before him, to repeal the disqualifying enactments which shut out the King's Roman Catholic subjects from Parliament and from places of authority and trust under the Crown; and on questions of trade and navigation, his mind was only so far made up, that he desired to preserve for England her traditionary superiority at sea, and to maintain the landed aristocracy as the preponderating influence in the state. But he was always ready to consider on their own merits such questions as his colleagues might bring forward; and to bow to the decision of the majority, so long as a great principle was not at issue.

Finally, in regard to foreign politics, his was the true doctrine of non-intervention. He argued thus: "It is no concern of ours what forms of government other nations think fit to set up. If they prefer despotism, let them keep it. If they succeed in replacing despotism with free institutions, don't let us interfere. Our sole duty is to see that they observe existing treaties, and afford to the King's subjects, when mixing with them, protection to life and property."

Holding these opinions, and making no secret of holding them, he stood apart from the three rival sections, and generally mediated among them. This was not always an easy task, and it proved the more difficult that the King not only had his own views of things, often at variance with the decisions of his Cabinet, but, with excessive wrong-headedness, was in the habit of intriguing for their accomplishment, as well with the leaders of the opposition as with individual ministers on whom he felt that he could make an impression. The effect upon a man so high-minded as the Duke was such, that over and over again he thought seriously of letting things take their course. Indeed, it was only a strong sense of duty which restrained him from breaking up the Government by retiring from it. For on one point his convictions were settled. He did not believe that the Whigs, as a party, were strong enough to conduct the government, except by forcing on measures which must lead to a radical change in the principles of the constitution; and as he entertained a nervous apprehension of such

changes, of which he had seen the fatal results in continental states, he kept his place in the Cabinet, that he might urge upon his colleagues the necessity of bearing with one another, and of making all possible concessions, rather than allow power to pass into hands which would certainly abuse it.

Such were the circumstances under which that current of legislation set in, of which the final issues could never be doubtful. Law after law was repealed under the shelter of which England was supposed to have risen to the height of her commercial prosperity, till, subject to one remarkable reservation, the axiom began to be received, that, among nations not less than among individuals, they act the wisest part who buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

All this while other and more urgent cares pressed the Government from the side of Ireland. In 1823, and for many years afterwards, that portion of the empire was in the most deplorable condition. Her aristocracy had become almost universally bankrupt, her energies were paralyzed, her commerce stagnant. She could boast of no manufactures, except in the north, and a population terribly redundant existed, but could scarcely be said to live. The staple food of a cottier tenantry was the potato, which the lands, let and sub-let, till they reached the lowest point of occupancy, supplied, but never in excess. Hence a single bad harvest was invariably followed by distress, which, if the season continued unfavourable into a second year, produced a famine. Moreover, as there was no law which gave to the indigent a claim on their parishes against starvation, mendicancy became universal, or nearly so, among the humbler classes. After scratching up the earth and planting the potato in the plot of ground which surrounded their cabins, whole families went forth year by year to beg; or else they crossed the Channel at harvest-time into England and Scotland, in the hope of earning there money enough to pay the exorbitant rents, for which they had made themselves liable. Meanwhile two rival churches, each by a process of its own, wrung from this mendicant population the means

of subsistence for their clergy. From the entire population, of which its members comprised one-sixth, the Established Church took tithes, and was aided by the law in doing so; while from four-and-a-half out of the five remaining sixths, the Roman Catholic Church exacted fees quite as large in amount as the tithes; of which it enforced the payment by the application of threats more terrible than human law could hold out. Is it to be wondered at, if both burdens, but especially the former, were borne impatiently?

The obvious remedies for evils such as these, are encouragement to emigration, a legal provision for the poor, a compulsory commutation of tithes, the introduction of capital into the country, and with it the establishment of manufactures, and of an improved system of agriculture. There must necessarily follow upon all this, such a pressure on the landlord class as shall compel the needy to dispose of their estates, and transfer the property in the soil to men better able, and more willing, to improve it. As yet, however, visions of this sort seem scarcely to have entered into the minds of the most imaginative of our statesmen. A law was indeed passed, authorizing land-owners and tithe proprietors in Ireland to arrange between themselves, if so disposed, plans of commutation; which, when fully settled and registered, were to be binding on them and on their successors.* But except in this particular, which as far as it went proved useful enough, no steps were taken to better the condition of the Irish people, who became in consequence an easy prey to every demagogue, possessed of the small measure of talent which was necessary to work upon their credulity and abuse it.

