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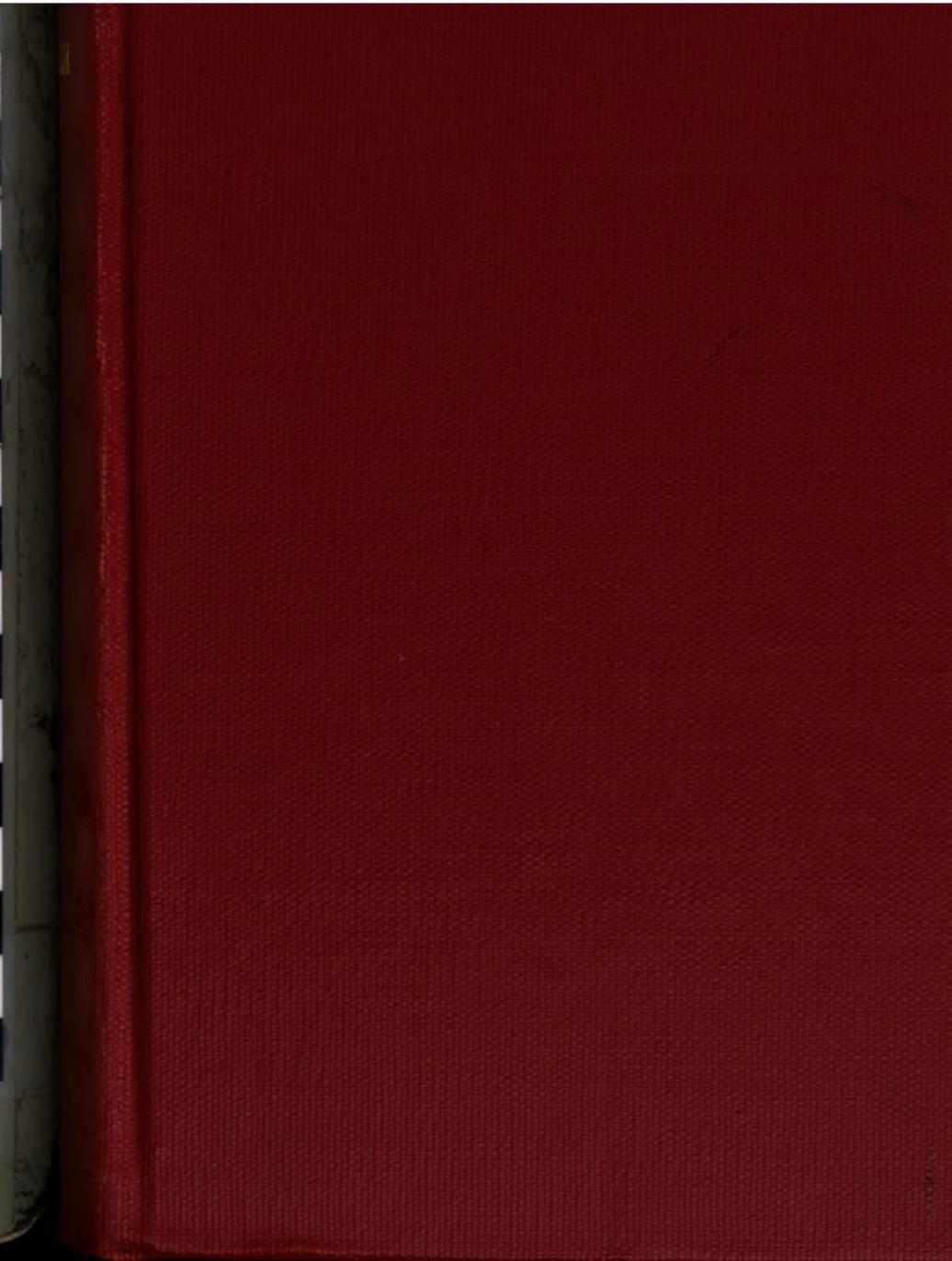
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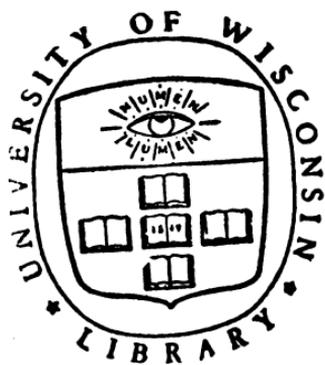
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LIFE AND TIMES

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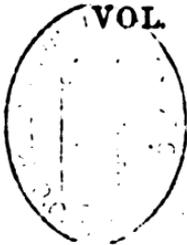
HENRY LORD BROUGHAM

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

*BROUGHAM and Vaux, Henry Peter Brougham,
Baron.*

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.



WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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April, and some of my Edinburgh friends were desirous of giving me a public dinner upon my first return to that city, after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century. The 5th of April was fixed upon, and the dinner took place in the Assembly Rooms, Henry Cockburn being in the chair.

Highly as I prized the honour about to be conferred upon me by Glasgow, the Edinburgh dinner, unlike the ordinary run of such festivities, made so deep and lasting an impression upon me, that this period of my life would be incomplete without some account of it. Certainly it was one of the most striking scenes I ever witnessed, not only from the vast assemblage—nearly nine hundred people—but from the admirable arrangements and conduct of the whole proceeding; nor was there anything more remarkable or more flattering to me than this fact, that notwithstanding my political opinions had been so strongly opposed to the party which for so many years governed Scotland, yet many distinguished members of the Tory party (Cockburn told me more than fifty) were present, forgetting their hostility to my principles, and cordially testifying their approval of my public conduct and character. Cockburn, as I have said, was chairman, and in proposing my health, naturally referred to my education in Edinburgh, and to the great influence the Scotch system had upon my achievements, which he described as greater than had ever been attained by the intellectual powers of a single and unaided man. He then referred to the Queen's

trial, particularly dwelling on the courage, greater, he said, than the ability, which I had displayed in standing up alone against all the power of a King and his subservient Ministers. He then especially spoke of what I had done for the education of the people, which, he predicted, would be my most appropriate monument, and far greater and far more enduring than any statue, or any commemorative emblem in Westminster Abbey.

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which Cockburn's speech excited—the cheering of the vast assembly was such as I never before or since have heard, lasting for many minutes after the chairman sat down.

When I returned thanks, I could not resist touching upon what Cockburn had said of the proceeding against the Queen, which was, I insisted, no *trial*, for every channel of defamation had been opened and poured upon the accused, who, borne down by the strong hand of unscrupulous power, had been saved only by her innocence, and by the force of that law, which the King and his Ministers had combined to destroy.

Before I sat down, I seized the opportunity to declare my decided approbation of the Scotch system of education, as contrasted with the English. I said that I had never known any scheme so well adapted for forming and finishing a learned course, as that pursued in the Old High School of Edinburgh, and in the University. For that was the system so in-

valuable in a free State—a system which cultivated and cherished higher objects than mere learning, which inculcated a nobler ambition than the mere acquisition of prosody and the dead languages.

My English friends will cry aloud against this doctrine, which they will designate as rank heresy. Nevertheless, such was my opinion in 1825, and such it still is, after a lapse of forty years since I uttered the sentiments above stated.

During the whole of the year 1828, there was no political question of such importance as the state of Ireland. I do not remember any subject that ever excited such overwhelming interest; all public men were occupied in discussing it, and in speculating upon the possible intentions of the Government. Lord Grey held strongly to the opinion that there was but one way to settle the question, and that Wellington *must* be convinced of this; yet even up to the end of the year, the Duke, as well as the leading members of his Government, appeared to be as hostile as ever to emancipation, and as firm as ever in maintaining the principles on which they had always acted.

The Duke seemed to be immovable. Peel, on Burdett's motion for a committee on the disability laws, declared *his* firm adherence to the opinion he had always held, and which had become more strengthened the more he considered the question.* So late as December, the Duke, writing to Dr Curtis, the Catholic Primate of Ireland, distinctly stated that,

* See Hansard, 9 Geo. IV., xix. 579.

anxious as he was to see the question put at rest, he as yet saw no prospect of a settlement. Lord Anglesey, the Lord Lieutenant, because of the construction he publicly put upon this letter, was recalled, and replaced by the Duke of Northumberland. For this act, Wellington was most violently attacked and abused by O'Connell and the Catholic Association.

I have before remarked upon the singular sagacity which Lord Rosslyn displayed, when, in the autumn of this year (1828), he truly conjectured the course Wellington would ultimately adopt, and the reason of his reserve: on the one hand there were the Brunswickers and rabid Orangemen, the aversion of the King, and the certain hostility of the House of Lords; on the other, the Catholic Association, with O'Connell capable of sacrificing everything to gratify his own inordinate vanity. Then Peel was believed to be impracticable, and his refusal to join the Duke in any measure of concession, must end in his resignation, which would upset the Government, and thus greatly increase the difficulties with the King. Yet Rosslyn insisted that Wellington would never run the risk of a civil war—leading to bloodshed in Ireland, and to the almost certain interference of France, which would be too glad of any opportunity to revenge the humiliation of 1815.

All these difficulties seemed to Rosslyn to account for Wellington's reserve, and led him to the conclusion that, supposing he meant concession, he would keep his intentions secret until the moment came for action.

Lord Grey was persuaded that, looking to the state of Ireland, Wellington *must* have arrived at the conviction that there was but one way to settle the question. Grey also knew that Arbuthnot, Hardinge, Murray, and even Lyndhurst had been talking in the same strain; so everything was tending to the result which became known to the public, when Parliament met in February 1829, and the King in his speech, after referring to the Catholic Association, recommended Parliament to consider whether the laws imposing disabilities on Roman Catholics, could be safely removed.

Peel, having first resigned his seat for the University of Oxford, on being elected for Westbury, brought in the bill in the Commons; and actually within three weeks of its introduction it passed, and by a considerable majority. On the 10th of April, it was read a third time in the Lords, and immediately afterwards, received the Royal assent.

Among the opponents of the bill in the Commons, there was no one more hostile than Wetherell, one of the most honest and independent men I have ever known. He was especially bitter against Lyndhurst, whom he stigmatised as a miserable apostate, when he referred to the powerful speech made by the Protestant Master of the Rolls,* who had now within a little year, become a Catholic Lord Chancellor.

Wetherell, as Attorney-General, when directed to

* He spoke a pamphlet written by Phillpotts, Rector of Stanhope, afterwards Bishop of Exeter.

prepare what he described as the "atrocious bill," positively refused. This refusal, followed by his violent speech against Lyndhurst, led to his being dismissed. He had refused to *resign*, saying, "No, let them turn me out." Tindal was solicitor, but, sitting for the University of Cambridge, if he had been appointed Attorney-General, his seat would have been vacated, and his re-election most doubtful; so the office was allowed to remain vacant until June, when, on Best retiring from the Common Pleas, Tindal was appointed Chief-Justice, Scarlett, Attorney, and Sugden, Solicitor-General.

In the autumn of 1829, the following letters passed between Lord Grey and me:—

"LAMBTON CASTLE, October 11, 1829.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter here this morning. I came on Monday to meet Lord Cleveland, and hoped to have met you also. I regret and condole with you most sincerely on the cause which has prevented it, as well as the still greater pleasure that I should have had in receiving a visit from you at Howick.

"Holland, in a letter that I had from him three days ago, makes the same mistake that you do about Angern. This was a Prussian possession, and was ceded back to Russia by the last peace. What they now get, are four fortresses on the Asiatic frontier, which were restored to Turkey by the treaty of Bucharest, kept, I believe, by Russia on the pretence

that other parts of the conditions of that treaty were not fulfilled by the Porte, who alleged the same plea, till everything was settled by the treaty of Ackerman, which we thought proper to open again by the treaty of the 6th July. The terms, upon the whole, are not such as ought to surprise us, considering that the Turks had no means of resistance, and were absolutely at the mercy of their conquerors. Nor, considering the steps by which things had been brought to this pass, and the active situation of affairs, had we either the right or the power to resist them. But I suspect that our Ministers consider them as anything but moderate in themselves, or creditable to the character and influence of this country, after the interest we have shown in the fate of our ancient ally.* As to myself, I hate the Turks, and should be glad to see them driven out of Europe, if it could be done without danger to the general peace; but we must give the devil his due; and looking at the origin of the war, I cannot but think they have been the victims of the greatest violence and injustice. In this view, the terms cannot be said to be moderate.

“The state of politics is undoubtedly not a little curious, and I feel very comfortable in my situation of spectator. I have no doubt that if the Duke of Cumberland, who will never forgive either the Duke of Wellington or the Chancellor, and whose influence with the King is unbounded, could form a high Tory

* In reference to the treaty of Adrianople, concluding the war between Russia and Turkey in 1824.

Administration, the thing would soon be done. But here is an impossibility which I do not see how they can surmount. Sadler, I suppose, would be their man, but this would be too ridiculous.*

"I have no doubt that Polignac's policy is taking a character not friendly to this country. It was the obvious and necessary consequence of his being supposed to have been made by our influence. For this, as well as for other reasons, I am willing to believe that the Duke of Wellington is unjustly charged with a measure which would not only have been wrong, but foolish in the extreme. Adair, from whom I have heard twice from Paris, gives a frightful account of the state of things there, and of the spirit which prevails against England.

"I had heard that Ellenborough had brought his action against George Anson; but your information is probably more correct.

"I have this morning a sad account from Lady Jersey of her child, whose situation appears to be now quite hopeless. From the last accounts, I had hoped that there really was at last some appearance of real amendment.

"I rejoice in the success of the University. I return to Howick to-morrow.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

* Mr Sadler, returned for Newark, having, by help of the Duke of Newcastle's interest, defeated Serjeant Wilde, the Government candidate. Mr Sadler made his maiden speech against the bill, and it was the best on that side of the question—not only great in argument, but wonderful as an effort of oratory.

“ November 10, 1829.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Since I came to town, I have seen hardly anybody, being kept in court every day, except Saturday and Sunday. Last Sunday I saw one or two—as Sir Henry Parnell, Lord John Russell, &c.

“ Parnell says nothing can be more clear than that things are going on well in Ireland, upon the whole ; and though there are the *remains of agitation*, yet it wants support both from the priests and the Catholics of influence. He gave some remarkable instances,—as of an Orange squire whom he had seen, a violent man, but who admitted that the priests were behaving well ; and a Catholic gentleman of influence, who had joined *heartily* in putting down the disorders in his neighbourhood, and durst as soon have been burnt as try such a thing a year ago, even if he had been so disposed, which he would not have been. Parnell thinks the law quite sufficient to do all that is wanted, and that Coercion Acts and suchlike, would be worse than useless.

“ Lord John Russell had seen Pozzo at Paris, and found him astonished at our Government trying to lessen the Greek territory ; because by so doing, as he justly observed, no kind of aid is given to the Turk. It seems to me very plain that *our* interest rather is to make as great a state (they say, a kingdom is resolved upon, and with a German prince, *not* being a Bavarian) as possible ; for Russia may thus eventually be counterbalanced in the Mediterranean.

Lord John gives the same account with every one else, as to Paris, and indeed France at large,—that they all seem quite confident the present Ministry cannot stand, though the Chambers would support a *moderate* Royalist one. But they would (it is said) not *now* support one with Polignac at the head. Polignac told some one that he had ten millions placed at his disposal by the King. This was in answer to a question as to how he could meet the Chambers. You may recollect Villèle expected to carry the five per cent question some years ago in the same way, and failed.*

“Our own Government is in some respects like the French, for there seems a universal opinion that it cannot go on as it is. The rage (for it amounts to that) against Peel does not at all subside; and I have lately heard of calm kind of men, like Lord Harewood, speaking of him as they would of some one they had a personal quarrel with.

“I find Scarlett has no communication with any of them; and he knows no more of their judicial appointments, than of what is going to happen in Japan. I doubt if the Chancellor knows much more, though they say the new baron is fixed upon, but nobody knows who it is.

“Denman is gone to Windsor to-day, in room of the Recorder, who is very ill. This is a bitter pill to the King, who has always greatly dreaded such an accident. He (the King) is not yet quite certain of

* Jean Baptiste Comte de Villèle, Minister of Finance to Charles X.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELECTED LORD RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW—PUBLIC DINNER IN EDINBURGH—HENRY COCKBURN—SCOTCH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION—IRELAND IN 1828—QUESTION OF THE REPEAL OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITY LAWS—THE WELLINGTON CABINET—O'CONNELL—THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY—PROSPECTS OF FRANCE—HOME AFFAIRS—THE KING AND DENMAN—LIBEL PROSECUTIONS—OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1830—ACCEPTANCE OF THE OFFER OF A SEAT FOR KNARESBOROUGH—SUMMARY OF PARLIAMENTARY CAREER.

BEFORE I resume the subject of Ireland and the Catholics, I must mention an event of so much interest to me, that I cannot avoid referring to it. In the spring of 1825, the students of the University of Glasgow conferred on me the office of Rector of that university.* I was to be installed on the 6th of

* See 'Inaugural Discourse on being installed Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, April 6, 1825.' Lord Brougham's Speeches, iii. 69.

“ Lord Brougham being in his ninetieth year, hopes your Majesty will pardon him for employing the hand of another to write this letter.”

To this the Queen commanded General the Honourable Charles Grey to return the following answer :—

“ BALMORAL, *October 13, 1867.*

“ MY DEAR W. BROUGHAM,—I have this evening received your letter, and have lost no time in submitting that from Lord Brougham to the Queen, who commands me to say that she has no objection to the publication of the Correspondence by him which took place between himself and the King, while he was Lord Chancellor.—Believe me yours very truly,

C. GREY.

“ WILLIAM BROUGHAM, Esq.,
Brougham, Penrith.”

PREFATORY NOTE.

HAVING in my possession much Correspondence with King William IV. on public affairs, I applied for and obtained her present Majesty's permission to publish the same.

Sent enclosed to General C. GREY.

“ BROUGHAM, October 8, 1867.

“ Lord Brougham offers his humble duty to your Majesty, and ventures to state that, having been for a few years past engaged in preparing his Autobiography, he takes the liberty of soliciting your Majesty's gracious permission to publish those portions of the Correspondence between his late Majesty King William IV. and himself, that bear upon the public affairs in which Lord Brougham took part while he held the Great Seal.

TO THE READER.

THE following instructions were given by Lord Brougham to me, as his executor:—

“Before the Autobiography can be published, you must see that it is arranged chronologically.

“If (writing from memory) I have made mistakes in dates, or in proper names, let such be corrected; but the *Narrative* is to be printed, *AS I HAVE WRITTEN IT*.

“I alone am answerable for all its statements, faults, and omissions. I will have no Editor employed to alter, or rewrite what I desire shall be published, as *EXCLUSIVELY MY OWN*.

“BROUGHAM, *November 1867.*”

In publishing Lord Brougham's Autobiography, the above explicit directions, have been scrupulously obeyed.

BROUGHAM & VAUX.

BROUGHAM, *January 1871.*

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going to Brighton. Mrs Taylor* has been *dangerously* ill; but they think her safe now. It was severe inflammation.—Yours ever truly, H. BROUGHAM.”

Next day I wrote again to Lord Grey :—

“ November 11, 1829.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—When you see to-day that the Recorder’s report was put off yesterday, and lay that together with what I said of Denman going down, you will have your suspicions of the reason for the putting off. In fact, a countermand of the council arrived late on Monday evening. So none of them went down. The courtiers say it had nothing to do with Denman going; and was solely owing to the King having again changed his mind about going to Brighton; for they say the only reason for holding the council, was to let him go to Brighton this week. It may be so; but I own, knowing the King as I do, I have a strong suspicion that he put it off to give the *Recorder* a chance of recovering, and thus avoid seeing Denman. For after summoning them all, what harm could there have been in receiving the report, except the trouble to the people of going down, which his Majesty is not likely to have cared for?

“ All Westminster Hall is filled with astonishment at the Chancellor’s *boldness* in making Bolland the new baron. It is making the Exchequer by far the most incapable court that ever was known in West-

* Mrs Michael Angelo Taylor, sister to Sir Harry Vane Tempest.

minster Hall at any time, and that when they are about to try to open it, and make it an efficient court ! Bolland is so generally liked, that Copley seems to have presumed upon this ; but it is very outrageous.
—Yours ever, H. B.”

“ LONDON, *December 21, 1829.*

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Since I wrote, little has occurred till within the last day or two, when reports have been very prevalent that Knighton is out or going.* I some time ago had heard of his being tired of it, and a man who knows him, lately said, that he thought he had lost favour by not humouring the King ; but now I understand that Alvanly has written to Lord Sefton as a thing he believed certain, that Knighton is out, and succeeded by Sir Herbert Taylor.

“ I take it, from all I can see, the French Ministry is out too, or as good as out. I hear Lady Tankerville has been saying this ; and I find Scarlett believes it, probably from what his son writes, who is at Paris with Stuart.

“ Here things are much in the same state ; the ultras are as violent as we, and Wetherell tells me there is not the least foundation for the stories of any of them being conciliated. On the contrary, they threaten much from the ensuing session. The strange thing is, that some of them who are actually in office

* Sir William Knighton, Physician and Keeper of the Privy Purse of George IV : created a baronet January 1813, died October 1836.

hold the same hostile language. Beckett, I know from undoubted authority, talks exactly as if he were in avowed hostility to the Ministry. They assert in Cumberland that he and Sadler have bought the 'Leeds Intelligencer'—a violent ultra paper; and it is a known fact, that the Lowther editor of a similar paper at Carlisle, has been sent to conduct it at Leeds. But my information of Beckett's language comes from those who know and have talked to him.* The Duke of Cumberland's apartments at Windsor are ordered to be got ready, and I much doubt Lord Rosslyn's opinion that he is losing ground there is not correct.—Yours ever,
H. BROUGHAM."

"The Hollands are come to Saville Row. He quite well—she only middling; and poor Miss Vernon very ill indeed.

"I saw Mrs Taylor yesterday; she has had a relapse, though without inflammation, and is very unwell. Taylor is going about as much as ever."

"HOWICK, *December 24, 1829.*

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I cannot believe that Knighton's retirement from Windsor, if it be true, is voluntary. I never heard of anybody, who had once got fairly within the atmosphere of the Court, being able to live out of it. It becomes as necessary to the life of a courtier as water to that of a fish. For some reason or other, I suppose, therefore, the King wishes

* Right Hon. Sir J. Beckett, Member for Haalemere.

to get rid of him, and I shall not be surprised to hear that he retires with poor Tucker's place.

"The Tories may talk as loud as they please, but opposition is too ungenial a climate for them. They will attorn when they see nothing better to be done. In the mean' time, pray leave them a clear stage, and see what they are up to, and sing,

'*Suave mari magno.*'

"Rosslyn was here for three days, in his way to Scotland, and I expect him again in his way back. I learned nothing from him that I did not know before. As you have seen him, I need not add that there is no foundation whatever, and never has been, for the reports which have been circulated about me.

"Ponsonby's last letter is from Paris, and I think he is a good observer, though not without a strong bias against the Liberals; speaks of them as being governed by their violence, and thinks Polignac more likely to stand than he was some time ago. I, too, I confess, am not without fears of these said Liberals; not on account of their revolutionary views, if such they have. On that point I am no alarmist. On the contrary, my wishes would naturally be for a free government in France, but on account of their avowed hostility to this country (which I am not such a dupe as to believe to be confined to the Duke of Wellington's Administration), and of their propensity to war.

"We have at last winter—frost and some snow;

but the snow only a sprinkling, and the frost not severe.—Ever yours,
GREY."

"Does Denman go with the Recorder's report, which I see is to be received to-day? Pray tell me if there is anything worth remarking in the King's demeanour, or in these trials for libel."

At no time was party feeling more bitter than while the Catholic question was in agitation, and after Wellington had, by passing the bill, estranged so many of his Tory supporters; nor was the press behindhand in the violence of its invective.* One of the most virulent, was the 'Morning Journal,' a newspaper that had been established by some of the most angry opponents of the Government: it was conducted by a Mr Alexander, a clever man, and a good writer. His articles became so outrageous, that the Attorney-General (Scarlett) considered that it was his duty to take steps to put a stop to them. One of his first attempts was against an article which plainly enough insinuated that Lyndhurst had made Sugden Solicitor-General, in consideration of having received from him a large sum of money, either as a gift, or as a loan. Scarlett accordingly moved for a rule for a criminal information against Alexander, and the proprietors of the paper. Alexander, in opposing the motion, made an affidavit in which he swore that

* The "Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects" had received the Royal assent on 13th April 1829.

Lyndhurst was not the person alluded to in the article. The Court of King's Bench evidently did not believe him, for it granted the rule. Scarlett, however, instead of proceeding, abandoned the rule, and filed an *ex officio* information. He also filed others for libels against the King and his Ministers, and one for a libel on the Duke of Wellington. Scarlett was perfectly justified in attacking the newspaper, but nothing could excuse his proceeding by *ex officio* information, after he had from Alexander's affidavit, ascertained the line of defence, and had also by his change of tactics, secured for himself the right to reply.

I expressed my opinion on this subject, in the following letter to Lord Grey:—

“BROUGHAM, January 10, 1830.

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Your letter followed me here yesterday, I having left town late on Thursday, and got here on Saturday, through much snow, till I got into the north of Yorkshire.

“The Recorder made a great exertion to relieve *his sovereign*. The Ministers were quarrelling with the latter in such a way, that there was no saying where it might have ended. It is very absurd not to make Denman a judge, which would be a most perfect and highly popular appointment, and get rid of their difficulty at once. But really, if *personal exclusions* are to be allowed, and *personal caprice* to weigh, as in Wilson's and Denman's case (I say nothing of my own,

because I defy both King and Ministers to injure me in any manner of way, and it would be well for them perhaps if they could say as much of me), and if the King is to be humoured in these things, we might as well live in Algiers.

“The libel prosecutions are of two kinds. Copley’s* were clearly right, and indeed necessary, though Scarlett, changing one of them † into an *ex officio* information, was quite wrong, and might have been fatal to his verdict, had the blockhead of a man not defended himself. The others, except the one holding up the King as bullied, were very injudicious, in my opinion, and that one only right as making mischief between the King and ultras. Alexander has been convicted four times, and will receive no more punishment than if he had been convicted twice; but will receive much pity, and the press will rally in his favour. To be sure, never had a Government more favourable circumstances for convictions, with so weak a set of cases. The man’s folly and baseness gave them (I should say us, for I was for the prosecution, and therefore ought not to be quoted) verdicts, where a good defence ought to have got acquittals, at least in the second. As for the Duke of Wellington prosecuting the mad parson’s letter, it is inconceivable.

“Alexander repeatedly quoted a ‘noble friend who is intimately connected with the Government’ as ad-

* Lady Lyndhurst had been charged with selling Chancellors’ livings.

† In which Lord Lyndhurst was charged with corruption in making Sugden Solicitor-General.

vising him so and so. This was clearly Lowther. Can anything be more humbling than the situation the Duke of Wellington is contented to place himself in, allowing the men who hold his best places, to take open part against him? I *know* that Beckett talks openly against the Government, and they say one [night] Lowther will be found voting on one side, and another on t'other. It seems to be thought that the Duke will try to go on as he is, trusting to the disunion of his adversaries, and relying, above all, on *our* dislike of the Duke of Cumberland. But he will find it quite impossible to carry on the government in the House of Commons on that bottom alone, unless, indeed, he has got some great and popular measures as he had last session. I still can't help thinking the Polignac concerns will be out. A more unhappy folly never was committed, however, than the Liberals are guilty of in taking this warlike tone, which, I fear with you, is against England, and not merely against Wellington. Indeed they seem to be for war because the Court is for quiet, and not to mind much with whom, only that war with us would, they think, please the French mob.

“I hear a pleasant thing happened t'other day with Aberdeen. When Madame Lieven was saying, ‘They never can keep their places after the meeting without a man of any talents among them’ (she meaning, of course, Polignac and Co.), he said, ‘Do you mean our Cabinet?’ very innocently.—Yours ever truly,

“H. B.”

“ January 24, 1830.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have seen nobody but lawyers of various sorts (*civilians* and commoners) since I came, except Lord Holland for a few minutes a week ago. But every one—including king’s advocates, registrars, doctors, and proctors, generally the most loyal of men—has the same cry,—‘Something must be done; this Ministry can never go on as it is.’

“ All the reports one hears from hour to hour of Peel being out, Huskisson negotiating, &c., may be idle fancies; but, that there is the greatest confusion at headquarters from the approach of the session coming on them unprepared, I believe. You may depend upon it, the King was in great danger. I had believed not, from what Halford told Lord Holland, having for the moment forgotten what long experience should have taught me of Court physicians. I have since *ascertained* that he was in real danger. I suppose you have heard from Lord Holland that Leopold’s Greek crown is of his own getting, chiefly at the Tuileries, and not at all of our giving. The King and rest of the family are all very angry at it.*

“ I find, among other counties, Cumberland is to meet, and I have got a copy of Lord Lonsdale’s letter, approving the meeting as the Duke of Wellington denies the distress, but recommending them to confine themselves to stating that, and not vote on the much-

* Before Otho of Bavaria was chosen as King of Greece, there had been negotiations with Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg to accept the crown, but in the end he declined it.

controverted matter of the remedies. I hear his language is stronger than his letter.—In haste, yours ever,
"H. BROUGHAM.

"I write this at Guildhall, where we are kept half the night."

"Howick, January 31, 1830.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have long been in your debt for two letters, and have had, almost daily, the intention of acquitting myself of that debt, ever since I received the last. I found as usual, a ready excuse for putting it off, in having nothing material to say. In truth, I am too apt in all things, to act upon the converse of the old adage, and never to do to-day what I can put off till to-morrow. I have now an obvious interest in writing, for Parliament is on the point of meeting, and I do not wish to deprive myself of all chance to hear from you anything of importance that may occur.

"Never, to be sure, did a meeting take place under more extraordinary circumstance—distress so general and intense as was never before experienced; the public, without much distinction of party, calling out with one voice, and in a tone that must be heard, for relief; and a Ministry, except in the energy of its chief, possessing in its general composition none of the qualities calculated to meet with a crisis. I have long been convinced, and I think I said so in my last, that no attempt would be made to give it strength, in such a way as we could approve. I believe I also

said that the Tories would be found mitigable and purchasable, if they saw no better hope: and accordingly we see in the only appointments that have taken place, and more particularly in that of Lord Chandos, (which the way in which it is mentioned in the papers seems to entitle to belief), a strong confirmation of that opinion. Yet it is under such circumstances that Lord Cleveland has come forward as an avowed and decided supporter of the Administration. I suppose that you, of course, have had some explanation with him on this subject. He wrote to me explaining the grounds of his conduct, and desiring Howick's and my opinion. I told him that with the very best personal disposition towards the Duke of Wellington, and the most anxious wish to give him my support, I could not pledge myself as a declared adherent of the Government; that the most I could promise was a friendly neutrality—and that I must continue, on the seat which I have so long occupied, to support or oppose the measures of Government according to my opinion; that I should leave Howick to himself (as Lord Cleveland also proposes to do), but that his conduct would probably be the same as mine; and that, if he should find himself compelled to take a line which might detract from the full and sufficient support that Lord Cleveland wished to give to the Administration, Howick's seat would of course be, whenever he required it, at his disposal. So the matter stands, as I have not heard from him since.

“Poor Tierney! I am sure you would feel his loss.

as all who knew him must do. I have had a much longer and more intimate connection with him, and my regret must be deep and lasting.*

“What do you say to Leopold’s appointment, and to the feeling which solicited it? I hear the King has given up his opposition to it, which does not place him in a very dignified situation. Kings ought not to proclaim resolutions, which they may find themselves unable to keep.—Ever yours, GREY.”

The Duke of Devonshire was quite aware of the difficulty I was in at this time as regarded the amount of support I was disposed to give to Wellington’s Government, while I retained perfect freedom at any time to oppose it if I saw fit. All this was inconsistent with the full support given to it by Lord Cleveland.

The Duke of Devonshire in all things coincided with my views and opinions; and upon Knaresborough becoming vacant by Tierney’s death, he in the handsomest way proposed that I should accept the seat, and thus be perfectly free to act as I pleased with respect to the Government. I gladly accepted his offer, and wrote accordingly to Lord Cleveland.

“HILL STREET, *January 31, 1830.*

“MY DEAR LORD CLEVELAND,—I feel great uneasiness in now writing to you—indeed more than I

* George Tierney, who had been long conspicuous as a Parliamentary supporter of the Whig party, died on the 26th of January.

almost ever felt before upon any other occasion, because I am afraid you will dislike what I have resolved to do. But after the fullest consideration, I am quite convinced that the resolution I have come to is the best, and that you will, upon a little reflection, perceive it to be so. I shall by to-morrow's post accept the offer of a seat from the Duke of Devonshire (Knaresborough); and I have resolved to do so before writing to you, in order to avoid the possibility of giving you any embarrassment, either with respect to myself or the Government, by consulting you beforehand. For I well know that your very great kindness towards me would, if I had done so, have led you to desire that I should continue to sit for Winchelsea, and to go my own way when we unfortunately might differ.

“It is very possible, in the present state of things, that we may not be found to differ materially. Indeed I should say this is more than probable. But it cannot be doubted that as you are giving the Government your avowed and regular support; and as I could not take that course, this difference would be embarrassing; and would, besides, lessen the importance of your assistance to the Government.

“It is impossible for me not to feel most severely the pain of anything that has even the appearance of a separation of our long political union, to me so gratifying in every respect. But as nothing ever can alter the sentiments of gratitude and friendship which I have for you and yours, or lessen my sense of the

very singular obligations under which I and mine are laid to you, I feel quite confident little more than the form even of our political intercourse will be altered, and any other change is wholly impossible, let politics take what course they may.—Believe me ever most truly yours,

H. B.

“*P.S.*—I did not write yesterday, because I could not make up my mind without further consideration. I now feel convinced that, had I determined otherwise, I should not have done right, and should have been wanting in what I owed to you.”

“HILL STREET, *February 1, 1830.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I write a few lines to inform you of my having accepted the Duke of Devonshire’s very kind offer of the unfortunately vacant seat for Knaresborough.

“I owed my connection with Lord Cleveland entirely to you, and I have not announced this resolution to any one else except Lord Cleveland himself, to whom I have just written (or rather sent the letter I wrote last night), and the Duke of Devonshire. I took a day or two to consider of it, for Lord Cleveland’s most handsome conduct, and the ENTIRE freedom he left me as well as Lushington in, made it very difficult to decide. There had been a correspondence lately, which showed how little he ever thought of controlling any one in regard to political conduct.

“I shall send you a copy to-morrow of my letter to

him, as it will explain the grounds of my decision, and I shall add other matters which I have not time now to write. I wish I could see Howick immediately on his arrival, and I shall endeavour to do so.—Yours ever truly,
H. BROUGHAM.”

“OSTERLEY, *February 2, 1830.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I now enclose the copy of my letter to Lord Cleveland, which I will thank you to return, as I have no other.

“Some things he will understand by an allusion which it would require long explanation to make intelligible to those who had not been aware of things that have passed. The most material of these are the following.

“After bringing me in at your request in 1815, when I started in 1818 (or rather was put up without my knowledge) for Westmorland, he wrote to state that his connection with the Lowthers would make it impossible for me, if the contest went on, to come in (should I be defeated) for his seat. I saw the propriety of this clearly, but I thought I was committed in honour, and I adopted what had been done without my knowledge, and stood. Lord Thanet immediately said he would return me for Appleby, and did so in effect; that is, he returned Concannon, and I continued for Winchelsea, he explaining to Lord Cleveland that it would be hurtful to the contest then going on if I were chosen at Appleby the very day before the county election began.

