dition of their taking certain oaths, as prescribed for others of his Majesty's subjects.

2. He proposed to suspend, for one year, or during the current session of Parliament, the acts requiring members of the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland to take the oath of supremacy, and subscribe a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation.

3. He limited the right of voting in Ireland to freeholders who should pay to the parish, barony, or county cess, or to the whole of them, five pounds sterling or upwards per annum.

4. He stipulated for the means (£300,000 a year) of taking the Roman Catholic clergy into the pay of the state.

5. He required that the Roman Catholic clergy should receive licences from the Crown, countersigned by a Secretary of State, or from the Lord-Lieutenant, countersigned by the Chief Secretary, without which it should not be lawful for them to perform any clerical function in Ireland.

7. He declared that persons officiating without such licence should be deemed guilty of misdemeanor and punished: for the first offence by fine; for the second by fine and imprisonment; for the third by being sent out of his Majesty's dominions.

8. He settled that no convent or monastery, or establishment of regular clergy, or of Jesuits, should, except by his Majesty's licence, be formed within the realm.

There was great boldness, as well as originality, in this scheme; at a final settlement of which, the Duke did not arrive without consultation with men better read than himself in the canon law, and in the customs of the universal Church. As long as points purely political stood to be considered, the Duke was a safe guide for himself; and in case he might distrust his own judgment he had the Lord Chancellor and other eminent constitutional lawyers to consult. In matters directly or indirectly affecting the spiritual rights of the Church of Rome, he was compelled to seek for information elsewhere, and he found it. And here, without

undervaluing the assistance rendered by others, I must be permitted to particularize one correspondent, to whom the Duke made frequent references, and from whom he never failed to receive the clearest and most satisfactory answers. Dr Philpotts, then Dean of Chester, and Rector of Great Stanhope, seems to have mastered the whole subject. To every question proposed by the Duke, he replied by referring to admitted precedents, now in the authoritative works of Romish jurisprudents, now in the acts, by Concordat or otherwise, of continental Sovereigns; and the result was such an accumulation of evidence as left the Duke no reason to distrust the course of legislation on which he proposed to enter. Submitted, in the first instance, to Mr Peel and Lord Lyndhurst, and subsequently to the heads of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Lincoln, Chester, and Oxford, this scheme underwent severe criticism, and many alterations. Mr Peel objected to the raising of the franchise in Ireland, and to the payment of the Irish Roman Catholic priests. The prelates declared that they would never consent to such payment, but were indifferent about everything else. And when other members of the Cabinet came to be consulted, still further difficulties presented themselves. The consequence was, that all the most valuable arrangements in the Duke's bill were struck out; and that nothing was left in the form of security for the rights of the Church, except an oath, which, though taken in the letter, has never been in substance observed, and which is liable at any moment, when the humour of Parliament shall so run, to be abolished altogether.

It is proverbially difficult in private life to keep a secret which has been communicated to more than two persons. It seems impossible to prevent, in public life, the oozing out of matters which are discussed between Sovereigns and their ministers, provided the matters themselves are looked at from different points of view. George IV. had king's friends apart from his constitutional advisers, and the inferior members of the Duke's Administration were not all as reticent as their superiors. Mr George Dawson,

one of the Lords of the Treasury, made a speech at Derry, which cost him his place for the moment, but fell like a thunderbolt upon Ireland. Palace gossip complained that the King was coerced by his too-powerful minister, and England and Scotland were agitated with the fear of coming evils. It was at this juncture, in December, 1828, that Dr Curtis, formerly head of one of the Colleges in Salamanca, but then the Titular Roman Catholic Primate in Ireland, wrote to the Duke, and extracted a reply which, with entire disregard of propriety and honour, he hastened to make public. Then came an imprudent communication from Lord Anglesey to the Catholic Associations, then a proposal from Mr Peel—not now for the first time made—to resign; and finally such an appeal to the patriotism of his colleague by the Duke, as Mr Peel found it impossible to resist. The results are well known. The King, after a vain attempt to form an Administration hostile to the Roman Catholic claims, placed himself, with undisguised reluctance, in the hands of his Cabinet; and on the 4th of February, 1829, the House of Commons was requested in the speech from the throne, first to put down the Catholic Association, and then to consider whether the disabilities under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects laboured could be removed "consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishment in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, of the rights and privileges of the Bishops and of the Clergy of this nation, and of the churches committed to their charge."