Among these there was one, whose success as an agitator has never been equalled in modern times, but who was either too wise or too wary to aim at a prouder name, by becoming the leader of a rebellion. Daniel O'Connell, after various preliminary experiments, succeeded in establishing the

* The law in question, Mr Goulburn's Act, was accepted by upwards of 1500 parishes; and so well and justly were the commutations settled, that only six appeals were made, of which four were dismissed; in one the amount of tithes was raised, and only in one lowered.

Catholic Association, and then brought, by means of it, the whole weight of the masses, headed by the priesthood, to bear upon one point. How the society was constituted and worked, and to what end it was directed, it is not the business of this biography to explain. Enough is done when I state that its affairs were managed with such exceeding skill that its leaders, while they kept all Ireland in a state of excitement, were themselves placed beyond the reach of interference by the law and its officers.

From that time forth the ingenuity of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet was taxed to meet the difficulties of a case which has scarcely a parallel in history. It could not be said that Ireland was in a state of insurrection, because the people, though completely organized, professed nothing but loyalty to the throne. Here and there, indeed, individuals were forced to give up their holdings, while houses were broken into, and arms and ammunition carried off. But outrages of this sort were of old standing, nor could the Government entertain greater abhorrence of them than was expressed by Mr O'Connell, and his subordinate agents in the movement.

Meanwhile the Protestant section of the Irish community was not idle. Complaining that their rulers had deserted them, they combined for self-defence, and through their Orange lodges, held language quite as determined as that of the Catholic Association. Though in point of numbers inconsiderable, as compared with their rivals, they possessed by far the larger share of the property, and almost all the political influence of the country. Hence every effort made to conciliate, or even to deal fairly by the Roman Catholics, brought down upon the Government the hostility of the Orangemen; while the promotion of an Orangeman to place, or even his friendly reception at the Viceregal Court, exasperated the Roman Catholic mind, and called forth volumes of abuse from its great director.

Ever since the passing of the Act of Union there had been bitter complaints on the part of the Irish Roman Catholics, that faith had not been kept with them. This was not in strict propriety the fact, for whatever Mr Pitt's intentions might be, he had no power, in despite of the Crown and the

Parliament, to pay the Romish priests out of the Consolidated Fund, or to place the Roman Catholic laity on a footing of political equality with Protestants. Year by year motions were accordingly made to repeal the laws which bore oppressively upon the Romanists, and one by one the strictly penal statutes either fell into disuse or were swept away. At the period of which I am now writing, there remained only a single enactment which, requiring the affirmation of a particular oath, hindered Romanist peers and commoners from sitting and voting in either House of Parliament, and from holding certain offices under the Crown. This enactment was spoken of as a disqualifying law, and strenuous efforts were made to get rid of it. They failed for a time, majorities in both Houses declaring against the repeal. But on each successive division the majorities in the Commons became less decided, till in the end the opponents of what was called Catholic Emancipation found themselves in a minority. The hope of the Protestant party was thenceforth fixed on the House of Lords, and it did not disappoint them; though even there public opinion showed symptoms of wavering, which grew more and more manifest as sons succeeded to their fathers, and new names were added to the list of the peerage.

It is not necessary to pursue this subject further. Through many years the battle of Catholic Emancipation raged, bringing into play, on both sides, traits of character, on which no thoughtful politician now looks back except with sorrow. With these, however, we have no special concern; at all events till the proper time come for explaining how the Duke of Wellington dealt with the question, and upon what grounds of reason his policy rested.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE DUKE AND MR STEPHENSON—THE DUKE AT ST PETERSBURG.

