tion of the English parliament was only removed by concessions continuing some important restrictions upon Irish exports, and by giving the English parliament the right of initiation in all measures relating to the regulation of the trade which was to be common to both nations. The Irish parliament took umbrage at the superiority claimed by England, and threw out the measure as an insult, which, even as it stood, was undeniably in favour of Ireland. The lesson of the incompatibility of two co-ordinate legislatures was not thrown away upon Pitt.

Commercial treaty with France. In 1786 the commercial treaty with France opened that country to English trade, and was the first result of the theories laid down by Adam Smith ten years previously. The first attack upon the horrors of the slave-trade was made in 1788; and in the same year, in the debates on the Regency Bill caused by the king's insanity, Pitt defended against Fox the right of parliament to make provision for the exercise of the powers of the crown when the wearer was permanently or temporarily disabled from exercising his authority.

The Regency Bill.

The king at St Paul's. When the king recovered, he went to St Paul's to return thanks, on the 23d of April 1789. The enthusiasm with which he was greeted showed how completely he had the nation on his side. All the hopes of liberal reformers were now on his side. All the hopes of moral and religious men were on his side as well. The seed sown by Wesley had grown to be a great tree. A spirit of thoughtfulness in religious matters and of moral energy was growing in the nation, and the king was endeared to his subjects as much by his domestic virtues as by his support of the great minister who acted in his name. The happy prospect was soon to be overclouded. On the 4th of May, eleven days after the appearance of George III. at St Paul's, the French States General met at Versailles.

The French Revolution. By the great mass of intelligent Englishmen the change was greeted with enthusiasm. It is seldom that one nation understands the tendencies and difficulties of another; and the mere fact that power was being transferred from an absolute monarch to a representative assembly led superficial observers to imagine that they were witnessing a mere repetition of the victory of the English parliament over the Stuart kings. In fact, that which was passing in France was of a totally different nature from the English struggle of the 17th century. In England, the conflict had been carried on for the purpose of limiting the power of the king. In France, it was begun in order to sweep away an aristocracy in church and state which had become barbarously oppressive. It was not therefore a conflict touching simply on the political organization of the state. The whole social organization of the country was at stake, and the struggle would be carried on at every point of the territory, and would involve every class of society. In such a conflict, therefore, there was nothing necessarily antagonistic to the maintenance of the most absolute royal power. If there had been a king on the throne who had understood the needs of the times, and who could have placed himself without afterthought at the head of the national movement, he would have been stronger for all good purposes than Lewis XIV. had ever been. Unhappily, it was not in Lewis XVI. to do anything of the kind. Well intentioned and desirous to effect the good of his people, he was not clear-headed enough to understand how it was to be done, or strong-willed enough to carry out any good resolutions to which he might be brought. The one thing impossible for a king was to be neutral in the great division which was opening in French society; and Lewis was too much a creature of habit to throw off the social ties which united him to the aristocracy. It was the knowledge that the king was in heart on the wrong side that made his continuance to rule impossible. Undoubtedly the best thing that the French could have done after the king's leanings were known, would have been to dethrone him. But this was not a step which any nation was likely to take in a hurry; and the constitution drawn up by the States General after it passed into the form of the National Assembly was necessarily grounded on suspicion. The one indispensable requisite for the working of a constitution is that it shall be possible to maintain a certain degree of harmony between the various functionaries who are intrusted with the work. Such a harmony was impossible between Lewis and the French nation. Amongst the higher order of minds there might be a desire for liberty, and the word liberty was on the lips of every one. But the thought of liberty was rarely to be found. It was by the passion of equality that the nation was possessed. For the new spirit it was necessary to find new institutions. The old ones had broken down from absolute rottenness, and if they had been other than they were, they were certain to be used on the anti-national side. The force must be given to the nation, not to the aristocracy—not to the king, the ally of the aristocracy. Yet all this had to be done when the mass of the nation was rude and uneducated, ignorant and unversed in political life to the last degree, and when, too, it had been taught by the long course of monarchical government to see force placed above right, and was therefore all the more inclined to solve its difficulties by force. What wonder, therefore, if violence took the place of argument, if mob-rule stepped in to enforce the popular over the unpopular reasoning, and the king soon found that he was practically a prisoner in the hands of his subjects.

English feeling. In proportion as the French Revolution turned away from the path which English ignorance had marked out for it, Englishmen turned away from it in disgust. As they did not understand the aims of the French Revolutionists, they were unable to make that excuse for even so much of their conduct as admits of excuse. Three men, Fox, Burke, and Pitt, however, represented three varieties of opinion into which the nation was very unequally divided.

