut its eyes to the real objects of the expedition. The question had been argued as if it were a strictly legal question; and gentlemen seemed to suppose that they could settle a question of national policy by their law-books. The opinion of jurists had been referred to, and the judgments of lord Stowell had been cited with a triumphant but useless display of learning. Surely the honourable and learned member, who had referred to that noble lord's opinion, ought to have recollected that in one of the very cases mentioned, that noble lord had distinctly declared, that any persons who made use of a neutral country for the purpose of fitting out a warlike armament, to be directed against a country with which that neutral was at peace, were guilty of a breach of its neutrality. He would not, however, dwell longer on that point: he would rather take up the same ground as the honourable baronet. He would leave the law of the case to the professional gentlemen, and look at the question with a plain understanding. Would any person, then, say that it made any difference, that this expedition was going to defend, not attack a fortress? Was not defence the act of a belligerent as well as attack, and did not the neutral who assisted the defence, as much commit a breach of neutrality as if he aided an attack? Suppose Gibraltar were invested, and two or three of our battalions, in order to assist their brethren, should repair to a neutral state, and say to its government, 'We are veterans; we are the subjects of one of the belligerents: we desire to assist the besieged; but in order to elude the other party, we have pulled off our red coats; we are, therefore, now peaceful citizens—private, innocent persons: we go only as individuals; we shall find arms and ammunition there, do you only allow us to indulge the *amor patriæ* which we feel: allow us to refresh and recruit ourselves here, and then to proceed from you

to the fortress of our own sovereign.' That might be a very good *ruse*; but if such practices were to be the doctrines and principles of states, he did not see how they could preserve amicable relations with each other; or how any one of them could long remain neutral in any quarrel between two other states. Suppose the case reversed, and that Dom Miguel were substituted for Donna Maria: that he had assembled troops at Plymouth, and had proceeded to attack some part of the queen's dominions; and suppose that ministers had stood up to defend the conduct of government, in allowing him to collect a force at Plymouth; would not such a paltry distinction, as that, urged to justify the sailing of this expedition, be scouted with indignant derision by every patriotic member who should hear it employed, to justify the government for not interfering with the expedition of Dom Miguel? It was not necessary, he believed, further to discuss the question, whether the expedition were or not a breach of our neutrality; and conceiving that it was, the next question which required to be settled was, whether or not we were justified, after the expedition had left our ports, in preventing it from reaching the place of its destination. On that point, he thought a complete answer to the statement of his right honourable friend who opened the debate, had been given by his right honourable friend who sat near him. The Portuguese refugees and their leaders had, throughout, been guilty of the grossest deception towards the British government. It had been such as justly to subject them to the treatment they had received. They had made representations that were untrue—they had entered into engagements which they had not kept; and, in short, they had attempted to practise a fraud on the government of the country where they had received the rites of hospitality. On their heads, therefore, and not on the head of any one of his majesty's ministers, ought the consequences of these transactions to be visited. Were the government of this country to allow itself to be deceived in the way these refugees had deceived it, the ports of England would be selected by all the discontented people of Europe, to fit out and prepare expeditions against their governments, or even expeditions to plunder and devastate other countries. It might be true, that we had no right to punish the Portuguese for their fraud; but we had a right to prevent their profiting by

their fraud, particularly when doing that which might have involved us in a contest with another power, on account of the breach of our neutrality committed by these people. In a speech made by the brother of his right honourable friend on the foreign enlistment bill, that gentleman adduced the following passage from Vattel, which, he presumed, was correctly quoted:—'Neutrals shall not suffer themselves or their possessions to be made instrumental in doing injury to other nations. There is no law of nature or of nations—no obligations of justice which condemn us to be the dupes of those who would lead us into such wrong.' That was the doctrine he would apply to the present case,—we were not to be made the dupes of these people, to commit wrong against another power. But the consequences, he believed, of such proceedings, did we permit them, would be fatal to ourselves. If we supported, or allowed fraud, we should have no remedy but to submit to it when our own rights were in question. If we allowed one hostile expedition to be prepared within our territory, ten years would not elapse—to use the remarkable words of Mr. Canning, in the debate on the alien bill—'before this country will be made the workshop of intrigue, and the arsenal of every malevolent faction in Europe. Placed, as this country is, on the confines of the old world and the new, possessing such facilities in her manufactures and in her natural advantages, and, above all, in her free institutions, it becomes her to watch, with the narrowest scrutiny, that the facilities she affords are not abused to her own injury.' With respect to free trade, he believed that the home market was our best resource,—that it took the greatest number of our manufactured articles. It had, and he thought with truth, been stated that two-thirds of the whole quantities of our manufactures were disposed of in this country. The greater part of the woollen and the whole of the silk manufactures were consumed here; and, he asked, would they take the corn trade from the hands of those who afforded them the best market? He thought that such a proposition was quite preposterous. He was sure that the interests of all classes in this country were nearly allied. They were not to look to the interest of the cotton manufacturer or of the iron manufacturer. That which they were all bound to consider was the benefit of all; and, in his opinion, the common good would be most effectually secured, by getting the

greatest quantity of provisions for the whole community,—by giving a proper remuneration to those who produced those provisions, and thus encouraging them to do what was most beneficial to the community at large."

A motion relative to the national debt and the revenue of the country, by viscount Goderich, was regarded with some interest by the money-market. The noble viscount went into the subject at great length, to show that erroneous opinions had been widely diffused, which declared that the country was so grievously burdened, that it was unreasonable and unjust to attempt to preserve faith with the public creditor. He moved for returns to elucidate various financial statements which he had made, and impressively remarked to their lordships, that the influence of England on the continent, was, to a great extent, founded on the confidence that foreign nations had in the honour, integrity, and good faith of this country; but that influence was essentially built on a conviction of our strength; and feeling that that strength was not yet impaired, he was convinced that nothing could be more disastrous, both to other nations and ourselves, than to invite attack by assuming an appearance of decay.

The duke of Wellington said, he considered that the government and the people were under the greatest obligation to his noble friend (viscount Goderich), for having introduced the subject to their notice, and for the manner in which he had treated it. He would not weaken the effect of the admirable speech of his noble friend, either by commenting upon its matter, or by repeating over again anything that he had said. In general, he agreed with all that had fallen from his noble friend; and he congratulated their lordships in having had laid before them so admirable a statement of the true condition of the national debt, and of the interest paid by the nation on that debt. There was only one part of the statement of his noble friend to which, he must confess, he could not give his entire concurrence: the part to which he alluded was that in which his noble friend had, with his customary candour, commented upon that topic which usually went by the name of the "equitable adjustment." His noble friend had admitted, that an increase of the debt was occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and had stated the amount of that at twenty per cent. It

was certainly true, that there was a large increase in the price of commodities during the depreciation of the currency; but the allowance that his noble friend had made, appeared to him a very large allowance indeed. His noble friend had admitted too much, he thought, in stating the annual increase of the charges, on account of the debt contracted in a depreciated currency, at three million five hundred thousand pounds. To calculate it, they ought to take the difference between the market-price of gold, and the mint-price in 1819, when the bank restriction act was repealed. The difference then was about four per cent.; and as the amount of charge for the debt at that period was thirty million pounds, the difference of four per cent. made one million two hundred thousand pounds. That was all which could have been saved by sacrificing the honour or credit of the country, by what was called an "equitable adjustment." By the measures that had since been introduced, there had been an actual saving of one hundred and fifty millions to the country—a circumstance which ought to give them hopes that everything that was required by the country might be done with good faith and honour, instead of resorting to the national bankruptcy that was recommended by some. He begged to say, that in this, he was not alluding to his noble friend, earl Stanhope. His noble friend had concluded by some observations on the unfunded debt. It was true, that the amount of exchequer bills was twenty-five million; but of that sum, four million had been issued on account of public works, and would be repaid without causing any charge to the country. Of the remaining twenty-one million, six million were held by the bank of England; so that instead of twenty-five million, there were only fifteen million actually in circulation; and it did not appear to him that the amount was too large, considering the present state of the credit of the country. All these matters, however, would of course obtain the anxious consideration of the government; and he was sure that the advice of his noble friend would have weight with the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as with himself, when the subject came to be taken into consideration. He could not allow the excellent observations of his noble friend to pass without these few remarks; and he hoped that it would be found that the speech which he had made,

would have its due effect both with the parliament and the country. At least, he could assert, that it was the intention of the government to follow the example that had been set, and reduce both the national expenditure and the national debt to the utmost of its power.

Among the affairs which demanded the attention of the duke of Wellington and his colleagues, the question as to the future sovereignty of Greece was not the least embarrassing. It was understood that prince Leopold was to be placed over that classic realm; but when it was supposed that all had been arranged, new difficulties were said to have arisen, and fresh negotiations were necessary. It was, after this, reported that every obstacle was removed; when, on a sudden, it transpired that Leopold would not accept the proffered honour. The subject had occasionally been mentioned in parliament; and on the 22nd of May, the result being then ascertained, lord Aberdeen gave a statement of what had occurred. Ministers deemed it a question of great importance and delicacy, as to who should be selected to reign over independent Greece. His lordship proceeded: "It would evidently require the exercise of much prudence and discretion to organise a state composed of such materials as Greece necessarily was. It would require also great prudence and discretion, after Greece had so long been in a state of hostility with the Porte, to maintain friendly relations, in future, with that power. The allies thought that they had found a prince possessing such qualities, in the person of his royal highness, prince Leopold. It was a choice honourable to his royal highness,—and their lordships would give him leave to add, honourable to Great Britain; for proceeding, as it did, entirely from our allies, it gave evidence, on their part, of confidence and reliance in the upright and honourable policy of this country, which it might naturally be supposed would, more or less, influence the conduct of the new prince. The choice was the more fortunate, because it was well understood that its object had long been the ambition of his royal highness, and had been solicited by him; and also because the Greeks had shown themselves desirous to have his royal highness for their sovereign. The offer was made to his royal highness on the 3rd of February; and what might be called his royal highness's adhesion to the protocol, although taken on the 11th, was only finally

received on the 20th. From that day, up to a very recent period, the negotiations with his royal highness had turned exclusively on a single point, and that was this: by the provisions of the last protocol, the allies engaged, in consideration of the deplorable condition to which Greece was reduced, and the necessity of aid, as urged in the strongest manner by his royal highness, to furnish pecuniary succour to Greece, in order to enable his royal highness to raise and maintain troops for his safety. The succour was to be given in the form of a guarantee for a loan to be raised by the Greek government. In the execution of this engagement, it certainly was the opinion of his majesty's ministers that the demands of his royal highness were unreasonable. They thought it their duty to resist those demands, because they considered that they were not authorised to incur new obligations which were not justified by the wants of the state. They felt it their duty, at the present moment, not to expose the country to even the chance of incurring any burthen beyond what was indispensably necessary, to carry into effect the object of the treaty. But his royal highness maintained those demands with so much pertinacity, and, indeed, gave the government so plainly to understand that he was fully prepared to renounce the

situation which he had accepted, unless those demands were agreed to to the uttermost farthing, that the government, seeing also that the allies expressed their willingness to acquiesce in those demands, deemed that Great Britain would be incurring an odious responsibility by taking on herself the destruction of an arrangement made in favour of a British prince; and however reluctantly, acceded to his royal highness's demands. This was the situation in which affairs stood a short time ago. He had then stated, that nothing but minor points remained to be settled; these points being, not the amount of the loan, but the mode of effecting it, and the manner of repayment. Such was the state of affairs when fresh grounds of hesitation occurred to his royal highness. Late on Friday night, government received from his royal highness a notice, that he was determined to renounce the situation which he had accepted, and he abdicated the place which had hitherto been the object of his ambition.

The exposition thus made was complained of, as reflecting in some degree unfavourably on Leopold; but the noble earl desired that no such inference should be drawn from anything that had fallen from him; he had only offered a simple statement of facts.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

DESIGNS OF RUSSIA; LORD ABERDEEN'S COMMENTARY; CASE OF THE SHIPPING INTEREST; THE KING'S HEALTH DECLINES; A BILL TO AUTHORISE THE USE OF A STAMP FOR THE SIGN-MANUAL; BRUNSWICK CLUBS; DEATH OF GEORGE IV.

THERE was something in the proceedings of Russia which awoke strong suspicions in England as to the ultimate objects of her policy, which rendered everything affecting Greece a subject of great anxiety to the British government. The insincerity of the emperor was apparent. To this the duke did not shut his eyes; but to turn round on a valued ally of England—on the power which had acted so important a part in that great settlement of the affairs of Europe which had given it many years of peace—was a step which, on slight reflection, he could not think of taking. Friendly admo-

nition, it was hoped, as in some former cases, would induce the emperor to listen to better counsels; and, with this feeling, the following important despatch was addressed to Lord Heytesbury, who was then ambassador at the court of Russia, by the earl of Aberdeen, in the latter part of the last year, though it did not come before the public till a quarter of a century afterwards:—

“Foreign-office, October 31, 1829.

“My Lord,—I have received from his imperial majesty's ambassador at this court a copy of the definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, together with the manifesto of

the Russian cabinet, and a circular despatch from Count Nesselrode, dated the 4th of October. These papers have engaged the serious attention of his majesty's government. The consequences of the transaction to which they refer are so various and important, and influence so powerfully the future happiness and tranquillity of all nations, that it would be inconsistent with the station which his majesty fills among the sovereigns of Europe, as well as with that frankness and sincerity which he is desirous should characterise all his relations with the cabinet of St. Petersburg, if he were not at once to communicate to his imperial majesty the sentiments which have been produced in his mind by an examination of the treaty of Adrianople.

"The first desire of his majesty is to express the satisfaction which he has experienced from the restoration of peace. He sincerely rejoices that a state of warfare should at length have ceased, the existence of which he has constantly deplored, and the prolonged duration of which had only increased his majesty's apprehensions of the evils to which it must finally have led.

"Count Nesselrode, at the conclusion of his circular despatch, expresses an opinion that the treaty now concluded holds out to Europe a long prospect of tranquillity and repose. That this judgment may be fully confirmed is our most anxious desire. In the meantime, it will be an object worthy of the solicitude of his imperial majesty to strengthen the confidence of his allies, and to remove those causes of alarm to which, if not discovered in the treaty of peace itself, the present state of the Turkish empire cannot fail to give rise.

"When his imperial majesty announced his intention of declaring war against the Ottoman Porte, upon grounds affecting exclusively the interests of Russia, his majesty's government, without pronouncing any opinion respecting the justice of the war, expressed their conviction that the most complete success in the justest cause would not entitle the stronger party to demand from the weaker sacrifices which would affect its political existence, or would infringe upon that state of territorial possession upon which the general peace had rested. They also observed that demands of indemnity and compensation might be carried to such an extent as to render compliance scarcely practicable, without reducing the Ottoman power to a degree of weakness which would deprive it of the character of an independent state.

"His imperial majesty, in carrying into execution his threatened invasion of the Ottoman dominions, declared his adherence to that disinterested principle which had characterised the protocol of St. Petersburg and the treaty of London. He renounced all projects of conquest and ambition. His imperial majesty frequently repeated, that so far from desiring the destruction of the Turkish empire, he was most anxious

for its preservation. He promised that no amount of indemnity should be exacted which could affect its political existence; and he declared that this policy was not the result of romantic notions of generosity, or of the vain desire of glory, but that it originated in the true interests of the Russian empire, in which interests, well understood, and in his own solemn promises, would be found the best pledges of his moderation.

"His imperial majesty added that his thoughts would undergo no change, even if, contrary to his intentions and his endeavours, Divine Providence had decreed that we should now behold the termination of the Ottoman power. His imperial majesty was still determined not to extend the limits of his own dominions; and he only demanded from his allies the same absence of all selfish and ambitious views, of which he would himself give the first example.

"Does the treaty of Adrianople place the Porte in a situation corresponding with the expectations raised by these assurances? The answer must be left to the judgment of Europe: it might be left to the dispassionate judgment of the cabinet of St. Petersburg.

"Undoubtedly, if we look only at the relative position of the two belligerents, the fortune of the war might have enabled the emperor to exact still harder terms. The sultan, threatened by a formidable insurrection in Constantinople, having lost his army, and having ordered the remaining Asiatic troops to retire to their homes, was unable to offer any effectual opposition, and threw himself under the mercy of the Russian commander. By the persuasion of the British and French ambassadors, and of the minister extraordinary of the king of Prussia, the defeated monarch was induced to place entire confidence in the moderation of his imperial majesty.

"It may not be easy to accuse of want of generosity the conqueror who checks the unresisted progress of success, and who spares the defenceless capital of his enemy. Nevertheless, the treaty in question, certainly not in conformity with the expectations held out by preceding declarations and assurances, appears vitally to affect the interests, the strength, the dignity, the present safety, and future independence of the Ottoman empire.

"The modes of domination may be various, although all equally irresistible. The independence of a state may be overthrown and its subjection effectually secured without the presence of a hostile force, or the permanent occupation of its soil. Under the present treaty the territorial acquisitions of Russia are small, it must be admitted, in extent, although most important in their character. They are commanding positions, far more valuable than the possession of barren provinces and depopulated towns, and better calculated to rivet the fetters by which the sultan is bound.

"The cession of the Asiatic fortresses, with their neighbouring districts, not only secures to Russia the uninterrupted occupation of the eastern coast of the Black Sea, but places her in a situation so commanding as to control at pleasure the destiny of Asia Minor.

"Prominently advanced into the centre of Armenia, in the midst of a Christian population, Russia holds the keys both of the Persian and the Turkish provinces; and, whether she may be disposed to extend her conquests to the east or to the west, to Teheran or to Constantinople, no serious obstacle can arrest her progress.

"In Europe the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are rendered virtually independent of the Porte. A tribute is, indeed, to be paid to the sultan, which he has no means of enforcing, except by the permission and even the assistance of Russia herself; and a prince, elected for life, is to demand investiture which cannot be withheld. The Mussulman inhabitants are to be forcibly expelled from the territory. The ancient right of pre-emption is abolished; and the supplies indispensable for Constantinople, for the Turkish arsenals, and for the fortresses are entirely cut off. The most important fortresses upon the Danube are to be razed, and the frontier left exposed and unprotected against incursions which at any future time may be attempted.

"It is sufficient to observe of the stipulations respecting the islands of the Danube, that their effect must be to place the control of the navigation and commerce of that river exclusively in the hands of Russia.

"Serbia, by the incorporation of the six districts referred to in the treaty, is erected into an independent and powerful state; and when the allied powers shall have finally decided upon the character of the government, and the limits to be assigned to Greece, the circle will be completed of territories nominally dependent or tributary, but which must be animated with the most hostile spirit; and the recognition of which by the powers of Europe is scarcely compatible with the security, perhaps not with the existence of the Turkish empire.

"The commercial privileges and personal immunities which are secured by the treaty to the subjects of Russia appear to be at variance with any notion we are able to form of the authority of a sovereign and independent prince. It is true that by capitulations with the Porte, in consequence of the defective administration of justice by the Turkish government, rights have been obtained by European nations of such a description as would not have been conceded by the states of Christendom. These rights have not only been still further extended by the present treaty, but the stipulations, so far from being drawn up in the spirit of peace, are to all appearance rather calculated to invite and justify the renewal of hostilities. What reason-

able prospect of 'eternal peace, friendship, and good understanding' can be afforded by an instrument which contains a special provision, making the calamities of war almost dependent upon the capricious extortion of a Turkish officer, or the unauthorised arrogance of a Russian trader?

"His majesty's government are persuaded that it will be impossible for his imperial majesty to reflect upon the terms of Article 7 of the treaty of Adrianople, without perceiving at once that they must be utterly subversive of the independence of the Ottoman power.

"This article stipulates that merchant vessels of all nations, without any restriction of size or tonnage, shall be admitted to pass freely through the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The right of visit on the part of the Turkish government is expressly excluded. This provision not only deprives the Porte of the exercise of a right in its own waters, inherent in the very nature of independent sovereignty; but it also destroys a necessary protection against the effects of foreign hostility or domestic treachery. The power of marching a Russian army, at any moment, through any part of the Turkish territory, without the permission of the government, could not be more degrading or more dangerous.

"Such stipulations are not only destructive of the territorial rights of sovereignty, and threatening to the safety of the Porte, but their obvious tendency is to affect the condition and the interests of all maritime states in the Mediterranean, and may demand from those states the most serious consideration.

"How is the true character of the vessel to be ascertained? In former treaties the bulk and the amount of tonnage to be admitted had been fixed by Russia herself, and was regulated by what had been found to be most usual and most advantageous in the navigation of those seas. The right of search, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature and value of the cargo, with a view to fix the duties to be levied on importation, was very generally relinquished by the Porte in its practice towards the vessels of foreign powers; the ships manifest transmitted from the consul's office being admitted as sufficient evidence of the nature of the cargo, instead of proof derived from actual inspection. But the right of visit, in order to ascertain the character of the vessel, and the object of the voyage, has never been relinquished, and can never be relinquished by a state in any degree careful of its own independence and of its safety.

"The Porte is not only prohibited from exercising any interference with the free passage of the straits by Russian ships, but it is also divested of this indispensable attribute of sovereignty in its relations with all other powers, and that, too, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the emperor of Russia.

"If the Turkish government should detain

and visit a ship belonging to any foreign state, the injury would not be offered to that state, with which, perhaps, no treaty may exist, but to the emperor of Russia, who, according to the terms of the article in question, would at once be furnished with a justifiable cause of war against the Porte. But suppose any such state were fraudulently to send an armed vessel, or a vessel carrying armed men, into the waters of the Turkish dominion, and under the walls of the seraglio, with purposes the most hostile, would his imperial majesty, by the treaty of Adrianople, become responsible for such an act? In either case the sultan would be entirely dependent upon Russia in a matter in which the dignity and security of his government were vitally affected.

“Is it too much to say that such stipulations are inconsistent with the desire of his imperial majesty to preserve the independence of the Turkish empire.

“His majesty’s government have always been persuaded that the power of imposing a pecuniary burden upon the Ottoman Porte, as a compensation and an indemnity for the expenses of the war, would be exercised in the promised spirit of equity and of moderation. His imperial majesty cannot fail to reflect that, in judging of the character of such a transaction, it is necessary to compare the sum exacted, not only with the expenses of the war, but with the means of the power upon which the payment is imposed. The cabinet of St. Petersburg will undoubtedly acquiesce in the principle that indemnities, whether pecuniary or territorial, ought not by their operation to crush the power by whom they are given, or to expose by their consequences the military security of neighbouring and allied states. The emperor is too wise not to desire, even in the midst of conquest and success, to maintain inviolate that system established for the general tranquillity of Europe, in which his imperial majesty’s august predecessor took so prominent and so honourable a part. It is, therefore, with sincere satisfaction that his majesty’s government have learnt from the declaration made by Count Nesselrode to your excellency, for the purpose of being transmitted to your government, ‘that it was in contemplation not only to diminish the amount of the sum stipulated, but also to make a different arrangement with respect to its guarantee.’ It is by such conduct that his imperial majesty will really manifest his generosity, and his regard for those principles of just and enlarged policy by which alone can be secured the confidence of his allies and the respect of Europe.

“Even if the emperor were not thus to yield at once to the impulse of his own disposition, the same determination would still be recommended by considerations of prudence, as being essential to the success of objects which he has professed to have much at heart. His imperial

majesty has declared, that a regard for the true interests of Russia induced him to feel more desirous than any other European power of maintaining the independent existence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. He has also repeatedly avowed, that the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte demanded his constant solicitude, and that the obligations both of his own conscience and of public treaties imposed upon him the special duty of consulting their welfare and providing for their protection. These objects, at all times difficult to reconcile, would, under the strict execution of the treaty, become altogether incompatible with each other. The real situation of the Turkish power is too obvious to escape the most common observation. The sultan is surrounded by independent states, formed out of his own territories, and with the great mass of the European population of his empire anxiously waiting for the moment when they may profit by this example, and shake off his dominion altogether. Defeated and reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation, he has retained his throne and political existence by the mercy of his conqueror. The disaffection of his Mohammedan subjects of all ranks, whether produced by repeated disgrace or the effect of a gradual change long since in operation, has become general. In this condition, with a broken authority and exhausted resources, he is called upon to provide for the indemnity which is exacted from him. In what manner is the sultan to relieve himself from this burden, and by whom must the sacrifices principally be made? If the Turkish government be still permitted to act at all as an independent power, it is clear that the necessary sums must be raised by fresh impositions upon the people, and by such means as are authorised by the law and customs of the empire. It is equally certain that the Christian subjects of the Porte must largely contribute to furnish these supplies. Compliance with the demands of the government will be difficult, but the urgency of the case will justify severity. Resistance may be attempted; if successful, leading to general confusion and revolt; if otherwise, spoliation and oppression will follow. At all events, new scenes of calamity will be opened calculated to frustrate the admitted objects of his imperial majesty, and fatally destructive both to the independence of the Porte and to the happiness and prosperity of the Christian subjects of the empire.

“There are other considerations which ought to have their due weight in the mind of his imperial majesty.

“It cannot be doubted that the result of the war has been such as to change entirely the relative position of the belligerents towards each other, as well as towards the neighbouring states and the rest of Europe. This change, it may be admitted, is to a certain extent the natural consequence of an unequal contest; for at the



termination of hostilities, characterised on one side by the most signal success, and on the other by continued disaster, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the parties could in every respect resume their former relations. It is, therefore, not exclusively to the conditions of the peace, but also to the events of the war, that we are to ascribe the change which has taken place. In whatever manner it may have been accomplished, the fact is sufficient to justify some anxiety on the part of those powers, who have always felt a deep interest in the preservation of the system of the European balance established by the treaty of Paris and at the congress of Vienna. This anxiety must be greatly increased when, in addition to the unavoidable weakness and prostration of the Turkish power, it is found that fresh causes are brought into action which are obviously calculated to hasten and ensure its utter dissolution. The evils attending upon uncertainty, expectation, and alarm must be universally felt throughout Europe. Encouragement will be afforded to projects the most adverse to the general tranquillity; and the different powers, so far from disarming, will probably augment their warlike preparations, already too extensive for a state of peace.

"It is only by a frank and cordial desire on the part of his imperial majesty to remove all reasonable grounds of suspicion and apprehension—it is only by a sincere endeavour, in conjunction with his allies, to confirm and perpetuate the repose which has hitherto been enjoyed, and by making this the main object of European policy, that we shall be enabled to avert the threatened dangers. In this salutary work his imperial majesty will assuredly call to mind the example of his illustrious predecessor; and he will recollect that, whatever may have been the glories of his reign, the last ten years of his life, devoted exclusively to the preservation of peace, eminently entitled him to the gratitude of Europe.

"I am to instruct your excellency to read this despatch to Count Nesselrode, and, if desired, to give his excellency a copy. The sentiments of his majesty are expressed without reserve, but with cordial and friendly feelings. They are expressed, too, without previous concert or communication with any other power whatsoever.

"I am, &c.,  
"ABERDEEN."

The shipping interest had suffered greatly at this period of general distress. On presenting a petition from the ship-owners of London, on the 13th of May, earl Stanhope called the attention of their lordships to their case. He said, it would be in the recollection of their lordships, that when the present new-fangled principles of commerce were first introduced by a minister of the

crown, who had since retired from office, but whose pernicious principles appeared still to sway his majesty's government, the ship-owners of London had protested against the measure then brought forward; and expressed their opinion—an opinion repeated in the present petition—that the change introduced by it would be followed by the most deplorable consequences to their interests, and to the interests of the country at large. Melancholy experience had justified the prediction. It was in vain to expect that British shipping, taxed as it was, could compete with foreign shipping. For building and wages, the British ship-owner had to pay nearly double the expenses which fell on the foreign owner. What, he asked, was the effect of altering the navigation laws, on which their ancestors had relied for the main strength of the country's marine? It tended evidently to lower the rates of British freightage; and the petitioners now prayed, that articles purchased by British subjects in foreign countries, should be imported in British ships, leaving foreigners to pursue such a course in employing their own capital as they pleased. Perhaps it might be said, that as the reciprocal treaties were fixed for a certain date, they could not be broken till the expiration of the time so stipulated; but still there might be hope for the sufferers, if the government would declare that acts so pregnant with evil should not be renewed. He had heard elsewhere, that evening, that the alteration to which he as well as the petitioners referred, had not produced the evil complained of; and that there had been an increase of tonnage. Were inquiry granted, he could prove that to be an error; for in some of these returns, the tonnage of a vessel was so multiplied, that if a ship of eight hundred tons made twenty voyages in a year, six thousand tons appeared in the returns, instead of three hundred! He hoped, at all events, an inquiry would be granted.

The duke of Wellington said, that he felt as acutely as any noble lord for the distress of any class of the community; but he could prove, from official details, that his noble friend was entirely in error respecting his view of the present condition of the shipping interest of Great Britain; and that our merchant-vessels had increased since the adoption of the new measures to which the noble earl (Stanhope) had ascribed an injurious operation. In the year 1814, the number of British ships entered in-

wards was eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five; in the next three years they averaged nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine; and then, from 1820 to 1823, they averaged eleven thousand and fifty-six: the same augmented average was observable in the years 1824, 1825, and 1826, when it was twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-four; and in 1827, 1828, and 1829, the number averaged thirteen thousand four hundred and nine; being nearly five thousand more ships in that year than in 1814, and one thousand two hundred more than the average number for the three years preceding the reciprocity treaties to which such injurious consequences had been ascribed. In the last year the entries were thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-nine; and the tonnage, two million one hundred and eighty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-five; being the greatest number ever known in the commercial history of this country. He begged their lordships to remark that the increase was gradual and progressive, occurring year after year. It was not therefore the result, as the noble earl might suppose, of the ancient laws, nor had it been impeded by the new laws. In conjunction with this gradual increase of British shipping, he would wish their lordships to observe what had been the progress of foreign shipping. In 1814, when the number of British ships entering inwards was eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five, the number of foreign ships was five thousand two hundred and eighty-six; in 1817, when the average number of British ships was nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, the number of foreign was three thousand nine hundred and seventy-four; showing a large decrease in the latter. In 1820, the number of foreign ships was four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine; in 1823, it was three thousand five hundred and seventy-three; in 1826, it was six thousand one hundred and sixteen; and in 1829, it was five thousand two hundred and eighteen; showing that the relative increase of shipping was altogether on the side of this country. In fact, there had been rather a decrease of foreign vessels, and a great increase of British ships engaged, as the noble earl would have it, in a sadly losing trade. All this, however, and everything of the same kind, went for nothing with the noble earl. It was perfectly true, that the increase of trade with those countries to which we were bound by

reciprocity treaties, had not been so great as their lordships might desire; but still there had been an increase. Again, to advert to another part of this losing concern of the noble earl,—the number of ships built within a certain period; he knew very well that if the trade were a losing one, and men had ships, it was better to employ them at a low freight than allow them to rot idle in the docks; but then, if nothing was to be made by the shipping trade, why build new ships? If the trade in the old were carried on at a loss, for what reason did they build new? Now, taking each year since the year 1814, he found the following statement on the subject of ship-building:—

In 1814, the number was seven hundred and thirty-three; 1815, nine hundred and forty-nine; 1816, eight hundred and sixty-six; 1817, seven hundred and sixty-six; 1818, seven hundred and sixty-one; 1819, seven hundred and ninety-seven; 1820, six hundred and thirty-five; 1821, five hundred and ninety-seven; 1822, five hundred and seventy-one; 1823, six hundred and four; 1824, eight hundred and thirty-seven; 1825, one thousand and three; 1826, one thousand and thirty-seven; 1827, nine hundred and eleven; 1828, eight hundred and fifty-seven; 1829, seven hundred and thirty-four. By this statement it would be seen, that the average of the three years before the adoption of the reciprocity system, was only five hundred and ninety-one; while the average number of ships built since that system came into operation, was eight hundred and thirty-four. With reference to the reciprocity treaties, he was quite free to admit that they were adopted with a view to decrease the price of freight in this country, so as to enable the British merchant to take his goods abroad, and bring back his returns on cheaper terms than before; and thereby to enable him to compete with the new state of things, which it was foreseen must arise in the new condition of the external relations of British commerce. It was well known that freights would be rendered cheaper; but when the trade, since 1814, had nearly doubled, the voyages were made quicker, and of course, though the sums paid were smaller, the advantages of more rapidly commercial intercourse would more than make up the difference. When the noble lord said that nothing had been done for the shipping interest, but that everything had been done against

it, he must appeal to facts against the assertion. Were there not great facilities now afforded in quarantine regulations? Had there not been a great reduction of colonial fees? The stamps on registers and shipping-bonds were reduced from thirty to five shillings; the stamps on ship-transfers and on mortgages had also been decreased. In all the stamps on shipping transactions, reductions had, in fact, been made: the tonnage duty had been repealed; lights and harbour dues greatly reduced; and a greater latitude allowed for repairing ships—(they could be repaired abroad, to break down combination at home); half the hemp-duty had been repealed: and all these regulations must surely be admitted to have been benefits conferred on the shipping interest, during the time which the noble lord said that nothing was done by the government to protect the interests of this class of the community. When these circumstances were all taken into consideration, recollecting that now voyages were much more rapidly made, and were more frequent than formerly, he thought they must refute the statements which the noble lord was so anxious to offer. He was at a loss to see what good could result from the proposed inquiry; for it could only make apparent the same details which he had already given from official records, the general tendency and result of which could not, he thought, be mistaken.

In questions turning on commercial affairs, as already stated, it surprised many of the duke's admirers, to find him apparently as familiar with the subject, as if all his early life had been passed in a city counting-house; and in his speeches, the tact of an experienced minister was remarked strongly to contest the argument advanced, but in language so moderate, as to produce no asperity in reply. On this occasion, earl Stanhope maintained that the inference drawn from the amount of tonnage returned was erroneous. The case of the ship-owners, he held to be one of great hardship; and he took a most gloomy view of the state of the country generally. He defied ministers to show that any class of the community was not suffering grievous, and in some cases intolerable distress. The disease, he thought, was spreading, and threatened the dissolution of society. He conscientiously believed, that to the minister who proposed the alteration in the commercial system, the country was indebted

for much of the distress under which it was suffering, and the danger to which it was exposed. If that minister had fairly and honourably avowed, at the time, that he wished to reduce the rate of freightage; and if he had said to the ship-owners, "I shall reduce the rate of freightage, and I care not what distress you suffer," such a decided and determined opposition would have been raised, that the measure would never have been carried.

Lord Ellenborough sarcastically remarked, it was very imprudent for the noble earl to enter into a general discussion on the subject, and to assume as facts matters which the papers he called for would disprove. After the explanation given by the duke of Wellington, it was unnecessary to offer any further elucidation of the subject: but he noticed some of the statements lord Stanhope had made, and pronounced them to be incorrect. Of the accuracy of what he had advanced, their lordships would be able to judge when the papers called for were produced. The returns moved for were granted.

The attention of parliament had been occupied with law reforms, the state of the poor in Ireland, Jewish disabilities, and various subjects of considerable importance, when ministers found themselves obliged to submit a measure of great immediate interest to the consideration of both houses. A startling event, involving many changes, was fast approaching. George IV., afflicted with premature infirmity, the consequence of youthful excesses, had long been in a declining state of health. Those who had access to his person, considered that his days were numbered, though, for a time, the state of the case was concealed from the public. It was easy to do that, as his majesty had of late lived in great seclusion. If the angry feelings which once broke out into affronting expressions when he went abroad had subsided, he was reluctant to show himself in that state of debility which no longer admitted of disguise. Towards the end of March, it was whispered that he was dangerously ill; but the report was contradicted in the papers which were supposed to have the best means of knowing the true state of things at court. They represented that he was only indisposed from a slight cold. His health, it was said, was so far from being in a bad state, that of the two physicians that had attended his majesty, one had returned to his own home,

and the other merely looked in on the royal patient once a-day. His condition was said to be still improving early in April; and on the 9th of that month, besides appearing at chapel to hear divine service, he resumed his airings in Windsor-park, driving his own poney-phaeton; and in the following week he was reported to be equal to the task of transacting public business. But the favourable symptoms were of brief duration. It was announced on the 16th, that the king was suffering from a severe bilious attack, which had been accompanied by great difficulty of breathing, in consequence of which he was then in a very exhausted state; so much so, that it was thought necessary to postpone the celebration of his birthday, his levee, and his drawing-room for a fortnight. He was reluctant to permit bulletins to be issued on the subject of his health; but they were demanded by public anxiety, and now daily made their appearance. Some of them encouraged hopes that recovery might be expected. It was, however, soon understood, that of that there was little chance, and, in short, the nation was apprised that an early demise of the crown might be expected.

All that medical skill could suggest to relieve the patient was tried, but with little success; and his weakness became such, that the fatigue of signing public documents was more than he could endure. That made it necessary to bring the case before parliament. A message was sent to the two houses on the 24th of May, in which his majesty was described to be labouring under severe indisposition, which rendered it inconvenient and painful to him to sign with his own hand, such papers as required the sign-manual; and parliament was therefore called upon to authorise some person or persons to affix the sign-manual in the presence of his majesty, and with his consent. The houses were moved to turn their attention to the subject without delay, and to provide the means by which the king might be enabled to provide for the temporary discharge of the important function of the crown, without detriment to the public service.

The message having been read, the duke of Wellington said,—“My lords, I consider it will be the anxious wish of your lordships, to take the earliest opportunity of returning an answer to the message which I have just had the honour of communicating to your lordships by the king's command. I am

confident that your lordships will feel that sorrow which is common to all his majesty's subjects, on account of the lamentable indisposition with which, it grieves me to say, he has for some time past been afflicted. My lords, I propose to defer to a future opportunity the motion that his majesty's message be taken into consideration, with a view to deciding upon the mode in which the desired relief may be afforded to his majesty. I am, however, convinced it will be your lordships' wish not to allow a moment to pass, without expressing your lordships' sorrow for his majesty's indisposition, and your anxious hope that his health may be re-established at an early period. I am also satisfied that your lordships will be anxious to express to his majesty your earnest desire to relieve him from the pain and inconvenience he has informed you he labours under, in signing those public instruments and documents which require the sign-manual. I do not apologise to your lordships for bringing this matter before you; but rather take credit to myself for seizing the earliest opportunity of proposing to your lordships, to concur with me in an humble address to his majesty, in answer to the message he has intrusted. My lords, I will not take this opportunity of entering into a discussion as to the measure which his majesty's government may deem it advisable to propose, for the purpose of affording his majesty that relief which he requires. This will be done by the lord chancellor to-morrow; and I shall accordingly now content myself with moving, 'that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty that this house deeply laments that his majesty is suffering under severe indisposition, and to assure his majesty that this house earnestly and anxiously hopes, that by the favour of Divine Providence, his majesty's health will be restored at an early period; that this house will proceed to consider, without delay, of the means by which his majesty may be relieved from the pain and inconvenience of signing, with his own hand, those public instruments which require the royal sign-manual; and may be enabled to provide for the temporary discharge of that important function of the crown without detriment to the public interests.'”

No opposition was made to the proposed address. Earl Grey said, he entirely concurred with the course which it was proposed to take. He felt the deepest and the most poignant regret for the illness of his majesty,

and entertained a sincere disposition to relieve him from everything that might render less painful the last moments of his life, or which might in the least tend to throw any impediment in the way of that recovery, to which all Englishmen anxiously looked. He, however, remarked, that in providing for the convenience and comfort of his majesty, with that affection and reverence which they must all feel for their sovereign, care must be taken not to establish a precedent which would be dangerous to the future interests of the country.

On the following day, the 25th of May, the message was taken into consideration by their lordships. The lord chancellor stated to the house, that there were two modes of providing for the case before them; one was to authorise some person or persons to affix the sign-manual in the presence of his majesty, and by his command; the other was, to stamp the instrument in his presence and by his authority. The latter course had been preferred in former instances, as could be proved by various public documents; and there was, in the British Museum, a patent of Henry VIII., which gave power to the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the lords of the privy council, or any six of them, to stamp with the impress of the royal signet, documents necessary to levy certain monies therein mentioned. The case, his lordship remarked, differed from the present, as the course pursued was then resorted to for convenience, and not from necessity. In the course of that reign, there were many instances of the royal signature being affixed, by means of a stamp, to public instruments, for the levying of troops, and for other purposes. This was not the only precedent; as, in other reigns, a similar course had been pursued. His lordship cited instances from the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary. When king William III. was nearly at his last hour, the royal signature was affixed by a stamp to a commission giving his majesty's assent to two most important bills—one of which was to secure the protestant succession to the throne, and the other the malt duty bill. This fact was stated by Kennett, a contemporary historian. Ministers, on fully considering the subject, had resolved to propose that the king should be empowered to issue, under his sign-manual, a commission to authorise one or more persons to affix, by means of a stamp to be prepared for the purpose, the sign-manual to instruments that

required it. That the authority thus to be given might not be abused, the lord chancellor said, he would propose that the person who might be authorised to affix the stamp, should be sworn never to use it but in the presence of the sovereign and with his consent; and moreover, not till the instrument had been endorsed with a description of its contents, signed by three of his majesty's ministers. The stamp, it was intended, should remain in the custody of three ministers of state, never to be used but in the presence of one of them, who should attest its application. These precautions being used, his lordship urged that forgery would be impossible. It was further provided, that notwithstanding this act, the sign-manual of his majesty should, in any case, have all its usual or former authority.

The bill being introduced, was read a first time, and ministers contemplated moving the second reading on the following day; but earl Grey thought it would not be improper to postpone that proceeding till the next day but one, to give time to consider what term of duration should be given to the bill.—The duke of Wellington consented to the postponement suggested, but on the express condition that the bill was to go through all its remaining stages on that day.

On the 27th, the second reading having been moved, the earl of Winchilsea, while he sincerely hoped that his majesty would be shortly restored to health, regretted that the bill had not been accompanied by some evidence signed by his majesty's medical attendants, stating that his painful sufferings were not of a description likely to impair the full powers of his mind. He would ask whether, if the powers of this bill were given to a minister who was disposed to abuse them not only to subvert the rights of the monarch himself, but also to prejudice the best interests of the country, they would not be sorry to have established such a precedent as this bill would afford such a minister, without some examination into the character and extent of the disorder of the sovereign? Before they passed this measure, he thought their lordships ought to pause.

