HOLY ALLIANCE.

INTRODUCTION.

HOLY ALLIANCE—EMPEROR ALEXANDER—LORD CASTLEREAGH—MR. HORNER.

Soon after the settlement of affairs subsequent to the battle of Waterloo, the three sovereigns who had borne the principal part in the military operations by which the war was closed, entered into certain engagements with each other by a Convention, the object of which they asserted to be the preservation of the peace just concluded. They named this the "Christian Treaty," and their alliance the "Christian Alliance;" but it soon came to be called by the world, as well as by the parties themselves, the "Holy Alliance." It bore date at Paris, the 26th September, 1815; and is certainly a document of a very singular description, and of a most suspicious character. The contracting parties, the two Emperors and the Prussian King, begin by acknowledging their obligations to Heaven for their late deliverance, and stating that the inference drawn by them from thence, is the necessity of rulers forming their conduct upon the "sublime truths" which "the holy religion of our Saviour teaches," and they further declare, that they have no other object in this treaty than to proclaim before the world their resolution to take for their guide the precepts of the Christian religion—namely justice, charity, and peace. The articles of the Treaty are three. In the first, the parties bind themselves to remain united as brethren in the "bond of true and indissoluble fraternity," "to lend each other aid and assistance as fellow-countrymen, on all occasions and in all places, and conducting themselves towards their armies and subjects as fathers of families, to lead them in the same spirit of fraternity to protect religion, peace, and justice." The second article declares the only principle in force between the
three Governments to be, "doing each other reciprocal service and testifying mutual good-will;" and it avows that they all form branches of "one family, one Christian nation, having in reality no other sovereign than him in whom alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom; that is to say, God our Divine Saviour, the word of the Most High, the word of life." The article concludes with earnestly recommending to their people the "strengthening themselves more and more every day in the principles and the exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught mankind."—The third article announces, that whatever Powers shall "solemnly avow the same sacred principles, and acknowledge the importance of the above truths being suffered to exercise full influence over the destinies of mankind, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance." Contrary to all the accustomed forms of diplomacy, the treaty was only signed by the three monarchs themselves, without any mention whatever being made of ambassadors, ministers, or other representatives, as engaged in the negotiation.

When this extraordinary transaction came to be known, it naturally excited great attention, and gave birth to many suspicions. That these powerful monarchs should make a treaty for no other purpose than to avow their religious fervour, and preach the Christian doctrine for the benefit of their subjects, and should form an alliance, having no other object than to profess together those doctrines, and in concert to practice them, seemed altogether unaccountable. This, of itself, would have been sufficient to awaken grave suspicions that much more was meant by this confederacy than met the eye. But to this was to be added the previous relations of alliance, offensive and defensive, which had subsisted between the same princes, and far from ending in sermons upon the duties of a Christian man, had brought into the field of battle above half a million of Christian men in full armour. There were indeed some parts of this curious document itself, which pointed pretty plainly at operations of the flesh rather than the spirit, and gave indications sufficiently manifest of the designs in which it originated, or at any rate of the proceedings to which it might lead. The first and fundamental article bound the parties to lead their armies in the spirit of fraternity, for the protection of religion, peace, and justice. Now, under a description so very vague and large as this, almost any objects might be comprehended; and men did not fail to remark, that there had hardly ever been a war of the most unjust ag-
gression begun without lavish professions that its only design was to see justice done, and obtain a secure and honourable peace.

Against these very natural suspicions, nothing could be set except the pious language of the treaty, which of course went for little, and the peculiar character of the Emperor Alexander, its chief promoter, which went for not much more. This Prince was said to have lately become a convert to some sect of religious enthusiasts, a distinguished Professor among whom was a certain Madame Krudener, one of those mystical devotees, half evangelical, half metaphysical, with which Germany abounds. The Alliance was represented as the result of this holy female's inspirations, and the first fruits of her influence over the Autocratic neophyte. The phrase was, and Lord Castlereagh, when questioned in Parliament, gave the matter this turn, that the whole was a mere innocent act, an amiable fancy of his Imperial Majesty, in which England and France were only prevented from joining, by the forms of their diplomacy excluding direct negotiation and treating by the Sovereign, but which, as it could not possibly lead to any practical consequences, was not worth objecting to, or commenting upon.

The Emperor Alexander, upon whose individual nature, habits, or caprices, this explanation and defence turned, was, after the fall of Napoleon, by far the most distinguished Prince in Europe, whether we regard the magnitude of the affairs in which he had been engaged, the extraordinary fortune that had attended his arts rather than his arms, or the vast empire over which he despotically ruled. But although by no means an ordinary man, and still less an ordinary monarch, he owed his influence and his name very much more to the accidental circumstances of his position, and to the errors committed by Napoleon, first in Spain, then in the North, than either to any very admirable personal qualities received from nature, or to any considerable accomplishments derived from education. His preceptor, Colonel La Harpe, though a very worthy and intelligent man, was distinguished neither by profound genius, nor great scientific acquirements; and from his instructions the Imperial pupil could not be said to have profited greatly. His knowledge was exceedingly superficial; and never relying on his own resources, he adopted the Royal plan of previously ascertaining what were the pursuits of those he would converse with, and picking up at second-hand a few common-places with which to regale his guests, who, expecting little from an Emperor, and interdicted from anything like discussion by the etiquette of a court, were sure to leave
the presence deeply impressed with his information and his powers. If he was superficial in general knowledge, he could not be said to have any great capacity either for civil or military affairs. To tell that he constantly pursued the Russian policy, of invariably gaining some accession of territory, be it ever so little, in whatever war he might be engaged, and that his treaties of peace never formed any exception to this and Moscovite rule, is only to say that he followed in the train of all his predecessors from Peter the First downwards. Placed in circumstances of unprecedented peril, no passage of his life can be referred to in proof of any resources being displayed by him, which the most ordinary of Princes would not have shewn himself possessed of. Stimulated by the exigenencies of so many great emergencies, he never rose with the occasion, and unlike any one with pretensions to eminence, was generally found most wanting when the crisis was the most trying. At his accession, he found the armed neutrality of the North disconfited by the battle of Copenhagen; and he at once yielded all the points for which his father, a far superior though an eccentric man, had contended, unawed by any difficulties, and unsubdued reveres. Joining the third coalition against France, but possessing no General who like Suwarrow could lead his armies to victory, he sustained one of the most memorable overthrows recorded in history, and was compelled to purchase peace, and escape invasion, by abandoning the alliance into which he had voluntarily entered. Stricken to the heart with the fear of France, and hardly knowing whither to seek for safety in resistance or in submission to her dictation, he again had recourse to war, for which he had no kind of genius. Again defeated in one of the greatest and most decisive battles of modern times, he formed the closest alliance with his victorious enemy, who soon found it easy to mould which way soever he pleased a person quite as vain and as shallow as he was nimble and plausible. At length came the great crisis both of Alexander's fate and of the world's. Napoleon, obstinately bent on subduing the Peninsula, while he continued to make war in the North, was worsted repeatedly by the English arms; pushed his forces in unexampled numbers through Germany, to attack the Russian Empire; and penetrated to its ancient capital, after many bloody engagements, and an immense loss sustained on either side. The savage determination of Rostopschin prevented, by burning the city, a renewal on the Moskwa of the scenes five years before enacted on the Niemen. Alexander was prevented from making peace
and tendering submission, by the enterprising spirit of that barbarous chief, and the prompt decision and resolute determination of Sir Robert Wilson. The inclemency of an unusual by early and severe northern winter did all the rest, and Europe was saved by the physical powers brought happily to bear upon and to destroy the greatest army ever sent into the field.* No trait of military genius—no passage of civil capacity—no instance of shining public virtue—can be displayed by him during a struggle so singularly calculated to draw forth men's powers, to fire them with generous arbour, to nerve their arms with new vigour, to kindle the sparks of latent genius until it blazed out to enlighten and to save a world.