View of Fox. Fox, generous and trustful towards the movements of large masses of men, had very little intellectual grasp of the questions at issue in France. He treated the struggle as one simply for the establishment of free institutions; and when at last the crimes of the leaders became patent to the world, he contented himself with lamenting the unfortunate fact, and fell back on the argument that though England could not sympathize with the French tyrants, there was no reason why she should go to war with them.

of Burke. Burke, on the other hand, while he failed to understand the full tendency of the Revolution for good as well as for evil, understood it far better than any Englishman of that day understood it. He saw that its main aim was equality, not liberty, and that not only would the French nation be ready, in pursuit of equality, to welcome any tyranny which would serve its purpose, but would be the more prone to acts of tyranny over individuals from the complete remodelling of institutions, with the object of giving immediate effect to the will of the ignorant masses, which was especially liable to be counterfeited by designing and unscrupulous agitators. There is no doubt that in all this Burke was in the right, as he was in his denunciation of the mischief certain to follow when a nation tries to start afresh, and to blot out all past progress in the light of simple reason, which is often most fallible when it believes itself to be most infallible. Where he went wrong was in his ignorance of the special circumstances of the French nation, and his consequent blindness to the fact that the historical method of gradual progress was impossible where institutions had become so utterly bad as they were in

France, and that consequently the system of starting afresh, to which he reasonably objected, was to the French a matter not of choice but of necessity. Nor did he see that the passion for equality, like every great passion, justified itself, and that the problem was, not how to obtain liberty in defiance of it, but how so to guide it as to obtain liberty by it and through it.

Burke did not content himself with pointing out speculatively the evils which he foreboded for the French. He perceived clearly that the effect of the new French principles could no more be confined to French territory than the principles of Protestantism in the 16th century could be confined to Saxony. He knew well that the appeal to abstract reason and the hatred of aristocracy would spread over Europe like a flood, and, as he was in the habit of considering whatever was most opposed to the object of his dislike to be wholly excellent, he called for a crusade of all established Governments against the anarchical principles of dissolution which had broken loose in France.

Pitt occupied ground apart from either Fox or Burke. He had neither Fox's sympathy for popular movements nor Burke's intellectual appreciation of the immediate tendencies of the Revolution. Hence, whilst he pronounced against any active interference with France, he was an advocate of peace, not because he saw more than Fox or Burke, but because he saw less. He fancied that France would be so totally occupied with its own troubles that it would cease for a long time to be dangerous to other nations. A resolution formed on grounds so hopelessly futile was not likely to stand the test of time.

Coalition against France. Even if France had been spared the trial of external pressure, it is almost certain that she would have roused resistance by some attempt to maintain her new principles abroad. When the king of Prussia coalesced with the emperor in 1792 to force her to re-establish the royal authority, she broke out into a passion of self-asserting defiance. The king was dethroned, and preparations were made to try him for his life as an accomplice of the invaders. A republic was proclaimed, and in its name innocent persons, whose only crime was to belong to the noble class by birth and feeling, were massacred by hundreds. The grim suspicion which clothed itself with cruelty in the capital became patriotic resistance on the frontier. Before the end of the year the invasion was repulsed, Savoy occupied, the Austrian Netherlands overrun, and the Dutch republic threatened.

Victories of the republic.

Change of feeling in England. Very few Governments in Europe were so rooted in the affections of their people as to be able to look without terror on the challenge thus thrown out to them. The English Government was one of those very few. No mere despotism was here exercised by the king. No broad impassable line here divided the aristocracy from the people. The work of former generations of Englishmen had been too well done to call for that breach of historical continuity which was a dire necessity in France. There was much need of reform. There was no need of a revolution. The whole of the upper and middle classes, with few exceptions, clung together in a fierce spirit of resistance; and the mass of the lower classes, especially in the country, were too well off to wish for change. The spirit of resistance to revolution quickly developed into a spirit of resistance to reform, and those who continued to advocate changes more or less after the French model were treated as the enemies of mankind. A fierce hatred of France and of all that attached itself to France became the predominating spirit of the nation.

Such a change in the national mind could not but affect the constitution of the Whig party. The reasoning of Burke would, in itself, have done little to effect its disruption. But the great landowners, who contributed so strong an element in it, composed the very class which had most to fear from the principles of the Revolution. The old questions which had divided them from the king and Pitt in 1783 had dwindled into nothing before the appalling question of the immediate present. They made themselves the leaders of the war party, and they knew that that party comprised almost the whole of the parliamentary classes.