How this announcement was received, and what consequences followed,—how the King made one effort more to keep the laws as they were, and failed,—these are points of history which all who desire may investigate for themselves. So are the details of the Duke's duel with Lord Winchelsea, one of the great champions of Protestantism in and out of the House of Lords. Lord Winchelsea had taken an active part in October, 1828, at a public meeting on Penenden Heath, to protest against Catholic Emancipation and to pledge the English people to resist it to the death. He was a subscriber, also, to King's College in London, towards the

building of which the Duke had been a contributor, for the avowed purpose of strengthening the Established Church in the Metropolis. He now withdrew his name from the list of supporters, accompanying that act with a letter to the Standard newspaper in which he violently assailed the Duke's private character. This was carrying political hostility further than the Duke could allow. He obtained from Lord Winchelsea an acknowledgment that the article had been written by him, and then, in a letter, mildly though firmly expressed, requested that the charge in the newspaper should be withdrawn and apologized for. Lord Winchelsea declined to retract and to apologize, and the matter being referred to friends, a hostile meeting was agreed upon. It is a curious feature in this somewhat unfortunate occurrence, that, when the moment for action arrived, it was found that the Duke did not possess a pair of duelling pistols. Considering the length of time which he had spent in the army, and the habits of military society towards the close of last century, that fact bore incontestable evidence to the conciliatory temper and great discretion of the Duke. Sir Henry Hardinge, therefore, who acted as the Duke's friend, was forced to look for pistols elsewhere; and borrowed them at last, he himself being as unprovided as his principal, from Dr Hume, the medical man who accompanied them to the ground.

The details of this remarkable duel are well known. The combatants met in Battersea Fields, now converted into Battersea Park,—the Duke attended by Sir Henry Hardinge, Lord Winchelsea by the Earl of Falmouth,—and Lord Winchelsea, having received the Duke's fire, discharged his pistol in the air. A written explanation was then produced by Lord Winchelsea's second, which the Duke declined to receive unless the term "apology" were introduced into it, and the point being yielded, they separated, as they had met, with cold civility. Long after the events themselves had ceased to occupy public attention, the writer of this history took advantage of the Duke's great kindness to refer to them in one of those confidential conversations with which he was occasionally honoured. The Duke's opinion

respecting the propriety, indeed the necessity, of the course which he followed, on the occasion, had undergone no change. "You speak as a moralist," he observed, smiling, "and I assure you that I am no advocate of duelling under ordinary cirumstances; but my difference with Lord Winchelsea, considering the cause in which it originated, and the critical position of affairs at the moment, can scarcely be regarded as a private quarrel. He refused to me, being the King's minister, what every man in or out of office may fairly claim,—the right to change his views under a change of circumstances on a great public question. He did his best to establish the principle, that a man in my situation must be a traitor, unless he adhere through thick and thin to a policy once advocated. His attack upon me was part of a plan to render the conduct of public affairs impossible to the King's servants. I did my best to make him understand the nature of his mistake, and showed him how he might escape from it. He rejected my advice, and there remained for me only one means of extorting from him an acknowledgment that he was wrong."

"But he behaved well on the ground, at all events; he refused to fire at you."

"Certainly he did not fire at me; and seeing that such was his intention, I turned my pistol aside, and fired wide of him; but that did not make amends for the outrageous charge brought against me in his letter. It was only the admission that the charge was outrageous which at all atoned for that; and it would have been more creditable to him had he made it when first requested to do so, than at last. He behaved, however, with great coolness, and was, and I am sure continues to be, very sorry that he allowed his temper to run away with him."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

DEATH OF GEORGE IV.—STATE OF PARTIES—REVOLUTION IN FRANCE—GENERAL ELECTION—DEATH OF MR HUSKISSON—THE DUKE RESIGNS.

THE passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill broke up the Tory party. All who opposed the measure went into opposition, and in both Houses might by and by be seen sitting and voting together, Peers and members of Parliament who never before took the same view of any one political question. An immense impulse was thereby given to the cause of Parliamentary Reform, and the Duke, who had been quite ready in the case of East Retford to transfer members from a small to a large town, became alarmed at the urgency with which more sweeping propositions were brought forward. There was no struggle during the remainder of the session of 1829. The opposition had not yet consolidated itself, and the Government was cautious. But with 1830 began a strife, which ended in the greatest bloodless revolution which the world has ever witnessed.