When the struggle was over, and his empire restored to peace, he shewed no magnanimous gratitude to the brave people who had generously made such unparalleled sacrifices, and had cheerfully suffered such cruel miseries for the defence of his crown. He joined his royal associates in breaking all the promises that had been made during the perils of the war; and in imitating the very worst part of his conduct whom, with the words of justice, peace, and right on their lips, they had, with the aid of their gallant subjects, overthrown. His shallow vanity was displayed during the visit of the Princes to England. When, among other party leaders, Lord Grenville was presented to him, he thought it was hitting on an excellent improvement in the conduct of party concerns, to recommend that, instead of urging objections in Parliament to the ministerial measures, the the Opposition should seek private audiences of their adversaries from time to time, and confidently offer their objections, or propose their amendments. Nor was this vain and superficial Prince made at all sensible of the folly he had committed, by the somewhat peremptory negative which a few characteristic words and gestures of the veteran party man suddenly put upon his shallow and ignorant scheme. Although the Emperor repeatedly testified a somewhat marked disrespect for our Regent, he yet suffered himself to be overpowered by the Carlton House emissaries, and avoided the ordinary ci-

* There are few things more finely imagined than a passage written by the late eloquent and ingenious Mr. John Scott upon this great event. After describing the vast bustle and painful efforts of the military preparations and exertions which left the whole affair undecided, he notes the mighty contrast presented by the still and sublime energies of nature—Flakes of a white substance, during a few hours, fall through the air in deep silence, and all is settled for ever.

Hi motus animorum, atque haec certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt.

This is the same gentleman who wrote the paper on Military Punishments, for which the Hunts and Mr. Diakard were prosecuted.
civility of visiting the Princess of Wales, then, as always, the object of her royal husband's unceasing persecutions. The English people drew from thence a conclusion highly unfavourable to the independence of his character, as well as to the kindliness of his nature; and he made quite as little impression upon them as his more unpretending, though certainly not much less distinguished brother of Prussia.

His reputation for honesty stood extremely low, even among persons of his pre-eminent station. Napoleon, who knew his imperial brother thoroughly, applied to him the uncourteously, and indeed rather unceremonious description of "faux, fin et fourbe, comme un Grec du bas empire." It would be highly unjust to tax him with any participation in his father's murder; nor would the certainty, if it existed, of his privity to it, be any stain upon his character, unless we were also assured, contrary to all probability, that he had any power whatever to prevent it. But he was certainly bound in common decency to discountenance, if he dared not punish, the men whose daggers had opened for him the way to a throne; and more unthinking folly, greater indecorum, worse judgment in every way, can hardly be imagined, than his referring to the blood shed in palaces, when he issued, with his confederates, the Manifesto against Spain, alluded to in the following speech. His course was marked by no displays either of princely or of private virtues,—of munificence, of magnanimity, of self-denial, of plain-dealing. Nor did the extraordinary pretences to religion, which marked his latter years, succeed in deceiving any one, but such as were, either from the adulation of the Court, or the enthusiasm of the Conventicle, willing and even anxious to be deluded. Among such dupes, he passed for somewhat more pious than his royal compeers; but few were, even in that class, found so charitable as to believe in his honesty, or to suppose that under the professions of the Christian treaty, there lurked no hidden designs of a purely secular and strictly royal description.*

The denial first, the explanation afterwards, finally the defence of the Holy Alliance, devolved upon one who had been the associate of the three Sovereigns in that distribution of European dominion, which their unlooked for good fortune, arising principally from a severe winter and Napoleon's obstinate ambition, had thrown into their hands. Lord Castlereagh seemed still less intended by nature to bear the part which fell to his share in such mighty transac-

* The selection of such eminent diplomatic talents as adorn and distinguish the Liévriers and the Pozzos, appears to have been his greatest mistake.
tions, than the Allied Princes themselves. That we should have lived to see, twice over, the march to Paris, which for so many years had been the bye-word for a military impossibility, and long after events seemed to have rendered the idea still more absurd than when its first promulgation clothed the propounder in never-dying ridicule, was indeed sufficiently marvellous. But it appeared, if possible, yet more incredible, that we should witness Lord Castlereagh entering the House of Commons, and resuming amidst universal shouts of applause, the seat which he had quitted for a season to attend as a chief actor in the new arrangement of Continental territory, the restoration of old monarchies and the creation of new, when Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, had never even aspired to more than rescuing their own country from the war without positive disgrace, and even Mr. Burke had only looked to the restoration of the Bourbon throne by the efforts of the French themselves, and had been treated as a visionary for indulging in so wild a hope.