Among other peculiarities incident to the Duke's strongly-marked character, there was one which occasioned from time to time a good deal of anxiety to his friends. He seemed to claim an exemption from the ordinary physical infirmities of human nature. Sickness, for example, no matter in what cause originating, he regarded as something which ought to be concealed. It was a sign of weakness of which he was ashamed, and which he would scarcely acknowledge even to the medical men who attended him. In 1823, when on a visit to the Marquis of Hertford, he was attacked with inflammation, which gave way only to profuse bleeding, and left great weakness behind. He could not deny the fact that he had been ill—but he scouted the idea that there was the slightest danger, or that any serious inconvenience had occurred through his illness to himself or to others. In 1824, cholera, not in a very mild form, attacked him, and its effects were long seen in his wasted frame and emaciated countenance. He never would allow that he had suffered from more than a slight derangement of the stomach. Wind, rain, hail, snow, could not keep him back from the discharge of the commonest ceremonial duties. He would appear at guard mountings or reviews in the full-dress costume of the season, whatever it might be; while all around him were cloaked and wrapped up against the weather.* Hence they

* It is fair to add, that the Duke wore, on such occasions, an ample encasement of under-clothing.

who wrote or spoke to him about some malady under which it was known that he had been labouring, never got a more explicit acknowledgment than this,—"I was a little out of sorts, but I'm all right now;" or, "I tried to bully a cold, but it beat me."

And here it may not be out of place to make mention of a circumstance, which not only illustrates the fact of which I am speaking, but brings prominently into view both the kindness of the Duke's nature, and his shrinking aversion from the very appearance of deceit. He had become partially deaf in one ear, and felt impatient under the affliction. All the legitimate skill and science which London could supply were called in, but without effect. At last, Mr Stephenson, the celebrated aurist, was recommended to the Duke as one who had been eminently successful in similar cases. The Duke sent for him. After trying, to no purpose, a less energetic method of treatment, Mr Stephenson had recourse to his great remedy,—the injection by a syringe into the ear of a strong solution of caustic. "I don't think," the Duke used to say, "that I ever suffered so much in my life. It was not pain: it was something far worse. The sense of hearing became so acute, that I wished myself stone deaf. The noise of a carriage passing along the street was like the loudest thunder, and everybody that spoke seemed to be shrieking at the very top of his voice." I am not prepared to assign a reason for this unlooked-for result of an experiment which had succeeded in many other instances; I only know the fact, and that the Duke, as was his wont, bore it without manifesting any token that he was uncomfortable. He went out and came in as usual, and when he retired to bed, none of his household suspected that there was anything wrong with him.

By great good fortune Dr Hume, his friend and family physician, who happened to be in attendance for other reasons, called next morning about eleven o'clock. He was shown into the Duke's room, and found him sitting at the table, unshaved and unwashed, with blood-shot eyes and a flushed cheek, and observed that when he rose he staggered like a drunken man. His whole appearance, indeed, to use

Dr Hume's expression, "was that of one who had not yet recovered from a terrible debauch." Now, as Hume knew perfectly well that his illustrious patient never committed such debauches, he became greatly alarmed, and expressed himself so. "I fancy there is something wrong with my ear," was the Duke's reply; "I wish you would look at it." Hume did look at it. A furious inflammation was going on, which, had it been permitted to run its course for another hour, must have reached the brain. Hume ordered his patient immediately to bed, and sent off for Sir Henry Halford and Sir Astley Cooper. Vigorous remedies were applied, and the inflammation ceased. But the sense of hearing on that side of the head was destroyed for ever.

I must not omit the sequel to this little tale. The grief and mortification of Mr Stephenson when he heard of the results of his practice knew no bounds. He hastened to Apsley House, and being admitted to the Duke's presence, expressed himself as any right-minded person, under the circumstances, would have done. But he was instantly stopped, though in the kindest manner,—"Don't say a word about it; you acted for the best; it has been unfortunate, no doubt, for both of us, but you are not at all to blame."

Grateful for this reception, Mr Stephenson went on to say: "But it will be the ruin of me. Nobody will employ me any more, when they hear that I have been the cause of such suffering and danger to your Grace." "Why should they hear anything about it?" replied the Duke; "keep your own counsel, and depend upon it I won't say a word to any one." "Then your Grace will allow me to attend you as usual, which will show them that you have not withdrawn your confidence from me." "No," replied the Duke, still kindly but firmly; "I can't do that, for that would be a lie." So strong, even in a case which made no common appeal to his generosity, was the Duke's love of truth. He would not act a falsehood any more than he would speak one. Let me not, however, fail to do Mr Stephenson's memory the same justice which the Duke did to his professional character while he lived. "It was not his fault," he used to say. "He distinctly warned me that if I felt

any uneasiness in the ear I must get cupped at once; and I said, 'Very well.' But I never was cupped in my life. I never thought more about it, and so, I suppose, the inflammation had time to run on."