It was the Duke's custom during the recess to divide his time between Strathfieldsaye and Walmer Castle, to the wardenship of which, on the death of Lord Liverpool, the King had appointed him. He paid occasional visits also to his friends, and one of these, anxious if possible to bring about a reconciliation between him and the Canningites, invited Mr Huskisson to meet the Duke at his house. Nothing came of the arrangement. Mr Huskisson made no direct advances to the Duke nor the Duke to him, and they parted, as it seemed, on terms, neither friendly

nor the reverse. Mr Huskisson, however, appears to have taken ill the reserve with which he was treated. He had been moderate hitherto, though not friendly, in his place in Parliament. He took an early opportunity in 1830 of going into violent opposition.

The state of Portugal, and the war between Russia and the Porte, ending in the treaty of Adrianople, gave the Duke a good deal of trouble. He made his way through these difficulties, however, by temper and moderation, and on the 4th of February, 1830, met Parliament again. His majorities, not for some time great, began to fall off, and in several trials of minor importance he sustained a check. Meanwhile Mr O'Connell returned to his old trade in Ireland, agitating for a repeal of the Union. In Birmingham, likewise, an uncomfortable spirit began to show itself, and the Political Union, the parent of many similar societies which afterwards sprang up both in England and Scotland, came into existence. Then came repeated motions for Parliamentary Reform, on one of which, introduced by Lord John Russell, the ministerial majority was barely 48. It was the first muttering of the storm which was ere long to burst and carry all before it.

And here let me once more observe that the Duke was neither blind nor indifferent to the abuses which had crept into the constitution. He had a theory of his own concerning nomination boroughs, that they were the main-stay of Imperial, as distinguished from merely British government. But he always spoke with bitterness of the grasping ambition of individuals, who, whether peers or commoners, strove to accumulate them in their own hands. "They are blind," he used to say, "to their own interests, which cannot be separated from those of the state. They do not see that they are perverting to the worst purposes an institution which ought to have been rendered subservient to the best. Instead of leaving these boroughs so distributed, that men of all shades of political opinion, and representing all the great interests of the empire, may, if they possess but talent and character, find their way through them into the House of Commons, they go into the market, and pur-

chase up one after another, with no other end in view than to provide for their own dependents, and promote their own objects. Over and over again it has been pressed upon me to become the proprietor of a borough; but I would have nothing to say to the proposal—I would not dirty my fingers with so vile a job."

The session wore on unsatisfactorily to all parties. A Government, too feeble to attempt great measures, confronted an opposition scarcely prepared to turn them out; and trifling losses and trifling gains marked the progress of the Parliamentary campaign on both sides. At last it came out that the health of George IV. was failing, and on the 26th of June, 1830, he expired. The Duke had not a high opinion of the King's moral qualities. His Majesty's intellectual powers might have been above the average had they received proper cultivation. But even in that respect he fell beneath what his station required, and was often difficult to manage. Yet his death at this crisis of affairs, both at home and abroad, was felt by the Duke and his friends to be a misfortune. An early dissolution became inevitable, and the signs of the times gave small encouragement to anticipate that from a general election the Government would gain strength.

On the 23rd of July the dissolution took place. On the 27th of the same month the French revolution broke out, and on the 30th the elder branch of the House of Bourbon was again in exile. It was impossible but that scenes enacted in a country so near as France should make their influence felt in England. The resistance to the ordinances of Charles X. had been preceded in Normandy and elsewhere by a succession of incendiary fires. In the autumn of 1830, machine-breaking and incendiarism became rife in England, and everywhere an outcry was raised that the Duke was plotting to deprive the nation of its liberties. A general election, carried on during such an excitement as this, could have only one result. Before the Houses met, the most sanguine of their supporters gave up all hope of commanding in the new House of Commons a majority for ministers.