Few men of more limited capacity, or more meagre acquirements than Lord Castlereagh possessed, had before his time ever risen to any station of eminence in our free country; fewer still have long retained it in a State, where mere Court intrigue and princely favour have so little to do with men's advancement. But we have lived to see persons of more obscure merit than Lord Castlereagh rise to equal station in this country. Of sober and industrious habits, and become possessed of business-like talents by long experience, he was a person of the most common place abilities. He had a reasonable quickness of apprehension and clearness of understanding, but nothing brilliant or in any way admirable marked either his conceptions or his eloquence. Nay, to judge of his intellect by his eloquence, we should certainly have formed a very unfair estimate of its perspicacity. For, though it was hardly possible to underrate its extent or comprehensiveness, it was very far from being confused and perplexed in the proportion of his sentences; and the listener who knew how distinctly the speaker could form his plans, and how clearly his ideas were known to himself, might, comparing small things with great, be reminded of the prodigious contrast between the distinctness of Oliver Cromwell's understanding, and the hopeless confusion and obscurity of his speech. No man, besides, ever attained the station of a regular debater in our Parliament with such an entire want of all classical accomplishment, or indeed of all literary provision whatsoever. While he never shewed the least symptoms of an information extending beyond the more
recent volumes of the Parliamentary Debates, or possibly
the files of the newspapers only, his diction set all imitation,
perhaps all description, at defiance. It was with some an
amusement to beguile the tedious hours of their unavoidable
attendance upon the poor, tawdry, ravelled thread of his
sorry discourse, to collect a kind of ana from the fragments of
mixed, incongruous, and disjointed images that frequently ap-
peared in it. "The features of the clause"—"the ignorant
impatience of the relaxation of taxation"—"sets of circum-
stances coming up and circumstances going down"—"men
turning their backs upon themselves"—"the honourable
and learned gentlemen's wedge getting into the loyal feelings
of the manufacturing classes"—"the constitutional principle
wound up in the bowels of the monarchical principle"—
"the Herculean labour of the honourable and learned mem-
ber, who will find himself quite disappointed when he has at
least brought forth his Hercules"—(by a slight confounding
of the mother's labour, who produced that hero, with his own
exploits which gained him immortality)—these are but a
few, and not the richest samples, by any means, of a rhetoric
which often baffled alike the gravity of the Treasury Bench
and the art of the Reporter, and left the wondering audi-
ence at a loss to conjecture how any one could ever exist,
edowed with humbler pretensions to the name of orator.
Wherefore, when the Tory party "having a devil," pre-
ferred him to Mr. Canning for their leader, all men natu-
rally expected that he would entirely fail to command even
the attendance of the House while he addressed it; and
that the benches, empty during his time would only be re-
plenished when his highly gifted competitor rose. They were
greatly deceived; they underrated the effect of place and
power; they forgot that the representative of a government
speaks "as one having authority, and not as the scribes." But
they also forgot that Lord Castlereagh had some quali-
ties well fitted to conciliate favour, and even to provoke
admiration, in the absence of every thing like eloquence.
He was a bold and fearless man; the very courage with
which he exposed himself unabashed to the most critical
audience in the world, while incapable of uttering two sen-
tences of any thing but the meanest matter, in the most
wretched language; the gallantry with which he faced the
greatest difficulties of a question; the unflinching perseve-
rance with which he went through a whole subject, leaving
untouched not one of its points, whether he could grapple
with it or no, and not one of the adverse arguments, however
forcibly and felicitously they had been urged, neither daunt-
ed by recollecting the impression just made by his antagonist's brilliant display, nor damped by consciousness of the very rags in which he now presented himself—all this made him upon the whole rather a favourite with the audience whose patience he was taxing mercilessly, and whose gravity he ever and anon put to a very severe trial. Nor can any one have forgotten the kind of pride that mantled on the fronts of the Tory phalanx, when after being overwhelmed with the powerful fire of the Whig opposition, or galled by the fierce denunciations of the Mountain, or harassed by the splendid displays of Mr. Canning, their chosen leader stood forth, and presenting the graces of his eminently patrician figure, flung open his coat, displayed an azure ribbon traversing a snow white chest, and declared "his high satisfaction that he could now meet the charges against him face to face, and repel with indignation all that his adversaries had been bold and rash enough to advance."

Such he was in debate; in council he certainly had far more recourses. He possessed a considerable fund of plain sense, not to be misled by any refinement of speculation, or clouded by any fanciful notion. He went straight to his point;—he was brave politically as well as personally. Of this, his conduct on the Irish Union had given abundant proof; and nothing could be more just than the rebuke which, as connected with the topic of personal courage, we may recollect his administering to a great man who had passed the limits of Parliamentary courtesy—"Every one must be sensible," he said, "that if any personal quarrel were desired, any insulting language used publicly, where it could not be met as it deserved, was the way to prevent and not to produce such a rencontre."—No one after that treated him with disrespect. The complaints made of his Irish administration were perfectly well grounded as regarded the corruption of the Parliament by which he accomplished the Union; but they were entirely unfounded as regarded the cruelties practised during and after the Rebellion. Far from partaking in these atrocities, he uniformly and strenuously set his face against them. He was of a cold temperament and determined character, but not of a cruel disposition; and to him, more than perhaps to any one else, was owing the termination of the system stained with blood.

His foreign administration was as destitute of all merit as possible. No enlarged views guided his conduct; no liberal principles claimed his regard; no generous sympathies, no grateful feelings for the people whose sufferings and whose valour had accomplished the restoration of their national in-
dependence, prompted his tongue, when he carried forth from the land of liberty that influence which she had a right to exercise,—she who had made such vast sacrifices, and was never in return to reap any the least selfish advantage. The representative of England among those Powers whom her treasure and her arms had done so much to save, he sought to have held the language becoming a free state, and claimed for justice and for liberty the recognition which we had the better right to demand, that we gained nothing for ourselves after all our sufferings, and all our expenditure of blood as well as money. Instead of this, he flung himself at once and forever into the arms of the sovereigns—seemed to take a vulgar pride in being suffered to become their associate—appeared desirous, with the vanity of an up-start elevated unexpectedly into higher circles, of forgetting what he had been, and qualifying himself for the company he now kept, by assuming their habits,—and never pronounced any of those words so familiar with the English nation and with English statesmen, in the mother tongue of a limited monarchy, for fear they might be deemed low-bred, and unsuited to the society of crowned heads, in which he was living, and to which they might prove as distasteful as they were unaccustomed.