The Duke underwent this operation because he was in a hurry to set out upon a mission which had been assigned to him. The Emperor Alexander of Russia was dead. He had died under peculiar circumstances,—disgusted with what he believed to be the ingratitude of Europe towards its deliverer, and wrung to the heart by the discovery of an extensive plot for the assassination of himself and of every member of his family. It was the discovery of this plot indeed that led to the postponement of his next brother, Constantine, and the selection of the Grand Duke Nicholas to succeed Alexander on the throne. For Constantine was as universally hated as Nicholas was beloved; and though the conspirators had doomed Nicholas, like the rest of the Romanoffs, to perish, it was believed that they would be less likely or less able to carry their designs into effect with a popular, than with an unpopular, monarch on the throne.

The accession of Nicholas was an event in which the people of England took a deep interest. He was understood to be brave, obstinate, and warlike, and the general impression was that to conciliate the Russian people as well as to gratify his own tastes, he would plunge into war with Turkey. Now next to the too-great aggrandizement of France, there is nothing which English statesmen have for many years past contemplated with greater apprehension than the advance of Russia towards the west. To uphold the Turkish Empire has thus become a sort of traditionary policy in London, and to the Duke of Wellington was intrusted, in 1825, the delicate task of promoting it. His ostensible business was to congratulate Nicholas on acceding to the throne, his real object to sound the Emperor, and if possible to dissuade him from taking up the cause of Greece and making war upon the Turks.

Apart from the Greek question, in which Russia claimed on religious grounds a special right to interfere, there were various causes of quarrel at this time between her

and the Ottoman Empire. I need not stop to particularize them now, because I shall be obliged to refer to them by and by, but it may be well to state that each charged the other with breach of faith, and that Russia had gone so far as to withdraw her representative from Constantinople. The two powers accordingly stood towards each other as angry boys stand before they strike; the attitude of Turkey towards Russia being that of the little boy who is not unconscious of his weakness, the attitude of Russia towards Turkey that of the big boy who bullies.

The Duke, only partially recovered from the effects of Mr Stephenson's practice, quitted London in the beginning of February, 1826. He took Berlin on his way, and reaching that city on the 26th, was welcomed by the Court, the army, and the people in the most gratifying manner. They gave him, however, little encouragement to hope for a fortunate issue of his undertaking. The Emperor Nicholas was represented to be bent upon war, indeed he was stated to have refused all arbitration unless the Allies should offer to interfere in a body, and insist upon the compliance of Turkey with his demands. These were not very satisfactory tidings, but the Duke heard, without seeming to take much interest in them, and at the end of a few days continued his journey.

He arrived in St Petersburg on the 2nd of March, and the same evening had an interview with Count Nesselrode. It was conducted on both sides with some *finesse*, and on the part of the Duke with a good deal of reserve. The great object of the Russian minister seemed to be to impress the Duke with the belief that the Emperor, his master, was not desirous of war; indeed, he repeated this declaration so often, and, as it sometimes appeared, so gratuitously, that the Duke came to the conclusion that M. Nesselrode must have heard of the inquiries which he had been making at Berlin, and was anxious to remove the impression created by the results of these inquiries. Partly because he entertained this suspicion, partly because his own papers were still upon the road, and that he was unwilling to commit himself until they should arrive, and till he should have an opportunity of conversing with others, the Duke confined himself to general

declarations, that if the Emperor were really desirous of avoiding war, he would find the King, his master, ready to do all in his power to help Russia out of her difficulties. Count Nesselrode, on the other hand, expressed his anxiety to be made acquainted at once with the details of whatever plans of accommodation the Duke was commissioned to propose. "Such confidence," he observed, "would be of the greatest possible use to him, because it would instruct him what to say to the ministers of the other powers." But the only answer which he could extract from the Duke was this: "Tell them the truth; that his Britannic Majesty's Government is disposed to do all in their power to enable you to get the better of your difficulties." *

On the following day the Duke was admitted to his first audience by the Czar. It lasted a long time, and impressed him with a very high opinion of the Emperor's disposition and abilities. There was no reserve about him, nor any affectation of it. He declared himself averse to war, but did not see how he could keep out of it with honour. This was not owing, as the English Government seemed to imagine, to any mawkish sympathy for the Greeks. They were in rebellion against their legitimate Sovereign, and if he were to make their religion an excuse for interfering by force of arms between them and the Porte, he should have no right to complain if the Porte in return were to stir up his own Mahomedan subjects to rebel against him. His ground of difference with Turkey lay nearer home; for not to this day had the Porte fulfilled its engagements to his predecessor. And having exhausted all the resources of diplomacy, there remained for him now no alternative except to send in an ultimatum, and to abide by it.