What could Pitt do but surrender? The whole of the intellectual basis of his foreign policy was swept away when it became evident that the Continental war would bring with it an accession of French territory. He did not abandon his opinions. His opinions rather abandoned him. A wider intelligence might have held that, let France gain what territorial aggrandizement it might upon the Continent, it was impossible to resist such changes until the opponents of France had so purified themselves as to obtain a hold upon the moral feelings of mankind. Pitt could not take this view; perhaps no man in his day could be fairly expected to take it. He did not indeed declare war against France; but he sought to a set a limit to her conquests in the winter, though he had not sought to set a limit to the conquests of the coalesced sovereigns in the preceding summer. He treated with supercilious contempt the National Convention, which had dethroned the king and proclaimed a republic. Above all, he took up a declaration by the Convention, that they would give help to all peoples struggling for liberty against their respective Governments, as a challenge to England. The horror caused in England by the trial and execution of Lewis XVI. completed the estrangement between the two countries, and though the declaration of war came from France (1793), it had been in great part brought about by the bearing of England and its Government.

Pitt and the seceding Whigs. In appearance the great Whig landowners gave their support to Pitt, and in 1794 some of their leaders, the duke of Portland, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Mr Wyndham, entered the cabinet to serve under him. In reality it was Pitt who had surrendered. The ministry and the party by which it was supported might call themselves Tory still. But the great reforming policy of 1784 was entirely at an end.

Violence of the Government. Strong as it was, the Government did not know its own strength. It saw sedition and revolution everywhere. It twisted loose talk into criminal intent. It covered the country with its spies. The slightest attempts to concert measures for obtaining reform were branded as revolutionary violence. Men who would otherwise have been content with declaiming in favour of reform were goaded into actual sedition. The Government sought and obtained additional powers from parliament. Fine, imprisonment, and transportation were dealt out by the law courts in lavish measure. The Reign of Terror in France was answered by a reign of violence in England, modified by the political habits of a nation trained to freedom, but resting on the same spirit of fear and intolerance. In November 1794 an attempt was made actually to shed blood. Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall were brought to trial, on a charge of high treason, for issuing invitations to a national convention intended to promote changes of the greatest magnitude in the government. Happily the jury refused to see in this certainly dangerous proceeding a crime worthy of death, and its verdict of Not guilty saved the nation from the disgrace of meting out the extreme penalty of high treason to an attempt to hold a public meeting for the redress of grievances.

The public feeling, in fact, regained its composure sooner than the ministry. The upper and middle classes became conscious of their own strength; and though reform and reformers were as unpopular as ever, the instruments by which reform might be gained hereafter were left

untouched for the use of a future generation. The Sedition and Treason Bills, passed in 1795, were limited in their duration, and were never actually put in force.

Pitt as a war minister.

In the meanwhile, Pitt's management of the war was leading, as far as the Continent was concerned, to failure after failure. Nothing else was possible. He had none of the abilities of a war minister, and his system of sending detached expeditions to various points was not calculated to attain success. Nor is it likely that, even if he had been more competent in this respect, he would have accomplished anything worthy of the efforts which he put forth. It has been said that if he had roused the passions of men, and had proclaimed a holy war upon the Continent, he would have had a better chance of gaining his ends. But passions cannot be artificially excited, and a holy war presupposes a cause which, if it is not holy in itself, will at least be supposed by men to be so. Except under special circumstances, however, it was impossible to rouse enthusiasm against the French republic. Toulon might be succoured and abandoned in 1793; La Vendée might have fallacious hopes held out to it in 1794. Frenchmen who were shocked at the habitual employment of the guillotine were yet not inclined to rise at the bidding of a foreign invader against a Government which at all events stood manfully up for the integrity of French territory, whilst the long habit of submission to absolute rule had made the nation slow to take the conduct of affairs into its own hands. The middle classes on the Continent too were on the side of the peasants, and looked to French principles if not to French armies as offering an amelioration of their lot.

French successes on land.

The Austrian Netherlands, regained from France in 1793, were reconquered by France in 1794; and a British force under the duke of York did nothing to avert the misfortune. The land was annexed to the territory of the French republic. Early in 1795 the Dutch Netherlands were revolutionized and constituted into a republic in alliance with France. In the same year Prussia made peace with France. Austria continued the contest alone, receiving large sums of money from England, and doing very little in return.

English successes at sea.