“ At the dissolution in 1820 he (Lord Cleveland) at once returned me, not caring whether the Lowthers liked it or not. In the spring of 1822 I was very anxious to have him bring John Williams into Parliament, and we had some correspondence about it. On going the circuit I saw him at Raby, and he spoke of it in the kindest manner, saying he wanted to have an opportunity of showing his regard for me. I said he had abundantly done that already, but that I was glad he had thought of Williams, supposing he meant that. To my great surprise he said he meant to bring in one of my brothers, a thing of which I never had dreamt. But I said, as to William it was quite out of the question on account of his profession; and as to James, I never had fancied such a thing. He said I might choose which, but he meant to offer a seat to one of them. I said I had no right to refuse for James, without letting him know; and Lord Cleveland sent a kind message to him. Of course he accepted, and afterwards declined to stand for Petersfield for many reasons. Lord Cleveland, however, brought him in for Tregony, and he also brought Williams in. Now all this detail was necessary to show you that there probably never was one man under more obligations of this kind to another than I to Lord Cleveland.

“ All this made our differences in 1828 very painful to me, and nothing could be more handsome than his whole conduct then. I cannot enter into it without going over the ground of my refusal even to receive

the propositions made to me by the Government through him, which would detain you too long. I believe he was extremely hurt, and not less so when last summer I took a line so opposite to his; nevertheless, and though he always frankly declared to me his own opinions and feelings on party and politics, nothing could exceed the delicacy with which he uniformly treated both my brother and myself as to our conduct.

“We have been in correspondence lately, and so have he and Lushington, and it was impossible that anything could be more satisfactory; for though he never asked me any question as to whether I approved and could join in the course he had taken or not, yet he asked Lushington this, and on being informed he could not, but was ready to leave him unembarrassed by going out of Parliament, Lord Cleveland in the handsomest way said he never thought of such a thing, but only wished to know Lushington's sentiments, and said everything that could set him at ease. He had declared his opinions and intentions to me, but knowing mine from my letters and conversation t'other day at Newton House, he did not ask any question. However, I told him what I thought, and ventured to give him my opinion as to the course he was taking, it seemed to me, in the dark, both with regard to measures and men; hoped he would at least wait till he was asked by the Government—and stated, or rather restated, my own determination; remarking the wide difference

between a disposition to find the measures of Government such as deserved support—a great and even extreme reluctance to attack Peel after the dreadful sacrifices he had made, a wish that this might not become necessary, a fixed determination in opposing the Government, not to play the game of the common enemy, &c. &c.—and giving the Government the avowed and regular support he seemed disposed to lend them. I also gave him my notions as to the way in which both master and man seemed inclined to treat those who did now and then support them, referring to Peel's unaccountable conduct when Lushington defended him last year; and observed, that never did I know two people so deplorably in want of help behave more insolently to those who gave it. I have not any copy of my letter here, but I have given nearly the substance. It was written last Friday week, and I have had no answer; but it required none, after what had passed for some weeks before, both with Lushington and myself.

“You will now perceive clearly how very unpleasant it has been for me to take the step I have done. For after the full explanations we had come to, and the perfect liberty at which I was left, the occurrence of a time when I might desire to go out was possible indeed.—nay, was very likely to happen in my case (not certainly in that of any of his other members), but had certainly not arrived; and I knew that were I to mention the Duke of Devonshire's offer, and consult him about accepting it, it would be

only (and in a very indelicate way) asking him to give me, or rather to renew to me, a request that I should remain in his seat on my own terms, for he might be said in substance to have done so already. I therefore determined to decide first, and then let him know what I had done.

“I have *bored* you with a long detail; but, as you *won't* come to town (which you certainly ought), it is one of the evils you expose yourself to.—Ever yours truly,
H. BROUGHAM.”

“Howick, February 5, 1830.

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I received your letter yesterday. Its length required no apology. On the contrary, I was much obliged to you for so full an explanation.

“My letter, which must have crossed yours on the road, will already have informed you how entirely the view I have taken of Lord Cleveland's determination, and of the conduct which I shall myself pursue, agrees with yours. I sincerely wish to support the Duke of Wellington's Administration, but every day adds to my doubts; more especially when I consider the sort of recruits that are sought for, and the manner of enlisting them.

“I am no less obliged to Lord Cleveland than you are, nor am I less sensible of the kindness and liberality of his conduct. But I cannot disguise from myself that Howick now stands in a very awkward situation, and that the time may not be

distant when he may find it necessary to relinquish his seat.

“The only doubt I could have as to the step you have taken,* arises from your previous explanations with Lord Cleveland, from which he may not unnaturally have conceived that you had no thought of any change. But you will of course suit your time of vacating to the convenience of any arrangements that he may have to make for Winchelsea, so that it cannot prove really embarrassing to him. The only other remark that occurs to me is that, by changing your seat at this moment for the Duke of Devonshire’s, it may be inferred that your disposition towards the Government is more hostile than it really is. These are only doubts, however; and upon considering the whole matter, I think I should have acted as you have done.

“Though you are already acquainted with the substance of what has passed, I have desired Howick to show you the copies, which he has, of Lord Cleveland’s letter and mine. There has been no answer to the last.

“I am anxious to hear what has passed yesterday, and anything else that may show the line that the hundred squads of politicians are likely to take.—
Ever yours,
GREY.”

“I return the copy of your letter to Lord Cleveland.”

* Coming in for Knaresborough, on Tierney’s death, on the Devonshire interest, instead of Winchelsea on the Cleveland.

The following letter will show how very much Lord Cleveland was annoyed by my determination, so unexpectedly made known to him, and yet how steady and unvarying was his friendship :—

“ CLEVELAND HOUSE, *February 4, 1830.*

“ MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have suffered many grievances and disappointments in the course of a long political life, but I never experienced one which created me so much sorrow as that which you communicated to me last night, conveying the very hasty and unexpected decision of your no longer continuing for Winchelsea.

“ I cannot charge myself with having said or done anything unkind to you, and I sincerely lament that you should so suddenly have adopted such a resolution which, with personal communication, I think you would not have done.

“ You have undoubtedly chosen a much younger and a far more consequential patron than myself, but I deny that you can find one who is more sincerely attached to you than—Yours very faithfully and truly,
CLEVELAND.”

“ It will be a great satisfaction to me to see you.”

The following letter to Lord Grey explains the unfortunate delay which had happened to prevent Lord Cleveland receiving my letter, and his consequently hearing what I had resolved to do, most unexpectedly,

and only as a piece of gossip, which he refused to credit :—

“ February 8, 1830.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Lord Cleveland was very deeply grieved, even more than I had expected, and at first could not at all reconcile himself to it, perceiving many evils, I believe, as likely to arise. To render the matter worse, he had never let me know he was coming up, so my letter went to Newton House, and he came to town wholly unknown to me, and heard it, *quite incredulous*, the evening he arrived. I first heard of his being here that evening from Lambton, and instantly wrote to him. He got my letter on coming home from Meyrick’s, where he dined, and where he had heard it and denied its being possible. All this for a day or two was extremely annoying; but the arrival of my letter from Newton House, proved that I had communicated it to him before I even wrote to the Duke of Devonshire, and I showed him that I had been doing all I could to make the Duke bring in Denman, for some months back. Not the least difficulty arose as to Winchelsea, or indeed anything else, and he has been quite relieved by the interviews we have had. All is now right, and he *already* must see, and I think he admits, that I could do no otherwise.

“ He has brought in John Williams, a most excellent choice, and which prevents much of the effect apprehended from my going out at such a moment.—
Ever yours truly, H. BROUGHAM.”

" February 17, 1830.

" MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The state of the Ministry of which I had been predicting, from what happened last session, is if possible more deplorable than I had expected. They literally are at the mercy of any one or two men of weight among our people, who may choose to make a run at them; and this is very likely to happen. In truth it was very difficult *not* to turn them out, the first night. After what they did last year, and the sacrifices Peel made, it is impossible not to wish them well. But who *can* support such a set? Then they take a cipher, and add to their list as often as a place falls vacant. What think you of Frankland Lewis for Treasurer of the Navy? The Duke is still blind to his situation, and seems resolved to have nobody about him of any weight.

"The division of t'other night proves nothing. All the ultras and Huskissonians (except Huskisson himself) voted with them. Hume spoke of eight and a half millions being reduced. Our people were sorry for having divided with him, and I daresay the next time you see a division, it will be very different.

"The Speaker, t'other day at his dinner, talked most decidedly and openly of the impossibility of this state of things going on.

"The Tories (and it is not the least merit of the Government) are enraged beyond measure at the appointment of Abercromby.* That act was fight-

* James Abercromby, afterwards Speaker, appointed Chief Baron of Scotland by the Duke of Wellington's Government.

ing the ultras in their stronghold, and in the way most hateful to them. It is an excellent symptom. Peel's speech on Graham's motion was also good in this point of view.

"Lord Lansdowne bringing in young Macaulay and passing over Denman, has given us all much pain, and me more than any one. It is partly owing, however, to a misunderstanding, for he did not like to offer Denman a seat as *locum tenens* for Kerry. I don't believe any apprehension of Windsor entered into it. Lansdowne's usual *love of a novelty* perhaps did, though it certainly ought not; but you know his weakness.—Yours ever truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

"Howick, February 29, 1830.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have long owed you a letter, but I had nothing to say. The same cause might make me continue silent. But I must express the pleasure I have felt in reading your speech on Lord John's motion.* Howick tells me it was admirable,—one of the best, if not the best, he ever heard from you. The division was very great, considering the question. The Tories, I hear, divided against you, and a good many of Huskisson's friends, as was to be expected. This tends to confirm the opinion I have had from the beginning, that, when convinced of the unprofitableness of opposition, they will return

* 23d February. For leave to bring in a bill to enable Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to return members to serve in Parliament. Hansard, vol. xxii., 11 Geo. IV.

to their natural places in the rear of the Government. And symptoms, too, do not appear to be wanting that the Minister, when he finds it necessary to strengthen himself, will look to this quarter rather than to any other, as that which will afford him the requisite numbers, the readiest instruments, and the best means of satisfying the Court.

“From hence you can expect no news. Our weather is now delightful, and most favourable to the operations of the planter and the farmer.

“If anything occurs worth writing, and you can spare a moment from your numerous and important avocations, I shall hope to hear from you.

“I see you have got an opposition at the London University.—Ever yours,
GREY.

“Nothing could be better than Abercromby's appointment, and I rejoice in it sincerely. But, with all its merit, it shows no disposition to give any political office to any person of that description. These seem to be reserved for Chandoses and Wortleys and Frankland Lewises—excellent men, no doubt, but who do not add to my confidence in the Administration.”

CHAPTER XX.

ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV.—MOTION ON COLONIAL SLAVERY—
 INVITATION TO STAND FOR YORKSHIRE—THE CANVASS—THE
 TRIUMPH — CONGRATULATIONS — ALTHORP — DURHAM — THE
 FRENCH REVOLUTION OF JUNE—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—
 FIRST REFORM PROJECT—STATE OF PARTIES—THE WHIG PRO-
 JECTS AND THE RADICAL—INFLUENCE ON BRITAIN AND THE
 CONTINENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE—THE DUC DE
 BROGLIE—THE DEATH OF HUSKISSON—QUESTION OF THE IN-
 TENTIONS OF THE WELLINGTON MINISTRY—DECIDED BY THE
 DECLARATION AGAINST REFORM—THE MINISTRY IN A MINORITY
 —THEIR RESIGNATION—LORD GREY SENT FOR—FORMATION
 OF THE WHIG MINISTRY—INTENTION TO SUPPORT IT, BUT
 NOT TO TAKE OFFICE—OFFER OF ATTORNEY-GENERALSHIP
 AND GREAT SEAL DECLINED—PREVAILED ON TO ACCEPT THE
 GREAT SEAL AND A PEERAGE—INFLUENCED BY THE ASSURANCE
 THAT CONTINUED REFUSAL WOULD BREAK UP THE MINISTRY.

IN June 1830 George IV. died. Soon after the House met, on the accession of William IV., I gave notice that I should take an early opportunity of bringing forward the question of Colonial Slavery. This I did on July 13th. I freely admitted the difficulties that stood in the way of any government in legislating on such a question. I myself proposed no plan, but asked the House to resolve that the state of slavery

in our colonies, should be taken into consideration at the earliest practicable period of the next session, with a view to the present mitigation and final abolition of slavery. Peel, after suggesting some feeble palliatives, urged me not to press my motion to a division. To this I refused to agree, and was defeated by a majority of 29.*

I have referred to the motion and to my speech, which certainly was fully appreciated in the country, because that speech, as much as anything I had ever done, exercised a notable influence on the coming Yorkshire election.

Before the end of July, Parliament was prorogued, and immediately afterwards, dissolved.

* The representation of counties, as a general rule, is confined either to great landowners, or to persons so connected with the large properties, as to represent the landed interest, rather than the body of small freeholders; moreover, to contest or even to stand for a county involves no inconsiderable expense. In merely preparing for the possibility of a contest, Mr Marshall, in 1826, found it necessary to spend nearly £20,000, as his son John afterwards told me.

To select as candidate, a man totally unconnected with the county, either by property or family ties, was a proceeding so unheard of, that when I received an invitation to stand for the great county of York, I was beyond measure astonished. So impossible did it appear to me that the proposal to return me should

* Speeches, ii. 129.

succeed, that, before I gave my answer, I consulted some intimate friends of great position in the county, and of high authority on the subject in question. I am bound to say that some of the answers were far from encouraging. This I attributed to the peculiar local feeling, stronger in Yorkshire than in any other county in England, that only a Yorkshireman would be acceptable; and the assurance that any candidate quite unconnected with the county, would, almost to a certainty, be opposed, and put to great expense, was set down by me to the same cause.

The invitation I had received, was coupled with an assurance that I was to be put to no expense. I was thus so far relieved from having to consider the question my landed friends had more than hinted at, and had chiefly to look at the circumstances under which the offer was made, and which had led to my being selected. Something, no doubt, was owing to my successful efforts in the repeal of the Orders in Council, still gratefully remembered in many parts of Yorkshire. Next, I was conscious that I had acquired popularity in the Queen's case; but, beyond all these reasons, I was certain that the part I had taken on the question of slavery and the slave-trade, had been recognised with such marked approbation by the constituents of my friend and illustrious fellow-labourer, Wilberforce, that I felt secure of their support against any opponent. This body of friends included all the religious sects who had been Wilberforce's main strength. So, all these things considered,

I felt perfectly justified in cordially accepting the invitation to stand, and at once began my canvass. All this took place during the assizes. It so happened that I had an unusual number of briefs, some in very heavy cases. It was not possible either to give them up or to turn them over to my juniors. I was obliged, after a night of hard reading and preparation, to be in court every morning by half-past nine o'clock; then I had to address the jury, to examine and cross-examine witnesses—in short, to work for my various clients just as if there had been no such thing pending as an election. Then as soon as the court rose, indeed sometimes before, I jumped into a carriage, and was driven, as fast as four horses could go, to the various towns—many of them twenty or thirty miles from York; at each town or considerable place, I had to make a speech, never getting back to York till nearly midnight, and then I had my briefs to read for next day in court. This kind of life lasted nearly three weeks. It was by much the hardest work I ever went through; but good health, temperance, and the stake I was playing for, carried me through. I not only survived, but, during the whole of this laborious time, I never in my life felt better, or more capable of even further exertion, had such been called for.

The nomination was on the 29th of July. The ultimate candidates, were Lord Morpeth, Duncombe, Bethell, Stapylton, and myself.

My canvass was over on the 30th. On returning

that evening, I found at my lodgings the following very encouraging letter from George Strickland.*

FROM MR STRICKLAND.

“YORK, Friday, July 30, 1830, 4 o'clock.

“DEAR B.,—As far as a meeting can settle a question previously to an election, you are to be member for the county of York. I send a copy of the resolutions. We had much debating. But your party from the west is powerful and determined. Old Marshall proposed you. Dan Sykes seconded. . . . I was the first country gentleman who spoke in your favour. The others were united in opposition; some came over, seeing the necessity of the case. Ramsden was named and brought forward by Charles Wood and Tom Dundas, but no person ventured to second the resolution in his favour; and after many speeches in recommending unanimity, and pointing out its necessity, Ramsden was dropped and the meeting broke up. You are secure, though Martin Stapylton is in the field, and there may be much confusion. All the sects (religious) are united for you, and abolition of *slavery*, which is your stronghold; all who supported Wilberforce,—excepting the *Evangelical Church*, who appear to be against you. If I under-

* One of my oldest friends, and also my brother James's, they being nearly of the same age. We were all three together, students at the University of Edinburgh. He was the eldest son of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, in the county of York. At his father's death in 1834, he succeeded as Sir George Strickland; and afterwards, through his mother, heiress of Katharine Cholmley of Whitby and Howsham, acquired those estates, and took the name of Cholmley.

stand them, *they* oppose you upon the principles of the *London University*, which they set forward. There is no pledge given that you will not be opposed at the election by the country gentlemen. But if you are firm they may start some new man, and they may throw out one of the present candidates, *but you will not be the one.*

“The proposal is, though the question has not been publicly discussed, that you should pay your share of the Sheriff’s bill for the hustings, *but no more.*”

“I shall be in York on Sunday evening to endeavour to see you and James. I write in haste, because I return twelve miles into the country (to Howsham), where I shall remain till Sunday.—Ever yours,

“GEORGE STRICKLAND.”

I have said before that the repeal of the Orders in Council was my greatest achievement *—I say now that my return for the great county of York was my greatest victory, my most unsullied success. I may say, without hyperbole, that when, as knight of the shire, I was begirt with the sword, it was the proudest moment of my life. My return to Parliament by the greatest and most wealthy constituency in England was the highest compliment ever paid to a public man. I felt that I had earned it by the good I had done—that I had gained it by no base or unworthy acts. I am bound to add, that the feeling of gratification was general and strong in the party, both to-

* Vol. ii. p. 1.

wards me personally, and with a view to the good of the cause. Not only outlying members of the party, but those who were in the strictest sense party men, shared in the triumph. The following letters are, one from a "watcher" during the junction, Althorp; the others from Lambton. Grey's joy, of course, was as great as any one's.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—If I have not written to you before, it is not from my feeling less pleased in your triumph, than any other of your friends. It is the highest honour and the greatest reward that ever was bestowed upon a public man, and the greatest that can be; and what is more, it is well deserved. I should not have written to say this, if I had nothing else to say; but as it becomes one of your duties as member for Yorkshire, to attend Doncaster races, I write to say that you had better come here. I shall be most happy to see you, and I will find you a conveyance to the races as many days as you like to go there. I conclude this will find you at Brougham.—
Yours most truly, ALTHORP.

"WISETON, NEAR BAWTRY,
August 26, 1830."

"LAMBTON CASTLE, Friday.

"Well done, thou good and faithful servant! Go on and preach the word everywhere. Of all the great public triumphs and rewards, certainly yours is the greatest, and I am sure you will use it for the best of purposes. Amongst the foremost ought to be

the downfall of this odious, insulting, degrading, aide-de-campish, incapable dictatorship.

“At such a crisis, is this country to be left at the mercy of barrack councils and mess-room politics ?

“But thou art patience to go on ; only be yourself again when Parliament meets, and it must end.

“Shall you come to these or Newcastle assizes ? If so, don't forget us.—Ever yours, D.

“Little O* and lesser O† come to day, and Lord Grey to-morrow. What glorious beings the French are !”

“LAMBTON CASTLE, *September 1, 1830.*

“MY DEAR YORKSHIRE (which I trust will be the title you will take when Chancellor),—I agree with you entirely and absolutely as to the necessity of being fully prepared and organised before the meeting ; it would be an act of suicide not ; and nothing can save the incapables but our customary bungling and want of concert.

“There should be some preparatory meeting of a few shortly (when your circuit is over), and a general muster the week preceding the meeting of Parliament between the 20th and 24th of October. For God's sake, don't let us exhibit the deplorable exhibition of

* Ossulston, then actually Earl of Tankerville, his father having died in 1822. He was still frequently called by old friends “Little O,” the name given to him during his father's lifetime. He laughed much at some of Lambton's weaknesses (love of arms, pedigree, and the like), and used to say, “By God, sir, if Lambton calls upon you, he thinks he has a right to quarter your arms !”

† His son, then Lord Ossulston, now Lord Tankerville.

olden times, when, to use Castlereagh's figure, we always 'turned our backs on ourselves.'

"The unfitness, nay impossibility, of any cordiality existing between the liberal Government of France and Aberdeen, the representative of the Metternich school, ought to be shown in every possible way.

"No efficient government, in my opinion, can be formed without Palmerston, Grant, and Huskisson; and I am sure Lord Grey is of the same opinion. Shall we succeed most effectually in ousting the present imbecile crew by an open junction? or by cordial co-operation, without any ostensible junction, until the enemy is defeated? Let me have your opinion; the open junction might deprive us of the aid of the ultra Tories in the assault when the town is taken; the garrison may then be formed according to our best judgment of its expediency and efficiency.

"(When we have to combat a field-marshal, it is necessary to use military terms.)

"But I should like to have your ideas, pro and con, before I see Lord Grey; and tell me if we are likely to meet before you go to town. I have heard that you are to be at Doncaster races. Is that so? or shall you remain at Brougham until you go south?

"By the way, should you think it advisable—if a meeting of Durham and Northumberland could be procured—to have some resolutions and petitions carried in favour of your beer bill? which, if I remember right, is confined to our two counties.

"I don't know that it can be done; but if you

approve, I can talk to Loch and Headlam about it.—
Yours ever, DURHAM."

In the canvass for the county, the chief stress was laid upon the slave-trade and slave-emancipation; education, and general improvement, and reform in all its branches, were the subjects on which my supporters put forward our claims; and the opposition to tyranny abroad, as well as the advocacy of peace, was strongly insisted on, and obtained additional weight, as well as a lively present interest, from the revolution which happened at Paris while the canvass was going on—the revolution in many respects resembling our own, a century and a half before. Indeed, our triumph at this election, was by the opposite party much ascribed to the "three days" at Paris, and the use we made of that event in attacking the Ministers of Charles X. and their violent measures; while some of our most zealous friends, as Dan Sykes, ascribed it to my speech on slavery in the Commons on the 13th July; but Sykes, being brother-in-law of Henry Thornton, and a great abolitionist, was, with Wilberforce, very naturally inclined to regard our victory in the county so long represented by him as an anti-slavery triumph. Whatever opinions may be held on this point, it is quite certain that Parliamentary Reform had been almost a kind of local question with Yorkshire men, ever since the days of Sir George Saville and Wyvill; and the part I had taken in the question when it was brought forward after the Wal-

cheren inquiry, and afterwards in 1812, was often referred to in the canvass, as well as in the castle-yard of York. I was therefore pledged to take the lead in that question, now that I had become member for the county. It was a great mistake of Lyndhurst and others to represent (in the debates in 1831) that little or nothing had been said on Reform the year before, in Yorkshire, but only on slavery and the French Revolution, though there was some colour of truth in the statement as regards slavery. No doubt the accounts, if not confined to these subjects, at least dwelt chiefly upon them, because Yorkshire was peculiarly interested in the slavery question; so that subject, as well as the news from Paris, were topics of the day, and the papers therefore dwelt more on them. But that Reform both in Yorkshire and elsewhere, occupied men's minds exceedingly, is certain; and I well remember Abercromby's regret that Lansdowne should have given in to the mistake of supposing it a dead secret. I both on my canvass and after my return pledged myself formally, feeling it incumbent on me to stand forward as the leader of Parliamentary Reform, which may be said to have taken its rise in Yorkshire. I announced this at a great Leeds dinner, one of the many which Morpeth (my colleague) and I attended on our progress at the end of autumn, to thank and to meet our constituents. I gave similar pledges at Hull, Sheffield, Saddleworth, and elsewhere. That matter, therefore, might be considered settled; and it only remained to agree

with the Whigs on the particulars of the plan. Having been returned for Knaresborough as well as for the county, I had to declare when Parliament met, for which I chose to sit. On declaring for Yorkshire, I gave my notice, and it stood for Tuesday the 16th of November.

I had previously summoned the party to meet me at Althorp's chambers in the Albany, because he had a large room there; my dining-room in Hill Street being too small to receive so numerous a body. They came. I unfolded my plan, the details of which I shall presently refer to. It gave satisfaction. I told them it was all I could hope to carry while out of power, but that if ever armed with office, I should be disposed to go further. I had given notice of my motion on the first night of the session, before even the speech from the throne was read. Therefore all men saw I was in earnest, and all knew I should redeem the pledge I had given in Yorkshire.

In November 1830, when Parliament met, it was found that the Duke of Wellington, having neglected the use of Crown influence at the general election, had been sorely disappointed of a favourable House of Commons. To the three parties of ultra Tories, Radicals, and Whigs, were united the remains of the Canning party, which, though small, were important, notwithstanding the irreparable loss sustained by Huskisson's death; but Palmerston's official habits and abilities, and the power of debating, as well as the respectable character of the two Grants, together

with Spence (a barrister of some weight), in the Commons ; with Melbourne, Ripon, Granville, Canterbury, in the Lords,—gave the body a weight beyond its size. The ultra Tories had never forgiven Wellington and Peel the Catholic Emancipation ; and the Dukes of Richmond and Newcastle, with Knatchbull, Wetherell, and Vyvyan, so entirely formed part of our force, that in corresponding with Lord Rosslyn on the results of the general election, we both set all that class down as members of the combined Opposition ; and such they continued to the end of the short campaign which overthrew the Duke. As members of our party, many of them continued after we came into power, Richmond being their representative in the Cabinet, and as such would they have remained still, but for the Reform Bill.

The state of the Reform question was now so entirely different from what it had been in former times, that the principles were wholly different from those which guided the rational and considerate reformers thirty or even twenty years before. In those days there had been a complete schism in the Reform party. At the head of the extreme or Radical branch was the old Major Cartwright, called the venerable, who held moderate to be, what he always termed it, mock reform ; and even the Burdett party soon grew tired of him.*

* John Cartwright, born 1740, died 1824. He was an object of great political notoriety in the early part of this century, and was the author of an octavo volume called 'The British Constitution Illustrated.' His 'Life and Correspondence,' edited by his niece, was published in 1826 in two volumes.

He, and those who continued to side with him, raised their notions to such an excess of unreason-able intolerance, that, long after both Romilly and I had incurred their contempt, and indeed hostility, by declaring for rational measures, they made to each of us, when we had lost our seats in 1812, and before we were brought in for other places, a serious proposal to bring us in for Middlesex, on condition that we pledged ourselves to support annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and the ballot. We both gave the same answer to this very friendly address, which was presented to each of us by a deputation—namely, that we greatly doubted their power to return us, but that if it were ever so certain, their conditions could not be agreed to on any account.

I had, moreover, in those days incurred their dislike or pity (for they often treated moderate or mock reformers as objects of compassion), by circulating a letter, after the loss of Brand's motion in 1810, remonstrating with those who insisted upon a general measure which they had not a chance of carrying, while by singling out some of the most manifest abuses in the system, the removal of which would be highly beneficial in improving the constitution of Parliament, they might either succeed, or bring the adversaries of Reform into disrepute—such as giving votes to real landowners in Scotland, and putting an end to the glaring evil of the whole of that country having not a single real election, either for counties or boroughs. My opinion was in favour of gradual pro-

ceedings, unable "to see any reason for moving most swiftly on the most slippery ground where the precipice is nearest and the gulf deepest." So I regarded the dangers of rash experiments on the frame of our constitution, adding, that a sincere and zealous reformer—one who wishes to do good, and has a higher ambition than to make a noise—one who wants to have a reform and not a clamour—would avoid whatever might bring his cause into contempt. Everything was now changed so as to make the practical application of my principle to its full extent, impossible, but not to preclude its guidance and government of our proceedings. The strong and universal feeling in the country, made it necessary to propound a plan embracing most of the essential points, but that might be framed in general accordance with the principle. Pledged to bring forward an effectual, though moderate and safe plan, I was guided by that principle in the details which I proposed.

In forming this plan, I considered the deep-rooted feeling which prevailed in favour of an effectual reform, the manifest defects in the existing system, and the progress made by the question of late years—so great as to extract from Canning an avowal that the question was as good as carried on John Russell's motion in 1826 being defeated by a small majority. There were even indications of a division among the supporters of Government on this question, or a great tolerance of dissent from them, in some of their important office-bearers; thus Scarlett, Attorney-General,

held his office upon the express condition of being allowed to vote for Parliamentary Reform. From these undeniable facts, I drew the conclusion that my motion had a fair chance of being carried. It was therefore absolutely necessary to frame the plan such as to be adopted against the more strenuous supporters of the Government, and the less open resistance of some of the Opposition.

It must therefore be moderate. But there is always this difficulty, that if you make a measure much less effectual than the bulk of its friends desire, it loses their support, besides leaving defects in the system attacked, which are very material. In steering my way between these opposing considerations, I proposed at our meeting at Althorp's what I reckoned an effectual and yet a temperate reform; not as much as we should require had we the support of the Government, or even its neutrality, but as much as we could hope to carry by our own force through the country's support, and which, above all, should remove the more gross and practically felt defects. These were,—the exclusion of so many of the greatest towns, or rather cities—as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Brighton, &c.—from all share in the representation; the treating copyholders as if they were still like their predecessors, the serfs of the middle ages, so that the owner of a customary tenement of thousands a-year had no vote, while his neighbour voted for a forty-shilling freehold; the taking no account whatever of leaseholders, whether in town or country; the

putting borough representatives in the hands of freemen, the class of inhabitants, generally speaking, the least to be trusted either for honesty or independence; the allowing these to vote without regard to the place of their residence, so that at every contest, scores of absent voters, carried at the candidate's expense, might turn the election against the votes of resident freemen; the number of close or nomination boroughs returning members—in other words, the proprietors choosing representatives of the people without any check or control; the number of boroughs, not close, but having so few voters that they were the nests of corruption, while larger places sent no members:—these were the principal evils and abuses which I proposed to remove. I did not propose to condemn all close boroughs, because there would have been great difficulty in carrying a measure for their entire extinction; and also, because there was a manifest convenience in keeping certain seats open for men who had no chance of being returned by populous places, and because these boroughs were far less corrupt than those having a few voters. I therefore proposed that while the great towns should have members, the places for them should be found as was most necessary, without increasing the members of the House, by limiting many of the smaller boroughs, and all the close boroughs except five or six, to the return of one member; and those five or six I proposed to disfranchise altogether. The right of voting in all towns sending members was to be household

suffrage; a strict system of registration was prescribed both for counties and boroughs; all non-resident voters were disfranchised; the election for each contested seat confined to one day; and the duration of Parliaments limited to three years.*

A very important event had occurred after my plan was framed, which induced me to extend it in several essential points. At the opening of the session, the Duke of Wellington made his celebrated declaration against all reform. We leaders of the Whigs had heard, during the four weeks after the election, that the Tories had become alarmed by the returns. I was in correspondence with Lord Rosslyn upon these, he maintaining that we had not gained so much as our calculations showed, and that they, (his party) would make a much better show than I expected—but he still would not deny the fact of some important elections having gone against them; and Lord Wallace and William Dundas, whom I happened to meet, considered, as well as Rosslyn, the Yorkshire election to be the worst for them.

The following letter from Rosslyn illustrates what has been said of his feelings and Lord Grey's; and with my answer, shows the position of parties, and that an attack on the Ministry *had been resolved*:—

* See the account of Mr Brougham's intended plan of Parliamentary Reform, in the 'History of the Whig Ministry of 1830 to the Passing of the Reform Bill,' by John Arthur Roebuck, M.P.; i. 420.

(*Private and confidential.*)

“ST JAMES'S SQUARE, August 28, 1830.

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I thank you most sincerely for your confidential communication, and particularly for the expressions of kindness towards myself, which I can never allow myself to doubt under any circumstances. Your estimate of the result of the returns to Parliament differs widely from the report made up by those connected with Government, whose business is to look narrowly into the subject.

“You say that you have gained, as compared with the last Parliament,—

	Gain.
In England, 42, and lost 9	= 33
In Ireland, 16, „ 2	= 14
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	47
In Scotland, 0 „ 3	3
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	44

“Now the account on the other side is,—

England gained 41, lost 25	= 16
Ireland „ 9, „ 6	= 3
Scotland „ 4, „ 1	= 3
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>

And Government gains on the whole, 22

making a difference of 66. In estimating the numbers, the ultra Tories and Huskisson's adherents are all given to you, as the declared head of the combined Opposition.

“In considering this question, I do not overlook the result of some county elections, and least of all undervalue the election of Hume for Middlesex, or the importance which you justly attach to the vote which placed you in the representation of the county of York.

“I give you full credit for your desire to maintain the peace and quiet of the country, an object for which I am sure the Duke of Wellington would make any sacrifice; and, in passing, I must say that I know nothing that justifies your opinion that he has ever shown any repugnance to a fair connection with the Whigs, if any opening had been left to him to believe such a thing feasible. With respect to liberal policy, the phrase is so vague and general, that I can only answer that the King has acknowledged the new King of France and his Government as frankly as possible, and as promptly as the notification of the change permitted; and that, in consequence of the step taken by the British Cabinet, the same course will be pursued by the other Powers of Europe, who are all (as I believe) prepared to follow and adopt our policy in that matter.

“I am much mistaken if you will not find the Duke's Administration determined to do all that is possible to preserve the peace of Europe, as essential to the security and interests of this country, and to abstain from all interference whatever in the internal arrangements of any other nations, leaving them to choose their own institutions and their own governors,

and to manage their internal concerns as they like, provided only they don't meddle with their neighbours. I rejoice in your desire for peace and tranquillity, and I regret that the extreme nature of the opposition which you announce, seems to leave little hope that we may be in a situation to co-operate as cordially as I could have wished in the pursuit and attainment of those valuable objects in which we feel a common interest, and which we equally profess to desire.—Yours faithfully,

ROSSLYN."

"LANCASTER, *Tuesday.*

"MY DEAR LORD R.,—I have just got your calculations as to numbers, and I fear you and your friends reckon sadly without your host. I have not time to dissect it, but I only take your number of twenty-five, which you say are the seats in England on which Government gains. Look at the following, which I set down without any lists, from memory, while I was at breakfast, and now copy over from the back of a letter on which I had marked them.

"Of the forty above written, at least twenty-seven are Whigs or Radicals, about three Huskisson's, and the rest ultras. I assure you I can with difficulty put down fifteen (and that is making great allowances), where we have lost and Government gained. This includes all Lord Cleveland's changes, as Howick, and Tregony where I know that Gordon is rather a Whig than anything else. It includes two doubtfuls, as Reading, and I make no kind of allowance of such

places as Bristol and Boston, where we gain steady votes every night, instead of men like Bright and Heathcote, who, three times in four, voted against us, or went away. I have at home nearly a dozen changes of this sort (including such as Lord William Russell), who are always abroad. Then I don't quite reckon that such as Williams and Bruce will be very fond of voting against me on all questions, and even Vesey is better than such fixtures as the Tollemaches, who never were absent, and always voted with Government.

“What you say of the opportunity for junction being past, is *now*, I fear, too true. I always thought the Duke had forfeited every title to Lord Grey's forbearance, and that of his friends, when he first put his exclusion on the late King's personal prejudice; and then the King dying, had no excuse to offer. However, he has taken his line, and I believe he will find Lord Grey has taken his.