The duke of Wellington confessed that he felt great astonishment at the objection which the noble earl (Winchilsea) had just taken to the measure submitted by his noble and learned friend on the woolsack. His majesty had now been afflicted by a

severe disorder for more than six weeks. During that time he had been attended by some of the most able, learned, and experienced persons in the medical profession, who, as far as their knowledge permitted, had stated the nature of his majesty's disorder; and there had not been the least hint given by or through them, of that additional misfortune to which the noble earl had just alluded. His majesty himself, under his royal sign-manual, had stated to their lordships, that he desired them to consider of the indisposition under which he laboured, and of the best mode of giving him relief, in order that he might still carry on the public service. The minister who, upon that occasion, had taken his majesty's pleasure and sign-manual—and he left it to the noble and learned lord opposite to say whether he was right or not—was responsible to the house and the country, that the indisposition to which the noble earl alluded, had no existence whatever at the time when he had the honour of taking his majesty's commands regarding the late royal communication. Under these circumstances, he was astonished that the noble earl should even hint such a subject to the house and to the country. His majesty had asked their lordships to grant him relief. "We, his majesty's servants," continued the noble duke, "propose to your lordships a measure, guarded in every way which man can suggest, and fenced round with such securities as render it, in our opinion, impossible to be abused; and the noble earl comes forward and says, that it may be abused in other times by other ministers in a mode in which, if it be possible, all concerned (his majesty's physicians, as well as his majesty's ministers) would be guilty of a most gross dereliction of duty. Under these circumstances, I trust that your lordships will excuse me, if, feeling warmly, I also speak warmly upon this subject. I do trust that the noble earl will withdraw his objection."

The earl of Winchelsea appealed to the house, whether he had used any such expressions as the noble duke had attributed to him. The noble duke had entirely misunderstood him: he never could have expressed, for he had never entertained, any doubt as to the vigour of the royal mind. All he meant to express was, that the present bill went to establish a precedent for putting great power into the hands of individuals, without any proof being given as to

the nature and extent of the indisposition of the sovereign. Such a proceeding, he thought, was fraught with danger.—The marquis of Lansdowne had not collected from the speech of the noble earl, that he meant to make, or had made, the allusion supposed by the noble duke. He was content to pass the bill, for a limited time, on the responsibility of ministers; and he was confident their lordships felt with him, that they were proceeding, in this case, to legislate on the responsibility of ministers alone.

The bill was then read a second time, and committed: some verbal alterations were made; and, on its coming out of committee, the house adjourned during pleasure, but soon resumed its sitting, when the bill was returned engrossed. It was read a third time and passed, and sent to the other house. There the first reading was moved by sir Robert Peel. He described the object of the measure, and the course which it was proposed to take, as they had been described in the lords, and the bill was read a first and second time that evening. On the following day, the 28th of May, it was committed, read a third time, passed, and sent back to the house of lords. The lords had proposed, that it should continue in force till the end of the present session: it was amended by the commons, so that it was not to expire till one month after the opening of another session of parliament.

The measure thus called for, proved to the public that the state of the king's health was in a very bad state; that the case was almost hopeless. A favourable change took place some days later. George felt considerably revived, and was able to receive members of the royal family and his official servants. The hope this awakened was soon extinguished: his chest became seriously affected; his lungs were decayed; blood mingled with his expectoration; and the fatal symptoms rapidly increased.

Great anxiety was felt while the king remained in this state; and it was more than suspected that some of the politicians of that day professed to think the duke of Clarence not of sound mind; that it would be dangerous to trust the king's power in such hands; and not less so, to raise to the throne a mere child like the princess Victoria, the daughter of the late duke of Kent. Brunswick clubs had been formed after the manner of the Orange clubs in Ireland, and the members of them looked up to the duke of Cumberland as their chief. He had con-

sented to be named their grand-master. This prince had long been very unpopular in England. His conduct had not been exemplary; but, on several occasions, awfully calumnious charges against him had been put in circulation. The Brunswick clubs, however, looked up to him with great apparent earnestness, as the true protestant champion who ought, on the death of the reigning king, to be called to the throne. Persons were admitted into the Brunswick clubs who had little respectability—who were more familiar with the Fleet prison than with courts or the ordinary abodes of royalty. Associations had been established at Manchester and other places in England, under the auspices of some Tories of rank, and transferred to London in 1821. Its members professed to feel unbounded reverence for the glorious memory of king William, and the most ardent attachment to the Brunswick dynasty. The club meetings were held at the house of lord Kenyon, who was deputy grand-master of the order or institution. As the excitement increased on the subject of the catholic claims, it was proposed that the duke of York should become grand-master; but his royal highness declined accepting that post on learning from the law-officers of the crown that, in their judgment, the association was illegal. The law directed against the catholic association, and which suppressed political societies in Ireland, was understood to have extinguished orangeism with them; but when that law, which was limited to three years, expired, the institution was revived, and the duke of Cumberland was announced to be its grand-master. It was long considered an affair of little or no importance,—as a mere Pitt club sort of demonstration; but after the death of the duke of York, and when the emancipation act had passed, the proceedings assumed a more serious character. A lieutenant-colonel Fairman, an ultra-loyalist, who seems to have been mistaken by the duke of Cumberland for a person of considerable importance, made himself very conspicuous in them. His royal highness was induced to communicate with this person. Fairman was a rash, needy schemer, accustomed to write letters in a very lofty style, and to be laughed at for his pains. A number of indigent schemers were ready to act under him. Some of them, who were not destitute of ability, gained his confidence, and betrayed it; and he, in consequence, became the subject of mysterious

whispers in the political circles. From documents which were brought before a parliamentary committee, it appeared that certain orangemen really extended their views, as they said, “in defence of a church whose doctrines cannot but be admired, and to increase its purity, wants *only* individual piety;” and of a constitution described to be “*just the thing*, the source from whence our blessings spring,” to altering the succession to the crown.\* A letter, proved to be in colonel Fairman’s hand-writing, and addressed to the duke, informed his royal highness that, “should the indisposition of the king take a favourable turn, a divulgement he had been willing to furnish would be deprived of no small portion of its value.” The writer proceeded:—“Even in this case, an event, for the consummation of which, in common with all good subjects, I obtest the Deity, it might be as well your royal highness should be put in possession of the rash design in embryo, the better to devise measures for its frustration; at any rate, you would not then be taken by surprise, as the nation was last year, but might have an opportunity of rallying your forces, and of organising your plans, for the defeat of such machinations as might be hostile to your paramount claims. Hence, should the experiment be made, and its expediency be established, your royal highness would be in a situation to contend for the exercise, in your own person, of that office at which the wild ambition of another may prompt him to aspire.” Fairman thus seemed to intimate that he was in a situation to make astounding disclosures, which would render it the duty of the duke of Cumberland to claim the exercise of the sovereign power, which the duke of Wellington would be likely to attempt to secure for himself! Such was supposed to be the meaning of this letter. The duke of Wellington had formerly been suspected of aiming at the crown of Portugal; and now, with about equal reason, it was whispered that he aspired to be king of England! In another letter, Fairman spoke of “one of whom it would ill become him to speak but in terms of reverence, and, nevertheless, being weak enough to ape the coarseness of a Cromwell.” A letter, dated the 6th of April, 1830, written on this subject to the editor of the *Morning Herald*, ran as follows:—

“Dear Sir,—From those who may be

\* The passages quoted appeared in an address of Lodge No. 38, Kidderminster.

supposed to have opportunities of knowing the 'secrets of the castle,' the king is stated to be in no manner in so alarming a state as many folks would have it imagined. His majesty is likewise said to dictate the bulletins of his own state of health. Some whisperings have also gone abroad, that in the event of the demise of the crown, a regency would probably be established, for reasons which occasioned the removal of the next in succession from the office of high admiral. That a maritime government might not prove consonant to the views of a military chieftain of the most unbounded ambition, may admit of easy belief; and as the second heir-presumptive is not alone a female, but a minor, in addition to the argument which might be applied to the present, that in the ordinary course of nature it was not to be expected that his reign could be of long duration, in these disjointed times it is by no means unlikely a vicarious form of government may be attempted. The effect would be a bold one; but after the measures we have seen, what new violations should surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as a pretext, while aggrandisement and usurpation might be the latent sole motive. It would only be necessary to make out a plausible case (which, from the facts on record, there could be no difficulty in doing) to the satisfaction of a pliant and obsequious set of ministers, as also to the success of such an experiment.

"Most truly yours, W. B. F."

To interfere with the succession to the crown, and to throw suspicion on the prime minister, seems to have been aimed at by the writer in this ambiguous communication. It was untrue that the duke of Clarence was removed from the admiralty on account of insanity. The truth was, his royal highness, at the admiralty, affected too much the jolly, thoughtless English sailor; and some of his movements in the Channel were found too expensive in the then financial situation of the country. This produced a hint from the minister which induced his royal highness to resign. The whole of the proceedings of the orangemen led to no important result. There appears, throughout, an air of burlesque about the heroic Fairman, which is almost too much for gravity. The man was a poor, shallow pretender, without property, station, or any means of making himself formidable; but when some

of his views transpired, it was for a moment suspected that he was but a tool in a more powerful hand, and that a conspiracy of some importance might be in progress. That a royal duke should have been in any way mixed up with such a party, was the most remarkable feature in the case.

Meanwhile, the malady of the suffering monarch pursued its fatal course. The king suffered much from his cough, which was sometimes so violent as to shake his whole frame, and to threaten instant dissolution. That, from time to time, interrupted his rest, and otherwise distressed him, while the accompanying expectoration tended greatly to exhaust the little remaining strength of a patient so much reduced by previous illness. In the midst of this pain, while struggling with disease and death, he was not wholly withdrawn from cares of state. He had interviews with several members of the administration; and on these occasions his calmness, fortitude, and resignation were the subject of great surprise. On the Wednesday before his death, (he died on the Saturday,) the duke of Wellington proceeded to Windsor-castle, when a list of treasury warrants and other public documents were submitted to the king, who signified his commands that all of them should receive the royal signature. The documents had previously had their intent inscribed at the back: to this indorsement were appended the signatures of three of the cabinet ministers named in the act. The duke of Wellington, sir A. Barnard, and sir William Keppel, being appointed by his majesty, then stamped the whole of the instruments which had received the king's approbation, attesting the application of the stamp in each instance. The duke of Wellington took his leave a few minutes before two o'clock on the same day.

That afternoon the king received a visit from the duke of Clarence. He was tranquil and collected. His strength continued to decline, and it was obvious that the final moment could not be delayed. On the Friday he found great difficulty in breathing; when his physicians, perceiving that the case was hopeless, declared that their patient must speedily breathe his last. They stated this to the bishop of Chichester, who, for several weeks, had been staying at the castle, and, in his presence, the like communication was made to the king. His mind was prepared for it, and he received it without any indications of surprise or dismay; but faintly ex-



claiming, "God's will be done!" The bishop prayed with his majesty, and then desired to know "if he felt himself sufficiently composed to take the sacrament;" to which the answer was—"Yes, O yes! I am quite prepared." It was administered, and the effect on the king was described to be soothing. The bishop withdrew; the respiration of the sufferer became difficult; and at three o'clock on the following morning, his majesty having been, by his own desire, removed from his couch, a blood-vessel broke. He exclaimed, "O God! I am dying," and whispering "this is death," ceased to live.

George IV. sunk to the grave little regretted by a large portion of his subjects, but honoured and beloved by many, who, considering that his reign had really commenced in 1811, found, between that year and the date of his decease, a series of the proudest triumphs recorded in the annals of England. Whatever his weaknesses—his selfishness as a man—the dispassionate observer cannot deny him praise as a king. Henry V. has been lauded through successive ages for having, when he ascended the throne, devoted himself to the duties of his exalted station, forgetful of the claims of his old associates in dissolute pleasure. George IV. seems to have resolved to tread (and that under circumstances of great difficulty) in the footsteps of his renowned predecessor. Of him it was truly said:—"He found the empire engaged in a death-struggle with a power in whose grasp the other states of Europe had expired, or being crushed and maimed into utter helplessness: he found a clamorous and most influential party in the state, urging, by day and by night, the folly of continuing what they called a hopeless contest: the leaders of that party had been the companions, the guides, the political teachers of his youth; and they

fondly hoped that their own policy would now become that of the executive, while power and place would be awaiting their acceptance. The prince-regent decided otherwise: he adopted the policy and the firmness of his sire; he determined, happily for Europe and his own fame, that the honour of Britain demanded bold and unflinching exertion: he cherished the rising flame of liberty in Spain, instead of allowing himself to be seduced into the unmanly belief that it was to be disregarded as a false and misleading illusion: he maintained the firm countenance and hopes of the country, till, after a series of triumphs, unparalleled in history, he enabled subjugated Europe to 'break her chains on the oppressor's head;' and brought his empire in triumph out of the most varied and tremendous contest, against the mightiest military despotism which the modern history of nations exhibits. Yet it was his adopting this very part that provoked, not merely the political opposition, but the virulence and malignant scurrility of those who found their party influence diminished, and their personal ambition disappointed, by the course on which he so fortunately entered. The mortal offence which he gave lay in this—that he refused to make the companions of his pleasures the ministers of his empire. That offence they never forgave. From that moment no action of his life, public or private, was treated by them or their organs with any approach to candour. Every weakness or failing was dragged forth with unceasing malignity; while they forgot that it was exclusively among the teachers and apostles of their own tribe that his character had been formed; and that nothing belonging to it which ought not to have belonged to it, had sprung up, except under their own tuition and example."

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### CHAPTER XXIII.

OPENING OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV.; THE KING'S FIRST MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT; ADDRESSES ON HIS ACCESSION; DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE PROPOSED DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT; DEBATE IN THE COMMONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT; SERIOUS ALTERCATION.

GEORGE IV. had no sooner expired, than a messenger was dispatched to Bushy-park, the residence of the duke of Clarence, the heir to the crown, to announce the event. He forthwith left for St. James's-palace, which he reached about noon. A

number of peers, and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, tendered their allegiance to his majesty, who remained in council up to half-past three o'clock. He was proclaimed in the council-chamber as William IV., where he read a declaration, expressing his grief on account of the loss of the late king, under whose sway the country had maintained, during war, its ancient glory, and enjoyed, for a long period, happiness and internal peace. Besides losing a most beneficent and gracious king, he had to lament the death of a beloved and affectionate brother, with whom he had lived, from his earliest years, in terms of the most cordial and uninterrupted friendship. Adverting to his own position, on being called to administer the government of this great empire, he stated himself to be fully sensible of the difficulties which he had to encounter; but he added, "I possess the advantage of having witnessed the conduct of my revered father, and my lamented and beloved brother; and I rely with confidence upon the advice and assistance of parliament, and upon its zealous co-operation in my anxious endeavours, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to maintain the reformed religion as established by law; to protect the rights and liberties, and to promote the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my people."

The forms usual at the opening of a new reign were duly observed; and one proceeding, almost peculiar to the present occasion, growing out of the weak state in which the late king had for some weeks found himself, followed. The lord chancellor, having administered to the king the usual oaths, his majesty ordered the two stamps, one bearing the royal signature, "George R.," and the other the initials, "G. R.," which had been, under the authority of an act of parliament, applied to official papers (in place of the sign-manual) to be destroyed: they were accordingly broken "in the presence." On the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning, the park-guns fired a salute; the bells of the neighbouring churches were merrily rung; and the new king was proclaimed in the palace by the king-at-arms. His majesty there presented himself at the window, accompanied by the dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Sussex, and the duke of Wellington. The proclamation was answered by shouts from the assembled crowd, and a grand procession then moved from

the palace up Pall-mall to Charing-cross, where the proclamation was repeated, which was also done at Temple-bar, at the end of Wood-street, Cheapside, and at the Royal-exchange.

On Sunday, June the 27th, a *London Gazette* extraordinary proclaimed that "prince William Henry, duke of Clarence and St. Andrews, and earl of Munster, had, by the death of the late sovereign, become William IV., king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." William was the third son of George III., and was born August the 21st, 1765. The king thought him peculiarly fitted for the navy. The prince of Wales and duke of York were well-formed, strong lads; but in strength and constitutional hardihood, there was a striking difference in favour of their younger brother. Though aware of the subordinate rank which would at first be assigned to him—as he was to serve, as midshipman, the full period required by the rules of the service—William felt eager to commence a professional career. He was present in one or two naval engagements, but no particular opportunity offered for distinguishing himself. Some irregularities occurred, which were severely noticed; and eventually the prince withdrew from the exercise of his profession, but, as a matter of routine, was advanced in rank. He was created duke of Clarence, with an allowance from parliament of twelve thousand pounds per annum. William did not marry in early life, but, during twenty years, lived with Mrs. Jordan, a much-admired comic actress, by whom he had a large family. That connexion terminated about the year 1810; and the princess Charlotte having died in 1817, several royal marriages took place, and the duke of Clarence became husband to the princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the duke of Saxe-Meiningen.

Without loss of time the judges and great officers of state were reappointed by William to the places which they had previously filled. To the members of the cabinet, the king signified his wish that they should retain their offices. The new reign being thus commenced, on the 29th of June the first message of William IV. was brought down to parliament. It was in these words:—"The king feels assured that the house, entertaining a just sense of the loss which his majesty and the country have sustained in the death of his majesty's lamented brother, the late king, and that

the house sympathises with his majesty in the deep affliction in which his majesty is plunged by this mournful event;—the king, taking into his serious consideration the advanced period of the session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter, which, by its postponement, would tend to the detriment of the public service. His majesty has adverted to the provisions of the law which decrees the determination of parliament within an early period after the demise of the crown; and being of opinion that it will be most conducive to the general convenience and to the public interests of the country, to call, with as little delay as possible, a new parliament, his majesty recommends the house to make such temporary provision as may be requisite for the public service, in the interval that may elapse between the close of the present session and the meeting of another parliament.”

In the house of lords an address, in answer to that part of the message which related to the death of the late king, was immediately moved by the duke of Wellington. He spoke as follows:—“My lords, I am convinced that your lordships will think that I do right in taking the earliest opportunity of calling on your lordships to express your grief and condolence to his majesty, upon the severe loss which his majesty, your lordships, and the country at large have sustained by the death of his late majesty. My lords, with respect to the latter part of the message which has been submitted to both houses of parliament by his majesty’s command, I beg to postpone all consideration of it to another period—confining myself on this occasion to express our condolence for the loss his majesty has sustained, and our congratulation on his accession. My lords, the late sovereign having received the best education which this country could afford, had the singular advantage of having passed the early part of his life under the immediate superintendence of the king, his father, and the subsequent part in the society of the most eminent men that this or any other country ever produced, and in the society of the most eminent foreigners that ever resorted to this country. Accordingly, my lords, his majesty’s manners received a polish, and his understanding a degree of cultivation which made him far surpass, in accomplishments, all his subjects; and made him one of the most remarkable

sovereigns of our time. He acquired a degree of knowledge upon the subjects which it was most important for a sovereign of this country to be acquainted with. Those advantages he carried with him into the government which he afterwards exercised in the name of his illustrious father, and as the sovereign upon the throne, up to the time of his lamented death. During all that period, my lords, and up to the last moment of his life, no man ever approached his majesty who did not feel instructed by his learning, and gratified by his condescension, affability, and kindness of disposition. These advantages were not confined, my lords, to external show of manners; but I appeal to every noble lord who has ever had the honour of transacting business under his majesty’s direction, whether, on every occasion, his majesty did not manifest a degree of ability, of talent, and of knowledge in the most minute affairs of life, beyond what could be expected from a person in the exalted situation his majesty had always filled. This is not all, my lords: his majesty was the most distinguished and munificent patron of the arts in this country and the world; and he has left behind him the largest collection ever possessed by any individual of the most eminent works of the artists of his own country, as well as a collection of the works of art generally, such as few sovereigns, and such as no individual (for as an individual his majesty collected them) ever possessed. This being the case, I entreat your lordships to reflect on the state in which his majesty, in 1810, found Europe (and this country included in Europe), and the state in which he left it. Having taken that into consideration, together with the great political contests, and the great events which have occurred during his reign and under his auspices, I say that we have reason to be proud of his late majesty. I am convinced, therefore, that your lordships will join with me in an expression of condolence to his majesty upon the severe loss which we have suffered. The next point to which I wish to direct your lordships’ attention, is an expression of congratulation to his majesty on his accession to the throne. His majesty, in his declaration from the throne, has stated to the country what may be expected under his government. His majesty has stated that he has passed his life in the service of his country; that he will follow the example of his father and his brother;

and he calls upon parliament for its support and confidence in his endeavours to promote the happiness and peace of the country, and to maintain the established religion and the laws of the land. I am certain that your lordships will be anxious to concur in the address, which holds out to his majesty hopes of your zealous co-operation and support in his endeavours; and I am convinced that your lordships will most cordially agree in the address which I am about to move." The noble duke then read the following address:—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to assure his majesty that we fully participate in the severe affliction his majesty is suffering, on account of the death of the late king, his majesty's brother, of blessed and glorious memory. That we shall ever remember, with affectionate gratitude, that our late sovereign, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, maintained the ancient glory of this country in the war; and, during a period of long duration, secured to his people the inestimable blessings of internal concord and external peace. To offer to his majesty our humble and heartfelt congratulations on his majesty's happy accession to the throne. To assure his majesty of our loyal devotion to his majesty's sacred person; and to express an entire confidence, founded on our experience of his majesty's beneficent character, that his majesty, animated by sincere love for the country which his majesty has served from his earliest years, will, under the favour of Divine Providence, direct all his efforts to the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law; to the protection of the rights and liberties, and to the advancement of the happiness and prosperity, of all classes of his majesty's faithful people."

Earl Grey entirely concurred in every part of the address, and was persuaded that not a single dissentient voice would be heard among their lordships. The declaration of his majesty from the throne gave him unqualified satisfaction. The duke of Buckingham and viscount Goderich expressed their concurrence with the address, which was unanimously voted, and ordered to be presented to the king by such of their lordships as held white staves.

In the house of commons, on the same day, a similar address, moved by sir Robert Peel, and seconded by Mr. Brougham, was unanimously voted.

The whole of the new king's message was not taken into consideration on that day, in order to avoid all topics on which a difference of opinion might exist. On the next day, the 3rd of June, the latter portion of it relating to the calling of a new parliament, and the making of a temporary provision for carrying on the public business, was debated. The duke of Wellington moved the order of the day, and said:—"My lords, it is now my duty to call your lordships' attention to the latter part of his majesty's message, which is this,—'The king, taking into his serious consideration the advanced period of the session, and the state of the public business, feels unwilling to recommend the introduction of any new matter which would admit of postponement without detriment to the public service.' According to the ancient principles of the constitution, your lordships know that the parliament would be naturally dissolved on the occasion of the demise of the crown; but, my lords, owing to an act of parliament which was passed in the reign of king William, and continued in the reign of queen Anne, this and the other house of parliament are now sitting, and are enabled to continue to sit for the dispatch of public business. Under these circumstances, his majesty's servants have advised his majesty to send a message to your lordships. His majesty informs your lordships, that notwithstanding the power to keep parliament assembled for six months longer, he is induced to declare his intention to dissolve it at as early a period as is convenient; and that he will not bring forward any of those measures which might, under other circumstances, be considered necessary. That, my lords, is the effect of the king's message; and I shall now state shortly what are the views and intentions of his majesty's government, and what are the motives for recommending the dissolution of parliament in such haste. My lords, we are now arrived at that period of the year at which it usually happens that the business of parliament is about to terminate; at least, my lords, it generally happens that the business is so far advanced about this time, that it is possible to close parliament. My lords, it is not necessary for me to draw your attention, in detail, to the present state of the business before parliament: it is sufficient for me to request your consideration of the state of the votes of the house of commons, and the state of the votes of this house; and your lordships will see that so much business

yet remains to be done, that were it all to be completed, and were any new business to be brought forward at this period of the session, it must necessarily postpone the dissolution to a distant day. Parliament could not be dissolved; at least, there would be no hope that it could be satisfactorily closed before a considerable time. Under these circumstances, my lords, and considering that the great calamity to which we have all been exposed, has been expected for a considerable time, and that all men have been looking forward to a dissolution of parliament within a limited period, and looking forward to a general election; considering, too, my lords, that these circumstances have, for the last few months, occasioned considerable excitement, and that all the country is preparing for a general election; that few members of parliament would be likely to remain in town, and that these few would be involved with considerations of their own personal interest, and be little disposed to attend to public business;—under all these circumstances, my lords, and considering that most of the measures now before parliament may be easily postponed, and that they may be brought forward with a probability of success at the beginning of another session, his majesty's ministers have advised his majesty to dissolve the present parliament as soon as possible. I will not enter into any details of the measures which, under these circumstances, will be necessary. I may state, generally, that all the accounts and estimates of what will be necessary for the public service shall be prepared. His majesty's ministers propose, that such sums as may be necessary for the public service shall be placed at their disposal till a new parliament can be assembled. Measures to provide for the honour and dignity of the crown, including a temporary provision for the queen, will be proposed in the other house of parliament; and, in general, all other measures will be postponed until the meeting of the new parliament. Under these circumstances, my lords, I move an humble address to his majesty, 'To return to his majesty the dutiful acknowledgment of this house for the communication which his majesty has been graciously pleased to make to it; to express to his majesty the deep sense which this house entertains of his majesty's goodness, in being unwilling to recommend to the attention of parliament, at this advanced period of the session, and in the present state of public business,

any new matter which may admit of postponement without detriment to the public service; and to assure his majesty, that as his majesty is of opinion that it will be most conducive to the general convenience, and to the interests of the country, to call a new parliament with as little delay as may be practicable, this house will apply itself, without delay, to forward such measures, and concur in such temporary provision, as may be requisite for the conduct of the public service in the interval that must elapse between the close of the present session and the assembling of a new parliament.'"

Earl Grey was dissatisfied with the course which ministers proposed to pursue, and did not see that there was any necessity for an immediate dissolution. The conduct of the duke and his colleagues, he maintained, had proved them incompetent to conduct the public business of the country in a proper manner, and they were not entitled to the confidence of parliament. There was hazard of increasing the excitement which already existed by taking the step which ministers had recommended to them. "There is," his lordship proceeded, "a necessity for a dissolution, the noble duke says; but why is there this necessity? Apparently, it arises from the circumstance that during the long and afflicting period of uncertainty as to the issue of his majesty's illness, while the minds of men have been directed to that event, the ministers who have had the business of parliament to forward, of whatever nature it may have been, have shown themselves quite incapable of conducting it. The business of parliament—at a period of the session which, in ordinary circumstances, would be drawing to a termination after five months' consideration, and though recommended from the throne at the beginning of the session—the business of parliament has been, in fact, neglected. How has this happened? Look, the noble duke says, at the state of the votes. In ordinary circumstances the business of parliament would, at this time, be brought to a close, or at least in one month from this time; and, my lords, what proof have we that the business could not now be completed in a sufficient, and not an inconvenient, time? Is it not extraordinary, my lords, that after five months' discussion—when we have arrived at the 30th of June—when we should naturally look for the termination of the session;—is it not extraordinary that we should

be in such a state of difficulty, confusion, and embarrassment? Is it at the same time understood what will be the nature and effect of the proposition of the noble duke? It is, my lords, that all the measures which have had the advantage of being under the consideration of parliament for five months, must now be thrown aside and put an end to. At the same time, it is proposed to your lordships, in order to get rid of the increase of business, and to avoid the confusion that would be introduced into the public service if some provision were not made, to place in the hands of the ministers who have already shown themselves so incompetent to manage the business of the country, a temporary grant of public money. In what manner have they already deserved the confidence of parliament, so as to establish grounds for its future confidence? See, my lords, the extraordinary circumstances under which your lordships are called on to adopt this address. My lords, since the law was passed in the reign of king William, there has been occasion frequently to call it into practice. On the accession of queen Anne, on the accession of king George I., on the accession of George II., on the accession of George III., and on the accession of his late majesty, the parliament continued to sit under the authority of this law. At an earlier period of our history, it was frequently necessary that parliament should, after the demise of the crown, be reassembled to watch over the public interests. This has happened at all periods of the year. The accession of queen Anne took place in March; that of George I., in August; of George II., in June; of George III., in October; and that of his late majesty, George IV., in the month of January. An accession, therefore, has happened at different periods of the year, and under every possible combination of circumstances; and in all these circumstances parliament continued to sit and to act. The only exception was on the accession of his late majesty, when parliament was immediately dissolved—a precedent which, it seems, is now to be followed. In all other cases, parliament, whether actually sitting, or in recess and having to be assembled, and at all periods in former times, had not found it inconvenient to sit; and in almost all cases, the parliament had settled the civil-list, and provided for the support of the government and the dignity of the crown before it was dissolved. All the precedents

of these former periods were departed from in February, 1820. The parliament which was assembled at the demise of George III., had a measure recommended to it similar to that now recommended—a measure to make a temporary provision for the support of the government, with a view to an immediate dissolution. But that precedent was not a good precedent. There are more precedents the other way, and precedents more worthy to be followed. I will not pertinaciously insist on the necessity of settling the civil-list before the close of the parliament, as an argument why the precedents of former times should be followed, in preference to the precedent on the accession of his late majesty. I must, however, call on your lordships to consider under what circumstances the parliament was then placed. Parliament met in February, having previously sat for a short time. The session was just entered on: neither supplies were proposed nor estimates brought in; nor had there been any alterations of the laws proposed. All the business was to begin *de novo*; and the time required for the consideration of the estimates and all the measures of the session, and carrying them into laws, would have been so great, that the time, it was stated, would arrive at which the parliament must be dissolved before they could be completed, which would occasion, as was then represented, great difficulty, inconvenience, and danger. It was, therefore, recommended to parliament not to engage in any measures which would protract the period at which parliament might be dissolved, without any evil consequence or danger resulting from the dissolution. But how are the circumstances now? Are we at the beginning of a session of parliament? Have we not time to pass the measures not now to begin, but in progress? Must we begin the whole business of the session *de novo*? No, my lords. On February 4th parliament met, and some measures were then recommended in the speech from the throne. Those measures were subsequently introduced: they are now in progress—not in rapid progress perhaps; but so far towards completion as to make your lordships sensible of the inconvenience of the measure now proposed with respect to the business of parliament. Your lordships will see the consequences, the confusion, the bad effects which will follow from the want of experience of his majesty's ministers. Some of these measures are of an important character,

and essential to the public business; they are measures of necessity, and which urgently require parliament to complete them; and it will be most injurious to the public interests if they are not completed." The noble earl went on to say—there was another matter of great delicacy and importance on which he wished to touch; and doing so, he hoped he should not be thought to evince any disrespect to the crown, or any want of a feeling of confidence in the gracious prince who then filled the throne. "His majesty," he said, "will, I trust, enjoy many years of sound health: he has a vigorous constitution, strengthened by habits of temperance; and according to my humble hope, I look forward with an assurance that his majesty may enjoy a long life of prosperity and happiness. But, my lords, kings, as well as their subjects, are mortal. At the very moment that I am addressing your lordships, how many individuals are suddenly summoned to that last account which we shall all, one day or other, be called on to give. The stroke of sudden death, my lords, may fall on kings as well as on their subjects. Is this danger impossible, my lords? May this calamity not befall the country in the interval between the close of this and the assembling of another parliament? Consider, then, my lords, what would be the consequences to the country, did such an event happen, if no provision were made for it. My lords, by the law of the land, there is no minority of the king. Though the successor be an infant, he possesses all the rights of sovereignty. A minor being king, has all the rights and prerogatives which belong to the crown. I call on your lordships to consider what would be the consequences, should such a calamity as the death of the king fall on the country, when the parliament is not assembled, and no provision made for it. And should it not be provided for by anticipation? I hope that it is not probable that such an event will happen; but, while it is possible, it is necessary that it should be provided for, or the condition of the country might be most deplorable in the short period which might elapse between such an event and the assembling of a parliament. In what terms we should try and convey to the gracious prince on the throne, a knowledge of the anxiety we feel to enter on the deliberation, I am not fully aware. Feeling persuaded, however, of the necessity of the measure, I will never shrink from the performance of a duty merely because it is

painful; and in performing it, I may hope that your lordships will give me credit for honesty of intention, and for having no other motives than an anxiety to provide against a future danger. The subject ought properly to come under our consideration by a recommendation from his majesty's government; and I am sincerely persuaded that his majesty would not be averse to such a recommendation; for he is of too manly and considerate a disposition, to be able to hesitate from those motives which men of an ordinary description might feel, in making such a recommendation to parliament. I am not, therefore, without hope that such a recommendation may proceed from his majesty himself. Should the proposition emanate from your lordships, I should suggest nothing less respectful than an humble address to his majesty, praying him that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the adoption of some measure to provide against the great danger to which I have alluded." He moved, as an amendment, that the debate should be adjourned till the following day.

The king was sixty-five years of age. His years were felt to make the subject of a regency one of greater delicacy than it would have been under other circumstances; while they did not render it less desirable in the eyes of many of their lordships to secure an immediate provision for the event of a new demise of the crown. Plausible reasons were urged for dealing with this question forthwith—reasons which found favour in the eyes of many who had once been the political associates of the duke of Wellington. They had been alienated by the course he judged it right to adopt with regard to the catholic question; and it was generally understood they were now resolved to make him feel, that those who enabled him to overpower them, their object gained, would not be found the supporters of his government.

After the attack made by the whig leaders, though he could not agree with many of the observations which had fallen from the noble earl, the earl of Harrowby supported the amendment, considering it most desirable that the further consideration of the subject should be postponed till the next day. For the civil-list, many considerations made it desirable that it should be voted by a parliament fresh from its constituents. The noble earl had pressed the consideration of the important question of

a regency, because the next sovereign of the country might be a minor: but, in his opinion, there was a much more important ground on which the propriety of the measure ought to be urged. In case of an event which they must all hope would be far distant, but was yet possible, there might be a sovereign a minor; but the country might be in a situation not to know who was the sovereign, or whether there was any sovereign in the country. His lordship added:—"We might be in the situation not to know whether a king or a queen was to be the sovereign of the country. This was a matter which their lordships all well understood, and it was a difficulty for which no time should be lost in making some provision. The difficulties of a minor coming to the throne, without such provision, could easily be conceived. The law recognised no minority in the sovereign; and however young, if able to give his assent to a bill for the regulation of the government during his minority, he could do so. But how did the case stand under present circumstances? Their lordships should recollect that the illustrious person now on the throne was married, and his queen living, and there was a possibility that, at his demise, there might be a sovereign in a half-state of existence. In that case it would be necessary that some person should be appointed to superintend—to preside over the state, so as to keep the machine of the executive government going, until it should be ascertained whether there was a prospect of another heir to the throne beside the heir-presumptive. In making provision for such an event, there would probably be no very great difficulty. He thought that if her majesty were empowered, in case of such a fatal event as had been alluded to, to act as regent for five or six weeks, if parliament should be sitting at the time (or for a somewhat longer period, if it were not sitting), the difficulty might be obviated. If there were a possible chance of any heir to the throne other than the present heir-presumptive, the mother would be the best possible regent for the infant heir; but if the prospect of such heir should be lost—and the fact would be known within two months—then parliament, within the period he had named, would have sufficient time to make such provision as the case might require; and, by this means, parliament could guard against the difficulty and confusion of

having no recognised sovereign at the demise of the crown, should that event unhappily take place before an heir-apparent was born; for it was clear, that while there was a possibility of an heir-apparent being born, the young princess, the heir-presumptive, could not come to the throne. She could not be declared the sovereign of these realms while another might possibly be in existence, who would come to claim that station by a more direct inheritance in right of descent."

The earl of Winchilsea spoke in favour of the adjournment. The event to which allusion had been made was, he cordially joined with their lordships in hoping, still far distant; but it was possible. Life was short and uncertain. There were many individuals within his hearing who might never again visit that house; and the humble individual who then had the honour of addressing their lordships, might possibly be addressing them for the last time. In this state of uncertainty as to the duration of human life, which all felt and admitted, it surely would not be wise in their lordships to leave a possible event, involving in it so many important consequences, unprovided for—those consequences, too, being of the most vital interest to the country. Another opportunity, he was aware, would be given for the discussion of this question; but he would say that that minister must be a bold man, who would come there and advise his majesty to dissolve parliament, without making provision for an event which was so uncertain, and which, without such provision, *might* place the country in an extremely unpleasant and perplexing situation.

The question before their lordships was stated by the lord chancellor to be purely one of expediency. It was—whether they should go on with the immense mass of business then before parliament, until they brought it to a close; or whether, with the exception of the most pressing measures, they should postpone them to another parliament, when they might be discussed with that attention which their great importance demanded;—an attention which, he agreed with the noble earl (Harrowby) in thinking, could not well be expected while a prospect of speedy dissolution was before the members of the other house of parliament? He thought, if their lordships considered the advantages to be gained by either of these courses, they would find the predominance



to be decidedly in favour of postponing a great part of the business to a new parliament. Their lordships were aware, from the votes of the other house, that their business was greatly in arrear, and that, if the commons were to go on, with the view of bringing it to a close, many months must elapse before they would be able to get through it: and it was unnecessary for him to point out to their lordships the very great inconvenience which must arise to every member of both houses, from protracting their sittings to such a length of time at this period of the year. Further, he would beg to ask their lordships, whether the close of a parliament was the best time for entering upon the consideration of such subjects as were now standing for discussion in both houses? Many members would necessarily be absent; and many others so much occupied with the approaching elections, as to be unable to give that attention to the public business which they would be disposed to give in a new parliament. The noble earl (Grey) had alluded to the measures brought in by his majesty's ministers in terms of disapprobation. He was ready, at any time, to enter into a discussion as to the propriety of those measures; but he was unwilling to do so by a side-wind, in this manner. He was certain, that when each of them was examined on its own merits, they would all be found not to deserve the censure which the noble lord seemed disposed to attach to them. It was stated, that amongst other things the civil-list ought to be arranged by the present parliament. Undoubtedly, if parliament sat long enough to go into all the other business before it, it would not be respectful to the sovereign to pass over the civil-list, and postpone it to a future session: but then, let their lordships consider what would be the result of adding such an important subject of discussion to those which were already before parliament. What passed in 1820, when the subject of the civil-list was brought forward? That civil-list had been arranged, in almost every one of its details, four or five years before, and yet the discussion of it occupied parliament full five weeks. Let such a subject be added to the other measures already before parliament, and an accumulation of business would be the consequence, which it would be almost impossible for parliament to get through, unless its sittings were to be prolonged for several months. Now, with respect to the

other measure to which the noble earl adverted—in the event of a demise of the crown—he must say he was not one of those who indulged in such gloomy forebodings; but admitting (as all must) the possibility of such an event, the country would not be in a situation different from what it was on a former occasion, when no such provision as that now proposed was deemed necessary. On the accession of George III. no such provision was made, and none was thought necessary for three or four sessions afterwards. On the accession of an infant to the throne, the same course would be adopted as on that of a sovereign of mature years: a declaration similar to that which many of their lordships had witnessed a few days ago would be made. The infant would have the power of continuing or changing his ministers, and the same responsibility would exist as at present. Whatever difficulty might take place on such an occasion, there would be always the same whenever the next heir to the throne was not the son of the reigning monarch. Parliament was not, he considered, called upon, under present circumstances, to interfere.

Among the supporters of the amendment the aged lord Eldon was found. He thought what had fallen from the duke of Wellington, in the speech which he had addressed to their lordships on this occasion, made in favour of the amendment. What was the argument of the noble duke? That up to the time of William III., parliament was necessarily dissolved on the demise of the crown. But what was the result? The parliament itself had so strongly felt the inconvenience of that course from time to time, that at last a measure was introduced, in which it was declared that the evil should no longer exist. All this, if urged in favour of a dissolution of parliament, had, in fact, a tendency to show that a contrary course should be adopted. He had listened to the observations which had been made of an infant sovereign coming to the throne—a little king that one might play with. Now, for his own part, if he were a prime minister, there was nothing he should like more. It would, no doubt, be much more convenient than to have a sovereign who would not submit to dictation. The noble duke knew very well to what he alluded: but he would ask their lordships whether, if an infant sovereign were on the throne, some provision ought not to be made beforehand for the administration of the government

in a manner less objectionable than by the direct agency of a child of tender years? If an infant sovereign were to be on the throne, whose head could not be seen over the integument which covered the head of his noble and learned friend on the wooll-sack, he would (by what the Scotch called a fiction of law, and by what the English called presumption, in favour of a royal infant) be supposed to have as much sense, knowledge, and experience, as if he had reached the years of three-score and ten; but in admitting the truth of the supposition in a constitutional sense, was it unreasonable to ask that there should be some party acting for the sovereign, during what might be termed his natural, though not his political, minority? But there were other cases for which it was the duty of parliament to make some provision; and he admitted the prudence of considering that to which the noble earl (Harrowby) had adverted—the possibility of a successor to the throne, though not yet visible, being in existence at the demise of the crown. Cases in some respects analogous to this, as far as the question of hereditary succession to title, were of no uncommon occurrence. He would suppose, for instance, that another Guy Fawkes, should succeed in blowing up that house, and that his noble and learned friend on the wooll-sack was the only person fortunate enough to escape: he knew that before writs were issued to those who were to succeed many of their lordships, his noble and learned friend would have to inquire whether their lordships left widows; for if their lordships left no issue born, the inquiry would be, whether their widows were in that state which afforded a prospect of a successor? and if they were, no writ could be issued until that question were decided by the birth of an heir, or until a sufficient time had elapsed to put the chance of issue beyond doubt: he would have to ascertain whether there was any titled peer not then visible, but who might be so in due course of time; and until that were determined, the title would be as it were in abeyance. Now, would it not, *a fortiori*, be still more necessary to make the same inquiry, in case of the event to which allusion had been made? Would it not be necessary to make some provision for such a contingency, which was by no means impossible? The necessity, indeed, for such a provision was so evident, that he could

not see why it should be disputed for a moment. In any measure adopted after the demise of the crown, in case none was adopted before, it would be necessary to have recourse to the authority of some party exercising the power of a sovereign. There must be a real or a phantom king; and it was just the same in principle, whether this little king was not able to speak or walk, or whether he was only in *ventre de sa mere*. To prevent the difficulty to which this would give rise, recourse should be had to the authority of a sovereign who was really, as well as constitutionally, able to exercise the prerogative of the throne.