This language was so different from that which he had been led to expect, and so much at variance with what the Emperor Alexander used to employ, that for a moment the Duke felt inclined to doubt its sincerity. But he found, on inquiry, that it corresponded exactly with everything which his Majesty had said to the ministers of other powers; he could not, therefore, believe it to be assumed. His first

* The Duke's MS. correspondence.

despatch home is, accordingly, written in a cheerful spirit, and contains an expression of his belief that there will be no war in Europe, especially for the sake of Greece. But he had a more difficult game to play in discussing the differences between Russia and Turkey, arising out of the breach or assumed breach of the treaty of Bucharest. A word or two in reference to the nature of that treaty will be necessary in order to give the reader some understanding of the sort of negotiation to which the Duke now applied himself.

It had been settled in 1822, at the Congress of Vienna, that the Allies should exercise their influence in order to bring the Porte to reason, and prevent a rupture with Russia. The matter to be handled was the fulfilment of a treaty, whereby the Porte had agreed to withdraw its troops from Wallachia and Moldavia; to restore the Hospodars to the Principalities, with their own police under them; to rebuild the churches which had been destroyed during the war, and to adjust the affairs of Servia with certain deputies, who were to repair to Constantinople for the purpose. Furthermore, the Porte consented to give free passage into the Black Sea to the merchant ships of all nations; while Russia promised to withdraw from whatever portion of territory she might have occupied, and to renew in form her diplomatic relations with Turkey.

Time passed, and the stipulations of this treaty were on both sides evaded. A fort in Mongrelia, which the Russians had seized, was found so important in keeping open the communications with her army in Mount Caucasus, that she made no move to abandon it; whilst on the side of Turkey no churches were rebuilt, and, as was alleged, at least in St Petersburg, Turkish troops still occupied the Principalities. The fact was, that of 30,000 men whom the Porte had marched into the Principalities, a considerable portion was left there, under the designation of police. But as they derived their authority to act not from the Hospodars, but from the Porte, Russia refused to regard them as police; and Wallachians and Moldavians equally complained that they plundered instead of protecting the country.

Not satisfied with this, the Porte had, it appeared, seized the Servian deputies as soon as they arrived in the capital, and placing them under restraint, kept them as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen. Against these acts, which she described as flagrant violations of the treaty of Bucharest, Russia remonstrated, and finding that no attention was paid to her remonstrances, she assumed a higher tone. She demanded that the Porte should send commissioners to Odessa to arrange there the differences between the two Courts; and threatened, in the event of a refusal, to withdraw her representative from Constantinople and to take military possession of the Principalities.

Convinced from what had passed between the Emperor and himself, that there was little to be apprehended on the side of Greece, the Duke went no further than to draw up a paper, in which he showed what the wishes of England were respecting the pacification of that country, and how his Government had interfered to defeat Ibrahim Pasha's scheme for depopulating the Morea. The paper was well received by the Czar, who, in his turn, entered largely into his other grounds of quarrel with Turkey, and showed the Duke a note which he proposed to transmit to Constantinople, and of which the tone was not only peremptory but menacing. A long and friendly discussion ensued, during which the Duke besought the Emperor to modify many of his expressions, and above all to omit the demand that Turkish commissioners should be sent to Odessa. For as the Porte never gave its confidence to any foreign representative, it would probably refuse to comply with the Emperor's request; and if it did comply, would disavow the acts of its own agents when they returned, and might perhaps put them to death. Nor was this all. The Duke entreated the Emperor not to rest his case on the terms of the treaty of Bucharest. He had himself violated these terms, and was, therefore, disentitled to appeal to them. Neither was it becoming to threaten, unless he were prepared to follow up his threats with acts of hostility; in which case he would enter at the very commencement of his reign upon an unjust war.