It is little to be wondered at, that those potentates found him ready enough with his defence of their Holy Alliance. When it was attacked in 1816, he began by denying that it meant anything at all. He afterwards explained it away as a mere pledge of pacific intentions, and a new security for the stability of the settlement made by the Congress of Vienna. Finally, when he was compelled to depart from the monstrous principles of systematic interference to which it gave birth, and to establish which it was originally intended, he made so tardy, so cold, so reluctant a protest against the general doctrine of the allies, that the influence of England could not be said to have been exerted at all in behalf of national independence, even if the protest had been unaccompanied with a carte blanche to the Allies for all the injuries they were offering to particular states in the genuine spirit of the system protested against. The allies issued from Troppau one manifesto, from Leybach another, against the free constitution which had just been established at Naples by a military force co-operating with a movement of the people. On the eve of the Parliament meeting (19th Jan. 1821,) Lord Castlereagh delivered a note to the Holy Allies expressing in feeble and measured terms a very meagre dissent from the principle of interferences but adding a
peremptory disapproval of the means by which the Neapolitan revolution had been effected, and indicating very plainly that England would allow whatever they chose to do for the purpose of putting down the new government and restoring the old. It is certain that this kind of Revolution is of all others the very worst, and to liberty the most unpromising. It is also probable that the people of Naples knew not what they sought; nay, when they proclaimed the Spanish Constitution, it is said there was no copy of it to be found in the whole city. Nevertheless the same kind of military movement had produced the destruction of the same constitution in Spain, and restored the power and prerogative of Ferdinand, and no exception had been ever taken to it, in that instance, either by the Holy Allies or by England. There could therefore be no doubt whatever, that this mode of effecting changes in a government was only displeasing to those parties when the change happened to be of a popular kind, and that a military revolution to restore or to found a despotic government, was a thing perfectly to their liking. Thus faintly dissented from as to the principle, and not even faintly opposed as to the particular instance, the three sovereigns deputed one of their number to march, and the Austrian troops ended, in a few days, all that the Neapolitan army had done in as many hours.

But late in 1822, Spain, or rather Madrid, again became the scene of a revolutionary movement; and people obtained once more a free form of government. Again the Holy Allies were at work; and, on this occasion, their manifestos were directed to arm France with the authority of the League. First, an army was assembled on the Spanish frontier, under the stale pretext of some infectious disorder requiring a sanitary cordon; the same pretext on which the predecessors of the Holy Allies had in former times surrounded unhappy Poland with their armed hordes—the only difference being, that an epidemic was in that instance said to be raging among the cattle, and now it was supposed to be the plague among men. A great change had, however, now taken place in the British department of Foreign affairs. Lord Castlereagh's sudden death had changed Mr. Canning's Indian destination, and placed him both at the head of the Foreign Office, and in the lead of the House of Commons. His views were widely different from those of his predecessor. He was justly jealous of the whole principles and policy of the Holy Alliance; he was disgusted with the courtly language of the crafty and cruel despots who, under the mask of re-
ligious zeal, were enslaving Europe; he was indignant at the subservient part in those designs which England had been playing; and he was resolved that this obsequiousness should no longer disgrace his country. In America, he was determined that the colonies of Spain should be recognised as clothed with the independence which they had purchased by their valour; in Europe, he was fixed in the design of unchaining England from the chariot wheels of the Holy Allies. When Parliament met, the speech from the Throne contained some indications of these principles; and more were given by the ministerial speakers who began the debate on the address. The following speech was delivered on that occasion by Mr. Brougham, who had, almost unsupported, seven years before, denounced the Holy Alliance, and moved for the production of the Christian Treaty of September 1815, which Lord Castlereagh, on the pretences already described, had refused.

Although on that earlier occasion he had met with hardly any support from the regular leaders of the Whig party, he had yet obtained the countenance, to him of all others the most grateful, of Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Horner. Of the former, opportunity has already been given to speak; it is fit something should here be said of the latter, upon an occasion certainly connected with that on which he made the most remarkable of the displays that own for him the admiration of the House of Commons, and made the sorrow for a loss, as premature as it was irreparable, the more lasting.

Mr. Horner having entered public life without any advantage of rank or fortune, had in a very short time raised himself to a high place among the members of the Whig party, (to which he was attached alike from sincere conviction, and from private friendship with its chiefs,) by the effect of a most honourable and virtuous character in private life, a steady adherence to moderate opinions in politics, talents of a very high order, and information at once accurate and extensive upon all subjects connected with state affairs. Not that his studies had been confined to these; for his education, chiefly at Edinburgh, had been most liberal, and had put him in possession of far more knowledge upon the subjects of general philosophy, than falls to the lot of most English statesmen. All the departments of moral science he had cultivated in an especial manner; and he was well grounded in the exacter sciences, although he had not pursued these with the same assiduity. The profession of the law, which he followed, rather disciplined his mind than distracted it from the more attractive and elegant pursuits of
literary leisure; and his taste, the guide and control of eloquence, was manly and chaste, erring on the safer side of fastidiousness. Accordingly, when he joined his party in Parliament, his oratory was of a kind which never failed to produce a very great effect, and he only did not reach the highest place among debaters, because he was cut off prematurely, while steadily advancing upon the former successes of his career. For although in the House of Commons he had never given the reins to his imagination, and had rather confined himself to powerful argument and luminous statement than indulged in declamation, they who knew him, and had heard him in other debates, were aware of his powers as a declamer, and expected the day which should see him shining in the more ornamental parts of oratory. The great question of the Currency had been thoroughly studied by him at an early period of life, when the writings of Mr. Henry Thornton and Lord King first opened men's eyes to the depreciation which Mr. Pitt's ill-starred policy had occasioned. With the former he had partaken of the doubts by which his work left the question overcast in 1802; the admirable and indeed decisive demonstration of the latter in the next year, entirely removed those doubts; and Mr. Horner, following up the able paper upon the subject, which he had contributed to the Edinburgh Review at its first appearance, with a second upon Lord King's work, avowed his conversion, and joined most powerfully with those who asserted that the currency had been depreciated, and the metallic money displaced by the inconvertible Bank paper. In 1810, he moved for that famous Bullion Committee, whose labours left no doubt upon the matter in the minds of any rational person endowed with even a tolerable clearness of understanding; and the two speeches which he made, upon moving his resolutions the year after, may justly be regarded as finished models of eloquence applied to such subjects. The fame which they acquired for him was great, solid, lasting; and though they might be surpassed, they were certainly not eclipsed, by the wonderful resources of close argument, profound knowledge, and brilliant oratory, which Mr. Canning brought to bear upon the question, and of which no one more constantly than Mr. Horner acknowledged the transcendent merits.