The hostility thus manifested by the leading members of the tory party, was heard as the knell of the administration. Lord Ellenborough, feeling the deepest and most hereditary respect and regard for the last speaker, confessed he did not expect to hear his lordship use such a tone as that in which he had spoken on the subject before the house; and he found it impossible to restrain his surprise and regret at the course which his lordship had taken. The course ministers proposed to take had been decided on after the most careful deliberation. He felt great personal regret for the language used by earl Grey. Since the formation of the present government, he had expressed his almost entire confidence in the wisdom of their measures, and for some of them, he had declared he felt grateful; yet, that night, he had told them he considered them incapable of conducting the business of the country with advantage. The expression of such an opinion came from him with a bad grace; but he rejoiced in knowing who were the real opponents of the government, and who were their friends.

To postpone the immediate consideration of what would be necessary in case of the death of the new king, the marquis of Lansdowne said, would be to contradict the policy of all legislation in the country from the earliest period. Was it not, in all cases, customary for parliament to provide for deaths, and other possible events? Was it not a large portion of the business of legislation to provide for such possibilities? That was the argument. The course for which he and his friends contended, it was alleged, would produce much inconvenience to individuals; while those who made that allegation appeared not to recollect, that a great

constitutional precedent was about to be created, the remote effects of which no man could anticipate. He would reduce the question to a narrow compass. Was parliament to turn its back upon its own functions, at a moment when those functions happened to be of the highest importance to the public interest? He hesitated not to affirm, that if they once gave way they would put an end to the act of William III. and to the act of 3rd of Anne. The noble lord seemed to hold, that in proportion as the exigency was great and difficult, so was the incompetency of parliament to provide for it: the difficulty was great, but they were not capable of providing for it. Was that anything more than saying, in so many words, that the most important functions of parliament, parliament was at that time not able to discharge? If so, the acts to which he referred ought to be repealed at the earliest opportunity. He would not enter into particulars: he would admit at once that there were difficulties in the case; but they were difficulties which could not be considered as insuperable. If the parliament shrunk from contending with them, it would no longer be deserving of the trust reposed in it by the constitution.

The duke of Wellington requested the indulgence of their lordships while he offered a few words (and they would be but few) in reply to some of the remarks which had been made. Something had been said about the loss of influence which he had sustained in consequence of the measure of last year, which had been so often mentioned. He did not mean, at present, to say a word on that measure, except this, that however sorry he might be to lose the support of the noble earl (Mansfield) on the opposite bench, and of other noble lords who concurred in that noble earl's views, if the thing were still to be done, he would take exactly the same steps as he had taken last year. The question now before their lordships, was to be considered without reference to the actual situation of parliament. This was not a state of things in which there was a balance of inconveniences, nor had it been so represented by the noble and learned lord on the woolsack. It was a balance between positive and great inconvenience on one hand, and a remote risk on the other; and the best and the easiest mode of getting out of this risk was by means of the dissolution. Their lordships were very much mistaken if they thought that the matter of the regency could be settled merely by a short bill. It was a

subject of very great difficulty, and one which it was impossible to settle properly in the present parliament. The ministers had not adverted, in the way of objection, to the conduct of the house of commons. But the pressure of business was so great, and so much still remained to be done, that it was hardly possible, in the course of the present session, to get through that business, in addition to the important measures which had been so much insisted upon in the course of this discussion. A noble earl, on the other side, had said that the ministers, by the proposition which they had this night submitted to their lordships, wished to throw on parliament the responsibility of the dissolution. That, however, was not the case, nor was it ever so intended. The ministers had merely brought down a message from his majesty, who stated that he saw the inconvenience of the present parliament's sitting much longer; and he requested their lordships to adopt such measures for carrying on the public service, as would enable him to dissolve the parliament as soon as possible. The noble and learned lord—*[here he looked at lord Eldon, who took off his hat]*—he meant his noble and learned friend on the cross-bench, whom he had been so long accustomed to see with so much satisfaction on the woolsack—had observed, that ministers, by this measure of dissolution, proposed to dispense with the advantage of the act of William and Anne, as if they had disapproved of that statute. That, however, was very far from being the case. On the contrary, it was that act which enabled them to recommend these measures to parliament; for had it not been for the statute in question, the measures would, of course, have all been lost along with the parliament. He regretted that he could not concur with the noble earl in the delay which he had proposed. He did not mean, in the least, to impute to the noble earl any other motive in making the proposition than that which he himself avowed; but he could see no use in the delay, and therefore thought it best that they should come to a decision on the question that night.

Their lordships, after further debate, rejected the amendment; the contents being fifty-six; the non-contents, one hundred. The original motion was then put, when earl Grey submitted a new amendment in an address which stated their lordships to acknowledge, with every sentiment of grati-

tude, the communication which his majesty had been most graciously pleased to make; that they acknowledged as a most grateful proof of his majesty's consideration of the public convenience his most gracious declaration, that considering the advanced period of the session and the state of public business, his majesty felt unwilling to recommend to the attention of parliament any new matter which might admit of postponement without detriment to the public service; but that feeling themselves at the same time called upon humbly and respectfully to assure his majesty, that if adverting to the present circumstances of the government, he should find it expedient to propose to parliament any provisions to secure the country against possible inconveniences and danger of the most serious nature, to which it might otherwise be exposed, they would be ready, and anxious to take into their immediate consideration, with a view to carry them into effect, in such manner as might be most conducive to the public safety, any measures which his majesty might be graciously pleased to recommend for that purpose; that they would be at all times ready, with the devotion which they felt for his majesty's person and government, to concur in affording the means which might be necessary for providing for the exigencies of the public service, and for facilitating the exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative of dissolving the parliament, whenever it might appear to his majesty to be required for the benefit of the people; and they humbly hoped that the furtherance of his majesty's wishes, in that respect, might be most conveniently and effectually promoted by their proceeding with all due diligence and expedition to the completion of those measures which were then in progress, in consequence of his late majesty's most gracious recommendation from the throne at the commencement of the session, and which were necessary for the public service.

The question being put, the noble earl's amendment was negatived without a division, and the original one moved by the duke of Wellington was then agreed to.

A question was asked by the earl of Cawdor as to the intention of ministers with respect to the relief expected by the public from the unequal pressure of taxes; and whether the measures for reforming the law were to be proceeded with, which at the commencement of the session were recommended by the throne itself? If ministers had not firmness to per-

severe in them, he must infer that it was a proof that they did not possess the confidence of their lordships, nor that of the country.

The duke of Wellington, in answer, stated it to be the intention of government, in the first place, to pass a bill for the repeal of the beer-duties. Of the bills for the improvement of the law, the Scotch judicature bill was in a forward state, and would most probably pass this session, as might others which were also forward. Several measures relating to the administering of justice in the courts of equity, on which some differences prevailed in quarters for which he entertained considerable respect, would perhaps be postponed.—Lord Holland then asked if it were the intention of ministers to propose, as usual, an appropriation act? to which the duke of Wellington at once replied—"It is."

The proceedings in the house of commons were in conformity with those which took place in the upper house. Sir Robert Peel called attention to that part of the message of his majesty which expressed a hope that the house would make temporary provision for conducting the public service, in the interval which must elapse between the termination of the present session and the assembling of a new parliament. The house was, no doubt, aware that by an ancient law the demise of the crown necessarily terminated the existence of parliament. The reason assigned for it by Blackstone, was that the king being the head and soul of parliament—its *caput principium et finis*—the demise of the crown necessarily put an end to its proceedings; and it was not till the reign of king William III. that any alteration was made in the law in that respect. By an act of the 7th and 8th of that king, it was provided, that the demise of the crown, during the existence of parliament, should not necessarily terminate its existence; but that it might continue to sit, unless expressly prorogued or dissolved, for six months after such demise. This had been said to be only a temporary act; but he held a different opinion, finding it had been re-enacted almost in the same terms in the reign of queen Anne. The question, however, for their consideration was, whether in the present state of the public business, and referring to the proceedings incident to the demise of the crown and the accession of a new sovereign, it was more advisable to dissolve the present parliament, or to continue

to sit for the consideration and dispatch of such public business as remained unfinished. Ministers had come to the conclusion that they should best discharge their duty by recommending the course pointed out in the message. He was aware that it had been usual to send a message to the house to proceed, without delay, in making an arrangement of the civil-list; and that, in fact, such arrangement was made before any prorogation or dissolution took place. But the constitution of the civil-list was different then from what it had now become. The sovereign was then in possession of the hereditary revenues of the crown; and the sum to be voted by parliament was exactly the difference between the actual amount of the civil-list and the charges upon it. The time devoted to the discussion of the subject up to the accession of George III., was not of such length as, in modern times, so important a subject would seem to require. The bill, for instance, which settled the civil-list of George I., was passed with an expedition little known now-a-days. Queen Anne died August 1st, 1714, and the bill for settling the civil-list of her successor was brought in August 12th; passed through all its stages with great rapidity and little comment, upon the 17th; it was taken up to the lords; returned from them on the 19th; and parliament was prorogued on the 25th of the same month. It was to be considered that ministers had now to arrange and settle the civil-list of three different parts of the empire, or rather the three civil-lists of England, Scotland, and Ireland. There were several circumstances connected with the subject which required improvement. He would mention, for instance, that some of the public officers of state received their salaries partly from the civil-list, and partly from the consolidated fund. The judges were so paid; so were some of the officers of the treasury—the expense and charges being defrayed from both sources. At that moment the chancellor of the exchequer received his official salary from five different sources; partly from the civil-list, partly from the consolidated fund of the country, partly from the consolidated fund of Ireland, partly from other funds arising out of the commutation of fees, and partly from transactions in his office. It was desirable that this condition of the civil-list should be amended, and all charges upon it consolidated. The arrangement of it he therefore considered

would be better deferred till a future opportunity. He showed what had been the course pursued at former periods on the occasion of a demise of the crown. Than the question of a regency, he could consider nothing more deeply affecting the interests of the country. In English history, there had been instances of regencies; but there was no case exactly resembling this. In each of the years 1751 and 1765, there was an heir-apparent to the throne of tender years, and parliament made provision for the possible demise of the crown. But the subject was so far involved in difficulties, and the circumstances were considered so dissimilar in character, that parliament thought it necessary to make a great difference in the arrangement. By the act of 1751, the princess-dowager of Wales was appointed guardian of the infant prince her son and regent of the kingdom, in the event of a demise of the crown. In 1795, parliament empowered George III. to name the person who should be the guardian of his son, and regent of the kingdom, restricting his choice to certain individuals. He mentioned these things but to show that the subject deserved the most serious consideration, and, therefore, ought not to be hastily disposed of. But then he was asked, "Is there no risk in leaving the case wholly unprovided for till the next meeting of parliament?" To that he would reply, that at the earliest period of our history there were various instances of infant sovereigns coming to the throne of this kingdom, for whose protection no legislative measure had been previously taken. He might name Henry III., Richard II., and Henry VI., none of whom were above eleven years of age: one was not a year old, and yet parliament made no provision for a regent; but after the accession of the sovereign, appointed persons to govern the kingdom, till the infant king had arrived at those years of maturity which the act appointing the regency prescribed. In 1751 and 1765, different courses were pursued; but in neither of those cases was there a provision immediately made for a minority. In 1765, no steps were taken till three years after the birth of the heir-apparent. The late king was born in August, 1762; but it was not till 1765, that the precaution of appointing a regency, in case of a demise of the crown, was taken. Wishing to treat the subject with all proper delicacy, he would fairly ask, where was the risk of postponing the measure till the next session? In the

reign of George III., it was postponed for three years; and in the reign of George II., nearly ten weeks were suffered to elapse after the death of Frederick, prince of Wales, before any act was passed for the regency. Of course, under the sanction of that precedent, there could be no necessity for making provision for a regency in the interval between the end of the present session of parliament and the opening of a new one. In case such an event should unfortunately happen as the demise of the crown, he apprehended the infant queen would have full power to sanction any act of parliament appointing a guardian for herself, and a regent for the kingdom; and that in a manner as binding as if it were signed by a sovereign of full age. He pressed upon the house the impolicy of discussing then the plan of a regency, as any temporary arrangement would have the effect of fettering the future and final decision on the question. He stated the course which ministers thought it right to recommend to the house with regard to the public business of the country; and he concluded by moving an address similar to that which had been submitted to the other house by the duke of Wellington.

Lord Althorp opposed the motion, and recommended, under the circumstances of the case, that the house should adjourn for twenty-four hours. He wished it to be distinctly understood, that he submitted that proposition to the house without any feeling whatever of disrespect to the illustrious person who had been called to the throne. He moved, as an amendment, that the further discussion on the subject of the address should be adjourned till the following day.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Brougham, who said he should lament as much as any man that any recommendation of his should have the semblance of a disposition, on his part, captiously and needlessly to embarrass his majesty's government. Such a disposition he utterly disclaimed. But the question of adjournment, as it regarded the civil-list, was a delicate question. It was one of great difficulty: and how did he propose to meet it? By recommending that which he had recommended ten years ago, on the accession of George IV.—that the precedents of the three former accessions should be followed. It was true, that on the death of William, of Anne, and of the first George, the existing parliament did arrange the civil-list; and the only devia-

tion from the rule was on the death of George III. That, however, was a peculiar case; and such was the argument of lord Castlereagh, advanced against him (Mr. Brougham), ten years since. Such being the fact, the house ought to agree to the very moderate proposition of his noble friend, and postpone the further consideration of the subject till to-morrow. The question of a regency, he thought, ought to be entertained without waiting till the emergency arose. At such a time, they could not decide with the unbiassed judgment they could bring to it at the present moment. They could not so well decide between the various claims of the illustrious individuals who might be anxious to assume the reins of government. The rule of the succession to the crown was distinct and clear: the entire right and pre-emption of the crown would be vested in the princess Victoria; but then they would have to place "a barren sceptre in her grasp;" and by no extension of self-flattery could they lay "the flattering unction to their souls," that she could exercise a salutary control over the councils of the state; and it would be a monstrous mockery of all reason and common sense, to presume the possibility, or for an instant to think that a child of eleven years old, was to say who should be regent for the next seven years;—to decide whether her own mother should be queen for that period, whether her uncle should be king, or whether several of her uncles should form a regency, according to the mischievous precedents of 1751 or 1765; or whether her mother's brother should be for seven years the sovereign of these realms. "But, be the person a man or a woman," Mr. Brougham said, "the uncle or the mother of the princess (as he or she must be, in fact, the director of a child in leading-strings), I do marvel that any member possessing reasoning powers, should hesitate to pronounce in favour of an immediate decision on that question, to prevent the possibility of the many evils which must on a future occasion throng in; when intrigue and agitation must naturally be rife, should parliament be called upon to decide on the spur of the emergency, and without the advantages of that deliberation which should precede every legislative measure. We can come now," he said, in continuation, "to discuss the respective claims of the princes of the blood, with a degree of calmness, and with an absence of all bias; but

who can answer for our being able, at a future period and under other circumstances, to bring to the discussion the due solemnity and deliberate mind which it would require? Can we promise ourselves that we shall be able to give the crown away calmly and discreetly to one or other of the claimants?—that we should elect our regent as subjects should elect a sovereign, and decide whether we should have one duke or another duke for our ruler, during the ensuing seven years of minority? There would be, on such an occasion, an accession of the duke of Cumberland to the throne of Hanover, and parliament would be suddenly called upon to decide upon his election to the regency—to the supreme rule, to which he would have a paramount claim, although he had not a strict right.” On these grounds he therefore called upon the house not to suffer the possibility of a defect in the executive government, and not to recommend the dissolution of parliament till after the consideration of the regency question.

A warm debate arose on this subject, in the course of which Mr. Huskisson spoke in favour of the amendment. Sir Robert Peel, in reply, begged those who contended for the immediate appointment of a regency, to recollect that even supposing the crown were to devolve upon the princess Victoria, the responsibility of ministers in appointing a regency would remain the same, and no difficulty would occur in a case of the kind, more than at present. He entreated the house, therefore, to go to the vote on the real merits of the question—on the proposal of complying with the wishes of the crown, and reposing a just confidence in his majesty’s ministers; and not to be deluded by an amendment, which professed to require twenty-four hours for the consideration of a question which had already been fully determined upon.

On a division, there appeared in favour of the amendment, one hundred and thirty-nine; against it, one hundred and eighty-five. The question being then put on the original motion, lord Althorp moved a new address, in substance the same as that which had been produced in the house of lords by earl Grey.

Sir Robert Peel then said (meaning no disrespect to the noble lord), as debating the amendment would only be going over the same ground again, he should content himself with generally opposing it.

The determination thus announced pro-

duced an extraordinary scene. Mr. Brougham spoke of government as being disposed to proceed not only without the support of the house, but in contempt of its sentiments. The whole weight of government had been put forward, and had only secured the support of one hundred and eighty-five members against one hundred and thirty-nine; to collect which no expedient had been used; no coalition had taken place; no understanding had been come to. Let it be remembered, too, that this had taken place on a Wednesday (a day on which lengthened discussion was generally avoided); and from that hour, never let any one be flouted or flung at for bring forward a motion on that day.

Among the arguments used on the other side, he acknowledged there was one which was new—one which he had not heard in that house; he meant the implied threat of resignation. They were in a manner told, it was the duke of Wellington’s idea, that to leave government in a minority, would compel the resignation of ministers. “It is an argument,” said Mr. Brougham, “which I have not heard in the house, viz.—‘If you leave government in a minority, I will resign; and where will you get a field-marshal to superintend your finances and your law courts?’ If I had had the misfortune to hear such a threat uttered in this place, I would have stated the grounds on which I deemed it my duty not to listen to the threat, but to look with equal mind on what some might consider the last national calamity. I conceive it barely possible for the United Kingdom to bear the going out of office of a considerable portion of his majesty’s ministers. Let them not lay ‘the flattering unction to their souls,’ and indulge fond hopes from the measure they contemplate; that hope may meet with such a disappointment that they may look back even to this parliament with some of the pleasures of memory. The day of foree has gone by: he who would rule this country by royal favour, or by military power, may be hurled down from his height. Him I accuse not. I accuse you [addressing the ministerial benches], his flatterers, his mean, fawning parasites.”—Sir Robert Peel, with great vehemence, interrupted him. “I ask the honourable member if he means to accuse me of being such? The honourable and learned gentleman addressed himself to this side of the house, and said, ‘I mean to accuse *you*, his flatterers, his fawning para-

sites.' I am sitting on this side of the house; I am the representative of the opinions of those who sit here; but I put the question to the honourable and learned gentleman—not on their behalf, but as an individual—and I ask, does he presume to say of me, that I am the mean, fawning parasite of any man?" Mr. Brougham:—"I answer the question by asking the right honourable gentleman, if, in the whole course of the two or three sessions in which he has had the opportunity of seeing me opposed to him, he has seen anything which made it likely that I should treat him disrespectfully, as he, it would seem, chooses to think I have done? If my conduct towards him, both as to words and deeds, have never had the least tendency to treat him with personal incivility, he must acquit me on this occasion. It is absurd—it is ridiculous—to suppose I meant to allude to him. No; I allude to the votes which have passed—to the resolutions which have been come to—to the cries which have been heard; and I have as much right to answer those cries, as others have to utter them. If I am interrupted by a cheer from the ministerial side, I have a right to impute that interruption to what I please—not to motives, but to tendencies. I spoke of parasites as the *pessimum genus inimicorum*. This shall ever be my course of conduct, and this is the course of conduct which it behoves the house to adopt."—Sir Robert Peel said, he had no right to speak, but he hoped the house would permit him to offer a few words (he trusted in perfect good temper) in allusion to the part of the honourable and learned gentleman's speech in which he referred to his (sir Robert's) interruption of the honourable and learned gentleman's observations. He now wished to say, he did not suspect the honourable and learned gentleman of any deliberate intention of offending him by a personal comment, or

even to offend any one; but it would have been infinitely better if the honourable and learned gentleman had withdrawn the allusions altogether, than attempted an exposition which was not very satisfactory. He had a perfect right to attack ministers; but he had no right to accuse men of being flatterers who were as independent as he was. It was a bad example to set. He (sir Robert Peel) would make the retraction for the honourable and learned gentleman. He was convinced that the expressions were not intended to apply to him, and that they were uttered in the warmth of debate, increased by interruption.—Mr. Brougham assented to the correctness of this statement, and allowed that he might have been a little warmer than usual. He, however, added, that "what he had said of parasites was, in fact, true; and that the worst sort of enemies a man could have, were those who obsequiously called themselves his friends." This was a principle which nobody cared to question, and which had been advanced by less acute observers of human nature, before the learned orator who now gave it the authority of his adhesion, was born: and the usual sobriety of the house was restored.

In reply to a remark that the opposition, on this occasion, seemed to have employed the means supposed to be employed by Mr. William Holmes, who was called "the whipper-in," and whose task it was daily to secure a sufficient attendance of members to form a house, Mr. Brougham significantly replied, it would be found in another session that one hundred and thirty-nine members were by no means the whole that could be numbered who were disposed to unite in defence of the constitution and the people.

The second address was lost: the numbers being one hundred and forty-six to one hundred and ninety-three; and the original motion was carried.

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#### CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BEER BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; DEBATE ON THE REGENCY QUESTION; FINANCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE COUNTRY; APPROPRIATION BILL.

The bill to regulate the sale of beer continued to be regarded with great displeasure and alarm by the trade. When it had reached the house of lords, a petition against it was presented to their lordships (signed by four thousand licensed victuallers of the



metropolis) by the duke of Richmond, who, approving of the principle of the bill, could not consent to its passing in its present form; and announced that, in the committee, he would propose a clause to prevent ale or beer, sold in shops established under the bill, from being consumed on the premises. The earl of Falmouth took a similar course; and, in consequence of what had been said, the duke of Wellington, on moving the second reading of the bill in the house of lords, addressed the house on the objects proposed to be accomplished by the measure in question. He said, the effect of the bill (if passed into a law) would be, to enable any person to retail beer, under a licence from the excise, without a licence from the magistrates; and there were provisions in the bill for the preservation of peace and good order in those places where beer should be sold under the authority of this act. One great object of the measure was, to enable the country at large, and particularly the lower orders, fully to avail themselves of the advantages to be derived from the other measure connected with this;—he meant the bill for the repeal of the beer-duty. He was aware of the objections that had been made to this bill, some of which had been mentioned by the noble duke to whom he had just referred; and if the objections should be further pressed, in the course of any discussion that might arise that evening, he hoped for their lordships' indulgence while he adverted to such topics, in reply, as might occur to him. At present, the objections to the bill appeared to him to resolve themselves into two: first, the danger with which the measure was likely to be attended, with reference to the peace and good order of the community, from the permission given to sell beer at any place licensed by the excise, without any licence from the magistracy; and secondly, the great injury which would result from it to the great body of publicans, who had invested their property in public-houses licensed by the magistrates. As to the first objection, their lordships would find, on an examination of the bill, that it contained a variety of regulations, which were calculated to remove all reasonable apprehension of any serious danger to the peace and good order of the community. There were provisions for preventing the houses from being kept open at improper hours, more particularly on the Sundays; and other regulations; for the prevention of

disturbance and riot, were enforced under severe penalties. As to the alleged injury to the property of those who had already invested their capital in the public houses licensed by the magistrates, it ought to be recollected, that they had hitherto enjoyed large profits from the monopoly of this trade; and that the bill was confined to beer alone, and did not trench on the monopoly which they had in the sale of wine and spirits. Besides, they would have their full share of the advantage to be derived from the abolition of the beer-duty, and they would, in all probability, gain more by the increased sale of beer which would follow that abolition, than they would lose by throwing open the trade. It was obvious that, in the competition, these public-houses would have great advantages over other houses, by the superior accommodation which they could afford. He was convinced that the measure would be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the lower orders, by enabling them to drink a superior article at a much cheaper rate than they had been accustomed to do; and he did not anticipate that there could be any very serious objection made to the second reading of the bill.

The earl of Falmouth could not agree with the noble duke, that the present measure would be conducive to the advantage of the lower orders. In his opinion, it had a direct tendency to lead to disorders and a relaxation of the morals of the people, which, he thought, were to be sacrificed for the sake of revenue.—Lord Teynham supported the bill. He did not think it would be injurious to the lower orders; for the houses which would be established under this act would be as much under control as the public-houses which then existed. He hoped the result of the measures then in progress, would be, to increase the consumption of both malt and hops, and to do away with the adulteration of beer. The differences that prevailed among their lordships, called forth a further explanation from the duke of Wellington. He said, it appeared to him that the object of this bill had been, in some measure, misunderstood. This was not a question of preference as to the remission of one tax as compared with the remission of another. The object was, to regulate the beer-trade, and to extend the power to retail it to houses licensed by the excise, instead of confining it to houses licensed by the magistrates;

and this measure was necessary, in order to give the people the full benefit of the repeal of the beer-duty. The benefit would be a very great one to the lower orders; for, by means of these bills, it was probable that the price of beer would be diminished by twopence per pot, or about forty-five per cent. The advantage would not be great to their lordships, or people in the higher stations; but the lower orders would derive great benefit from the abolition of the beer-duty, and for that reason it had been selected. The object of the present bill was, to give the people the full advantage of the remission of the duty. He apprehended no danger to the peace and good order of the community from the present bill, as the necessary provisions had been introduced to prevent the peace of the community from being broken, and the morals of the people from being injured. If their lordships would examine minutely the evidence given before the select committee of the other house, they would see that there was no danger to be apprehended from the want of control by the magistrates. As to the publicans, he still considered that they had derived great profits from the monopoly; and, if that were trenched upon by this bill, they would receive ample compensation by the increased sale of beer, in consequence of the reduction of price which would be occasioned by the other measure for the repeal of the beer-duty. The opposition to the measure proved of no avail.

Notwithstanding the intimation of the king's wish, and the ministers' decision that no immediate provision should be made for a regency, on the 6th of July the consideration of that important question was again pressed on the house of commons, a motion being submitted by Mr. Robert Grant, brother of Mr. Charles Grant, for an address to the king, assuring him of the readiness of that house to take into its immediate consideration any measure which, in his majesty's royal solicitude for the happiness of his people, he might be pleased to recommend, in order to guard against those evils which could not but be apprehended from the demise of the crown under the present circumstances of the succession.

The motion was introduced by a long and argumentative speech, in the course of which, Mr. Grant touched on the precedents which had been furnished in the last century—in 1751 and 1765. The course taken in 1765 he deemed most important. George III.,

he said, having then been four years sovereign of the realm (being also in the very prime of life—for his age was not more than twenty-seven—alarmed by an illness which, though severe during its continuance, he had the highest authority for declaring not to have been dangerous), thought it necessary, not by a message, but by appearing in presence of his houses of parliament, to call them to a consideration of the casualties belonging to his exalted situation, as well as to that of every other man; and requesting them to make provision for the succession to the crown falling upon an infant prince. The words in which he addressed his parliament appeared so (in every way) applicable to the present crisis, that he would read them at once to the house. They were these:—"The tender concern which I feel for my faithful subjects, makes me anxious to provide for every possible event which may affect their future happiness and security. My late indisposition, though not attended with danger, has led me to consider the situation in which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to my life while my successor is of tender years. The high importance of the subject to the public safety, good order, and tranquillity; and paternal affection which I bear to my children and to all my people; and my earnest desire that every precaution should be taken which may tend to preserve the constitution of Great Britain undisturbed, and the dignity and lustre of the crown unimpaired, have determined me to lay the weighty business before my parliament." Such were the words (so far as related to the exigency) that were used in the address spoken to parliament by that revered monarch. They were dictated, he supposed, by those who were the responsible ministers of the crown at that period; and he was sure he was not wrong in saying, that they found a ready response in his majesty's bosom. They were in accordance with his manly and consistent character; they bespoke at once the kingly firmness with which he could contemplate the termination of his life and reign for the benefit of his country; the kingly spirit with which he regarded the welfare of his family and of the monarchy at large, in case of that event; and the kingly bearing and consideration in which he brought that distinctly before parliament, in order that the quiet of the country might not be disturbed, that the constitution might not be endangered, and

that full satisfaction might be awarded to the rights of the crown and to the interests of the nation. Mr. Grant added, he was certain that no son of that venerable monarch would be wanting in courage, to face the consideration of the lamentable event to which he had been compelled to allude, or in the moral firmness which would enable him calmly to contemplate the progress of parliament in completing the various details of any measure which it might think necessary to provide against the melancholy contingency. In his opinion, ministers would have done well to counsel their august master, that in the moment of celebrating the obsequies of his illustrious predecessor, he ought to imitate the example of his royal father; to look forward, like him, to the termination of his own reign and life, and to provide for the exigency in which it must inevitably place the country.

The motion was resisted, as having been introduced without the paramount necessity which could alone justify the bringing of it forward. It was asked—the king, having just acceded to the crown; his royal brother yet unburied; his own affairs yet unsettled; and before he had had any opportunity of consulting the wishes of his queen, or the views of any member of the family; was it decent to rush to the foot of the throne and tell him, in reference to their late decision—“Hastily we acceded to your wishes, but we repent that we did so—time presses—we cannot delay; and yet we are waiting for a measure to settle the regency.” On the other hand, it was contended, in reference to what had been said of the feelings of the sovereign, that it should be remembered that kings were not like common men—they were placed aloft to be the object of general regard, and could not expect to enjoy the privacy which was the delight and luxury of their subjects. At the very birth of a sovereign the great officers of state were present, and the public solemnity of a royal marriage, was, in some respects, a scene of grossness and indelicacy. The house of commons addressed queen Anne, soliciting her to form a new matrimonial alliance at the very moment her husband was lying dead.\*

\* This assertion was incorrect. Prince George was certainly lying dead, but it was in Westminster-abbey, and not above ground, as might be supposed from the words used, or the meaning commonly attached to them. Prince George died on the 28th of October, 1708; parliament did not meet till the

The debate was long; and, in the course of it, sir Robert Peel insisted it would be hardly respectful to the crown—after the king had communicated to the house of commons that he had no intention to recommend to it the consideration of a regency, or any other matter which would have the effect of delaying the proceedings of parliament—to vote an address, calling on the crown for a message which it had been declared the king did not mean to deliver. The right honourable baronet proceeded:—“It would not be a very auspicious commencement of a new reign, for the house to oblige the king to do what he had declared he had no intention of doing. The proposal of his majesty’s government, to permit a sufficient time to elapse for maturely considering the proposal of the crown, was reasonable and proper. He could conceive nothing more difficult, than to determine what were the contingencies likely to happen on the demise of the crown, so that they might be properly provided for beforehand. There were very many contingencies which might occur, and which it might be extremely difficult to provide for; and after exerting the utmost ingenuity in devising remedies, they might produce ten thousand times more danger than if the contingencies took place without the remedies. Some specific calamities, to which the crown was subject as well as private individuals, had been adverted to; and his honourable friend had instanced the calamity which had befallen lord Liverpool, who was in the full possession of his health and strength, and in one short week was struck to the ground and deprived of his mental faculties. But was it proposed to make provision for every possible contingency by which the exercise of the regal functions might be suspended? If not, what had the case of lord Liverpool to do with the question? The house would recollect what had passed in the reign of George III. In 1788, when a calamity had visited the sovereign, proceedings were taken to provide a regency. But did parliament think it desirable to provide against the recurrence of such an event? No; for in 1810 it did recur, and did not parliament

16th of November; and his funeral took place on the 13th of that month. It was in the following year, on the 22nd of January, when an order had been made to alter the form of prayer, supplicating the Deity to make her a happy mother, that her majesty was solicited to entertain thoughts of a second marriage.

find itself without any provision for that contingency? It did: and why, after having obtained the knowledge that the royal faculties might decay, did it refuse to provide for such a future contingency? Because it would rather permit its recurrence, than be guilty of the indecency and indelicacy of presuming upon the possible future derangement of the king. The honourable mover had stated eight or ten suppositions, and these only by way of sample. If contingencies were so numerous, and the difficulty so great, was it decent, before the funeral of the late king, to force his successor to deliver a message, requiring the house to consider all the contingencies? If the question were so complicated, let it be left to the crown and its advisers to devote a sufficient time for its consideration. There were two contingencies which had been mainly dwelt on. The first was not a question immediately connected with that of a regency, because it might occur when the heir-presumptive was not a minor; namely, when, on the demise of the crown, there was an heir-presumptive, and also a queen-consort who might be pregnant. The question, in this case, was—whether it were desirable to make any provision; and, if so, what provision? When he referred to this case on a former night, he had mentioned its having already occurred, and the possibility of its recurrence; and he then stated, that the absence of a remedy was a strong proof of the conviction of the legislature of the difficulty of providing a satisfactory remedy, and of the necessity of mature consideration before any remedy was suggested. The honourable member for Montgomery (Mr. C. W. Wynn) had said, in this case, that the existence of an heir-presumptive contemporary with a queen-consort pregnant, was most important, and required to be provided for. His answer was, that that was a case of which there had been examples in our history, and that they had not been provided for; and, therefore, before the subject was submitted to parliament, the crown should have at least six weeks for considering it. He would content himself with taking all the illustrations he should have occasion for from recent times; and taking the reigns of our monarchs from James I., reign by reign, the result was, that in almost every case, similar circumstances existed to the present. In the reign of James I. the case was similar, at least it was equally necessary for parliament to provide a similar remedy.

There was a king in possession of the crown—an heir-apparent, who was a minor—and no provision was made for a regency. In the reign of Charles I. (at least for some period of his reign) the parliament might have felt a deep interest in regulating the succession to the throne: nor were the contests between that prince and his parliament a reason why they should not feel such an interest. In the reign of Charles II. the king was married, but had no legitimate issue. There was an heir-presumptive (James II.) and a queen-consort. Charles II. died, and the queen-consort might have been pregnant. The heir-presumptive was of full age; and he begged to say, that the danger of a struggle was far greater when the heir, as in that case, had been accustomed to military service. In the reign of James II. this was the state of things. James, by his first wife, had two daughters, who were the heirs-presumptive. Thus in every reign hitherto, a case might be found parallel to the present. In the reign of Anne, there was something, if not parallel, at least analogous. During the lifetime of George, prince of Denmark, parliament made a provision as to the successor to the throne, who then resided abroad—the princess Sophia or George I.; but it made no provision for the possible case of the pregnancy of the reigning queen. Then came the case of George III., in which, for three years, the contingency might have occurred; and yet no provision was made. He did not despair of parliament finding a remedy, if the contingency should occur; nor was parliament so dependent on mere forms, that it could not make a precedent. In the case of the abdication of James II., parliament had found a remedy, as well as on the occasion of the mental indisposition of George III. God forbid that he should exclude all consideration of provisions against possible dangers; but they should be adopted after due consideration: and he could not admit that, at present, the risk was so great as in former instances. In all instances prior to the reformation, no regent was ever appointed till after the demise of the crown."

Mr. Brougham complained of the over-nice sentimental delicacy which professed to spare the feelings of the king, and insisted on the importance of making policy accompany delicacy. He said he found a precedent for such a provision as was now called for in the time of Charles II. In that reign he found, that not only did parlia-

ment provide for the possibility of the demise of the crown, but it provided for it, moreover, by a bill of exclusion, which passed through the house of commons, after repeated discussions, and shut out James, the brother of the king, because he was a catholic. There was a precedent, of parliament having considered it necessary to make provision for the succession to the throne at the time there was an heir-presumptive, the brother of the king; and at a time, too, when, for anything they knew, the queen of Charles might be *enceinte*. It was true that the parliament, which met afterwards in the time of James, sat for three weeks and more, settling the civil-list: but then it was immediately prorogued, and not summoned again, except for a very few days. They had afterwards much more important business on their hands, during the whole of that bigoted and subtle tyrant's reign, than settling a regency. While strongly opposing the bill, and contending that confidence ought not to be placed in ministers to the extent called for, he was careful to explain that he cast no personal reflection on the duke of Wellington. "I have no distrust," he said, "of the noble person now at the head of the government. I disavow, in the most solemn manner, all imputation of mixing up anything arising from personal consideration in this discussion. When I call on the house to address the crown to take measures to provide against those chances which may produce the calamitous results I have described, it is not that I harbour any distrust of the motives of that noble person—that I wish to cast even the shadow of a shade of suspicion on his character; or that, by not neglecting to take those steps which I consider so imperatively called for, I would insinuate that his noble nature, or his tried honour and public virtue, could think of compassing anything treacherous to the constitution of his country. I acquit him of all intent or conception of that kind. His public services are my guarantee for the integrity of his conduct. His civil services, for which the country—and above all, regenerated Ireland—owe him so much; for which posterity will bless his name, and which place him higher on the record of fame than the victories of Waterloo or of Salamanca. They are my pledges for the purity of his motives: but I am here to represent the people of this country; I am here, as one of the commons of England, to distrust and to watch ministers, because

they are the public servants of the crown—to know no difference between man and man in that capacity, but to take all the security I can obtain against even the principles of the constitution, or the rights and privileges of the people being endangered." He went on to say, what he dreaded was the evils which might possibly arise from a disputed succession, and those which flowed from the accession of an infant sovereign. He repudiated as sophistical the arguments which had been used in favour of postponing the settlement of a question so important, and concluded with a forcible declaration of his sentiments on the subject of an hereditary monarchy. "There are many great evils," he remarked, "there are many grievous burdens, to which it subjects us, and there are many sound principles to which it is opposed; but it has one great redeeming feature which reconciles me to it; and would reconcile me even were its faults greater and more numerous—it renders the succession to the throne certain, and provides in that way a remedy for those evils which could never be thought of without horror—the evils of civil war; a state of things where all life dies; where death alone lives, and all combine to introduce mischiefs abominable and unutterable, such as fable never feigned, or imagination devised."

When the house divided, there appeared for the motion, ninety-three; against it, two hundred and forty-seven.

After the decision, formally pronounced by parliament, against prolonging their sittings to get through the business which had been entered upon, and after the funeral of the late king, the measures in an advanced state were soon brought to maturity. On the 8th of July, when a motion was made for going into committee on the sale of beer bill, viscount Goderich made a statement, on the subject of the finances of the country, of considerable importance. Speaking on the prospects of the country, early in the session, he had assumed, on hearing of the savings to be made in the present year, that there would be a surplus revenue of three million seven hundred thousand pounds; but the duke of Wellington had corrected him, by saying, ministers could not calculate on the surplus which had been mentioned, nor on one exceeding fifteen or sixteen hundred thousand pounds. This, viscount Goderich said, he did not very clearly understand. He was glad when he afterwards found the

chancellor of the exchequer had, in the other house, proposed to take off taxes to the amount of three million pounds, which, he concluded, would not have been determined upon had the surplus been no more than the noble duke expected it would be. He remarked on the various taxes which had been abated, and thought, in other ways, greater relief might have been afforded to the country. He wished to know from the noble duke, what ought to be the amount of the revenue and expenditure; what it had been last year; what he expected it to be under present circumstances; and what were the grounds of his expectations.

The duke of Wellington, in reply, admitted that the noble viscount had been more correct than himself in the financial statement he had formerly made. He was willing to do justice to the motives that induced the noble viscount to make his present statement, which was intended to throw light on the subject, and promote the interests of the country. In respect first, to the surplus of the revenue during the present year, he must admit that it was less than he had stated it would be at the commencement of the session. He had then stated it from estimates which had been prepared; but it should be recollected that the government had been enabled to make very considerable reductions. Their lordships knew that the finance committee had recommended that there should be a surplus of three million pounds; and he thought such a surplus very desirable; but their lordships must be aware that the revenue in this country was unsettled and uncertain. It depended on a variety of causes; some of which—such as the seasons—were very variable; and the consequence was, that with the same rate of taxation, the amount of revenue was different in different years. From circumstances of this kind, he could not say that up to that time the surplus of the year had equalled three million pounds; nor could he hold out a hope, unless there was an increase in the revenue, that the amount of the surplus next year would be three million pounds. There was, and there would be, a considerable surplus; but the revenue must improve very much before the amount of the surplus became equal to that recommended by the finance committee. According to the estimates, the expenditure for the present year would be—for the funded debt, for the unfunded debt, for the permanent charge for pensions, half-

pay, &c., the charge for the army, the navy, and the ordnance,—altogether, forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. The revenue for the year was fifty million four hundred and eighty thousand pounds: being, for the customs, seventeen million two hundred thousand pounds; excise, nineteen million three hundred thousand pounds; stamps, post-office, &c., thirteen million seven hundred thousand pounds; miscellaneous branches of revenue, two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. From this was to be deducted seven hundred thousand pounds for the loss of duty on beer; one hundred and sixty thousand pounds for the loss of the leather-duty; and one hundred and fifty-five thousand pounds on account of the sugar-duties; making, together, a sum of one million fifteen thousand pounds; leaving forty-nine million four hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds. It was not, however, by looking at any one year, but by looking at the surplus of former years, that they could form the most correct judgment of the probable surplus in future. In the year 1829, the surplus was two million two hundred and forty-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-three pounds. The expenditure of that year was fifty-one million three hundred and ninety thousand and thirty-three pounds. At present the expenditure, in consequence of the great reductions which had been made, was forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. The probable expenditure for the next year, would be forty-seven million eight hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and forty-seven pounds. Under the circumstances of the country, the government had been able to reduce the expenditure two million five hundred thousand pounds. It had reduced the interest on the funded debt eight hundred thousand pounds; and on the unfunded debt, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. In three years the government had reduced the expenditure three million five hundred thousand pounds. That reduction had given the country a claim to a reduction of taxation. The government had performed its engagements to the country, and had permitted taxation to the amount of three million five hundred thousand pounds. He looked at the repeal of taxation to produce an increase of revenue from those taxes that remained; but there must be some difficulty in making the surplus equal to that recom-

mended by the finance committee. He agreed with the noble viscount, that it would be wise to revise the system of taxation—repealing such taxes as bore the heaviest on the people, and cost most in the collection. He agreed also with the noble viscount, that the expenditure ought to be reduced; the government had undertaken that task, and would accomplish it. Much had been already done; but he entreated their lordships to remember, that the army, the navy, the ordnance, and the miscellaneous sources were the only part of the expenditure which could be reduced; and they only amounted to sixteen million five hundred thousand pounds. Of these, five million five hundred thousand pounds went for half-pay and pensions, and could not be touched; leaving but little more than eleven million pounds from which it was possible to make reductions. Under these circumstances, their lordships would see that great further reductions could not be expected; but as much had been, and would be, done as possible. He knew that it was said that great savings might be made in the colonies; but the greater part of the expenditure now incurred in them was for convicts and troops—charges which the country was bound to bear. Independent of these expenses, the cost of the civil government of the colonies was very inconsiderable.