The Emperor received these remonstrances in the very best spirit, and frankly admitted that he was not justified in keeping possession of the fort in Mongrelia. He added that the threat of withdrawing his *chargé d'affaires* did not necessarily imply a determination to go to war, which, on the contrary, he would do everything in his power to avoid. When reminded that it was neither wise nor dignified to threaten, unless there was a purpose of carrying the threat into execution, he retorted with great quickness upon England and her proceedings. "What was she then doing? Had she not threatened the Porte, if it should refuse to prohibit Ibrahim Pasha from carrying his projects into effect in the Morea. What was there more unbecoming in the threats of Russia than in those of England, both powers being determined, by their own showing, to avoid a collision." The Duke found little difficulty in proving that the two cases had no affinity; that the object of England was to defeat a particular design which a mere threat of naval interference on her part must accomplish; whereas Russia gave the Porte but a single month to perform certain specified acts, in the event of her failing to do which Russia must either go farther or stultify herself. Besides, no other European power would blame England for preventing such an outrage as that with which the Morea was threatened; whereas all must look with disfavour upon a war between Russia and Turkey, and upon the inevitable aggrandizement of the former at the expense of the latter. The Emperor admitted that there was a difference, but repeated what he had already said, that he expected to gain his ends without having recourse to violence; that the Porte was not open to any other argument than that of menace; and that England might depend upon it, that even if forced into war, he should not extend his frontier one inch beyond its present limits.

Here was another point carried. A war between Russia and Turkey alarmed the rest of Europe, only so far as it might tend to bring Russia more towards the west. It was a great matter to obtain this assurance from the Czar, that he aimed at no conquests from Turkey, and would not re-

tain them if they were achieved. At the same time, the Emperor observed that the Turks had no business in Europe, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to head a crusade for the purpose of driving them back into Asia. As however the other powers would not agree to this, he was not only willing but desirous of living on good terms with them.

Encouraged by all this, the Duke proposed that the Emperor should not send his note at present, but withhold it till there should be time for communicating with the English Government, and for the English Government to remonstrate, through its minister, with the Porte. The Emperor objected, on the plea that the season was passing away, and that if compelled to move his troops at all he must move them shortly. At the same time he repeated over and over again that he entertained no views of conquest, and that he should content himself with occupying and holding the Principalities, as a material guarantee for the fulfilment of the engagements into which Turkey had entered.

I should lengthen out unnecessarily this portion of my narrative, were I to give in detail the substance of each successive conference as it occurred, sometimes between the Duke and Count Nesselrode, sometimes between the Duke and the Czar. Enough is done when I state, that for a while the Duke's arguments seemed to carry all before them; that the demand for Turkish plenipotentiaries to repair to Odessa was withdrawn, and that six weeks instead of a month were allowed to Turkey to make arrangements for satisfying Russia in other respects. In bringing all this about, the Duke made happy use of the Emperor's admission respecting the Greeks, by showing that if Russia went to war with Turkey before Greece was pacified, Greece must as a matter of necessity become the ally of Russia; and that Russia could not, at the termination of the war, replace Greece in any shape under her old masters. But just as matters had reached this point, Count Lieven arrived from England; and whether through his influence or not, first Count Nesselrode, and by and by the Emperor, a

good deal modified his tone. For example, the Emperor had agreed to send an ambassador to Constantinople, whenever the Porte should assure England that she was prepared to fulfil her engagements. Counts Lieven and Nesselrode endeavoured to back out of this concession; and declined to reduce to writing the promise which the Emperor had given, "that even in the event of war he would retain none of his conquests." It appeared also that they had worked upon their master in the same direction; for when the Duke repeated the request that his Imperial Majesty would enable him to furnish the British Government with tangible proof of his generous intentions, the Emperor refused to sign anything, unless the Duke would pledge England, first to obtain for Russia the redress which she required, and next to exact from the Porte pecuniary indemnification for the expenses of a war, should war arise.