If England could do little for the Continent, she could do enough to insure her own safety. Howe's victory of the 1st of June (1794) inflicted the first of a long series of defeats on the French navy. An attempt in 1795 to support the French royalists by a landing in Quiberon Bay ended in failure, but Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope were taken from the Dutch. The war, however, had become so expensive, and its results were evidently so small, that there was a growing feeling in England in favour of peace, especially as the Reign of Terror had come to an end in 1794, and a regular Government, the Directory, had been appointed in 1795. Accordingly, in 1796 Lord Malmesbury was sent to France to treat for peace; but the negotiation was at once broken off by his demand that France should abandon the Netherlands.

Hoche's expedition in Bantry Bay.

The French Government, buoyed up by the successes of General Bonaparte, who was driving the Austrians out of Italy, resolved to attempt an invasion of Ireland. In December a French fleet, with Hoche on board, sailed for Bantry Bay. Only part of it arrived there, and retreated without effecting anything. A smaller force, landing in Pembrokeshire, was reduced to surrender.

Victories of St Vincent and Camperdown.

The French attempted to renew the enterprise in the following year. Spain was now in alliance with France, and it was proposed that a Spanish fleet should join the French fleet and the Dutch fleet for a joint invasion. Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet at St Vincent, and Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown (1797). During the same year a mutiny in the fleet at Spithead and St Helens was quieted by concessions to the reasonable complaints of the sailors; whilst an unreasonable mutiny at the Nore was suppressed by firmness in resistance. A renewed attempt to negotiate peace at Lille had ended in failure, because, though the English were this time ready to abandon the Netherlands to France, they were not ready to give back the Cape of Good Hope to the Dutch and Trinidad to Spain. Before the end of the year England had no ally in Europe excepting Portugal. Bonaparte had dictated to Austria the treaty of Campo Formio.

Isolated as Great Britain was, there was less inclination to make peace in England in 1798 than there had been in 1795. In proportion as France fell into the hands of the less violent but more corrupt of the Revolutionists, the enthusiasm which her proclamation of principles had once created amongst the class excluded from political power died away; whilst the antagonism aroused by mere military conquest under the conduct of the rapacious Bonaparte was on the increase. The attempt at invasion had roused the national spirit to stubborn resistance; whilst the Government itself, warned by the failure of the proceedings against Hardy and his associates, and freed from the blind terror which had made it violent during the first years of the war, was able to devote its energies unreservedly to carrying on hostilities.

State of Ireland.

If, however, a French invasion had ever been anything more than a dream, it was because there was one quarter in which misgovernment had created a state of circumstances by which it was absolutely invited. At the end of 1794 Lord Fitzwilliam had been sent to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, and had set his face against the vile jobbery through which the leaders of the Protestant minority governed Ireland, and had thrown himself warmly into the encouragement of Grattan's scheme for the admission of the Catholics to political power. The aggrieved jobbers gained the ear of the king, and in 1795 Fitzwilliam was recalled. Then ensued a scene which has no parallel even in the organized massacres of the French Republic. The Catholics joined in a society called the United Irishmen, to enforce their claims, if need be by an alliance with France, and the establishment of an independent republic. Deeds of violence preluded any actual attempt at insurrection. The Protestants, under the name of Orangemen, gathered to the support of the Government as yeomanry or militiamen. Before long these guardians of the peace had spread terror over all Catholic Ireland. By the lash, by torture, by the defilement of chaste and innocent women, they made their predominance felt. It was in 1796, in the very midst of these abominable horrors, that French ships had appeared but had been unable to land troops in Bantry Bay.

The Irish rebellion.

Nevertheless, though no assistance was to be had, the United Irishmen rose in rebellion in 1798. The rebellion was suppressed, and again the militiamen and volunteers were let loose to establish order by massacre and violence. Fortunately, the English Government intervened, and a new lord-lieutenant, the marquis of Cornwallis, was sent over to Dublin. The raging Protestant aristocracy was held back from further deeds of cruelty and vengeance, and law and order were established so far as it was possible to establish them in a land so torn by hostile factions.

The Union.

Pitt rose to the occasion. He planned a great scheme of union between the two nations (1799). There was to be one parliament for Great Britain and Ireland, as there was one parliament for England and Scotland. The jobbers who filled the seats in the Irish House of Commons, and who voted in the name of a people whom they in no sense represented, joined the few members who from a sense of patriotism refused to vote away so easy a source of wealth and influence. Pitt bought the votes which he could not command, and the Irish parlia-

ment, on these ignoble terms, consented to extinguish itself (1800). It depended on the English Government whether this change, by which Ireland lost the semblance of national independence, should be followed by a step in advance for that country in a serious attempt to diminish the evils of Protestant supremacy. That step Pitt had pledged himself to take, and in 1801 he had prepared a measure for admitting the Catholics to political power. The king stood in the way, and Pitt resigned office rather than forfeit his word.