The exposition thus furnished, was received with general satisfaction by their lordships. The sale of beer bill was passed.

An appropriation bill having been introduced and passed through its earlier stages, the third reading was moved on the 16th of July, when the marquis of Lansdowne offered some observations on the domestic and foreign affairs of the country. He expressed deep regret that those circumstances in the state of Europe, which had been justly adverted to at the commencement of the session, and respecting which a sanguine expectation was expressed that a final and satisfactory settlement would shortly take place (he alluded to the affairs of the west and the east of Europe), remained in the same unsatisfactory condition as they were then, and that his late majesty's life had closed, and this session of parliament would terminate, without producing the final settlement of either of those important branches of foreign policy. He remarked on the appropriation bill before them, containing, in a mass, the different grants which their lordships had not had an opportunity of examin-

ing separately. He threw out various suggestions to prevent abuses and jobbing, which he hoped to see acted upon in the next session of parliament.

The duke of Wellington called their attention to that part of the address of the noble marquis (Lansdowne), in which he stated that the sums voted in the appropriation bill were voted in mass. If the noble marquis would take the trouble of looking over the bill, he would find a clause in it where all the several sums were specified. The measure, therefore, was not liable to the objection which the noble marquis had stated. Then, with respect to the noble marquis's observations in relation to Ireland, he begged to state, that it was perfectly true that a committee of the other house did consider all the Irish estimates, and did make a very detailed report, which contained a great deal of valuable information. His majesty's ministers had, however, on their own responsibility, taken the present mode of submitting those items to the consideration of parliament; and he was convinced that if the items had come under discussion, the reasons which had influenced his majesty's government would have been thought perfectly satisfactory; but so much time had been occupied in discussing other matters, that no opportunity was afforded for considering those estimates. He repeated, that when the subject should be properly considered, the reasons for not following the suggestions of the report, would be acknowledged to be satisfactory. There were suggestions, not only in the report of that particular committee, but also in those of other committees, recommending a variety of measures with respect to Ireland. Those suggestions had been, as much as possible, acted upon in different measures introduced in the course of the present session, some of which had been passed, and others remained under consideration. He thought it would be allowed that more time was necessary than one or two years after the making of a report, to suggest such detailed measures with respect to every abuse (for abuses, he admitted, existed in Ireland), as would induce parliament to join with government to carry them into effect. Measures to remedy those abuses would be introduced as quickly as possible; but the ministers would not bring forward any one till they had fully considered it themselves. The circumstances of Ireland made it necessary for government to proceed with caution, in touching upon anything that

was established in that country. He would now advert to the foreign policy of the country. With respect to the state of foreign policy in the east, their lordships were quite as well acquainted with the history of the transactions which had taken place connected with that part of the world as he was. All the documents were before them, and the whole history of the affairs, up to the beginning of the month of June last; and their lordships were in as favourable a condition to form an opinion on them, as the ministers. All he could say on the question was this, that the endeavours of the ministry had been uniformly directed, since that period, to bring the transactions to a termination; and he had every hope that they then would be brought to a satisfactory settlement, as a cordial union prevailed between the three allied powers; and they were unanimous in desiring to accomplish that object, and in their efforts to bring it about. With respect to the other part of Europe, he had to say that the great distance between Portugal and Brazil rendered it extremely difficult to bring the transactions connected with those countries to a speedy termination. But he could state, that all parties have a common interest in those affairs, were sincerely desirous of conducting them to a satisfactory conclusion, and that a cordial union existed between all the governments engaged in them.

Lord Holland sarcastically remarked, the duke of Wellington had said, on these two important subjects to which his attention had been called, exactly what he had told their lordships for the last three years, with equal solemnity, assurance, and certainty, and with precisely the same reasons for his statements as he had alleged to the house

on the present occasion. He sharply criticised the policy of ministers, and said, though more than two years ago expectations were confidently avowed that negotiations would soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, a curious fact had only now come out, that Rio-Janeiro was at a great distance from Portugal. The discovery of that fact, it would seem, had greatly discouraged the noble duke, and disappointed the expectations in which he had indulged. He hoped, when parliament met again, they would not place such reliance on such a government—as had hitherto been the usage.

The duke of Wellington complained of the course taken by the noble lord, in coming down to the house and making a speech like that which he had just delivered, without any previous notice or intimation. He would confine himself to that part of the noble lord's observations in which he had alluded to his (the duke of Wellington's) supposed discovery of the distance from Brazil to England; and on that he would merely observe, that a gentleman had just arrived with communications, on which there had not been sufficient time to come to any definite conclusion. All he would say was, that there appeared to be a cordial desire and concurrence, among all parties, to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement.

With this general answer on the conduct of the government, the appropriation bill was allowed to pass. The opposition in either house became very languid, as the political adversaries of the duke were now of opinion their forces would be better employed in securing strength in the new parliament, than in raising objections to the business then in progress.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

CALL FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY; BILL FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF EAST RETFORD, AND DEMAND FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT; OPENING OF THE MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL RAILWAY; DEATH OF MR. HUSKISSON; EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND; OPENING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE state of the slave-trade became the subject of complaint; and it was said, the duke of Wellington had not exerted himself as a minister of England ought to have

done, in order to put an end to that unholy traffic. Before the close of the session, it was mentioned in parliament. On the 19th of July, earl Grosvenor expressed regret that



little had been attempted, on the part of the colonial legislatures, to ameliorate the condition of slaves. He reminded their lordships of the resolutions which had been passed in 1823, with a view to the improvement of the condition of the slave population of the colonies, and said they must see that little had been done to carry them into effect. He gave notice, that if no one else brought the subject forward, he would, at an early period of the next session of parliament, move for leave to introduce a bill, to declare that all children born thenceforth of slave parents should be free.

The duke of Wellington observed, with reference to the suggestion of the noble earl (Grosvenor), that an act to declare the children born of slave parents free, under the present circumstances of the slave population, was impracticable. If it were to be declared that all the children born of slave parents should be free, he, for one, should wish that the noble lord would explain how he could find means to take care of them. Before the noble lord decreed their emancipation, he ought to bring in a bill to provide for them. With respect to the colonies under the government and control of his majesty in council, the ministers had done what they could to carry the resolutions of 1823 into effect, and had thereby evinced their sincere desire to improve the condition of the slaves, as much and as speedily as was practicable, consistently with a proper respect for the colonial legislatures, and for the interests of private property. This having been done, would it not be worth while to wait a little, in order to see whether the measures adopted in the ceded colonies, might not be attended with such obvious advantages as to induce the colonial legislatures to follow the example? It appeared to him, that that would be the safest and wisest plan; and he hoped that the consequences of those measures would be such as to lead to the universal adoption of them.

Many petitions had been presented in the house of commons, praying for the total abolition of slavery. Mr. Otway Cave, in presenting some of them, expressed an opinion that it could not be shown that the slaves were the property, by law, of the West India proprietors; and trusted that the friends of abolition would persevere in promulgating the doctrine, that if the British legislature refused to interfere, the consequences which might ensue would rest

upon the heads of those who provoked them. If that house refused to interfere, he thought the slaves would be justified, before God and man, in taking, by any means, that to which they were entitled; by force they might take what force, and not right, had dispossessed them of. He concluded in the words used by an honourable and learned gentleman in 1823. "Difficulties there may be (in the way of negro emancipation), as there are in every case; but are they insurmountable? I think not, and that no one will be stopped by them who does not wish to be impeded."

The warm language used by Mr. Cave was remarked upon by several ministerial members. They urged, that if injustice and inhumanity had originated the slave-trade, to excite the slaves to acts of violence was not, at that moment, the best way of consulting the true interests of humanity under present circumstances. The honourable gentleman, however, persisted in his declaration. With the best feelings towards the West India proprietors, he wished, he said, to save them from going too far, by making them sensible of the dangerous position in which they stood.

While Mr. Wilberforce and his friends were calling for the abolition of the slave-trade, they were careful to proclaim, that nothing was further from their thoughts than the idea of putting an end to slavery. The distinction thus made they were anxious should be noted. Such a project in the then state of the world, they regarded as perfectly Utopian. With the existing evil they did not venture to grapple: that it should not continue to increase was the limit of their generous labours; but their object gained, other purposes were avowed by philanthropists who followed them; and a feeling arose in the public mind (while it was proudly avowed, the slave who set his foot on English soil, at once became a free man), that it was inconsistent and dishonouring to Great Britain for slavery to prevail in her colonies, which could not be endured near the seat of government. The West India proprietors who had succeeded to large properties, could not easily be persuaded to resign affluence; and the reports they received from those to whom the management of their estates had been confided, were of a character which satisfied them (as men are easily convinced of that which largely favours their interests), that to make the Africans free, would be to expose them to

many evils which they were spared while they remained in their present state; and, in a word, men whose characters were anything but cruel or sordid, sincerely believed that the extinction of slavery in the dependencies of England would be at variance with policy and humanity.

In this case, no complaint could justly be made against the government. If the progress of the cause was slow, it was unfair to throw the blame on the duke of Wellington. To persuade other countries to join with England in labouring for its furtherance, was no easy task. Those who did not hesitate to condemn the traffic in human beings, notwithstanding their professions, were resolute to continue it. England, giving up the slave-trade, had opened views of profit to the traders of other nations which were closed against them before; and it was prosecuted by some of them with great vigour, and with such precautions suggested by the necessity of concealment, as added unheard-of sufferings to the miseries formerly endured by the sable victims of mercantile cupidity. The United States of America, while raising their voices in praise of liberty, failed not to appear among the champions of the condemned system. They denounced, as canting hypocrites, the advocates for abolition: they quoted Scripture to prove that slaves were possessed by the revered fathers of mankind; and ingenious sophistry boldly affirmed, that the power of buying and selling his fellow-creatures, was among the dearest, time-honoured, and inalienable rights of the freeman, and could not be withdrawn from a people who knew their rights, and were prepared to make any sacrifice in defence of liberty!

The last interesting debate of the session was that on the East Retford disfranchisement bill, which proposed to throw the franchise of the borough open to the adjoining hundred. That corruption had existed there, and for a very long period, had been proved beyond all doubt. The turpitude of all parties connected with elections in that borough, during the preceding half century, was great; and no defence of the parties could be attempted. The debate was important, as it brought out a statement of facts, which went far to prove that the disfranchisement of East Retford was of no value while the general system under which members were returned to parliament continued—such as it had long been.

The second reading having been moved by the marquis of Salisbury, his lordship said, he thought it had been shown that bribery and corruption in East Retford had existed from a very early period; and their lordships must have perceived that there had been a deliberate intention to buy votes, on the part of the candidate, as there was on the part of the electors to sell them, to the highest bidder.

To the disfranchisement of a borough so corrupt, it might have been supposed no objections would in any shape be raised by the friends of parliamentary reform. But such was not the case. Changing circumstances produce strange alterations in the views of politicians with regard to certain measures. It was now very generally felt, that something more than the correction of an insulated abuse, occasionally detected, was necessary to the working of the constitution. For many years a radical reform had been called for out-of-doors. It had been ably advocated, and eagerly sought for a time, and then the subject was dropped, and seemed to have lost all its interest with the public at large. Little had been heard of it for some years; but now, at the commencement of a new reign, the question was again opened, and all the anxiety which had existed in connexion with it at a former period, was more than revived. Nor was it on slight grounds, as will be seen from the speech we are about to quote, that a change was demanded. On the second reading of the bill above mentioned being moved, lord Durham said, he considered the question before them not a government, but a judicial question. That the electors had voted as stated, he did not deny—that corruption had existed many years in East Retford was a fact which could not be disputed; but while parliament remained in its present state—while seats were sold (as all knew they were), he could not approve of a measure like that which was now before them. He submitted some strong facts to their lordships. "If," said he, "that which the bill describes to be corruption is yet in daily practice; if a minister, in the distribution of the patronage of the government, thinks fit to gratify a peer of this, or a commoner of the other house of parliament, with a place for supporting, or strengthening the administration (as it is called) by his vote in parliament—is it to be styled corruption? If it be, it yet daily takes place. I should like to know, what

distinction can be drawn between the peer and commoner who so receives a place, and the voter who receives twenty or forty guineas? Why is the poor man to be disgraced, dishonoured, and disfranchised on the one hand, whilst on the other, the rich peer is to be congratulated by all his friends; and, in the language of the Scripture, to be proclaimed in the streets as 'a man whom the king delighteth to honour?' Now, my lords, as to the amount of this corruption—suppose that those persons did receive twenty or forty guineas each, and that three or four thousand pounds was distributed amongst them, I say it is as a drop of water in the ocean, compared with the sums spent in elections. Mr. Evans himself tells us, that he spent seventeen thousand pounds at Leicester; and it is pretty well known, that at the last election for Northumberland, one hundred and forty thousand pounds were spent, not in legal expenses only, but in treating and other illegal inducements to vote. At my own election in the county of Durham, I had to spend about thirty thousand pounds; and a noble friend of mine (a noble marquis opposite) must have spent a great deal more. At the election for Yorkshire, in 1826, although there was no contest, one hundred thousand pounds was spent by the four candidates—a fact which was mentioned in the other house of parliament by one of the members. In the election of 1806, in the same county, lord Milton spent one hundred thousand pounds; another party, ninety thousand pounds; and the committee who acted for Mr. Wilberforce, sixty thousand pounds. Indeed, the expenses of even an uncontested election in Yorkshire, are so notorious, that there is at this moment the greatest difficulty in finding members to represent it; and I believe that, except one of the present members, and a gentleman little known to the freeholders of the county, no other individuals have declared themselves candidates for the expensive honour of representing it. In fact, with the exception of Westminster, there is hardly a place in England, where it is not necessary for a candidate, who seriously intends to succeed, to spend a considerable sum of money. Whatever the theory of the representation may be, it has in practice come to this—that either, directly or indirectly, covertly or openly, every man comes into parliament by a breach of the law. Another consideration arises upon this question. If the corruption of the

voter who receives twenty pounds for his single vote deserves punishment, what are you to do with a person who sells, not the individual vote, but the actual representation of boroughs—the actual seats themselves? It is a matter of notoriety, that the market-price of a seat in the other house of parliament is one thousand two hundred pounds. A noble friend near me, tells me that the price has so risen of late, that it is one thousand eight hundred pounds annually! No person will now pay several thousand pounds, taking his chance of the parliament being long or short; but gives his annual sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, to be secured in his seat. I know that it used to be only one thousand pounds a year; for, many years ago, a seat was offered to be placed at my disposal at that price. Most of these boroughs so sold, are the property of peers of this house; and a valuable property they must be, when we hear that the freehold of the celebrated and notorious borough of Gatton, has lately been sold to a nobleman for one hundred and eighty thousand pounds. These, my lords, are the acts of peers, of commoners, of clergymen, who receive a portion of their incomes, and much of their consideration in life from the sale of seats in parliament; and I will venture, if you will give me a bill of indemnity, such as has extorted the evidence now on our table, to pledge myself to make these same peers and commoners confess every one of these facts. It is upon these grounds that I feel myself entitled to say, that the corruption of East Retford is infinitely less than that of nine cases out of ten." He considered this a bill of pains and penalties. Their lordships were to decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused. He must declare against condemning a whole corporation, as the charge of corruption had been proved against a minority only; and that was no legal offence. It moreover appeared that the corruptions proved against parties commenced in 1812, and ended in 1820, leaving the last election untouched. He moved an amendment—that the bill should be read a second time that day six months.

The earl of Eldon having voted against every disfranchisement bill that had been brought before their lordships, felt bound to oppose this. Lord Wynford considered the preamble proved, and would therefore vote for it.

Earl Grey took the same course lord Durham had pursued. He said too much

could not be done to secure the purity of elections. This measure had been preceded by one which violated a most important principle of the general law of the land,—a bill of indemnity by which they compelled men to appear at the bar, and state what at once disgraced them, and rendered them obnoxious to punishment. He objected to a bill of indemnity being thrust upon unwilling witnesses. If such a course were proper in one case, why not in all? And if they would make it a principle of law, let them give him a bill of indemnity by which he could compel members of the other house of parliament—aye, and of their lordships' house also—to appear at their bar, and answer such questions as he should put to them; and if he did not disfranchise half the boroughs in the kingdom, he would submit to any penalty their lordships might think proper to impose. He objected to the principle of the bill, and should therefore vote against it; but if it were carried, he thought it would be better to give the franchise to some manufacturing town, than the neighbouring hundred, as was proposed to be done.

The duke of Wellington said, that he lamented very much that the bill had been brought into parliament: it was not his act, but being there, it was his duty to consider what should be done with it. He admitted that it was a bill of pains and penalties. It charged long-continued and notorious corruption on the electors of East Retford, in electing representatives to serve in parliament; and it enacted a penalty as a consequence of the act stated in the preamble. Before their lordships voted against the borough, they ought to be convinced that the preamble had been proved. He had attended to the evidence as much as his other avocations would allow, and he must say, that in his opinion, the preamble had been proved. He would not follow the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, or the other noble and learned lord who had spoken through all the evidence: he would content himself with referring to the proceedings of Mr. Thornton, and the evidence of Mr. Evans, to prove that bribery was common. In every election since 1796—in the elections in 1802, 1806, 1812, and in 1818—in his opinion bribery had been proved. The general corruption charged in the preamble of the bill had been proved; and if the crime were not proved, certainly their lordships ought to inflict no punishment. There was no noble lord who at-

tended to the evidence but must have seen that in every case where the candidate lodged the money usually paid at elections, he succeeded; but that in every case where he failed to do so, he lost his election. There was evidence before them, that the successful candidate always lodged the money, and that in no case it returned into his pocket, but uniformly went into the pockets of the electors. It was contended, on the other side, that the proofs in question did not come down to the last session; and, if true, there was no direct proof of the money having been received at the last election: but could any person doubt, from what passed—from the circumstance of the money having been lodged—that it would have been disposed of in the same manner as former lodgments, but for what had afterwards happened? The question, however, was one of policy and expediency, as well as of right. The house had to consider whether or not they would, in this case, pursue or deviate from the course which they pursued on all similar occasions. It was to be remembered that they disfranchised no one by the present bill; they merely let in the votes of the adjoining hundred. He owned he was surprised at the course taken by the noble earl (Grey), who, though he had contended that no sufficient proof was given that a majority of the electors were corrupt, had declared his intention to move, at a future stage of the bill, not that the innocent majority should be held harmless, but that the franchise should be taken away from the innocent and the guilty, and transferred to another place. On the noble earl's own showing, this would be unjust; for if he believed there was no evidence of general corruption, he ought not to take away the franchise at all. The noble duke concluded by repeating that he thought the preamble of the bill fully proved, and therefore it should have his support.

The amendment of lord Durham was rejected, and the bill passed the lords. Though the duke of Wellington disavowed the bill, he had no objection to punish corruption when proved; but on the general question of parliamentary reform, which was now taken up by the nation at large, his views remained such as they had always been.

The 23rd of July was the day fixed upon for the prorogation of parliament. Applauding shouts from the assembled crowd, hailed king William on his way to Westminster. He wore the uniform of an admiral under

his regal robes. A sailor-monarch was a popular novelty. The speaker of the house of commons, attending with many members at the bar of the house of lords, pronounced a loyal address to his majesty, who then closed the session with the following speech:—

“My lords and gentlemen,—On this first occasion of meeting you, I am desirous of repeating to you, in person, my cordial thanks for those assurances of sincere sympathy and affectionate attachment which you conveyed to me on the demise of my lamented brother, and on my accession to the throne of my ancestors. I ascend that throne with a deep sense of the sacred duties which devolve on me, with a firm reliance on the affection of my faithful subjects, and on the support and co-operation of parliament; and with an humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that he will prosper my anxious endeavours to promote the happiness of a free and loyal people. It is with the utmost satisfaction that I find myself enabled to congratulate you upon the general tranquillity of Europe. This tranquillity it will be the object of my constant endeavours to preserve; and the assurances which I receive from my allies, and from all foreign powers, are dictated in a similar spirit. I trust the good understanding which prevails upon subjects of common interest, and the deep concern which every state must have in maintaining the peace of the world, will ensure the satisfactory settlement of those matters which still remain to be finally arranged.

“Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I thank you for the supplies which you have granted, and for the provision which you have made for several branches of the public service during that part of the present year which must elapse before a new parliament can be assembled. I cordially congratulate you on the diminution which has taken place in the expenditure of the country, on the reduction of the charge of the public debt, and on the relief which you have afforded to my people by the repeal of some of those taxes which have heretofore pressed heavily upon them. You may rely upon my prudent and economical administration of the supplies which you have placed at my disposal, and upon my readiness to concur in every diminution of the public charge which can be effected consistently with the dignity of the crown, the maintenance of national faith, and the permanent interests of the country.

“My lords and gentlemen,—I cannot put an end to this session, and take my leave of the present parliament, without expressing my cordial thanks for the zeal which you have manifested on so many occasions for the welfare of my people. You have wisely availed yourselves of the happy opportunity of general peace and internal repose, calmly to review many of the laws and judicial establishments of the country; and you have applied such cautions and well-considered reforms as are consistent with the spirit of our venerable institutions, and are calculated to facilitate and expedite the administration of justice. You have removed the civil disqualifications which affected numerous and important classes of my people. While I declare, on this solemn occasion, my fixed intention to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the protestant reformed religion established by law, let me, at the same time, express my earnest hope, that the animosities which have prevailed on account of religious distinctions may be forgotten, and that the decisions of parliament with respect to those distinctions having been irrevocably pronounced, my faithful subjects will unite with me in advancing the great object contemplated by the legislature, and in promoting the spirit of domestic concord and peace, which constitutes the surest basis of our national strength and happiness.”

The circumstances which had caused the secession of Mr. Huskisson from the duke of Wellington's government could not be remembered without poignant regret, which was mournfully revived at the close of the summer of this year.

That great domestic revolution which was to change the whole face of England and the habits of its people, now announced itself in the opening of the railway from Manchester to Liverpool. The ceremonial was fixed for the 15th of September, and a grand celebration had been planned, at which the duke of Wellington consented to be present. At the dinner which was to be given on the occasion, it was expected that the duke of Wellington would have something to say on the subject of the recent French revolution. It had been rumoured, that the ordinance issued by the minister of Charles X., had the sanction of the duke; that, in fact, he had encouraged prince Polignae to persevere in a line of conduct which had lost Charles a throne, and seemed likely to cost the minister his head. Several journals expressed an opi-

nion, that the entertainment to be given at Manchester would offer a favourable opportunity to the duke for explaining himself on the subject of the ordinances. The surmise that he had prompted—that which had proved so fruitful of disaster—was groundless. In a London evening paper, which was understood to be in communication with government, the following statement appeared:—"We feel it proper to declare, lest the duke should consider the introduction of this topic at Manchester improper, that the friends of the duke, and the duke himself, have plainly and unequivocally contradicted this rumour; and we now repeat, that the duke was not a party to the appointment of prince Polignac as minister to Charles X.: the duke disapproved, from the very first week of Polignac's administration, of the course he was pursuing; and the duke never wrote to prince Polignac during his administration, or sent any letter, or sent any message in approval of his conduct; or urging him to any unconstitutional act; or sent any message at all in reference to his conduct as a French minister."

From the contradictions thus supplied, it will be collected that industrious malice had been on the alert to impute to the duke of Wellington, not only all the distress which had been felt in England, but much of the mischief, tumult, and bloodshed, which had been unhappily witnessed in a neighbouring country. The English ambassador in Paris, however (lord Stuart de Rothsay), had been ignorant that the fatal ordinances were prepared, till they came before the public. Rumours were abroad respecting them, and he had made inquiry on the subject, but had been assured the rumours in question were wholly without foundation. "If," demanded a writer in the *Spectator*, "lord Stuart de Rothsay did not know the intentions of the French government, how could the duke of Wellington, or any member of the cabinet in London, know them? We neither speak from authority nor for authority; but we make a plain statement which is due, we conceive, to the duke's character. His grace is fair game as a minister of the crown; but he is entitled, as every Englishman is, to fair play."

Mr. Huskisson, as the member for Liverpool, had taken a lively interest in the extraordinary undertaking now completed, during its progress, and rejoiced in the opportunity

which was afforded of witnessing the opening of the railroad. At a very early hour on that day, vast crowds were seen moving towards the spot at which the formal proceedings of the directors were to commence. About ten o'clock the duke of Wellington reached Liverpool, and was welcomed with loud acclamations by the multitude assembled to behold the first grand progress on the first public English iron-road. A splendid state-carriage had been prepared for his grace, which carried him through the tunnel, while the band heralded his advance to those beyond it, by striking up "See the conquering hero comes." "The pomp of pageantry" began. Engines with waving flags and bright colours were displayed, music sounded, and rejoicing shouts were heard when the carriages started—one portion on the down, and the other on the up-line. Nothing could exceed the success of the undertaking; and all was pleasant until the arrival at Parkside, where the engines were stopped for a fresh supply of water. The company had been requested not to leave their carriages: the caution was also given in printed directions. It was misunderstood or disregarded. Most of the gentlemen in the "Northumbria" (the carriage in which the directors and the more distinguished of the guests were placed), when the train stopped, got out, and formed in groups on the line. Suddenly an alarm was given that the "Rocket" engine was rapidly approaching, and the various parties dispersed. Mr. Huskisson had been conversing with Mr. Joseph Sandars, one of the principal originators and promoters of this railroad, and congratulating that gentleman on having seen a work of such magnitude happily brought to a conclusion under his auspices, when he was called away to several gentlemen, who were anxious to hear his opinion on a subject they were discussing.

Mr. William Holmes, with a view of terminating that coldness which had grown out of recent circumstances between Mr. Huskisson and the duke of Wellington, led the former round to where his grace was seated, Mr. Huskisson saying—"Well, I must shake hands with the duke on this day, at any rate." Wellington, on seeing the right honourable gentleman approaching, immediately extended his hand towards him, which was very cordially shaken by Mr. Huskisson. It was then that the "Rocket" was seen to be rapidly advanc-

ing, which caused a general movement of the persons about the "Northumbria," and an admonitory and rather alarming cry of "get in" was heard. Mr. Huskisson attempted to escape the danger by crossing, but the steepness of the bank prevented his exit from that side. Mr. Holmes, who remained near him, and was nearly in the same situation and exposed to like danger, drew himself up as closely as possible to the duke's car, there being a space of about eighteen inches between the two lines. Having thus stationed himself, Mr. Holmes remarking some confusion or irresolution in Mr. Huskisson, called out to him, for God's sake to be firm. The right honourable gentleman grasped the door of the "Northumbria," it swung open, was struck by the "Rocket" as it passed, and Mr. Huskisson fell on the railway. His right leg was instantly crushed by the wheel of the engine. He moved a little out of its path before it came in contact with him, otherwise it must have gone directly over his head and breast. As it was, the wheel crushed his left thigh, squeezing it almost to a jelly. Mrs. Huskisson was near, and had the affliction to see her husband bleeding and in great agony. The earl of Wilton and Mr. Holmes rushed to his assistance, and raised him from the ground. "I have met my death; God forgive me!" were the only expressions that escaped the unfortunate gentleman in that sad moment. He asked for his almost distracted lady, who approached him. A board was procured, upon which Mr. Huskisson was placed, and then lifted into the orchestral car, from which the musicians had been removed. He consented to this with great reluctance, having requested the surrounding spectators to let him die where he was.

The melancholy catastrophe greatly affected the duke. To lose an old and highly-esteemed friend at the moment of being reconciled to him, after an unfortunate estrangement (caused, he might probably feel at that moment, by something like harshness on his part), was an affliction such as few men have known. It was the wish of his grace that the joyful business which had been in progress should at once terminate; but, on its being represented that public expectation had been raised so high at Manchester, that, if the train did not proceed, serious disorders might occur among the multitudes that thronged the end of the

railway, he consented to the forward movement for which the directors contended, but which, under such mournful circumstances, had necessarily more the air of a funeral procession than that of a festive celebration. No entreaties could induce him to take part in the festivities which had been prepared at Manchester. He and sir Robert Peel remained in the car which had carried them thither, and partook of some slight refreshments brought to them there, while a portion of the company, not much affected by the catastrophe of the morning, did not refuse the solace of a cold collation.

The last moments of the duke's distinguished friend were marked by manly fortitude. When it was determined that the procession should advance, the carriage of his grace and that of the directors were attached to those which accompanied the "Phoenix" engine, and in this manner the whole proceeded at a slow pace towards Eccles, where a stoppage took place, and the duke and his friends made inquiry respecting the condition of Mr. Huskisson. The "Northumbria," which had by this time arrived from Manchester with Mr. Ransome and other surgeons, was reattached to the duke's carriage, &c., and the whole proceeded, in the order originally agreed upon, to Manchester. The "Northumbria," with the duke and directors, arrived in front of the warehouses about a quarter before three; but the other engines and carriages did not come up till some time afterwards. Mr. Huskisson, and the party who accompanied him, reached the vicarage of Eccles about half-past one o'clock. A couch was carried to the railway, upon which he was placed, and, in a reclining position, he was removed into the drawing-room of the vicarage. A bed was immediately prepared for him; but the pain which he endured was so severe that he could not be carried to it, and he remained upon the couch until the moment of his death. On arriving at the vicarage, the surgeon found Mr. Huskisson in a state of extreme suffering, but remarkably composed, and exhibiting extraordinary firmness of mind. The bones of the leg were broken into small pieces, and a considerable wound was visible on the skin and muscles. The thigh-bone, above the middle part, was also broken into several fragments, and the muscles were laid bare, high up the thigh, exposing the principal nerves and blood-vessels. The professional gentlemen decided that it was impossible to venture upon the amputation of the limb. The sufferings of

the patient, during the few hours he survived, were most acute. Every now and then groans of the deepest agony were extorted from him by the intensity of the pains which he was enduring: there were, however, no screams, no murmurings against the dispensations of Providence; but every symptom of the most manly courage, the most unshrinking fortitude, and the most Christian resignation. In the course of the evening, when Mr. Blaekburne, the vicar, in reading the Lord's-prayer to him, came to the clause, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us," Mr. Huskisson said, in a firm and distinct tone of voice, "That I do most heartily; and I declare to God that I have not the slightest feeling of ill-will to any human being." The sacrament was subsequently administered to him and Mrs. Huskisson. He did not make any allusion, or send any remembrance to his political friends. He showed a natural anxiety for the preservation of his character as a statesman. "The country," he said, "has had the best of me. I trust that it will do justice to my public character. I regret not the few years which might have remained to me, except for those dear ones," he added—grasping Mrs. Huskisson's hand, and looking with affectionate regret upon her dejected countenance—"whom I leave behind me." In the midst of his sufferings he retained the most perfect self-possession. He called for his private secretary, and desired him to draw up a codicil to his will, to which he made several verbal corrections; and having given the paper signed "W Huskisson," he desired to have it brought to him again, that he might place a dot between the W and Huskisson, which was his usual practice. He took an affectionate leave of his lady, and requested the surgeons who had been called in to refrain from administering cordials, which could only prolong his sufferings. "God bless you all!—let me die at once," was his last exclamation.

A corporation dinner was to have been given to his grace, at Liverpool, on the following day, when the freedom of the corporation was to be presented to him. Some of the parties concerned expected, notwithstanding the melancholy event which has been narrated, that the duke would attend, as if nothing extraordinary had occurred. Crowds thronged the streets of the town on the morning of the 16th, expecting his arrival. They were disappointed; as, at an early hour, the following note, addressed to

the mayor, was received from his grace, which had been forwarded from Childwall, a seat belonging to the marquis of Salisbury, where the duke had been staying, and to which he had retired after the accident:—

"Childwall, September 16, 1830.

"Half-past seven, A.M.

"Sir,—I enclose a note received, about an hour ago, from lord Wilton, which will make you acquainted with the melancholy result of the misfortune of yesterday. Having all been witnesses of this misfortune, and as all must feel for the loss which the public, and the town of Liverpool in particular, has sustained in Mr. Huskisson, I do not think that it would be satisfactory to any, that there should be at this moment in the town any parade or festivity. Under these circumstances, I propose not to visit the town this morning; and I request you to excuse me for declining to dine with the corporation this day. I likewise beg leave to suggest to you the expediency of postponing, to some future period, the ceremony of your delivering to me the freedom of your corporation, to which you did me the honour of admitting me some time ago.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

The letter of lord Wilton, enclosed in the foregoing, announced the death of Mr. Huskisson, at nine o'clock on the preceding evening.

The outbreak in France which terminated the reign of Charles X., led to the elevation of Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, to the throne. Charles wished to abdicate in favour of of his grandson: but this was not regarded; and he and his family were compelled to leave France. On the 9th of August, the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, and being, after some slight hesitation, accepted, he was installed as king of the French without the usual forms of consecration and coronation. The ceremony was likened to the inauguration of the president of a court of the prefect or mayor, by convening thereto the authorities or public functionaries. The foreign ambassadors were embarrassed how to act; and on the day of the inauguration, while every other part of the chamber was crowded, their gallery was peopled only by a few ladies and *attachés*. On this occasion the golden *fleurs-de-lis* had been removed from the drapery about the throne, and four large tri-coloured flags were elevated behind it.



The charter was then sworn to. Ninety peers were present; seventy-six created by Charles, and who had protested against the new charter, did not appear.

Louis Philippe, seated on a chair in front of the throne, his head covered, and his sons standing on each side, called for the declaration of the 7th of August, as agreed to by the peers, which was read and delivered to him; then rising, he addressed the peers and deputies to this effect:—"I have read, with much attention, the declaration of the chamber of deputies, and the act of agreement of the chamber of peers. I have carefully weighed and considered all their expressions. I accept, without restriction or reserve, the clauses and engagements which the declaration now presented contains, and the title of 'king of the French,' which it confers upon me; and I am ready to swear to their observance." He then, still standing, received in his left-hand the form of the oath; and at that moment the whole assembly rose, and the new king, uncovering his head, and elevating his right-hand, solemnly pronounced the oath in an audible voice. It ran thus:—"In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration. To govern only by the laws, and according to the laws: to cause good and exact justice to be rendered to each according to his right; and to act in all things with a view only to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." His speech called forth enthusiastic acclamations; but some confusion was remarked. Those who had made the duke a king, had not as yet determined on his style and title; and the various cries of "Long live Philippe VII.!"—long live Philippe I.!" and "Long live the king of the French!" were heard. Four marshals of France then came forward with the crown and sceptre and other insignia of royalty, with which they invested Louis Philippe. At the time France greatly rejoiced in the change; and the three days which had witnessed the terrible struggle, and which were declared to have saved the nation, were ordered to be kept in all succeeding years as holidays. The citizen king was praised for mingling with the people, as he not unfrequently gratified them by appearing in Paris, unattended by guards. The queen, with great humanity, visited the hospitals to which the wounded had been carried; and

in this charitable movement her royal daughters were associated. The new king frequently invited to his table members of the deputations which presented addresses on his accession; officers of the national guard, provincial magistrates, and students from the colleges were admitted to the same honour. Such condescension rendered the royal family popular.

The revolutionary movement in France, on this as on former occasions, was felt in every part of England. During the elections the people were violently excited. The members of the old tory party thought the country in imminent danger. Lord Eldon, in a letter, dated August 19, 1830, wrote:—"To get a thorough insight into the French revolution, you have only to read the proceedings at meetings at London, and all that is stated in them. It will require a master-head—such as Pitt had, and nobody now has in this country—to allay what is brewing (a storm for changes) here, especially for reform in parliament. Everybody here seems to think that the borough members of parliament can scarcely be preserved till another parliament. Such a change, considering that the present system is the support of a floating aristocracy, must, if it take place, deeply affect the higher orders, and perhaps the monarchy itself. My head is full of thought upon this subject. I care not who rules, provided our system of government can be preserved." In another letter, written a few days later, his lordship prophesied as follows:—"The Frenchmen are making what can't long exist—a republican government with a king at the head of it. They will soon find that such things can't co-exist, and revolution has not yet done its work in that country, I persuade myself." He added:—"I fear that, to a certain extent, it will do work here." He afterwards wrote:—"This French business has all possible bad effects here. It poisons the minds of multitudes, among the different orders in the country and town."

The effect produced in England, was a fierce and really menacing demand for a reform in the representation of the people. In October his lordship told lord Stowell,—"Report insists that a negotiation is going on between ministers and Palmerston and company. I incline to believe it. I hear that it is also reported that a pledge has been given that this shall be a partial parliamentary reform, and some kind of a par-

liamentary measure about tithes. I have heard, also, that there is to be a reduction in the civil-list."

A strong feeling prevailed, that from the want of parliamentary reform, unprincipled men had got into the house of commons, who for their own benefit, regardless of the interests and feelings of the people, had involved the nation in expensive wars, for which no necessity existed. It was truly remarked, that this view of the subject was not borne out by history; and that where the democratic will had been most loudly expressed, and most implicitly obeyed, peace had not been preserved in any remarkable degree. But the popular outcry still was, that a corrupt majority voted for war; that war caused loans to be required; and hence the national debt had been swelled to an amount so enormous, that the interest could not, and ought not, to be paid much longer. However erroneous these conclusions, that the permanent burden on the nation had been immensely increased, was a fact that it would have been folly to attempt to deny or conceal. An able writer gave, at this period, the following *exposé* of the progress of the debt, and the state and prospects of the country:—

"Our debt, at the revolution in 1688—now no more than a hundred and forty years ago—amounted only to one million fifty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-five pounds. It has since advanced in nearly geometrical progression; and, at the conclusion of the revolutionary war, in 1815, the unredeemed and unfunded debt amounted to seven hundred and eighty-nine million eight hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and twenty-four pounds. On the 1st of February, 1816, it amounted to eight hundred and thirty-four million four hundred and ninety-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty pounds; and on the 1st of February, 1817, to eight hundred and sixteen million seven hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and six pounds. In 1828, the unredeemed and unfunded debt still amounted to eight hundred and seven million, seven hundred and forty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-eight pounds. We have, therefore, during a profound peace of thirteen years, cleared off no more than between twenty-four and twenty-five million pounds at the utmost; which sum is scarcely equal to one-half the debt we contracted during one or two single years of the preceding war. It is urged by many

persons, that the amount of this debt is of comparatively little consequence, because the greatest part of it is due to natives; and that, though the debt has greatly increased, our wealth has extraordinarily increased also. Both these circumstances are true, and due allowance ought to be made for them. They then urge that, comparing our debt with our means, our condition is better (rather than worse) than that of most of our continental neighbours; that though bankruptcy has often been predicted, it has never yet happened; that, if it did happen, an equitable arrangement with the public creditors would prevent much mischief from ensuing; but that they really cannot reconcile it to their minds, that such an event is within the bounds of the most distant probability. We feel ourselves obliged to declare that we cannot adopt this soothing view of the subject. The amount of the debt is so enormous, that the mere statement of it could not fail to carry alarm to every one possessed of ordinary prudence and foresight, unless familiarity had rendered us insensible to our danger. 'Nations,' says Burke, in his *Thoughts on the French Revolution*, 'are wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt. Public debts, which at first were a security to government, by interesting many in the public tranquillity, are likely, in their excess, to be the means of their subversion. If governments provide for the debts by heavy impositions, they perish, by becoming odious to the people. If they do not provide for them, they will become undone by the most dangerous of all parties—I mean an extensive, discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed.' When it is further considered, that the interest of the debt now greatly exceeds the half of our whole annual income; that it is by no means impossible that the people may become distressed by paying the taxes now imposed, or that their amount, when paid, may be found to diminish—that the pressure of the debt, instead of being relieved by a fall in the value of money, may be aggravated by the continuance of the rise we have now for some years experienced—that the debt, which has been so little reduced during so unusual a course of peace, must rapidly accumulate on the recurrence of another war;—it is impossible for any rational man not to feel great uneasiness at our financial situation.

"It is the practice of those persons, who

trust that the chapter of accidents will, some way or other, avert an evil from which they themselves can point out no mode of escaping, to flatter themselves that, if it should unfortunately arrive, it will prove less dreadful in reality than in prospect. It appears to us unmanly and discreditable to rely on such consolations as these: we prefer looking facts in the face. In most countries of the continent, the reduction or delay of payment of the interest of the day would be no novelty. It can do comparatively little injury to a despotic government, and might perhaps create no commotion among its injured people; but in this country, where no such crisis has hitherto been known, and where universal and implicit faith is placed in the punctuality with which the engagements of the state will be fulfilled, bankruptcy of any sort would inflict unspeakable distress upon a large part of the community, and bring the very existence of the constitution into danger. To remove all chances of such a catastrophe, it certainly appears to be an object of paramount importance that the magnitude of our debt should be diminished. A season of peace and tranquillity like the present, is by far the most favourable for such an undertaking; and if ever it should, in any shape, be brought under the serious consideration of the government, there is scarcely any sacrifice to which the country would not cheerfully submit, provided it were satisfied that the plan would be faithfully carried into execution. To find our finances placed on so stable a foundation as to render an inconsiderable excess or deficiency in the year's or quarter's revenue a subject neither of sorrow nor exultation, and to ensure the gradual, but constant and perceptible liquidation of our debt, would have the most beneficial influence on the affairs of the state, as well as on those of every description of its subjects."\* In the same article it was shown that the assessments for poor-rates had, within eighty years, been increased more than ten-fold the amount assessed in 1748, having been no more than seven hundred and thirty thousand one hundred and thirty-five pounds; that of 1827 having reached seven million eight hundred and three thousand four hundred and sixty-five pounds.