When the subject of the Holy Alliance was brought forward by Mr. Brougham, early in the session of 1816, Mr. Horner, who had greatly distinguished himself on all the questions connected with what the Ministers pleasantly called "the final settlement of Europe," during the absence of the
former from Parliament, was now found honestly standing by his friend, and almost alone of the regular Whig party declared his belief in the deep-laid conspiracy, which the hypocritical phrases and specious pretences of the Allies were spread out to cover. The part he took upon the debate to which the treaties gave rise, shewed that there was no portion of the famous arrangements made at Vienna, to which he had not sedulously and successfully directed his attention. His speech on that occasion was admitted to be one of the best ever delivered in Parliament; and it was truly refreshing to hear questions of Foreign Policy, useally discussed with the superficial knowledge, the narrow and confused views to be expected in the productions of ephemeral pens, now treated with a depth of calm reflection, an enlarged perception of relations, and a provident forethought of consequences, only exceeded by the spirit of freedom and justice which animated the whole discourse, and the luminous clearness of statement which made its drift plain to every hearer.

But this able, accomplished, and excellent person was now approaching the term assigned to his useful and honourable course by the mysterious dispensations under which the world is ruled. A Complication of extraordinary maladies soon afterwards precluded all further exertion, and, first confining his attention to the care of his health, before a year was over from the date of his last brilliant display, brought him deeply and universally lamented to an untimely grave.*

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent. Nímnium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent!"

When the new writ was moved, on his decease, for the burgh of St. Mawes, which he represented, Lord Morpeth gave a striking sketch of his character. Mr. Canning, Sir S. Romilly, Mr. W. Elliot, and others, joined in the conversation, and Mr. H. Lascelles observed, with universal assent, that if the form of the proceeding could have admitted of a question being put upon Mr. Horner's merits, there would not have been heard one dissentient voice.

* It deserves to be noted, as a marvellous instance of that truly learned conjecture by which the skill of Dr. Baillie was distinguished, that after many other physicians had severely given their opinions on the nature of Mr. Horner's hidden complaints, Dr. Baillie at once decided against all those theories; but when he came to propose his own, avowed the extreme uncertainty in which so obscure and difficult a case had left him. However, he said that he guessed it was one of the other of two maladies so rare that he had only seen a case or two of the one, and the other never but in a Museum of morbid anatomy. When the body was opened by Varca at Pisa, where he died, it was found that both these...
SPEECH

UPON

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

FEBRUARY 4, 1824.

I rise in consequence of the appeal made to every member of the House by the gallant officer* who has just sat down, to declare my sentiments: I answer that appeal, which does credit to the honour, to the English feeling of that gallant officer; and I join with him, and with every man who deserves the name of Briton, in unqualified abhorrence and detestation of the audacious interference to which he has alluded; or if that execration is at all qualified, it can only be by contempt and disgust at the canting hypocrisy of the language in which the loathsome principles of the tyrants are promulgated to the world. I have risen to make this declaration, called upon as I am in common with every member; but I should ill discharge my duty, if I did not mark my sense of the candour of the two Honourable gentlemen who have moved and seconded the address, and express my satisfaction at what, in the House, however divided upon other points, will be almost, and certainly in the country will be quite unanimously felt to be, the sound and liberal view which they have taken of this great affair. Indeed, I know not, circumstanced as they were, that they could go farther; or even that His Majesty's Ministers, in the present state of this very delicate question, ought to have gone beyond the communication of to-day. That communication, coupled with the commentary of the Honourable mover, will be the tidings of joy, and the signal for exultation to England—it will spread gladness and exultation over Spain—will be a source of comfort to all other free states—and

* Sir J. Yorke.
will bring confusion and dismay to the allies, who, with a pretended respect, but a real mockery of religion and morality, make war upon liberty in the abstract; endeavour to crush national independence wherever it is to be found; and are now preparing, with their armed hordes, to carry into execution their frightful projects. That Spain will take comfort from the principles avowed in the House this evening, I am certain; and I am not less clear, that the handful of men at present surrounding the throne of our nearest and most interesting neighbour, (who, by the way, has somehow or other been induced to swerve from the prudent councils which had till of late guided his course) will feel astonished and dismayed with the proceedings of this day, in proportion as others are encouraged. Cheering, however, as is the prevalence of such sentiments; highly as they raise the character of the nation, and much as may be augured from their effects,—still I think no man can deny, that the country is at present approaching to a crisis such as has not occurred perhaps for above a century, certainly not since the French revolution. Whether we view the internal condition of the kingdom, and the severe distress which presses upon that most important and most useful branch of the community, the farmers; or cast our eyes upon our foreign relations,—our circumstances must appear, to the mind of every thinking man, critical and alarming. They may, it is true, soon wear a better aspect, and we may escape the calamities of war; but he must be a bold and possibly a rash man, certainly not a very thoughtful one, who can take upon him to foretell that so happy a fortune shall be ours.

It is the deep consideration of these things which induces me to come forward and make a declaration of my principles; and to state that, with a strict adherence to the most rigid economy in every department, the reduction of establishments which I am at all times, if not the first, at least among the foremost, to support, and which is so necessary, in the ordinary circumstances of the country, must now be recommended, with a certain modification, in order to adapt our policy to the present emergency. I am guilty of no inconsistency whatever, in thus qualifying the doctrine of unsparing retrenchment; indeed, the greater the chance of some extraordinary demand upon our resources, from the aspect of affairs abroad, the more imperious is the necessity of sparing every particle of expense not absolutely requisite. Economy to its utmost extent, I still recommend as politic, and urge as due to the people of right; and every expense is now to be
regarded as more inexcusable than ever, both because the
country is suffering more severely, and because it may be-
come necessary soon to increase some parts of our establish-
ment. I say I am certainly not prepared to propose, or to
suffer, as far as my voice goes, any the least reduction of our
Naval force, to the extent even of a single ship or seaman; on
the contrary, I fear the time may not be distant when its
increase will be required. Any such augmentation of the
army, I cannot conceive to be justifiable in almost any cir-
cumstances; for, happen what may, a war on our part, car-
ried on with the wasteful and scandalous profusion of the
last, and upon the same vast scale, or any thing like it, is
wholly out of the question.