“The worst of a weak government, which can't stand alone, is, that it invites aggression and endangers the peace. Here is all Europe in a state of movement. I daily expect news from Spain. I am almost equally confident of some change in Belgium; and I can never believe till I see it, that the people there will not follow the French example, and end by becoming a French province. Then what chance is there of France, or any one else, caring a straw for a Government which has against it all the country, half of the House of Commons (and nearly all the leading men in it), and neither the aristocracy nor Church

for it? It won't do; and my only prayer is that the impossibility may be discovered before mischief is done abroad or at home.

"I wished to state these things before we take our positions. Mine is not of my own seeking, or to my liking, when it places me with the ultras (perhaps the Lowthers even) and against you, the Duke, Peel, and Copley.—Ever
H. B.

"P.S.—The lists as to Ireland are *quite clearly* different from your account, but I have not Duncannon's returns."

The thoughts which the recent Revolution in France gave rise to, led to my writing the following letter to my great friend, the Duc de Broglie:—

TO THE DUC DE BROGLIE.

"BROUGHAM, *August 16, 1830.*

"MY DEAR DUKE,—I have only delayed offering you my most hearty congratulations on the greatest event for liberty in modern times, because I did not wish to interrupt, for even half an hour, the share, so useful to the country and to all countries, which you have in it. But I can now no longer avoid troubling you, because I owe it as a debt of gratitude to say how deeply all the friends of freedom and sound principle feel the weight of their obligations to the great virtue and courage of your people. I fear we should not have done so well; but I know we

shall now follow your glorious example, if—which God avert—it should ever become necessary. The promptitude shown by the Parisians in resisting; their sagacity in feeling, as it were by instinct, that it was a case for arms and not for courts of law; but more than all, their signal temperance, and even humanity, in victory,—are the finest lesson to other countries that any people ever afforded in any age. I look back with delight, and even with pride, on the zeal with which I have always, in Parliament and out of it, declared my hopes of French liberty, at seasons when it seemed most in jeopardy, and did all I could to encourage your great chiefs with the feeling that we felt for them in England during their glorious struggle.

“All, however, that you can gain of solid good, and all that we and the rest of Europe can hope from your example, must depend upon the *sobriety*, and *wisdom*, and *moderation* of your conduct in settling the State. And this fills me with anxiety. To expel the guilty; to hear of no terms with the branch of Charles X.; to exact severe punishment from the Polignacs, &c., who have shed so much blood, and meanly run away from danger; to limit the power of the Crown, and effectually prevent a recurrence of the dangers you have lately repelled; to strengthen your elective system by making its basis much broader,—all this I am clearly a friend to. But I dread a too weak executive—a republic, in which it will inevitably end, is better than that—for the transition to it

is full of cruelty and of danger to freedom as well as peace. But I am sure no man in his senses thinks a republic can safely or beneficially be attempted in France, any more than in England. Then let me entreat you, do not make the crown a mere name.

“ My next alarm is about the aristocracy, because I perceive some idea of making the peerage for life only. This is a very crude idea. It gives the Crown far too great power, and the aristocracy too little—it makes the latter dependent on the Crown. Then why dread a nobility in France, where they are all, or nearly all, of such moderate fortune? Your law of succession keeps you safe from our overgrown grandees, and even we find, in spite of their wealth, that in these days the people is more than a match for them—nay, would be, with a reformed Parliament, quite too strong for them. The peerage is of excellent use with us in preventing violent and rash changes. All who have much influence in our House of Commons know and feel this. They feel, too, that the peerage is a great screen on many occasions to the people as against the Crown. It would be an improvement if we had some means of lessening their influence in the House of Commons. All mischief would then be at an end, and the good only remain. But of this improvement I do not despair, for the diminished patronage of the Crown is gradually doing part of it, and the increased influence of the people is doing the rest. I assure you that this last general election has made a great step in this direction. Had

the fine example of Yorkshire been set to other counties earlier, many more peers would have lost their hold over counties. As it is, they have lost it in many places, thanks to Yorkshire, and also to the extreme unpopularity of the Duke of Wellington's Administration, which unites all parties against it. I anxiously hope that you and we shall go hand in hand with our improvements; and I am certain that the less widely you depart from the sound principles of what ought to be our constitution, the better will it be for us both, and the better security will be gained for the peace that now happily unites us, and keeps all the world quiet.

“My greatest alarm, however, is from what I was shocked to see mentioned—the National Guards to choose their own officers! I cannot describe my alarm at such a project. It is laying the seeds of revolt and civil war in the foundations of the constitution. It is making a future revolution almost certain. It is establishing the worst of all revolutions and tyrannies—a deliberating army—and almost insuring a military government. I am sure the wise and excellent prince whom you have justly raised to the throne never can approve of this, and that if he assents to it, he can only do so by compulsion. For God's sake, reflect on the certain effects of beginning with a king whom all must distrust, if you place him in a position necessarily false! I need not say more to you. I almost felt disposed to run over to Paris, to warn our friends against such rocks which they

seemed not to see, though touching them. I hope I have been misinformed, but I could not rest till I had written to you. My best respects to the Duchess; and believe me ever yours,
H. BROUGHAM.

“*P.S.*—The utter weakness of our present Ministry you can hardly form an adequate idea of. In Parliament, they have no power—no debaters who can be heard, no certainty of carrying any question; and in the country, all parties are against them. They were weaker than Polignac was, before the elections, and the general election has lessened their numbers by above thirty. Every one sees that they cannot go on, and they dare not attempt a *coup d'état*.”

On the then engrossing subject of the French Revolution, I had the following letter from Lady Charlotte Lindsay:—

FROM LADY CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

“47 GREEN STREET, August 25, 1830.

“DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—I had the pleasure of finding your letter on my arrival in London the day before yesterday, and I am delighted to find that you take so much interest *in my* revolution. I feel really as one does about a favourite child, so afraid of *its behaving ill*, and becoming unpopular. My child, I am happy to say, was very good all the time I was with it, though it sometimes showed symptoms of its youth and inexperience, yet it has hitherto, though

conscious of its strength, been easily brought round by reason. There was a little disturbance one day, occasioned by some work-people who were out of employment; but they were soon set to rights, and work will be provided for them. The most dangerous idea some have got into their heads is, a wish to dissolve their present Chamber of Deputies, in order to have a new one elected, according to the new law of elections. Now, perhaps I am wrong, but it appears to me that an immediate dissolution of the Chamber, after the important act it has achieved, would weaken the King's title, and be running the risk of much confusion. I said this to Benjamin Constant, a night or two before I left Paris, and he agreed with me, and said that he hoped to be able to get it deferred. Constant has much weight with the people at present, and has made a very proper use of it, but it will not last very long, poor man! for he is dying: his physicians say that he cannot live six months. His disorder is a disease of the spine—the same, as he told me, that put an end to Madame de Staël.* I was at the Chamber the day before I left Paris, and heard Guizot, the *Ministre de l'Intérieur*, make a very good, business-like speech, and Martignac an eloquent one. De Tracy moved for an early discussion upon abolishing the punishment of death, which was seconded in a short but affecting speech by La Fayette. This is evidently in the humane intention of saving the lives of the Ministers who are taken. As to Polignac's head,

* He died on the 10th of December following.

it is so little worth taking, it can now do no harm by remaining upon his shoulders.

“Philippe I. has acted with great prudence and good sense. I have no doubt of the sincere liberality of his sentiments. His *personal* courage is unquestionable, and I hope his *political* courage and decision may prove equal to his situation: he certainly will have great occasion for these qualities. His son, now Duke of Orleans, is a very popular young man, rather an *ultra Liberal*, as all *very* young men of high rank ought to be; and they say that he is modest, and willing to listen to the advice and opinions of his elders.—Yours ever,
C. L.”

With reference to Melbourne's position in connection with the Canning party, it must be observed that he was the only regular Whig, or Foxite; but he had, besides, an intimacy of long standing with Huskisson, who was married to a near relation of his mother, and had always been on terms of familiar intimacy with his family, even at times of the greatest party violence, as 1806 and 1807. All the men in question were zealous and enlightened friends of liberal policy on commercial subjects, and firm friends of the Catholic cause; and its success next year, to which they materially contributed, made our alliance with them more close. Indeed, the concert was so perfect on that question, that the announcement which I made of our fixed determination not to take office, on the alarm given of the King under the Duke of Cum-

berland's guidance being about to threaten the Duke's Cabinet and to call in the Opposition, was made in concert with Huskisson. The addition to our party of such men as Palmerston, Grant, Melbourne, and Huskisson himself, was most important; and our combination next year was still further completed by the results of the general election. It was with Melbourne that I communicated on the present state of affairs. I had expected to meet Huskisson at Liverpool, on the opening of the railway. I had written to him, and enclosed a letter to Melbourne. The following was Melbourne's answer:—

“PANSHANGER, *September 19, 1830.*

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I should long ago have answered your letter, which poor Huskisson sent to me here, had it not been for the stunning event, of which the account succeeded so immediately.* You can easily conceive the affliction it has caused me; and in a public point of view, it is unnecessary to expatiate upon the loss, particularly at this moment. I have been obliged to have the operation performed for a carbuncle, which has succeeded perfectly, but which prevented me from travelling. This saved me from being a witness of the melancholy catastrophe; otherwise I should have regretted that it lost me the opportunity of having a full conversation with you upon the present most important and critical state of

* The death of Huskisson on the 15th of September, by an accident at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

public affairs. They are at once too wide and too extensive to be entered upon in writing, and still more, they are liable to so much change and fluctuation, that the conclusions to which one might come now, might perhaps be totally unsuitable to the state of things a month hence, at the meeting of Parliament. Before that time, I hope I shall have an opportunity of talking with you. In the mean time, as the recent reports which have appeared in the newspapers might lead you to suppose that there have been renewed overtures, it may be as well to assure you that, as far as relates to myself, there has been nothing of the kind since those of last July or August (I forget which), and with which and their results you are acquainted. Of course I cannot answer for others with the same certainty, but I do not believe that they or any of them have received any further communication. If any should be made, all the motives which induced us to decline the former proposal would, in my view, be rather strengthened and increased than weakened and diminished, by the loss which we have just sustained. If we hesitated to trust ourselves to the Duke and his followers with the assistance of Huskisson, we should, of course, be still more unwilling, now that we are deprived of him, and the weight which he carried with him. Of course, the Ministry in France has a most difficult task. A new Ministry in England which comes in in the natural and constitutional course, we have always seen, finds obstacles almost insuperable, in the bitter-

ness of its enemies, in the unreasonable expectations of its friends, and in the general distrust which always attends upon new men, to whom the public are unaccustomed. But all these difficulties are aggravated tenfold to a Ministry which is placed in this situation by a revolution. However, I have a feeling that they will come through in some way or another; there seems to be a certain portion of good men in the world, and general unwillingness to go to war, from which I augur good results, at any rate. We should hold cheerful language at the same time, without breaking out into extravagant encomium, which is awkward if the whole thing ultimately goes to the devil, as it did before.—Adieu. Yours faithfully,
MELBOURNE."

Many of our party were always ready to accept what little measures of moderate reform they could get, such as were now and then conceded, sometimes by Peel, and sometimes by Robinson (afterwards Goderich), to whom they paid some court; but to the Duke they looked with no little hope. They recollected 1829 and the Catholic question, which they ascribed, and justly, entirely to him, and conceived that he would bring Peel more easily over on Reform, against which he had never been pledged, as he was so deeply upon that question. The profound secrecy which he had kept upon it to the very last, and in which Peel had entirely joined, made those of our moderate and placable Whigs whom I have referred to, persuade

themselves that he had planned some concession upon Reform, in order, if not to satisfy the country, at least to appease the prevailing feeling of discontent; and no small number of those men were believed by us leaders to be prepared to accept a very small measure from his hands.

We were alarmed at this prospect, which would not only have been most disastrous to the party, but, independent of all factious views, we really believed that it would have been fatal to Reform; because any measure which the Duke could give, must have been so very trifling as to be of little value, and it would, by dividing the real reformers, have deprived us of almost all the advantages of our present position, destroyed the effects of the general election, and postponed indefinitely the real reform, as well as our obtaining the government, and thus carrying so many other great measures. While these apprehensions and doubts continued, I was at Brighton for a few days about the end of October, and I there saw William Harrison, who was confidentially employed in preparing the Government bills. Calling upon him one morning, I found with him his brother Sir George, who held office in the Treasury. Of course I could not expect them to tell me if there was any Reform measure in contemplation; but the manner in which they received the question, the broad and unrestrained ridicule which they cast upon such a supposition, as of an utter impossibility, really made me and those of our friends to whom I communicated what had passed,

believe that our alarm had been groundless. The conversation with the Harrisons, of course, was anything but confidential, from the nature of the case; but I said, "I suppose I may tell our friends that you deny the prevailing report;" and they said they had not even heard of it till I told them, and that I might quote their authority to contradict it. The only thing that took away from the weight of this testimony was the possibility of the Duke having carefully kept the secret even from those most natural to be employed. But the success of the plan ascribed to him depended upon the measure being introduced ready to be pressed through, else he had upon his hands the borough proprietors, and other strong enemies of all reform, the Eldons and Wetherells of his own party; and unless the Harrisons were employed, he had little chance either of having the work done or the secret well kept. We were therefore pretty sure that no measure was intended. But this was only on the eve of the session opening, and all that we could expect was the whole question being left in our hands. Our gratification, therefore, was not inconsiderable when the Duke made his declaration that, so perfect did he consider the system, he should, had he a new one to propose, only attempt the nearest approach to the old one which was possible. It is observable in the letters of Lord Grey and Lord Rosslyn how great a disposition existed in these and other chiefs of the Whig party to join with the Duke of Wellington, had that been met with a like disposition on his part. Indeed

he had held the Duke of Bedford's proxy ever since the junction Ministry.

The same circumstances continued during the session (1830), and the events of the session added strength to them. The dissolution then came; and nothing could be more exemplary than the Duke's forbearance—only exerting the influence of office when he could not avoid it. The result of the election was altogether favourable to the Opposition; but still there was no indication of change in the Duke's disposition as to the party, Lord Rosslyn's case the year before having been succeeded by no other. The declaration against all reform left no longer any doubt or hesitation.

That declaration plainly gave us a very great advantage in every way, and made it quite safe to extend our plan with the hope of carrying it through. The meeting at Althorp's had discussed, or rather conversed upon, what I laid before them; and, after some slight changes, it was agreed that I should bring it forward on the 16th of November. On the day before, we somewhat unexpectedly, on a motion of Parnell's respecting the Finance Committee, beat the Government after a debate of no great interest, in which, indeed, neither Peel nor I took any part. Next morning I went to the Court of King's Bench and made my arrangements so as to allow me to get home early, to prepare for the evening. However, as I had some suspicion the Government might break up on the division of the previous night, rather than go

out on my motion being carried, as we knew it would be, I did not care to go through the trouble of getting my speech all ready until I had asked a question of Jersey, to whom I wrote a note, begging, if it was no secret, to know whether they were out or not. He replied that they *were* out. I therefore was not surprised at the announcement made by Peel, that the Ministry had resigned ; and I was pressed to postpone my motion, which I did, stating that I should certainly bring it on upon Thursday, the 18th.* On that day I was again pressed, but answered that as I had no concern whatever in the political arrangements which were supposed to be going on, and intended to have no concern with them, I should not delay my motion above a few days, but bring it forward, of whatever materials that Ministry might be composed. *This was loudly cheered.* As I left the House, I met Arbuthnot, and asked him how the carrying a committee on the

* On the 15th November, on the motion of Mr Goulburn, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the House go into Committee on the Civil List, Sir Henry Parnell moved as an amendment, "That a select committee be appointed to examine the accounts presented to the House by order of his Majesty, connected with the Civil List, and to report thereon." This was carried by 233 to 204. It is stated that "while the members who went for the amendment remained in the lobby, Mr Brougham addressed them, and requested them not to go away after the division ; for that, if they were defeated on that amendment, it was the intention of the honourable member for Dorsetshire to move another for the appointment of a committee to inquire into all the items of the Civil List after the first three. This notice was received with cheers."—Hansard. On the 2d, Mr Brougham had given notice that on that day fortnight he would bring on the question of Parliamentary Reform. This would have been on Tuesday, the 16th, and on that day the resignation of Ministers was announced.

expenditure should be deemed a sufficient ground for breaking up the Government. He said that the true ground was their expecting to be beaten on my motion; and that if a Government were brought in upon Reform, the Duke felt it would make the measures proposed much more extensive than if their predecessors went out on any other ground. This was a course dictated by his wonted sagacity and practical good sense. I may add that my declaration of having no intention to take office, afterwards so much commented upon, was a statement of my positive and well-considered resolution *at the time*, and that I then firmly believed my taking office to be impossible.

When I returned home that evening (the 16th) from Lincoln's Inn, where I had as usual gone after dinner, I found the following note from Lady Grey:—

“MY DEAR MR BROUGHAM,—Lord Grey desires me to tell you that he has this moment been sent for by the King.—Sincerely yours, M. E. GREY.”

I found also several letters referring to what had passed in the House, and deprecating my supposed intention to refuse office; and as it had been said that I should certainly refuse the Attorney-Generalship, when I went to Brooks's in the evening of Wednesday the 17th and the day after, I was surrounded by leading men among our friends, who strongly urged upon me the duty of not refusing it. Afterwards others joined in the exhortation, and one or two came

from Grey with the same advice (Duncannon certainly), because I had all along said that I would take nothing, or that if I *must* take office, it should only be the Rolls; for if there were no other reason against taking the Attorney-Generalship, the certainty of a Yorkshire contest on taking an office, which I might quit in a month and lose a large portion of my professional income by the circuit (to which I could not return, owing to the rules of the bar), would be enough to decide me—but that the same objection did not apply to the Rolls; and I know that Leach, too anxious to have the Great Seal, would at once make way for me.

On Wednesday the 17th, just as I was getting into the carriage, and going to chambers for the evening, Lady Glengall, a friend of Leach's as well as of mine, called with a view of ascertaining whether I was a candidate for the Great Seal, as Leach was bent upon it, and feared I might stand in his way. I told her to relieve his mind from any such alarm, for I never certainly dreamed of such a thing.

On that same day, Grey asked me if I would accept the office of Attorney-General. I said, "*Most certainly not.*" And being again pressed, I said that I wished to have no office whatever. I was member for Yorkshire, and desired to keep by that and by my profession. This, I found, threw them into much difficulty. However, I remained firm till Thursday night, always assuring them of my hearty support out of office; and they as constantly saying that such

support would not be sufficient for carrying on the Government, considering my position in Parliament and in the country. At length, late on Thursday evening, I was told that the negotiation must go off, on account of my persistent refusal. I repeated that I would take the Rolls, but nothing else, as I was resolved to remain in the House of Commons, and that I would not take a subordinate place like Attorney-General. I was then told the Rolls was impossible; and this, from something I had just heard, did not surprise me.

Late on Thursday evening I received the following note from Lord Grey:—

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—It is necessary that I should see you as soon as possible to-morrow—*i.e.*, as soon as possible after I am up, which, worn out as I am, cannot, I fear, be much before ten o'clock. Pray name the hour when you can be with me, and let me again repeat that it must be as soon as possible.—
Ever yours,
GREY.

“*Thursday Night, November 18, 1830.*”

I answered as follows:—

“*Friday Morning.*”

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Your note alarms me, as I had thought affairs were going on quite smoothly. I am in this difficulty, that I must begin an argument in the House of Lords at ten exactly, and shall be kept to reply, which cannot well be over before half-

past one; and were I, in these times of reports, to try to put it off, I should be much and seriously injured by it.

"But I can be with you before two. I could call at half-past nine on my way to Westminster, but that would rouse you, and you are much better in bed.

"All I saw yesterday were in great spirits and most perfect good-humour and disposition.—In haste, ever truly yours,
H. B."

He answered as follows:—

"I can see you now in your way to Westminster if you can come. If not, I shall expect you at two, or as much before as may be possible. I shall not go out till I have seen you.—Yours,
G.

"*Friday, November 19, 1830.*"

Accordingly I called on my way to Westminster, and he at once said that he had been desired by the King to ask if I would take the Great Seal. I stared, and said it was utterly out of the question—that I could not give up the bar, and take the chance of being turned out of office in two or three months—that my fortune was not sufficient to support a peerage—and that I would not on any account give up Yorkshire and my position in the House of Commons. He said he had received the answer I gave to Duncannon and Althorp, positively refusing to be Attorney-General, and that I would support the Government as zealously as possible without office; or that,

if I must take office, the Rolls was the only place I could take. He added that, when he first saw the King and mentioned it, the King answered that the Rolls was quite impossible, and dwelt upon the Attorney-Generalship, which that day Lord Grey had told him I positively refused, though I knew that his taking the Government depended upon my consenting. The King then asked, on his (Lord Grey's) saying that the negotiation must go off, as Mr Brougham was inflexible, if he had offered me the Great Seal? and on Lord Grey's saying he had not, because he supposed there was the same objection to that as to the Rolls,—“ Oh no,” said the King, “ there is no one I would rather have for my Chancellor.” He afterwards once or twice alluded to this when in particularly good humour, and called me *his* Chancellor, as named by himself and not by my colleagues. In fact, I more than suspect that the Tories, on going out, warned him not to leave me in the Commons, member for Yorkshire, chief of the popular party, and irremovable Master of the Rolls. In fact, I *know* that Huskisson told a friend of mine that he did not see how any Government could go on were I without office, and only member for Yorkshire; but that if I had the Rolls too, I was absolute for life.

The suspicion I have just stated was founded on more than a mere guess; for on Thursday evening the 18th, I received from an intimate friend, who happened also to be much connected with the Duke of Wellington, the following note :—

“ Thursday Evening.

“ It will be interesting, and possibly may be important (while all this Cabinet-making is going on), to you to know, *on the authority of Alava*, from whom I had it, that the Duke, on leaving the King on Tuesday, thus spoke to him : ‘ If I may be permitted to give your Majesty one piece of advice, it is—on no account to allow Mr Brougham to be Master of the Rolls ; for such a position, coupled with the representation of Yorkshire, would make him too powerful for *any* Government.’ You well know that *I* could not venture to ask the Duke if this were true ; but you know also his habit of talking to Alava. I only add, that *I* believe it.”

I told Lord Grey that I had every kind of objection to quit the House of Commons and the bar for a promotion so very precarious ; and I showed him how absurd such a sacrifice would be on my part. I made no objection to the construction of the Cabinet, as he described it, only I remarked that Graham’s place was prematurely high ; observing that he was a kind of pocket-vote of Lambton’s. Grey begged I would see Althorp before I rejected the office of the Great Seal ; assuring me the whole treaty was up, if I refused to concur. I then left him, having to go to the House of Lords at ten. There I argued a long, dull, dry, and complicated appeal case, chiefly turning on accounts and figures. I sent for Althorp, and for Sefton, whom I often used to consult on my private

concerns, having the greatest confidence in his soundness and judgment. They arrived separately before the time came for me to reply, and I made my junior take the reply off my hands; so I went to the consultation-room, where I found Althorp, Sefton, Duncannon, and my brother James, whom Althorp had desired to come, as thinking he would be in favour of my acceptance. I stated my reasons fully, and put it to them whether I could make such a sacrifice in common prudence, independent of the position in the Commons which I was called on to abandon, and the representation of Yorkshire. There was a good deal of discussion, but it ended in Althorp saying he saw no answer to my objections. They all went away except Althorp, and he said, when we were left alone, "Well, I have not a word to say against your reasons and your feelings, and therefore there is an end of the matter; and you take upon yourself the responsibility of keeping our party for another twenty-five years out of power, and the loss of all the great questions which will follow, instead of their being carried." I again denied this, because I was willing to devote myself to the party, and with greater influence, from being a supporter out of office. He said, "That is a totally different thing from official support, because every now and then there comes a question on which you really differ, and have not the excuse for supporting the Government against your opinion, which you consent to waive in order not to break up the Ministry. However, there is no use in arguing the matter.

Grey is determined, and will let the King know to-day, when he goes by appointment at two o'clock, that there are such difficulties in the way that the Government cannot be formed; and you take upon yourself to let our friends all know that *you* are the cause, and the only cause, of the attempt failing." I said I must have an hour to consider; and I sent for my brother and Denman, with whom I had a conversation upon the way in which Althorp had put the matter. They both said the same thing had occurred to them, and also to Sefton and Duncannon, after the meeting an hour ago. It ended in my letting Grey know that I yielded to their remonstrances. I ought to add that the only person who saw the subject in the same light as myself, was my mother, who, in a very remarkable letter, warned me against giving up the substance of power for a name.

Thus she wrote: "If, as is probable, office is offered you in the new Government, pause before you accept it; do not be tempted to leave the House of Commons. As member for Yorkshire, backed by all you have done for the country, you are more powerful than any official that ever existed, however high in station or in rank. Throw not away the great position you have raised yourself to—a position greater than any that could be bestowed by king or minister."

The step, however, was taken; and the only justification of it in common prudence was, that the party would have been next thing to ruined had I refused. But the folly of the step, as a selfish one, was abun-

dantly evident. I took a peerage and £4000 a-year for life, without the chance of making my income greater, however inadequate I might find it. I had been accustomed to spend a great deal more, without any rank to support; and I gave up an income of more than double, and which the first change at the bar would raise to above £10,000 a-year. I also gave up a profession of which I had become extremely fond; and I gave up the finest position in the world for an ambitious man like me—a man who loved real power, cared little for any labour, however hard, and less for any rank, however high. But I made this sacrifice, for which the gratitude of the party at first knew no bounds, and afterwards was reduced to less than nothing.

So much has been said by the Whigs of my anxiety for office, and so often have they denied the benefits I conferred on the party, that I am tempted to refer to the late Duke of Bedford's opinion on the subject.

In the winter of 1859 I had occasion to write to him, to ask him to help me in an application I was about to make to Palmerston. Among the various grounds on which I rested my claim, I mentioned to the Duke incidentally, how much I had done for the party, but I chiefly urged the great sacrifice I had made for their sole benefit by taking the Great Seal; and I reminded him of the circumstances in these words: "You may recollect the extreme difficulty they had in overcoming my objections; that I first refused the Attorney-Generalship, then the Great Seal,

because it would take me out of the House of Commons. I had no objection to the Rolls; but the King would not let Lord Grey offer it to me, and himself proposed the Great Seal, which I positively refused, till Grey made Althorp, Duncannon, and Sefton over-persuade me, by declaring that the Government could not be formed if I persisted. I told them, at the same time, and probably yourself also, that my mother joined in my strong objection to quit the House of Commons for the Chancellorship and the Lords. However, there was no help for it, as Grey and Althorp refused to accept my hearty and constant support out of office, when the Rolls was refused by the King. So I gave up my profession, which was secure, and took a precarious office. I think all this gives me a claim. In 1830, John* was not in the Cabinet, and is not acquainted with the particulars known to Althorp, as well as yourself, to whom I appeal, now that Althorp is unhappily gone.—Believe me ever most affectionately yours,

“H. B.”

To this I had the following reply:—

“WOBURN ABBEY, *Christmas Day*, 1859.

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—My first letter this morning shall be to you, to send you my best and sincere wishes, and to tell you that yours of the 19th, received yesterday, could not fail to *gratify me*, as a mark of your old friendship and confidence.

* Lord John, brother to the Duke.

“I well remember all you refer to in 1830—my communication with Althorp on the subject, and what you said to me at the time, and your own feelings, and your mother’s sentiments. I know also that you have devoted the best days of your life to the political service of the public; that you alone have done much more for the party than any man, and for which they owe you a debt they never can repay; that your labours to do good to the community in various ways have been unceasing, and latterly, at your period of life, wonderful.

“If towards the close of such a career anything could be done to reward such services, and to gratify you, it would give me much pleasure. What more can I say? You do not ask me to take any step, and mark your letter as ‘private and confidential.’

“I shall therefore say nothing of it to any one. I have a very accurate recollection of all that passed about you in 1830, and of the part I took in it with Althorp, unknown to you at the time, and unnecessary to repeat now.

“I just missed you in London, having gone upon the day or the day before you left. I hope, however, to see you on your return, in good health and full vigour. Till then, adieu.—Ever sincerely yours,

“BEDFORD.”

When, preparatory to taking my seat in the Court of Chancery at Westminster, on Thursday the 25th of November 1830, I was sworn in by the

Master of the Rolls, I had a very large attendance to witness the ceremony and to do me honour;—the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, Prince Leopold, all the Cabinet Ministers, the Duke of Devonshire, the Bishops of London, Carlisle, and Gloucester, and many other distinguished persons, whose names I cannot now recollect.

It so happened that a Chapter of the Garter was held that day to make the Duke of Bedford a knight, so that many who gave me their support and countenance were in full Court dress, and this made the whole affair look very gay.

The only thing which I have left out in the preceding pages is, that a Cabinet had been held at Lansdowne House on Thursday, when Grey stated to them all that had passed. This was not known to me till Lansdowne afterwards told me of it; his recollection in every particular agrees with mine as to the Attorney - Generalship, the Rolls, and the King's refusal of the Rolls and offering the Great Seal, all which Grey had told the Cabinet, and had their unanimous concurrence in his proposal.

On the morning of the 20th I received the following letter from Lord Grey:—

“ Friday Evening, November 19, 1830.

*“ DEAR BROUGHAM,—*Althorp has already a commission from me to offer the Treasury to Nugent.

“ Sefton I love as much as you do, but I do not see anything that I could offer him just now. But

of this when we meet to-morrow. I do not think he expects it. I will also talk with you about Horne to-morrow.

“The King, when I announced your acceptance to him this evening, was most gracious, really quite cordial and hearty in approving the appointment. I must say that from the beginning to the end I have met with nothing but the utmost confidence and kindness. It is this that has enabled me to arrange a new Government in four days. I see no reason why we should not all be sworn in on Sunday evening, or at latest on Monday.—Ever yours,

“GREY.”

Early in December, Alexander, the Chief Baron, was taken ill enough to make his resignation probable. This led to Grey suggesting to me that Lyndhurst might succeed him. This proposition was rather startling to me, because I knew that Lyndhurst's hostility would in no degree be lessened, that he would oppose us as bitterly as ever, and that the only justification for appointing him was his undeniable fitness for the office. On this subject I received the following letter from Lord Grey :—

“BERKELEY SQUARE, *December 6, 1830.*

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I have just heard that the Chief Baron (Alexander), too ill, as you know, to go upon the Special Commission, is disposed to resign his seat altogether on the bench, and to take the retiring pension.

“Lyndhurst, I have also reason to believe—though I have had no communication with him of any kind, and have this from no direct authority, but I believe, on what appears to me good grounds—would accept the appointment of Chief Baron.

“I lose no time, therefore, in expressing my anxiety, if the opening should occur, to make this arrangement. It would be creditable to the Government in placing a most effective judge on the bench; it would contribute materially to our ease and comfort in the House of Lords; it would be gratifying to my feelings of personal kindness to Lyndhurst; and it would save Lyndhurst’s pension to the public—no immaterial consideration in these times, and more particularly when we shall be under the necessity of granting two, to make the law arrangements in Ireland. I therefore must again express my earnest hope that you may feel no objection to this arrangement.—Ever yours,
GREY.”

After reading this letter of Lord Grey’s, before I answered it, I had to consider the sound and long-established practice of a Chancellor making judges without any communication to any of his colleagues. That course was, first to take the King’s pleasure, and then to tell the Minister. I know this practice has been complained of. It is right—it is necessary—it is the only safeguard the public can have against jobbing and political intriguing for judicial places. It throws all responsibility on the Great Seal undi-

vided. When Grey suggested to me Copley as Chief Baron, there could be no doubt, judicially speaking, of the fitness of the appointment; this might have made it a proper exception to the rule. Eldon, however, sent me a message on the Chief Baron (Alexander) retiring, to remind me that "no Minister had any right whatever even to open his mouth to me on the subject." I suppose he had heard that Grey was moving in Lyndhurst's behalf. Eldon added, that the Minister had no right to interfere in the appointment either of a puisne judge or of a Lord Chief Baron. I was well aware of this, and ever after made a point of acting upon the sound old practice. However, in the instance of Copley, I felt that, in consulting with Lord Grey on his appointment, I might deviate from the rule, because I was doing a great thing for the profession and the country, and, Grey hoped, for the party—a hope which Lyndhurst's conduct in the House of Lords soon showed to be grievously fallacious. I believe, however, that Grey thought not a little of flattering Lady Lyndhurst, to whom both he and Lambton had been paying most assiduous court; and whom I verily believe they had even flattered with the hopes of the Great Seal. After having given the question full consideration, I answered Lord Grey as follows:—

(Private.)

"December 7, 1830.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I can only say on this, as on any other occasion, whether ecclesiastical or

civil, I shall always consider the patronage of the Great Seal as most usefully exercised when it is exercised for the common benefit of the Government; and I shall always be ready to give up every private and personal inclination, or even to deviate from the usual and correct practice on such a subject, and that, too, even where I might have any wishes of my own inconsistent with it. But Lyndhurst is an old and valued friend of my own, so that nothing could more gratify me than doing anything he may like; and though I place a rival near me, and enable him to make a great judicial reputation, that is all the better for the country and the Government.—Ever yours,

“ H. BROUGHAM.

“ *P.S.*—I see I have assumed you know the doctrine of Westminster Hall about the Chief Baron being the *property* of the Great Seal, which I give up, in this instance, at your request.”

“ DOWNING STREET, *December 30, 1830.*

“ MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I was prevented answering your letter, as I intended, yesterday.

“ All you say about O’Connell, his motives and his conduct, is quite true. His abuse of me, I care little about, though full of falsehood and injustice. You have an equal right to complain of him, but I don’t think the notice of it which I see in to-day’s ‘Times’ was worth while.

“ That such agitation should proceed from such

causes, is indeed lamentable—or rather, I should say, should succeed after such pretences. If the Doherty grievance had not existed, another would have been found. The truth is, the long delay of the Catholic question gave O'Connell a power with which he was unwilling to part; we provoked him by making the Relief Bill offensive to him personally, and by not giving him a silk gown; and he now aims at being what he styles himself, the Liberator of Ireland, at whatever expense of mischief, or even of ruin, to the country.

“The accounts from thence are as bad as possible. Anglesey is persuaded that an explosion will take place, and there is a great deal of secret information by which it appears that the [*illegible*] are in active communication with this country, and if true in the tenth part of it, it proves that the danger is most formidable and imminent.

“We have done all we can to have a disposable force for any emergency, in rendering the militia efficient with the least possible delay; in sanctioning the employment of yeomanry corps, as recommended by Anglesey; and at the same time in directing the attention of the Irish Government to any measures which may attend the prospects of relief, or be useful in diminishing the causes of dissatisfaction.

“At home everything is better. I have a letter from Jeffrey to-day, in which he tells me he is to be with you at Brougham on Saturday. Amongst other subjects, I conclude you will have some communica-

tion with him on the subject of a Parliamentary Reform in Scotland. We are already in possession of the Solicitor-General's opinions on this subject, and have the outline of a plan formed, on which I am most desirous to have an opportunity of communicating with you. Indeed I should have done so before, but for your constant occupation in court, and subsequent absence from London, though I was hardly prepared to say anything upon this subject before you left us. Any communications you may have on this subject should be communicated to as few people as possible, and to these under an intimation of the strictest secrecy. You are sufficiently aware of the inconvenience attending reports before the measure is ready, as was experienced in the case of [illegible], though completely without foundation.