The year which witnessed Pitt's failure in domestic legislation also witnessed his failure in military effort. In 1798 Bonaparte sailed for Egypt with the intention of setting up a French dominion in the East. The fleet which conveyed him was annihilated after his landing by Nelson at the battle of the Nile.

Battle of the Nile. The second coalition.

Pitt seized the opportunity of the great general's absence from Europe to organize a second coalition against France. In the campaign of 1799 Italy was regained from France, and in the East Bonaparte was driven back from Acre by the Turks headed by Sir Sidney Smith. The news of French disasters brought him hurriedly back to Europe, but before he could take part in the war Massena had defeated the coalition at Zurich. A *coup d'état*, however, placed Bonaparte, under the name of first consul, in practical possession of absolute power; and in the following year his great victory at Marengo (1801), followed up by Moreau's victory of Hohenlinden, enabled him to dictate as a conqueror the treaty of Lunéville, by which France entered once more into possession of the frontier of the Rhine. By this treaty not only was England again isolated, but she found herself exposed to new enemies.

Claim to the right of search.

Her enforcement of the right of search to enable her ships to take enemies' goods out of neutral vessels exasperated even friendly powers, and Russia was joined by Sweden and Denmark to enforce resistance to the claim. It was under these circumstances that Pitt's resignation was announced.

Addington's ministry.

The successor of the great minister was Addington, whose mind was imbued with all the Protestant prejudices of the king, which were, it must be owned, the Protestant prejudices of the nation. He had neither force of character nor strength of intellect. Nelson's victory at Copenhagen, which crushed the naval power of Denmark and broke up the Northern Alliance, and the landing of Abercromby in Aboukir Bay, followed by the victory of Alexandria and the consequent evacuation of Egypt by the French, were events prepared by the former administration.

The peace of Amiens.

Addington's real work was the peace of Amiens (1802), an experimental peace, as the king called it, to see if the first consul could be contented to restrain himself within the very wide limits by which his authority in Europe was still circumscribed.

In a few months England was made aware that the experiment would not succeed. Interference and annexation became the standing policy of the new French Government. England, discovering how little intention Bonaparte had of carrying out the spirit of the treaty, refused to abandon Malta, as she had engaged to do by the terms of peace.

Renewal of the war

The war began again, no longer a war against certain principles, and the extension of dominion resulting from the victory of those principles, but against aggressive despotism, wielding military force, conducted by consummate military genius, and setting at naught the rights of populations as well as the claims of rulers. This time the English nation was all but unanimous in resistance. This time its resistance would be sooner or later supported by all that was healthy in Europe.

The spirit of England was fully roused by the news that Bonaparte was preparing invasion. Volunteers were enrolled in defence of the country. There was a general belief that the prime minister was not equal to the crisis. Addington retired, and Pitt again became prime minister (1804). He would gladly have joined Fox in forming an administration on a broader basis than his former one. But the king objected to Fox, and some of Pitt's old friends refused to desert the proscribed statesman. Pitt became the head of a ministry of which he was the only efficient member.

England was strong enough to hold her own against Bonaparte, who was now Napoleon, emperor of the French (1805). Nelson crushed the combined French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, paying with his own life for a victory which put an end to the French naval power for the remainder of the war. The iron of Napoleon's tyranny had not yet entered into the Continental nations sufficiently to rouse them to a truly popular resistance. A third coalition ended in as complete a disaster as that in which the first and second had ended. Austria lost a large part of her force in the capitulation of Ulm, and the Austrian and Russian armies were overpowered at Austerlitz. To effect these victories the force which threatened the invasion of England would necessarily have been withdrawn, even if the result of the battle of Trafalgar had not made the enterprise hopeless. Pitt died shortly after receiving the news of the disasters of his allies (1806).

Ministry of All the Talents.

Pitt's death forced the king to accept a ministry of which Fox was a member. This ministry of All the Talents, as it was called, was not successful in the conduct of the war. Its year of office was the year in which Prussia was crushed at Jena, and it dissipated the strength of the English army in unimportant distant expeditions, instead of throwing it upon one spot to aid Prussia or Russia. Its great title to fame is the abolition of the slave trade. Fox's death deprived the ministry of its strongest member, and in the following year an attempt on its part to admit Roman Catholics to the naval and military service of the crown drew from the king a demand for an engagement never to propose any concession to the Catholics. They refused to make any such promise, and were summarily ejected from office. The king's firm stand was popular in England. The reaction against the French Revolution no longer demanded the infliction of penalties upon those who promulgated its doctrines; but a spirit had been produced which was inexorable against all attempts to effect any change for the better. A spirit of blind, unreasoning conservatism had taken the place of the enlightened Toryism of Pitt's earlier days.