Indifferent so far as he was himself concerned, as to what might happen, yet thoughtful to the last of the interests of the country, the Duke did not lose a single day in recognizing the new Government which the French had set up. He wrote, also, to the other great powers, urging them to follow his example, and if he failed to succeed with the whole of them, he at all events divided them, and so prevented the occurrence of war. Of the revolt of Belgium from Holland, which almost immediately followed, he was less tolerant. He did not believe that the Belgians had been oppressed by their King, and he was reluctant to see the State which he had been mainly instrumental in establishing, destroyed upon false pretences. But before time was given to mature a specific line of action, events befell, which relieved him on that, and on other equally important heads, from further responsibility.

William IV. ascended the throne, happy in the prestige which always attends novelty, and still more so in a character for straightforwardness, which contrasted favourably with what men believed of his predecessor. He went about showing himself everywhere, and achieved immense popularity, especially among the poorer classes. Meanwhile the Duke, occupied as he was, found time in the autumn of this year to take part in a melancholy pageant. The first railway ever used for passenger traffic, that which George Stephenson laid down between Liverpool and Manchester, was about to be opened, and the directors besought the Duke to honour the enterprise with his presence. They who are too young to remember the dawn of what is now a great system, would find it difficult to conceive the amount of interest which was excited by that event. At every table, and nowhere more frequently than at the table of the Duke, men reasoned upon the probable chances of success or failure, and when the Duke himself quitted Walmer, for the purpose of making a personal trial of what was then a mystery, not a few of the guests, whom he left behind, thought with apprehension of the risks to which he was going to expose himself.

They proved little hazardous to him, because he attended

rigidly to the instructions which he received. To another great statesman, less observant of the rules of discipline, they were fatal. Mr Huskisson unfortunately quitted his carriage when the train stopped to take in a supply of water; and losing his presence of mind, while attempting to re-enter it, fell back across the rail, and was killed. The Duke, who saw the accident,—he was indeed the first to go to the assistance of the wounded man,—seems to have been overwhelmed with grief. He described it, on his return to Walmer, as one of the saddest events which, in the course of a career not strange to heart-rending incidents, he had ever witnessed; indeed, there is some reason to believe that the memories associated with this, his first essay, were not without their effect in strengthening, if they did not create, that disinclination to railway travelling which adhered to him ever after. Be this as it may, the fact remains, that in spite of the success which attended the Liverpool and Manchester line, the Duke never could be persuaded, directly or indirectly, to countenance the extension of the system in other quarters. When it was proposed, not long afterwards, to connect Southampton with London by rail, he gave to the project all the opposition in his power; and, more characteristic still, he continued in all his journeys to travel post, till the impossibility of finding horses along the deserted high-roads of Kent and Hampshire compelled him to abandon the practice.

The autumn passed away amid incendiarism in the rural districts, and agitation and discontent in the great towns; and on the 26th of October Parliament met. It soon became evident to the most devoted of their supporters that the ministers had gained nothing from the dissolution. A majority of the English counties, all the large and many of the smaller boroughs, had declared against them; and in Ireland opposition was rampant. Scotland, however, stood by them; and they carried, chiefly by the votes of the Scotch members, both the election of the speaker, and the address in answer to the King's speech. But there their triumphs ended. Lord Grey, in an able but violent speech, having impugned all their measures, as well foreign as domestic, demanded a large measure of Parliamentary Reform, and was

answered by the Duke in terms which, to say the least, were more frank than the occasion required. It seemed, indeed, as if he were anxious to bring the question between himself and his political opponents to an issue. Premising a statement of his general views in an argument too curt, perhaps too subtle, to carry with it much weight, he concluded thus: "I cannot say that I am prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature; but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any situation in the Government of this country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others."

Had the Duke's early years been spent in the British House of Commons, instead of in the command of armies, and the management of foreign governments, he would have avoided any such ill-timed and peremptory announcement. There was no specific motion before Parliament which it had become his duty to consider; neither was a question put to him, as it had been put two years before, pointedly, to Mr Canning. His declaration against reform was therefore gratuitous, and to a certain extent defiant. Now it seldom happens that in free assemblies a tone of defiance is a wise tone; and it becomes especially unwise if the body addressed be dissatisfied, reasonably or unreasonably, with the speaker. No doubt the Duke's argument, taken as a whole, agreed with the interpretation which he subsequently put upon it. It neither pledged, nor was intended to pledge, him against all change. But it fell upon the ears of men who could listen to no statement from him, except in anger, and who gave to it the interpretation which best suited their own purposes. A more wary politician would have avoided a mistake which was as unfortunate to himself as to the country. Unpopular before, he became tenfold more unpopular now, and his speech, commented upon by newspapers and stump orators, spread the contagion into every corner of the empire.