"I wish you would think of some plan for furnishing employment for the labourers who are in want of work, by subscriptions, which might be assisted by a grant of money, after the meeting of Parliament. When do you come back? I am going to-morrow for three days to Panshanger and Hatfield, unless something should occur to bring me back sooner.—
Ever yours,
GREY."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GREY CABINET—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM THE IMMEDIATE OBJECT—THE REFORM BILL—SCHEDULE A—HISTORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEASURE—PERSONAL ANECDOTES—THE KING—EARL GREY—SIR HERBERT TAYLOR—SIR FRANCIS BURDETT—LORD JOHN RUSSELL—LORD ALTHORP—SIR JOHN HOBHOUSE—THE DUKE OF RICHMOND—THE BILL ANNOUNCED IN THE COMMONS—THE POLICY OF THE OPPOSITION—THE QUESTION OF REFUSING LEAVE TO BRING IN—THE POLICY OF RESIGNING OR DISSOLVING—THE DISSOLUTION—NECESSITY THAT IT SHOULD BE BY THE KING IN PERSON—ACCOUNT OF THE INTERVIEW WITH HIM—SCENE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—THE ELECTIONS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD GREY—THE MEASURE LOST IN THE LORDS.

As soon as the Government was formed, Reform was the first question, after taking the pressing measures for the repression of riots, and securing the peace of the disturbed counties. Our position as to Reform was now entirely different from that in which we were when I announced my plan at the party meeting; and it was no longer possible to bring that forward, as I had intended. A measure which we might hope to carry while in opposition, if kept within certain bounds, and which the country would

thankfully accept from a party out of office, would most probably disappoint the zealous friends of the question, if it were all that a powerful Government, with the people's support, chose to give. The changes which the Government plan of Reform made in the scheme which I had proposed to the party at Althorp's room in the Albany, were consequently considerable, from the difference of our position as a Government. But the most important by much, was the entire extinction of nomination boroughs—Schedule A. And I am bound to admit that it was Schedule A. that finally carried the Bill. Although I had a great tendency towards retaining one member, I could not resist Grey's view of how impossible it was upon principle to give a single person, because he happened to be the proprietor of a borough, the power of naming a representative of the people. I gave up with reluctance my household suffrage for the ten-pound franchise, because, in fact, this sum meant different amounts in different places, and all plans for adjusting the right so as to keep some proportion to the real value were found impossible, besides the inconvenience occasioned by the diversity. But I succeeded in altering the twenty pound, which was the sum the committee had fixed. I was certain that this would create many small constituencies; and on this being stoutly denied by the committee, I obtained returns, which proved it to demonstration. One town with 17,000 or 18,000 inhabitants had not twenty persons who would have been entitled to vota.

In that town there were not even three hundred rated at ten pounds. I must do my colleagues the justice to say, that this at once changed their opinions, and reduced the sum from twenty to ten.

After many preliminary discussions, we agreed that the whole subject should be referred to a committee, consisting of Graham, Durham, Duncannon, and John Russell, who was not then in the Cabinet, but Paymaster of the Forces. They examined carefully the various plans which had at different times been proposed, and drew up in minute detail a series of provisions, which were to form the substance of the Bill, after we should have considered and discussed them in Cabinet. The outline of the proposed plan was taken by Grey to Brighton, where the King then was, and laid before him. He gave a general approval, which Grey communicated to me by the following letter, written the day after his discussion with the King:—

“BRIGHTON, *January 31, 1831.*

“MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—My interview with the King took place immediately after my arrival here yesterday. It lasted too long to allow of my sending you an account of the result by last night's post. The King entered into every part of the proposed plan of Reform with great care, and, I must add, with great acuteness; and in the end, understood it completely. The result is, that it has his full and entire approbation.

“He has been equally satisfied with the new ar-

rangements of the Civil List, which have been laid before him by Althorp this morning.

“With such claims upon us, it hurts me to the greatest degree to find that Grant cannot be reconciled to the proposal for an outfit for the Queen. His opposition to it goes the length of inferring his resignation, if it should be persevered in. I could not expose the King, and more particularly the Queen, to all the disagreeable consequences of a breach in the Government on such a question; but I must repeat I feel very much *hurt* at the obstacle which stands in the way of a grant, sanctioned by precedent, reasonable in itself, and consistent with, as I think, or rather conducive to, a well-understood economy. I wish anything could be done to make Grant hear reason on this subject, and I wish it the more anxiously as the King is quite ready to give up this claim.—Ever yours,
GREY.”

Grey afterwards told me that the King said he should consider the subject of Reform more fully, and give the Cabinet his opinion in writing. This he did very minutely, prefacing it by an observation that it would be more satisfactory for us to learn on what points he had doubts, and on what points objections, because we should thus be satisfied that he had fully considered the subject.

Many attempts were made to have it believed that he had not given his concurrence; and these were aided by the bad habit which he had of conversing

on all subjects with the peers to whom he gave audience, and some of whom were in opposition to the Government. I had to explain this to him, and to show him that, as no responsible Minister was present, he ought, as the rule was, only to hear and not to speak. Knowing how much he regarded his father's example, which he was always desirous to follow, as I well knew, from having had several communications with him before we were in office, I cited this, and gave him several instances of George III. following the rule most strictly,—among others, that of the late Duke of Norfolk (the Jockey), as told me by himself, and also left in a written memorandum. He had an audience to complain of his dismissal from the lord-lieutenancy of the West Riding, on account of his having given the toast at a public dinner, "The majesty of the people," and entered at great length upon the subject. The King said not a word, but, on his taking leave, told him he thought more of him as Howard of Greystoke, than as Duke of Norfolk; this being a strong feeling of the Duke himself, which George III. had heard of. When the King, William IV., fully understood the rule, he became much more select in the persons to whom he said anything, and for the most part followed the rule; but still there were things said on various subjects which got about, and did us great mischief in our very difficult position, with a House of Lords in which the majority was very decidedly against us.

Generally speaking, it must be said he was an

excellent man of business,—unlike his brother, who would ask no questions for fear of showing his ignorance—or his father, who ran on with too many, and would not wait for answers. He asked as many as were required to let him fully understand whatever was brought before him, and gave his own views with perfect candour and fairness; nor was he the least impatient of contradiction, but, on the contrary, rather courted it, in order that he might come to a full understanding with his Ministers.

One circumstance of a trifling nature was yet very characteristic of his honesty: he generally sat opposite to the light, so that you might see the expression of his countenance, he never having anything to conceal, or any part to play. We had but few serious differences during the first ten months. One was about the dissolution in April, to which he objected, but came round upon a Cabinet minute being sent, that, if refused, we should resign in a body. Another was on the illuminations which that dissolution occasioned, because he felt that the measure was taken as an act offensive to the Parliament, to which he felt much gratitude for their liberal endowment of the Queen. The Admiralty having been illuminated was what he most complained of, because he conceived himself professionally involved in it. The assistance he derived on all occasions from Sir Herbert Taylor was of the greatest value both to him and to his Ministers, from the excellent and useful talents, the high honour, and the

strict integrity of that worthy man, who at critical moments did not hesitate to do acts which involved him in great responsibility; on one occasion especially, when he wrote a kind of circular to some of the most violent opposition peers, informing them that Grey and I had received in writing the King's promise of an unlimited creation of peers to pass the Reform Bill. He named no names, but said the power existed in writing, and was in such hands as he knew would use it.

At this period I received many letters written by Sir Herbert Taylor, but at the King's dictation, relating to his private affairs, and the grievances he was suffering under from his children: these relate to matters too private to be published; I therefore pass them by, and go to a letter I received in January 1831:—

(Private.)

“ BRIGHTON, *January 19, 1831.*

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I have not delayed to read to the King the letter which I had the honour to receive from your Lordship this morning, and I need scarcely assure you that his Majesty expressed in the strongest terms his approbation of your proceeding upon the occasion of swearing in the new Chief Baron, as worthy of yourself, and a mark of respect well merited by Lord Lyndhurst.

“ The further particulars which you have been so good as to give of the constitution, of the magistracy, &c., of Scotch cities, have appeared to his Majesty very interesting, and well deserving of attention.

“But the part of your Lordship’s letter which chiefly engaged the King’s mind, naturally is that wherein you enter upon the important question of Parliamentary Reform, which has been, and continues to be, a subject of so much anxiety. His Majesty rejoices that Lord Grey has mentioned to you the correspondence which has passed upon it; and his Majesty expressed himself pleased with the manner in which you have entered into it, and pleased also to find that you agree with him in the wish that the question could have been postponed for this session, and even for a longer period; at the same time, that his Majesty agrees with you and with Lord Grey—and is satisfied by the reasons assigned by both—that it may not be possible or even advisable to defer *being ready* to bring it forward as a measure of Government. His Majesty is, however, satisfied also that those who are thus placed under the necessity of bringing forward, at such a period as this, a measure ‘which, to be well and wisely handled, ought to be handled at a time when there is little else to disturb the attention,’ will endeavour so to frame it, and so to ascertain the feeling of the majority upon it, as to secure themselves against the possibility of a defeat, which might produce consequences which no person would dread and deprecate more sincerely than his Majesty. Supposing these even to be confined to a dissolution of Parliament, it must be obvious to the Government, as it is to the King, that such a result of the agitation of the question would be injurious to

the general interests of the country, and would hazard its peace and its security, to a greater degree than at any period of its history at which it could possibly have occurred.

“His Majesty cannot contemplate without the greatest apprehension the possibility of a general election, and of contests in every part of the kingdom, at a moment when so much excitement prevails; when the disposition to violence and outrage, to the almost indiscriminate and unprovoked destruction of property, has with difficulty been checked by the strong hand of the law; when the measures decided upon to strengthen the hands of the executive and the civil power, which this state of things had called for, are yet in preparation. His Majesty naturally looks to what passed at Preston for the example of a popular election under such circumstances, and for the exclusion of men of character and respectability, not in consequence of any abuse or defect in the system of representation, but in consequence of the populace taking the law into its own hands, and defying all rule and its enforcement by constitutional authority. He looks with still greater anxiety to the state of Ireland, and to the possible results of popular elections, while Mr O’Connell’s influence, and the excitement his seditious proceedings have created, still prevail—one effect of which might be, the return of a large proportion of the Irish members who would be advocates for the Repeal of the Union, and perhaps for the full measure of Mr

O'Connell's designs. All these are circumstances which have engaged his Majesty's attention, and have been the subject of his conversation; and he has given me full authority now to express them to your Lordship. There yet remains another not less important circumstance, though it would not arise till after the successful issue of the attempt in the House of Commons—namely, the possibility of a serious and *protracted* difference between that House and the House of Lords, which is to be deprecated on every account; for, to use your own words, 'the Constitution could no more stand without Lords than without Commons.'

"I have troubled your Lordship with a long letter, upon a subject on which I should not have presumed to write without his Majesty's sanction. I have felt, however, that you will be glad, and that it might be useful to you to be in possession of his sentiments; I think I may venture to add that they will not be urged in a manner that can embarrass his Government.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's very obedient and faithful servant,

H. TAYLOR.

"THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR."

When all had been agreed upon as to the substance of the Bill, it was very important to have it carefully drawn, because we well knew the injurious effects of faults or obvious blunders in a measure that had to

undergo such opposition from so many kinds of objectors. Wilde was of great use in advising me, on the question as to whom the details of the drawing should be committed, that I could not do better than employ a very skilful draftsman, Peacock, who afterwards rose to great eminence in the profession, and who was then an able pleader, but not much known. He was afterwards appointed to a judgeship in India, where I believe he died. It was absolutely necessary to have a trustworthy person in this as in every other department connected with the Bill, because we felt the necessity of keeping the most absolute secrecy on the whole of its provisions. This was not easy, from the number of persons who of necessity were acquainted with the whole plan, and from the extreme curiosity that prevailed to know something, at least, of what was proposed. Yet we were quite convinced that, to give the measure any chance of success with the country and with Parliament, it must be brought forward at once, without any single part of it being previously known to the public. A week or ten days would have sufficed to raise objections in all quarters, even among its friends, and discontent would have prevailed among many because of the reform going too far; among many more, because of its not going far enough; besides that every one would have had a plan of his own, and not a few must have rejected it from ignorance of the subject, and being led by no weighty authority. To those in Parliament and not in office, the most

tempting occasion would have been afforded of urging or of feigning their discontent. In short, the keeping the whole of the measure secret until the moment of promulgation, with the full weight of Government, appeared absolutely necessary, if the Bill was to have fair play.

There never was a secret more perfectly kept. But we all felt anxious to ascertain beforehand how the measure was likely to satisfy our friends, and we conceived it best to sound those of the most extreme opinions. My brother James was then living with us in Berkeley Square, and he had always been what was called a Burdettite—at least he leant strongly to that section. Of course it was a subject on which he never came with me, although I was aware of his great anxiety to know what we were about, both on account of the subject and on account of the Government, which, though in no office, he strongly supported. But I avoided saying a single word of any kind (as he did), because inferences might be drawn from whatever I said, and it is a sound rule for keeping a secret never to utter a word upon the subject of it, even so far as to say you intend to conceal it. I thought, however, I would sound him, after we had resolved to satisfy ourselves in that way; and I asked, suddenly, one morning, “What should you say if we intended to disfranchise half the rotten boroughs, or to leave them only one member each, giving the votes abolished to the great towns?” “Oh, that is quite romantic; you never will be able to do that.” I told

him that he might confide it to Burdett, but with a positive injunction against its going further. He told me at dinner that Burdett, like himself, thought it far too good news to be true, and that he could not believe it, but would say nothing till he heard more. We resolved the same evening, in Cabinet, to make Burdett our confidant under seal of secrecy, and the outline of the plan was next morning communicated to him. He was overjoyed, but greatly doubted if we did not go too far. He made one or two suggestions both as to the measure itself and our mode of proceeding, some of which we took advantage of.

His friend and ally Hobhouse (now Broughton), has plainly intimated in the House that his opinion, after full consideration, continued to be, that the measure went rather too far.

Our final discussion was held in the Cabinet just before the 1st of March, when the Bill was moved in the Commons by John Russell. We had from the first resolved that he should bring it forward, from the subject having of late years been in his hands; no doubt, also, because, having no Cabinet office, this was reckoned a kind of compensation. There were many reasons why Althorp, our leader in the Commons, should have charge of it. Among others, his not bringing it in was held to show a slack support of the measure by the Government. Our conduct soon gave a refutation to that argument; but Althorp's minute acquaintance with the details, exceeding that which I ever knew any one to have

on any measure, and his ready answer to all objections, or explanation of all doubts, with his unexampled temper throughout, led both Grey and myself to doubt if it would not have been better in his hands. However, it was too late now to make any change, and we talked over our prospects under the present arrangement, and considering the measure as finally settled. The Opposition, and the adversaries of Reform generally, had had nearly four weeks to reflect upon their course, as the notice was given in both Houses immediately on the meeting after the Christmas recess. I told my colleagues that there was nothing so foolish as not being prepared for the enemy's movements; and that on fully considering what these were likely to be, and having only one guide to answer the question—namely, what I should myself do in their place—I had no doubt whatever, that on the plan being opened, I should at once say (and here I made the speech I expected Peel to make), “This is not reform, but revolution; we cannot suffer the Bill to be brought in as if it were a plan of improvement; it is a measure of destruction. I move that it be rejected at once, and that we refuse leave to bring in the Bill.” Goderich said he did not believe Peel was up to this, though he admitted there was no better way of meeting it before the country could be excited in its favour. I said, There is a better general than Peel in command of the party; the Duke will assuredly take that course. Of this I felt the more certain, because I

knew how meanly he thought of Peel's leadership on the last occasion, when Parnell's motion was carried. On the announcement to him at his house where he had an evening party, he expressed no regret, but considerable surprise, especially at Peel having left the Government almost undefended. Here the Duke was quite wrong; Peel could have done no otherwise than he did.

We should have been in the greatest difficulty if the course which I described had been taken. The country was not in the least prepared for so large a measure; and the excitement in favour of it would not have been greater than the alarm on the other side. Besides, we had been warned by the King, that though he entirely approved the Bill, and would give it all the support in his power, he did not engage to dissolve on account of it—indeed he plainly had indicated that he would not. All therefore depended upon time being given for the country to take part with us strongly and generally.

Le Marchant,* my principal secretary, was as usual under the gallery, and sent me, from time to time, a short report of what passed. These accounts were always so admirably clear in all respects, that Grey used to say he seldom looked at the newspapers next morning. On the evening of the 1st of March he was there, of course; and I had two or three of the Cabinet to dine with me—Melbourne and Richmond.

* Sir Denis Le Marchant, Bart., second son of Major-General Le Marchant, who was killed at the battle of Salamanca.

We were at table, and waiting with anxiety the bulletin from Le Marchant. We said, Let us drink success before we know our fate. The first accounts between five and eight o'clock were only that the House was full, and the surprise at the plan very great. The third was that some one, I think Sir Robert Harry Inglis, a stout opponent, had followed John Russell, and had gone at large into the question—in short, that Peel had missed his chance, and that all was safe. On conversing afterwards about the conduct of the Opposition in debating the Bill for some nights, and their not dividing against the leave to bring it in, it appeared that some of the staunchest supporters of the Government had declared generally their intention to vote for leave, though strongly opposed to the Bill; and Richmond happened to have letters which were put into the post that day, after the plan had been opened, written from the House of Commons, and posted without any address—as happens much oftener than might be supposed, and even with letters containing bills or money. They were therefore, in the regular course of the office, brought to him as Postmaster-General, and opened by him. They shortly expressed alarm at the measure, but said they could not vote against bringing in the Bill. These letters were from two of the staunchest friends of the Opposition, written to two great borough-owners. I have often discussed with the Duke of Wellington the same subject, and asked him how he could let such a manifest error be

committed. He entirely agreed as to the course they ought to have taken, but said Peel was not so much to blame as he appeared to be, for some of the greatest adversaries of the Government and of the Bill had taken a very strong objection to refusing leave. My answer was, that I had over and over again found even important members of our party deciding against what I intended to do; but if it was clearly right, and was of much importance, when I persisted, notwithstanding their objections, they all or almost all fell in with the rest—and so would the objectors in Peel's case. My statement applied, of course, to measures and conduct in Opposition.

The effect of the announcement of our plan was beyond anything I can recollect. The most sanguine were astonished at a measure so much larger than they had hoped would be brought forward. The feeling of astonishment was the same in the House on both sides, as I heard from James the next day; and out of doors, it was as strong and as universal. The Duke had a party that evening, and before the account reached him, he had been expressing his disbelief of the report he had heard of what was said to be our plan, and a moderate measure as more than he thought we should venture to propose; and he inclined to disbelieve the reports; but when the first news of the Bill came, he said that it was utterly impossible, and must be a mistaken account. Rosslyn, when I met him at the House, considered our policy as ill conceived, and sure to fail; but I gathered from him,

that if mistakes had been committed, especially the Duke's declaration, and the suffering the Bill to be brought in, upon which he entirely agreed with me, there would be no more errors or oversights; and he gave me to understand that the Duke was taking matters into his own hands as to their tactics, both in the Commons and Lords. I asked him what they meant to do in the country, and he said they must wait to see the impression made. On this, as on every occasion, I expressed our regret at not having him with us. He had been strongly pressed to join the Government when it was forming; the communication was through my brother, as their intimacy made a consideration of the reasons for and against the new Ministry more easy. He had at first said it was impossible, but James begging him to take a few hours for consideration,—whether he was so bound to the Duke that he could not return to his friends who had regarded his taking office with the Duke as highly proper and as agreeable to them,—next day he said that, independent of other considerations, he felt bound in honour to the Duke, and—though without the least doubt the Duke had released him and desired him to join us—he felt that he could not; and the Duke's most handsome behaviour only made it the more impossible. Afterwards, when the Bill was brought in, he said there were new reasons that made it out of the question; for he had always been against Parliamentary Reform, even of the most limited description, and to join in this wholesale measure was

out of the question. He was one of the North party, and at the coalition they had always differed with the Whigs on this subject.

The second reading was carried by a bare majority of one. Some days before, we had sustained a defeat in the Commons upon the timber duties, and our friends thought we were bound to dissolve, or resign—as foolish a notion as could enter into their heads, especially considering that the excitement was spreading daily wider and wider, but had by no means reached its height.* I found expectation of our taking this course extended even to calm and reflecting persons; for I had a letter from Abercromby, at Edinburgh (where he was sitting as Chief Baron), in which he said—"I conclude that this letter will cross one announcing a dissolution."

Although dissolving on the timber-duty defeat was out of the question, yet that defeat, and the narrow majority of one by which the second reading was carried, made it quite clear that we must take the earliest opportunity which our adversaries might give us of appealing to the country, and of having a Parliament chosen under our Government, as this had been under the Duke's, who, I must say, had exercised as little Crown influence in the late election as any one at the head of the Government could. Just about this time, it appeared to me quite possible that

* In committee on Customs, 18th March, on the motion of Lord Althorp for an alteration in the duties on certain kinds of timber imported from the Baltic, there was a division of 236 against 190, being a majority of 46 against Ministers.

the King might refuse to dissolve, for I well knew how adverse he was to take that step. Hence, as our resignation would have followed such refusal, I quite laid my account with shortly being out of office; and as there were some important matters connected with the Court of Chancery that I had much at heart, I wrote the following memorandum, which I intended should be given to my successor:—

“ COURT OF CHANCERY, *April 20, 1831.*

“ As it is very probable that the Great Seal may not be held by me beyond a few days, I think it proper to leave to my successors this intimation respecting the office of Accountant-General.

“ Mr Harvey* has for some time tendered me his resignation, and before Easter, I begged he would retain his office for a few weeks, because I had an important arrangement in preparation. That arrangement requires a bill to be carried through Parliament, for which there has not been time.

“ I intended to abolish the Scotch Court of Exchequer, for reasons unnecessary to be stated, but chiefly because it is wholly superfluous, not trying more than one defended cause in a year. I then intended to give the Chief Baron the office of Accountant-General, which would have saved his retiring pension. My reason for not beginning with giving him this place was, that he had a perfect right to claim his period of retirement as Chief Baron, with the pension

* Springett Harvey, Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery.

belonging to that office, instead of waiting till he had completed his period as Accountant-General (twenty years), and the smaller pension of £1500. This could best be done by his resigning under the Bill.

“My wish is to see this arrangement carried into effect, whoever is Chancellor. It is highly beneficial to the country by saving money, and still more by rescuing the Bench and profession from the evil consequences of there being anything like sinecure judges.

“Some arrangements of detail will be necessary for this plan, because certain revenue business is very improperly committed to the Scotch Exchequer.

“BROUGHAM, C.”

For three weeks we had been deliberating on this question of dissolving, and when we had resolved, and were waiting anxiously for a fair ground, Gascoigne's motion against lessening the numbers of the House for England and Wales (which the Bill proposed to do) was carried by a majority of eight; and two nights after, by a majority of twenty-two, he carried an adjournment on a Liverpool bribery case, which prevented our going on with Supply. This was deemed a fair ground of dissolving; and having held communication with the King on the subject for some days, and obtained his reluctant consent, we took the step next day, 22d April. These motions of Gascoigne's, especially the first, were always complained bitterly of by our more practised adversaries. Croker, the ablest opponent of the Bill, and whose only

error was the furnishing us with a statement of all his objections, by reducing them to one form of motion, said that Gascoigne had shipwrecked their opposition to the Bill by his motion to alter the only good thing in it, the reduction of the numbers.

These were the greatest difficulties in our situation during the whole month after the narrow majority on the second reading which had led to our determination, and which, indeed, clearly showed that the Bill was lost if we did not dissolve. The chief difficulty was the King's great reluctance. Indeed he at first refused, and reminded us of the reserve under which he had given his approval of the Bill. After much discussion, both in conversation and by correspondence, in which I of course took part, addressing a very full and anxious letter to him, as well as having an audience, it ended in our determining all to resign unless the request was granted. We had a Cabinet on the subject, and all signed a minute to that effect. Fortunately the King had made up his mind to refuse no longer, before our minute could reach him, and he could refer to something that had passed with me as showing this, which it did when fairly considered, though it had not so appeared to us. Nevertheless, our minute was framed conditionally, and did not exclude the supposition of his previous change of mind.

Another difficulty was the probability of the Commons addressing against dissolution, in which the Lords would certainly have joined. Our secret was so well kept, that the Commons did not believe the

danger so near, and adjourned on the 21st without supposing we could make the vote on the Liverpool Bribery Bill a reason for dissolving. If the joint address had been carried, with the King's reluctance, he of course would have retracted the consent given, as he would have had a perfect right to do in the change of circumstances produced by the address; and the more so because a dissolution, though it might change the Commons, could have no effect whatever on the Lords.

Here, indeed, was another of our difficulties: the Lords might address, even if the Commons did not; and that they would take this step, soon appeared more than probable. On the morning of the 21st of April, William Courtenay,* whose position in the House and great intimacy with the peers gave him great opportunities of finding out what was going on, told me that Shaftesbury, who was decidedly against us, had declared that, if the King came down in person to dissolve, a motion of adjournment must be made *pro forma* "to receive the King, and that their Lordships retire to robe;" and Courtenay added that Wharnccliffe was to move an address; and the same evening, after asking Grey whether the Ministers had advised the King to dissolve, on Grey refusing to answer a question so unusual, Wharnccliffe gave notice that he should next day move an address praying the King not to exercise his prerogative.

* Afterwards Earl of Devon, but at this time Clerk of the Parliament in the House of Lords. He had been a Master in Chancery.

Now nothing can be more certain than that such an address, if carried, would in no respect have deprived the King of the power he has by the constitution to dissolve Parliament; but it is no less certain that, had such an address been carried, the King would too gladly have taken advantage of it; for although he approved of the Bill, and said he would give it every support in his power, he left it with the existing Parliament to determine, and would do no act by which that Parliament should be set aside and another appealed to.

Everything, therefore, depended upon the dissolution being effected before anything intervened to prevent it. The greatest efforts were made in every department to expedite the writs, and the speech, which was at first framed to be delivered by commission. To prevent the mischief which the carrying of an address would to a certainty have occasioned, it was absolutely necessary that the King should dissolve in person.

I lost not a moment in communicating all these circumstances to my colleagues, and it was accordingly resolved that very early next morning we should have a Cabinet before the Speech Council, which was to take place at half-past eleven, and finally resolve on the mode and manner of proceeding. We met accordingly, and almost all agreed to go on, though one or two, appalled by the many increasing difficulties, asked if it was too late to reconsider the whole matter. Here I appealed to the Duke of

Richmond, and asked him if he had ever seen a council of war held on the field just before going into action. He said, "By God! never; neither I nor any one else." Then, said I, let us go in to the King. Grey and I went in, and stated our clear opinion that it would be necessary for him to go in person, though we were most unwilling to give him that trouble. I took care to make him understand the threatened proceedings of the Lords, and the effect the proposed motion for an address was intended to have on his Majesty's proroguing Parliament. He fired up at this—hating dissolution, perhaps, as much as ever, but hating far more the interference with, or attempt to delay, the exercise of the prerogative; and so he at once agreed to go, only saying that all must be done in the usual manner; and he mentioned several things which he said could not be got ready in time, for it was little more than one hour off, the House meeting at two o'clock. The sword of state and cap of maintenance were mentioned by him; and we told him that Lord Grey would carry the one, and somebody else the other. But, said he, the troops; there is no time for ordering them, and it is impossible to go without them. I had foreseen this difficulty; and on ascertaining that the Life Guards—the regiment usually in attendance on such an occasion—were quartered at some distant barrack (I think it was Knightsbridge), sent to the Horse Guards for such men as happened to be there. On the King making the observation about the troops, I said, "I hoped his

Majesty would excuse the great liberty I had taken ; but being quite certain he would graciously accede to our request, I had sent to the Horse Guards for an escort to be ready at half-past one." He said, "Well, that was a strong measure," or "a strong thing to do." I believe I had prepared him for this by a little more apology and explanation than is mentioned above ; but he ever after, when in very good humour, used to remind me of what he called my high treason. He then spoke of the Lord Steward as being required ; but we had sent to summon him. Then Albemarle, the Master of the Horse, was out of the way, and when found, said it would not be possible to get the state carriages ready in time ; but the King said he was determined to go, and that anything would do. There was a story about London that he had said to Lord Albemarle he would go in a hackney-coach rather than not go at all. I cannot say whether this is true or not—all I can say is, that I do not recollect hearing it ; but this I do know, that he had become so eager to go, that no trifle would have stopped him. The draft of the Speech was then submitted to him, and approved, with a sentence which I prefixed with my own hand ; and as I had a secretary in the adjoining room, a fair copy was made for the Council which was then held, that it might be read and approved in form.

Having to go home in order to dress, the gold gown being required, I got to the House soon after two o'clock, the hour to which we had adjourned ; and

after prayers I left the Woolsack, in order that I might be in readiness to receive his Majesty. Lord Shaftesbury, on the motion of Lord Mansfield, then took the Woolsack, and Wharncliffe rose to move the address of which he had given notice. Then began a scene which, as it was represented to me, was never exceeded in violence and uproar by any bear-garden exhibition. The Duke of Richmond, interrupting Wharncliffe, moved that the Lords take their seats in their proper places; for, said he, I see a junior baron (Lyndhurst) sitting on the Dukes' bench. Lyndhurst, starting up, exclaimed that Richmond's conduct was most disorderly, and *shook his fist at him*. This brought up Londonderry, who did not speak, but screamed that the noble Duke, in his attempt to stop Wharncliffe, had resorted to a wretched shift. Wharncliffe then began by reading the words of his motion. I was here told by Durham what was going on, and that unless the King came soon the Lords would vote the address, because Wharncliffe meant to make no speech; so I rushed back into the House, and began by exclaiming against the unheard-of doctrine that the Crown ought not to dissolve at a moment when the House of Commons had refused the supplies. This was loudly denied, but I persisted that the vote I referred to had in fact that effect. I went on purposely speaking until we heard the guns. Then came great interruptions and cries of order, which continued until a messenger summoned me, when I said I had the King's commands to attend him in the Painted

Chamber. Shaftesbury again took the Woolsack, and they continued debating until the procession entered. When the door was thrown open, the King asked me "What noise that was?" and I answered, "If it please your Majesty, it is the Lords debating." He asked if we should stop, but was told that all would be silent the moment he entered. The Commons were summoned in the usual way; and, having received the Speech, he read it with a clear and firm voice. I doubt if any part of it was listened to beyond the first sentence, prefixed to the draft, and which I alone had any hand in writing: "I am come to meet you for the purpose of proroguing this Parliament, with a view to its *immediate* dissolution." He dwelt upon immediate. While we were waiting for the rest of the Commons, beside the Speaker and the few who accompanied him, the King asked me many questions, as to who such and such peers were, and what were the names of the commoners who stood behind the bar. I remember Cobbett was one, whom he had never seen before.

The consternation which the dissolution produced among our adversaries I never could understand, for it seemed to take them by surprise; and yet every one must have seen, from the resistance in the Commons and the strength of the Opposition upon every question, that we had but one course to take. Many relied upon the King refusing; but as soon as the universal feeling of the country became manifest, which it did at least a fortnight before we dissolved,

they had no reason to doubt that the King would yield to us; and they must have been quite assured that they could not take the Government in the only way in which the Duke could have agreed to take it—upon the ground of his declaration absolutely to resist all change.

It was on the 4th of July that the debate had begun in the Commons on the second reading of the Bill, which was carried by a majority of 136. The Bill soon after went into committee, where the Opposition exhausted every resource of debate and obstruction. The committee finished on the 7th of September, having been occupied nearly two months on the clauses. The third reading passed without any discussion; but on the question that the Bill do pass, there was a final debate which lasted three nights. The subject was well debated by the Opposition, and by no one better than by Croker, who had throughout the whole discussions shown himself *facile princeps*. On the 21st of September, the Bill passed by a majority of 109, and next day was brought up to the Lords with an important clause, added in spite of our great majority, known as the Chandos clause, or leasehold franchise, to which we had, after being beaten, submitted. The Bill was read a first time without debate, and the second reading fixed for an early day in October.

The Lords continued as hostile as ever. Our position was extremely embarrassing. Personally it was still more unpleasant to such of us as were in the Lords. Grey felt it more vexatious than I did, he

being charged with the conduct of measures in any one of which, or in any part of any one, we had a majority against us; but I felt it also, and our position was all the more hopeless that nothing could exceed the skill of the Duke's management, and his candour and firmness made him more formidable.

I had now sat one legal year in the Court of Chancery. I had cleared off all the arrears; and when I sat for the last time in the beginning of September, I had to leave the Court and walk home at twelve o'clock, there being nothing to do. I deemed it my duty to submit the following statement of this fact to the King:—

“BERKELEY SQUARE, *September 1, 1831.*”

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—I humbly crave permission to lay at your Majesty's feet the report that your Majesty's High Court of Chancery has this day been adjourned to Michaelmas term. It is, Sire, a matter of unspeakable satisfaction to me that I have been enabled to dispose of every cause and every kind of business which was ready for hearing, and that, except one or two things in which all the parties desired time, being unprepared to proceed now, every matter brought into the Court before the first of July last has been fully heard. All the cases, too, except a single one upon the construction of an obscure will, heard the night before last, have been decided as well as heard. I have therefore the gratification of reporting to your Majesty that there is an end of all arrears in Chancery, and that a continuance of the same sys-

tem, aided by the extreme diligence and perseverance of their honours the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor, will effectually prevent any arrear from again accumulating.

"I humbly crave your Majesty's pardon for thus presuming to lay these particulars before your Majesty. But I know your Majesty's paternal care of the best interest of your subjects will plead my excuse; and I have further to express my sense of your Majesty's great goodness in dispensing for three weeks with my attention upon your Majesty's Court, which has materially aided my efforts in Chancery.

"All which is most humbly submitted by your Majesty's most dutiful subject and servant,

"BROUGHAM, C."

To this statement I received the following most gracious answer from his Majesty:—

"WINDSOR CASTLE, *September 2, 1831.*

"The King has received with much satisfaction the report made in the Lord Chancellor's letter of yesterday, that the High Court of Chancery had been adjourned to Michaelmas term, and that he had been able to dispose of every cause and every kind of business which was ready for hearing. His Majesty believes this to be the first instance on record, or at least within the memory of any legal person now in practice, of there being no arrears in Chancery; and his Majesty is quite sensible how much credit is due

to his present able and industrious Lord Chancellor for the indefatigable zeal and the perseverance which have led to so desirable a result, one for which the country ought to feel so grateful to him and to those who have co-operated with him in the discharge of duties so important and arduous. WILLIAM, R."

Up to the dissolution of April 1831, the King had been steady in his support, and never more firm than when he went in person to dissolve; but soon after that, it became obvious to us that he was beginning to show an amount of lukewarmness likely to be very embarrassing. He made a vigorous attempt to induce Lord Grey to modify the measure. A very few days after the dissolution, he sent him a strong representation urging the expediency of delay, in order to give time for calm deliberation, after the then state of excitement had passed away. He described the measure as a "perilous experiment," which he did not dare to risk, and urged upon Grey, notwithstanding his pledge to carry the *whole* Bill, the necessity of some modifications. This document was considered by us in Cabinet, and Grey answered to the effect that solemn pledges could not be abandoned. The King, as already mentioned, was very angry at the illuminations that followed the dissolution. Then he disliked the violence of the elections. Next he saw we were having a very great majority, which no king ever likes; and he also thought the Lords were likely to be more obstinately opposed to us than ever.

All this laid, in my opinion, the foundation of his subsequent change of opinion. He also, while heartily supporting us—for instance, making Grey K.G. during the elections to show his favour—persisted in seeing Tory peers, and in having at his table chiefly our adversaries.