[Mr. Brougham entered at some length into the internal
state of the country—the indications of distress at the vari-
ous meetings—the inconsistency of the violent attacks made
upon the Norfolk petition by those who had passed the Gold
Coin Bill of 1811, which enacted the parts of the Norfolk
plan most liable to objection—the inadequacy of any relief
to be obtained from repeal of taxes that only affected small
districts—the absolute necessity of repealing a large amount
of the taxes pressing generally on all classes—and, for this
purpose, he urged the necessity of a saving wherever it could
be affected with safety; and, at any rate, of giving up the
Sinking Fund. He then proceeded:]

I think, then, that if war were once commenced, we should
soon be compelled to take some part in it, one way or other,
and that for such an emergency, every shilling which can be
saved by the most rigid economy, should be reserved. I think
our intervention in some shape will become unavoidable.
We are bound, for instance, to assist one party, our old ally
Portugal, if she should be attacked; and it is not likely that
she can remain neuter, if the present hateful conspiracy
against Spain shall end in open hostility. It is in this view
of the question that I differ from the gallant officer* who
last spoke; and I am glad that I could not collect from the
Honourable mover or seconder, the ominous words "strict
neutrality," as applied to this country, in the threatened
contest. A state of declared neutrality on our part would
be nothing less than a practical admission of those principles
which we all loudly condemn, and a license to the commis-
sion of all the atrocities which we are unanimous in depre-
cating; I will say, therefore, that it is the duty of His
Majesty's Ministers, (with whom I should rejoice in co-
operating on the occasion—and so, I am certain, would

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* Sir J. Yorke.
every one who now hears me, waving for a season all differences of opinion on lesser matters) to adopt and to announce the resolution, that when certain things shall take place on the Continent, they will be ready to assist the Spaniards—a measure necessary to avert evils, which even those the least prone to war (of which I avow myself one) must admit to be inevitable, should a wavering or pusillanimous course be pursued. Our assistance will be necessary to resist the wicked enforcement of principles contrary to the Law of Nations, and repugnant to every idea of National Independence.

To judge of the principles now shamelessly promulgated, let any man read patiently, if he can, the declarations in the Notes of Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and, with all due respect to those high authorities, I will venture to say, that to produce any thing more preposterous, more absurd, more extravagant, better calculated to excite a mingled feeling of disgust and derision, would baffle any chancery or state-paper office in Europe. I shall not drag the House through the whole nauseous details; I will only select a few passages, by way of sample, from those notable productions of Legitimate genius.

In the communication from the Minister of His Prussian Majesty, the Constitution of 1812, restored in 1820, and now established, is described as a system which—"confounding all elements, and all power, and assuming only the single principle of a permanent and legal opposition against the Government, necessarily destroys that central and tutelary authority which constitutes the essence of the monarchical system." Thus far the King of Prussia, in terms which, to say the least, afforded some proof of the writer's knowledge of the monarchical system, and of the contrast which, in his opinion, it exhibited to the present Government of Spain. The Emperor of Russia, in terms not less strong, calls the Constitutional Government of the Cortes, "that which the public reason of Europe, enlightened by the experience of all ages, stamps with its disapprobation;" and complains of its wanting the "conservative principle of social order." Where, in the conservative character of Keeper of the Peace of Europe, does his Imperial Majesty discover that the Constitution of Spain had been stamped with the disapprobation of the public reason of Europe? Let the House observe, that the "public reason of Europe, enlightened by the experience of all ages," happens to be that of his Imperial Majesty himself for the last ten years exactly, and no more; for, notwithstanding that he had the "experience of
all ages" before his eyes, he did, in the year 1812, enter into a treaty with Spain, with the same Cortes, under the same Constitution, not one iota of which had been changed up to that very hour. In that treaty, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, speaking of the then government, did use the very word by which he and his allies would themselves be designated—the word, by the abuse of which they are known—he did call the Spanish Government of the Cortes "a legitimate Government," that very Government—that very Constitution—of which the Spaniards have not changed one word; and God forbid they should change even a letter of it, while they have the bayonet of the foreign soldier at their breast! I hope, if it has faults—and some faults it may have—that when the hour of undisturbed tranquillity arrives, the Spaniards themselves will correct them. If they will listen to the ardent wish of their best friends—of those who have marked their progress, and gloried in the strides they have made towards freedom and happiness—of those who would go to the world's end to serve them in their illustrious struggle—of those, above all, who would not have them yield an hair's breadth to force,—my counsel would be to disarm the reasonable objections of their friends, but not to give up anything to the menaces of their enemies. I shall not go more into detail at the present moment, for ample opportunities will occur of discussing this subject; but I will ask, in the name of common sense, can any thing be more absurd, more inconsistent, than that Spain should now be repudiated as illegitimate by those, some of whom have, in treaties with her, described her Government in its present shape, by the very term, "legitimate Government?" In the treaty of Friendship and Alliance, concluded in 1812, between the Emperor of all the Russias and the Spanish Cortes, Ferdi-
nand being then a close prisoner in France, his Imperial Majesty, by the third article, acknowledges in express terms, the Cortes, "and the constitution sanctioned and decreed by it." This article I cite from the Collection of Treaties by Martens, a well known Germanic, and therefore a laborious and accurate compiler.