His final blunder of all, for a blunder it undoubtedly was, arose out of that horror of bloodshed, except when some great occasion required, which was constitutional to him. It had been settled that William IV. should dine with the Lord Mayor on the 9th of November. All the preparations

were complete, and the public had been informed of what was about to take place, when a note from the Lord Mayor elect announced that a plot to assassinate the King and the Duke on the way to the Mansion House, had been discovered. The Cabinet met, and came to the conclusion that the Royal visit must be postponed, and the fact of the postponement was made public next day through the newspapers. A furious outburst of political indignation followed. The Duke had done it all. By his arbitrary proceedings he had so disgusted the people, that it was no longer safe for the King to pass through his own capital. The funds fell; trade grew stagnant; more than one speculator became bankrupt. No mercy was shown to the Government in either House of Parliament by the enemy; their friends, either overawed, or from sheer lack of ability, failed to support them as they ought to have done. The Duke listened calmly to the abuse which in the House of Lords was heaped upon him. He did not so much as condescend to reply to it; but he felt, as did his colleagues, that public opinion was against him, and he made up his mind to embrace the first convenient opportunity of retiring from office.

The opportunity thus sought for was not slow in presenting itself. A combination of Tories with Whigs and Ultra Liberals had already decided on the overthrow of the Administration, which it was resolved to effect by placing them in a minority on the bringing up of the civil list. Beyond this, however, the Tories appear never to have looked. They had no plans formed, no arrangements made for constructing a new Administration. In themselves, indeed, they were too weak to grasp at power, and it does not appear that they had so much as opened a negotiation for sharing with their new allies the spoils of office. One master passion ruled them wholly,—they yearned to be avenged on the man whom they had taught themselves to regard as a political traitor; and in order to appease that longing, they gave themselves up to play the game of a party, whose traditions were all antagonistic to their own, and from whom they did not so much as pretend to expect any mercy.

On the 12th of November, the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer brought forward his scheme for the civil list, fixing the amount to be settled on the Crown at £970,000. Several of the details in his project were objected to; and on the 15th, when he asked for his vote, Sir Henry Parnell proposed, and Sir Edward Knatchbull seconded a motion, that the accounts should be submitted to a select committee to be examined. Now this course, though unusual, was not entirely unprecedented. The ministers, without any loss of dignity, might have assented to it; but they had determined to stand or fall on this question, rather than enter, with untried strength, on the still more formidable contest with which they were threatened. For Mr Brougham's notice of motion for leave to bring in a Parliamentary Reform Bill lay on the table; and whatever the nature of his scheme might be, they shrank from opposing it till they should have succeeded in beating their enemies in a fair stand-up fight on some less critical point. The battle was accordingly fought on the civil-list question, and it ended unfavourably for the Government; ministers were defeated in a full house, by a majority of 29.

The blow was struck, and none recoiled from it more immediately than the section of angry Tories, who were mainly instrumental in delivering it. They had achieved their purpose, and stood aghast; for no time was lost with the Duke in placing his resignation in the hands of the King; and on the 16th the Lords were informed by him, the Commons by Mr, now Sir Robert, Peel, that ministers held office only till their successors should be appointed.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REFORM BILL — DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT — THE DUKE'S WINDOWS BROKEN —THE BILL THROWN OUT IN THE LORDS—RIOTS IN LONDON—THE DUKE'S LIFE THREATENED AT DEAL.

It is perhaps natural that a minister retiring from office in times of strong excitement, should take very gloomy views of the state of those public affairs which he had not himself been permitted to guide. To the Duke, now nothing more than a peer of Parliament, visions of the darkest hue were continually present. He saw the political unions in England and Scotland acquiring from day to day more perfect organization and a wider influence. In Ireland, Mr O'Connell appeared to be raised above the control of law, for Lord Grey's Government, though it obtained a verdict of sedition against him, shrank from inflicting the penalty. All this seemed to the Duke's excited imagination to indicate that the new Cabinet was prepared to go to the utmost lengths, in order to conciliate the democracy; on which, indeed, and on which alone, he conceived that it would be driven in the end to rely. Nor were the prospects which met him while contemplating the condition of the continent, and the probable line to be taken by England in dealing with foreign powers, more satisfactory. He had gone down to Walmer immediately on surrendering the seals of office, and he remained there during the brief recess which followed. A small circle of intimate friends were with him, and his conversation