After the Lords had thrown out the Bill in October, the King remained firm to us, but reminded us that he had always foreboded this, and showed no disposition to get us out of our difficulty. The Bristol riots alarmed him much. In the autumn of 1831, the following letters passed between Lord Grey and me:—

TO LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

“ August 5, 1831.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I can't help feeling most anxious about France, and a little about Russia. One thing is clear, if *we* move one inch, we give both a pretext to enter Belgium or Holland (the latter they won't do).

“ Surely we could put it to Prussia that the best policy is to be firm, and make France abstain from entering Belgium; for if once, *on any pretext*, she gets possession, no French Government is strong enough to withdraw.

“ But as to France, I must say I feel most strongly the necessity of sending a most powerful and important special ambassador, to let the King and Ministers know our feeling, and that of the country,

against war. *You* would do it with most effect, but I fear could not be spared. Then Lansdowne seems the next best, he having no department here.

"The resident Minister always goes on in a jog-trot way, and what he says by way of warning has very inferior effect. As for those endless conferences, they are mere cloaks for chicanery.

"Pray consider of this.—Ever yours,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO LORD GREY.

"September 1, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The King was extremely gracious about the old seal, and has ordered Rundell to make a fine salver to put it in. He had Rundell's partner with him yesterday evening, whom he sent to me this morning before eight. I insisted on giving Copley half.

"The weather is enough to give anybody lumbago, even those who, like us, have done nothing to deserve it.

"I closed the Court to-day, and have only left one thing (entered before 1st July) undecided, and that, a cause heard on Tuesday night, and on which I have not yet made up my mind. I announced the end of the Vice-Chancellor's Court.—Yours truly,

"H. BROUGHAM."

TO LORD GREY.

"September 2, 1831

"DEAR LORD GREY,—The enclosed is from a Canada paper : they have let you off well, as being priggish and having a Newcastle burr, and *also* as not being like D. O'Connell.—Yours ever,

"H. BROUGHAM."

Now began the consideration of a question which occupied the minds of all the Cabinet—I mean what steps were to be taken, or what preparations were to be made, to meet an event which we could not but anticipate—the rejection of the Bill by the Lords. The following letters relate to this important subject. The first from Lord Grey is in answer to what I had written proposing a large creation of peers :—

FROM LORD GREY.

"EAST SHEEN, September 2, 1831.

"DEAR CHANCELLOR,—Thank you for your prescription. I am nearly well without calomel, which I always wish to avoid unless absolutely necessary.

"Your dose of peers is rather too strong for my stomach. I mean to prepare a good batch, according to precedent, for the coronation. If men are to be made with a view to the Reform Bill, it must be afterwards, and must be a Cabinet measure. I doubt whether even the largest of your numbers would

make the thing sure, and failure after a large creation would be ruinous.

"I rejoice in the successful termination of your labours in the Court of Chancery. I should like to extend my holidays till Monday. Could you attend a Cabinet on that day—in the morning ?

"Pray look over the enclosed paper, and let me have your opinion upon it as soon as possible.—Ever yours,
GREY."

FROM LORD GREY.

"EAST SHEEN, *September 3, 1831.*

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—As you desire to have your paper sent you to-night, I have not time for comments upon it. Nor are they necessary. The case must be brought under the consideration of the Cabinet, which is summoned for Monday at twelve, when I hope you will make a point of attending, and when the whole matter may be fully discussed.

"In much of your reasoning I agree, on some points I doubt—on one or two, not very material ones perhaps, I differ; but on the general statement of the frightful consequences of a rejection of the Bill, any man who has the gift of reason must agree. To obviate such a danger, everything that does not add to uncertainty of success great evils of another description, ought to be risked. But here there arise some very important and very difficult considerations.

What would be the result of a large creation of

thirty or forty peers, and failure after all? I am inclined to believe that the mischief of such a result, both to ourselves personally and to the public, would be found greatly to exceed any other that can be imagined. And here I must state that I have great doubts whether thirty or forty additional peers would give us a majority. Then, you will say, create fifty. But will fifty do? I think it uncertain, or perhaps more than uncertain, if the bishops, as I hear, will vote for a postponement of the measure for some months, to give time to the country for calm consideration. This, I believe, is certainly to be the measure, and the Duke of Wellington speaks confidently of a majority of sixty, though I cannot understand the grounds of his calculation.

“I say nothing of the King’s consent. I think he would do a great deal, but he would be startled at what you require.

“I lean very much to the coronation batch, in the first instance. The second creation need not be deferred till after a vote, but may take place when the Bill comes up, and when we may be able to form a more accurate estimate of our future prospects.

“But this and every other part of the question will be better discussed amongst us on Monday. In the mean time, it will occupy my thoughts night and day; and I am sorry to say that I feel myself very unequal to the exertion, and to the resolution which the crisis requires.—Ever yours,
GREY.”

Althorp took a different view of the question, and a little further consideration served to bring Lord Grey nearer to the plan suggested. Althorp's view will appear from the following letter, which he wrote to me in October :—

FROM LORD ALTHORP.

(Private and confidential.)

“DOWNING STREET, October 1831.

“MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—The effect of Friday's debate upon the Bankruptcy Bill is to render it impossible to force the measure forward. It was very ill opened, both as to the plan of the speech and as to its execution. Denman ought not to have attempted any detail of the clauses to be introduced in the committee. If he touched upon them at all, it ought to have been in the lightest manner possible. But he went into the whole detail, and executed it abominably, from the very simple cause that he evidently did not in the least understand it, and could hardly have read the provisions which he undertook to explain. On the other side, Wetherell made a very effective speech—one of the best I ever heard him make. He passed by the whole of the material provisions of the Bill, and fastened upon the unexplained but opened money clauses. If you carry the second reading of Reform in the House of Lords, and we consequently continue sitting, there will be no great difficulty in putting the matter right; but if the Reform Bill is thrown out, and we consequently pro-

rogue as soon as we can, it will be impossible to attempt to carry the Bankruptcy Bill. At all events, if the Bill is to go through a committee in the House of Commons, you must not trust to the lawyers. Some of us laymen must be instructed so as to fight it. I am very much obliged to you for what you have said in the 'Edinburgh Review.*' If praise is able to recompense a man for sacrificing everything he likes, I certainly ought to feel myself quite recompensed. I am come over to your opinion as to what ought to be done in case the House of Lords reject the Reform Bill. We ought, I think, to endeavour to make *peers enough to carry it*. This, in my opinion, is a question of principle, and not of degree. The number to be made should depend only on the number required.—Yours most truly, ALTHORP."

Before this I had written to Lord Grey as follows:—

TO LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

"September 27, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have been considering this matter of Lord Anglesey's arrival, and think, from all that passed at Windsor these two days, that he ought not to go to the levee—where he cannot possibly have much, if any, time, to do good—but that he should say he cannot, from indisposition after his journey, attend the levee, but will wait on the King, at Windsor, on Thursday.

* See *Edinburgh Review*, September 1831, p. 308.

"My belief is that *his* seeing the King will be very useful. I can see him in the morning and talk over matters with him, and he can see you at Sheen, on his way.

"Pray consider of this. Lord Holland takes the same view, but you of course must decide.—Yours ever,
H. BROUGHAM.

"The Russians come Friday, so he should go Thursday."

At this time I received the following letter from Parnell:—

FROM SIR HENRY PARNELL

"September 29, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD BROUGHAM,—Pray do not delay seeing O'Connell. He is very much changed these last few days. In everything he says, he displays great irritation and anger. Late on Monday night he made a furious attack on Stanley, on account of something that offended him about Maynooth, and quite without any just cause for the attack. I have tried to discover the cause of this change, and I am told it arises from O'Connell's seeing the session approaching to a close, and nothing doing for him.

"Since I dined with you, I have spoken to Brownlow, Sheil, and several other Irish members, and I find but one opinion among them, quite concurring with my own, as to the Union and the connection

between England and Ireland being in great jeopardy. They all say that a regular plan is arranged for renewing agitation on a greater scale than at any former period. All O'Connell speaks about is what he will do in this way when he returns to Ireland.

“There is really no time to be lost in making an arrangement with him. Only see what a handle he will make of the throwing out of the Reform if this shall happen. He will say there is no other hope for Ireland but the Repeal of the Union, and you will have just as universal a demand in Ireland for its repeal, as there is in England for Reform.

“It is now quite evident that all that is wanted to secure such an arrangement is more courage in the Cabinet. I never heard a reason given against doing what ought to be done, which could not be traced to some ill-founded apprehension. The difficulty which sprang from ignorance of the state of Ireland is now almost entirely removed: and no one can any longer doubt that all danger as to Ireland may be done away, and the peace of it established, by making a friend of O'Connell.

“As the putting of him into the office of Attorney-General would accomplish the business in the most effectual manner, this should be done, and done immediately.

“Mr Sheil might be made resident under-secretary in London for Ireland, by giving him Sir Charles Flint's office. In this way it would become an efficient office.

“Mr Wyse and Mr O’Farrel should be made Lords of the Treasury.*

“As to the Catholic clergy, it would be sufficient for paying them to enable the parish vestries, if they thought proper, to give salaries to the priests, according to the size of the parishes. I am quite certain that this plan would work very well.

“Now that Lord Anglesey is here, of all things keep him here, even if it must be so, in the office of Lord Lieutenant. He could, I believe, agree to everything I have suggested, if he were encouraged to do so by you and others.—Believe me yours very truly,
“H. PARNELL.”

It was about this time that the King’s original liking for popular exhibitions of himself became extinct, and was succeeded by a great repugnance to all such appearances. He would go to prorogue or to meet Parliament, because he reckoned that a regular part of his duty as sovereign; but all other exhibitions he hated; and he never failed to pity or to blame—according to the humour he was in—Louis Philippe for being “a puppet in the mob’s hands,” which “he was resolved never to be.” I never argued this matter with him but once, on the question of his going in person to give his consent to the Reform Bill, and he, both in an audience and on my writing to him, flatly refused.

* Mr (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wyse, member for Tipperary, and Richard More O’Farrel, member for Kildare.

On the 3d of October began the debate on the second reading of the Bill, moved by Lord Grey in a most admirable speech.* After five nights' debate we divided, and were defeated by a majority of 41.

Before leaving town for ten days' rest, having been in hard work without any interruption for twelve months exactly, I talked seriously to Melbourne as a friend, and as head of the police department. I told him that *I* was prepared to make a stand and refuse being dictated to by the mob, or the Radicals, or even the party—that I would make up my own mind and take my own course, and that I would look for my protection to the returning good sense of the people, and for my reward to my own approval if they should fail me. He generally agreed with me, but he was alarmed. I was supported by some of the great bodies, and by all Scotland, whose confidence in me continued unbounded and unbroken.

I returned to town the 2d of November, having left it the 19th of October. I found the Cabinet divided on the great point of meeting Parliament now or after Christmas. Grey determined for the latter course. I stood firm for the former. I gave intimations of being determined, and carried the majority with me. Durham was abroad, but wrote that he looked only to me for saving them.

* On the 21st of September, the Bill, in its second shape, had passed the Commons by 345 to 236. It was sent up to the Lords next day.

Early in October I had the following letter :—

FROM SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(*Private.*)

“ WINDSOR CASTLE, October 8, 1831.

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I was with the King when I had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter of this evening, and therefore had an opportunity of *immediately* reading it to his Majesty, who was extremely interested by its contents, and ordered me to thank you for the communication of passing events, your remarks on the state of affairs, and on parts of last night's debates in the House of Lords.

“ His Majesty has not heard of any concourse of people about the House of Lords and Downing Street, but had been assured that all was quiet and peaceably inclined, and he was glad to receive so satisfactory a confirmation of this from you. Upon these occasions, and more especially on a sloppy day, it is doubtless more agreeable to be in the good graces than in the bad graces of a mob ; but I question whether your Lordship would not readily have dispensed with the mark which you received of this favour, and whether it might not remind you of the danger to which the candidates for fame at the Olympic games were occasionally exposed.

“ His Majesty was much concerned to hear that the failure of the Bill had affected the funds and created mercantile alarm ; and he will be anxious to know on Monday to what extent this has been

carried, and what may be the course taken by the bankers and merchants. The shutting of shops upon such an occasion is surely a new symptom of the times, or at least a very unusual and extravagant demonstration of feeling upon a political and constitutional question, upon which it is reasonable to allow, and has been heretofore allowed, that there may be difference of opinion.

“Indeed I observed, in reading the report in the ‘Times’ of your Lordship’s splendid and admirable speech, that you for one do not subscribe *to all* parts of the Bill, and were prepared to state your objections to certain provisions of it if it were allowed to go into committee; and from what you write to me, I had not mistaken your meaning, even as to your desiring it to be understood that the Bill had gone rather farther than suited *your* views of Reform. The debate in general must have been most interesting, and, with one exception, appears to have been carried on without personality and acrimony. It must have been satisfactory to all those who feel the necessity of upholding the constituted authorities, to observe that those who were the most strenuous advocates for what is considered the popular cause, were as decided as their opponents in condemning and reproving any attempt of the people to carry their point by infractions of the peace or of the laws of the country.

“In short, the general tone of the discussion appears to have been good, and I cannot think that we shall in the end have reason to regret that it has

taken place, or its possible results in such amendments as may reconcile to it opinions which are entitled to some deference and respect. I conceive also that your declaration and Lord Grey's, made in such forcible language against the refusal to pay taxes, cannot fail to make a useful impression. It is indeed highly important that the people should be admonished by those whom they consider their advocates, that they are not warranted in taking the law into their own hands because their legislators differ upon a question which has so long been that of a difference of opinion in the great councils of the nation.

“ Lord Grey's reply, and particularly the concluding part, struck me as I read it to be admirable, and full of spirit and feeling, and I was not a little pleased to augur from it that his Majesty would not be disappointed in the hope and the wish he had earnestly expressed (before anything of the nature of the debate could be known to him), that what had occurred would not occasion the retirement from his councils of Lord Grey and his colleagues. This would indeed be to be most seriously lamented on every account, and, if I may judge from some of the speeches, is an event dreaded and deprecated even by the Opposition.

“ I observed the expression of the Duke of Wellington's change of sentiment, or rather his admission that the change of times called for a different view of things, which you notice; but we are as yet ignorant here how the bishops, and others whose intentions were considered doubtful, have voted.

“I hope the House of Commons will not come to any resolutions hastily; they had much better be passive—let the thing work quietly, and give you time to consider dispassionately what is best to be done. Their interference with respect to any vote given by a member of the royal household would be quite unwarrantable, and Lord Ebrington would ill consult the interest of the cause he espouses if he was to propose anything so obnoxious, and which must be repelled as an encroachment on the prerogative. The times, the temper of all concerned, require palliatives, not stimulants. I wish indeed that Parliament could be prorogued with the understanding that another Bill should be introduced as soon as it again meets.

“Pray forgive my taking up so much of your time, and believe me to be ever, with great regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient and faithful servant,

H. TAYLOR.

“*P.S.*—Have you read the speech of Colonel Napier at the Devizes meeting? You will find it in the ‘Globe’ of the 7th instant.

“THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.”

The speech Sir Herbert refers to was made by Sir William Napier at a Reform meeting held at Devizes. The King was furious. He instantly wrote to Lord Grey, complaining of Napier having used expressions which were manifestly intended to excite the people to rebellion, for the purpose of supporting a measure

then under the consideration of Parliament. He regarded this proceeding of Napier's as so factious, that all his previous gallant conduct as a soldier could not excuse it. He regarded it as a most revolutionary act, proving him to be a bitter enemy to all constituted authority. My impression is that the King went so far as to suggest to Lord Grey that Napier ought to be dismissed the service. I forget what Lord Grey did or what he wrote to the King on this subject. I certainly so far sympathise with the King's strong feeling that I may say I well know my esteemed friend William Napier was quite ready to go all lengths to save the Bill.

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING—PRESSURE FOR THE CREATION OF PEERS—LORD BROUGHAM HAS AN INTERVIEW WITH THE KING—NARRATIVE OF WHAT PASSED—CORRESPONDENCE WITH EARL GREY ON THE CREATION—STATE OF TRADE—PUBLIC FEELING IN SCOTLAND—LETTER FROM LORD DURHAM PRESSING THE NECESSITY OF A CREATION ON THE CABINET—SIR HENRY FARNELL ON THE CONDITION OF IRELAND—NECESSITY OF THE CREATION PRESSED ON THE KING—HIS REPUGNANCE TO IT—POSTPONED TILL THE SECOND READING—THIS CARRIED BY A MAJORITY OF 9—SUSPENSE—LARGE PUBLIC MEETINGS—NEGOTIATIONS WITH LORDS HARROWBY AND WHARNCLIFFE—THE BILL IN ITS NEW FORM THROUGH THE COMMONS—FIRST CONTEST IN THE LORDS—NECESSITY FOR THE CREATION STATED TO THE KING—THE GREY CABINET RESIGNS—LORD BROUGHAM REQUESTED TO FORM A MINISTRY—DECLINES—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ATTEMPTS TO MAKE A CABINET—ITS FAILURE—THE KING CONSENTS TO THE CREATION—HIS AUTHORITY REQUIRED IN WRITING—HOW MADE KNOWN TO THE OPPOSITION—QUESTION IF THE POWER WOULD HAVE BEEN USED—PASSING OF THE ACT—QUESTION OF THE ROYAL ASSENT IN PERSON—GIVEN BY COMMISSION.

The great difficulty of all now pressed upon us,—the House of Lords. The long and earnest debates in the Commons had increased the enmity of the Lords, and there was even a prevailing belief among them

that reaction had begun in the country, the debates having been conducted with great ability undeniably. This hope had no real foundation, and our support in the Commons continued undiminished. Our only risk of hostile divisions arose from the great security of our supporters in relying on so large a majority, that even those who most dreaded any reverse which should lead to a change of Ministry, now and then lent themselves to motions which we disapproved. In short, party discipline was somewhat relaxed by the too great confidence of our friends in our strength. The Bill being thrown out in the Lords raised so great a ferment in the country, and made such a rally round us in the Commons, as plainly showed how ill-grounded all the Tory hopes of reaction were. But now began the craving of our most staunch supporters, and of others rather belonging to the Radical party, for the creation of peers. First, we were required to have a nominal prorogation in order that the Bill might be again brought in. A deputation of Westminster Radicals waited on Grey, with a kind of threat that they would oppose the Government if this course were refused. I had the same threat served upon me by the same parties. They received the most unqualified refusal, though in civil terms, from both of us.

The shortening of the recess was the next object of these parties, and in this desire they were joined by our supporters generally. A Cabinet was held early in November, at which the day of meeting was fully

considered. This was one of the very few occasions on which we had any difference of opinion, and it was with great reluctance that I found myself unable to take the same view with Grey. Indeed, in the present state of the country, I held an immediate termination of the agitation occasioned by the Bill to be absolutely necessary, to prevent the spread of such riots as had taken place at Nottingham and Bristol; and I felt sure that the more discreet portion of our adversaries would take the same view of the matter, such as the Duke, and the *waverers*, as Harrowby, Wharncliffe, and others were called, who desired a compromise, which was impossible, when the country had taken up the cry of "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." When we had fully discussed the subject of meeting Parliament, I felt obliged, and Althorp was of the same mind, to divide, and we had a considerable majority for immediate meeting. Grey was so kind and amiable about our proceeding that Althorp said it made him quite regret what we had done. Our reasons, however, were quite conclusive.

But all this time the great difficulty remained of the Lords. There were constant reports of changes since October, and names were given; but upon inquiry we found the reports had no foundation. The feeling that we must have more strength by creating peers, had been strong at the prorogation; and all my correspondence during the fortnight (my whole vacation) that I was at Brougham, showed the

anxiety and even impatience of our friends, not merely the violent party, but the more reflecting and considerate, to be increasing daily. I had occasion to write to the King (through Sir H. Taylor, of course), on my way to town, and I thought it right to prepare him for a request that he would help us in this respect; and when I got to town I received a doubtful answer, which some of us thought rather favourable, but I only considered it as showing that he (the King) had thought very much on the subject, and had not been able to consider the suggestion favourably.

In November I went to Brighton, where I saw the King, and on the 28th I had a conversation with him, of which the following is a very full minute written by me at the time:—

I was at the Pavilion from half-past eleven till two, and about two hours of that time with the King. I found him extremely well, and in peculiarly good spirits. He sat opposite to the light, as he generally does, and I opposite to him.

After a few words upon the Bankruptcy Court appointments, and approving of Erskine for Chief Judge, and Rose for puisne, on Baron Bayley's giving up—and also approving the grounds in which the terms of the latter (an Act of Parliament for his salary) had been refused—his Majesty himself began upon the Reform Bill, a thing I have hardly ever, perhaps not ever, known him do before. Indeed he has often avoided the subject, and never

more than when I passed two days at Windsor on the eve of its coming on in the Lords. To-day he was very desirous to discuss everything relating to it, and the whole conversation was occupied with it.

He repeatedly expressed his great regret and astonishment (strongly marked) at the conduct of those who had prevented it from going to a committee. He said there was nothing they might not have debated there—even Schedule A; (qualifying this remark by saying: “Suppose I agreed with them—as I certainly do not—in regard to Schedule A, even that question might have been raised in the committee.”) He asked me how I could account for such a proceeding, which seemed so great an error even upon their own views, and supposing they only wanted most safely for themselves to alter the Bill. I said I always looked to an adversary as acting upon some views of his own advantage which might be more or less judicious, but seldom supposed any gross blunder; and that I imagined they had reckoned upon a better division with proxies, and were distrustful of their forces attending, especially should there be any excitement in the people as the committee went on. He said, still he thought this a blunder, for they could, after being beaten in the way alluded to in committee, throw it out on the third reading. He had alluded to Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, and I set him right as to the former’s degree of influence, drawing a distinction between the two; and I also endeavoured to prevent any idea of negotiation with Wharncliffe

so as to modify the Bill, representing his communications with Lord Grey in their real light (which he seemed to have understood). He expressed his wonder at Lord Harrowby's opposing the second reading, and asked how I explained it. I said that he had certainly either changed his intention within a week before the debate began, or at least had become fixed in his latter resolution, which I accounted for by the irresolution of their party, and their various opinions all ending in referring the matter to the decision of a firm man—viz., the Duke of Wellington—who had insisted on the step being taken, and they complied. He said, still he could not account for the Duke of Wellington doing so, for it seemed unaccountable in any view of his policy. (This introduced the former part of the conversation, which I have transposed.)

We conversed on various parts of the Bill—and he dwelt on the London districts—the qualification varying in different places, and the want of seats for Ministers and Crown lawyers. I alluded to the change of my own opinion as to the qualification, and explained about the state of the small and even many large towns (as Leeds) in respect of [*illegible*] houses, and the difficulties at all times, and impossibility now, of having the varied qualification. I reminded him how strongly I had expressed myself in the debate on the second reading on this part of the subject, admitting my original leaning towards the varied qualification. (This reference to what I said as to the qualification was twice made in the course of the conversation—

both at the present part of it, and when conversing on what might have been discussed in committee; but I then also repeated that all I could have done was to secure a discussion of the subject, and that I had said I could not honestly hold out any hopes of my coming round to them on the matter.)

Upon the seats for Government I also referred to my speech, where I had confessed this difficulty; but I said that though I should be well pleased the other parties, either Tory or doctrinaire, broached it, we never could; indeed he agreed that it was a far more violent innovation than anything we had ever been charged with. When I said that I understood the doctrinaire party were not at all averse to it, he inquired all about Bentham and others, which I explained. But I showed how little risk there was of *no* places being accessible, and explained as to several of the boroughs being sure to be in whole or part in the hands of powerful proprietors. I said I was persuaded the evils of the London districts were greatly exaggerated, and that good members were sure to be returned by most of them.

He very distinctly said that *he* was quite clear the shock of the change was much over-rated, and that when once the Bill was passed, things would slide into an easy and quiet posture as before, but that there was no quieting the alarm of the Tories as to this, and that the great matter was to prevent the certain shock which would result from the Bill being thrown out again. He dwelt on this, and I stated

all that occurred to me of its mischiefs. (I think this introduced the last head of conversation, which I have again transposed.)

I more than once referred to the loss of the Bill as synonymous with the breaking up of the Government, and the signal for every kind of evil—but not in this part of the conversation. One of the occasions I took for this allusion was while talking of the possible consequences of going into committee last time, instead of throwing it out on the second reading. I said, that if we had been defeated upon a matter not affecting the principle of the Bill (though of such moment as to injure it greatly in our estimation), the question would have arisen, Shall we, because of this injury done to the measure, give it up, and break up the Government, and leave the King and country in the state that must necessarily follow, or shall we take all the good that the measure can still give?—and that there was always a chance of the latter alternative being adopted; but that any such thing was utterly out of the question before the committee.

Peel's name being mentioned, he said he could not comprehend him at all, and that, except the Duke of Wellington, every one of the last Government, when he saw them on their resigning, had stated their belief of some reform being necessary. On my saying I had always given them credit for rather going out on the Civil List division than on my Reform motion, he asked if I thought that would have been carried. I said I knew it as certainly as one could

know anything of the kind, and by twenty-seven majority, according to my calculation.

A good deal of conversation ensued as to the plans, and what they could be, of the Duke of Wellington and Peel. I said, after a good many observations both from his Majesty and myself, that I really thought it a plain case enough; that though some, even a considerable number, of the anti-reformers were otherwise, yet they (the Tory leaders) were *politicians*; and that the Duke of Wellington and Peel no doubt wanted to throw out the Ministry, that they might come in and propose the Bill themselves, which, after what we had seen, was quite on the cards. He almost anticipated this topic (of the Catholic question), and had it out, before I named it; but said, even supposing that to be their object, it was to be so considered that they might have tried it in a safe way, by letting the Bill pass, resisting it all the while, and then endeavouring to get into power and carry on the Government upon the ground of the Reform when carried. This began to be a somewhat delicate and difficult speculation (*viz.*, what was to happen after I was myself officially defunct), so I only observed, that I supposed they thought that plan would have many fewer facilities.

He conversed a good deal about Peel, and his conduct on the Catholic question. I gave Peel all manner of credit for it, and said he had really made a very great sacrifice, but that he could not both be praised for that and expect to retain what he lost;

and that it was quite clear he had entirely lost all influence in the country, both with Church and Tories.

He repeatedly expressed his surprise at the ultra Tories taking the line they did; and I showed him how they were actually joining the Hunt and rabble party as far as they could, in order to spite the Government and oppose the Bill.

I dwelt on many other topics connected with the subject, and among others on the importance of his Majesty using his influence with those about him, such as Lord M.; and stating that the Tories were still as busy as ever representing him (the King) as unfriendly to the Bill.

He seemed aware of this, and only spoke of Lord M. as under the Duke of Cumberland's influence, from old anti-Catholic connection.

There was a good deal said by his Majesty about the late King changing his opinion on the Catholic question, on which subject he (present King) and Lord Donoughmore, in 1806, used to be quite anxious about his committing himself so far and so indiscriminately. He said the late King had quite forgotten it before he died.

I saw Sir Herbert Taylor for about half an hour, and dwelt with him on the chief of the above topics, such as the impossibility of any change of the franchise. I also saw some of the females of the family of both sides, and intimated the risk they were in of having the public feeling directed towards them, were they to persist against the Bill.

Of course abundance of denial here, as far as overt acts went, but candid avowals of direct enmity to the Bill.

I forgot to mention that the King, on my speaking of the Archbishop of York's strong opinion that, as a *bishop*, he was bound to look with dismay at another rejection, he dwelt much on this and on the duty of bishops to prevent such horrors as might ensue. I repeated much of what I had represented the last audience I had, on the state of the country, about the universality of the feeling for the Bill; that its enemies were either a few of Hunt's mob, or people small in number, though important in point of property. He said the only person he could find who was against *all* change, was Lord Mansfield; and *he* had held a different language to him in April, saying he was not against Reform, but the Bill. He said the Duke of Wellington himself had changed. I observed that he certainly had, late in the day, made a most surprising declaration on the subject.

He desired me (when I said I would send him a corrected copy of my speech, which he received very kindly) to send him Lord Harrowby's, and any others that had been *corrected*.

I don't distinctly recollect if it was to his Majesty or to Sir Herbert Taylor, or both, that I explained the degree in which newspapers *influence*, and the degree in which they only *indicate* the public opinion; and the difference between the London and provincial papers in this respect (the latter being

found to follow the opinions of their readers much more closely).

One of the females (hostile) came upon this part of the subject, and said the 'Times' was well known to change about, if ten less were sold. I said that might be an exaggeration, but that undoubtedly they generally followed the *city* opinion—and gave the remarkable instance of the Princess of Wales's case, in May 1813.

I omitted to mention that the conversation on the Bill began with his Majesty asking what we had done yesterday at the Cabinet. I told him we had gone through a great many important points, and cleared the way for deciding them, which would be done to-day or on Wednesday.

I also omitted what he said of an idea having got abroad of divisions among us, to which I gave the most positive contradiction, and expressed my surprise how those stories could have originated. He said that Lord Durham was thought to keep himself aloof, but he did not seem himself at all to think this owing to any difference; and when I spoke of the state of his family in the distress his loss had occasioned to them, he spoke with the greatest feeling and kindness, and inquired about his regaining his spirits by the excursion to Brussels.*

This, however, and the knowledge of the reports industriously spread of differences of opinion between myself and Lord Grey, made me very explicitly re-

* Lord Durham's elder son had died on 24th September.

state my own opinion as to the Bill, both to his Majesty and afterwards to Sir Herbert Taylor, to whom I most distinctly said that I was just as firm a friend of the measure, and as determined to go all lengths for it, as Lord Grey or any one else could be, whatever might have been my opinion before it was first brought in, as to a smaller measure being sufficient; and I added that I did not feel thus now merely as being bound in honour to my colleagues, but that my opinion fully and heartily went along with my duty.

To resume the correspondence on the peerage question.

TO LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

“BROUGHAM, *December 29, 1831.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I received your letter yesterday, and though it did not set me upon considering a subject which I have almost exclusively been thinking of since I saw you, it makes me give you the result of my deliberations.

“Everything I have either seen, heard, or considered since the last Cabinet I attended, convinces me more and more of the course we ought to take—namely, to begin with a partial creation, say of ten or twelve,—some to be made, others, the greater part, called up—as, for example, say four creations and eight calls. But these are details, and whatever way you arrange them signifies little compared with the measure itself. As for the numbers—if only three or four are new peerages, I should not quarrel with fifteen in all.

“From this I expect a confident belief to get abroad, first at Court, then in the Lords, that you can make as many as you please, and this *may* prevent the necessity of making many, perhaps any, more. But I think we must go further, and contemplate the *possibility* of that necessity as not a very remote possibility, and we ought, I clearly think, to be prepared for it. We may, after all, find that if not on the second reading, yet in the committee, a factious vote may in substance and effect destroy the Bill. If this is done on the second reading, we are remediless; if in the committee, we can only recover the loss by means of fresh creations. It is also very likely that we may, on the eve of the second reading, discover that our force is short, and that more peers are wanted. Now, as I assume the absolute necessity of our not allowing the Bill to be lost in any way, and that when the time comes (if it should come) for a second creation, we must be prepared to press it, I think it follows that an understanding should be come to with the King before that time arrives, and that we should not delay until we find it necessary to press the immediate creation.

“*First*, as to what this understanding should be.

“It appears to me that you should signify to the King the absolute necessity of the Bill being carried, and that this is the only means of preventing confusion; that bad as carrying a measure by force of creations may be, the necessity of the case justifies it, and the expectations of the anti-reformers themselves

are everywhere, indoors as well as out, prepared for it—as a measure, indeed, which they would assuredly resort to themselves; that his servants think it quite necessary to submit to him this their conviction, and hope he will allow them to say that with these views, they rely upon his sanctioning such a creation as may be found sufficient to insure the passing; that the necessity of making any more, and if any, the number required, can only be known when the second reading approaches, but that it would be extremely unfair to him not to explain ourselves thus early, and to express a hope that he feels with us the necessity of doing whatever may be requisite.

“In conversation you may throw in a good deal more, and the King is sure to write about it afterwards, so that you may make the statement more precise, as you find occasion, the object being plain (which you have in view)—viz., to be assured of such an agreement with you upon the peerage question as shall prevent the possibility of your being left in the distressing predicament, so dangerous to the public peace, of having made a few peers, and then being unable to make all that prove necessary for carrying the Bill.

“*Secondly*, as to the time when you should come to this understanding. It can only be, either now, when you propose the partial creation, or afterwards, when the Bill comes up.

“I strongly incline to the former. It is far better to do it all at once, infinitely more comfortable for

yourself, and far more fair towards the King, to whom, I must say, we owe both personally and politically as much as Ministers can owe to a king, or indeed as any set of men can owe to any individual. But I also think the earlier time very important for the success of the whole measure. If it *can* be carried without a fresh creation (I mean beyond the first, which I don't regard at all as making peers to force the Bill), every one must allow it will be a great advantage; and I feel quite persuaded that no sooner is such an understanding come to, than the courtiers will smell it out, and then let it out—and so the necessity of acting on it may in all probability never arise.

“I own I feel so strongly the propriety of the two things being broached to the King at the same time, that, supposing the Cabinet now to feel assured that, if necessary, they will recommend the additional creation, I hardly think they could suppress this and recommend the first creation alone.

“It may be said on this subject (of the understanding) that you are doing to the King what his father did for you in 1807. The difference is plain: you don't say, ‘Give us a pledge, much less a pledge in writing, as to what your Majesty will do at a future time;’ you only say, ‘We hold certain opinions very strongly and very clearly on the most important of all matters, already in course of being considered practically, and we think it essential that your Majesty should know this opinion, and that we shall

counsel you accordingly, if the occasion should arise. We also think it quite useless to continue in your service if there is such a difference of opinion between us as makes it clear our advice will be rejected.'

"It is rather, in fact, giving a fair and timely notice than asking for a pledge. But even if we asked for something like a pledge, an assurance of his agreeing with us, and being prepared to act accordingly if need should be,—the case is widely different from 1807. For then the King required a *general* pledge, applicable to all times, and to remote and unknown circumstances. We only now ask an assurance of agreement in opinion upon our specific line of conduct, to be pursued on an emergency fast approaching, and of a known and defined nature.—Believe me ever yours,

H. BROUGHAM.

"I assure you I feel extremely annoyed at not being in town upon this occasion, but I cannot travel fast enough to arrive in time, having been unwell."

TO LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

"BROUGHAM, *December 31, 1831.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—Notwithstanding the unconscionable length of my last letter, I omitted some things which I must now add. Indeed they signify less, because they are more reasons than opinions or suggestions.

"The state of trade and of the country generally

is, in my firm belief, *very alarming*—I mean if the Bill be delayed. All I have seen and heard since we parted, convinces me that the question is not whether this Ministry shall be broken up or not—nor whether we who form it shall be collectively or individually undone (I mean in public character); but whether the whole country shall not be undone also, and apparently at least—perhaps really—through our means. This makes one naturally embrace means of preventing such a catastrophe very different from any we could desire to see. I don't much rely on the arguments of those who are for *infusing* fresh vigour, as they term it, into the House of Lords. But yet, as a creation may be necessary to save the country, and if necessary must be resorted to, I own this consideration (of improving the House of Lords) is in my mind, at least, a very feeble set-off against the admitted evil, which no one feels more than I do, of a *coup d'état*. You thus are lowering the House of Lords far less than at first sight appears. Of course I am now speaking not of the first or partial creation, but the unlimited one to be made 'if need be,' and to be, in my judgment, announced *now* to the King.