But not only is the conduct of the Allies towards Spain inconsistent with the treaties of some among them with Spain,—I will shew that their principle of interference, in any manner of way, is wholly at variance with treaties recently made amongst themselves. I will prove, that one of the fundamental principles of a late treaty is decidedly opposed to any discussion whatever amongst them, respecting
the internal situation of that country. By the 4th article of
the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, November 1818, it is laid
down, that a special Congress may be held, from time to
time, on the affairs of Europe. Using the words, and bor-
rowing the hypocritical cant of their predecessors, the same
three Powers who basely partitioned Poland—who, while
they despoiled a helpless nation of its independence, kept
preaching about the quiet of Europe, the integrity of its
states, and the morality and happiness of their people—talk-
ing daily about their desire of calm repose, the atmosphere,
I well know, in which despotism loves to breathe, but which
an ancient writer eloquently painted, when he said, that
tyrants mistake for peace the stillness of desolation—follow-
ing the vile cant of their ancestors,—the Allies declared, at
Aix-la-Chapelle, that their object was to secure the tran-
quility, the peace, which I, giving them credit for sincerity,
read the desolation, of Europe, and that their fundamental
principle should be, never to depart from a strict adherence
to the law of nations. "Faithful to these principles," (con-
tinued this half sermon, half-romance, and half-state-paper)
"they will only study the happiness of their people, the pro-
gress of the peaceful arts, and attend carefully to the interests
of morality and religion, of late years unhappily too much
neglected"—here, again, following the example of the
Autocratix Catherine—the spoiler of Poland,—who, hav-
ing wasted and pillaged it, province after province, poured
in hordes of her barbarians, which hewed their way to
the capital through myriads of Poles, and there, for one
whole day, from the rising of the sun, to the going down
thereof, butchered its unoffending inhabitants, unarmed
men, and women, and infants; and not content with this
work of undistinguishing slaughter, after the pause of the
night had given time for cooling, rose on the morrow,
and renewed the carnage, and continued it throughout
that endless day; and after this, a Te Deum was sung,
to return thanks for her success over the enemies, that is,
the natives, of Poland. That mild and gentle Sovereign, in
the midst of these most horrible outrages upon every feeling
of human nature, issued a proclamation, in which she assured
the Poles, (I mean to give her very words) that she felt
towards them, "the solicitude of a tender mother, whose
heart is only filled with sentiments of kindness for all her
children." Who can, or who dares doubt that she was all
she described herself? and who can, after the experience of
the last year, dispute the legitimate descent of the Allied
powers, and the purity of their intentions towards Spain?
But along with this declaration of the object of future Congresses, came the article which I should like to see some German statist,—some man versed in the manufacture of state-papers—compare with, and reconcile (if it only may be done within a moderate compass) to the notes fashioned at Verona, not unlikely by the very hands which produced the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The article is this:—"Special Congresses concerning the affairs of states not parties to this Alliance, shall not take place, except" (and here I should like to know how Spain, which was no party to the alliance, has brought herself within the exception)—"except in consequence of a formal invitation from such States;" "and their ambassadors shall assist at such congresses." How will any German commentator reconcile these contradictions? Here the interference in the internal affairs of Spain is not only not "by special invitation" from, but is in downright opposition to, the will of Spain. Thus stands the conduct of those Holy Allies diametrically opposed to their own professions and engagements, and by such means is the attempt now made to crush the independence of a brave people.

But it is not in the case of Spain alone that the consideration of these papers is important—they furnish grounds of rational fear to all independent governments; for I should be glad to learn what case it is (upon the doctrines now advanced) to which this principle of interference may not be extended?—or what constitution or what act of state it is on which the authority to comment, criticise, and dictate, may not be assumed? The House is not aware of the latitude to which the interference of those armed legislators may be, nay actually is, extended. The revolt of the colonies is distinctly stated as one ground of interposition! The allies kindly offer their "intervention" to restore this great branch of "the strength of Spain." There is no end of the occasions for interfering which they take. One is rather alarming—the accident of a sovereign having weak or bad ministers. Russia, forsooth, was anxious to see Ferdinand surrounded with "the most enlightened—most faithful of his subjects"—men "of tried integrity and superior talents"—men, in a word, who should be every way worthy of himself. So that, according to these wise men of Verona, (and this is a consideration which should be looked to in some other countries, as well as Spain) the existence of an inefficient or unprincipled administration, would be of itself a just ground of interference. The principle does not stop here. "Ruinous loans" from another ground, and "contributions unceasingly renewed;" "taxes which, for year after year, exhausted the public
treasures and the fortunes of individuals”—these are instances, in which the principle of interference may apply to other powers beside Spain; and I have no doubt that when the same doctrines are extended to certain countries, the preparatory manifesto will make mention of agricultural distress, financial embarrassment, and the Sinking Fund. But, to complete all the charges against Spain, the Russian Emperor finishes his invective with the awful assertion, that, on the 7th of July, “blood was seen to flow in the palace of the King, and a civil war raged throughout the Peninsula.” It is true that a revolt had been excited in some of the provinces. But by whom? An ally. It was produced by those cordons of troops, which were posted on the Spanish frontier, armed with gold and with steel, and affording shelter and assistance by force, to those in whose minds disaffection had been excited by bribery. It is also true that blood has been shed. But would it not be supposed, by any person unacquainted with the fact, and who only read the statement in the manifesto, that this was blood shed in an attempt to dethrone Fredinand, and introduce some new and unheard-of form of government? At any rate, does not this statement plainly intend it to be supposed, that the Constitutional party had made the onset, and shed royalist, if not royal blood? But what is the fact? A few persons were killed who had first attacked the constitutionalists, in other words, mutinied against the established government—the government which the Emperor Alexander himself recognised as legitimate in 1812; and this he has now the audacity to call the shedding of blood by Spaniards in the palace of the King!—As well might he accuse the People, the Parliament, and the Crown of England, of causing “blood to flow in the palace of the king,” for ordering their sentinels to fire on some person whom they found attempting to assassinate the sovereign, as accuse the Spaniards of such a crime, for the events which happened in July 1822.