throughout was more grave and subdued than on any previous occasion I remember it to have been. "I don't see how these men are to carry on the government," he used to say, "so as to maintain order at home or peace abroad. It's very well for Lord Grey to talk about standing out for reform, retrenchment, and non-intervention. Reform, as he calls it, he may or may not get; retrenchment I'll defy him to carry farther than we have done, unless he sacrifice the great institutions of the country; and as to non-intervention,—with all the sympathies of his party enlisted on the side of democracy, that is in his case impossible. Mark my words; you'll see the Belgian insurrection taken up, and a French army in the Netherlands before many months are over; and then, if Austria, Russia, and Prussia move, what is to save Europe from a renewal of scenes which no man who has once taken part in them would ever desire to witness again?"

"But they are acting vigorously in the matter of the rural disturbances, at all events, and Mr Stanley seems determined to stop the agitator's career in Ireland."

"They are doing in the rural districts the work which we had begun, and handed over to them; but what do you say to their intimacy with the political unions? Do you think they will be able to lay the storm which they have raised in Birmingham, Leeds, and Glasgow; or prevent it from sweeping away all the safeguards of the constitution? As to O'Connell, depend upon it that whatever Mr Stanley may wish to do, Mr Stanley's masters have other uses to make of the great O, than to gag him."

Parliament met after the recess in February, 1831, and that struggle immediately began which ended, more than a year afterwards, in the passing of the Reform Bill. To the bill in question the Duke, as is well known, offered at every stage all the resistance in his power. He regarded it as the first great step in a course of policy which, whether designedly or not, must destroy the constitution; and he wrote and spoke about it as men are apt to do about a terrible calamity when it is impending. Had he been in a position,

before the bill was introduced, to advise with the authority, which at a later period was conceded to him, the House of Commons would have refused to consider it at all. Had the old Tory party, when the second reading came on, been capable of holding the balance even between their convictions and their passions, the House would have rejected it then. But the ministers had made their arrangements with such prudent secrecy, that when first offered to the legislature, it took all parties by surprise; while the debate on the second reading showed, that among such as were offended with it, there were many who preferred it to the thought of bringing back the Duke and his friends to power. Hence ministers succeeded in affirming the principle of their measure by a narrow majority of nine. And when the House in committee began to cavil at details they at once dissolved. How all this was brought about, with what violence of language in-doors and out; how the political unions and the newspapers supported the ministers, and the multitude shouted for the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, these are matters which have long since passed into history. It is not, therefore, my purpose to give any detailed account of them here, but rather to confine myself, as closely as I can, to the influence which they exercised over the Duke's personal proceedings, and the position in which they left him when the storm blew over.

The Duke was not in his place in the House of Lords on that memorable day when the King went down to dissolve Parliament. He had been in attendance for some time previously at the sick bed of the Duchess, and she expired just as the Park guns began to fire. He was, therefore, ignorant of the state into which London had fallen, till a surging crowd swept up from Westminster to Piccadilly, shouting, and yelling, and offering violence to all whom they suspected of being anti-reformers. By and by volleys of stones came crashing through the windows at Apsley House, breaking them to pieces and doing injury to more than one valuable picture in the gallery. The Duke bore the outrage as well as he could, but determined never to run a similar risk again. He guarded his windows, as soon

as quiet was restored, with iron shutters, and left them there to the day of his death, a standing memento of a nation's ingratitude.