“There is one very remarkable circumstance which I hear from all quarters: the Tories, both in town and country (I mean not the highest of them, as peers, but the middle and even upper classes of Tories), are desirous of the creation to secure the Bill. I had heard long ago that some even of our House of Lords adversaries were sneering at us for not making a

batch, which they laid their account with; but I am now speaking not of these, but of persons out of Parliament.

“I have also heard a good deal of the state of Scotland, and it is truly more frightful than I had believed. I assure you, Abercromby does not confine himself on this subject to general statements. I had a long talk with him about the Scotch t’other day; and I should say there never was a people so determined not to be baffled. My opinion is that the mischief will begin there, and in such force as will reduce the Government, in whose hands soever it may be, to terms in forty-eight hours.

“There is one, and but one, way out of all this which I have been able to discover—I mean if we don’t carry the Bill. The King may be so averse to a creation, that he may say he would rather run some risk, and Wellington & Co. may undertake to carry the Bill without peer-making, which he possibly might be able to do through our support.

“But, first, I don’t feel that making peers is by any means so dreadful a thing as to induce me either to sacrifice myself, or advise you to sacrifice yourself, rather than do it; and I do assure you I should almost as lief see the former sacrifice as the latter. I say this without any compunction, because I really feel it.

“Next, I see extreme difficulties in the way of such a plan, supposing we agreed to the self-sacrifice. And, lastly, I think it is far more likely to fail than

succed. Suppose Wellington in force, Peel up to the mark, and all other obstacles removed, the country would never believe it was not destroyed—it would get enraged, and at all events would require a far larger measure than the Bill. I believe the convulsion would be, not perhaps quite so certain as by a rejection, but more probable than not; and for the mere *chance* of escaping it, what sense is there in incurring the certain evils of the sacrifice above mentioned? I mean the sacrifice of the whole influence of the Liberal and constitutional party.—Yours ever most sincerely,

H. BROUGHAM.

“I am better, but very weak, and shall have to take four or five days for the journey. Was the presentation of Moreton a lapse? for I see the bishop has presented to his living.”

Lord Grey, always averse to the creation, had so expressed his opinion before the loss of the Bill.

The following paper, written by Lord Durham, was read in Cabinet on the 2d January:—

FROM LORD DURHAM.

“SUDBROOK PARK, December 29, 1831.

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I feel it incumbent on me no longer to delay declaring to you my decided opinion, that the Government ought to advise the King to create a sufficient number of peers to insure the passing of the Reform Bill.

“ I conceive that not only were we pledged to the country to propose a measure of Reform as extensive as the last, but, as a necessary consequence, are bound to take every means in our power to further the passing of that measure in the same form as that in which we introduced it, as to extent and efficiency.

“ To consent to or connive at any other course of proceeding, would not only be a breach of our pledges, but a gross act of duplicity. It would be a mockery to carry the Bill through all its stages in the Commons by large and increasing majorities—resisting their every attempt to impair its efficiency or modify its provisions—and then propose it for a second reading in the Lords with a probability of being again defeated, but at any rate with the certainty that we shall be so weak in the committee as to be unable to resist not only those alterations which we had successfully defeated in the Commons, but also additional encroachments on the efficiency of the Bill, which would no longer enable us to assert that the principle of the measure had been maintained.

“ Then also would come the great responsibility of deciding whether we should propose to the Commons an acquiescence in the mutilated Bill, or its total rejection, in consequence of its being no longer the same measure which we had recommended to the King and proposed to Parliament.

“ I say, therefore, that the adoption of those means which are necessary to insure to us a majority in the committee, as well as on the second reading, is ab-

solutely essential to the honest redemption of our pledges to the country—pledges which, I repeat, are not merely limited to the introduction of the Bill, but must extend to and affect every stage of it until it has received the Royal assent.

“To insure that successful issue we have already the King’s approbation, and a declared and overwhelming majority in the Commons. Our weakness lies in the other branch of the legislature. There we were defeated before, and there again consists the danger. It is now, I believe, admitted that all hopes of conversions sufficient to enable us to carry even the second reading are abandoned; and even the few conversions which are expected, no one asserts will be of the slightest advantage to us in the committee. We may, therefore, fairly anticipate that we shall find a majority of twenty against the Bill on the second reading, unless it is suffered to go into the committee without a division, for the purpose of more quietly destroying it there; in which case we should then, as before, be met by the original majority of forty, if not more, on all questions affecting the vital parts of the measure.

“Are we then prepared to carry the Bill into the House of Lords in these circumstances, knowing, as we must do, that its rejection or mutilation is thus inevitable? Ignorance of these facts, and their consequences, we cannot plead; and, indeed, they are not only notorious to ourselves, but are the subject of general remark and discussion.

“If we are not prepared to pursue this line of conduct, as I trust we are not, there is but one other to adopt, namely, a large creation of peers.

“To this proceeding several objections have been stated, to which I shall now call your attention.

“1st, It is asserted that the carrying the measure by such means is unconstitutional. This I deny. I believe it to be in accordance with the best principles of the constitution.

“The King’s power of creating peers is unlimited and undeniable. In the exercise of that privilege, he is absolute and uncontrolled by the forms of the constitution. It can then only be the motives which are supposed to influence that exercise, and the effects which follow it, which can be impugned as unconstitutional. Prerogative is defined to consist in the discretionary power of acting for the public good, when the positive laws are silent. If that discretionary power be abused to the public detriment, the prerogative is exerted in an unconstitutional manner.

“If, on the other hand, it is called forth for the public advantage, and the safety of the state, it is as wise and just as it is constitutional.

“How, then, tried by this test, does the present case stand ?

“The King has recommended, the House of Commons has adopted, and the country sanctioned, a measure which the House of Lords alone seems determined to reject.

“That harmony which, therefore, ought to exist

between the three branches of the legislature is interrupted, and the confidence and attachment of the people is shaken. This cannot be remedied by an acquiescence in the objections of the one opposing branch; the utmost that could be attained thereby would be delay, attended necessarily by incessant irritation. The other alternative, therefore, remains, to which I have before adverted, and the adoption of which, in order to produce that harmony in the three powers of the state, by the exercise of a recognised, admitted prerogative, can be no violation of the constitution, but is in strict accordance with its fundamental principles.

“ If, indeed, the case was different, and the King were advised to create peers for the purpose of defeating the declared wishes of the Commons and the country, and the ascertained intentions of the Lords, not only an unconstitutional, but an unnecessary act would be counselled—unconstitutional, because perpetuating dissensions between the two Houses, but unnecessary, because the same object could be attained by a refusal of the Royal assent.

“ 2dly, It is said that the House of Lords would be destroyed by such an increase of its numbers.

“ To that I answer, that, by calling up the eldest sons of peers, we shall not eventually increase its numbers to any great amount; but even if we did, I apprehend no danger from the House consisting of 450, or even 500, instead of 418 members. Neither its votes nor its deliberations would be deteriorated

by the accession of talent, property, and liberality of opinions. On the contrary, the creations made under the Pitt system render such an adjustment of the balance absolutely necessary, not only for the carrying this particular measure, but for the support of those principles of freedom and constitutional government, without a strict adherence to which no Administration can now pretend to acquire or retain the confidence of the King or the people. As at present constituted, it is evident that the House of Lords is not in unison with the spirit of the age; it is opposed to the King and the people. Hence arise, on the part of the latter, complaints, discontent, and doubts, openly expressed, whether its existence is not incompatible with the happiness and welfare of the country. To check at once these opinions, and to remove these doubts by enabling the House to assume an attitude more in consonance with the general feeling, would be surely an act tending not to its destruction, but to its preservation.

“3dly, It is feared that a creation would not answer the purpose we have in view, because so many peers would be so disgusted at the addition to their numbers, that they would be impelled to oppose the Bill. I cannot believe that such will be the case, because, until I witness the fact, I cannot imagine that any peer, having voted for the last Reform Bill on the ground of its being a measure essential to the prosperity of the country and safety of the state, would vote against a similar Bill now, solely because

to him had been added a sufficient number of colleagues, to prevent his vote from being a second time rendered useless and inefficient.

“ Besides, he would be aware that no vote of his against the Bill would remedy the evil of which he complained ; his change would therefore be useless as far as regarded the creation of peers, and most mischievous in respect to the consequences which he must be conscious would follow a second rejection of the Reform Bill. Any desertion, therefore, of the Bill by reformers on account of a creation, would be so notorious a violation of principle, without the slightest consequent advantage, that I cannot believe it possible.

“ For these reasons, and on these grounds, I have formed the opinion which I announced to you at the commencement of this communication ; and I cannot conclude without declaring my conviction, that on the adoption of this measure depends not only the character of the Administration, but the preservation of the country from civil commotions of the most alarming and dangerous nature.—&c. &c. &c.

“ DURHAM.”

FROM LORD GREY.

“ EAST SHEEN, *January 1, 1832.*

“ MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—I wish you a happy new year. A person dined here yesterday, who unfortunately has no such prospect—poor Czartoryski.* It is

* Prince Adam Czartoryski, born 1770, died 1861.

really heart-breaking to see him; and now these d——d Russians are doing all they can to throw the whole Belgian affair into confusion. It is to be regretted that we had no power of sending a fleet into the Baltic last summer to settle the matter in Poland.

“ I have come nearer to your view of the matter of the peerage than I thought I ever could have done; and am much inclined to new creations at present, or before the meeting of Parliament, to the amount and in the manner you propose. But there will be a great difference of opinion in the Cabinet upon it. A letter from Lansdowne shows that his objections are not at all diminished. He comes to the Cabinet to-morrow. Palmerston and Melbourne are equally opposed to it. The Duke of Richmond also is against it, but I do not think his objections so insurmountable as they appeared to be some time ago. If this difference of opinion should go the length of producing resignations, you will perceive that it would be quite fatal.

“ But there is another and a greater difficulty on the part of the King. You know how strong his objections were. Finding them supported by so many members of the Cabinet, he is less likely to give way. He expresses great confidence, too, in our being able to carry the Bill on the second reading, and—without any alterations that could be considered as affecting principle or real efficiency—through the committee. This belief, proceeding, as I conjecture, from the general language that has been held to him by some of the

anti-reformers, will encourage him at least in postponing any determination till we shall have better means of judging of the disposition of the House of Lords. In short, this question assumes a very embarrassing shape, and I hope it will not be long before we have you here to assist us with your counsel; for though your opinion is very fully and very clearly stated in your letter, there is nothing like personal discussion.

“They say the Duke of Wellington is recovering, but from all I hear of his case, taking the best view of it, there is not much chance of his being soon equal to much exertion. But the Tories do not seem to lose heart. I hear their language, founded on the assumption that the King will not make peers, is as violent and as confident as ever; and Lyndhurst is becoming more and more an avowed and prominent supporter of their views.—Ever yours,
GREY.

“I go to Brighton on Tuesday, and will let you know the result; though I hope to hear before my return that you are on your way to town.”

FROM LORD GREY.

“*January 4, 1832.*”

“DEAR CHANCELLOR,—I hope this will not find you at Brougham, but I take the chance of your being there to say that my conversation with the King has been very satisfactory; and that I have no doubt he will do what the Cabinet may advise; but he desires

to have it in writing. He is, however, extremely anxious, and even nervous, as to this matter; but straightforward, confiding, and cordial as usual. I hope you will be with us as soon as you can, for really things are becoming very critical.—Ever yours,

“GREY.

“I return to town on Friday.”

The constant wish of the King, and his only plan for relieving the Ministers, was a coalition—what he termed “an extended Administration;” and this he used both before the Bill passed and to remove the difficulties in the House of Lords afterwards. I thus answered Lord Grey’s letter:—

TO LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

“BROUGHAM, *January 5, 1832.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I am extremely vexed at being detained, and therefore I must trouble you with another letter. I may begin with mentioning one or two facts which have accidentally come to my knowledge, and—as particular facts are little to be trusted, either to believe or to reason upon, unless they agree with a general course of appearances, and with the probabilities of the case—I assure you I should not mention these, did they not seem to me plainly to fall within this description. But I have them from quarters, one of them especially, where there was no reasoning or speculating at all.

“The Opposition in Scotland are extremely sanguine, and the Duke of Buccleuch, I *know*, is going about in all directions bragging in a confident way. This signifies little, perhaps; but he says, as I hear, less publicly, that they rely on throwing out the Bill as a certainty—that they have lost no lay peers, but gained a few come of age—and that their great object is to prevent new peers being made, by making the Government believe they won't oppose the Bill on the second reading, and then throwing it out when we shall have fallen into the snare. Now I do not so positively vouch for this latter part of it, but I believe something very like it has been said by the Duke and his set. A man who could talk in this way of such a plot, is not perhaps very likely to have invented it. He openly says, as I am told, that the King will not make peers, and he patronises addresses which thank him (the King) for resisting the solicitations of his Ministers to make peers. You will be able to judge if this part of my information is incorrect, by inquiring whether any such have been presented, though it is just possible they may be only now getting up.

“Again, I find from Mulgrave that the language of the Opposition, with whom he is connected (I suppose by both blood and marriage *), is very much the same in substance, though somewhat more discreet. He

* He married the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Liddell, the first Lord Ravensworth. Lord Mulgrave was created Marquess of Normanby in 1838, and died in 1863.

says, 'They are just as determined as ever to throw out the Bill, and do not anticipate any desertions to an extent which would take from them that power. This, he adds, I heard in a way I think I can rely on,' and he mentions some other things of the same kind.

"Now, to resume a speculation I once before threw out, and have thought of a good deal since : Suppose they, full of alarm at the chance of our making peers (which haunts them beyond all other fears), were, as the time draws near, to have misgivings about the King, and to carry a resolution in the Lords? If the King were then wavering, that would decide him. If I were speaking of almost any other thing, I should say that would furnish him a pretext, did he want one ; but I sincerely think he is not the kind of man to go this way to work. But even if he were not wavering, it is one thing to advise a creation before, and another to advise it in the face of such a vote. Then consider the fatal consequences. I don't mean fatal merely to ourselves individually, and as a body agreeing on the most important questions of policy, but fatal to the country, which would thus be delivered over to a contest between the Wellington people and the Radicals—possibly to a union of the two classes ; for it *must* happen that we should be utterly ruined in public estimation for having delayed to take the necessary steps till the moment was past. We never should get credit for not intending to create peers ; but we should be charged, and justly,

with having meant it, but delayed it till we could not. Now, the Bill being thrown out is the same thing as general convulsion; but I think that mischief would be much increased, and the recovery from it greatly postponed, by the total destruction of all confidence in the leaders of the Liberal party.

“Notwithstanding the language held by the Opposition (and their resolution, I verily believe, to act up to it, *if they can* with any effect), I am quite persuaded that their leaders, and even many others, in their hearts believe we shall make peers, and at any rate that we shall try it. This comes round to one in various ways; and there is no doubt they would, were they in our position. As for the talk one hears that Wellington carried the Catholic question without it, to be sure he did, and by a large majority, and so he had no occasion for a creation.

“Of one thing we may be quite sure,—the nearer the time comes, the more likely are they to perceive the difficulties they will get into by letting the Bill get into the committee, and this is most likely to make them try the same game they before were driven to by something of the same difficulties. The fears they were at one time in are a good deal lessened, first by mere time, and next and chiefly by finding the mob (who alone, they think, break windows and burn houses) taking part against the Bill.

“I therefore reckon on their venturing to oppose the second reading a good deal more than I once did. If I have a practical doubt remaining, it is not about

the necessity of an indication being now given by partial creation, but whether that is enough.—Ever yours,
H. BROUGHAM.

“In favour of acting now, Wellington’s state of health is not to be lost sight of. They will, in this and other respects, be far better prepared if they have longer notice.”

I had written very fully to Lord Grey, explaining my plans of a partial creation without delay, to show we had the power from the King, and should be prepared to go further if we found it necessary; in short, it was the very plan which ultimately succeeded in enabling us to pass the Bill without any creations at all:—

(Private.)

“HOUSE OF LORDS.

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have so strong, and even *serious*, an opinion on the peerage question, that I have written all that occurs to me, and wish you calmly and fully to read it. I wish it, of course, to be considered as matter of full discussion, and not, *à la Grant*, as anything like an ultimatum.

“Pray, when you have read it, return it to me, as of course I have no copy. I wish you could send it by a messenger across to Sefton’s to-night or to-morrow morning. It is a convenient paper for discussion, because it puts the subject in various lights. As for your *little coronation* batch, one thing is lucky, Berkeley

being one, we get *two* votes ; for his brother Moreton* will, *I hope and trust*, take his seat at length.

“ But *pray, pray* don't forget Hughes, one of our richest and most steady, and, in all money occasions, our most generous supporter.—Yours ever,

“ H. BROUGHAM.”

(*Private.*)

“ *Thursday.*

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I found you had left town, which prevented me from calling in Downing Street.

“ This flirtation of Wharncliffe with Lyndhurst and Ellenborough is only one of the many effects which the King's way of talking is sure to produce. I don't think Wharncliffe himself would fly back on being assured that one of his two fears (new peers) was at an end ; for he really feels the other (the country) to be what it is, most pressing. But I am sure Harrowby and others will go off at once when they are persuaded peers cannot be made, which the King's whole language is setting about,—for instance, to Keat, the surgeon, which I only mention to show how

* Thomas Moreton Fitzhardinge, fifth son of Frederick, fifth Earl of Berkeley. His eldest brother William claimed to be Earl of Berkeley ; but his claim was disallowed by the House of Lords, it being proved that his father had not married until the 16th of May 1796. Thomas was born in October 1796, and was therefore, *de jure*, Earl of Berkeley ; but, from regard to his mother's character, never would take the title. In 1831, William, the first-born, was created Baron Segrave, and in 1841 Earl Fitzhardinge. He died *a. p.* in 1857, when that earldom became extinct.

habitual it must be with him. Is there no way of suggesting to him that this is sure to destroy the Bill—that is, to make a majority vote against Schedule A—and that he will thus be driven to the very thing he hates most—namely, peers? As for *our* position, I quite agree with you in thinking he had much better turn us out than cut our throats in this way, for it has all the effect of doing so. The difficulty is in knowing how to give him the suggestion, and I only want you to consider of it.

“Is it too late to have some communication with Lyndhurst and Wharncliffe as to what they mean to do? I asked Dover to see Wharncliffe and converse with him; but your communicating directly would, if it be possible, be on every account far better.—
Yours ever,

H. BROUGHAM.

“I am going to Stoke till Tuesday. If the King goes on in this way, would it not be well to ask him to make one peer of each kind—as Lord Francis Osborne, some Irish peer, and some eldest son—in order to contradict the reports with effect? I mean before the meeting.”

After Christmas, when we had nearly carried the new Bill through the Commons, our greater difficulties came upon us thick and threefold with the peers. In February I had the following letter from Parnell on the difficult subject of Ireland:—

FROM SIR HENRY PARNELL.

(*Private.*)

" 89 JERMYN STREET, *February 18, 1832.*

"MY DEAR LORD BROUGHAM, — Doctor Doyle is in London, at No. 23 Bury Street, and I hope you will take an opportunity of seeing him.* You will be able to judge, from what he tells you, how far my communications about Ireland were accurate.

"I discontinued writing to you in consequence of a communication I had with Lord Althorp early in December. This made me come to the conclusion that there was not any chance of having O'Connell and other Catholics appointed to office so long as the Cabinet existed in its present form.

"I now again call your attention to Ireland, because I am still more convinced than ever that, if measures are not soon taken to stop the progress of the conspiracy of the lower orders against the laws, their success with regard to tithes will lead to a greater effort to have the union repealed, and to a still greater subsequent effort to separate the two countries.

"There is but one remedy for this, and that is to secure the support of all those persons in Ireland who possess influence over the people — namely, O'Connell, the leading Catholic members, and the Catholic clergy. Good public measures of concession

* James Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, celebrated for his pamphlets and speeches during the Emancipation struggle—born 1787, died 1834.

now produce no effect in pacifying the people, from their minds being indisposed to see anything in its true character, and therefore the first thing to be done is to cure this mental disease.

“But as no such remedy will be applied by the present Cabinet, and as the inevitable result of this will be those disasters which I have just mentioned, it has become essentially necessary that such a change should be made in the Cabinet, on the earliest opportunity, as will secure a fit system of government for Ireland.

“A change in the Cabinet is required on other considerations, for there has been so much mismanagement, that an opinion universally prevails that the present Administration cannot long survive even the successful carrying of the Reform Bill.

“There are several questions which must come before the House of Commons, on which the Government is by no means secure of majorities.

“Recurring to Ireland, I must again press on you the urgency of your taking an active and decided part in its affairs.

“You are the only member of the Cabinet who at all comprehends the case. Most of your colleagues are not only ignorant of it, but, as it seems, incapable of understanding it. I assure you that open war will have to be carried on in Ireland to maintain the dominion of England, unless the management of its affairs be placed in other hands.—Believe me yours faithfully,

H. PARNELL.”

Holland had the most sound opinions and right feelings on the necessity of putting down the disturbances in both parts of the kingdom, Ireland as well as England.

FROM LORD HOLLAND.

(Private and confidential.)

“ Thursday, March 7, 1832.

“ DEAR BROUGHAM,—For God’s sake take good care that our winning the plate in one course, does not slacken our pace or shorten our distance in the other. Believe me, the only friends in the majority who really prefer us to other men, do so from a persuasion that we are as earnest, as determined, and will be as prompt in promoting measures of the opposite tendency, as we have been in this; for this reason, I do not like our English Church measure—milk-and-water as it may be—being postponed. A measure short of men’s wishes may disappoint; but even that defect does not breed suspicion and distrust so much as delay and hesitation. I still more disapprove and deprecate all squeamishness about the Jury Bill, which we passed through the House of Commons last session. Modify and alter it, if you think such modification and alteration necessary, though the less you think so the better; but do not start and stumble at such scarecrows and blocks as the amendments in Lords Select Committee, and the opinion of the Irish Judges. What can be worse than taking

the full odium of severe and repressive laws on yourselves, dragging your reluctant friends to vote for them, and then ~~having~~ the appearance of shrinking from the acts of grace you have announced, and even in part have passed—tapering them down either in number or efficacy—postponing them or leaving them to O'Connell, Hume, and the rest to adopt or to force upon you? I own I feel in some degree in the same way about the prosecution. It is not from any mercy or tenderness to the villains or fools who indulge in such disgusting and brutal language; but it is from an apprehension that such outrages, *while confined to words*, are made *more* and not *less* formidable by prosecutions and even by convictions; and more than all from a feeling that the moment of strength—derived from the confidence placed in us by a party *really* and *substantially popular*—is not, in point of prudence, that which I would select for assuming a forbidding aspect and upholding the rigour of the law. On these subjects I am so satisfied that you agree with me, that I always conclude your remarks on the details, even where I do not concur with them, will lead to the same conclusion; and you are certainly, from numberless reasons as well as station, the best mouthpiece to enforce moderation, caution, and conciliation on such matters in council, where it is much better to avoid than invite much debate or discussion. These things are better talked over *tête-à-tête*, or with two or three; but my opportunities are few,

and I therefore write: I require no answer. I only exhort you to use the spur on Irish and English legislative measures of improvement, and the curb on prosecutions for foolish and wicked words written or spoken. I can assure you some among us, and hundreds of our best friends not among us, think as I do on this subject.—Yours, VASSALL HOLLAND.”

After constantly-recurring doubts and misgivings, Grey had at last become quite satisfied that what he had always regarded as an unqualified evil, had become an absolute necessity; and he brought his mind up to the point that symptoms of any serious mutilation of the Bill in the Committee would justify a creation large enough to prevent the mischief, provided always that we could get the King to consent.

The waverers had accepted Schedule A—had agreed to the enfranchisement of the large towns, and almost entirely to the £10 qualification; and the final result of Grey's opinion was, that the wise course was to have no creation *before* the second reading—to obtain from the King the permission, but resolving not to exercise the power so given while any hope or chance remained of carrying the Bill without it. I must add, that he never entirely lost his feeling of *extreme repugnance* to what he looked upon as a measure of unexampled violence; and as he used to tell me, nothing could prove this so completely as his having held out so long against Althorp, Holland, and myself. At this time (February 1832), a very general

opinion prevailed that Grey was not sincere in his intention to create peers. It was said he was becoming lukewarm and wavering: there never was a charge so utterly unfounded. From the close intercourse I had with him, I can testify that from the moment he made up his mind to the inevitable necessity, he never doubted or hesitated, except as to the *time* for acting. Disregarding all the clamours raised against him, he adhered to his own course, and to his determination to create no peers before the second reading, even if he had had the power, which at this time he had not—for the King had given no consent to the proposal sent to him from the Cabinet in the middle of January, and had subsequently peremptorily refused his consent. I most sincerely pitied Grey's sufferings, and I often wondered how a quick and sensitive temper like his could stand the unceasing worry he was subjected to. Occasionally something ludicrous would occur—such as Hobhouse, who had very recently been appointed Secretary at War, actually threatening to resign unless peers were *at once* created, or a pledge given him by Lord Grey that the Bill should be carried. Think of Grey's political existence depending upon Hobhouse! However, Grey steadily pursued his own course, determined against any creation before the second reading—and in any after-stage, only should circumstances render it unavoidable. My own deliberate opinion had been for this course; and I am persuaded, had Grey acted otherwise upon the ill-considered advice

or pressure of others, he would have caused the destruction of the Bill, and incredible evils to the country.

The second reading was carried by a majority of nine.* The events which succeeded will appear from the following correspondence and narrative.

TO LORD GREY.

"April 19, 1832.

"MY DEAR GREY,—The enthusiasm is at its height everywhere *for* the Bill, and rejoicing in the second reading and *for you* (which is delightful), in the most extreme degree, but just as much against the Lords; and in Yorkshire, they are going to petition for making peers, and to show in every way their distrust of the Lords. Nor, according to Morpeth, can anything stop them in this folly.—Ever yours,
H. BROUGHAM."

FROM LORD GREY.

(*Private.*)

"Downing Street, April 20, 1832.

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,—I am here for a few hours. I got your letter yesterday. What you say of the effect of the King's conversations is most true. But how is it to be prevented? The only step that occurred to me was to write to Taylor, stating the expressions quoted, and enclosing two accounts from

* Since the vote of the Lords against the second reading (p. 133), the Bill was brought into the Commons in the ensuing session, when it passed on the 14th of March 1832 by 255 to 239.

the 'Standard,' the last (that of which you had an extract) evidently Londonderry's. He showed the letter to the King, who expressed his indignation against the newspaper press as the vehicle of everything that is false and capricious—stated the impossibility of his preventing such misrepresentations, and admitted at the same time the probability of their proceeding from persons who had access to his society, and even from members of his own family. All this is very well, but, as you see, does not remedy the evil; nor do I know what more is to be done. I think your going to Windsor might be of use; being so near Windsor, it is natural, perhaps right, as an attention, that you should do so: you might then see both the King and Taylor, and impress on both, and more freely on the latter, all the embarrassment the King will bring upon himself if something is not done to counteract the mischief done in his name; or, if you don't like to go, you might write to Taylor, enforcing what I have already said to him. Holland urges the necessity of the King being seen frequently by Palmerston and me; but how can we go, having no particular business to take us to Windsor, without being invited? and what I have stated will show that everything else that was in my power has been done.

"I desired Palmerston to open a communication with Wharncliffe, but have not heard the result.

"If you see the King or write, make him aware of the feeling that exists with respect to Holland. The way, too, in which Russia has acted on the

Belgian question, and in which she is extending her power on all sides, would not be bad topics.

"I still think it would be a good thing to get petitions and addresses during the recess, if they can be prevented asking for peers.—Ever yours,

"GREY."

FROM EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

"EAST SHEEN, April 21, 1832.

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—I saw Palmerston after I wrote to you yesterday. He had had a communication with Wharncliffe, who expressed his willingness to meet me, and it is settled that we shall meet after his return from Newmarket. But I do not foresee much good from the interview. He told Palmerston that he, Harrowby, and Haddington had been in communication with Lyndhurst and Ellenborough—that the latter went further than himself in Reform—that Lyndhurst and Ellenborough had communicated with the Duke of Wellington after their conversations with Wharncliffe and Harrowby, and that the result was more favourable than he expected. A negotiation with a prospect of success, through Ellenborough and Lyndhurst with the Duke of Wellington & Co., as this seems to imply, does not appear to me to leave much hope of an arrangement to which it would be possible for us to accede. I shall see my way better after I have seen Wharncliffe; but in the mean time we should consider the

best means of defeating this intrigue; for in this light I must consider it.—Ever yours, GREY."

TO EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

"April 21, 1832.

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I have received both your letters, one yesterday, the other to-day. I had intended to go to Windsor, but your letter would have decided me if I had any doubt, and perhaps, but for it, I might have been indolent and not put my intentions in execution.

"I saw Taylor for a few minutes, barely long enough to come upon the subject of the rumours, and show how material I thought them, and to advert to the old story of the Duke of Kent's correspondence. For the King sent for me almost as soon as I let him know I was there, and I was with him above three-quarters of an hour, by which time I had to come away, having kept the Seftons waiting for me an hour at least.

"With the King I came upon all the subjects you suggested, and indeed upon almost every subject. The result is that he is quite firm and decided as to Schedule A, but as to that alone; that many unpleasant indications, both of a greater and a lesser kind, appeared; that he spoke of persons as well as things somewhat differently from what he had been in the way of doing; that upon some subjects, as Ireland, O'Connell's silk gown, &c., I was obliged to

enter into discussion, and distinctly protested, were it for no other purpose than to prevent him from supposing I did not widely differ with him ; that on the subject of France and Russia (where I took the line your letter draws) he was a good deal excited, and even irritable, but not so upon what I dwelt upon most—viz., the effects of those rumours as to his declarations, and their inevitable tendency to make the supporters of the Bill leave us. Generally speaking, he was much less excited than when I last saw him, and very good-humoured and personally civil and frank—also no reluctance to come upon subjects except that of the above rumours ; none whatever to come upon the Bill, and the division of parties respecting it.

“It would be endless to go into more detail till I see you, but I came away with the confirmed belief that he is stout with us for Schedule A, and no more.

“This much I should have said, and no more would have been necessary had I written before receiving your letter this morning, in which you show the intrigue going on (for such I certainly think it). I *now* look back to about a dozen of things which passed yesterday as proving strongly that at least *they* (the plotters) have contrived to let the King know what they are ready to do, though I am quite confident he has in no way committed himself with them. Among other things, he said no man in his senses could think of governing this country without

a Schedule A; and if there were a new Ministry to-morrow, whoever was Minister must lay his account with giving it. He asked particularly as to Lyndhurst's speech, and whether he was against all reform. Also, whether the Duke of Wellington himself could be considered as now against all reform, and denied that he was an ultra Tory. Indeed he was desirous of representing the ultra Tories as a mere handful, and would hardly allow any but Eldon and Wynford to be such—with difficulty Lonsdale. Hertford might be, but he was abroad; and of the Duke of Newcastle he said nothing; and as for the Duke of Buccleuch, he has persuaded him (the King) that he only opposes the Government in the Reform Bill, or at least till the Reform Bill is disposed of!!! My belief is, that if they can only agree to a very little beyond Schedule A, and either be defeated on Schedule A, or damage it enough to injure us without much lessening it, they will find no difficulties at Windsor when we make our stand. Some things I am certain of, and from others I may have formed an erroneous conclusion since receiving your letter to-day, for I *may* have fancied coincidences which don't exist; but there were so many things of this sort that I cannot get them out of my mind.

"I go to town on Tuesday, unless I should be obliged to go to-morrow—which is very unlikely—as I must be in Court all Wednesday morning. If I knew at what time you were sure to be at Sheen on Tuesday, I could call on my way to town, where I

need not be till past six. Therefore if this reaches you to-morrow in time to let me know your motions, I'll thank you to do so—reckoning, as you may, that any messenger you may send will find me till two on Tuesday.

“Lord Anglesey was to be with the King to-day about two.

“I have only run over the heads, or rather results, of my conversation.—Yours ever,

“H. BROUGHAM.”

It is singular how great an alarm was felt, and by some of our friends (and these, as Sefton, the least apt to take fright about anything), when they heard from all quarters the cry about our having the means of passing the Bill and not being disposed to use them. People took for granted that, because it was known how adverse the King had been to dissolve in spring, and had yielded, therefore, if we chose, we could get him to secure the passing of the Bill. We were thus held to be playing false by the measure; and many of our firmest supporters really believed that the next act of violence, the next outrage, would be upon us individually. I never for an instant partook of any such fears; but I was quite aware of the violent excitement which had spread over many parts of the country; for it was in a great degree local. There had been enormous assemblies at various places, without any actual riot. At Birmingham was perhaps the greatest of these; but in other places

there had been not occasional but regular mob-meetings on certain days ; and though wholly unarmed, yet practising movements of a military kind. It was evident that, should this be permitted, after a little while there would be a great force collected and disciplined, and only one step more would be required, the obtaining some easily-made arms, such as pikes, to make them an overpowering body of troops. I considered it absolutely necessary to stop this, and advised the issuing of a proclamation, in which Denman entirely agreed, warning the people that if those meetings were continued they would be put down by force. This was effectual, and the meetings gradually ceased. Another very bad expression of public indignation was, the threat, pretty generally used at meetings, of refusing to pay taxes until the Bill should be passed. This, though under cover of law — because only it was said that the law might be enforced by the usual process,—appeared to me so near a conspiracy, that I declared in the House the illegality of such conduct ; but if there were any grave doubts of it, that the Government would take steps to remove them by a legislative measure. It was, in my opinion, quite necessary that our whole course should be strictly in accordance with law, and that all demonstrations in favour of the measure, which were even of an equivocal character as to legality, should be repressed. They only tended to increase the obstruction in our way, and were used as the most powerful means of oppos-

ing us both at Court and in the Lords. Besides, we were engaged in great amendments of the law, and my maxim was—Let us strictly execute the laws that they may be obeyed; let us diligently improve them that they may be loved.

But having clearly showed that we were determined to preserve the peace, and to take no advantage of our adversaries by intimidation or threats, we waited quietly the passing of the Bill in the Commons; and both there and in the country we had ample proofs of its increased favour with the community. The majority on the second reading, which had been only as seven to five, was now as two to one;* and our measures to put down all kinds of riot or disorder had been in general well received, the meetings everywhere in favour of the measure being more numerously attended and more orderly than during the first session of the new Parliament. We were nevertheless satisfied that the Lords stood firmly against the Bill, but in different degrees. The majority were wholly adverse; but a certain number were disposed to accept it with alterations and omissions, and these were called the *waverers*, very incorrectly, for they stood firmly by their own view of the whole measure. We had a negotiation with them to see if a compromise could be effected. Harrowby and Wharnccliffe represented them, and the former had certainly made the most powerful speech the year before against the

* On 6th July 1831, the division in the Commons was 367 to 231; on the 17th December it was 324 to 162.

second reading of the former Bill. They now made important concessions; but they required so great a change in the Bill, that not only the country would never have borne it, but the Commons were sure to reject the amendments. We therefore had no choice but to go on, whatever our own disposition might be, though the greater number of us were decidedly against their terms. Nothing, however, could be more fair than their conduct throughout; and they gave their support to the second reading, announcing their intention of resisting several of the provisions in Committee. We were therefore quite certain that the Bill would, by a considerable majority, be so altered as to be substantially destroyed.