Perceiving that this was not the moment to argue the point further, the Duke reverted to the Greek question, which he proposed to settle on the terms originally suggested by the Greeks themselves. These implied the entire evacuation of Greece by the Turks. Indeed there was a clause in the draft of the treaty, which provided for the purchase by Greece at a valuation of the property of all Turks then resident within her limits. When these arrangements should be complete, the Duke expressed his opinion that the execution of them should be placed under the joint guarantee of Russia, Austria, France, and Prussia, each of whom had a more immediate interest in the maintenance of the new order of things than England. Meanwhile he would not hear of any interference on the part of Russia with Ibrahim Pasha.* That must be left to England alone, who could deal with Ibrahim as she had done with Algiers, provoking no quarrel with the Porte or with anybody else. Whereas the interference of Russia would be regarded as an espousal of the cause of the Greeks, and a war between her and the Porte must inevitably follow.

* Ibrahim Pasha had proposed to transplant the Greeks to Upper Egypt, and to re-people Greece from the Delta.

So matters rested for a while; but on the 21st of March the Duke considered it necessary to return to the subject of the Czar's note, and to his own anxious wish that it should be withheld, till the English Government had time to communicate with Sir Stratford Canning. He was greatly surprised when Count Nesselrode informed him that the note was already sent off. A man less discreet would have fired up at such an announcement; for undoubtedly the proceeding, had it taken place, would have indicated no desire on the Emperor's part to treat England, or her representative, with too much courtesy. But the Duke kept his temper, partly because he suspected that Count Nesselrode had gone beyond the truth, partly because in any case no good could arise from an altercation with that minister. It was a wise determination, and in due time its policy, not less than its wisdom, became manifest; for at a subsequent interview the Emperor assured him that the note was still in his own possession, and that he would do nothing regarding it which might occasion annoyance to one whom he respected and esteemed as he did the Duke of Wellington. Nor was this all. The Emperor agreed to endorse the conditions which the Duke proposed for the pacification of Greece, and on the 4th of April a paper was signed by Count Nesselrode to that effect. By the deed in question, England was authorized to mediate between Turkey and Greece. If the terms of accommodation were accepted, then England and Russia pledged themselves to seek no accession of territory or influence in carrying them into effect. If they were rejected, then the two powers undertook to find some other means of settling the question, subject to the same rule of abnegation in the matter of territory or influence for themselves.

The Duke had gained much: undoubtedly more than ever he expected himself to gain, or than any other diplomatist would have been able to accomplish. He felt his way further, but soon discovered that it was useless. The Czar did not conceal that, come what might, he had designs in Asia which he was determined not to forego; and the Duke considered it unwise, after such an avowal, to irritate by seeking to thwart him. Enough was done in obtaining from him a written

declaration that he would not endeavour to extend his frontier in Europe. In Asia he considered himself free to follow his own course, and the Duke would not take advantage of a word hastily spoken, in the hope of thereby restraining him. But the Duke gained more than all this. He obtained the Emperor's sanction to write at length to Sir Stratford Canning, and to explain that Russia had no intention of going to war with Turkey; and that the Divan was therefore free to consider the propositions which England might make on the subject of the pacification of Greece, with all the calmness and regard for self-respect which the importance of the subject required.

This was the last piece of business which the Duke transacted at St Petersburg, but it was not the last wise and conciliatory proceeding to which he lent himself. In his parting interview with the Czar, which occurred on the 5th of April, he learned that the Emperor was desirous of showing every mark of respect to his brother Constantine, and that it would be gratifying to him if the Duke would go round by Warsaw, so as to visit the Archduke. He cheerfully acceded to the Emperor's wish, and was the guest of the Grand Duke Constantine for portions of three days. A strong impression appears to have been made upon him by all that he saw and heard. Of the Princess Lowitz, the Grand Duke's wife, he spoke as of a very charming woman, the object of whose life it seemed to be to keep the imperial family in concord. The Grand Duke himself was not quite so pleasing. He exhibited signs of dissatisfaction with the state to which circumstances had reduced him, and seemed impatient to escape from it. It was clear, indeed, that the Emperor, if he desired to remain on good terms with his brother, must, for some time at least, humour him in many things, and above all, regulate, as far as might be possible, his foreign policy so as to meet Constantine's wishes. Still the Duke quitted the Russian dominions more and more satisfied that, if England managed her foreign policy with ordinary discretion, there would be no war.

There was a story current at the time, which I have since heard repeated, that at their parting interview the Emperor