The violence of the mob, and the apparent complicity of the Government in its proceedings, put an end at once to the hesitation of the old Tories. Mortifying it might be to find themselves again under the leadership of one whom they had so recently expelled from office. But the evil, though serious, was less than that with which they seemed to be threatened. A majority of them, therefore, besought him once more to place himself at their head. The members of his own party generally stood by him, and not a few outsiders, public men who had formerly been Whigs, private persons who had never before taken any part in politics, proffered to him their allegiance, and undertook to work for him. Encouraged by an appearance of what he called a return to reason, the Duke in the teeth of such a majority as had never before supported a Government in the House of Commons, determined to resist the progress of the bill. He fought for delay, hoping, and indeed persuading himself, that if time only could be gained, such a reaction might occur in the country, as would enable him to take the measure out of the hands which now directed it, and deliver it from some of its most objectionable features. Standing up, however, as he did, for constitutional government, he refused to fight even that battle except on constitutional grounds. Being invited by Lord Wharncliffe, before the writs for the new Parliament were issued, to meet a body of conservative Peers and consult with them as to the course to be pursued, he declined to take part in the proceeding. "The Peers," he wrote, "have been dissolved as a House of Parliament, and if they meet as invited, they will meet as peers without his Majesty's authority, and contrary to his inclination, to discuss his last act in relation to themselves." This, in the Duke's opinion, would have been a measure neither becoming nor judicious. In like manner, while he counselled his friends in the House of Commons to resist the measure clause by clause, and to protract the struggle to the utmost, he prepared the Lords for throwing

out the bill when it came to them; and this they accordingly did on the second reading, by a majority of 40. Parliament was thereupon prorogued, and there followed, both in town and country, such a series of outrages as cannot now be spoken of except with shame. The burning of the Castle of Nottingham, and the sack of Bristol, were but specimens of what mobs will do when excited to violence by appeals to their passions, and set free, as they imagine, from the restraints of law.

I am not aware that on this occasion the Duke suffered any personal indignity. He quitted London immediately on the prorogation, and spent, if I recollect right, a few days at Hatfield. But the business of the Cinque Ports required his presence at Walmer, and he gave notice of the day and hour of his coming. Now Deal, poor as it was, had caught the infatuation of the hour, and as I lived in the neighbourhood of Deal at that time, and happened to be in the Commission of the Peace for the county of Kent, more came to my knowledge of what my neighbours were doing than might otherwise have reached me. One evening, after dusk, a person, wrapped in a seaman's great-coat, was ushered into my study. I knew him, for he was a character in his way. During the French war he had played the part of a spy, while carrying on with the connivance of Government a smuggling trade with the opposite coast; and he now lived, though not in affluence, upon his savings. He was the bearer that evening of information which I certainly did not credit, but which it was my duty to convey to the Duke, and which I conveyed to him accordingly. A plot, it was said, had been concocted in one of the low public-houses for attacking the Duke's carriage when it should arrive at a lonely part of the road between Sandwich and the Deal turnpike. The answer which I received by return of post was very characteristic. Information of this plot had been communicated to the Duke from Dover also. For his own part, he always distrusted the stories of spies, who were apt either to invent tales to suit their own purposes, or to be active in getting up the plots which they afterwards betrayed. He had written to the Mayor of Dover, and informed him

that duty required his presence at Walmer, and to Walmer he had determined to go. It was the business of the Government and of the magistrates to protect the King's subjects, particularly when travelling on his Majesty's service. He should, however, instead of setting out at 10 o'clock, as he had intended, leave London at six on the following morning, and he suspected that they who molested him on the road, would come second best out of the collision, if a collision should occur.

All this was good as far as it went, but several gentlemen in the neighbourhood conceived, as well as myself, that the Duke's life was too precious to be exposed to the smallest risk. Next morning, therefore, I rode to meet him, which I did between the villages of Wingham and Ash, when he begged me to come into his carriage while his servant rode my horse. At Sandwich we changed horses, and soon after passing through the town, overtook eight well-mounted men of Kent, who immediately broke into two parties, four riding about 100 yards in front of the carriage, while the others followed. They all carried heavy hunting whips, and were besides armed with pistols, as I found were likewise the Duke himself and his servant. But no enemy appeared. The carriage swept up to the old castle gate, and the voluntary escort, having seen the Duke safe, dispersed without attracting attention.

Probably at no period of his life was the Duke engaged in a more voluminous correspondence than during the months which intervened between the prorogation and the re-assembling of the present Parliament. Not content with sitting down to his desk as early as six in the morning, I have seen him, when the castle was full of guests, go on with his letter-writing after dinner in the drawing-room, either regardless of the buzz of conversation which passed around him, or else stopping from time to time to take part in it. And yet, cheerful and good-humoured as he was, he could not quite forget that the very men who now turned to him for advice, were in many instances those who had driven him out of office. "You see how they come about me," he once observed; "they were never satisfied till they