Our difficulty was now extreme. It was, perhaps, possible to tell upon what provisions we should be defeated, because our conversation with the waverers indicated where our scanty majority of nine on the second reading would fail us, though this was by no means certain. But one thing it was quite impossible to tell—namely, upon what defeat, or number of defeats, we must regard the measure as lost, and make our stand with the King. The enemies of the Bill must have perceived that it was our determination to make a stand at some point; and I was always clear that they would avoid giving us the advantage of defeating any essential part as long as they could, but would throw out or alter one after the other of the lesser provisions, so that we should be left in the greatest possible difficulty—indeed, under

positive disadvantage. For suppose we bore several defeats and went on, the friends of the Bill in the Commons, and still more in the country, would be daily more dissatisfied, indeed even exasperated, and withdraw their confidence and support from the Government, as betraying the measure. On the other hand, at almost any one defeat it might be said, there remains so much, that you have no right to give up the measure though thus curtailed. I was therefore apprehensive that our adversaries would go on so long as to make the Bill and its authors lose that support in the Commons and in the country upon which must depend our only chance of the King's compliance with measures necessary for carrying it through the stage which, though delayed, must come at last; either the change of some most essential provision in the Committee, or the third reading.

While under this apprehension I was at my dear friend Dover's, then confined by illness, when Normanby came in, and stated that he had ascertained at Lyndhurst's his intention of moving to postpone the first clause (Schedule A) till after the disfranchisement clauses were considered. I pronounced so great a blunder quite impossible. I hastened to the Lords, and had not been half an hour on the Wool-sack when Grey came to me with the same report. This was the greatest relief; it was, in fact, all we could desire, for at least it showed that they did not mean to pursue the course we so much dreaded, though it by no means followed that this motion

would furnish the opportunity we so greatly desired. The debate in Committee began, and then came Lyndhurst's motion, as had been announced. We at once took our ground, and treated it as throwing out the Bill. It was vain for the Tories to protest they meant no such thing; we would not hear it denied. We fought a fight, stout but short, and to the country quite intelligible. Grey, again and again urged by me to declare he should regard the Bill as gone were we defeated on this point, again and again made that assertion, and turning round to me, who sat next to him, it being in Committee, asked, "Have I said enough?" and I made him repeat and enforce what he had said. I then myself declared in more plain terms that it would be the whole Bill gone as much as if we had lost it on the second reading; and I intimated that the Committee would be at an end. We divided, were beaten, and instantly adjourned the further proceeding; and then came our crowning piece of good luck, Lord Ellenborough announcing that if they took the Government, the Tories would carry all the provisions of the Bill, with some trifling exceptions.

Next day (8th of May) we had a Cabinet, and resolved that, although instant resignation was our plain course, yet that we felt bound first to submit to the King the necessity of creating a sufficient number of peers to insure the success of the Bill. On the afternoon of that day Grey and I carried to the King, at Windsor, the minute of the Cabinet to the effect above stated.

We went to Windsor together, as the King had always required we should on any great emergency, and with the intention of asking for an unlimited creation of peers as the only means of carrying the Bill. We discussed on the way the names of those whom I had set down in my list, formed upon the principle of making the smallest possible permanent addition to the peerage; as by calling up eldest sons, by taking persons who had none, by selecting Scotch and Irish peers for British peerage, but also those not likely to have successors, to the number of eighty, which we considered might be required. He said, "This is a strong measure to propose, reduce it how you will, and you must state it." I said "I had no objection to state the particulars, provided he would make the request and proposal." "No," he said, "it is your province officially, and you know the King required you to attend him on all such occasions." I said, "If it must be so, it must." "Of course," he said, "you speak in my name, as well as your own." I said, "And in that of the whole Ministry." He said, "Certainly, that is quite clear." We laid our account with a refusal, though it did not seem quite certain. We expected, however, a very great reluctance and some delay. As soon as Grey had stated that we came humbly to advise his Majesty that he should accede to our prayer of having the means of carrying the Bill, the King said, "What means?" I said, "Sir, the only means; an addition to the House of Lords." He said, "That is a very serious matter;" and we

both admitted that it was, and that unless quite convinced of its necessity, we never should think of recommending it. He then asked, "What number would be required?" and I said, "Sixty, or perhaps even eighty, for it must be done effectually, if at all." He said "that was a very large number indeed; was there ever such a thing done before?" I said, "Never to that extent, or near it; Pitt had at different times made creations and promotions of much above one hundred, and Lord Oxford, in Queen Anne's time, had created twelve in order to pass one bill." But I admitted these cases did not afford a precedent which went so far as this proposed creation. He said, "Certainly nothing like it." We continued to dwell on the necessity of the case, and our great reluctance to make such a request, and tender such advice to his Majesty. He said he must take time to consider well what we had laid before him; and when we saw Sir Herbert Taylor in the anteroom, while waiting for the carriage, and had some conversation with him, he said we were sure to have the King's answer to-morrow. Grey and I then set out, and on our way home had a wretched dinner at Hounslow, where he ate mutton-chops, and I insisted upon a broiled kidney being added to the poor repast. He laughed at me for being so easy and indifferent; and said "he cared not for kidneys." Nevertheless he ate them when they came. And we were in all the print-shops in a few days.

Next day the King sent an answer, accepting our re-

signation, and refusing to consent to the large addition to the peerage which Grey and I had proposed to him.

Lord Grey in the Lords, and Althorp in the Commons, that evening (9th of May) announced that Ministers had resigned.

Lord Ebrington immediately gave notice that he should next day move an address, the effect of which was to pray the King to appoint no Ministers hostile to Reform. So far was Lord Grey from wishing to throw any difficulties in the way of a new Administration, that he got Althorp to appeal to Ebrington to withdraw his notice. It was found, however, that others would have taken it up in a more violent manner, and it was considered better that Ebrington should go on. It was carried by a large majority.

I had one or two audiences besides the formal one of tendering my resignation, which he did not accept. At one of these interviews he entered again into all the reasons against the proposition which had been given at Windsor, and asked if such a measure as Ellenborough had spoken of might not be sufficient. I explained to him why it could not. He then urged upon me to accept the Government, and said I was sure to have the cordial support of "my friend Richmond" (as he termed him), besides others of the Government, and I might carry a bill on the plan proposed by Ellenborough. He was very much agitated, and spoke of the desperate situation in which we placed him. When I answered that this was most distressing for me to hear, but that it was

wholly out of the question, he was affected to tears, and asked if I too abandoned him. I said that most certainly, had I even a desire to accept his gracious offer, I should be wholly unable to render him the least service, or to assist him in his difficulties, for that I should only injure myself irretrievably without being able to form a Government which could carry the Bill. He argued to show what materials there were in the present Government and in some parts of the Opposition, and I showed him how hopeless such an attempt would be, even if I had not the most insuperable objection to making it. I saw Sir H. Taylor and told him what had passed. He did not quite agree with me, but felt and admitted how difficult it was to answer my objections. He begged me to reconsider the subject, and to write after I had spoken to my colleagues. He let me know that he had recommended an agreement with our proposal the day we were at Windsor (the 8th), from his sense of the great dangers occasioned by frequent changes of Government, as I had often heard him say, but not that he at all approved of the Bill. Both on this occasion and when I afterwards saw him and repeated my peremptory refusal, he urged, as indeed the King had done, that Lord Grey would be sure to support the Government I should form, because he desired sincerely to carry a reform, though he was so pledged to the larger measure that he must stand by it, and refuse to carry a lesser one himself; and so it was a point of honour with him, which it needed not

be with me, or those of my present colleagues who would join with others; but I said I considered myself as much pledged as Grey to the present measure, and besides, he never would submit to what would be deemed a juggle, like Pitt putting Addington in, for the sake of making peace; and that even if he had no objection to play the part of Pitt, I had the greatest to play that of Addington. There was thus in every view an impossibility of the course suggested, and the King had nothing for it but to send for the Opposition. This he did. The Duke obeyed the summons and tried to form a Government. But he could not; and though various accounts were given of the obstacles—among others, that Baring declared against the attempt, and that the Speaker refused to have any hand in it—the real obstacle was Peel, who would not undertake the House of Commons, where the Duke's difficulty lay. That it would have been a very difficult task, cannot be doubted; but I have always considered that it would have had a fair chance of success, and have often discussed the matter with the Duke himself, who was of that opinion. The rally of the Tory party all over the country would have been most zealous and powerful; the demand of eighty peerages certainly would, after a little reflection, have been a fair ground of attack upon us; there would have been no small number of men in the House of Commons disposed to join a strong Government from various motives; and above all, as time was no object, so firm a chief as the Duke keeping

the peace everywhere unbroken, by degrees the Reform fever, as it was called, would have been allayed, the more respectable of even our stoutest supporters giving no kind of encouragement to violent courses. The Duke cared nothing for the taunts which would have been thrown out, of his declaration, November 1830, contrasting with the reform he was now proposing to give; and his great object being to maintain the constitution, by supporting the King and the House of Lords, and, as he thought, saving the House of Commons from the mob-power, he conceived that a great opportunity had been lost by Peel's refusal, an opportunity he never expected again to have.

On the 14th, Baring announced in the House of Commons the failure of the attempt to make a Government. The consequence of the failure was of course that, our resignations never having been finally accepted, we were continued in office. The King then wrote to Lord Grey recapitulating his objections, and trusting that the measure might be carried without the necessity of calling upon him for a creation of peers; and adding, that if a creation should be required to give additional strength to the Government, his sanction, to a reasonable extent, would not be wanting.

Thereupon Lord Grey wrote to me as follows :—

FROM EARL GREY.

" May 16, 1832.

"DEAR CHANCELLOR,—I got an answer from the King late last night. It amounts to an acceptance,

but is not pleasant, and will require an answer from the Cabinet. I am to be with the King at one, and afterwards, I suppose, I must appear at the levee; so that I shall not have time to prepare the answer before the Cabinet meets. If you come here before I go, I shall be glad to show you the letter, and consult you upon the answer,—Ever yours,
GREY."

We had a Cabinet on the same day, when we agreed that, unless the opposition to the Bill was withdrawn, such a creation of peers as would enable us to carry it was indispensable, and that the King must be urged to give his consent to this.

The King, on the 17th, sent a letter to the Duke of Wellington, stating that all difficulties would be removed by a declaration from a sufficient number of peers that they had withdrawn their opposition to the Bill. A copy of this was sent by the King's desire to Lord Grey. In his answer to the King, Lord Grey referred to the extremely violent speeches made by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and other Opposition peers in the House of Lords on the 17th of May, and stated that a Cabinet would be held immediately to consider the communication which he had received from the King.

The somewhat unusual step of writing to the Duke of Wellington, proves how intensely the King disliked the proposal of an unlimited creation of peers, and his anxiety to try any scheme to escape from it. Well meant as it was, the attempt was not success-

ful; because the Duke, in replying to it, simply stated his determination to absent himself from any further discussion on the Bill, but refused to commit himself further; so that, as Grey truly said, nothing could be more embarrassing than the position which the King's act had placed him in. My answer to all this was, that we must now insist more strongly than ever upon having full permission to create as many peers as we should find to be necessary, and that we must have this in such a way as to leave no doubt whatever on the subject.

Next day, the 18th, we had a Cabinet, in which it was decided that we could not continue in his Majesty's service without a full security for insuring the passing of the Bill.

On the same afternoon Lord Grey and I went to the King. It was one of the most painful hours I ever passed in my life, because the King evidently suffered much, and yet behaved with the greatest courtesy to us. It is, however, the only audience I ever had in which he kept his seat, and did not desire us to sit down. After we had urged the matter in the strongest language it was possible to employ, he said, "Well, now it must be so, and I consent." I think he added that he retained the same objections to the creation which he was then agreeing to. We stated that it might be necessary to make the creation at any part of the proceedings, and I added, "Even on the Bill coming back from the Commons, as there might be amendments upon what had been

added in the Lords." There was a good deal of conversation upon the probability of the creation being required. But he again said he gave his promise to make such peers as *both* of us (and he dwelt upon this) should advise. We were then about to take our leave when I said that I hoped his Majesty would not be offended if I ventured to make an additional request, "What!" he said, "are you not satisfied? Have I not done enough?" I said, quite the reverse of being dissatisfied, and we must ever feel deeply grateful for his great kindness in agreeing to follow our advice. "Then what is it," he said, "that I am to do more than I have done?" I said, "Your Majesty must consider that this is a most delicate position in which we your servants are placed, and it would be most satisfactory to us, and greatly relieve our minds, if you would graciously consent to give us your promise in writing." He was a little, and but a little, angry at this, and said, "Do you doubt my word?" We both said, certainly nothing of the kind; but it would be more satisfactory for both his Majesty and us if he would add this to his other great kindness. I said I was sure Lord Grey would agree with me—which, on the King looking as if for an answer, he signified that he did. The King then said he should comply with the request, and send me a few lines to-morrow morning. When we came away, Lord Grey said he was perfectly shocked with what I had done, and he wondered how I could be so unfeeling after all that had just passed, and seeing the state

of vexation in which the poor King was. I said you may rest assured that, before twenty-four hours pass, you will be fully convinced not only that I was in the right, but will in all probability find that this written promise may render the measure of creation unnecessary, which both of us think an extremity on all accounts to be avoided. He said, "God grant it may."

The same evening the King wrote in reply to the minute left with him by Lord Grey and myself, that he authorised a creation of peers to such an extent as would enable Lord Grey to carry the Bill, avoiding as far as possible any permanent increase to the peerage, by "comprehending as large a proportion of the eldest sons of peers and heirs of childless peers as can be made available; and, in the words of the Chancellor, to exhaust the list of eldest sons and collaterals, before resorting to any which should entail permanent addition to the peerage."

Sir Herbert Taylor took upon himself, without any authority from the King, or any communication with us, to let some of the peers, the most active adversaries of the Bill, know that the King's authority had been given, and was in hands which he was certain would use it. This led to the secession of such a number from all share in the subsequent debates, at least in the divisions, that we carried all the clauses in Committee, and the Bill passed.

It is to be remembered, however, that the Duke, in explaining what he had done to advise the King, strongly declared that whoever seceded made himself

an accomplice in the offence of calling for a creation of peers, because he enabled us to carry the Bill, the alleged necessity of which was the very ground of that call. This declaration did not prevent the secession which Sir Herbert Taylor's letter occasioned.

Great complaints were made of him (Sir Herbert Taylor) for having used the King's name to intimidate the House of Lords. In truth, he only gave them fair notice of the risk they ran, that what every one must believe to be a serious, perhaps an irreparable mischief to the constitution, might be avoided. It is needless to say that Lord Grey and I avowed our responsibility for his act, though entirely ignorant of it, and would not listen to certain of our friends—indeed colleagues—who were disposed meanly to throw the blame upon Taylor. The same persons being strongly prejudiced against him from his long-continued connection with one king after another, had foretold, when we came into office, that we should find him faithful and even friendly on all occasions, possibly on important ones; but that when any great crisis happened, he then would make an exception. They little knew the man; and the most important crisis of all—the most unexpected—showed it more strongly than any other.

We had no further difference with the King connected with the Reform Bill, except on the unimportant part of his giving the royal assent in person, which he refused, probably because he was unwilling to show more favour towards the measure than was

necessary; perhaps, also, because he felt that the Lords would regard it as a mark of disrespect to them after what had happened. But we had a difference, of which we did not perceive the full extent till some time after, upon a much more important matter, arising out of the Bill—the dissolution of Parliament—which was manifestly a necessary consequence of it. He had shown, in conversation on the subject, that he was averse to this step, but he did not positively object either to Lord Grey or myself. But I found, on an audience which I had upon law appointments, on the day when the order for the dissolution was to be made, that he still did not regard it as settled, and renewed his expressions of dislike to it. He asked me why it was considered necessary, and I explained how impossible it was to have the House of Commons sitting for another session, when it had been declared incompetent by its construction to perform its duties, and when so many great towns, now entitled to send representatives, were still unrepresented. He said he must see Lord Grey upon the matter, who came accordingly, and after an audience, told me it was quite necessary to enforce this necessity further, and that I must have another audience, which was only a repetition of the former. We afterwards found from Errol, the Queen's equerry, the cause of this reluctance, and, indeed, this attempt to avoid the dissolution. The Queen, who generally took the Tory view of subjects, had been urgent with him to refuse at the last moment, and he had come to town after promising that he would

refuse, be the consequences what they might. The advice was extremely foolish, whoever had given it; for though the Reform excitement had very much subsided, on the success to which it had led being gained, yet it would have been renewed in great force by so violent a proceeding as keeping those on whom the franchise had been conferred out of its exercise. He was extremely alarmed at the tendency of the new experiment, as he called it, to fill the House with Radicals; and I had to send constant accounts during the election of the kind of men who were returned. He was greatly relieved at finding that so many moderate men were elected at popular places, and generally that the Parliament was very much of the same composition as in former elections.

It might have been supposed that the Reform party, and especially the supporters of the Government, would be satisfied with our conduct of the Bill to its final success; but there were many and remarkable exceptions. They were of those who were still more anxious to obtain a general power of thwarting the Lords than to carry any specific measures, and who greatly lamented the creation of peers in large numbers not having become necessary. They complained that we had not made that creation, even when the patriotic and wise conduct of the Duke, in withdrawing, upon farther reflection, his original opposition to the secession, had rendered the creation unnecessary—indeed, had taken away all pretence for it; and they charged us with having, in order to carry one mea-

sure, foregone the power we might have had to carry every measure. I reasoned with these unreflecting persons sometimes in vain ; but most were convinced of the folly of this notion ; and many others, as Joseph Hume, though generally not easy to make any impression upon, could not resist our plain defence. My reasoning was to this effect :—

The Crown is the fountain of honour, and can alone confer rank or precedence. The unlimited power belongs to it of creating peers,—a prerogative which has on several occasions been exercised to influence the proceedings in Parliament. Lord Oxford carried an important question in the Lords by a sudden creation of twelve peers in the reign of Queen Anne. Mr Pitt, too, extended the influence of the Crown in the Commons, and diminished the importance of that body, by transferring many of his adherents among the landed gentry to the Upper House. In recent times, the Government of Lord Grey, backed by a large majority of the Commons and of the people out of doors, carried the Reform Bill through a hostile House of Lords by the power granted by King William IV., of an unlimited creation of peers at any stage of that measure. Most fortunately, the patriotism of the peers saved the constitution from so perilous a measure. I have always regarded this as the greatest escape I ever made in the whole course of my public life. Yet there never was any measure on which a powerful party, supported by nearly the whole people, were more unanimously bent, than that

of a large creation of peers in 1832. But nothing could be more thoughtless than the view then taken of this important question. The advocates for such a wholesale measure never considered what must happen if the Peers, our partisans, should ever be found at variance with King, Commons, and People; they never foresaw that, in order to defeat such an oligarchy, a new and still larger creation must be required; they never reflected upon the inevitable ruin of the constitution, by the necessity thus imposed of adding perhaps a hundred to the Lords each time a Ministry was changed. Among all who were the loudest clamourers for a large creation, I have seldom found one who did not admit how wrong he had been, when these objections were plainly stated to him, and these fatal consequences set before his eyes. Since 1832, I have often asked myself the question, whether, if no secession had taken place, and the Peers had persisted in opposing the Bill, we should have had recourse to the perilous creation?

Above thirty years have rolled over my head since the crisis of 1832. I speak as calmly on this, as I now do upon any political matter whatsoever, and *I cannot answer the question in the affirmative.* The list I had prepared of eighty new creations, when I went with Lord Grey to Windsor in May 1832, was framed upon the principle of making the least possible *permanent* addition to the House. When I supported Grey, in pressing the measure upon the King, I felt strongly the necessity of the case, circum-

stanced as we then were ; but so greatly did I fear the dreadful consequences of the act, that I am persuaded I should, when it came to the point, have preferred running the risk of the confusion which would have attended the loss of the Bill. I *know* that Grey would have more than met me half way in resolving to face that or any risk, rather than expose the constitution to the imminent hazard of subversion ; and I feel assured that the patriotism of our most distinguished political opponents would have helped us to carry a sufficiently large measure of reform ; not enough to have satisfied those reckless men who were more bent upon the *mode* of obtaining reform than upon reform itself, but ample for the requirements and real interests of the country.

I more than twenty years ago published in a book, which I dedicated to Lord Grey, the substance of what I have now written ; and I have only to add, that when he read the proof-sheet of that part of my work, he expressed to me his entire concurrence with what I have here stated.* And he distinctly told me that I had very much understated his repugnance ; and that when the time came he never would have consented to take the step.

When the Duke of Wellington read my statement to the above effect, two or three years before his death at Walmer, where I always passed a day or two before going to Cannes, he said : " Oh ! then you con-

* Political Philosophy—Part III., Of Democracy and Mixed Monarchy. London : 1843.

fess you were playing a game of brag with me ; indeed I always was certain it was a threat, and that you never would have created peers." To this all I could say was, that we were thoroughly convinced *at the time* of the necessity, and that he himself must have been so satisfied of our resolution to take the step that he would not run the risk of it ; and that if he had not caused, he had at least acquiesced in the secession.

In the course of the summer the King was so incensed at the abuse of himself and his family which had filled the papers, that he became quite disinclined to do anything but prosecute the press, which we never could advise, either with a view to his interest or our own, or that of the public ; for the abuse was quite universal, and all the papers in town and country, except two or three, must have been prosecuted, with the public mind in a state to insure in every case an acquittal. The following letter shows how the King submitted, though with some reluctance, to our advice :—

(Copy.)

“ ST JAMES, May 26, 1832.

“The King acknowledges the receipt of Lord Althorp's letter of yesterday, including one from the Attorney-General, containing the explanation or statement of his sentiments on the subject of prosecutions for libel, which his Majesty has read with great attention. The King assures Lord Althorp, and de-

sires he will assure the Attorney-General, that the desire which he expressed for a statement of his real sentiments upon this occasion did not result from any doubt his Majesty entertained of his zeal and devotion to his service, but from feeling it right that the Attorney-General should have the opportunity of doing justice to himself, in a matter in which his sentiments might have been misrepresented. His Majesty is satisfied, from the observations which his letter contains, that he takes a sound and reasonable view of the subject; and much as he laments the existence of such a curse to this country as a licentious and uncontrolled press, and of a state of things which renders the law with respect to libellers and agitators a dead letter, his Majesty admits that it would not be advisable to resort to proceedings which would increase rather than diminish the effects of so deplorable a condition of the country.

“WILLIAM, R.”

The following letters relate to the difference we had with the King on the subject of his giving the royal assent to the Reform Bill in person:—

TO SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(*Private.*)

“1832.

“MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,—There is a subject upon which I feel so strongly that I really cannot refrain from writing a few lines to you, wishing you either to bring it before the King or not, as you yourself think

best ; for I am anxious not to harass his Majesty with it, if you consider that he has made up his mind.

“The more I reflect on the matter, the more I am impressed with the importance of his Majesty’s going to Parliament to give the assent to the Reform Bill. I am quite certain that it is a step which would contribute incalculably to his Majesty’s own comfort in a thousand ways, and that he would experience the salutary effects of it beyond what I can describe. This consideration is of itself sufficient to make me feel very sincerely desirous that his Majesty should go. But I am also solicitous on another and more extensive ground. In these times I really regard it as great use to the established constitution—I mean particularly to the kingly portion of it. Nothing can tend more to give the people, not of London merely, but all over the country, a favourable leaning towards the Crown, and all that is connected with it, than his Majesty’s appearing at the Bill passing. The affection of his subjects towards him, I am morally certain, will be preserved undiminished—nay, I will say augmented, if possible—by this proceeding ; while his not going will be regarded as separating himself from them and the measure. The going, I am sure, will amply repay the trouble it may give. I write this to you personally, that you may use as much of it as you think fit. I don’t write to his Majesty direct, because it might plague him to answer me ; but I assure you I don’t feel the less anxious about it.—Yours sincerely,

“H. BROUGHAM.”

FROM SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(*Private.*)

“ WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 5, 1832.*

“ MY DEAR LORD,—I regret that I was not favoured with your Lordship’s letter in sufficient time to reply to it by this evening’s post, but I hope you will receive this before you attend the King’s levee, as I am anxious that you should not speak to him upon a subject which has more than once been brought under his consideration by Lord Grey or by his desire, and upon which I am convinced that his decision had been formed and cannot be shaken.

“ I have more than once had occasion to hear the King express his sentiments with respect to his going to Parliament to give the royal assent to the Reform Bill, and no later than this morning, in consequence of a question put by one of his Majesty’s household, in a letter which I submitted.

“ His Majesty observed that, in ordinary times, he should have doubted the propriety and necessity of a step for which the precedents are few, if any, but that nothing on earth should induce him to take it in deference to what is called the sense of the people, or in deference to the dictates of the press, its ruler, after the treatment he has experienced from both; that he had endeavoured to discharge his duty to the best of his judgment, and according to the dictates of his conscience; that he had been misrepresented, calumniated, and insulted; that the insults had not been confined to him—they had been heaped upon his

Queen, on all belonging to him; and that the law had been declared not to be strong enough to protect him and them against such insults. Was he to cringe and bow? Was he to kiss the rod held out *in terrorem* by the mob?

“He had never attached any value to that popularity which results from the effervescence of the moment—that which is not felt to be due to, and to arise from, a sense of the correct and honourable discharge of duty. But if it had been in his nature and disposition to be misled by applause and acclamations given to his supposed *unqualified* sanction of popular measures, what has recently passed would have undeceived him, and would have discovered to him how valueless is popular favour; how little deserving of the solicitude of those who are responsible to God and to their conscience for their acts. He is told that his giving the royal assent in person to the Reform Bill would be agreeable to the people—to those who, within the last fortnight, had so grossly insulted him; and that, by this step, he would regain the popularity which he is assured he had enjoyed—that he would set himself right again. But he observed, upon this, that he would greatly prefer their continued abuse, to the conviction that he had merited it by degrading himself in courting applause which he has learnt to despise.

“I believe that I have correctly stated to your Lordship the King’s sentiments expressed to me at various periods, certainly during periods of excitement, and occasionally uttered under irritation of

feeling, but nevertheless unchanged; and I freely own that I believe them to have taken such firm possession of his mind, that I should not like to be the man to propose to him to gratify the popular feeling by going to Parliament at this juncture.

“Under such circumstances I am certain that you will think that I have correctly availed myself of the discretion which your letter allows me to use in not submitting it to the King.—I have the honour to be, with great regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient and faithful servant, H. TAYLOR.

“Upon reading over your Lordship’s letter, I almost doubt whether I am warranted in withholding it from his Majesty; but as he had left Windsor before I received it, and I shall not see him before to-morrow, I think the safest course will be to leave the question to your option, after reading this.”

FROM SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(*Private.*)

“WINDSOR CASTLE, *June 7, 1832.*

“MY DEAR LORD,—I have been honoured with the King’s command to return to your Lordship the commission for giving the royal assent this day to the ‘Act to Amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales,’ which his Majesty has signed.

“Upon this occasion I felt it to be my duty, and (I am willing to hope) to be consistent with your Lordship’s intentions, to submit to his Majesty the private letter to me which accompanied the Bill, as well as the correspondence which has passed, and to which it

referred; and, as you observe, it was this morning open to his Majesty, 'if any change should have occurred in his view of the subject, to take the other mode of passing the Bill.'

"His Majesty orders me to assure your Lordship that he gives you full credit for the feeling of devotion and attachment which influences you in urging him to adopt a course to which his own feeling is so repugnant, but that his sentiment and his determination continue unchanged. But this is a question of feeling—that which ought to actuate his conduct as a sovereign and a gentleman, not one of duty nor of ordinary usage or precedent—and he cannot bring himself to truckle to that mob which has grossly insulted him, instead of giving him the credit which he feels he deserved for having endeavoured to discharge his duty to the best of his judgment, and according to the dictates of his conscience.—I have the honour to be, with great regard, my dear Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and faithful servant,

"H. TAYLOR."

The royal assent was accordingly given by commission, Lord Grey acting as one of the commissioners. He told me he was not much surprised at the King's refusal of the request I had urged, but was very sorry the King had not consented. He had received a letter from Taylor informing him of what had taken place.*

* See Appendix A.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE KING, THE DUKE OF SUSSEX, AND SIR AUGUSTUS D'ESTE—THE VACATION—DEATH OF LORD TENTERDEN—DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING DENMAN MADE HIS SUCCESSOR—SIR JOHN CAMPBELL SOLICITOR-GENERAL—HIS APPLICATIONS—SYDNEY SMITH'S—SIR JOHN WILLIAMS—FIRST PARLIAMENT UNDER THE REFORM ACT—THE SPEAKERSHIP—IRELAND AND O'CONNELL—PROJECT OF REMOVING STANLEY FROM IRISH SECRETARYSHIP TO ANOTHER OFFICE—DIFFICULTIES WITH LORD GREY ON THE PROPOSAL—CONTROVERSY—THREATENS TO BREAK UP THE MINISTRY—SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION—POSITION OF LORD GREY AND LORD ALTHORP—CHARACTER OF LORD ALTHORP.

DURING great part of this year (1832) the King had been, in addition to his Reform troubles, much harassed by D'Esté.* I had many letters from him upon the subject of what he called the "Pretender's" preposterous pretensions. In this matter the Duke of Sussex had been necessarily implicated, and this led to a coolness between him and the King. The circumstances are of much too private a nature to admit of publication, but I may, without impropriety,

* Sir Augustus Frederic d'Esté, born 1794, son of the Duke of Sussex by his marriage with Lady Augusta Murray, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore.

refer to a part of the subject on which the following letters passed between Lord Grey and me :—

TO EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

“ BROUGHAM, August 19, 1832.

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I enclose a copy I have to-day received of a letter from the King to the Duke of Sussex. It is, I believe, owing to what I told you had passed about D'Esté's consulting O'Connell and doing other fooleries, and to the Duke of Sussex behaving with great propriety on the occasion, and expressing to me how much annoyed he was with the attacks on the royal family, which D'Esté's supporters were always making through the press, coupled with insidious distinctions by praising him (the Duke of Sussex), at the very time D'Esté was writing him privately the most cutting letters.

“ I had represented to the King repeatedly those sentiments of the Duke of Sussex, as he evidently desired I should. I think this letter of the King's is the result.

“ I really conceive that now the Duke will put himself in the wrong if he does not immediately write a few lines expressing that ‘he is sorry to think he should, through inadvertence, have allowed himself to be the channel of conveying an address (Bristol) which his Majesty considered of so reprehensible a tendency.’

“ Surely he may say this without doing anything

that lowers himself, or even insidiously inflames the people who sent him the address. I think if you were to recommend some such expression to him, it would be sure to produce the desired effect. I have no objection to back your advice, but it will be more likely to be taken coming from you. Let me know what you do.

“ My letters from Windsor are as good as possible. I hope you took the same view I did of the *House* affair. The more I reflect on it, I am the more convinced that this is the moment, and that you turn to much account now what you will afterwards have to give for nothing. If my lungs will stand your climate, I shall cross the Alps and go over to your *transmontane* country one of these days, and we can then discuss several things.

“ I left Lord Carlisle much better in general health, but still as weak as ever in the ankles.—Yours ever truly,
H. B.”

FROM EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

“ EAST SHEEN, August 21, 1832.

“ DEAR BROUGHAM,—I had intended to speak to Taylor on the subject which you mention, but was prevented by his not being able to come to town. I have determined to postpone it till my return in October. But in consequence of your suggestion I wrote to him the day before yesterday, and have received an answer which shows that what I said

had been most graciously received by the King, and affords the best hope, though no communication had yet been made to Lord H., that this matter may be settled.

“ I took the same opportunity of opening an overture for reconciliation with the Duke of Sussex. The answer was gracious beyond my expectation, and it now rests with H. R. H. to be cordially received at Windsor, without a word being required from him that could hurt his feelings.

“ I spoke to Goderich about Stuart, and enclose a letter which he wrote to me upon it afterwards. I really don't see what more can be said or done on this subject: at least, if anything is to be done, it will be best for you to write to him yourself, in consequence of my having communicated to you his letter.

“ I am in all the turmoil of preparing to set out to-morrow.

“ Van der Weyer is come without powers or instructions. They are now unreasonable in their turn. I see nothing but for the conference at least to make up their minds to a fair and equitable proposal, and to enforce it. No more last words.—Ever yours,
GREY.

“ Direct, if you write, to Howick.”

FROM EARL GREY.

*(Private.)**" Howick, August 28, 1832.*

" MY DEAR CHANCELLOR, — We arrived here on Saturday, all well. I have since received your letter. You will also have received one from me, which crossed it, and which stated the prospect of a reconciliation between the King and the Duke of SUSSEX. Taylor, in his answer to my letter, stated what had passed on the subject of Sir Augustus d'Esté, and enclosed a copy of the King's letter to the Duke—the same that you have sent me—adding that he considered it as an overture, if the Duke would so understand it; that the King would not think it necessary to recur to the cause of their difference, if the Duke proposed to go to Windsor; and that he might be sure of a cordial reception. This I lost no time in communicating to the Duke, and the result has been, as you of course know, that he first saw the King before the levee on Friday, and is to be at Windsor to-day.

" Don Pedro's affairs look rather better. The return of Miguel's fleet to the Tagus, leaving that of Don Pedro master of the sea, is a great event for him. But they seem to have none of the qualities required for such an enterprise, and to be chiefly thinking of the best means of securing a retreat in a case in which retreat ought not to be thought of.

" The Belgian affair is still the subject of conferences, in which, if there could be one will and one decision, the matter might soon be settled. The

point to which the negotiation should now be brought, is the free navigation of the Scheldt. To this the King of Holland should be pinned, and if he can be brought to acknowledge it substantially, but unequivocally, Leopold must not expect to be supported in an unreasonable and pertinacious adherence to the letter of the treaty of November, which, by the way, if literally adhered to, would not be advantageous to him.

“I shall be delighted if you can come here, and should be very glad to have an opportunity of talking with you on many subjects which require consideration.—Ever yours,
GREY.”

Nothing very material marked the remainder of the long vacation after the passing of the Bill. The death of the Lord Chief Justice Tenterden came somewhat unexpectedly on us. At the Recorder's Report Council early in November, he was extremely ill, and I besought him to go home. A long levee, with many audiences, had prevented our going to business till nearly six o'clock, and we were then kept by one or two long cases till eight. Sitting near him, I said, “Go, Chief Justice, you will kill yourself.” “It is done already,” was his answer. I was resolved that Denman should succeed him on every ground, political, party, public, and private: this was quite plain. Among my colleagues, some were averse secretly, some openly, and proposed others among the *Tory* puisne judges! I roared this down

in a way to prevent repetition of what I felt to be an attack on me personally, as well as on the honour of the Government and of the party. On sounding the King in expectation of the vacancy, I had found him very averse; I therefore resolved to lose no time; and when I received early on a Sunday morning a note from Tenterden's son announcing his death, I sent off a messenger to Windsor, and wrote to Lord Grey as follows:—

TO EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

“BERKELEY SQUARE, *November 3, 1832.*”

“MY DEAR LORD GREY, — Lord Tenterden died this morning at half-past eight, without pain. His mind had for a day or two been gone. He was all the time *in business*, and the last words he spoke were (addressing a jury)—‘Gentlemen, you are all dismissed.’

“I send by your messenger a letter to the King announcing this, and, of course, saying nothing else, but you ought to go on to Windsor in the course of the day.