A new parliament having been elected—one, it was on good grounds believed, not very favourable to ministers—the two houses assembled for the first time on the 26th of

October. Mr. Charles Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker; and on the 2nd of November (the intermediate week having been occupied with swearing in members of the house of commons), the session was opened with a speech in which the important changes which had recently been witnessed were noticed. The dethronement of Charles X. was thus glanced at:—"The elder branch of the house of Bourbon no longer rules in France, and the duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of 'king of the French.' Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French court." The speech noticed the affairs of the low countries and of Portugal, and commended to parliament the providing for a regency and the arrangement of the civil-list. His majesty said:—"I lament that the enlightened administration of the king (of Portugal) should not have preserved his dominions from revolt, and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and the complaints of his people to the deliberations of an extraordinary meeting of the states-general, should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other states. Appearances of tumult and disorder have produced uneasiness in different parts of Europe; but the assurances of a friendly disposition which I continue to receive from foreign powers, justify the expectation that I shall be enabled to preserve for my people the blessings of peace. Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements, I am persuaded that my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world. I have not yet accredited my ambassador to the court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those

\* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxix.

relations which had so long existed between the two countries. I am impelled by the deep solicitude which I feel for the welfare of my people, to recommend to your immediate consideration such provision as it might be advisable to make for the exercise of the royal authority, in case it should please Almighty God to terminate my life before my successor shall have arrived at years of maturity. I shall be prepared to concur with you in the adoption of those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the dignity and stability of the crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities by which the civil and religious liberties of my people are guarded.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—I have ordered the estimates for those services of the present year for which the last parliament did not fully provide, to be forthwith laid before you. The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with that strict regard to economy which I am determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure. By the demise of my lamented brother, the late king, the civil-list revenue has expired. I place, without reserve, at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which may be derived from any droits of the crown or admiralty, from the West India duties, or from any casual revenues, either in my former possessions or in the United Kingdom. In surrendering to you my interest in revenues which have in former settlements of the civil-list been reserved to the crown, I rejoice in the opportunity of evincing my entire reliance on your dutiful attachment, and my confidence that you will cheerfully provide all that may be necessary for the support of the civil government, and the honour and dignity of my crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,—I deeply lament, that in some districts of the country the property of my subjects has been endangered by combinations for the destruction of machinery; and that serious losses have been sustained through the acts of wicked incendiaries. I cannot view without grief and indignation the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of discontent and disaffection, and to disturb the concord which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happi-

ness. I am determined to exert, to the utmost of my power, all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal for the punishment of sedition and for the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder. Amidst all the difficulties of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of government, under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed for a long succession of years a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country of the world. It is the great object of my life to preserve these blessings to my people, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity; and I am animated in the discharge of the sacred duty which is committed to me, by the firmest reliance on the wisdom of parliament, and on the cordial support of my faithful and loyal subjects."

In the house of lords the address was moved by the marquis of Bute, and found a seconder in lord Monson. The earl of Winchelsea called attention to the great distress which prevailed in this country.—The marquis of Camden denied that the distress was at all to be compared with that which was known in the preceding year.—Earl Grey hoped the duke of Wellington would put himself at the head of the sound part of the community in Ireland, and save the country from those fearful calamities which others who sought to divert the people from their allegiance would inevitably superinduce. He entered into a searching examination of the conduct of ministers, and condemned that of Dom Miguel. He rejoiced in the expulsion of Charles X. from France, and hoped, with respect to the affairs of Belgium, the principle of non-interference would be adhered to by England. He remarked on what had been said in the speech on the subject of Portugal, that he understood the recognition of Dom Miguel was in contemplation on his granting a general amnesty. This, it appeared, he had promised; but whether the promise would ever be fulfilled, who could say? Even in this case there was a departure from the principle of non-interference; for what right had England to dictate to any foreign sovereign that an act of amnesty should be

granted to those who had offended him? His lordship said, the people of England were anxious for a parliamentary reform. He did not know whether ministers were prepared to bring forward any measure of that nature; but if they were not, they would soon be compelled to frame one when it might be more inconvenient to do so than it would be at that moment.

The duke of Wellington said, he was in hopes, judging from the first part of the noble earl's speech, that he should have only had to congratulate their lordships on the sentiments which the noble earl had delivered in commenting on his majesty's speech, and what had fallen from the noble lord and the noble duke. The sentiments of the noble earl did him the highest honour, and became the rank which he ought to hold in the country as a statesman. They did equal honour to his heart and head, and he (the duke of Wellington) congratulated the house on their expression; at the same time, he was sorry he could not agree with what had fallen from the noble earl upon all the points he had touched upon. The noble earl ended his speech with some observations relative to Portugal, and he would commence by answering them. He begged the house to recollect how frequently his late majesty had stated to parliament the inconvenience felt in this country, in consequence of the interruption of our diplomatic relations with Portugal; how frequently his late majesty had stated his wish to re-establish those relations; how anxiously he sought to reconcile the two branches of the house of Braganza; and how frequently, as he repeatedly told the house, he had negotiated on the subject. Having failed in his negotiations to bring about the desired union, his majesty adopted other measures with a view to remove the difficulties of the case, and benefit his subjects; and the royal speech informed the house, that there were now hopes of effecting these objects at an early opportunity. As long as there existed a government in Portugal, keeping a large portion of the talent and property of the kingdom in a state of exile, his majesty could not recognise a government so circumstanced without endangering our safety and honour. An amnesty, therefore, which would permit the return of the exiled party, and guarantee their security, had been long recommended; and the government of Portugal, at length intending to carry it into effect, his majesty conceived the great diffi-

culty to be removed, and expressed his intention to recognise that government. The noble earl had asked, shall we be bound to go to war, to carry into execution that amnesty? That did not follow by any means; and the noble earl would see from the expressions used in his majesty's speech, and from the observations he had submitted to their lordships, that we should not be bound to go to war to carry into effect any part of the engagement. We should be bound to interfere in every possible way, short of actual war, to prevent a violation of the amnesty. Such an interference was very different in its nature from the design referred to by the noble earl, and was perfectly justifiable. Although the noble earl did not approve of the recognition of the Portuguese government, and of the renewal of our diplomatic relations with that country, he was glad to find that he approved of the policy of ministers with respect to France; and he begged to assure the house, in answer to what the noble lord had said, questioning whether it was, or was not, the intention of ministers to proceed in the same spirit in which they had begun, and carry into execution the arrangement with France with good faith, that these arrangements never would have been made if it had not been intended to carry them faithfully into effect. When the government of this country saw the new government of France established, his majesty had not the slightest hesitation in acknowledging the new order of things, and he sincerely hoped that such arrangements would be made, in addition to those already completed, as would conduce to the welfare and best interests of that country, and the lasting peace and tranquillity of Europe. The noble earl had thought proper to find fault with the expressions used in the speech with reference to the government of the king of the Netherlands; and the noble earl said, his majesty had not mentioned one single subject of complaint made by the people of the Netherlands to their sovereign, though those complaints had appeared in a pamphlet which had been published some years ago, and had become matter of history, and were well known to the king. But though that were the case, was his majesty, the ally—the close ally of the king of the Netherlands—in speaking of the government of that sovereign, to mention what had occurred among his subjects as anything but a revolt against his authority? How could his majesty do

otherwise than treat the convulsion which had taken place in the territory of his close and near ally, but as a revolt against his legal and established government? The noble lord had, no doubt, read in the publications of the day a full history of these transactions. They commenced, it was well known, in nothing but a riot. The troops were eventually overpowered by those who had risen under the pretence of putting down that riot, and for which purpose they had ostensibly armed themselves; though they eventually turned their arms against the royal authority. The complaints of the revolvers against the king of the Netherlands, were, in the first instance, absolutely nothing. Of what did they complain? The first object they found fault with was the union of the two countries, and the existence in the administration of the government of a person named Van Maanen, who, however, was actually out of office at the time when the complaints against him were made. The other complaints were of real or supposed grievances, of a partial nature, and the result of local regulations. In fact, it was very well known (and he appealed to every noble lord who heard him, whether he was not correct in saying it), that no complaint whatever was made against the king of the Netherlands personally, or against his administration of the government, or (with one exception) against those to whom he had confided the functions of official duties, until the revolvers had attained a degree of success, and began to aim at what, in the first instance, they had not contemplated. What, then, he again asked, was his majesty the king of England, in speaking of his ally, to do? Was it for him to enter into their complaints, or would it have been proper in him even to have alluded to the subject? He could not hesitate to say, that such a course would have been, in every respect, unadvisable.

His grace did not stop here. He went further in vindication of the king of the Netherlands. That monarch, he said, on reading the complaints which were made to him, had assembled the states-general, the body in whom was constitutionally invested the right and power to remove the grievances complained of by a portion of his subjects. He proposed, as a question for their consideration, what were termed the greatest grievances—namely, the union between the two parts of the country: he laid before

them the wish of one portion of his subjects to dissolve the union as far as the government of the country was concerned; and first he proposed to them the question of revoking certain laws which were obnoxious to his subjects. Would his majesty the king of England have done justice to his ally, the king of the Netherlands,—did justice from one friendly sovereign to another require that he should not assume that his conduct previous to the revolt had been that of a wise and good sovereign, and that he wished to adopt the most effectual measures to remove the grievances complained of? What his majesty the king of England had said, was merely that he lamented these measures had not produced satisfactory results. The noble lord asked, was it possible that the government of England could be a just and impartial mediator, when it had, in fact, pronounced a sentence against one of the parties? He would say, that even the parties themselves could not, and would not, deny the facts which he had just stated, nor would they dispute the correctness of the interpretation which he put upon his majesty's speech from the throne. The Belgians had, in fact, revolted, and that was what his majesty had said in his speech.

The treaties which connected this country with the Netherlands having been alluded to, the duke of Wellington next passed them in review. He said, the first was the treaty of 1814, by which the provinces called Belgium were conceded and adjudged to be joined to the united provinces of Holland, with a view to form a sovereignty under the government of the king of the Netherlands. In consequence of the treaties of 1814, arrangements were made for the government of the Netherlands under the king of Holland by each of the four powers which had made the treaty with France. This arrangement, it was well known to the noble lord, was recorded in the treaty of the eight articles; as also that the treaty referred to the fundamental laws of the united provinces which were to be made applicable to the whole kingdom. There could be no doubt whatever that the four contracting powers were bound by the treaty in the present case. It made over to the king of the Netherlands the whole of Belgium, who received it according to the arrangement of the treaties by which all parties were to be strictly bound. Could it be contended that anything that had since occurred, or that

anything in the present posture of affairs, could alter the obligation or destroy the power of those treaties? Subsequent to the arrangements of which he had been speaking, the treaties had been made matter of record, and a basis of negotiation in the acts of the congress at Vienna; and, in fact, the articles of the treaty of eight articles was an appendix to the treaty of Vienna, to which the king of France became a contracting party. The treaty had therefore received every possible sanction and ratification, and France had become a party to all the arrangements under it which referred to the kingdom of the Netherlands. Notwithstanding that, it had been said the king of the Netherlands could dissolve the union between the two parts of his kingdom of himself, and without consulting those who made the treaties, or desiring their consent to its dissolution. There could be no doubt whatever that the five powers which had signed the treaty of Vienna, would claim the indisputable right to give their opinion upon the future explanations of the articles. England could not attempt to pacify the parties alone. France could not make the attempt; nor could any other power use an effort to pacify or reconcile existing differences alone: the object must be attempted by all the parties in concert, and that concert, whatever the arrangements were, must include France. That there were difficulties in the way of effecting a pacification, he did not deny; but he hoped to get the better of them. He could assure the house that there was no intention whatever, on the part of his majesty's ministers—that there was not the slightest intention, on the part of any power whatever—to interfere, by means of arms, with the arrangements respecting the Netherlands. The desire of his majesty, and of every other party concerned, was to settle, if possible, every point by negotiation, and by negotiation alone.

On a remark which had been made by the noble earl, that the treaty of peace of 1814 had not tended to secure the tranquillity of Europe, which was its object, but had laid the foundation of future wars, the duke thought it right to say, that unfortunately for the noble earl's assertion, as far as experience had yet proved the efficacy of the treaty, directly the reverse had been the case. Since the treaty of 1814, there had been the longest general peace, he believed, ever known in Europe—a peace of sixteen years, uninterrupted only by the

return of Bonaparte from Elba, in 1815. This would show that by conciliation and management, the country might get over present difficulties as it had got over others; and the course which it was necessary to pursue, was to make the general interests of the different powers of Europe compatible with the good government and welfare of the people.

With respect to the call made for the repeal of the union with Ireland, he said it was objected to by all the landed proprietors of Ireland, by a very great majority of the Roman catholics, and by all the protestants, as well as by the unanimous voice of both houses of parliament. But what, he asked, would have been the ease if the great measure of catholic emancipation had not been carried? The house well knew that a vast majority of the people of every class, in Ireland, had desired to see the catholics restored to all their civil rights. The house well knew that a majority of its members, as well as a great majority of the other house, had been equally desirous of effecting that object: it well knew that the great majority of the young and growing intelligence of the country had ardently wished for the measure; and would any noble lord contend that the government did not now stand on firmer, better ground, even in reference to the union, than it would have stood on, if the catholic question had not been carried? He did not see the advantage of repeating against him the reproach of his having given way upon the question from fear. He denied that he had been influenced, even in the slightest degree, by any such motive. He had given way (if it could be called giving way), solely because the interest of the country required it. It was not his duty, and it was far from his inclination, to throw imputation on any man; but still he was bound in fairness to say, that if the government had been properly supported upon that question—if it had been supported as vehemently as it had been opposed; if in its efforts to heal the divisions in Ireland, it had not been thwarted—that country would now have been in a very different state. To what had been said on the subject of poverty in Ireland, he replied, that no man either in that country or in this, could be more painfully aware than he was of the extreme poverty of the Irish, and of the great inconvenience and danger to the empire resulting from the state of the lower orders; but he insisted

that it was not by coming to that house, and by talking to their lordships of the poverty of the people, that the poor could be relieved, or that the evils resulting from that poverty could be removed. If they wished to tranquillise Ireland, the way was to persuade those who had money to buy estates and settle in the country, and to employ their capital in its improvement. By transferring capital to Ireland, and exciting industry there, they would soon change the state of the case. If persons of estate in the country would reside in it, and spend their incomes there, they would do more to tranquillise it than all the measures which his majesty's ministers could adopt.

He then glanced at the disorders which had occurred in some parts of the country, and remarked, that the particular county in which the greatest outrages had been witnessed, was not that which had been the scene of the greatest distress. He imagined that the outrages were perpetrated by two different classes of people. Some had been committed by a class which was always disposed to break machinery which they thought (and certainly rightly thought) would, in the first instance, throw them out of work, although they did not see, that eventually machinery created an additional demand for labour, and bettered the condition of the labourers. He was sorry to say there was another class of persons who burned and destroyed property without any visible motive whatever. Of the causes of the recent outrages, ministers knew no more than the gentry and magistracy of the country had told them. They were doing everything in their power to help the gentry and magistracy to discover the causes, and they were giving them every assistance they required to put the law in force, and to put down the disturbances as quickly as possible.

The duke concluded with a remarkable declaration on the subject of parliamentary reform. The noble earl, he said, had spoken of the propriety of speedily effecting a parliamentary reform; but he had been candid enough to admit that he was not prepared with any measure of reform, and he (the duke of Wellington) could have no hesitation in saying, that his majesty's ministers were equally unprepared. He added, for himself he had never heard or read of any measure up to that moment which had, in any degree, satisfied his mind that the state of the representation could be improved or rendered more satisfactory to the country

at large than it was at the present moment. He would not, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite a discussion; but he did not hesitate to declare unequivocally what were his sentiments on that subject. He was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and that to a greater degree than they ever had been answered in any country whatever. He would go further and say, that the legislation and the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possessed that confidence; and the discussions in the legislature had a very great influence over the opinions of the country.

Growing warmer as he proceeded, his grace was not satisfied with the almost measureless praise he had bestowed on the parliament, unreformed as it was: he told their lordships more:—"I will go still further," he said, "and declare that if, at the present moment, I had the task imposed on me of forming a legislature for any country (and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions), I do not mean to assert that I could produce such a legislature as we at present possess; for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be to form such a description of legislature as would produce the same results. The representation of the people, at present, contains a large body of the property of the country in which the landed interest has a predominating influence. Under these circumstances, I certainly have not prepared any measure of the description which has been suggested by the noble earl. I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of that nature, but I will at once declare, that so long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to oppose every such measure that may be brought forward by others."

The address was carried without a division; but of the declaration thus volunteered, the duke of Wellington was often reminded with bitterness and reproach. It was seized on by his adversaries as a valuable instrument to further their designs; while, by many of his friends, it was pronounced to be anything but well-timed. The happy results of which he had spoken were not, at that moment, remarkably con-



spicuous. If, in many parts of the country, the distress which had lately prevailed were in a considerable degree abated, enough remained to demand the most serious attention of the duke's government. Malcontents, as usual at a period of general depression, were actively engaged in ascribing all that the sufferers had to deplore to the incapacity—or, worse, to the selfish wickedness—of ministers. Numerous meetings were called, at which resolutions were passed and petitions voted, calling for a revision of the constitution; declaring all the ills which pressed with such severity on the lower classes, to grow on the defective state of the representation of the people in the house of commons. In Kent, alarm-

ing disorders occurred. Incendiary fires were now beginning to be lighted. Machinery, grain, and cattle were frequently consumed in the dismal conflagrations which were almost nightly witnessed. The miserable example was soon followed elsewhere; and the owner of property saw with dismay a systematic organisation formed against his rights, similar to that which had at once impoverished and degraded Ireland. At first detected offenders were treated with lenity; but the threatening aspect of the wide-spreading evil became appalling, and rendered stronger measures necessary, and large rewards were offered for the discovery of the mad or guilty men who were concerned in such desperate proceedings.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

ATTACKS ON THE GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; REFORM CALLED FOR; DISTURBED STATE OF LONDON; MR. ALDERMAN KEY'S LETTER TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE KING AND QUEEN DECLINE VISITING THE CITY ON LORD-MAYOR'S DAY; RIOTOUS PROCEEDINGS.

In the house of commons, on the first night of the session, immediately after the usual sessional orders had been read, Mr. Brougham gave notice that, on that day fortnight, he would bring the great question of reform of the commons house of parliament fully under their consideration. He disavowed altogether certain plans which had been put into circulation, and attributed to him; he intended to bottom his reform on the ancient days of the constitution of the country, as exhibited in the plan of its representative system. His scheme would be one of conciliation, so as to combine all interests and all opinions in favour of restoring the constitution to its original purity: his object was not revolution, but restoration.

An answer to the speech from the throne, in an address, was moved, couched in the usual terms, by lord Grimstone. It was seconded by Mr. R. A. Dundas. Lord Althorp criticised some parts of the speech, and took occasion to set forth the importance of an extensive measure of reform, to satisfy the expectations of the people. A very long amendment was then moved by the marquis of Blandford, condemnatory of the last house of commons, and calling, in

strong language, for a parliamentary reform.

Mr. Hume described the speech to breathe nothing but war and expensive establishments, and taking no notice of the distress which then existed in the country. He spoke in terms of admiration of the French, for the efforts which they had made to recover their rights, of which they had been deprived by a despotic monarch. Twelve hundred millions, he said, had been expended by this country to restore the Bourbons; and in three days, all that had been done, at such a vast expense, had been destroyed. Not a word appeared in the speech about a reduction of taxes. He insisted the constitution ought to be restored to what it was in former days. The speech stated that there were individuals who were endeavouring to disturb the public mind, and that dissatisfaction existed among the people. He denied it. There was, indeed, great dissatisfaction with the ministers, but no disaffection to the king. There was dissatisfaction at the bad conduct of government, but he utterly denied that the country was disaffected. Where was the disaffection in England? He had been

in Scotland, and he could affirm there was none there, although there was much distress. Was there disaffection in Ireland? He might be told there was, but he did not believe such to be the fact. Because his honourable friend the member for Waterford (Mr. O'Connell) had taken some whim into his head, was that any reason why government should exercise unconstitutional power against a single individual? While Ireland was suffering from misrule, as it had long been, his honourable friend was perfectly justified in acting as he did.

The duke of Wellington must have consulted his wishes rather than his experience, when he indulged a hope that granting the prayer of the catholics (of whom Mr. O'Connell had so long been the champion) would pacify Ireland. Agitation was stirred up almost as successfully as ever. The main difference between the present and the former posture of affairs was this,—that some of the English allies of O'Connell had fallen off. They looked in vain for that happy state of things—that peace in Ireland—that increase of strength for England from securing the affections of the sister-kingdom, which had been so unreservedly promised as the fruit of catholic emancipation. They found that they had been duped; that tranquillity was not the object of O'Connell and his friends; and were not willing to expose themselves to be cheated again. This matter was treated very lightly by Mr. Hume. Speaking of the state of the kingdom, he said he considered the proclamations which had been issued by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland were unnecessary acts of oppression, and that to charge the people of Ireland with disaffection, was injurious and insulting to the people of that country.

Few people in England concurred, in this instance, with Mr. Hume. The insult offered to authority, by the barefaced shuffles attempted to render proclamations issued in the name of the sovereign of no avail, and in the eyes of the people ridiculous, was too gross to permit men who were not carried away by party zeal, to regard the measures adopted by the Irish executive, in self-defence and to preserve the public peace, as partaking of the character of oppression. The policy and the views of government were explained by sir Robert Peel. In reference to the late occurrences in France, he said, neither the king of England nor his ministers had approved of those acts, on the part of the

French government, which had led to its overthrow. They were much mistaken who could suppose that he had approved of the ordinances of the French minister; or that he had thought them consistent with good policy, or with the fundamental law of France. That he lamented what had occurred, was quite true. He did lament it; and, for that very reason, he deplored the cause. The English government had not interfered in the appointment of prince Polignac (as had been reported), directly or indirectly. This he had stated before, and he now distinctly repeated it. He said he did not know what there was in the speech that could be said to breathe war; and he explained the position in which this country stood with respect to the Netherlands, as the duke of Wellington had done in the other house. Mr. Hume, he remarked, had treated lightly what was passing in Ireland, and had asked, "Might not the member for Waterford (Mr. O'Connell) have a whim in his head, and indulge it, as well as another man?" That whim, as it had been called, Mr. O'Connell had not wished to hear discussed in parliament. But, for what Mr. Hume called a whim, was the peace of a whole country to be disturbed, at the imminent risk of plunging it into confusion and bloodshed? What was the responsibility which some men took upon themselves? He knew not what that responsibility might legally be, but he knew that, in the sight of God and man, they incurred a responsibility from which the most inhuman obduracy might shrink. It was against the designs of such men that the proclamation of the Irish government was directed. Surely it was not to be required of that government, that they were to be gulled and deceived into the belief that the sole object of the association formed in Ireland was to get up petitions. The Irish government, he conscientiously believed, would have justly incurred blame, by omitting to issue the proclamations which had been published. The right honourable gentleman proceeded with increased animation and earnestness:—"Oh! do not let them play with such subjects as these! Do not let them lightly proceed to inflame the minds of men with the mad project of dissolving the union of this great empire! Was it for this that the blood, and the labour, and the wisdom of ages had been expended upon its consolidation? Having first destroyed the heptarchy; having then united Wales to this country; having

next effected the union with Scotland; and having, at last, consummated the union of the British empire, by bringing Ireland into the family of nations, were they now to begin to retrace their steps—to dissolve the whole into its original component parts? If they began with Ireland, why should they stop there? There were other countries which had made some sacrifices to obtain the same common good; others who were equally and justly proud of the independence which they had lost, but who were sensible of the blessings, of the power, and the greatness, which union had conferred upon the whole. No, sir," he said in conclusion, "Ireland is not to be separated from England. The agitation of a repeal of the union may raise an individual upon a bad eminence, but it will be at the expense of the best blood of the two countries; at the expense of the repose and the tranquillity of one, but of still more lamentable consequences to the other."

Mr. O'Connell described the misery of Ireland to result from absenteeism, the sub-letting act, and the union; and complained of the tyrannical conduct of the Irish government. He was followed by Mr. Brougham, who said he had a right to carp and cavil at the whole speech, which was, in fact, the speech of the prime minister, and not of the king. It, in effect, declared that the principle of non-interference was at an end, and the English government was, in future, to attend to the internal affairs of other countries. Looking at what had been said with respect to the Netherlands and France, it appeared to him that actual interference had already begun; and if ministers were not frightened away, the peace of England—the peace of Europe, was not worth six months' purchase. They might see again the congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle, and a lord Londonderry, and a prince Metternich, attempting to adjust matters with which, of right, they had nothing to do. He spoke of the government as the feeblest that the country had seen, but hoped it would not be thought that, because the present ministry was the weakest that perhaps ever attempted to conduct the government of the country—because they were hardly capable of managing the affairs of the offices over which they presided, and manifestly incapable of managing the houses of parliament—that, unable as they were to direct the bark of the state, even in a calm, they would be the last to call up a tempest. What

he feared was, that they would put themselves in a situation which would render war inevitable. The people of England well knew that the acts of the king of the Netherlands were not wise, were not enlightened. He had marched troops into Brussels pending a negotiation—a negotiation into which he had trepanned his subjects. The people were excited by such an act of perfidy: they indignantly rose, crushed the oppressor, and annihilated his army. The last act of this enlightened monarch—the attack upon Antwerp—might not have been known when the speech was in preparation; but when known, was it not an abuse of language to call the king of the Netherlands an enlightened monarch. There never was, he maintained, a more unnatural union than that which knit, or seemed to knit, Holland and Belgium together. Their religions were different, their languages were different, and their public assemblies speaking different languages. Their commercial interests were different; and the consequence was, no real union could exist between them. He hoped ministers would avoid war. In this country, though there might be some disaffected persons, the great body of the people were sound. He loved a limited monarchy, though he felt no disrespect for a republican form of government. That form might do well in America, but it would not answer here; because the people preferred a limited monarchy—a constitution composed of king, lords, and commons. The people also liked an aristocracy; and in every limited monarchy there must be an aristocracy.

No opposition was given to the address; but Mr. Hume gave notice that on the next day he would state his opinions in such a way that they might appear on the journals of the house. When the report of the address was brought up, the subject-matter of it was again debated. Mr. Brougham did not object to the intended recognition of Dom Miguel, because his was a government *de facto*, but he regretted that the recognition was thought of at the present time, because it seemed like a sarcasm on Louis Philippe, and in effect said, "we have recognised you, and shall therefore recognise Miguel, because we think him as good and legitimate a king as you are."—Sir Robert Peel was sorry that it should be supposed the recognition of Dom Miguel was meant in any way to diminish the grace of the recognition of king Louis Philippe. When the latter was chosen king of France, there was not a moment's

hesitation in establishing diplomatic relations with him; the recognition of Dom Miguel had not yet taken place. Mr. Hume, in accordance with his announcement of the preceding day, proposed two amendments to record his opinions. They expressed regret that no intention of reducing taxes appeared in the speech, and hoped the people would take vengeance on a government who showed so little sympathy for the sufferings of the people. By vengeance (on the expression being noticed by sir Robert Peel) he explained his meaning to be, that he hoped they would turn ministers out of their places. The amendments were rejected.

In London the voice of discontent was loud, and unmeasured abuse was levelled against those at the head of affairs. The 9th of November was now fast approaching; and at the commencement of a new reign the citizens of London expected, in conformity with long-established usage, to be honoured with the presence of the sovereign at the grand festival which annually celebrates the inauguration of their chief magistrate. William IV. and his queen had graciously consented to attend at Guildhall on lord-mayor's day, and great preparations were made to receive the royal guests. Seventy years had passed since a king of England and his consort had met the citizens of London in their Guildhall; and expectation was on tip-toe, when, on the evening of the 7th of November, a letter was received from sir Robert Peel, stating that the king, by the advice of his ministers, had resolved to defer his visit till a future opportunity. The reason given for this was, that "information had been received which gave cause to apprehend that notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and attachment borne to the sovereign by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of the nocturnal assemblage of multitudes to create tumult and confusion, and it would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their majesties if any calamity were to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city." In consequence of this, great disappointment was experienced, not only by those who were to be present at the banquet, but by thousands who had calculated on witnessing the gorgeous pageantry of the day. What was more to be regretted was, it not only disturbed the intended revellers and the sight-seers, but sober-minded men were startled, to learn that the ministers did not think it safe for the king of England to appear in his capital. There certainly had

been remarked, of late, an active disposition to do mischief, and the duke of Wellington, and the newly-established police were pursued by the inflamed multitude with virulent hostility. Hand-bills of a dangerous character had been circulated; and two members of the common council acknowledged that they had warned his grace danger might attend his appearance in the city. Mr. Alderman Key, the lord-mayor elect, had apprised the duke that an attack upon his person was in contemplation. The intelligence was communicated in the following letter:—

"My Lord Duke,—From the situation of lord-mayor, to which I have been elected, numberless communications are made to me, both personally and by letter, in reference to the 9th; and it is on that account that I take the liberty of addressing your grace. Although the feelings of the respectable citizens of London are decidedly loyal, yet it cannot but be known there are, both in London as well as the country, a set of desperate and abandoned characters, who are anxious to avail themselves of any circumstance to create tumult and confusion. While all, of any respectability, in the city, are vying with each other to testify their loyalty on the occasion, from what I learn, it is the intention of some of the desperate characters above alluded to, to take the opportunity of making an attack on your grace's person, on your approach to the hall. Every exertion on my part shall be used to make the best possible arrangement in the city; but at the same time I feel, that should any violent attack be made in one quarter, the civil force alone would not be sufficiently effectual: and I should not be doing my duty, after what I have heard, did I not take the liberty of suggesting to your grace the propriety of coming strongly and sufficiently guarded. I probably may be considered giving you needless trouble; but the respect which I, as well as every person who really wishes the welfare of the country, must have for your grace, and the gratitude we owe you, has induced me to adopt this course.

"(Signed)

JOHN KEY,

"Lord-mayor elect."

This communication was made on the 7th of November; and on the same day an answer was returned by the secretary of state. A letter of more apparently awful import than that of the lord-mayor elect, had, perhaps, never been addressed to a high public character on public matters,

since the communication made to lord Monteaigle, which caused the discovery of what was called the gunpowder-plot. It was corroborated, to some extent, by information received from other quarters. The letter of Mr. Key was sent on Saturday, and the civic festival was to take place on Tuesday. It was felt that no time ought to be lost, and there was little opportunity for inquiry. Under these circumstances the resolution was soon taken on the part of the government, and it was determined that their majesties should be advised not to be present at the Guildhall banquet. A letter, announcing this their decision, was received in the city at nine o'clock that evening, which ran thus:—

“Whitehall, November 7th, 1830.

“My Lord,—I am commanded by the king to inform your lordship that his majesty's confidential servants have felt it to be their duty to advise the king to postpone the visit which their majesties intended to pay to the city of London on Tuesday next. From information which has been recently received, there is reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night, to create tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the property and the lives of his majesty's subjects. It would be a source of a deep and a lasting concern to their majesties, were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city of London; and their majesties have therefore resolved, though not without the greatest reluctance and regret, to forego, for the present, the satisfaction which their visit would have afforded to their majesties.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ROBERT PEEL.”

When it transpired that such a letter had been received, and that their majesties would not attend the celebration of lord-mayor's day, it caused great alarm in some quarters, and infinite disappointment in others. The storm raised in the city led Mr. Alderman Key to suspect that he had gone too far, writing as he had done to the duke of Wellington. He regretted the step he had taken, and tried to recall or counteract it, but in vain. On the following day a deputation from the committee of the feast waited three times on the ministers, to offer

explanations in reference to what had been reported; but nothing they could state affected the duke's determination. He insisted that the banquet must be postponed, or a large military force brought into the city. It is impossible to say what might have been witnessed, had William IV. and his consort acted on their previous resolution; but the consequences of their *not* doing so, were serious. A cry was raised that a formidable conspiracy against the sovereign had been discovered, and the preparations made to repress any insurrectionary movement were of themselves sufficient to justify apprehension. Troops and artillery moved in various directions through the city, or in its vicinity; the tower-ditch was filled with water; huge timbers were mounted on its walls, through the small space beneath which and the brick coping, musketry could be used against assailants without exposing the soldiers to the missiles of the rioters. Extra guards were placed at the bank, and at the magazine in Hyde-park, and a powerful military force was ready to act at a moment's notice. Great sensibility was shown at the stock-exchange: the funds fell nearly three per cent. in an hour and-a-half; and trade was almost wholly at a stand.

Many believed that a revolution was at hand. On Monday, the new lord-mayor announced the postponement of his own procession, and the banquet which, according to ancient custom, follows it. This might be a very prudent measure, but it did not abate the alarm which prevailed. It was reported that a regular plan had been organised of the most formidable character. The conspirators were to allow the procession to pass without interruption to Guildhall; but, in the evening Temple-bar was to be closed, the bridge barricaded, and the gas-lamps cut off. During the confusion which must ensue, and the darkness which would prevail, the houses of the wealthiest citizens were to be plundered.

While some regarded this as a subject of solemn meditation, others treated the whole affair with levity. On the Monday several of the members of the common council presented a requisition to the *locum tenens* of the lord-mayor, requesting him immediately to convene a court of common council, for the purpose of considering the communication received from sir Robert Peel relative to the postponement of their majesties' visit to the city. After some demur, this, inconsidera-

tion of the emergency, was assented to; and in the court held in consequence, the lord-mayor's *locum tenens*, sir Claudius Stephen Hunter, presided. The lord-mayor elect addressed the court, and said no one more deeply lamented the unfortunate result than he did. He however added, he had received letters from various quarters, on the subject of their majesties' intended visit, some of which stated that his majesty would be received with the most ardent expressions of loyalty, but that it would be far otherwise with the duke of Wellington. He had received other communications, stating that it was the intention of a set of desperate and abandoned characters to attack the duke, and upon such a foundation was his communication to the duke built. He had previously, in a communication with sir Robert Peel upon the subject, heard the secretary say, "What are we to do with the duke of Wellington?" The lord-mayor elect added, that his letter had been hastily sent to his grace, and he should never cease to regret that he had acted so erroneously.

The general opinion was, that there had not existed any necessity for taking the serious step on which Mr. Alderman Key had ventured. A resolution was submitted for appointing a committee to prepare a declaratory resolution, expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and condemnatory of the conduct of the lord-mayor elect. On that an amendment was moved to frame a declaratory resolution expressive of the loyalty of the citizens, and their regret that circumstances should have occurred to deprive the city of the gratification of the royal visit; which was carried.

Some inquiry into the circumstances of the case was entered upon in the court of aldermen, but no resolution of censure was passed. It was, however, maintained by the most active members of the court, that the lord-mayor had been too precipitate, as they were convinced the civil power, strengthened as it had been for the occasion, would have proved equal to the task of preserving the public peace; and that the king and queen might have proceeded to Guildhall in safety. A declaration to this effect was adopted. Mean-

while serious disturbances were witnessed in the streets of London. A meeting was held, on Monday night, in a building called the Rotunda, on the Surrey side of Blackfriars-bridge, at which Mr. Henry Hunt, a well-known public character, presided. When it broke up a tri-coloured flag was displayed, and a cry was raised of "Now for the west-end." A multitude of rioters passed over Blackfriars-bridge, shouting, "Reform!" "Down with Peel, and down with Wellington!" The mob passed through Fleet-street and the Strand to Downing-street. Thence, after some delay, they were expelled by a body of the police. Several of the disturbers were roughly handled, and three of their number were taken into custody. These disorders were renewed on the following day; and, in the course of the evening, an attack was made on Apsley-house, the residence of the duke of Wellington. Riots of a serious character broke out in other parts of the metropolis; but plunder seemed the object, and they were speedily quelled by the civil power.

If the duke of Wellington had a great dread of the horrors of civil war, he had as great a dread of the consequences of leaving rioters to proceed unchecked; he, in fact, regarded the one as leading directly to the other. Every preparation was therefore made to put down the violence of an insurrectionary mob with a strong hand. The formidable means which were ready to quell riot were happily not required to be brought into action; the awe which they inspired at first, soon subsided, and they were pursued with mirthful ridicule. In many ways a disposition to treat that which had lately been a source of grave apprehension with mockery and derision, was ostentatiously displayed. At the theatre especially this humour found expression. Colley Cibber's version of Richard III. was frequently performed; and as it was understood the lord-mayor of London had stated a plot to have existed for firing the city, the moment the chief magistrate appeared in the play, it became the constant practice of a large portion of the spectators to shout, "Fire, fire!" till the actor who sustained that character left the stage.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE GROUNDS ON WHICH MINISTERS ADVISED THE KING NOT TO VISIT THE CITY, EXPLAINED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; ALARMING CIRCUMSTANCES STATED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ELSEWHERE a like readiness to treat the alarm of ministers as extravagant and preposterous, was found to exist; but it was accompanied by more serious condemnation. In parliament, they were exposed to many taunts for the advice they had given their sovereign. The duke of Richmond, in a conversation which arose on the 8th of November, held their alarm to have been unfounded, as he was satisfied the king reigned in the hearts of his people, and that unattended by his guards he might have traversed every street in his capital.

The duke of Wellington then rose to explain what his views had been. He shared the conviction of the noble duke who had spoken, as to the good feeling of the people towards the king. "His majesty," his grace said, "is a sovereign whose public and private conduct most unquestionably deserve the popularity which he has obtained. The letter, however, which was written last night, by command of his majesty, to the lord-mayor elect, was not in any manner connected with that popularity; for his majesty had never the slightest doubt of the attachment and loyalty of all the respectable citizens and inhabitants of the metropolis." The duke then read the letter of the lord-mayor elect; after which he proceeded:—"From that letter, though I felt myself to be placed personally under the same protection of the laws as any other subject, I did not think that I was justified in placing myself in a situation which might be the cause of confusion and tumult in the procession which was to attend his majesty, by adopting the advice of the writer of the letter, and seeking protection from the civil and military power, in such a way as would be likely to produce the very disturbance which all well-disposed men were so anxious to avoid. Under these circumstances, when I received the letter I have read, I felt it my duty to refrain from attending the city feast. My lords, I communicated that determination to my colleagues, and we concluded from the letter of the lord-mayor elect, from other letters which I had received, and from letters received by my right honourable friend, the

secretary of state, on the same subject, that it was very possible that a tumult would occur in the city on the occasion of his majesty's visit; and we thought it our duty to advise his majesty to postpone his visit. We were induced to come to that determination in consequence of the information we received of various descriptions. We had no doubt whatever, looking at the information conveyed to us from different quarters—information on which we could rely—that an attack would be made on the police, that there was a plan laid to extinguish the lights, and that a variety of attempts would be made to excite riot and disorder. My lords, we had no doubt that we should know how to suppress those tumults; but I must say, that I considered it far preferable not to hazard the risk of riot and confusion occurring in the presence of the sovereign; and we, therefore, recommended the sovereign not to put himself in a situation to be a witness of such tumult. My lords, it was solely in that view that we recommended his majesty to postpone his visit, as I conceive it impossible that such confusion and tumult should exist without ending in bloodshed. The people, my lords, would be collected together to witness a pageant—the pageant of his majesty going in state to visit the corporation of the city of London, and conferring on the lord-mayor the honour of dining with him. His majesty's ministers, the great officers of state, and the foreign ambassadors, could not go to the city of London without causing a great collection of people, and making it very probable that riot and confusion would take place. I say, my lords, that there was a chance, and a very great chance, that there would arise serious consequences to his majesty's subjects, and therefore we recommended his majesty not to go. The noble duke has asked if the news of disorder and tumult were confined to the city of London, and if there were not apprehensions of riot in other places. There were not. It was sufficient for me to know that there were such apprehensions in the city of London. With some parts of the country noble lords are likely to be much better acquainted

than I am. The noble duke must know more than I do as to the dispositions of the people of Sussex. In Surrey, and one or two other counties, it is known to your lordships there have been some disorders; there have been some stoppage of works in Lancashire; but I know nothing beyond these to disturb the national tranquillity at the present moment. At the same time I cannot doubt the truth of the information communicated by the lord-mayor elect—namely, that there would have been confusion and tumult in the city if the pageant had taken place. After having said so much, I shall only add, that I shall have no objection whatever to produce the document asked for by the noble marquis [a document relative to the connexion between Belgium and England]; and I can assure your lordships, that there is no inclination in the government of this country, or any other government that I am acquainted with, to do anything which is likely to disturb the peace of Europe.”

The earl of Shrewsbury considered that the times were full of danger. From what had been stated by the noble duke, the present was not a period when the feelings of the people could safely be trifled with, or the government, which ought to be administered for the benefit of all, administered for the benefit of a few.—The marquis of Clanricarde said, he had heard the explanation of the noble duke with the greatest horror. His grace had said he had waited with the greatest impatience for an opportunity to justify himself, and he hoped that he would have done away with the panic he had caused—the terror which he had inspired, and restore the property which confidence in him had destroyed. He had advised his majesty not to trust himself among his subjects. He had thrown a slur on the city of London; he had thrown a slur on the nation; and he had thrown a slur on the good name of his majesty. These were the consequences of his conduct.