Ministry of the Duke of Portland

The new ministry (1807), under the nominal leadership of the duke of Portland, had to face Napoleon alone. The battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit left him master of the greater part of the Continent. Prussia and Austria were already stripped of territory; and as protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon ruled in Germany. Italy was directly subjected to his power. Unable to make war upon England by his fleets and armies, he attempted to subdue her by ruining her commerce. By the Berlin decree (1807), he declared the whole of the British islands to be in a state of blockade, though he had not a single ship at sea to enforce his declaration.

Commercial struggle with France.

He declared all British manufactured goods prohibited wherever his power reached, and excluded from his dominions even neutral ships which had touched at a British port. The British Government, instead of leaving Napoleon to bear the odium of this attack on neutral commerce, retaliated by Orders in Council conceived in the spirit of his own measure. They declared that all vessels trading with France were liable to seizure, and that all such vessels clearing from a hostile port must touch at a British port to pay customs duties. Napoleon answered by the Milan

decree, forbidding neutrals to trade in any article imported from any part of the British dominions. The Orders in Council cost England a war with America. The Berlin and Milan decrees contributed largely to the overthrow of Napoleon's power. Every poor man who was debarred from the means of providing sugar or cloth for his family felt the grievance. The French Republic had declared war against the nobles and the higher classes; Napoleon decreed an oppression which was bitterly felt in every cottage.

The Peninsular war.

In pursuit of his design of forcing the Continental system, as he termed it, on Portugal, Napoleon sent Junot to occupy Lisbon, and dethroned the king in 1807. In 1808 he seized on the royal family of Spain, and offered the crown to his brother Joseph. When the Spaniards resisted, the English Government sent troops to the Peninsula. Defeated at Vimeira, Junot was allowed to evacuate Portugal. Napoleon came to the rescue of his lieutenants in Spain, and though he retired without effecting the expulsion of the English, Sir John Moore was slain at Corunna (1809) after inflicting a repulse on the French, and his army was shipped for England. In the summer Wellesley landed in Portugal. Thanks to a fresh aggressive war of Napoleon against Austria, he was able to make his footing sure, though the English ministry sent large forces to perish in the marshes of Walcheren, which might have been better employed in supporting Wellesley at the time when he was driven to retreat before superior numbers after the fruitless victory of Talavera.

In 1810 Wellesley, now known under the name of Wellington, beat back the masses of the French forces under Massena from behind the lines of Torres Vedras. Wellington's resistance was great as a military exploit. But it was far more than a military exploit. It would have been of little avail to linger, however safely, in a corner of Portugal unless he were sure of better allies than the wretched Spanish soldiers who had looked on whilst he fought for them at Talavera. Wellington saw clearly that there is no ally so strong as the arrogance and injustice of an enemy. His firm hope was that Napoleon would ruin himself, and his hope did not deceive him. In 1812 Napoleon wrecked his finest army on the snows of Russia. Wellington had breathing space to issue forth from Portugal, to seize the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and to win the battle of Salamanca. In 1813 Germany rose against its oppressor. The victory of Leipsic drove the despot over the Rhine, and the victory of Vittoria drove his lieutenants over the Pyrenees. The peoples of Europe were against him. In 1814 he was driven into exile at Elba. Wellington's last victory in this war was won at Toulouse after the abdication of the emperor. In 1815 the emperor returned and seized the throne once more. England and Prussia were the first in the field, and the crushing blow at Waterloo consigned him to a life-long exile at St Helena.

Battle of Waterloo.

American war.

The war with America, begun in 1812, had been caused by the pressure of the English naval force on neutral commerce under the Orders in Council, which the British Government refused to withdraw till it was too late, and by its claim to impress British seamen when serving on board American ships. The war was brought to an end by the treaty of Ghent (1814).

First years of peace.