“I enclose a copy of the King's letter to Althorp, about what you mentioned t'other day. I can't lay my hand on his answer to my letter on the same subject, but it was fully stronger both in acquittal of Denman and condemnation of the press. — Yours ever,

H. BROUGHAM.

“*P.S.*—Denman's attack on Scarlett you may hear

spoken of as ferocious, but *all* admit that it was deserved, and that it was purely in retaliation of a most wanton aggression on us all. I hear there never was anything more savage, but nobody blames it. My throat is mending, I *think*, without suppuration."

TO EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

" November 5, 1832.

" MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I think with you that the proposed appointment of Denman should be communicated to our colleagues, and I have written to Althorp (who has some of them dining with him), to communicate it to them and the others this evening; but the appointment and swearing in cannot be delayed. The Court were kept near an hour to-day consulting whether the vacancy did, or did not, prevent the sittings at *nisi prius* during term, and it ended by their resolving that there can be no sittings, and accordingly Littledale (the *nisi prius* judge) was obliged to adjourn. Besides, I quite agree with you that there ought not to be even a day given to the enemy to torment and even *work upon* the King.

"I shall fully write to Taylor in the sense you mention. But there is one thing I had far rather say (and that you said) than write—viz., that the only charge I ever made against Denman for his judicial conduct, was his severe sentence on libellers, Carlists, &c., having been tried before him. I remember Lambton, Ferguson, and others of our friends in the House

of Commons, were quite indignant, and said, 'All lawyers are alike—who could have expected this?' The fact is, judges *must* go by the law.

"I have sent for Denman, and shall communicate what you bade me say. The result of your audience is certainly a relief to my mind, for I should not have wondered at a stand being made.

"He should be sworn in at the Privy Council to-morrow.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"The urgency of the thing, and the accident of your being at Stoke, and my being confined, will account for our not having had a Cabinet to-day upon it."

TO EARL GREY.

(*Private.*)

"November 6, 1832.

"DEAR LORD GREY,—I was quite aware of the necessity of despatch, indeed from the beginning, and I have now, after some little anxiety at the delay, just received back the box (which I had sent at once) with the King's signature. So all is quite safe, indeed done, for the process is the shortest in the world—much shorter than that of making a puisne judge. Taylor's letter takes *not the least notice* of the only part of mine that was of the least importance.—Yours ever, H. BROUGHAM.

"I firmly believe there would have been a push

made at him and *at us* if the enemy had had a day or two to turn about in."

Lord Grey had gone to the King at Windsor, and settled the matter after a short struggle. Grey's behaviour on this, as on all great occasions, was absolutely perfect—manly, honourable, firm, and judicious. Immediately after, Denman was sworn in at my private residence. This made a vacancy in the office of Attorney-General, and Campbell was made Solicitor.

Nothing could exceed the gratitude which Campbell loudly *professed* for this appointment. From all I have known and observed of his character, I much doubt if he *felt* all he said and wrote to me on the subject. I really believe he kept a form of thanksgiving, that he might always be ready to express, in appropriate terms, his gratitude in the event of any of his everlasting applications for something for himself or his connections succeeding. It is incredible the number of engines he set to work to get me to support his desire to be Solicitor-General, yet he was so obviously the right man for the place, that from the moment his name occurred to me I had never hesitated.

His applications to me began very soon—in fact, almost the day after I was in office, he pestered me to appoint a Mr John Campbell, Deputy-Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy. He pressed this so strongly, urging it as one of the greatest favours that could be conferred upon him, that I acceded, and he then wrote

to me expressing his warmest thanks, and saying it was a kindness he never should forget.

When I helped, and that most willingly, to make him Solicitor-General in November 1832, his letter of thanks was almost a fac-simile of his letter in Mr John Campbell's case.

As a specimen of the kind of applications I constantly received from him, I may give the following, as it followed close upon those of my early office days; but I shall have more to say about Campbell hereafter:—

"NEW STREET, November 24, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD CHANCELLOR,—From your intimation that you wished Mr John Campbell, when Deputy-Registrar, to be at the bar, I made an attempt to have him called this term, although his name had not been up the usual time in the Hall. Notwithstanding the display of a little political feeling arising out of the Bankrupt Bill, I believe I should have succeeded, had it not been for an unlucky notion of Mr Solicitor-General, that the situation of Deputy-Registrar is not fit to be held by a barrister, and therefore that it would not be proper to call to the bar a gentleman who has accepted such an appointment.

I should be glad if your Lordship would take an opportunity of explaining to Mr Solicitor that, far from considering the two characters incompatible, you intend that half the Deputy-Registrars shall be

barristers. I must own the scruple seems to me wholly unfounded. The Deputy-Masters of the King's Bench are barristers, and were called after their appointment.

"I am afraid of trespassing upon your Lordship's good-nature by again mentioning my brother's knighthood. But he and the future Lady C. have become very impatient to enjoy their honours, and seem to think that I am neglecting them. I am desired to say that, though the Guelphic would be very gratifying, if there be any difficulty about this, common knighthood conferred without personal attendance will be quite satisfactory. I ought to add that I really believe this mark of royal favour would give pleasure to the Reform party in the county of Fife.— I remain, my dear Lord Chancellor, yours very faithfully,

J. CAMPBELL."

Apropos of applications, I had about this time the following letter from Sydney Smith asking for preferment:—

"MY DEAR BROUGHAM,— . . . I want another living instead of this (Coombe Fleury), and as good—about £700 a-year clear; and I want a prebend of about a thousand per annum: the latter I want to have from the Minister; but I see little prospect of it. These are my objects in the Church. These points obtained, I give you and fortune a receipt in full of all demands, and I think I shall

have obtained fully as much as I merit, and more than before this latter period I ever expected.

"Now nature, time, and chance have made you one of the greatest men in the country, and it will be very much in your power from time to time to forward my views.

"I appeal, therefore, to your justice, in consideration of the bold and honest part I have acted in the Church—and next, to your kindness, from a long acquaintance and friendship—to lend your assistance at convenient seasons, and to aid me with your voice and just authority.—Yours ever very sincerely,

"SYDNEY SMITH."

Nothing could be less objectionable than such an application. I answered him that he might rely on my doing all I could, and accordingly I gladly took an early opportunity of showing his letter to Grey, who thereupon soon afterwards gave him a stall at St Paul's, which greatly pleased him, as it removed him from Bristol to London. Grey had always a high opinion of Smith, and considered he had been of infinite service to the party. Smith, in the next letter I had from him, warmly thanked me for what I had done.

To go back to the Solicitor-Generalship: I had wished to promote Williams, but Campbell was wanted in the House of Commons, where Williams had not a scat.* Moreover, Campbell had uniformly sup-

* Sir John Williams, born 1777; called to the bar, 1804; appointed a Baron of the Exchequer, February 1834, on the retirement of Sir

ported us, while Williams had very improperly (the only wrong thing, public or private, I have ever known him to do in a long and intimate acquaintance) left us when the Duke of Cleveland seceded in 1830. This desertion of Williams was partly owing to a grudge on account of silk, political economy, Huskisson, and Canning; but it was very bad, for he took the worst form of desertion—viz., that of leaving us on his own Chancery reform question. It was as if I had left the party on slavery or education. I took an opportunity afterwards of giving him compensation for what I could not do in 1832, by making him a puisne judge. That was in my gift, the Solicitor-General in that of the Government at large—of course with the preponderating voice of the Great Seal. But I had already incurred too much odium about Denman to make a second personal stand against my colleagues possible. In Denman's case I was clearly right; in Williams's I should have been as clearly wrong.

An event more affecting the interests of the Cabinet and of the party than any appointment of judges, now approached. It was a matter of course to dissolve the old borough Parliament, lying under sentence of incapacity by the Bill, and to elect a new one under the Reform Act. The dissolution was therefore resolved on by us in November, and submitted to the King. He appeared on that day, when

John Bayley. Next term he was transferred to the Court of King's Bench, where he continued until his death, on the 16th September 1846.

he was to agree to the measure, very much out of humour. This first showed itself when I asked him to let me present the new Solicitor-General (Campbell) for knighthood, which I had always followed the practice of having performed in the closet, to distinguish this kind of knighthood from that ordinary knighthood "despised of all men." "Let him wait," was the answer. I afterwards said he was anxious to go to Dudley for re-election, and not to have any extraordinary difficulty arising from the approaching general election. "What general election? Let him wait till after the levee." I saw there was something wrong. I hastened the council. He made no objection; looked sulky; asked me if it was quite necessary; received for answer, "absolutely, Sir;" and we dissolved and returned the great, Liberal, and Reformed Parliament—the last of the kind we are ever likely to see.

Some time after, we learned through Errol that the Queen had that morning, at Brighton, made him promise on no account to dissolve, and that he would rather turn out the Government—as out, of course, we should all instantly have gone, had he refused. Anything more silly than this plan I never heard. The House of Commons then in being was ours by a working majority of above 100, and the country was eager to have possession of the newly-acquired franchise, so that no Ministry could have then stood for a day on that ground of not dissolving. No man who looked to a popular re-election durst have sup-

ported such a Government, and the old borough members now abolished would alone have been left against a Tory Ministry and the people. Also, we had not then had any quarrel with the Commons or the country.

When the new Parliament met in January, our first quarrel was about the Speakership; but that was only a personal one with Abercromby, and occasioned some coldness in Devonshire House, he being the Duke's auditor some time before the other Duke—Wellington—gave him a Scotch judicial sinecure. That sinecure I had—with infinite difficulty, and no support from Lansdowne, Althorp, or Abercromby's other friends in the Government—contrived to commute for a pension of £2000 a-year for life, after a year's service by Abercromby of about twenty working days. He has since behaved with infinite ingratitude, being altogether, as Althorp once said, "about the most selfish man in the world." The Speakership was the thing he had set his heart on. But to work the first Reform Parliament with an inexperienced Speaker seemed to us all too hazardous a thing to be thought of, and we chose Manners Sutton. The very first thing the would-be Speaker did was to pick a quarrel with us on the Irish Bill, and take his stand on the court-martial clauses. He gained little credit by this move, the motive of which no one could doubt. Next year we offered him the Irish Secretaryship, when Stanley went to the Colonies. He refused it, standing out for the Cabinet, which all felt to be a thing that

should never again be joined with the Irish Secretaryship; which had been submitted to only in the very peculiar circumstances of Stanley's position. After Grey retired, Abercromby was put in the Cabinet; but as his salary at the Mint only equalled his pension, he never liked his place, seemed always desirous of any change to better his condition, and not unwilling, failing that hope, to see the Government turned out, and fish in troubled waters for something better. He was lucky enough to catch the Speakership; and not long after, quarrelling with the Commons, disliked by all parties, backed and defended by none, he retired to his pension and his peerage, and will probably be never much more heard of; but bear about his discontented figure and habitual grumbling to whoever will now, joining in his feelings from their own disappointments, allow him to pour his refinements and his nostrums into their ears.

From Parnell and others I had received many warnings of the state of Ireland. Parnell, convinced that O'Connell would commence, as he had threatened, a system of agitation either for Repeal or upon any other grievances, real or imaginary, strongly urged us to make him our friend, and suggested that appointing him Attorney-General would be the most effectual way of neutralising him. Grey never would listen to any proposal to treat with O'Connell, and so nothing was done.

As time went on, things got worse and worse. A bitter feeling against the Church had been excited by

O'Connell and other demagogues. Resistance to the payment of tithes was counselled. The excitable people of that most unhappy country soon acted upon this advice. All who paid tithes were denounced as traitors to their country. Tithe-owners who attempted to enforce their dues were murdered. Tithe-proctors acting in the discharge of their duty were shot. In almost every part of the country there was a systematic disregard of law. An association of the most dangerous character had been formed. The objects it had in view threatened the peace of the country and the integrity of the empire, for it was no secret that *Repeal* was its ultimate aim. Combinations were formed which defied all law; armed bodies were organised, and perpetrated the most atrocious outrages; juries were intimidated, and did not dare to convict; witnesses refused to give evidence. No kind of property was secure; no man's life was safe. The whole country was in a state of disturbance quite unexampled. The magistrates, finding themselves incapable of acting effectually, applied to the Irish Government for help, urged strong measures, called for Insurrection Acts, and even proposed that military law should be proclaimed; but the Government did nothing.

Aware of what was going on, so deeply did I feel the danger, that I considered nothing but an important change in our proceedings could stop the mischief and avert the evil which I saw was imminent. After much reflection I deemed a change in a high office absolutely necessary, and urged this upon my colleagues very earnestly. This change involved the substituting

Melbourne or Goderich for Anglesey, as Lord Lieutenant, and giving the place of Secretary of State thus made vacant to Stanley (Derby).

I made a point of this in December 1832, just before the dissolution. Grey, Althorp, and I had a long discussion of the subject, and Althorp agreed with me, Grey very strongly differing. I intimated the impossibility of my remaining in office unless some such change were made, though aware that my withdrawing might be inconvenient, but quite clear that they could go on without me, as neither Althorp nor any one else would, in all likelihood, retire with me. This subject occupied my whole thoughts, and I wrote thus to Grey :—

(*Private.*)

“ *December 1832.*

“ MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I *hope* we shall be able to keep together till Parliament meets ; but I don't think it easy, and don't expect it. The difficulty is extreme, and I never saw much good come of putting off the evil day, without the most remote chance of circumstances changing during the delay.

“ I see the bishops are going to meet, and I beg that the Church reform papers may not be shown to any of our colleagues. There is no other way of preventing the whole plan from being destroyed almost before it is prepared. If it is kept equally from all, no *one* can have any right to complain. You and Althorp, and no one else, has seen them.—Yours ever,
“ H. BROUGHAM.”

We met and had a long discussion. I next day wrote to Lord Grey stating what I had omitted at our interview.

(*Private.*)

"*Tuesday Morning.*

"MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I ought to have added to what I told you yesterday, that if *you* think it necessary to state my resolution to any one, you are, of course, at liberty—only take care it does not get wind till the elections are over, as it might do harm. I shall, of course, not mention it to a human being except Althorp (who, indeed, knows it), and I think it must be fully explained, and immediately, to Stanley, because, unless this is done, it is extremely liable to be misconstrued as regards him. Nothing is or can be further from my intention than anything in the slightest degree offensive to him, as you well know, and I hope he will easily believe. Indeed, I consider him to have a much greater interest than any other individual in the arrangement being made.—Yours ever most truly,

H. B.

"Stanley being now in Lancashire will make this much more easy."

"6 o'clock.

"I'll thank you to send *my Church papers* by return of the messenger. I agree that it is much better you, Althorp, Melbourne, and I should meet than have a Cabinet; but I really shall be much obliged

to you to come to-morrow. I shall be in Downing Street at *half-past one*.—Yours ever, H. B.”

I received the following letters from Grey :—

(*Private.*)

“EAST SHREEN, Dec. 4, 1832.

“MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—I was just sending off the enclosed letter when the messenger arrived with your box. I need not say that it has added to my distress and disappointment. Though you had pressed this matter very urgently, I had no idea till yesterday evening that you looked to the alternative of resigning. Had I known it before, I certainly should have advised the King to postpone the dissolution.

“I trust and hope—I will add I earnestly entreat, that you will reconsider this determination; till then, I will not mention it to anybody. If you persevere in it, you must consider the Administration as broken up, for at the same time that I communicate your resignation to the King, I must desire him to accept my own; as no earthly consideration can, in that case, induce me to go on with the Government, to which I already feel my strength altogether unequal. Added to all the other difficulties which I have stated, there is that of appointing a new Secretary. We have no one ready to recommend; and if we had, we should be under the necessity of explaining and discussing with him the measure in progress, from which, if Stanley is to continue a member of the

Government, we cannot materially depart.—Ever
yours,
GREY."

"FAST SHEEN, *December 4, 1832.*

"MY DEAR CHANCELLOR,—The last words you spoke to me last night have dwelt on my mind ever since. It cannot be necessary for me to say, if my whole conduct has not convinced you of it, that nothing can be more painful to me than any difference of opinion with you, and that I am by no means pertinacious of my own where it is possible to find the means of preventing such a difference.

"If in the present case I have not done, or cannot immediately do, what you desire, you cannot attribute it therefore to any unreasonable obstinacy on my part, still less, to any personal interest, or, to my not giving all the weight which is due to them, to opinions which you so strongly press.

"I am far from contending that I may not have shown weakness in not acting more decidedly while it was possible to effect changes in the Irish Government which I admit to have been desirable. But you know the feelings which have restrained me. I really cannot bear to give just cause to any one who has acted kindly and honourably towards me to say that I have not used him well. To all my colleagues I am indebted for the most cordial support. They took office when the prospect was not encouraging. I have never had a difference with any one of those whose situations are connected with this discussion ;

and I really felt that it was impossible for me to say to them—a more convenient arrangement might be formed by your retiring from the office which you now hold, and therefore having served as long as I wanted you, pray give it up, though I have nothing to offer you that you might be willing, or perhaps think it consistent with your station and character, to accept. Whether means might not have been found at an earlier period to have obviated this difficulty it is now too late to inquire. I did, however, with respect to Lord Anglesey, endeavour to open the way for his retirement from the government of Ireland in the only way in which I could do so without being wanting to all the claims he has upon me—*i.e.*, by making an arrangement which might be both honourable to and agreeable to himself.

“I am therefore, I repeat, not unconscious of my own failings, and that I may have suffered feelings of delicacy to prevail too far. It is a defect, however, which I am afraid it is too late for me to correct, which renders me perhaps unfit for the situation which I fill, and which could have been best remedied in the way which I suggested in the last consultation between you, Althorp, and me on this subject.

“But in going into this retrospect I have rather indulged my personal feelings than made any advance as to the practical difficulties of the moment. Whatever might have been desirable, or even necessary, it is at this moment impossible to retrieve the omission of which I may have been guilty. There is no longer

time. There is not one of the arrangements which you have suggested which could be made within the short period that is left to us. You have yourself admitted that if not done to-day it is too late. To begin, then, with the first. It would be impossible for me, without feeling that I used them extremely ill, to propose to any one to fill Anglesey's place without having previously proposed to him some mode of retiring from it with honour. Had I such an offer to make, I must have his answer to it before I could take a step. There then would be the other arrangements consequent upon his retirement to be made, which would again require communication with the persons whose situations would be affected by them, and to all of whom I owe equal consideration; for I really feel, as I have already stated, that it is quite impossible for me to say to them,—This is an arrangement which I require for the Government, and therefore you must submit to it whether you like it or not. There is, then, as I see the thing, under all the circumstances of the moment, nothing for me but to leave for the present the general constitution of the Government as it is.

“But is this really, taking all the interests involved into our consideration, so intolerable as to justify the resolution which you announced to me last night? There may be advantages in a change of the Irish Government; but it would also be exposed to many and not trivial difficulties. Any change in a moment of so much irritation, when the elections are

likely to increase that irritation, and the vigorous exertion of all the power of the Government will be required, is in itself an evil which ought if possible to be avoided; and how much would that evil be increased by an apparent acknowledgment of weakness, in removing the head of the Government, for no reason but that he had, by a faithful discharge of his duty, become obnoxious to those who are not opposed to him so much as to the authority of the British Government, and who, having gained this advantage, would attack his successor with increased violence, and perhaps with increased means? To Stanley there is also no other objection than that of his being unpopular. His ability and diligence in the execution of his office are undisputed. He possesses a more accurate and extensive knowledge than any other person of the very difficult question which we have to settle. He has means of gaining for the settlement of that question a concurrence, if not a support, which nobody else would be likely, in the same degree at least, to obtain. He may perhaps not be inclined to go all the lengths which many desire. But it is a large and effective measure which he is preparing, one which I believe will satisfy all those who are to be satisfied at all. Sure I am that it is as much as could, with every facility that could be hoped for, be carried at the present moment, and more, much more, than we could hope to carry against a strong exertion of the Protestant influence, both in Ireland and here. Besides the doubt that a new Secretary might have

the same power of obviating formidable opposition, a necessity would arise of opening the question again, to discuss it with him before the arrangement could proceed.

“I therefore think, upon a comparison of difficulties, that being brought, by my fault if you will, to the situation in which we are placed, the best thing is to stand as we are, even if we had the choice of a different course. Nor does this determination prevent a new arrangement when circumstances may be more favourable. I see no reason why a change might not be made at another period of the session, provided the affairs of the Administration go on prosperously in the mean time. It would then come naturally, and be attended with much greater facilities. It would now have all the disadvantage which any change, made at a moment when the appearance of union and strength is most required, must have, in diffusing a suspicion, and too probably producing the reality, of divisions amongst ourselves, and consequent weakness.

“I have written in a great perturbation of spirit, and therefore still less clearly and satisfactorily than usual. I will therefore add nothing but on the single point with which you concluded our conversation yesterday, your determination to retire. It would cause me a degree of pain, if I thought you really could carry that determination into effect, which it would be impossible for me to express. I will not put before you all the consequences of such a step,

with respect to the country, the duty we owe the King, and the character of the Administration itself. It would inevitably have the effect of breaking it up. All the consequences at which I hint must at once present themselves to you. For it is impossible that you could retire without the Administration being dissolved. Upon this my determination would be as firm as yours. There is little chance of my being able to go on as it is, certainly none that I can do so for any long period; but on such an event I must abandon public life at once and for ever. And, for God's sake, ask yourself what would be our condition with regard to public opinion, if, after having dissolved Parliament, and, added to the difficulty of forming a new Administration, we were to abandon the Government, not because we differed as to any public principle, or because we had lost the support of the King and of the people, but on account of internal disagreements of office, and of divisions amongst ourselves. I will not believe such a thing to be possible.—Ever yours,

GREY."

As it was absolutely necessary that this matter should be disposed of without the least delay, in consequence of the approaching general election, an early Cabinet was held, at which I could not be present till late, owing to pressing business in the Court of Chancery; I therefore sent the following letter to Grey:—

VOL. III.

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(*Private.*)

“BERKELEY SQUARE,
December 5, 1832, *Friday.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—As I may be kept in Court till too late for the Cabinet, and certainly shall not be there till long after it is begun, I write to entreat your immediate attention to what I really think by far the most pressing subject of all at this moment, because from the elections coming on something must be settled in a very few days—I mean, of course, *Ireland.*

“To think of going on with Stanley (and indeed Lord Anglesey) there, is evidently quite impossible; and Stanley, though willing, if absolutely necessary, to remain for a little while, is naturally as anxious as can be to get out of it. Lord Anglesey is less disinclined to remain, and the reasons are not by any means so strong for his leaving it. But, unhappily, without that vacancy there is no possibility of obtaining a Secretaryship of State for Stanley. That either by taking India or the Ordnance (and Cabinet), Lord Anglesey will be removable, and in a way to make him feel no kind of annoyance, seems almost quite clear. It may not be for a few weeks, if India is the manner of doing it. But if the Ordnance, that may be done any day. Suppose, however, you prefer (as I should do in your situation) giving him his choice, this would only delay the actual vacancy a very few weeks; and I cannot see any difficulty in the plan suggested by Althorp (who, I think I may

venture to say, sees the necessity of the case as strongly as I do)—namely, that Goderich should give up his place to Stanley, and remain in the Cabinet till Melbourne or himself take the Lord Lieutenancy.

“The necessity of the Irish Secretaryship being settled before the end of next week is really obvious. You cannot have a second election for Lancashire in the spring with a single vacancy; it will not be safe. But that is not all; you can still less have an election, with a single vacancy for Westminster or for Edinburgh, after such contests as are now going on in both places; and where you are to look for an Irish Secretary, except to Abercromby or to Hobhouse, I really don't know. The other appointments of Howick, Ellice, &c., all very important, come within the same description; they must be made before the general election. If, then, Stanley is not removed now, he will not be for an indefinite time—not till next autumn at the soonest. Indeed, who would come into such an office, even if re-election was out of the question, at a moment's notice, without time to learn his business, in the middle of a session, and while Stanley was going on with Irish measures? The thing is out of the question. Are we prepared to say, deliberately, and with our eyes open, that Stanley shall remain there, the whole of such a session as the next?

“I put all elections now out of the question. If there were no dissolution impending, I should say as clearly as I now do, that there is not a day to lose; for whoever

is to succeed him must be allowed six or eight weeks to turn about in his office before he is called upon to bring forward such measures and in *such* a Parliament.

“The more I reflect upon the state of Irish questions, and the prospect of the elections there, the more heartily I agree with Stanley himself in desiring anxiously this change. If ever there was a question which, though nominally of a person, is really of a great measure, this is that question. His leaving Ireland, provided it be for great and visible promotion, is essential to the settlement of the Irish question. The effects of it upon the reception of the measures respecting the Church will be great beyond calculation; and upon the elections, I have no doubt whatever, they will be as apparent. I also think it very unfair towards Stanley himself that we should keep him in the position he now stands in—not only full of discomfort and annoyance, but lessening his popularity and his weight every day; while it is so much for the interest of the Government to preserve and increase them. From some accidental circumstances, too, without the least blame on his part, it so happens that there is no man in or out of Government whose bringing forward Church reform (in Ireland) will create so many opponents, and gain so few supporters, among those the most likely to be dissatisfied with our plan.

“I am sure, when anything relating to Ireland, as well as Irish members in the House of Commons, is

considered, no one can possibly think that things can go on as they did last session. Nobody dreamt of Stanley meeting Parliament again in that capacity: he as good as announced it on all occasions in private—almost in public. We all felt it quite out of the question. Surely whatever has since occurred strengthens the reason for the change; *and there is not a single argument against it.* I cannot allow for an instant that any feelings of delicacy towards individuals amount to an argument or anything like it. *We are governing the country,* and it is our bounden duty to do all we can to protect it from injury; and, of course, we have no right to think of such scruples. But in reality there are no feelings of personal delicacy to overcome. The arrangements you would have to propose are all of the most honourable and even flattering nature to every party concerned.

“I cannot easily express to you how this hangs upon my mind. To go through even a month of such a session as the last was in the House of Commons, is what no one could bear to think of who had not forgotten all about the last session, after the Reform Bill was over. But that is the least of it. Who shall say that he can calmly contemplate what may fall out in Ireland, and feel that he has left anything undone to lessen the dangers which threaten us there? I am far from saying that anything we *can* do will give us security; but I do really say, and with the greatest anxiety press it upon you, that we are not excusable if we *even hesitate* about taking

every precaution possible against mischief in that quarter. I am sure that there is nothing in the way of individual vexation and party discomfiture which we do not richly deserve if we leave anything of importance unattempted. But that is little; for the public mischiefs that may arise will throw the heaviest responsibility upon us—a responsibility which any one may well shrink from. These are matters which cannot, of course, be discussed in Cabinets. But I will venture to say that there is scarcely one of our colleagues who is not alive to the necessity of the changes I am urging.

“I have written you a long letter; but I assure you I have not expressed half what I feel upon the subject. If you think it right that Althorp and you and I should meet upon it, I could come at the breaking-up of the Cabinet to-day, or to-morrow at three; but really I don't think one day is to be lost.—Ever most truly yours,
H. B.”

The Cabinet generally agreed with Grey; at least they saw insurmountable difficulties in respect of the time; and fortified by their concurrence, he wrote again entreating me to remain, and repeating the expression of his great uneasiness at our difference. I answered him as follows:—

“*Tuesday Evening.*

“MY DEAR LORD GREY,—I assure you I cannot describe to you how much pain it gives me to think

I have been the cause of any uneasiness to you. There is nothing I am not ready to undergo myself to relieve you from any discomfort. In short, I at this moment feel exactly towards you as I blamed you t'other day for feeling about others, with this great difference, that I really think I have a right to consult *your* feelings, and to go a very great way in abandoning my ground, in order to keep *you* easy; whereas I don't conceive you ought to have the least scruple about those you refer to. In fact, not one of them would have any right to complain at your calling upon them to make the arrangements in question.

“Don't think me obstinate and pertinacious if I say that I am quite sure all might still be arranged. I could myself go with your message to Brighton to-morrow morning, and be back before the post goes. Melbourne is as certain to agree as your name is Grey; and I am clear that Lord Anglesey will come into it the moment you mention it. But if you prefer it, I will go over myself to Dublin and explain it—or, if you please, I will take it all upon myself. All that is wanting, in truth, is a few words to Melbourne, and as many to Kemp. If you prefer it, I will speak to Melbourne. I am sure Althorp will to Kemp, whom he knows better than I do.

“I wish, above all things, to impress upon you that my notice of resigning is *very, very* much the reverse of such notices in general. *They* are in the nature of threats. I need not say how very distant from my

nature any such thing is ; but above all men in the world, with you. It is only that I feel the *consequence* of our going on in this way (letting measures and great interests bend to personal feelings) *must* drive me from the Government; that I am sure I shall not be able to stand it; that I foresee, struggle as I may (and, God knows, any struggle that man can make I must at all times and in all circumstances be ever anxious to make, in order to keep by you to the end of my days); yet I shall be unable to do so if great things are to give way to personal considerations.

“I don’t feel the force of what you say about the Government being broken up if I am compelled to quit it, because there is no occasion whatever for either you or Althorp moving. But never fear my being ready to go so long as I *can* stay.

“I won’t write upon any other matters now, because I think this is enough at once. But I should be deceiving you if I left you to suppose that our only difficulty would be got over if I made up my mind to the present Irish arrangement. It may be that to stick by you I should do so; but I see other things sure to raise difficulties, and of a personal nature even greater than this. However, ‘Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.’ But I must again say how exceedingly painful to me all this is—much more so than it can be to you. I don’t like to make phrases; and if I did, I am sure I could not express half the devotion I feel towards you, and which many

others have seen much more of than you.—Ever most sincerely yours,
H. B.”

To this he answered the morning after, having received my letter very late :—

“ EAST SHEEN, Dec. 5, 1832.

“ DEAR CHANCELLOR,—Your letter came so late last night, that it was impossible for me to answer it till this morning. Its kindness has deeply affected me; and I can with truth say that there is no personal sacrifice that I would not make in my turn, for the purpose of removing any difficulty that you may feel.

“ But a night’s reflection has convinced me that an extensive arrangement could not be made in this manner—that the very attempt, if it failed, would be fatal to the Government—and that even its success at this moment would not give us the strength which you suppose; the unusual and extraordinary character of the proceeding, and the person employed in it, would give rise to conjectures and discussions, which would have the very worst effect at home, during the elections, and abroad upon the interests involved in the questions which are now at issue.

“ If I could believe that our continuing as we are would have the effect of making measures of the greatest public importance bend to personal feelings, I should be willing to risk almost anything.

“ But I cannot view the matter in this light. My

real belief is, that all these measures will be best promoted by our avoiding the interruption which such a change so effected, and at such a moment, would give them ; and that if we can only arrive at the settlement of the two important foreign questions now depending, we shall have a degree of strength which we never before had, both to introduce and to prosecute the measures of reform which the times require, and to make such arrangements amongst ourselves as may be necessary for conducting comfortably the affairs of the Administration.

“ But really, if you will only calculate upon the time that is left us, you must perceive, that if not a minute was lost either by objection or discussion in any one of the quarters where consent must be obtained before the thing can proceed one inch, yet it would be impossible to complete it before the elections.

“ Besides, though the previous arrangements may, in such cases, be contrived and agreed upon, could we make such a change in the composition of the Administration without having brought the matter before our colleagues ? Would not any or all of them have a right to complain, if they heard for the first time, in the midst of the elections, that such a change had been made ?

“ It is most painful to me not to be able to come into a proposal on a subject on which you feel so strongly, and which you press at once so urgently and so kindly. But my judgment is convinced that in our present circumstances there is nothing left

but to go on as we are ; that by doing so we shall endanger no great measure ; that, on the contrary, much danger would more certainly result from any precipitate attempt ; and that we shall stand better in all respects for promoting the interests with which we are charged, or for making new arrangements, by making up our minds to meet the present difficulties, whatever they may be, as we are. There is nothing in point of principle which requires us to do otherwise. It is a question whether the principles and objects to which we are pledged will be best promoted by the one course or the other. My opinion is quite clear as to which, all things considered, would now be the best ; and all that I entreat of you, therefore, is, that we may go on together as long as we can, and when the moment comes, when any decisive measure must be taken, I feel confident that there will be no separation between you and me. Such an event, indeed, would be personally so painful to me, and so decisive as to my public utility, that from that moment I should consider myself as politically dead. If such a break, therefore, should now take place, which your letter gives me the comfort of thinking that I need no longer fear, I must repeat as my solemn and unalterable resolution, that I could not continue in the Administration a single hour.

“ Let me once more thank you for all the kindness of your letter. I beg you to believe that I feel it as I ought to do, and share in it to the fullest extent.—
Ever most sincerely yours, GREY.”

The offer which, in the letter immediately preceding the last, I had made to remove the personal difficulties, did not get rid of the objections made, and Grey continuing as firm as I was, it became necessary to acquiesce. I must add that not the slightest unpleasantness was occasioned by this difference between us, although I was grievously vexed at the result, both on public grounds and, it must be confessed, at my being obliged to remain in office on account of what I deemed a necessary change not having been made, and, as I had often stated to my colleagues, on account of the Government being in a position which gave them no security of being able to carry measures of importance. But I also personally felt the annoyance, after my incessant labours, of having lost the chance of release to which I was entitled, and which my health required.

I used always to say that Grey was as anxious to resign as I was, but only at the beginning of the session. At the latter end, and in view of the long vacation, he did not so much object to remain. His answer always was, that I wished to get out at *all* times, as well as in view of the end of the session; but he admitted that I always did my best to keep the Government together, and readily gave up my individual wishes to that consideration.

In the discussion of the question of my resigning, I had both said and written to Grey that, even if I left the Government, there could not be the smallest occasion either for himself or Althorp retiring; but, on

reflection, I am rather disposed to doubt this as to Althorp, because I well know that nobody ever hated office as he did. Others I have known hate it occasionally, but he detested it at all times. He often said, when he got up in the morning, he wished he might be dead before night, but he always went through his duty manfully.

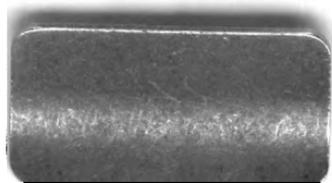
There never was a man of real merit who had an opinion of himself so unaffectedly modest. Without a particle of cant, he was most deeply imbued with religion, and this, perhaps as well as any other part of his nature, indisposed him to exert himself to attain the usual objects of earthly ambition. Always undervaluing himself, he never could comprehend why he had attained to so high a position in public life, and frequently expressed his astonishment at the great power he was conscious of exercising over men of all kinds and natures—a power which proceeded from the complete conviction which all men felt in his thorough honesty and simple love of truth.

His extreme modesty was ludicrous, and even painful—always ready to admit his faults, from his perfect candour; but his powers were great. His ability was never so remarkably shown as in the Reform Bill, both in 1831 and 1832. He had a knowledge of all its details, and of all the numberless matters connected with it, that was almost supernatural. The others knew it so ill, and got into such scrapes when opposed to formidable adversaries, such as Croker, who had attained something of Althorp's

mastery of the subject, that it became necessary to prevent them from speaking, or, as it was then called, "to put on the muzzle," and Althorp really did the whole. His temper was admirable, and invariably equal. Sugden said he had learnt a lesson from it, or at least that it was his own fault if he had not—which was not ill said.

He had a very bad opinion of the newspapers and of all connected with them, whom he looked upon as persons of no faith, and whose opinions, if they ever had any, were merely framed to suit their readers. Yet his calmness of judgment and constant sense of justice made him waive any objection arising from this prejudice, if prejudice it be. When Mr Coulson was proposed for the Poor Law Inquiry, his having been the conductor of a newspaper was stated as a ground for objecting to him; but Althorp said it rather was an argument in his favour, he having raised himself to be a conveyancer.

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