The noble marquis proceeded to argue that because it was rumoured an attack might be made on the noble duke, that was no reason why the king should not go to the city. The duke of Wellington, his lordship said, had caused a loss of property to a considerable amount. The funds had fallen three per cent. that day, which had caused a serious loss to some persons; and if the noble duke was determined to retain power at all hazards, he did not believe that

the fundholders would ever recover their losses. What, he would ask, was the excuse for all this? Because the noble duke was unpopular. Was that news first known on Saturday? Was there a man among their lordships who did not know that before? Had not the noble duke had painful evidence of that for some time? The pageant, it was said, would create a great crowd; but what would be said if it did not? If it were only an ordinary dinner; if no shops were shut; if the people were not to assemble to do honour to their sovereign; if there were no crowd; would not that be a slight to their sovereign? But how was it that all these hazards were not known before? Was it that the noble duke had no information concerning the state of the people; and was he now, as he was last session, completely ignorant of all the circumstances which caused excitement in the country? After all, he had heard of nothing that should deter his majesty from going to the city, except the rumoured attempt on the noble duke. That was a good reason for the noble duke not going to the city of London. Against such an attack no man would more seriously contend than he would;—honouring the duke as he did as a military man, though as a minister he should always oppose him. To the government and the country his conduct was equally detrimental. There was, perhaps, no person who would not suffer in some degree from the alarm sounded by the noble duke. The news would be spread to distant parts that something serious had happened. It was known that a large military force had been drawn round London, and with that knowledge the communication made to the city of London would have gone forth to the country without one word of explanation. It would be sent through the whole kingdom that his majesty dared not trust himself in the city of London. He concluded by remarking, that the conduct of the noble duke must lower the administration in the eyes of the country, and show that in minute matters of detail, as well as in the more comprehensive duties of government, his majesty's present ministers wanted capacity to administer the affairs of the country.

Earl Grey, dissenting from the general policy of ministers, said no existing treaty bound England to interfere with the affairs of the Netherlands. He approved of the last French revolution, because he thought it was



necessary in consequence of the fatal attempt of the government to interfere with the liberties of the people. At a moment when the country had to contend with difficulties abroad, it was not well that accounts of public dangers at home should be unnecessarily circulated. There was said to have been no danger for the sovereign, but there was some danger of an attack on the noble duke. His lordship went on to say: "I abhor all such attacks; and were I the political enemy of the noble duke (which I am not), I should readily place myself in any situation in which my services could defend the noble duke from any such attacks; which I consider un-English in their character, as they are unmanly and ungenerous. I deprecate all such attacks; and I see with regret any such feelings arise among his majesty's subjects. From the threats against the noble duke, I think he took a wise step in resolving to absent himself from the ceremony." He, however, added, that as the danger to the duke was the prominent feature of the communication received from the lord-mayor elect, there was no proof of disaffection which ought to have deterred the sovereign from visiting the city. He thought the advice which had been given to his majesty was not justified—was not authorised by sound judgment.

The remarks of his lordship called upon the duke of Wellington to explain. Other letters, he told their lordships, besides the communication from the lord-mayor elect, had been received on the subject. They would recollect, that the lord-mayor had stated, in his letter, that he could not depend on the civil power for preserving peace, though all proper measures had been adopted for that purpose. The information which had reached him from various quarters, satisfied his mind that it was intended to make an attack on the police. He had been asked, if his majesty could not proceed to every part of the town alone, without danger of being attacked? His majesty certainly could; but, in this case, the king was not to proceed to the city alone. There was to be a procession, which required that the streets should be kept clear for fourteen or sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. A great number of persons would be collected on one spot; and if an attack were made on the police, it would be necessary, for the safety of their lives, to call for the interference of the military. Was it fit, then, he

would ask, if, when his majesty went to visit the lord-mayor, that there should be a battle in the streets among those who attended to witness a pageant? He had letters in his pocket, and a handbill, calling on the seamen (to the number of three or four thousand) to collect and present a petition to his majesty. He had received various intimations, from persons in different situations, all representing that a disturbance was to be expected. These were sufficient to make the government hesitate, before they received the communication from the lord-mayor elect. Further he would state, that the gentleman who was then lord-mayor, and about to go out of office, had told him the day before, that it would be absolutely necessary that the escort of honour which accompanied his majesty, should remain in the neighbourhood of Guildhall or the Mansion-house.

The statement of this important fact made a deep impression on the house; and his grace then emphatically added: "When the consequences which might have resulted to the city of London are contemplated—when it is seen that bloodshed was likely to ensue—when it is remembered (which is an important feature in the case), that these people would be brought together by his majesty's ministers and the corporation of London—was it to be borne that they should, by perseverance in their original design, be the cause of riot, disorder, and loss of life? I therefore must say, that I was never more satisfied that I had done my duty, than when I had given advice to his majesty not to go to the city." His grace added—he was not alarmed for the danger that might await his majesty; and for himself, any danger to which he might be exposed, was nothing to the possible consequences to the people.

This explanation was declared, by the earl of Radnor, to be not more satisfactory than the former speech of the duke's. He was astonished that four thousand special constables, who were ready to be sworn in, were considered insufficient to preserve the peace. He could not help thinking that, if ministers advised the king not to visit the city, on no other information than that which had now been brought forward, the proceeding looked very like a betrayal of their trust.

What had been said of the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, was controverted by the marquess of Bute. That his unpopu-

larity had gone, to a great extent, the marquis could scarcely believe, as it was not very long since he heard the contrary with his own ears. "Who could be more popular," he asked, "than he was a few months back, when there was a review of the troops in Hyde-park? His advice to his majesty was not to do that which would be attended with the imminent risk of shedding the blood of his subjects; and in doing so, he showed a proper sense of duty."

The speech of the noble marquis closed the conversation; the motion, which was for a copy of the protocol of 1814, relative to the union of Holland and Belgium, being carried.

The postponement of the visit of their majesties was noticed in the house of commons. Lord Althorp brought the subject forward, and desired to be informed on what grounds the king had been advised not to visit the city? Sir Robert Peel replied, by stating the circumstances under which it had been resolved that such advice should be given. His explanation was, in substance, the same as that offered by the duke of Wellington. He read the letter of the lord-mayor elect, and commented with severity on a sarcastic cheer which it called forth. There was in the letter, he said, an intimation from the lord-mayor elect of London to the duke of Wellington, that there was no security for his grace, unless he came provided with a large military guard. "Would it be fitting, I ask," sir Robert Peel said, "for his grace, after all the services he has rendered to his country, to be seen going to Guildhall, accompanied by a guard of soldiers? Is that a salutary state of things, in which it is announced that a minister of the king cannot go to meet his sovereign at Guildhall without being exposed—I do not say to the usual symptoms of popular obloquy, but to the risk of an attack upon his person?"

The house was then told by the right honourable baronet, that the letter of the lord-mayor elect was not the only communication which had been received to that effect. Intimation had reached his office that an attack was to be made on his grace's house in the course of the night, when the police were at a distance, under the pretence of calling for lights to illuminate. "I say," he proceeded, "that such an attack must be accompanied by riot, and that the attempt to suppress such a riot by force, when the streets were filled with women

and children, must be accompanied by circumstances which every one must lament. That, however," sir Robert continued, "is only one of the causes which I have for believing in the possibility of such an attempt at riot taking place. Every one is aware that there existed in the public mind considerable excitement against those authorities which have been appointed, under the sanction of the house, to maintain the public peace,—I allude of course to the body which is known by the name of the new police." To maintain order in the civic procession, had it taken place, it would have been necessary to draw together all the civil power which the new metropolitan police places at the disposal of the magistrates, it being desirable to resort to all civil means, in preference to military means, for the preservation of the public peace. He showed that it would have been difficult to effect this, and at the same time afford due protection to property in all parts of the city; and he then added: "I am now sorry to be obliged to inform the house, that in the course of Saturday and Sunday last, the most industrious attempts were made, in various quarters, to inflame the public mind against the new police. Thousands of printed handbills were circulated, some of which I will read, for the purpose of showing the means employed to inflame the people against that portion of the civil force which is entrusted with the preservation of the public tranquillity. These are not written papers drawn up by illiterate persons, and casually dropped in the streets, but printed placards, not ill-adapted for the mischievous purposes which they are intended to answer. One of them is in these terms: 'To arms!—to arms!—liberty or death! London meets on Tuesday next—an opportunity not to be lost for revenging the wrongs we have suffered so long: come ARMED; be firm, and victory must be ours!' Another of them is couched in the following terms: 'Liberty or death! Englishmen! Britons! and honest men!!! The time has at length arrived; all London meet on Tuesday—come armed. We assure you, from ocular demonstration, that six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang—remember the cursed speech from the throne!! These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?' Now," sir Robert Peel said, "after hearing the inflammatory language of these handbills, I leave the

house to consider how great the likelihood is, that after the police had returned to their ordinary duties in their respective parts of the town, a desperate attack would be made upon them. If it were made, it would of course be resisted by the civil force; if the civil force were not sufficient to repel it, the military would be called in; and then, on that night of general festivity and rejoicing, in the midst of crowds of unsuspecting women and children, there might be resistance, and if resistance, bloodshed occasioned by the necessity of supporting the civil authority." He added, assaults had recently been made on the police. The last public procession was on the 2nd of November (the day on which his majesty opened the session of parliament), and in the course of the night which followed, the police having attempted to apprehend certain persons discovered in the commission of crime, were violently attacked by numbers of the lower classes, and the individual who aided the police, by giving them permission to deposit prisoners in his house and shelter themselves under its protection, had his residence attacked, and most of his windows broken. The next morning there came before the magistrates of the different police-offices in the metropolis, no fewer than sixty-six cases of assaults committed in the course of the night; forty-two of which were ordered to find bail to appear at the sessions, and nineteen were fined or imprisoned in default of payment. Such being the case, he contended ministers could not view, without apprehension, the consequences which were likely to ensue to the police after they had withdrawn to their respective districts. If unprovoked attacks were made upon them (and he had decided proofs that such attacks would be made), was there not danger that in exerting the energy of self-defence, a few desperate characters might, in spite of the great loyalty of the mass of the population of London, have produced consequences highly injurious to the public tranquillity? He, therefore, maintained that with a full knowledge of all the circumstances, the disappointment created by not holding the festival, was a very subordinate consideration indeed, when placed in the balance against endangering the public peace.

The circumstances connected with the postponement of the city festival, appeared to Mr. Brougham such as to justify a severe attack on the government and on the duke of Wellington. The learned gentleman in-

stituted a comparison between the popularity of the king, and the disapprobation evinced for his ministers. That such was the case he regretted, on account of the mischief which it was calculated to produce in the mercantile world; and he regretted it on account of its apparent connexion with that speech from the throne which had been followed up by a more fatal declaration (he alluded to what had been stated by the duke of Wellington) against every species of reform, "a declaration," said the learned gentleman, "to which, in my conscience, I believe the noble duke owes nine-tenths of his present unpopularity." He emphatically continued: "I wish I had not lived to see the day when the brilliant and imperishable renown of his grace, as a general and a conqueror, was associated with a deviation from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics, and an attempt to shine as a statesman. I wish I had not lived to see the day when the forgetfulness of the people of the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier of his own sphere of greatness, has shown to Europe and to the world, that he cannot accompany his majesty in a progress into his capital, and into the hearts of an attached and loyal population."

While sir Robert Peel was speaking on the subject of the meditated attack on the person of the duke of Wellington, a sarcastic cheer was heard, on which the right honourable baronet offered some sharp remarks. Colonel Davies, from whom the cheer had proceeded, rose to vindicate himself, that it might not be supposed he could approve of any attack which a ruffianly rabble might make on the duke of Wellington. He viewed with as much indignation as a man could feel, the infamous attacks made on his grace. What called forth the cheer which had been noticed was the astonishment he felt, that after such an alarming letter as that which had been published—a letter, containing a declaration which he conceived could only be justified by the discovery of some wide-spreading conspiracy against the throne—it should turn out that the main, and indeed the only reason why the city was disappointed of a visit from its sovereign, was the unpopularity of the prime minister. Was it, he asked, the intention of the duke of Wellington, now that he found he could not raise his own popularity to the same height with that of his majesty, to bring down his majesty's popularity to the level of his own

unpopularity? The right honourable secretary had, in his opinion, made out no sufficient case to justify the postponement of his majesty's visit to the city.

Sir Robert Peel rose again. He wished to refrain from replying to the sarcasms which had fallen from Mr. Brougham, as his object was to co-operate with that learned gentleman in his endeavour to calm the public mind. He now meant to state, in the most positive terms, that the learned gentleman had put a correct construction on his language. "I believe," he said, "that the king and queen might safely go to Guildhall to-morrow, without any inconvenience, save that arising from the exuberant loyalty of the people. I believe that, from one end of the procession to the other, there would have been nothing but one universal demonstration of loyalty and affection to their majesties. I believe that every man possessed of property in the metropolis, would have been ready to expose himself to any danger for its protection, and for the preservation of the public peace. I know that among those who had confederated for that purpose were fourteen or fifteen hundred persons connected with the first houses in London. I declare my sincere conviction to be, that never was there an occasion on which greater attachment to the king, and a stronger disposition to maintain the public peace, were displayed." Having made this declaration, the right honourable gentleman showed that, notwithstanding the popularity of the king, designing persons there were reasons for believing, would have found an opportunity for plundering the suburbs or places, which, had their majesties visited the city, must have been left exposed to their violence.

The matter was not allowed to rest here. Mr. Alderman Waithman censured the course which had been pursued by the lord-mayor elect. He would not trust himself to express the indignation he felt at such conduct, as he was satisfied that there was no cause for fear that the citizens of London were not able and willing to prevent any breach of the peace. His majesty, he was sure, might have visited the city, and heard no other sound than the boisterous merriment of a delighted people.

Another member of the court of aldermen, Mr. Thompson, confirmed this view of the case; but he admitted that the government had been placed in a very delicate and embarrassing situation; and he therefore could

not concur with those who threw a stigma on ministers for the advice they had given to his majesty. He was anxious to rescue the city magistrates from the imputation of timidity; and he read a resolution, which had been come to that day in the court of aldermen, in which they unequivocally disavowed the knowledge of any communication made to the government, setting forth the inability of the magistracy to preserve the peace of the metropolis on the lord-mayor's day (which they were bound and ready with their lives to maintain on all occasions), and was quite satisfied of the efficiency of the police, and that the steps which had been taken to increase the civil force, were commensurate with the importance of the occasion. To this it was replied by sir Robert Peel, that on Saturday two aldermen had come to him, as from the city authorities, one of whom was the lord-mayor elect, and the other a gentleman who said he was deputed by the late lord-mayor, who told him that the civil power of the city would not be sufficient to preserve the public peace. He added, considering the heavy responsibility which rested on him, he wished the magistracy of the city of London would be good enough to depute proper persons to make communications to the government.

The conversation was further continued; and, in the course of it, a letter was read, which had been sent to a respectable tradesman, and which ran thus:—"Sir, if you let or illuminate any part of your house on the 9th, your life will be in peril. There is at present too many Englishmen starving, to let money be spent so. (Signed) SWING." This caused laughter in the house; but the member who had produced the letter said it had not been laughed at by the tradesman who received it. Mr. Hume lamented the situation in which the metropolis had been plunged, in consequence of the unpopularity of the duke of Wellington, and trusted the house of commons would feel it was their duty immediately to lay an address before his majesty, soliciting him to dismiss the noble duke and his colleagues from his councils.—Sir James Graham considered the unpopularity of the duke and his colleagues arose from the declarations recently made against reform by his grace and by sir Robert Peel. He (sir James Graham) would say, upon that point, in reference to which the duke had said he would concede nothing, that his grace was directly at issue with the people of England; and when he said "the people of

England," he did not mean merely the lower orders, but the middle classes of society, in conformity with whose sentiments the government must be conducted, or it could not stand.

On the subject of the personal attacks which had been made on the duke of Wellington, Mr. Denman participated in the sentiments of disgust which had been expressed. His extraordinary services ought to shield him against personal attacks on account of political opinions. He thought the government ought not to have advised the king to postpone his visit to the city, till they had better ascertained the grounds on which the aldermen who had waited on sir Robert Peel formed their opinion. The late disgraceful attacks upon his grace had been instigated by persons whose interest it was to create a tumult, and who consisted principally of the same class who assaulted the new police (and which, unfortunately, amounted to many thousands) in all great

towns—namely, pickpockets, and vagabonds of that description.

Ever since the trial of queen Caroline, Mr. Denman had enjoyed a large share of popularity. Sir Robert Peel did not let slip the opportunity which now offered of fixing attention on the praises of the duke, and the contemptuous condemnation of his assailants, issuing from such a quarter. He told the house he never could forget the honourable and candid conduct of the learned gentleman, which, however, did not surprise him, knowing as he did his high and honourable character. He was grateful, but not astonished, at hearing the sentiments which the learned gentleman expressed respecting the attacks upon the duke of Wellington, as well as the brutal attacks made upon humbler but very useful individuals. Those sentiments might draw down upon him some unpopularity, but they were the sentiments of all respectable and good citizens in the state.

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#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE CAUSES OF THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE ROYAL VISIT TO THE CITY ARE CALLED FOR IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS; IT IS JUSTIFIED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON; THE NEW CIVIL-LIST IS BROUGHT FORWARD IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; REGENCY QUESTION; MOTION TO REFER THE CIVIL-LIST TO A COMMITTEE; MINISTERS ARE LEFT IN A MINORITY; THEY RESIGN OFFICE; A NEW ADMINISTRATION IS FORMED.

THE business thus dealt with in the house of commons was, two days afterwards, again brought forward in the upper house, when the earl of Radnor begged to ask the noble duke whether he possessed any information respecting it other than that which had been already communicated to them; and whether, such being the case, it was now intended to lay before their lordships the additional information; and he desired to know if ministers had sent the letter written to the lord-mayor, without having previously consulted the king on the propriety of the course they had adopted.

To this the duke of Wellington replied, the noble earl having put to him three questions, he would take the liberty of answering the last first. He would state that his majesty was apprised of the course ministers deemed it advisable to pursue, before the letter which had been mentioned

was written to the lord-mayor. This he had distinctly stated on a former occasion; and he, for one, certainly would not have consented to such a letter being sent, without his majesty's permission being first obtained. The noble earl asked whether his majesty's ministers relied on the lord-mayor's letter as the principal reason for recommending his majesty not to go to the dinner, or whether they had received other information to the like effect? He had mentioned, on a former evening, that he had for many days before that on which the lord-mayor's letter was written, received a number of communications—some anonymous and some with signatures—conveying information of an intended disturbance; but he certainly had not paid much attention to them till he received the letter of the lord-mayor elect. That reached him on Saturday, and he then felt it his duty to

send for his right honourable friend, the secretary of the home department, who considered it was of sufficient importance to require his immediately entering into a communication with the lord-mayor on the subject of its contents; and on the following day, his majesty's ministers came to the determination to advise their sovereign not to attend the dinner. On the evening of the 8th, when the debate took place in that house, he had received still further information on the same subject; and he stated that he had so received it while explaining the course pursued by the government. He was asked if ministers proposed to lay such information before the house? He must beg to decline laying information of that kind before their lordships. If parliament had disapproved of the course pursued by the government, that would have been quite another thing; but the two houses had not thought proper to censure the government, and therefore he did not think it incumbent on him to present the information referred to by the noble earl. Some observations had been made as to an inquiry whether the lord-mayor's letter was a genuine one. It was perfectly true that the gentleman deputed to carry the letter from the secretary of state to the lord-mayor, was directed to make the inquiry; because the circumstances were so extraordinary, that the right honourable gentleman, though he had had several communications with the lord-mayor on the subject before, did feel that in a case of so much importance, it was necessary to avoid all possibility of imposition. It had been said, what need could there be for military assistance in a city where there were four thousand constables? Why, did not the noble earl see that the city had been in a state of uproar and confusion through the night, notwithstanding it possessed four thousand constables. In speaking of bloodshed, the use he meant to make of that word was, that if there were riot and confusion in the city, it would become necessary to re-establish the public peace, in order that his majesty might pass in safety to his palace; and, to accomplish such a purpose, he feared blood might be shed. On all these considerations he felt that ministers were perfectly justified in recommending his majesty to abstain from incurring the hazard of witnessing such a contest. He thought they were entitled to as much approbation for sending the letters which the

noble earl condemned, as for any other determination ever adopted in the course of their administration, and he rejoiced that he had been one of those who recommended his majesty to avoid the danger which his visit to the city might have produced.

This speech was listened to with eager attention. It had not the effect of preventing some additional sarcasms being launched against the duke and his colleagues. Their lordships were told the house ought not to take the bare word of his grace; that further and better information ought to be obtained than had as yet been produced; but no motion was made on the subject.

Petitions continued to be poured into parliament, complaining of distress and of the heavy pressure of taxation on the industrious classes. Discontent was abroad, and the call for a reform in parliament became louder than ever.

The house of commons went into committee on the 12th of November, to consider of the settlement of the civil list for the new reign. In opening the business, the chancellor of the exchequer dwelt on the attachment of the people of England to monarchy, and their anxiety to promote the comfort and dignity of the sovereign. He proposed, for the purposes of the new civil-list, a grant of nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, being less, by eighty-five thousand pounds, than the provision made for the late king. This, however, was far from being the amount of the whole saving which would be made. First, there was thirty-eight thousand five hundred pounds, which had been paid to his majesty when he was duke of Clarence, and there was a saving of fifteen thousand pounds upon civil contingencies, giving together an immediate saving to the state, upon the civil-list, of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds. Other reductions, in prospect, promised a total saving of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds.

This arrangement was not approved by lord Althorp, and it was protested against by Mr. Hume as that which the country would receive with disappointment, if not with indignation. It was ably defended by sir Robert Peel. Notice was given by sir Henry Parnell, of a motion to refer the whole subject to a select committee—a course which met with the approbation of Mr. Brougham. The chairman reported progress, and the committee was ordered to sit again on the 15th.

The importance of providing for a regency,

in case of the demise of the crown (though postponed from the last session, that it might receive due consideration), was so obvious, that little time was lost in bringing it forward in this. The lord chancellor, on the 12th of November, submitted a bill to the consideration of the lords, prepared in conformity with the recommendation in his majesty's speech at the opening of the session. In the bill now introduced, his lordship said, ministers had not thought it necessary to provide for every possible contingency that might occur. Having considered what were the various exigencies likely to arise, and the means which would exist for legislating for any of those exigencies, at any of the periods when they were to be expected; and as it appeared that, on these occurring, there would be no more difficulty of legislating for them than at the present moment, they had determined not to anticipate the decision of a future legislature, but to leave the question free and untouched. The main point now in view was to protect the person, and secure the succession to the throne, of her royal highness the princess Victoria. "That illustrious personage," his lordship proceeded to say, "is now in the twelfth year of her age . . . The period of her majority, as qualifying her for the sovereignty of the country, will not arrive until her royal highness is eighteen years old. The principal object of the bill, therefore, is to provide, in the event of the demise of his majesty before the princess Victoria shall have arrived at the age of eighteen, for the administration of the government of the country during the interval. That was the duty imposed upon ministers in preparing the bill; but I am only speaking in unison with the feelings of the great body of the people of the country, when I offer an earnest prayer that the life of his majesty may be long preserved to his faithful and affectionate subjects. But, my lord, notwithstanding all the wishes and all the hopes we may entertain on this point, it is necessary that we should look to that which, however much it may be deprecated, is nevertheless a possible occurrence; and it is in this view of the subject that his majesty's ministers have prepared the measure in question."

His lordship described its provisions to be of the most simple character. The first question which would naturally be asked was, whom did they propose as the guardian of her royal highness under the circumstances inferred? The answer, he was

sure, would suggest itself to every mind—it would be quite impossible that they could recommend any other to fill that important office than the illustrious princess, the mother of the princess Victoria. The manner in which her royal highness the duchess of Kent had hitherto performed her duty, in the education of her illustrious offspring, (he spoke upon this subject, not from vague report, but from accurate information), afforded the best grounds to hope most favourably of her royal highness's future conduct. Looking at the past, it was obvious they could not find a better guardian for the time to come. The recommendation of ministers, therefore, was, that on the event of the demise of the crown, the duchess of Kent should be appointed sole regent. But perhaps it would be said, "it might happen that a child will be born to his present majesty. Will the bill provide for that event?" His answer was distinctly in the negative; as, should such an event occur, the legislature would be as competent to provide for it then as it was at the present moment. It was proposed by ministers that the duchess of Kent, in the event of her succeeding to the regency, should not be fettered by any council, but should be left to administer the government by means of the responsible ministers of the crown. In case of a posthumous child being born to the king, it was thought the regent should be divested of her authority. The bill would provide, that in the event of the birth of a child after the demise of the sovereign, her majesty the queen should become the guardian of the child, and the regent of the kingdom. The bill, which was entitled "an act to provide for the administration of the government of the country, in case the crown should descend to her royal highness the princess Alexandrina Victoria, daughter of his royal highness the duke of Kent, being under the age of eighteen years, and for the care and guardianship of her person," was then brought in, and after a few words in approbation from lord Eldon, read a first time.

Notwithstanding the ease with which this important measure was carried, the stability of the government was not secured by its success. Its new friends fell off; its old adherents did not return; and it was soon obvious that the hours of the Wellington administration were numbered. From the feelings which had been excited in this country, the difficulties which now pressed

on the duke of Wellington and his colleagues, were such as they could not hope successfully to meet.

On the 15th of November, the committee of the whole house again entered on the consideration of the civil-list, when the motion of which notice had been given was brought forward by sir Henry Parnell, in an argumentative speech. It called for the appointment of a select committee "to examine the accounts presented to this house by order of his majesty, connected with the civil-list, and to report thereon."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he adhered to the opinion he had originally entertained when the subject was first submitted to the house, that the best course was for the ministers to present to the house estimates of the proper expenditure and arrangements of the civil-list, rather than to delegate the duties and the responsibility which it involved to a select committee; and was prepared to maintain that a select committee was not calculated to effect any economical object, which it was not competent to the house, looking at the statements and estimates laid before it, to effect. He strongly opposed the motion. To accede to it would not, in his judgment, be consistent with his duty as a minister of the crown. [In answer to a question put to him by the chancellor of the exchequer, sir Henry Parnell said he only desired that the committee should be possessed of power to examine the accounts laid before it.] The right honourable gentleman proceeded. He wished the house to see what it was the honourable baronet would delegate to a committee, without powers to call for persons, papers, and records. Not content with empowering a committee, thus constituted, to go into the whole of the estimates of the civil-list, he wished the committee to come to a decision on the best mode of keeping public accounts. Was it possible that a committee, going into these extensive and difficult inquiries without powers to institute a sufficient examination, could ever do good? Was it conceived that its debates and discussions should ever come to a satisfactory conclusion, or that they would not be so prolonged and delayed as to throw impediments in the way of what it must be the desire of the house to expedite, with a view to public convenience, as well as in reference to the dignity of the crown? It appeared that the whole sum enjoyed by his late majesty from the civil-list, &c., was one million

two hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-two pounds; deducting from that amount one hundred and sixty-six thousand one hundred and eighty-four pounds, now transferred from the civil-list, the balance was one million fifty-five thousand four hundred and forty-eight pounds. The estimated amount of the future charge was nine hundred and seventy thousand pounds, leaving in diminution of charges, after providing for the queen, a clear saving of eighty-five thousand four hundred and forty-eight pounds upon the last civil-list. Let the honourable baronet go through the various classes of the civil-list as now proposed, and he would see the items on which the saving was effected. In a committee, the honourable gentleman would have nothing but the papers which were then already on the table, without the power of examining witnesses, and without the opportunity of having any of the statements cleared up by the chancellor of the exchequer's explanations. Under such circumstances, no additional information could be afforded by the committee for which the honourable gentleman had moved. Many other arguments were urged by the right honourable gentleman in defence of the course which the government had decided to pursue; and, in conclusion, he pointedly declared, that convinced as he was that no other was so proper as that which had been preferred by ministers, he should meet the motion of the honourable baronet by opposing to it a decided negative.

The reasoning of the chancellor of the exchequer was said, by Mr. Bankes, to have confirmed him in the opinion that the subject ought to be referred to a committee; and he should therefore vote for the honourable baronet's motion.—Lord Althorp was desirous of seeing the subject sent to a committee, as he and his honourable friends were of opinion, that they ought to compare the items of the present scale with those which were formerly submitted to parliament. Mr. Charles Wynn spoke in favour of the committee, the appointment of which was opposed by Mr. Herries.—Mr. Holme Sumner said he was grievously disappointed at what he had heard from the chancellor of the exchequer, and thought the case had not been fairly stated. He would not only be willing to send the accounts of the civil-list to a committee, but would not have objected to give the committee powers to send for persons, papers, and records.



A division was then called for. While the members who "went forth" remained in the lobby, Mr. Brougham addressed them, desiring them not to go away after the present division should be over, as it was the intention of an honourable member, should the amendment be lost, to move another resolution, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into all the items of the civil-list after the first three. This announcement was received with loud cheers; but it was unnecessary to act upon it, as when the numbers were ascertained, it appeared that there were—for the original motion, two hundred and four; against it, two hundred and thirty-three: thus giving a majority of twenty-nine against ministers. The question was then put on the amendment of sir Henry Parnell, and agreed to.

No sooner had the result been announced than Mr. Hobhouse rose, and addressing sir Robert Peel, begged to know whether, after such an exposition of the opinion of the house, it was the intention of ministers to retain their places, and continue to carry on the business of the government? To this question no answer was returned; and Mr. Hobhouse then said, he would take an early opportunity of bringing it to an issue.

Mr. Brougham remarked upon this, that the question put by his honourable friend was, under the circumstances, very natural; but he thought at present it was premature. He submitted to sir Henry Parnell, whether it might not be advisable to postpone the appointment of the committee till the following day? This suggestion called forth strong opposition, and a loud cry of—"Now, now," was heard. It was, in consequence, withdrawn by the learned gentleman; and the committee was forthwith appointed.

The amendment being carried by such a majority, determined ministers at once to withdraw; and on the next day (November 16th), the duke rose in the house of lords, and spoke as follows:—"My lords, I deem it my duty to inform your lordships, that, in consequence of what occurred last night in the other house of parliament, I felt it right to wait this morning on the king, and tender his majesty the office which I hold; that his majesty has been pleased to accept of my resignation; and that I continue in my present situation only till a successor shall have been appointed." Having made this statement, his grace immediately left the house.

In the other house sir Robert Peel took a

similar course. From the deep and unfeigned respect, he said, which he felt for that house, he took the earliest opportunity of publicly stating, that in consequence of what had occurred on the preceding night, he had felt it his duty to wait upon the king, and humbly and respectfully to inform him that he considered it was no longer in his power to undertake the administration of public affairs, so far as the same depended upon him, either with satisfaction to his own feelings, or with advantage to the country. His majesty had been graciously pleased to accept the resignation thus tendered on his part; and he therefore considered himself as holding the seals of the home department only till a successor was appointed: and the same was the case with all the other members of the government.

The motion of which Mr. Brougham had given notice, on the subject of parliamentary reform, stood for the 16th. After the announcement made by sir Robert Peel, lord Althorp applied to that learned gentleman to postpone his motion, as he was of opinion a subject of such immense importance could not be properly dealt with while the government was in such an unsettled state—while there was no longer an administration in existence. The motion was, in consequence, postponed till the 25th; but in complying with the suggestion of the noble lord, Mr. Brougham expressed some reluctance to consent to the delay, and intimated that on the 25th it might be expected he would bring it forward under any circumstances, and whoever might then be his majesty's ministers.

Before the conversation closed, sir Robert Peel took occasion to say, in reference to the remark of the noble lord, that "there was no longer an administration in existence," it ought to be known and generally understood, that till his successor was appointed, he was still secretary of state for the home department; and that he was quite prepared, if public necessity should require it, to exercise the authority to its utmost extent, being confident that he should receive the support of the house and the country, if he exerted that authority in any case in which the public welfare called for its exertion.

What had fallen from Mr. Brougham on the subject of the motion which he was determined to bring forward, in any case, on the day he had named, was understood to signify that, for his own part, he would not take office: as

he had stated that personally, he "could not possibly be affected by a change in the administration." This, which was generally deemed sufficiently distinct, was followed the next day by a further declaration to the like effect. A motion having been made to postpone the consideration of election petitions till after Christmas, Mr. Brougham said he was astonished to hear, among the reasons given in favour of such a course, it was urged that had they come on at the time first named for entertaining them, ministers could not be present. "The house," he added, "could do many things without the assistance of ministers; and with every feeling of respect for the future ministers generally, he, for his own part, could have nothing to do with the new administration."

It was thought, beyond all doubt, that be the ministerial arrangements what they might, the late queen's attorney-general would not be a member of the whig government; but, to the surprise of the public, two days after the above declaration was made in the house of commons, the honourable and learned gentleman was elevated to the peerage, and gazetted as lord high chancellor of England!

So fell the duke of Wellington's administration. The obvious and immediate cause of its overthrow was the opinion its chief and his colleagues avowed on the subject of parliamentary reform; but those who looked a little further back, had no hesitation in declaring that the course which had been pursued in the preceding year with regard to catholic emancipation, was that which really brought it to a close. It is not here that details of what followed will be sought. They belong to the general history of England. In this place, such an outline as will show what was subsequently the course of the duke as a politician, must be considered all that is necessary.

King William sent for earl Grey, and that nobleman formed an administration which was pledged to effect a parliamentary reform.

The prospect before the new ministers was gloomy in the extreme. Incendiary fires continued to be nightly kindled, and with such artful arrangement, that ignorant people were half persuaded the powers of darkness had been called from another world, to further the work of desolation in this. Unseen hands were reported to kindle flames, and produce a terrific conflagration,

in a space of time inconceivably brief, such as would hardly suffice if only human means were employed. The most extravagant stories were circulated, with an air of solemnity which claimed for them implicit belief: and while these miserable outrages were continued in England, Mr. O'Connell was, as usual, indefatigable in trying to produce a still more awful flame in Ireland. Earl Grey and his colleagues became convinced that stronger measures than their predecessors had judged it expedient to adopt, were now become absolutely necessary, to restrain the fast-spreading disaffection invoked by that restless agitator.

When, in consequence of the elevation of lord Brougham to the peerage, the issuing of a new writ for the borough of Knaresborough was moved in the house of commons, Mr. Croker called attention to the declaration which had so recently been made, that he (Mr. Brougham) could take no part in the new administration. Mr. Croker showed that it had been so understood in different parts of the country; and wished to know, if such were not its signification, what was the meaning of the declaration he had made? Had the noble and learned lord been neglected? or, what was worse, had he been offered something which he did not think equal to his high desert and his splendid talents? Was that the case? and were the words he had uttered intended as a menace, or as a spur to the lazy gratitude of the new first lord of the treasury? If that were the fact, what confidence could be reposed in an administration which was influenced by such motives, and swayed by such means?

These remarks called up sir James Mackintosh and lord Morpeth. The latter said, whatever declaration had been made by his noble and learned friend, he believed it would be admitted that it had not been imputed to him that he had said "he must be mad to accept the office of lord chancellor." Yet, such a declaration made by another noble individual, with respect to another office, had not been considered any detriment to the character of the noble individual. To the allusion thus made, sir Henry Hardinge thought it right to reply. Notwithstanding the indecent sneer, he said—notwithstanding the bitter malice and the sneers with which the duke of Wellington had been assailed—malice and sneers which he despised;—notwithstanding these, the character of his noble friend must now, and ever would stand high

in the history of this country. The sacrifice of patronage, the large retrenchments, the great measure of catholic emancipation, which had characterised the duke of Wellington's administration, would hereafter receive the praise they merited from the historian, and the gratitude of the public, in

spite of the sneers of lordlings. Being called to order, sir Henry felt that he had gone too far, and apologised. All he meant to say was, that the character of the duke of Wellington stood too high to be injured by sneers, no matter from what quarter they might proceed.

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### CHAPTER XXIX.

GENERAL DISTRESS AND MONSTER PROCESSIONS; BITTER COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE LATE MINISTERS; THE SHOREDITCH PETITION; GREAT CONTEST ON THE QUESTION OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE new ministers found it no easy task to govern a country thus disturbed. Great alarm was felt in various quarters at the prospect of the coming winter. In the house of lords, a question was put by lord Wynford to the new premier (earl Grey), on the 29th of November, as to whether it was the intention of ministers to give the magistrates additional powers for putting down disturbances, which had then grown to such a serious height?—Earl Grey replied that such a step was not, at present, thought necessary. He was anxious, except in a case of absolute necessity, not to depart from the provisions of the law. Should the supposed necessity arise, he would not be backward in asking for such further powers as the exigency of the case might require.

On this occasion, the duke of Wellington expressed his concurrence with the minister. He did not see any reason or ground for thinking that an alteration of the existing law was necessary. The outrages which had taken place in the country were of two descriptions. The first was the open description of outrage, which might, there was no doubt, be got the better of by the operation of the ordinary law. The second was that description of crime—the destruction of property by fire, of the perpetrators of which government had not hitherto been able to discover any trace whatever. It was supposed by noble lords that they were foreigners. He did not believe there was any evidence whatever of that fact. It was a description of crime which was certainly effected by a conspiracy of some kind or other; but whether the conspirators were Englishmen or foreigners, no man could

positively declare. He could only say, that with reference to one county, in which outrages of the most flagrant character had occurred, there was not one foreigner among the persons with whom Winchester gaol was filled. He thought it was desirable for government to abstain, as much as possible, from interfering with the recommendations of lord-lieutenants with regard to the magistracy. Deeply interested as those noble lords must naturally be, in the security of property and the preservation of tranquillity in their respective counties, they would, of course, select persons calculated to do their duty by assisting in the administration of justice.

While out of office the duke of Wellington, from time to time, called the attention of ministers to matters of public interest. The angry feelings which had long been marked, and which had taken "parliamentary reform" for their war-cry, were at this period exhibited in monster processions, which, while to present a petition or an address was the object, were, from their threatening appearance, regarded by the friends of order with great alarm. One of these passed through the principal streets of the metropolis, on the 8th of December, to St. James's palace. On the same day the duke called the attention of the home secretary to the subject. He was told that the civil authorities had been consulted on the occasion, and it was thought prudent to suffer the procession to take place. He was happy to add, it had led to no disturbance whatever of the public peace. The duke rejoined, that he believed such a procession was altogether contrary to the law, and was, beyond all doubt, extremely dangerous to the public peace.

On the 9th of December a motion was submitted to the house of lords, by lord Wynford, on the state of the country. His lordship said, much of the disorder arose from distress, as distress prevailed to a very great extent; but he was persuaded that the fires which had occurred in various parts of the country, were not to be ascribed to that cause. He believed they were of an exotic origin, though Englishmen might be employed as agents by those who wished to create disturbance in the country. His lordship's motion, which was for a committee, was negatived without a division. In the debate thus opened, the earl of Radnor spoke with great warmth in condemnation of the late ministers; and, among other taunting remarks, said: "If I had now a seat in the other house of parliament, I should most probably move—not for a committee with respect to parliamentary reform, for that would be unnecessary—but for one to consider of the propriety of preferring an impeachment against the members of the late government, who went out of office leaving the country in the most perilous condition—in a state verging on the dissolution of society, and that, too, without being visited by the vengeance of an insulted and—"

Here the noble earl was called to order, and that resolution was read from the journal which forbids all personal attacks in their lordships' debates.

The earl of Radnor resumed, and said he had no personal feeling against the late ministers individually, and spoke of them only in their aggregate ministerial capacity. He would not stand by the word "vengeance," which had fallen from his lips, but did not retract the sentiment it was intended to express.

When his lordship concluded, the duke of Wellington rose. He opposed the present motion, he said, as he opposed one of a like character in the last session. Though as much alive as any man could be to the distressed state of the country, he maintained it was absurd to attribute the distress to any measure of the administration of which he had been a member, as had been asserted by a noble earl (the earl of Radnor.) With respect to the broad censure so cast on that administration, on the part of himself and his late colleagues, he challenged the noble earl to come forward with a motion for inquiry, and he promised to meet him. Lord Wynford, he remarked, had pointed out, as topics for investigation,

the financial and monetary systems of the country, its commercial policy, its poor-laws, the corn-laws, and the use of machinery. It was impossible for any committee to sift thoroughly all those important questions, and come to any practical decision upon them; and the disappointment of the expectation which its appointment must create in the public mind, would be ten times more mischievous, in its results, than the grievances for which it was intended as a remedy. Besides, it was not fair to ministers who had but just come into office, thus to involve them in difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves. Their lordships had already a committee inquiring into the state of the poor-laws, which might very easily extend its investigation to the expediency of a better distribution of the poor-rates among the manufacturing and funded interests, and to other analogous topics connected with the distress of the country, without exceeding the bounds prescribed to its inquiries. He had not attempted to extenuate the dangerous situation of the country, but would most emphatically deny that it had any connexion with any measure of the late government. "No," he proceeded, "the dangers and disturbances with which some districts of the country have been lately infested, have sprung from various and different causes; among which the example—I will unhesitatingly say the bad example—afforded by a neighbouring state, has been the most influential, as it has been the most pernicious. They have been encouraged and heightened by the misrepresentations and false ideas which have been too generally circulated through the country, of the causes and character of those unfortunate events which occurred last summer in an adjoining kingdom; and above all, by a want of knowledge, on the part of the people, of the real character of those events, and of the mischiefs sure to follow from imitating them. These were the causes of the present disordered conduct of the country, and not any measure of the late government. If the noble earl thinks otherwise, let him point out what measure, or what course of policy of ours, led to this state of things, and, as I said before, I shall be prepared to meet him." The fact is, the cause of the distressed condition of certain districts (which all lament) were beyond the reach or the control of any government. How, for example, could any ministry provide a prompt remedy for the distress of the

labouring class, as it arose from an abuse of the poor-laws? or could they act otherwise than as the noble viscount at the head of the home department had acted, so far as precept was concerned—and by example, each according to his abilities and station? He and his colleagues had gone as far as they could go, constitutionally, with a view to remedy the distress of the country; and it was too much to insinuate, as had been done, that they had neglected that duty. He had even heard it whispered, that the late ministers had neglected the disturbances in some districts of the country. That was not the fact. From the very first moment, they had devised and adopted every means in their power for aiding with their advice—and, if unfortunately necessary, with force—the local magistrates, in their endeavours to preserve the public peace. He repeated, that the events of July and August, in a neighbouring state, misrepresented as they had been, had mainly caused the disturbances in the country: and he concluded with this vindication of his own government:—"During our administration, we did all we could to relieve the people. In the last session, taxes to the amount of three million nine hundred thousand pounds were taken off; and since then, the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country generally, have been in a state of prosperity and tranquillity, excepting in those districts where there have been gross and disgraceful disturbances. These, however," he added, "I trust are but local and temporary. Indeed, I am emboldened to think that they are so; for, with the exception of gross and disgracefully-disturbed districts, an improved revenue and increasing consumption and demand for our manufactures and commodities, show that the country at large is in a state of tranquillity and prosperity."