After a long war the difficulties of the victors are often greater than those of the conquered. The conquered have their attention directed to the reparation of losses, and are inspired by a patriotic desire to submit to sacrifices for the sake of their country. The victors are in the frame of mind which expects everything to be easy, and they have been accustomed to direct their energies to the business of overpowering foreign enemies, and to hide their eyes from the constant watchfulness required by the needs of the population at home. The war out of which England had come was more than ever calculated to foster this tendency to domestic inaction. To the governing classes despotism, revolution, and reform were almost synonymous. Ministries had succeeded one another: Perceval followed Portland in 1809, and Liverpool followed Perceval in 1812. They were all alike in abhorrence of the very idea of change, in the entire abandonment of those principles of active and intelligent government by which Pitt, whose followers they professed to be, had been always inspired. The supremacy of the proprietors of land, and absolute resistance to reform, were accepted as the rule of government. It made no difference that the king had become permanently insane in 1810, and that the base and sensual prince of Wales became regent in 1811, till he ascended the throne in 1820 as George IV.

Strife of classes.

The wrongs of the propertied classes could make themselves heard. In 1815 a corn law had been passed prohibiting the import of corn till the price was above 80s. a quarter In 1816 the ministry were compelled to submit to the repeal of the property tax, and abandoned the malt tax without pressure. In the meanwhile the agricultural and industrial poor were on the verge of starvation. It would be absurd to draw too close a comparison between the position of the English upper classes at this time and of the French upper classes before the Revolution. But there was the same tendency to use political power as a support for their own material interests, the same neglect of the wants and feelings of those who had none to help them. Those in authority were naturally startled when, at a time when mobs driven to desperation were breaking machines and burning ricks, Cobbett in his *Weekly Political Register* was advocating universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The revolution struck down in France appeared to be at the doors in England.

Demand for parliamentary reform.

In great part, no doubt, the misery was brought about by causes over which no Government could have had any control,—by the breaking up of the irregular channels through which commerce had flowed during the war. But it was in great part, too, owing to the incidence of the protective system to which the Government, widely departing from the track marked out by the early steps of Pitt, was giving effect with the full support of the manufacturing as well as the landowning class.

Repressive measures.

A riot in London (1816), and a missile thrown at the carriage of the prince regent, roused in parliament something like the repressive violence of 1794. Even the brilliant Canning, the ablest of the disciples of Pitt, declaimed against the parliamentary reform which was now asked for in so many quarters. Acts, of which the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was the most severe, were passed to strengthen the hands of the ministry. Seditious meetings, mingled with real or imaginary projects of insurrection, kept the alarm of the upper classes on the stretch. But, as in 1794, juries were suspicious of evidence furnished by spies, and refused to convict on insufficient proof.

The Manchester massacre.

The strife between classes culminated in 1819. Large meetings in the open air were held in the great towns, and inflammatory speeches were freely addressed to them. Some of the speakers were arrested. At Stockport the constable in charge of one of the prisoners was attacked and shot. Birmingham, a great unrepresented town, elected a "legislatorial attorney." A large meeting was summoned at Manchester, another great unrepresented town, to follow the example. The meeting was declared by the magistrates to be illegal, and another meeting was accordingly summoned for the undoubtedly legal purpose of petitioning for parliamentary reform. On the appointed day thousands

poured in from the surrounding districts. These men had been previously drilled, for the purpose, as their own leaders asserted, of enabling them to preserve order,—for the purpose, the magistrates suspected, of preparing them to take part in an armed insurrection. A fruitless attempt by the magistrates to arrest a popular agitator named Hunt as he was preparing to address the crowd was followed up by a charge of cavalry. Six persons were killed, and a far larger number were wounded in the onslaught. The Manchester massacre divided the kingdom into opposite camps. The use of military violence roused a feeling which struck a chord of old English feeling inherited from the days when Oliver's dragoons had made themselves hated. Large meetings were held to protest, and were addressed by men who had but little sympathy with the previous agitation. Parliament replied by enacting new laws, known as the Six Acts, in restraint of sedition, by sharpening the powers of the administrators of justice. The Government took up the same antagonistic position against the right of Englishmen to meet for political purposes which had been taken up in the days of the Reign of Terror. But the very fact that there was no reign of terror on the other side of the Channel weakened its hands. The intelligence of the country was no longer on their side. Lord Sidmouth, the Addington who had made so inefficient a prime minister, was not the man to gain support as home secretary for a policy of severity which was only the disguise of weakness; and Lord Castlereagh, to whom was intrusted the management of foreign affairs, had disgusted all generous minds by his sympathy with despotic rule upon the Continent.

George IV. and Queen Caroline.