On the following day a petition was presented by the earl of Radnor, from the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, complaining of distress, of the manner in which the poor-laws were administered, and praying for a reduction of taxation, and especially of those taxes which pressed most heavily on the lower orders of the community. The noble earl described the petition to be an answer to the challenge which the duke of Wellington had thrown out last evening, when he called upon him to make any statement which would show that an inquiry had been called for on the part of his majesty's late government. The peti-

tion stated that the parish contained seventy thousand inhabitants and seven thousand houses; the whole rental amounted to one hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds, and the poor-rates to thirty-four thousand pounds a-year. There was not one person in the parish that kept a carriage, and many of those who were obliged to pay to the poor-rates were forced to deny themselves animal food. This had been the state of things in June last, long previous to the dissolution of the late ministry. A responsible government was, in his opinion, a mere farce, if such a state of things could exist within three miles of the place where they were sitting, yet no inquiry instituted, and no attempt made to remedy the evil. No attention was paid to the application of the people for relief. That was his charge against the late government.

To this new attack the duke of Wellington replied, that he was sure that the noble earl would have the candour to admit, that when he stated last night that he would, if he had a seat in the other house, bring forward a motion for a committee of inquiry, to ascertain whether it was fit to impeach the persons who had served his majesty in the late administration,—the noble earl would have the candour to allow that he did not advert to the distress in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, or in any parish in the kingdom, or in all the parishes together. What the noble earl said then was, that the country was in a difficult and dangerous situation; that the members of the late administration were responsible for it; and that they ought to be impeached. He had said, in answer to that statement, and he would now repeat it, that he called upon the noble earl to bring forward a distinct charge against his majesty's late administration, and he should be ready to meet it, and to defend his majesty's late servants against whatever charge the noble earl might prefer. The noble earl now brought forward a petition from the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, and he made a statement, not founded on the petition, but on the assertion of a nameless person, whose assertion he had backed with his authority; and he then said his majesty's late government was responsible for the distress which existed in that parish in June last. He had stated before, and he would repeat it, that he never could or would make himself responsible for any action that was not his own, or for anything which it

was not his duty to see put to rights. He would maintain that he had nothing to do with the maintenance of the poor in the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, even if they were twenty times worse off and worse managed than had been stated. The king's ministers were not responsible for the distress in this or that parish. They were not responsible for that which it was not their duty to set right. The noble lords opposite, who had taken upon themselves the government of the country, must see that they could do nothing in such a case as that. They might subscribe, and recommend his majesty to subscribe, in such cases: but it would be found that the late ministers had done the same; and that his late majesty subscribed as much as he could. It was not in the power of ministers—it would not be legal for them to interfere in any other way; and he again dared the noble earl to bring forward any charge against his majesty's late government.

A remark being made that the disgust and irritation produced by making the king speak of the distress experienced in the country as partial, when it was known to be general, had compelled ministers to make those reductions which they afterwards recommended; the duke rose again, and explained that the reductions had been made in consequence of the repeated reductions of expenditure which had been effected in three consecutive sessions of parliament, and in consequence of the great reductions (actually amounting to more than a million sterling) which had been made in the interest of the national debt. Till that was accomplished, it was impossible for government to make any great reduction in the taxes, nor could they decide what it was their duty to reduce; nor was that duty to be performed till the proper moment came for making the reduction.

It was still urged, by several peers, that the late ministers had disregarded the complaints of the people, and done everything they could to prevent inquiry into the extent of the distress which was so generally felt. The earl of Radnor said he should bring forward no specific charge against the late ministers, for this reason—that the only object for such a motion would be to remove them from office, and that, fortunately, was already done. To the disparaging remark thus thrown out, the duke of Wellington replied, that noble lords might talk from that time till to-morrow, but still

they could not deny that the late administration had done all that they could do to relieve the people. Was the beer-bill which they had carried nothing? Was the reduction of three million pounds of taxes nothing? He did think that the late government was ill-used when those measures were forgotten. He seized that opportunity of saying—(though he did not wish to take away any merit from the present government, but was ready to give it all the assistance he could, consistent with his sense of duty; and though no man was less inclined to throw obstructions in its way than he was)—that the poor-law committee, which had been often said to be a measure of the present government, was actually consented to by him, as he was sure his noble friend, who had moved for the committee, would admit.

Some questions were raised touching the conduct of the late government with respect to appointments recently made after the duke of Wellington, on the 16th of November, had announced the resignation of ministers. The subject was brought forward by a motion made, on the 13th of December, by earl Grosvenor, for a return of all salaries enjoyed by the clerks and officers of the house of lords between the 5th of January, 1829, and the 5th of January, 1830, the total amount of which should exceed one thousand pounds. In the speech which introduced this motion, it was mentioned that the situation of clerk of the council having fallen vacant by the sudden death of Mr. Buller, a noble earl (earl Bathurst), the president of the council, made haste to ask that it should be given to his son, to whom it had accordingly been granted. His lordship said there was another point on which he should be glad to receive some explanation. It appeared from a supplementary list of pensions on the civil-list, that after the 16th of November, the noble duke having then tendered his resignation, and his majesty having accepted it, three pensions had been granted. They were one of five hundred pounds, and two of two hundred and fifty pounds each; and one of six hundred and sixty pounds had been given to lady Rae, four days after the dissolution of the administration.

The marquis of Lansdowne explained, that it had been made known to him by his noble friend, that his majesty wished the office of clerk of the council to be given to Mr. Bathurst, when it fell vacant,

and it had been given to that gentleman accordingly. In regard to the other matters which had been mentioned by earl Grosvenor, the duke of Wellington said, the delay in filling up certain vacant offices before the resignation of the late ministers, was occasioned by their intending to reduce the salaries. With respect to the recently bestowed pensions, the noble earl was aware that a considerable sum was always granted to his majesty to enable him to settle pensions upon those who were deserving of them. It was true that the civil-list expired with the king, and that at the last demise of the crown there was a considerable number of vacancies in the list of pensions. He rather believed that the more regular course would have been not to advise his majesty to make any new grants, out of the civil-list, until the act should have passed regulating its amount; but the custom had been to fill up the vacancies as they occurred, without regard to the passing of the civil-list act. He had followed the ordinary course, and had continued it till the hour when he relinquished the seals of office as first lord of the treasury. The noble earl had said that he had announced, on the 16th of November, that he had resigned office; but he forgot to mention that he added he would retain the situation till a successor was appointed. He had retained it till the noble earl, so worthily appointed to fill it, had released him in the following week, and in the meantime he had recommended to the king certain grants, for which he held himself to be responsible. If he had done wrong, he must meet their lordships' censure; but he was firmly of opinion that they would consider that, in this, he had not erred.

The explanation which his grace further supplied was as follows. Two of the pensions in question had been granted to gentlemen, who, for three years, had done him the favour to act as his private secretaries. Looking at the history of former administrations, it would be seen how amply such gentlemen had always been provided for. They ought to be provided for, for this reason,—that not a paper came into his hands from any office (and he had them from all offices), that did not in some way or other pass through those of one of his secretaries. It was not fit, therefore, that individuals who possessed their official knowledge, should remain unprovided for. He would tell their lordships fairly, that, having put down and discontinued

on the establishment every office of every kind that became vacant while he was first lord of the treasury, and not having had (which he could assure their lordships was the truth) above two offices to give away, and those not amounting to two hundred pounds a-year each, he had not had the means of providing for his secretaries; and he had therefore asked his majesty to grant them two hundred and fifty pounds a-year each on the civil-list. These explanations, with others of less interest, were regarded as satisfactory by their lordships.

As stated by the duke in parliament, the recent changes in France had so inflamed the minds of the people of England, that the demand for a change in the constitution had now become so violent, that it could no longer be withstood. It was insisted upon, that the democratic portion of the constitution must be strengthened. On the 3rd of February, 1831, parliament reassembled; and on that day it was announced by the premier that a measure of parliamentary reform had been framed, which it was hoped would satisfy the country.

An important era was at hand. "Then," in the words of Horace Twiss, "approached that remarkable period of our history, when the greatest revolution which it records was stirred up, and carried through, not by a mob or a soldiery, but by the constituted guardians of the state, the ministers of the crown itself;—a revolution, too, not aiming at the mere change of a despot, or even a dynasty, but dissolving the entire frame of the British constitution."

To a reform in parliament, such as was now called for, it has been seen the duke of Wellington was steadily opposed; but it had been made by earl Grey one of the conditions on which he accepted office. It was ardently desired, and impetuously demanded by the great body of the people. In parliament it was favoured by the new ministers, by the whig party, and by the radicals, as they were called; but by the conservatives, or old tory party, it was opposed as that which could not be carried without bringing revolution, and all the horrors of anarchy in its train. When the ministerial plan was opened, on the 1st of March, 1831, in the house of commons, by lord John Russell, according to the writer just quoted, "The project appeared to most of his hearers too extravagant to have been entertained seriously; and it was a pretty general opinion in the house that the whigs, having little

hopes of retaining office themselves, had started this invention, with a view of so unsettling the popular mind, as to make the government untenable by any other ministry. But when, on the following day, the public learned through the newspapers what it was that the king's servants were willing to do, and the king to sanction, it became instantly obvious that nothing was too excessive for the appetite of the time. The whole country took fire at once. The working-people expected that they were to change places with their employers. The middle classes believed that, by breaking down the parliamentary influence of the peers, they should get the governing power of the state into their own hands. And the ministers—the contrivers of the design—persuaded themselves that the people, out of sheer gratitude, would make the rule of the whigs perpetual.”\*

It may be said the crisis was hastened by the duke of Wellington. That speech, in which he spoke of the house of commons as being exactly what, in his judgment, a legislative body ought to be, was laid hold of by the multitude, and commented on with outrageous bitterness. The conflict on the reform question, it was known would be long, wrathful, and obstinate; and the result was looked for with impatience, as its progress was watched with intense anxiety.

Opening the important subject in the lower house, lord John Russell dilated on the loud and general demand.

The bill was resisted with determination by the duke of Wellington's late colleagues in the lower house. Sir Robert Peel followed lord Palmerston, who earnestly advocated the proposed change. His lordship had told the house that neglect of public opinion was the error of the late government, and it was that error which had set Europe in flames. It had been too long held that the determination of men in power could at all times subdue the feelings and wishes of the people. If it had not been for the prudence of his noble friend who presided over the home department, and the excellent conduct of the noble marquis in Ireland, the peace of these islands would not have been preserved. The late administration could not have effected so much as the present had done, because they disregarded public opinion, and turned it against them. He might be asked how the question had arisen. He would say, it had sprung from the hot-bed, election. Cor-

ruption had been unmasked and reform denied. There were some who dreaded the question—who were not prepared to meet it, and would therefore prefer remaining as they were. He could tell those persons that shame must rest with them. Three years ago they threw a protecting shield over the corrupt dealers in boroughs. If they had not done so, the house would not now have been found discussing a deliberate plan of reform, submitted by his majesty's paymaster of the forces. Tannts had been thrown out against himself and others for their attachment to Mr. Canning's policy. He should have thought events which had occurred since the death of that great man, would have taught them that individuals might change their opinions with the honest intention of serving their country. They were bad expounders of the opinions of Mr. Canning, who did not allow that he took large and enlightened views; and if he had been living at the present day, his mind would have embraced all the exigencies which pressed upon the government.

To this sir Robert Peel replied, with great energy and feeling, that he wished to God that Mr. Canning were then present to raise his voice, to confound the fallacies and sophistries by which the people had been deceived: he contended that there was nothing in the noble career of Mr. Canning that warranted a belief that, on this subject, his opinion would have been changed. For himself, he was not particularly anxious to sit in the house; but if parliament were dissolved he would go to his constituents with the reform bill in his hand, and fearlessly claim their suffrages for the strenuous opposition he had offered to that measure. But the danger of rejecting the bill had been much spoken of. He had been told, on the preceding night, that if the measure were rejected, he, as an individual member of parliament, should be held responsible. “Oh, sir,” he replied to him that held the threat, “do not endeavour thus early to shift the responsibility from your own shoulders unto others. I have had no share in exciting the people, if they have been excited.” He was not to be scared from the exercise of his deliberate judgment on a peculiarly complex and important question by the apprehension of a threatened assassination. If it were so—which no man who knew the people of England could believe—let those answer for it who had preferred manifesting their ability to de-

\* *Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon.*



stroy, rather than their capacity to govern. "I, at least," he added, "am not one who had industriously laboured to excite the stormy multitude, and employed all his faculties to foster discontent. I, at least, have never uttered the language used by a noble lord in 1827, who found the people peaceful, quiet, and contented, and complained that he could not rouse their indignation against the house of commons; grieved that they were so apathetic as to be deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. I, at least, have never called for a list of privy councillors, in order to direct against them the torrent of popular resentment, on account of the remuneration which they received for their services." Continuing in this strain the right honourable baronet demanded, did he ever make comparisons between a civilian who was first lord of the admiralty, and the veteran and distinguished officers in the navy, for the purpose of throwing odium on the first lord of the admiralty? Had he laboured to throw odium on a first lord of the admiralty for receiving five thousand pounds a-year, and afterwards come down to the house and proposed estimates, giving to himself, as first lord of the admiralty, the same salary of five thousand pounds a-year? Did he at the moment when the country was agitated on this very question, and thousands were assembled out of doors, applaud those who were said to have waved under the balcony of the king the emblem of revolution? Did he, after having by such means excited the people and spurred their lazy zeal for the improvement of the constitution, hint to them that if their expectations should be disappointed the worst consequences must follow? Did he, having done all this, turn round upon the members of that house, and say, here is a measure whether for good or evil to the constitution, which you must accept without deliberation, or upon your heads be the responsibility for all the bad consequences that may arise from the disappointment of the people? He had done none of these things, and he would tell those who attempted to shift the responsibility, that it was theirs, and theirs only, and they must bear it. He had been told that an appeal must be made to the middle classes; that the middle classes must support the government. If any of those gentlemen who usually acted with him had uttered one word in disparagement of the middle classes, he repudiated that word.

Sprung from the middle classes himself, and proud of his connexion with them, he must own he should despair of the welfare of the country, if he did not firmly believe they possessed far more prudence, judgment, and deliberation, than fell to the lot of their rulers. Sir Robert then enlarged on the blessings of the British constitution, and referred to the great names which appeared in support of it, and of the house of commons such as it then existed, and he quoted the eulogium pronounced upon it by the marquis of Tavistock, in 1819, on bringing forward a motion for partial reform. The noble lord had then said, "The composition of this house, by representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, I take to be an intimate part of our constitution. The house was so formed when they passed the *habeas corpus* act—a law which, together with other wise laws, Mr. Cobbett himself desires to preserve, although with strange inconsistency, while he cherishes the fruit, he would cut down the tree." His lordship further showed that the boroughs now proposed to be disfranchised, existed in the time of the great men of the revolution; he therefore maintained that the principles of the construction of that house were pure and worthy; and it would be a folly to change them altogether. "The constitution," the marquis of Tavistock proceeded, "had raised up a smiling land, not bestrewed with overgrown palaces, but covered with thick-set dwellings, every one of which contains a freeman, enjoying equal privileges and equal protection with the proudest subject in the land. It had called into life all the busy creations of commercial prosperity. When engaged in war, they had warriors ready to defend the country in the field, or to wield her thunders on the sea. When peace returned, the questions of internal policy, of education, of the poor and of criminal laws, found men ready to devote the most splendid abilities to the welfare of the most indigent classes of the community. Shall we," his lordship asked, "change an instrument which has produced effects so wonderful, for a burnished and tinsel article of modern manufacture? No; small as the remaining treasure of the constitution is, I cannot consent to throw it into the wheel for the chance of obtaining a prize in the lottery of constitutions."

Towards the close of his speech, sir Robert Peel combated what had been expressed on the subject of a standing army. Mucl. had

been said of the danger with which it menaced a free constitution; "but," he proceeded, "the ambition of military conquerors, of men endeavouring by success to discipline armies, never had endangered, and never could endanger, the supremacy of law, or master the control of public opinion. These were the powerful instruments which shattered with impunity the staff of Marlborough, and crumbled into dust the power of Wellington. He held up the last revolution in France, not as an example, but as a warning to the country. In his opinion it was the duty of the government to calm, not to stimulate the fervour of popular excitement. They had adopted a different course; they had sent through the land the firebrand of agitation, and no one could then recall it."

These, the sentiments of the most important member of the late administration, it might reasonably be concluded, were those of the duke of Wellington. Long debates followed on the general question, and the house having given permission to bring in the bill, and the bill having in consequence been introduced, the opposition to it was so ably sustained, that, on the 22nd of March, though the second reading was carried, it was by a majority of one only; the numbers on a division being—for the motion, three hundred and two; against it, three hundred and one. Such a result, on a question to which the ministers stood so deeply pledged, was regarded by the nation as neither more nor less than a defeat. Lord John Russell and his colleagues made some alterations, which they hoped would render the measure less obnoxious to its opponents; and, determined to go on with it, a motion was made, on the 18th of April, that it should be committed. An amendment was then offered by general Gascoigne, which proposed that it should be an instruction to the committee that it was the opinion of the house the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to parliament for England and Wales, ought not to be diminished. Ministers met this amendment as one that would destroy the bill, and resisted it accordingly. It was nevertheless carried by two hundred and ninety-nine, against two hundred and ninety-one. Then the ministers resolved to advise the king, without loss of time, to dissolve the parliament, which, on the 22nd of April, was prorogued after a most stormy scene, and a severe attack on ministers for the course they had decided to pursue. It was dissolved on the following day.

A new parliament was summoned, and a new reform bill was prepared; but before the latter could seriously occupy public attention, some explanation was called for respecting the foreign policy of the country by the earl of Aberdeen. Earl Grey replied to his lordship; and, in doing so, dwelt on the difficulty which he and his colleagues had had to meet in consequence of the situation in which the country had been left when the last administration retired. The duke of Wellington, though he was far from underrating any of the difficulties of office, maintained that the difficulties, of which the noble earl had spoken, were not produced by the conduct of the late ministry, but arose from the state of affairs in Europe, over which they had no control.

The view which he was disposed to take of them he forcibly explained. They arose, he said, out of the events which had occurred in France and Belgium, with the occurrence of which they had nothing to do; and whatever might be the result, his majesty's late ministers could not charge themselves with having applauded them. They foresaw the mischief they were likely to produce, and acted on the plan which, as far as he could see, the present government had acted upon with considerable success—that which had been the policy of the country for the last hundred and fifty years—to keep Belgium out of the hands of France. This was the policy strenuously advocated by earl Grey and lord Holland. The late lord Londonderry had taken the same view of the question, and the whole of the negotiations which he entered into had kept that object in view. On this, as on one great basis, were the negotiations at that period formed; on that, in a great degree, the peace itself rested. And what was the consequence? Why that this country, since the year 1814, and Europe, had enjoyed a longer period of peace than they had known for centuries. That period of peace had been broken up by the events of July in France, and by those of August and September in Belgium. With respect to those events, he did not wish to qualify his expressions. He would express his conviction that the situation of those countries which those events affected had been, at that time, the best for the people themselves, as well most likely to preserve their internal tranquillity as to maintain the peace of Europe. He adhered to the opinion that the former

state of things would tend more to the security of Europe from war than any other political arrangement that could be made. He approved of the steps which the noble lord had taken to give that security to other powers which they had a right to require with respect to the state of Belgium. He entreated the noble lord not to depart from the course he had hitherto pursued, but to persevere, till the last moment, to act in cordial alliance with France and the allies of England, and he might rely upon it whatever difficulties appeared in his way, they would be successfully overcome, and do him and the country immortal honour. With respect to Portugal, ministers would do well to remember how important it was that all questions relating to a disputed succession should be put an end to without loss of time, and more particularly the question respecting Dom Miguel; for if it should lead to the invasion of Portugal by France, it would involve the whole peninsula in one awful conflagration. He recommended that steps should be taken to bring Portugal once more into the society of nations, in order to render it available for the general purposes of Europe, if required.

The state of Ireland continued to be very unsatisfactory, and a bill was proposed to appoint an officer, who should be invested with the powers and duties which had been exercised by the governors of counties, who should be called a deputy-lieutenant, and who should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This measure, it was thought, would establish in each county in Ireland an officer, through whom there would be a settled communication between the government and the magistracy of the country.

The duke of Wellington approved of the bill, and declared himself most willing to give the lord-lieutenant of Ireland all the assistance it was in the power of parliament to afford him. The present system, under which there were, in certain counties, five, in others three governors, and in others but one, could not by possibility work well, as acting on no settled plan; they sometimes stood in each other's way. Many of the governors had been absent, and yet persisted in retaining power which they could not properly use. His grace told their lordships he had at first been disposed to regard the proposed new officers with jealousy, considering the measure might have, as an ulterior object, the abolition of the office of

lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which he knew to be a subject on which strong opinions were entertained. He thought the greatest misfortune which could happen to England, in regard to Ireland, would be the removal of that great officer. In Ireland it was necessary, as it were, to bring the government home to every man's door. He hoped it was not intended to introduce officers whose powers would be such that they might hereafter be told there was no necessity for a lord-lieutenant. He approved of the bill with that reserve, as he felt it was necessary for the government to be in a manner on the spot, to protect every individual, and ever active to put down that bane of the country—the acts and the powers of demagogues.

In taking this course, it will be seen, the duke, rising above all party feeling, did not scruple to give the whigs support on a very tender point. They had made such use of the demagogues of Ireland, that when, from their insolence and disaffection, it became necessary to oppose some barrier to their progress, the outcry raised by their partisans of ingratitude and apostasy, was so loud, that ministers required every aid that could be afforded them, to enable them to perform their duty.

The duke did not refuse to turn his attention to the affairs of the church. A bill was prepared by lord King, which went to provide that no cure of souls at above five hundred pounds a-year should be held *in commendam*. Such a provision would, he thought, put an end to the practice of holding pluralities. When a clergyman held a benefice *in commendam* which was above that sum, he wished it to be enacted that he should not have the power to recover at law tithes or other duties.

To this measure his grace objected, as he thought it made a direct attack on the property of the church. A clergyman, he said, had at present a right to recover the full amount of the tithes of a benefice which was in his possession; but, if the bill passed, a clergyman holding a plurality would be enabled to recover on no more than five hundred pounds a-year of the tithes. He should like to know what was to become of the remainder. To whom was it to be paid? He thought mere justice to the clergy of the country required that they should be protected in their property.

The object of the bill was to diminish the temptation which pluralities held out to the

clergy. The duke of Wellington did not seek popularity by favouring such a reform. Established rights he was anxious to uphold. When, in July of this year, prince Leopold, being about to ascend the throne of Belgium, gave up his English annuity, that feeling was again displayed, and the duke of Wellington, on the statement being made in parliament that his royal highness had taken that course, said he had never entertained a doubt that his royal highness had a right to retain both his property and his regiment. Having examined the question on another occasion, he had seen that they belonged to the prince by as good a title as that by which their lordships held their estates—namely, by the law of the land. He congratulated the house and the country on the course which his royal highness had adopted; but his congratulation did not arise from any of those feelings which had been indicated by the public press. It arose from the fact, that this conduct would show to the people the prince was about to govern, that their sovereign was above even the suspicion of being dependent on a foreign country. On these

grounds he congratulated the house and the country, and not from any of those sordid motives which had been expressed elsewhere.

Though no longer in power, the duke of Wellington more frequently took part in the debates in the house of lords than was his custom before he accepted office. A motion, submitted by the earl of Aberdeen, calling for information received on the subject of outrages alleged to have been committed on the British flag, by persons acting in the name of Don Pedro, in Terceira, was supported by his grace. On the affairs of Belgium, he expressed a strong opinion that a French army ought not to remain in that country, even though king Leopold might have desired it. On various matters of minor importance he assisted their lordships with his opinions and advice; but without stopping to collect all the remarks which, from time to time, he offered on the passing events of the day, we hasten to describe the course which he thought it his duty to pursue in regard to a measure of greater and of more enduring importance—the question of parliamentary reform.

### CHAPTER XXX.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON SUCCESSFULLY OPPOSES THE REFORM BILL; HE COMPLAINS OF THE CONDUCT PURSUED TOWARDS HOLLAND; A SECOND REFORM BILL FAILS, AND MINISTERS RESIGN; WELLINGTON FAILS IN ATTEMPTING TO FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT; A REFORM BILL IS PASSED; THE DUKE IS PERSONALLY ASSAILED; HE RETURNS TO OFFICE, AND AGAIN WITHDRAWS; HE TAKES PART IN VARIOUS DEBATES; HIS DEATH AND PUBLIC FUNERAL.

A SECOND REFORM BILL having been introduced by ministers, and carried through the house of commons, the second reading in the lords was moved by earl Grey on the 3rd of October. The debate to which it gave rise was continued through four days. On the second day (the 4th of October), the duke of Wellington spoke at great length. The bill, he said, proposed the most important change in the constitution of the country that had ever been effected; and all the changes which it was in contemplation to effect, he thought ought to be known to their lordships before they determined to let it go to a committee. The noble earl, he said, had found fault with the opinions he had expressed of the existing parliament; but what, he wished to know, had this parliament done, up to the

time at which he spoke, to render it undeserving of approbation? He wished it to be remembered, that, when he uttered the remarks in question, he was the king's minister, and it was the duty of the king's minister to support the institutions of the country. He could not admit that his speech had created that spirit of reform which had since pervaded the whole country; that spirit was the consequence of the French revolution. To other comments which had been made on what he had stated, he replied by charging ministers with having contributed to excite the spirit which existed in the country at the last general election by the dissolution of the late parliament, and the speech from the throne, which they had advised. They were

the cause of the unconstitutional practices, heretofore unknown, of electing delegates for a particular purpose to parliament—delegates to obey the daily instructions of their constituents, and to be cashiered if they disobeyed them, whatever might be their own opinion; instead of being, as they had been, independent members of parliament, to deliberate with their colleagues on matters of common concern, and to decide according to their judgment after such deliberation and debate. That was an evil of which the country would long feel the consequences. He remarked, that he and his colleagues had been blamed for having written the letter to the lord-mayor, in which his majesty declined visiting the city. He begged to know why his majesty had not yet visited the city? He now asked, were he and his colleagues wrong in acting as they had done? The noble lord at the home department, had papers in his possession which would enable him to decide on that question. If the late ministers were wrong, he should like to know why his majesty had not yet been to dine with the loyal citizens of London? It was plain that the dissolution of the late government had nothing to do with parliamentary reform. "We retired," he said, "not because we did not declare ourselves the advocates of reform, but because we had lost the confidence of the house of commons. We decided, in consequence, to resign. If we had delayed to carry our design into execution beyond Monday, the great question of parliamentary reform, in which I cannot but think the best interests of the country are involved, would have been discussed on the Tuesday, and those interests defended by a ministry no longer possessing the confidence of the house of commons, and which must, therefore, have gone out of office. If the question of Monday, the 15th of November, had been that of parliamentary reform, it is not clear to me that we should have been in a minority. My reason for being of that opinion is, that many members, on the second reading of the noble lord's bill, in March last, were in the majority of the 15th of November. Whatever might be the degree in which the members of the late parliament were pledged to reform, I think myself justified in the statement, that my opinion on parliamentary reform did not occasion our resignation, and that most probably it was not the cause of our loss of the confidence of the house of commons."

He went on to remark, that earl Grey had said his plan of reform would be based on the settled institutions of the country, to prevent their disturbance by sudden and extensive changes; he now told their lordships that he had brought in a measure that would effect a great change in them; and the noble secretary of state added, that they must be followed by others, or the government of the country would be impracticable. The duke, at great length, described the evils which must result from adopting a measure of such a character. "If this democratic assembly," he continued, "shall once be established, does any man believe we shall long enjoy these vast advantages? [He had spoken of our territorial possessions and rich colonies.] A democracy has never been established in any part of the world which has not immediately declared war against property, against the payment of the public debt, and against all the principles of conservation which are secured by, and which are, in fact, the principal objects of the British constitution as it now exists. Property and its possessors will become the common enemy. Look," he further urged, "at the anxiety prevailing in every part of London in respect to the great revolution to be made by this bill. The noble baron behind me has been ridiculed for adverting to the opinions of tradesmen in Bond-street and St. James's-street. Those in Bond-street consist of more than two hundred respectable persons, who are well able to form an opinion of the effects of this bill upon the resources of themselves, the middling classes, and the poor, as they supply the luxuries of persons in easier circumstances in that quarter of the town. The noble lord who adverted to this topic greatly underrated the wealth of these tradesmen. I know of one, residing in Bond-street, who employs at all times from two to four thousand workmen, whose trade depends, as well as the employment of this body of people, upon the expenditure of his customers. Is he not interested in upholding the public faith, and the system of property now established in England? Are not the people of all classes and descriptions, down to the lowest, interested in the maintenance of our extensive manufactures and commerce; in the conservation of our enormous dominions abroad, and the continued respect of all nations? If I am right in thinking this fierce democracy will be established in the house of commons, does

any man believe that that harmony can continue between the king and his government and the house of commons, so necessary to enable his majesty to protect and keep in order his foreign dominions, and to ensure the obedience of their inhabitants? We shall lose these colonies and possessions, and with them our authority and influence abroad." On these grounds he recommended their lordships to vote against the bill, and earnestly advised them to avoid pledging themselves, in public or in private, against any other scheme that might be brought forward; and he trusted they would keep themselves free to adopt any measure upon this subject that would secure to the country the blessings of a government. By so doing, they would perform their duty to their country, and deserve the thanks and gratitude of posterity.

The arguments of the duke, though not such as could satisfy the supporters of the reform bill, were, by the tories, deemed valid and unanswerable. After five nights' debate, the house of lords rejected the measure. On a division the numbers were—contents (present), one hundred and twenty-eight; proxies, thirty: not contents (present), one hundred and fifty; proxies, forty-nine: thus giving a majority of forty-one against ministers.

Besides opposing the bill in its passage through the house of lords, the duke had, on various occasions, delivered his sentiments on the subject of reform when petitions were presented in favour of the ministerial measure.

On the 20th of October the parliament was prorogued by the king in person. The failure of the second reform bill caused great dissatisfaction throughout the country, and at Bristol and other places serious riots broke out, which were not easily suppressed. Deputations waited on ministers to press on them the importance of soon calling the parliament together again, that a new reform bill might be brought forward. They so far attended to these representations that the houses which were prorogued at the date just mentioned, reassembled on the 6th of December. The new session was opened by the king in person, who again commended to their consideration the subject of parliamentary reform, and on the 12th of that month, lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a third reform bill. The bill was brought in, and on the morning of Tuesday, the 18th, the second

reading was carried by three hundred and twenty-four to one hundred and sixty-two. An adjournment over the Christmas holidays then took place.

In the following month (on the 17th of January), the houses resumed their sittings. The reform bill was again discussed, and, after another contest, it was carried through the commons. The majority on the third reading was one hundred and sixty-one. It passed on the 23rd of March.

The affairs of the Netherlands were brought under the consideration of the house of lords, on the 26th of January, by the earl of Aberdeen approving of the efforts made by the king, in conjunction with his allies, to terminate the dissensions which prevailed in the Netherlands, but reminding him, that it had long been the established policy of England to cultivate the strictest union with the Dutch, but recommending that a treaty should not be dictated seriously detrimental to the interests of Holland.

On this occasion the duke of Wellington spoke strongly against the treatment Holland had experienced. He said he owed some apology for the vote which he was about to give in favour of the address; but he must state, that what principally induced him to consent to the present motion being brought forward, was his sense of the injustice done to Holland, by the departure from the principles of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Holland had been forced to consent to the measures determined on by the conference of London, without having time, or being allowed, to consider them. It was upon that ground he rested his justification for requiring that the treaty should now be reconsidered; and he should endeavour to prevail upon the noble lords opposite to reconsider it themselves. He regretted that the noble earl, whose whole time and attention must have been engrossed with other subjects, had not been able to give his attention to this particular business; for he believed such facts had never before occurred in negotiations between any two powers, except on the occasion of the interference of the three powers between the Turks and the Greeks. But the noble earl said that the interference with Belgium and Holland was not a mediation. It certainly did not commence in a mediation, but it had terminated in the assumption of an arbitration—the most unjust that ever was known—on the part of the five powers; and the noble

earl had boasted that he had carried their opinions along with him for the conclusion of the treaty. He asserted that the arbitration was most tyrannical, for the parties were never called on to hear the reasons of the sentence which was passed on them, nor had they any opportunity of making their defence until the sentence had been pronounced to be irrevocable. The noble earl had spoken of the concurrence of the French government as one of these powers. He did not know whether that government had concurred in the treaty or not. But if it had been a party to it, it must certainly have changed its views since; for it had declared that it would not hear of the alteration from a mediation to an arbitration. He did not know whether they meant that principle to be applied to the Belgians only. He could not suppose that they did not mean that there should be a mediation as respected Belgium, but that the powers of an arbitration should not be employed against the king of the Netherlands. Their lordships were well aware of the important distinction between the two terms. In February, M. Sebastiani said, that the interference of the five powers was only in the way of mediation, and that the French government could never consent that it should lose that character. But now their lordships were told that the character of an arbitration was forced upon the conference. Was it forced upon them by those of the five powers who had refused to ratify the treaty, because it had become an arbitration? or was it they who, as their lordships were told, carrying the rest of Europe along with them, had forced the conference to act as arbitrators? He presumed to say, that he had a long experience in those affairs, and he would assure their lordships of his sincere belief, that if England were induced to give up Holland, every other power in Europe would be ready to peck at her. It was on such considerations he grounded the vote which he was about to give. \* \* \* \* The noble earl spoke (as usual) very harshly respecting the settlement of Europe in 1814 and 1815. But he ought to remember that that settlement had maintained the peace of Europe ever since, with the exception (which he had always regretted) of the interference between Turkey and Greece. The power which the noble earl professed to have over the conference of London, was entirely owing to that settlement of which he so much complained. \* \* \* \* The next

part of those transactions to which he begged the attention of their lordships, was the declaration of independence. The noble earl (Grey) stated that he had been always of opinion that the best arrangement for the peaceful adjustment of the differences between the separated states would be, that the prince of Orange should become sovereign of Belgium. But the mischief was, that what the Belgians wanted, in the first place, was to have their independence declared by the five powers; and the first step taken, after the guarantee for the suspension of hostilities, was to make that declaration of independence. This took place on the 20th of December; and on the 9th of January, the French minister (M. Sebastiani) wrote to the Belgian minister at Paris, expressing great sympathy for the Belgian nation, which long formed part of France, and was still a member of the same great family, and assuring him that the government of France had obtained for Belgium all that it could obtain for her. That the separation from Holland had been brought about by that government, and that the independence of Belgium had thereby been consummated. Such was the construction which the French minister put upon the declaration. Again—in the month of August, M. Meulnere, the secretary of the Belgian government, addressed the conference in these terms:—“The circumstances under which the suspension of hostilities in November, 1830, was proposed by the conference and accepted by the Belgian government, are too well known to require that I should recall to your recollection that Holland, seeing her army suddenly disorganised by the natural effect of the separation of Belgium from her dominions, readily acceded to the suspension; but that Belgium might have continued to profit by the state of things at that time, and might have pushed part of her population out of her own limits, and that yet, on the assurance that her independence would be acknowledged, she acquiesced in the wishes of the five powers, and made her *début* in the political world by a sacrifice to the peace of Europe.” Such was the construction which Belgium put upon the declaration. Such was the result of the noble earl’s negotiations, as far as France and Belgium were concerned. After that came the discussion of what was called the 12th protocol, in reference to which the noble earl said, that Holland had adopted the basis laid down by the confer-

ence for the settlement of the separation of the two countries; and that the protocol No. 12 did not give her all that she had since obtained north of the Meuse. But on that part of the subject he begged to observe, that the protocol held out to Holland other arrangements (besides the territory upon the Meuse), which were likely to induce her to agree to the basis. According to that basis, Holland was to retain possession, entire possession, of the duchy of Luxembourg, and she had every reason to believe that she was to retain possession of the German *encloses*, as they were called, and that her territory was to be kept as a continuous line to the north of the Meuse, by other territory to be afterwards conceded to her. This protocol also contained the basis of a settlement of the debt, which was satisfactory to Holland; and with respect to that part of the article which referred to the rivers and canals having access into the Rhine, or being connected with that river, there was a letter from the secretary of state, declaring that the article was intended to refer to nothing but the rivers by which the countries were separated. This basis of arrangement was therefore satisfactory to Holland, and was readily accepted. Here, it was worthy of remark, that the conference declared the settlement contained in the twenty-four articles irrevocable. But the noble earl now told the house, that they had been obliged to depart from that settlement, because an adherence to it would have caused a general war in Europe. On that point he begged leave to contradict the noble earl; for, after the French government had declared, in the first instance, that they had some doubt respecting that arrangement, they gave a full consent to the whole of it on the 1st of March, and agreed to carry it into execution; at the same time declaring its determination to adhere to the mediation, and not to allow any armed intervention on the part of any state in Europe. There was, therefore, no reason for deviating from the settlement which France had adopted, and which was satisfactory to Holland. But it happened, just at that time, that negotiations commenced for the election of prince Leopold to the throne of Belgium. The noble earl (Grey) had said that the government of this country had nothing to do with that election. But the noble earl would allow him to refer him to a letter from the noble lord who was at that time employed in Belgium.

From that letter it appeared that one of the objects of the noble lord's residence in Brussels was to bring about that election; and, for that purpose, he recommended certain arrangements with a view to facilitate the acceptance of that offer by prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. The evidence went clearly to show, that the election of that prince was the cause of the abandonment of the settlement which had been accepted by Holland, and which Belgium had refused. He must be permitted to say, that he intended no disrespect to the king of Belgium; on the contrary, he had a great respect for his talents and attainments, and he trusted, that if that prince would take on him the character of an independent sovereign, he would be an excellent king of that country. But then he must be independent, not only of this country, but of France. To prove the interference of our government, he must further state, that lord Ponsonby was ordered to state to the Belgian government, that he should leave Brussels on the 1st of June, unless the articles were accepted by that day; but they were not settled, and he departed; and the first thing that was done after his return to London, was the alteration of the basis of the settlement already agreed upon. This was done without consulting the Dutch minister, in consequence of some representation made by lord Ponsonby to the conference; and the Belgian government was told, that if they accepted the articles, the conference was willing to go into negotiations to obtain from Holland the cession of Luxembourg for a valuable consideration—that is, for the cession of an equivalent territory. Now, according to the usual practice of such negotiations, Holland ought to have been consulted. But no such thing. The first that Holland heard of it was by the publication of lord Ponsonby's letter. The king of the Netherlands remonstrated, but he was told that, *bon-gré mal-gré*, he must accept the new settlement. He animadverted with severity on the arbitrary course which had been pursued. It had been said that that was the only step that could be taken without producing war. He thought, on the contrary, that it was likely to breed future wars, but he trusted their lordships would not be deterred from doing their duty on that and other subjects (here he evidently glanced at the reform question), by threats either of foreign or domestic war. The address was rejected by a majority of thirty-seven.



He continued actively to interest himself in public affairs. Many and pointed were the speeches he made on the various subjects which successively came before their lordships, and failed not to oppose the new reform bill in its progress through the lords.

By this time a great change had been effected in the views of some of the former opponents of reform. That the lords should have disappointed the hopes of a great portion of the people, was bitterly commented upon, and the king had been solicited to create a hundred new peers, raising to that dignity known reformers, that the measure so ardently coveted might at length be carried: The apprehension awoke by this call, and the probability that it would not be made in vain, operated very seriously in certain quarters. Lord Wharncliffe and lord Harrowby, startled at the idea of such an exercise of the king's prerogative, now doubted whether it would not be wiser to pass the objectionable bill than carry things to such an extremity by continued resistance. The bishop of London, deeply impressed with a sense of the danger which overhung the country, decided to take a similar course. Other peers who had been hostile to parliamentary reform, were in like manner brought over, and a considerable section of the house of lords was, in consequence, designated "the Waverers." The duke of Wellington could not be induced to act with them. If he felt that something must be conceded to popular excitement, he was not prepared to favour the required concession of the bill; the general cry being, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." He was still persuaded, that after so violent a change as was suggested, the government of the country would be impracticable. Speaking, on the second night of the debate, on the second reading of the new bill, he said he would ask, was the country to be handed over to a government which was not in any manner practicable? Was the security of all the institutions of the country to be brought to risk, because the house of commons was in a state which prevented it from giving to this bill a deliberate consideration? All the arguments regarding the decisions of the house of commons must come to the same end. There would be, no doubt, ten decisions of the same kind if it were left to the same house, because that house was pledged and returned for that purpose.

But the country was not to be abandoned on this account. He altogether denied that the difficulty now experienced was chronic, as had been stated by the noble earl: it was only temporary, and was to be removed by the government that had raised it. Then, the next point of the noble earl was, the opinion of the country. Now, there could be no doubt whatsoever, that there was no opinion existing in the country in the year 1829 and the beginning of 1830, on the subject of parliamentary reform. That was a fact which was fully admitted, notwithstanding the cheers of noble lords, and he would say it might be taken for granted. Then came the French revolution and the insurrection in Belgium, which occurred at the commencement of the elections of 1830; and there was no doubt that these events occasioned a very great excitement and alteration in the elections, and greatly inflamed the people with respect to parliamentary reform. But the noble lords opposite had thought proper, instead of carrying such a measure, to dissolve that parliament, and a new parliament was called under a degree of excitement in the public mind such as had never before been witnessed. The consequence was, that the excitement had continued ever since, and it had been kept up by the strong opinion put forward and entertained, that it was the king who wished for parliamentary reform in the manner proposed by this bill. He believed it was no such thing. His opinion was, that the king followed the advice of his servants, but he believed it was the idea thus engendered that the king wished for reform, which rendered it difficult that there should not be some reform. It was not, however, to be supposed, that the king took any interest in the subject. He had no doubt that when this opinion reached the country, they would think like him; and he entertained no doubt, whatever, that if it were supposed that the king's mind were altered, the noble earl opposite would not be able to pass this bill. Indeed, he was sure, from experience, that, if the nation, on any great constitutional question, were not convinced that the king would go through with the ministers, it would be impossible for any set of ministers to carry any such measure. He would also wish noble lords to attend particularly to this. The opinion of the gentlemen of the country—he spoke from knowledge with respect to the southern counties, and from sure

report as to other counties generally—but he did say, that the opinion of the gentlemen, of the landed property, and of the learning of the country, was against this bill. The bill was, on the other hand, supported by the noble lords opposite and by their adherents, certainly not a numerous class; it was also supported by all the dissenters from the church of England, and by all who wished it should pass, as a means of their attaining votes; but he would repeat, that it was, in fact, opposed to the sentiments of all the gentlemen, of the yeomanry, and of the middling classes throughout the country. Yes, he would say, there was a change of opinion, and that the best part of the public were not desirous of the bill, but were, on the contrary, apprehensive of its effects. But they did not hear of this, and why? Because no gentleman in the country could go to a public meeting and speak his sentiments, secure from the attacks of the mobs. Another ground on which the noble earl (Harrowby) said that they ought to read the bill a second time was, that they should endeavour to amend it; but if the noble earl found that would be difficult last year, would it not be more difficult now? He had that morning had a note put into his hand of the anomalies of the bill, which was the result of a paper laid before the house of commons even since the passing of the bill, and its being sent up to this house, and a perusal of it would show that there was nothing they could do which would improve this bill, and weed it of the gross errors with which it abounded. By parliamentary paper 232, being an abstract of the practical operation of the bill, according to the new limits given to the several boroughs, it appeared that the borough of Clitheroe, which was partially disfranchised in schedule B, had a greater population than sixty places which were left untouched; another, Shaftesbury, than fifty-two; another, Wilton, than forty-six. Clitheroe had more houses than fifty-seven untouched boroughs; Wilton, than fifty-six; Shaftesbury, than fifty-four; and so as to taxes. Christchurch, which was in schedule B, paid more assessed taxes than forty-five places not in the schedule, whereof no less than nine were new-made boroughs; Wilton paid more than thirty-nine; Droitwich and Wallingford more than thirty-three; and so on; seven or eight other places being put into schedule B, which had larger constituencies than boroughs

which were untouched. The reason that the difference in this class was not so great as in the population and houses, was, that the arbitrary additions made to the boroughs were mostly of poor and scattered districts which did not add to the taxation in the same proportion. But the most important view of all, was the number of ten-pound houses, the amount of the future constituency.

At the close of a strong debate, the second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of nine; the contents being, present, one hundred and twenty-eight; proxies, fifty-six: not contents, one hundred and twenty-six; proxies, forty-nine. On the 16th of April, their lordships adjourned over Easter, and, on the following day, entered on the journals of the house a strong protest against the measure, which they condemned for its violation of chartered rights, and for the introduction of an exorbitant degree of democratic influence into the constitution. The protest was signed by seventy-four peers, including six bishops; and by the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester.

The friends of the bill thought the measure (being carried through its second reading by so small a majority) was by no means safe, and their efforts to keep the public awake to its importance, were unremittingly continued. In all parts of the country meetings were called; at these strong resolutions were passed, which prayed the lords to accede to the wishes of the people, while addresses were voted to the king, calling upon him to be to the petitioners as "their sheet-anchor, and their refuge from the storm." In many instances threats were held out that no more taxes would be paid till the reform bill had passed into a law.

At the close of the Easter recess, the parliament reassembled. On the 7th of May, the house being in committee, earl Grey moved a clause disfranchising certain boroughs. Lord Lyndhurst wished that the clauses respecting disfranchised boroughs should stand over, till the case of the boroughs and places to be enfranchised had been disposed of; and moved an amendment to that effect, which, though opposed by ministers, was carried by a majority of thirty-five. After this they could not hope to carry the bill but by creating new peers. This step they pressed on his majesty. The king hesitated, whereupon they tendered their resignations, which were accepted.

Lord Lyndhurst was then sent for by king William, and directed to take steps towards forming a new ministry, based on a scheme of extensive reform. The message of the king was immediately communicated by his lordship to the duke of Wellington, who, though still unfriendly to parliamentary reform, and though not desirous of again taking office, was anxious to extricate the king from the embarrassing situation in which he was placed. Lord Lyndhurst and the duke immediately turned their thoughts to sir Robert Peel; but that right honourable baronet was of opinion he could be of no service to the king or the nation, in the way they suggested. Lord Lyndhurst found himself greatly embarrassed. He communicated with several political leaders, but could find no man of adequate weight disposed to step forward. Those who had resisted the measure, which now occupied all minds, if they came into office, would instantly have to encounter a hostile house of commons, indignantly claiming its own reform. To escape this evil, if a dissolution were resorted to, the state of the public mind was such, that it was hardly within the range of things possible for a parliament less favourable to reform to be elected. On the 15th, lord Lyndhurst reported to the king, that the commission with which he had been entrusted had totally failed. Earl Grey was then recalled, and the late government was restored on the 17th.

Wellington, in his place, explained what his conduct had been in the late transactions. Having been sent for by his majesty, he said he found a large number of friends who were not unwilling to give their support to a government, formed on the principle of resisting such advice as had recently been given to the king. He had, in consequence, advised his majesty not to reappoint the late ministers: he advised him to seek not his assistance, but that of other persons to fill the high offices of state. Instead of advising the king with a view to objects of personal ambition, as he had been accused of doing, he gave that advice which he thought would lead to another arrangement, stating himself to be ready to serve his majesty in any or in no capacity. It was usual, when ministers found a majority against them on a particular question, to modify the measure under consideration; but the late ministers, when the reform bill failed, had brought in a stronger and more objectionable measure, and this it was pro-

posed to force through the house by the creation of a large number of peers. If that were a legal and constitutional course, he considered the ancient constitution of the country at an end. He would ask, could any one be blind enough not to see, that if a minister might with impunity advise his sovereign to venture on such an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, thereby to decide any question in that house, there was absolutely an end of the power and importance of that house? and his opinion was, that the threat of creating peers, if it should have the effect of inducing noble lords to absent themselves from the house, or to adopt any particular line of conduct, was just as bad as the execution of it would be. The only course that could be pursued by those with whom he had the honour to act, was to counsel the king to resist the advice he had received; but his majesty insisted that "some extensive measure of reform"—he used the king's own words—should be framed. He had always thought the bill unnecessary: his opinion was unaltered; but, under the circumstances, he consented to assist his majesty in forming an administration upon the condition his majesty had mentioned. Had he refused to assist the king in such a case, noble lords might think he would have acted more wisely; but he could not help feeling, that if he had been capable of saying to his majesty, "I cannot assist you in this affair," he did not think he could have shown his face in the streets for shame, having abandoned his sovereign under such distressing circumstances. He strongly commented on the unconstitutional measure which had been contemplated—the creation of a great number of peers. When he first heard of it, he had said it was impossible such a thought could be entertained. He considered the just exercise of the prerogative of the crown did not, by any means, go so far as to enable his majesty to create a body of peers to carry any particular measure. When he (the duke) found, in consequence of the discussion in the house of commons, it was the opinion of the leading men that for such a purpose a creation of peers should not take place, as he perceived he could not form a government from that house which would secure the confidence of the country, he felt that it was his duty to inform the king that he could not fulfil the task with which he had been pleased to honour him, and his majesty then informed him he would

renew his communication with his former ministers.

Earl Grey and his colleagues, restored to office, declared they could only carry on the government of the country by passing the reform bill. The situation of the country appeared most critical. A considerable number of peers, in consequence, desisted from opposing the measure, which was then carried through its remaining stages, and received the royal assent on the 7th of June.

The duke, at this date, had become very unpopular. Instead of the shouts which had formerly greeted him, hisses and disrespectful speeches were frequently breathed where he appeared. On the 18th of June, having occasion to visit the mint, he was hooted on the way; and, when returning through Fenchurch-street, a ruffian seized his horse's bridle, and attempted to throw his grace from the saddle. His groom and the police exerted themselves with success to repel the assailant; and the duke passed through Cheapside to Holborn, still followed by a noisy mob, and eventually pelted with stones. He was in no small danger from the increasing violence of the crowd; but, leaving Holborn, he rode to Stone-buildings, in Lincoln's-inn, where, in the chambers of sir Charles Wetherell, he found safety, till a body of police from Bow-street attended to escort him to Apsley-house, "the windows of which," wrote the earl of Eldon, shortly afterwards, describing the scene, "are no longer boarded, but protected by iron, strong enough to be proof against ball and bullet; and which protecting iron, I have been told, cost him fifteen hundred pounds. So passeth away the glory of this world!"

Whatever the feelings of the reformers might be, deputations from the merchants, bankers, and traders in the city of London, and others, and also from the city of Westminster, were anxious to testify the satisfaction they felt at the course the duke had pursued as a politician; and, on July 6th, deputations waited on him at Apsley-house with addresses, tendering him, in terms the most flattering, the expression of their gratitude for the stand he had made against the reform bill. Addresses had been voted, which were presented by Mr. Jeremiah Harman from London, and by sir Thomas Farquhar from Westminster. His grace, apprised of their coming, had a reply prepared, which he read. In this he stated that the people of England had, in former times, shown their disapprobation of the conduct of public men,

and in the excitement of the moment; were, in some cases, led to acts of riot and disorder; but on those occasions they had not been excited to violence and outrage by the speeches of gentlemen of influence, and by the publications of a licentious press; nor had the people been urged to form unions in every parish, of all the middling classes with the working or operative body, for the purpose of overruling the government and parliament. It was those combinations upon which a great authority had pronounced the judgment, that their permanent existence was inconsistent with good order and the safety of the state, which had occasioned the continuance of excitement after all pretence for it had ceased, and the insecurity of person and of property, which was obvious at that moment, and of which, said the duke, "the treatment of myself, in the middle of the day, in the most frequented communication of the capital, affords a flagrant example." He asserted, the pretext for the continuance of excitement had ceased, because the bill respecting which he had differed from many whom he then addressed had become the law, and it was his duty to submit to it, and to facilitate its execution by every means in his power. His grace proceeded to point out, that manufactures and commerce could not flourish, and that capital must disappear where political agitation and disturbance prevailed; that there could be no security for persons or property, and there must be a cessation of business, and a stagnation of employment. Whether they looked back to the history of their own country, or to the events of their own times in neighbouring countries, to those witnessed only within the last two years, they must consider the suggestions to the people, to assume control over the government and the parliament, equally inconsistent with the constitution of the British empire, and injurious to the people themselves. They had before their eyes the fatal effects of such an assumption of sovereignty, in a neighbouring capital. Circumstances having exposed him to be attacked as he had been, he returned his cordial and heartfelt acknowledgments for the interest which they had expressed for him as an individual; and it afforded him great satisfaction to be able to say, that the feelings manifested by the fellow-citizens of those who had waited upon him corresponded with their own. Many had offered him an asylum in their houses, and he was convinced, that there was not one who would not have

made every effort in his power to save him from injury.

Though not an indifferent spectator of passing events, his name frequently occurs in the parliamentary debates of the period, as leader of the opposition in the years 1833 and 1834; but nothing very remarkable or memorable occurred. The session opened on the 4th of February, when the duke, though he did not oppose the address, sharply commented on the speech to which it was an answer. It was well known that the war in Portugal was carried on with the money and forces of England, and yet they heard of the necessity of neutrality being maintained; and the king of Spain had been told that he must remain neutral, or the British government would support Dom Pedro. Ought not the rule of neutrality to be equally binding upon England? It was, however, violated in the manner he had described, and the acts in breach of it were carried on under the direction of the British fleets in the Douro and the Tagus. He hoped ministers would lose no time in bringing forward whatever measures were required to complete the arrangement with respect to the church of Ireland, and to rescue that most deserving race of men (the clergy of that church) from a state of unparalleled suffering and distress.

In the course of this year a new honour was conferred on the duke of Wellington. The chancellor of the university of Oxford (lord Grenville) having deceased, his grace was elected to succeed him. The duke appeared at Oxford on the 9th of June, and opened the convocation on the following day. There orations were made highly complimentary to the new chancellor. Among the degrees conferred on this occasion, one was bestowed by the duke on lord Encombe, the grandson of the earl of Eldon.

Advancing years caused earl Grey to withdraw from public life. Lord Melbourne succeeded him as prime minister. Earl Spencer died in November, 1834, and, in consequence, lord Althorp, who was chancellor of the exchequer and leader in the house of commons, became a peer of the realm, and was entitled to the seat of his late father in the house of lords.

To carry on the government, it was necessary to find some public man who could take the place of lord Althorp in the lower house. Lord Melbourne waited on the king to give his advice on that subject. He had, however, scarcely opened the business by speak-

ing of the difficulty of filling up the vacancy, when the monarch bluntly told him he would take that trouble off his hands. Ministers, upon this, had only to resign.

The duke of Wellington being sent for by the king, advised his majesty to make sir Robert Peel the new prime minister. That right honourable baronet was then on the continent, and as nothing could be settled, till his return, for some short time, all the executive powers of the country were in the hands of the duke. A waggish pictorial representation of what the artist called a cabinet council, was published, in which his grace, seated at the head of the table, appeared, without a single colleague, the question—how is his majesty's government to be carried on? lying before him. Till sir Robert Peel returned to England, the situation in which the duke found himself was not a little extraordinary, holding, as he did, the office of premier and the three secretaryships of state.

Mr. Peel returned and accepted office. Parliament was dissolved, and this and the positions which the duke of Wellington (now become foreign secretary) had temporarily occupied, were sharply attacked, when the houses reassembled in February, 1835. The duke defended himself with his wonted straightforwardness and ability.

Threats of impeachment had been launched against him, in various places, as an usurper of unconstitutional power. He remarked upon it, that the charge, though loudly urged, was not a very serious one after all. When the king empowered him to form a ministry, he had declined the offer, however flattering it might have been to ambition; he did not act as one who had a personal object to serve; he refused the office of prime minister, and recommended to his majesty to send for sir Robert Peel, as the individual most capable, in the present times, of discharging the duties of the king's prime minister. It was necessary, both that some person should be in the government till sir Robert's return, and that whoever carried it on, should exercise no patronage, nor take any step which might prevent the new minister, on his arrival, from acting with perfect freedom. He had therefore advised his majesty to place him (the duke) provisionally at the head of affairs, as first lord of the treasury and secretary of the home department. It was true that, in the latter capacity, he held the seals of the three secretaryships; but whoever was appointed to any one of these

three offices, was competent to hold the seals of the other two in the absence of those to whom they had been confided; and he had exercised no more authority than if he had been one of the three principal secretaries, and his colleagues absent. No inconvenience had resulted from the arrangement. During the time he held the seals, there was not a single office disposed of, or act done, which was not essentially necessary for the service of the king and of the country; and sir Robert Peel found all things, as nearly as might be, in the same situation in which they had been when the change of ministry took place. It might be true that there was an incompatibility between the secretaryships and the office of first lord of the treasury, if these offices were held by the same individual for any length of time; but everybody knew that the arrangement was merely temporary. For his own part he had had no communication of any description with the court for between two and three months before he received his majesty's message; and although he was satisfied that some great change in the administration must follow the removal of lord Althorp from the house of commons, that message was as much a matter of surprise to him as it possibly could be to any of their lordships. The late administration had been dissolved by the impossibility of going on longer, from the time they lost their leader in the house of commons. Earl Grey had been under the necessity of resigning, when lord Althorp, then chancellor of the exchequer, resigned. The noble viscount, too, had declared that he considered the noble lord's assistance essentially necessary to him. But when his majesty was left by earl Grey, and when lord Althorp was removed from the other house, his majesty, forsooth, was not to be permitted to consider whether his position was not materially altered by these events; and whether it would not be expedient for him to make some other arrangements for the carrying on of his service. As to the dissolution of parliament; it was true, that a ministry who advised the dissolution of a parliament, was liable to be called on for some reason which might have induced them so to do; but he had seldom heard of such a course of proceeding as that ministers should be told, on the first day of the assembling of parliament, "Give me some reason why you thought fit to dissolve; and justify your dissolution of parliament by showing that the effort you have made has been a suc-

cessful one." The noble viscount, after heaping his censure upon them for dissolving, added, that in all cases where parliament had been dissolved, it was success which justified the measure. If, then, they had made an experiment which was to depend upon so peremptory a criterion, surely, he ought at least to allow them a short time to wait and see fairly what had been the result. He believed there were a great number of persons disposed and determined to support the administration, and he hoped the house would have the patience to wait and see what were the measures they had to propose for the benefit of the country.

Lord Brougham, in reply to the duke maintained that he (the duke) was responsible for the dismissal of the late ministry, not as having advised or produced it (which he certainly had not done), but as having succeeded to it; for whoever, he argued, takes the place of a dismissed ministry, becomes answerable for that dismissal. For many acts of a government a minister might be held responsible, and would, by law, be held responsible, although ignorant of those acts, and albeit he did not advise them. The reason was simply this—the king could do no wrong; he must, however, have some adviser, and therefore some responsible adviser. Now, the noble duke stood in that position; he was peculiarly, he was emphatically, advisable for the change of his majesty's advisers. For who could be responsible but he who came into the space which the change had made vacant? If the king thought proper to take the seals from one man to give them to another, the man who took the seals became responsible for the change; he was responsible, in point of fact, as well as in point of law; but for his assistance the act could not have been committed.

It was not, for a single moment, pretended that the dismissal of the late administration arose from any incapacity on their part; it was not from any want of success in their measures; it was not from any failure of any sort or description, that, on the 14th of last November, the late administration was dissolved. But, forsooth, it was dissolved because lord Althorp had been called from the house of commons to the house of lords; and without him, it was said, the government could not go on. The late ministers, it seemed, had not an estate for the life of the king, nor the life of the parliament; they did not hold their places

during good behaviour, nor during pleasure, nor as long as they were efficient, nor on condition of their measures being attended with success; they held them simply during the natural life of the late lord Spencer, and no longer; that noble earl being then seventy-eight years of age. There never had been an admission, on the part of the late ministers, that they were not prepared to carry on the government. As to the question which had been put, whether the king was to be the only person excluded from forming an opinion as to the propriety of changing the ministry, he contended that though the power of nomination was vested primarily in the king, it was not a thing to be used capriciously or unreasonably. The parties who advised the dismissal of an administration on no public or stateable grounds, incurred a most serious responsibility; for the sovereign of this country had no right to dismiss his ministers, unless upon public grounds; and no man had a right to advise the exercise of that highest of the royal functions, unless he could openly state and defend the grounds on which that advice was given.

Though, notwithstanding the powerful appeal of lord Brougham, the defence of the duke was deemed satisfactory, but though he and the new premier manifested a greater disposition to favour liberal measures than they had heretofore avowed, it was soon evident that the ministry could not stand. On the 8th of April, sir Robert and his colleagues resigned, declaring it useless to attempt to carry on the business of the country in the face of the opposition they had to meet. In consequence of the defeat and resignation of sir Robert Peel, the duke again found himself the leader of the conservative opposition in the house of lords, and commenced what, to the political philosopher, will prove not the least interesting portion of his career; although, to the biographer, it furnishes no salient points. The violent oscillations of the public mind had sufficiently subsided to enable the people to reflect on the duke's career as a whole; an almost necessary consequence of which was, that he found himself once more exercising a moral influence proportionate to his great services. Between 1835 and 1841, when he again took office, he acted as a kind of moderator in political disputes, and a guide of public opinion. In 1839, he was, with sir Robert Peel, called on to take office. He fully coincided with that states-

man in resting his refusal on the ground that her majesty declined to make changes in the *personnel* of her court—that is to say, in respect of the ladies of the household.

His political life may here be said to have closed, though he still raised his voice in the cause of his country. It was the singular good fortune of this great man to triumph in peace, as he had done in war, over all who had been opposed to him. The earl of Winchilsea, whose stern hostility led to a personal combat, became his intimate friend. In 1837, he met, in the ambassador sent from France to attend the coronation of her majesty, his old antagonist Soult, who was Louis Philippe's ambassador extraordinary on the occasion. At the dinner given by the corporation of London to the distinguished foreigners in England, at Guildhall, those illustrious chieftains exchanged mutual compliments and expressions of amity. In 1839, a banquet given to the duke at Dover, as lord warden of the Cinque Ports, brought another old antagonist, lord Brougham, forth as his panegyrist. He said: "Although no man, on such an occasion, is entitled to entertain any personal feelings on his own behalf, it would be affectation, it would be insolent ingratitude, were I not to express the sentiments which glow within my bosom, at being the instrument of making known those feelings which reign predominant in yours. Enough, however, of myself; now for my mighty subject. But the choice you have made of your instrument—of your organ, as it were, on this occasion—is not unconnected with that subject; for it shows that on this day, on this occasion, all personal, all political feelings are quelled; all strife of party is hushed; that we are incapable, whatever be our opinions, of refusing to acknowledge transcendent merit, and of denying that we feel the irresistible impulse of unbounded gratitude; and I am, therefore, asked to do this service, as if to show that no difference of opinion upon subjects however important—no long course of opposition, however contracted, upon public principles—not even long inveterate habits of public opposition, are able so far to stifle the natural feelings of our hearts, so as to obscure our reason, as to prevent us from feeling as we ought, boundless gratitude for boundless merit. Neither can it pluck from our minds that admiration proportioned to the transcendent genius, in peace and in war, of him who is amongst us to-day; nor can

it lighten or alleviate the painful—the deep sense which the untired mind never can get rid of when it is overwhelmed by a debt of gratitude too boundless to be repaid. If I had all the eloquence of all the tongues ever attuned to speak, what else could I do? How could a thousand words, or all the names that could be named, speak so powerfully—aye, even if I spoke with the tongue of an angel—as if I were to mention one word—sir Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington, the hero of a hundred fields, in all of which his banner was waved in triumph; who never—I invoke both hemispheres to witness—bear witness Europe, bear witness Asia—who never advanced but to cover his arms with glory; the captain who never advanced but to be victorious; the mightier captain, who never retreated but to eclipse the glory of his advance by the yet harder task of unwearied patience indomitable to lassitude—the inexhaustible resources of transcendent skill; showing the wonders, the marvels of a moral courage never yet subdued. Despising all who thwarted him with ill-considered advice, neglecting all hostility, so he knew it to be groundless; laughing to scorn reviling enemies, jealous competitors, lukewarm friends—aye, hardest of all, to neglect despising even a fickle public, he cast his eye forward as a man might, else he deserves not to command men—cast forward his eye to a time when that momentary fickleness of the people would pass away, knowing that in the end the people are always just to merit.”

The duke of Wellington responded in the same cordial spirit, rejoicing that though differences of opinion might exist, there were occasions which lifted the politicians of England above all considerations of party.

Mr. O'Connell was not among the number of his political adversaries who became friendly towards the duke. Though the latter treated the angry speeches of the agitator, and the contemptuous epithets lavished on him, with appropriate disdain, his hatred of those arts which were used to inflame the Irish people, precluded him from thinking favourably of that learned person. No concessions made to his opinions could disarm Mr. O'Connell. This is not the place to describe all his various labours to disturb the government. It is sufficient to say, that it was at length thought necessary to subject him to a prosecution. He was charged with being engaged “in an illegal conspiracy for the purpose of effect-

ing changes in the constitution of Ireland, by other than constitutional means.” Seven of his friends were indicted with him. Their trial commenced, in the court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, on the 15th of January, 1844, and was brought to a close on the 12th of the following month, when a verdict of guilty was returned against the parties, with individual exceptions to a portion of the various charges.

If less conspicuous than heretofore in his declining years, Wellington was still anxious to serve his country by offering sage counsel in regard to the administration of her affairs. He maintained his former opinions. The corn-laws he defended, he eulogised the skill and valour displayed by the army in the East Indies, he deprecated rash interferences with the great seminaries of learning, and renewed his opposition to the abolition of the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. He was greatly affected by the death of sir Robert Peel, and rendered a high tribute of admiration to the talents and virtues of his departed friend. The ecclesiastical titles' bill received his support, and on that occasion he expressed his regret at the failure of the catholic relief bill, which he had been sanguine enough to hope would end, or at least abate agitation in Ireland. He praised the services of sir Harry Smith at the Cape; and his powerful mind, to the end of his lengthened career, was turned to all the great political questions of the day. Almost his last speech in parliament was made in support of the militia bill, an increase of the defences of the country having been loudly called for. A letter which he wrote on the subject was published, and evinced much anxious reflection, though its suggestions were not acted upon. On the occasion referred to he spoke with difficulty, and the long pauses between his sentences, and sometimes between the words, betrayed the effort it required to proceed. But his remarks were fully to the point. He asserted that the addition of the militia now proposed to be enrolled, would not swell our peace establishment to more than its fair constitutional proportions, and that our peace establishment ought to have been augmented long before. On the 23rd of June, his grace moved an humble address to her majesty for a copy of an order with respect to the transmission of reinforcements to the Cape. This was his final public act in the house of lords, except his attendance (and as was his wont, he was among the “earliest



of the arrivals") at the ceremony of the prorogation of parliament on the 2nd of July.

His task was performed; his departure was at hand. On the 17th of September, 1852, the duke having sat up rather later than usual on the previous night, his valet did not call him until a quarter after six o'clock. About half-past seven o'clock, one of the housemaids heard unusual sounds proceeding from the duke's apartment. She immediately gave the alarm. The valet, alarmed, ran directly to the duke's room, and, on arriving there, found the duke lying upon his right side instead of his back, and breathing with apparent difficulty. Approaching his bedside, the valet informed the duke of the hour. "It is a quarter past eight o'clock, your grace." The duke opened his eyes slowly, and said, "Thank you." After a few moments he inquired (still in the same calm and collected voice), "Where does the apothecary live?" Kendall replied, "In Deal, close by, your grace." Pausing for a moment, the duke presently remarked—"I should like to see him, Kendall." Mr. Hulke, the apothecary, arrived, and imagining that his patient was suffering from an attack of indigestion, prescribed accordingly, and before leaving the castle, saw lord Charles Wellesley, and gave it as his opinion that no danger was to be apprehended. After the surgeon had left the castle, Mr. Kendall prepared some tea, and asked the duke if he would take a little. The duke replied, "Yes, if you please." These were the last words he ever spoke. He had some difficulty in raising himself to take the tea. After drinking it, he again reclined on the bed, and it was observed that his difficulty of breathing appeared to increase. Lord Charles Wellesley, with several of the domestics, were soon on the spot. The duke remained insensible for some time, but at length recovered consciousness, though he did not speak. A succession of fits followed, and he ceased to live.

Full of years as the duke of Wellington was, the event, looking at the ordinary duration of human life, could not be supposed to be far distant; but it, notwithstanding, coming suddenly on the public, created an extraordinary sensation throughout the empire. "Forgot were hatred, wrongs (real or imaginary), and fears;" the unpopular minister, the opponent of reform, were remembered no more; but all parties, all classes desired to honour the great warrior who had successfully carried the thunder of England

from east to west, and closed his military labours in a blaze of triumph, without having known the mortification of a single defeat.

The wishes of the family having been ascertained, it was soon announced that the honours of a public funeral were to be rendered to the departed. Such was the desire of the queen, which was cordially responded to by parliament. The final ceremony was fixed to take place on Thursday, the 18th of November; but it was arranged that the body should lie in state at Chelsea. It may be said to have done so at Walmer, as many thousands visited the apartment in which it rested there. The corpse was brought to London on the morning of the 11th by the South-eastern railway, and was thence escorted to Chelsea.

The lying in state took place on the 11th, and following days, till the evening of the 17th, when the body was removed to the Horse-guards, preparatory to interment on the 18th.

The 18th of November was a day rendered memorable by all the attendant circumstances; nearly all the houses in the line the procession was to take, were fitted up with seats for the accommodation of spectators. The weather, for several weeks, had been remarkably wet. Nothing, however, in the threatening aspect of the clouds could prevent the multitudes, which thronged from all parts of England to witness the solemnity, from repairing to Fleet-street and the Strand long before daylight.

At an early hour the troops which were to attend began to muster in St. James's-park. On the left of the parade, facing the Horse-guards, the 2nd battalion of rifles (the 1st being then at the Cape) was drawn up. Next, the 1st battalion of royal marines and the 33rd regiment in column. To the right of these were the fusileer, Coldstream, and grenadier guards, the whole force forming an imposing array. At the east end of the Mall might be observed the head of the cavalry force, comprising eight squadrons from the most distinguished regiments in the service. Lord Hardinge, by his presence, greatly accelerated the preparations. The coffin was removed from the chamber in which it had rested during the night, and by the aid of machinery was raised to its position on the lofty summit of the car. At eight o'clock the hangings of the tent which concealed it were suddenly furled. The first minute-gun was fired, the troops presented arms and saluted the body, upon which the

roll of the muffled drum, followed by the music of the "Dead March" in *Saul*, announced that the procession had commenced.

A grand funeral car had been built for the occasion. Borne on six wheels, the lower part bronze, a rich pediment exhibited in its panels the names of those places in India and in Europe which were identified with the greatest triumphs of the deceased. Appropriate military emblems graced its sides. A splendid pall, powdered with silver and embroidered, covered the bier, bordered with laurels of the same metal, and bearing the scriptural inscription, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." The pall was terminated by a magnificent fringe of silver two feet deep. The coffin, with the duke's hat and sword resting on it, surmounted the bier, and from four great halberts rising at each corner, was suspended a magnificent canopy, with pendent cords and tassels of the richest and most costly description. To this gigantic vehicle, twenty-seven feet long, ten feet broad, seventeen feet high, and weighing from ten to eleven tons, twelve of the largest and finest black horses that could be procured, were harnessed three abreast. They were completely covered with velvet housings, which bore the arms of the deceased. The horses heads were surmounted by nodding plumes.

As the procession advanced towards the east end of the Mall, many members of parliament and peers who had assembled at that point uncovered as it passed. When the car arrived in front of Buckingham-palace it halted for a short time, giving her majesty and the royal family, who were in the balcony above the main entrance, an opportunity of seeing it. Passing up Constitution-hill, the car approached Grosvenor-gate. At the gate a halt was made, and the eye naturally turned towards Apsley-house, which was completely closed. The progress of the pageant lay through the western part of Piccadilly and St. James's-street. At St. James's-palace her majesty and the royal family had a second view of the procession. It moved through Pall-Mall to Charing-cross, and thence by the Strand to Temple-bar, which was, on this occasion, put in masquerade; nearly the whole of its front, both in Fleet-street and the Strand, was covered with black velvet and decorated with fringes. The summit displayed a large silver gilt urn, and the corners urns of a smaller size; from the top of each arose a constant blaze of gas. There

were several monograms, in the centre of which were the initials "W.A.," and suspended from each were representations of the various orders which the late duke had received from different countries. Adjoining were lions bearing shields, containing the armorial bearings of those countries of which he was marshal. For some weeks so bright a day had not been seen. The sun shone with unwonted splendour, when the solemn train entered the cathedral, as if to heighten the last earthly honours that could be rendered to the illustrious subject of the pageant with a ray of celestial glory. The spectacle was in every respect one of historical interest. There were old generals and field officers, the illustrious companions-in-arms of the duke, enduring, as best they could, the force of the searching November wind, which blew keenly through the open doorway of the sacred edifice. The distinguished foreigners withdrew before it several times, and the clergy, who, in double lines extending along the nave, waited for the service to begin, vainly sheltered their faces in their robes. Garter and his colleagues stood it out bravely, and, after many efforts, at length succeeded in marshalling the procession. It was a fine and an imposing sight to see the muster of veterans at the entrance during this detention—sir William Napier sitting on a kettle-drum—sir Charles moving about with the activity of a much younger man—lord Hardinge also vigorous, and full of life; but, most wonderful of all, the marquis of Anglesey, with bald, uncovered head, apparently unconscious of the fact that age stands exposure to cold less successfully than youth. The display of orders, stars, and ribands here was quite overpowering. The procession was of great length. A copy of the official programme follows:—

Infantry—Six Battalions.

Band of the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.

MAJOR-GENERAL FANE:—

2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.

Band of the 1st Battalion Royal Marines—Chatham Division.

1st Battalion Royal Marines.

Band of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.

Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.

Bands of the Scots Fusileer and Coldstream Guards.

MAJOR-GENERAL SHAW:—

Battalion Fusileer Guards.

Battalion Coldstream Guards.

1st Battalion Grenadier Guards.

Band of the Royal Artillery.

Artillery—Nine Guns of the Field Batteries

Band of Her Majesty's 17th Lancers.

Cavalry—Five Squadrons, viz:—

## MAJOR-GENERAL JACKSON :—

17th Lancers.  
Band of Her Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons.  
13th Light Dragoons.  
Band of Her Majesty's 8th Hussars.  
8th Hussars.  
Band of Her Majesty's Scots Greys.  
Scots Greys.  
8th Dragoon Guards.

Eight Guns of Horse Artillery.

The 17 Pieces commanded by Colonel Whinyates, C.B.

Band of the 1st Life Guards.

## MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. H. CAVENDISH :—

Royal Regiment of Horse Guards (Blue.)  
2nd Life Guards.  
1st Life Guards.

The troops in the procession, and those assisting the civil authorities to preserve order were commanded by

Major-general H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.

The Infantry drawn up in columns in front of the Horse Guards presented Arms and reversed Arms, and, having saluted the Body, moved off the parade at 8 o'clock, followed by

Marshalmen on Foot.

Messenger of the College of Arms on Foot.

Eight Conductors with Staves on Foot.

Chelsea Pensioners, in number eighty-three, on Foot (who fell in at Charing Cross.)

Twelve Enrolled Pensioners on Foot.

One Soldier from every Regiment in Her Majesty's Service.

Three Soldiers of Artillery, and Three Soldiers of Infantry, of the East India Company's Army, representing the Artillery and Infantry of the Three Presidencies.

Thirteen Trumpets and Kettle Drums.

Two Pursuivants of Arms in a Mourning Coach.

THE STANDARD OR PENON,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

Servants of the Deceased in a Mourning Coach.

Lieut. and Deputy-lieut. of the Tower, in a Carriage.

DEPUTATIONS FROM PUBLIC BODIES IN CARRIAGES.

Merchant Taylor's Company, in one Carriage.

East India Company, in one Carriage.

Corporation of the Trinity House, in one Carriage.

Barons and Officers of the Cinque Ports, in one Carriage, with the Lieutenant and Deputy-lieutenant of

Dover Castle, in one Carriage.

Captains of Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Sandown Castles, in one Carriage.

Board of Ordnance and Ordnance Department, in one Carriage.

Delegation from the University of Oxford, in two Carriages.

Deputation from the Common Council of the City of London, in three Carriages (who fell in here after the preceding part of the procession had passed through Temple-bar.)

Two Pursuivants of Arms.

Band of Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards.

THE GUIDON,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

Comptroller of the late Duke's Household, in a

Mourning Coach.

Physicians to the Deceased, in a Mourning Coach.

Chaplain of the Tower, Chaplain of the Forces in the London District, Chaplain-general of the Forces, in a Mourning Coach.

High Sheriff of the County of Southampton.

Sheriffs of London, in two Carriages.

Aldermen and Recorder of London; a Deputation consisting of four Carriages (who fell in here after the procession passed through Temple-bar.)

Military Secretary.

Companions of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Gen. Sir Loftus Otway, Vice-admiral the Hon. Josceline Percy, Lieutenant-general William Sandwith, Sir Joshua Rowe.

Knights Commanders of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Lieutenant-general Earl Cathcart, Admiral Sir John West, Lieutenant-general Sir Hoptoun Stratford Scott, Sir S. George Bonham.

Knights Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, represented by four in one Carriage, viz., Lieutenant-general Right Hon. Sir Edward Blakeney, Admiral of the Fleet Sir George Cockburn, Lieutenant-general Sir George Pollock, Viscount Palmerston, being one of each Class from the Army, one from the Navy, one from the East India Company's Service, and one from the Civil Service.

Heralds, in a Mourning Coach.

Band of Her Majesty's 2nd Life Guards.

BANNER OF WELLESLEY,

Carried by a Lieutenant-colonel, supported by two Captains in the Army, on Horseback.

The Lords Justices of Appeal.

The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The Master of the Rolls.

The Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Paymaster General of the Forces.

The Right Hon. the Secretary at War.

The Right Hon. the Judge Advocate General.

The Master General of the Ordnance.

The First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Secretaries of State for Home and Col. Depart.

Speaker of the House of Commons.

Earl of Malmesbury, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs.

Earl of Derby, First Lord Com. of Treasury.

The Earl Marshal of England.

The Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Lord President of the Council.

The Lord Archbishop of York.

The Lord High Chancellor.

(At Temple-bar, the Lord Mayor, carrying the City Sword, joined in the procession.)

Assistant Assistant

Quartermaster-general. Adjutant-general.

Aide-de-Camp to the Deceased. Aide-de-Camp to the Deceased.

Deputy Quartermaster-general. Deputy Adjutant-general.

Quartermaster-general. Adjutant-general.

A carriage of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, drawn by Six Horses, with the Gentleman Usher, the Equerry, and Groom of the Bedchamber, to his Royal Highness.

A Carriage drawn by Six Horses, with the Private Secretary, Treasurer, and Lord of the Bedchamber, to his Royal Highness.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,

in a Carriage drawn by Six Horses.

attended by the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, and the Groom of the Stole to his

Royal Highness.

Field Officer in Brigade, Waiting.  
Serjeant Trumpeter.  
Heralds.

Norroy King of Arms, in a Mourning Coach.  
Band of the Royal Horse Guards.

THE GREAT BANNER,  
Carried by a Colonel, supported by two Lieutenant-colonels, on Horseback.  
(Here, on reaching the Cathedral, the Dignitaries of the Church, meeting the Body at the West Door, fell in.)

BATONS.

OF SPAIN—Borne by Major-general the Duke of Osuna, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Colonel Gabriel de Torres and Colonel de Calvét y Lara.

OF RUSSIA—Borne by General Prince Gortchakoff, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Major-general Count Benkendorff and Lieutenant-colonel Tchernitzky.

OF PRUSSIA—Borne by General the Count de Nostiz, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by General de Scharnhorst and Lieutenant-general de Massow.

OF PORTUGAL—Borne by Marshal the Duke of Terceira, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Lieutenant-general the Count de Villareal and Major Don Manuel de Souza Coutinho.

OF THE NETHERLANDS—Borne by Lieutenant-general the Baron d'Omphal, in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Captain Guillaume Tindal and Captain Gevers.

OF HANOVER—Borne by General Hugh Halkett, C.B., in a Mourning Coach—Supported by Colonels Poten and Marenholtz.

OF ENGLAND—Borne on a Black Velvet Cushion, in a Mourning Coach, by the Marquis of Anglesey, K.G.—Supported by Colonel the Duke of Richmond, K.G., and Major-general the Duke of Cleveland, K.G.

Gentleman Usher. { The Coronet of the Deceased, borne on a Black Velvet Cushion, in a Mourning Coach, by Clarenceux King of Arms. } Gentleman Usher.

The Pallbearers, Eight General Officers, in Two Mourning Coaches.  
Band of the Grenadier Guards.

Five Banners borne by Officers in the Army on Horseback.

THE CORPSE,

Covered with a rich Black Velvet Pall, adorned with Escutcheons, upon a Funeral Car, drawn by Twelve Horses, decorated with Trophies and Heraldic Achievements.

Five Banners borne by Officers in the Army on Horseback.

Gentleman Usher Garter Principal King of Arms, in a Mourning Coach. Gentleman Usher.

THE CHIEF MOURNER,

In a long Mourning Cloak, accompanied by Colonel Lord Charles Wellesley, the Hon. and Rev. Gerald Wellesley, and by the Hon. William Wellesley, his Trainbearer, in a Mourning Coach.

The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., and the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T., supporters of the Chief Mourner, in a Mourning Coach.

Assistants to the Chief Mourner.  
Relations and Friends of the Deceased.  
The late Duke's Horse, led by the Groom to the Deceased.

Private Carriages of the Deceased and of the Chief Mourner.

Band of the Royal Marines—Woolwich Division. Officers and Men from every Regiment in the Service; consisting of one Captain, a Subaltern, a Serjeant, a Corporal, and five men, from every Regiment.

Band of Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.

CARRIAGE OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

Two Carriages representing Her Majesty's Suite.  
Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester.

Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent.  
Carriage of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge.

Troops closed the Procession.

The Pallbearers were—

General Viscount Combermere, G.C.B. and G.C.H.  
General Marquis of Londonderry, G.C.B. and G.C.H.

General Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Lord Seaton, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.H., &c.

Lieut.-general Viscount Gough, G.C.B., &c.

Lieut.-general Sir Charles J. Napier, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Sir J. L. Lushington, G.C.B.

Lieut.-general Sir G. Pollock, G.C.B.

Major-general Sir Harry G. W. Smith, Bart. G.C.B.

They were seated on stools on each side of the body. The officers bearing the bannerols ranged behind the supporters of the pall. The Chief Mourner occupied a chair at the head of the body, his supporters on either side, the trainbearer behind, and the assistant-mourners upon stools, also on either side.

H.R.H. Prince Albert was seated in a chair on the right hand of the Chief Mourner; the suit of H.R.H. took their places near him. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge had a seat near Prince Albert.

The body being elevated on a bier, and the pall removed, the coronet and cushion were placed on the coffin, as also the Field Marshal's baton of the deceased. The foreign batons were held and supported during the ceremony by the distinguished persons before named, and they, with the Marquis of Anglesey, occupied stools at the foot of the coffin. The burial service was then commenced. Dr. Milman, the Dean of St. Paul's, read, in a most impressive manner, the Lesson, taken from 1 Cor. xv., commencing at the 20th verse, at the conclusion of which *Nunc Dimittis* was chanted; that was followed by a dirge. The ceremony was concluded by the Bishop of London pronouncing the closing benediction; and at ten minutes before three o'clock, the whole solemnity concluded.





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