Soon after George IV. became king, on the death of his father in 1820, the alienation of the people from the Government was marked by the indignation aroused by the attempts of ministers to pass a Bill of Pains and Penalties depriving the new queen of her rights as the wife of the sovereign on the ground of the alleged immorality of her conduct. Even those who suspected or believed that her conduct had not been blameless, were shocked at an attempt made by a king whose own life was one of notorious profligacy, and whose conduct towards his wife had been cruel and unfeeling, to gain his own ends at the expense of one whom he had expelled from his home and had exposed to every form of temptation. The failure of the ministers to carry the Bill of Pains and Penalties was a turning-point in the history of the country. The existing system lost its hold on the moral feelings as well as on the intelligence of the nation. For some time to come, sympathy with parliamentary reform would be confined to the ranks of the Opposition. But in 1822 the death of Lord Castlereagh, who had recently become Lord Londonderry, and the retirement of Lord Sidmouth, placed Canning in the secretaryship for foreign affairs and Peel at the home office.

Canning's foreign policy.

Canning carried the foreign policy of the country in a new direction. The desire for peace had led the ministry to support the Holy Alliance, a league formed between the absolute sovereigns of the Continent for the suppression in common of all popular movements. Canning broke loose from these old traditions. He made himself loved or hated by offering, without purpose of aggression or aggrandizement, aid or countenance to nations threatened by the great despotic monarchies; and he thus to some extent placed limits on the power of the military despotisms of Europe Far more cautious and conservative than Canning, Peel took up the work which had been begun by Romilly, and put an end to the barbarous infliction of the penalty of death for slight offences. After Canning's short ministry, followed by his death (1827), Peel, after consenting to the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, passed a bill, in conjunction with the new prime minister the duke of Wellington, to admit Catholics to a seat in parliament, thus carrying out Pitt's great plan, though sadly late. From 1823 to 1828 Huskisson, as president of the Board of Trade, had been at work loosening the bonds of commercial restriction, and thus carrying out Pitt's policy in another direction.

Domestic policy of Peel and Huskisson.

Such changes, however, were only an instalment of those which were demanded by the now ripened public opinion of the country; and as the ministers had not been the initiators of the late concessions to Catholics and dissenters, they failed to obtain any enthusiastic support from reformers; whilst the fact that the concessions had been made alienated the opponents of reform. On the death of George IV. and the accession of William IV. (1830), a new ministry, a combination of Whigs and Canningites, came into office under Lord Grey.

Lord Grey's ministry.

The Reform Act.

After a struggle lasting over more than a year, parliamentary reform was carried in the teeth of the opposition of the House of Lords. The franchise was so arranged as to give a very large share of influence to the middle classes of the towns. But though the landowning aristocracy was no longer supreme, it was by no means thrown on the ground. Lords and gentlemen of large estate and ancient lineage had taken the lead in the reforming cabinet, and the class which had the advantages of leisure and position on its side would have no difficulty in leading, as soon as it abandoned the attempt to stand alone. Fortunately, too, at the time when the institutions of our country were refounded on a broader basis, science had long taken a form which impressed the minds of the people with a reverence for knowledge. Mechanical invention, which had accomplished such wonders in the middle of the 18th century, entered upon a fresh period of development when the first passenger railway train was dragged by a locomotive in 1830. Mental power applied to the perfecting of manufacture is not in itself higher than mental power applied in other directions, but it is more easily understood and more readily respected. Experience taught large masses of men to submit to the guidance of those who knew what they did not know. Amongst statesmen, too, the shock to the old order produced an open mind for the reception of new ideas, and the necessity of basing authority on a wider foundation produced a desire for the spread of education, and gave rise to a popular literature which aimed at interpreting to the multitude the thoughts by which their conduct might be influenced.

Legislation by the reformed parliament.

The first great act of the reformed parliament bore the impress of the higher mind of the nation. The abolition of slavery (1833) in all British colonies did credit to its heart; the new poor-law (1834) did credit to its understanding. An attempt to strip the Irish established church of some of its revenues broke up the ministry. There were differences amongst the members of the Government, and those differences were echoed in the country. The king was frightened at the number of changes demanded, dismissed his ministers, and intrusted the formation of a new Government to Sir Robert Peel. The new Government abandoned the title of Tory for the title of Conservative.

Peel's first ministry.

It was the last time that the sovereign actively interfered in the change of a ministry. The habits of parliament had been much changed since the days of the Regency Bill of 1788, when it was acknowledged by all that a change of ministry would follow the announcement of the accession of the Prince of Wales to power, without any corresponding change in the political temper of parliament. Sinecure appointments had recently been lopped away with an unsparing hand, and the power of corrupting members of parliament had been taken away. The character of the members themselves had risen. They were more deeply interested in political causes themselves, and were too clearly brought under the full light of publicity to make it possible for them