I shall pass over many other heavy charges levelled at the Spaniards, in phrases of terrible import—as harbouring a “disorganized philosophy,”—“indulging in dreams of fallacious liberty,”—and the want of “venerable and sacred rights,” with which the Russian note is loaded to repletion: and shall proceed to the Russian, which objects to the Spaniards their want of the “true conservative principle of social order”—or, in other words, of despotic power, in the hands of one man, for his own benefit, at the expense of all mankind besides; and to their not falling within the scope of those “proposed principles” which...

mounds, were no where explained by any one of the three sove-
eigns. The Austrian note discourses largely of "the solid
and venerable claims" which the Spanish nation has upon
the rest of Europe: prays it to adopt a better form of go-
vernment than it has at present; and calls upon it to reject
a system which is at once "powerful and paralysed." It
would be disgusting to enter at any length into papers, at
once so despicable in their execution, and in their plan so
abominably iniquitous. There is but one sentiment held re-
garding them out of the House; and my excuse for taking
notice of them now, is my desire to call forth a similar ex-
pression of feeling from the House itself. Monstrous, and
insolent, and utterly unbearable, as all of them are, I con-
sider that of Russia to be more monstrous, more insolent,
and more prodigiously beyond all endurance, than the
rest. It is difficult to determine which most to admire —the marvellous incongruity of her language and con-
duct now, with her former most solemn treaties—or the
incredible presumption of her standing forwards to lead the
aggression upon the independence of all free and polished
states. Gracious God! Russia! Russia! —a power that is
only half civilized—which, with all her colossal mass of
physical strength, is still quite as much Asiatic as Euro-
pean—whose principles of policy, foreign and domestic,
are completely despotic, and whose practices are almost
altogether oriental and barbarous! In all these precious
documents, there is, with a mighty number of general
remarks, mixed up, a wondrous affection of honest prin-
ciples—a great many words covering ideas that are not
altogether clear and intelligible; or, if they happen to be
so, only placing their own deformity in a more hideous and
detestable light: but, for argument, or any thing like it,
there is none to be found from the beginning to the end of
them. They reason not, but speak one plain language to
Spain and to Europe, and this is its sum and substance:
"We have hundreds of thousands of hired mercenaries, and
we will not stoop to reason with those whom we would insult
and enslave." I admire the equal frankness with which this
haughty language had been met by the Spanish Government:
the papers which it had sent forth are plain and laconic;
and borrowing for liberty, the ancient privilege of tyrants—
to let their will stand in the place of argument—they bluntly
speak this language; —"We are millions of freemen, and
will not stoop to reason with those who threaten to enslave
us." They hurl back the menace upon the head from which
it issued, little caring whether it came from Goth, or Hun
or Calmuck; with a frankness that outwitted the craft of the Bohemian, and a spirit that defied the ferocity of the Tartar, and a firmness that mocks the obstinacy of the Vandal. If they find leagued against them the tyrants by whom the world is infested, they may console themselves with this reflection, that wherever there is an Englishman, either of the old world or of the new—wherever there is a Frenchman, with the miserable exception of that little band which now, for a moment, sways the destinies of France in opposition to the wishes and interests of its gallant and liberal people—a people which, after enduring the miseries of the Revolution, and wading through its long and bloody wars, are entitled, Heaven knows, if ever any people were, to a long enjoyment of peace and liberty, so dearly and so honourably purchased—wherever there breathes an Englishman or a true-born Frenchman—wherever there beats a free heart or exists a virtuous mind, there Spain has a natural ally, and inalienable friend. For my own part, I cannot but admire the mixture of firmness and forbearance which the Government of Spain has exhibited. When the Allied Monarchs were pleased to adopt a system of interference with the internal policy of Spain—when they thought fit to deal in minute and paltry criticisms upon the whole course of its domestic administration—when each sentence in their manifestoes was a direct personal insult to the government, nay, to every individual Spaniard—and when the most glaring attempts were made in all their State papers to excite rebellion in the country, and to stir up one class of the community against the other—it would not have surprised me, if, in the replies of the Spanish Government, some allusion had been made to the domestic policy of the Allied Sovereigns; or if some of the allegations which had been so lavishly cast upon it, had been scornfully retorted upon those who had so falsely and so insolently called them forth. What could have been more pardonable, nay, what more natural, than for the Spanish Government to have besought his Prussian Majesty, who was so extremely anxious for the welfare and good government of Spain—who had shewn himself so minute a critic on its laws and institutions, and who seemed so well versed in its recent history—to remember the promises which he made some years ago to his own people, by whose gallant exertions, on the faith of those promises, he had regained his lost crown? What would have been more natural than to have suggested, that it would be better, aye, and safer too in the end, to keep those promises, than to maintain, at his people's cost, and almost to their ruin, a perpetual enemy used alike
ployed when in the act of ravaging the territories, or putting down the liberties, of his neighbours? The Government of Spain would have had a right to make such representations, for his Prussian Majesty owed much, very much, to its exertions; indeed, the gallant resistance which it made to the invasion of Buonaparte had alone enabled Prussia to shake off the yoke; while, on the other hand, the Spaniards owed a debt of gratitude to the brave and honest people of Prussia for beginning the resistance to Buonaparte in the north. Could any thing, I will also ask, have been more natural for the Spanish Government, than to have asked the Emperor of Austria, whether he, who now pretended to be so scrupulously fond of strict justice in Ferdinand's case, when it cost him nothing, or must prove a gain, had always acted with equal justice towards others, when he was himself concerned? Could any thing have been more natural, than suggesting to him, that before he was generous to King Ferdinand, he might as well be just to King George; that he had better not rob the one to pay the other—nay, that he ought to return him the whole, or at any rate, some part of the millions, principal and interest, which he owed him?—a debt which, remaining unpaid, wastes the resources of a faithful ally of Spain, and tends mightily to cripple his exertions in her behalf. I wish likewise to know what could have been more natural—nay, if the doctrine of interference in the internal concerns of neighbouring nations be at all admitted—what could have been more rightful, in a free people, than to have asked him how it happened that his dungeons were filled with all that was noble, and accomplished, and virtuous, and patriotic in the Milanese?—to have called on him to account for the innocent blood which he had shed in the north of Italy?—to have required at his hands satisfaction for the tortures inflicted in the vaults and caverns where the flower of his Italian subjects were now languishing?—to have demanded of him some explanation of that iron policy which has consigned fathers of families, the most virtuous and exalted in Europe, not to the relief of exile or death, but to a merciless imprisonment for ten, fifteen, and twenty years, nay, even for life, without a knowledge of the charge against them, or the crime for which they are punished? Even the Emperor Alexander himself, tender and sensitive as he is at the sight of blood flowing within the precincts of a royal palace,—a sight so monstrous, that if his language could be credited, it had never before been seen in the history of the world,—might have been reminded of passages in that history, calculated to lessen his astonishment at least,
if not to soothe his feelings; for the Emperor Alexander, if
the annals of Russian story may be trusted, however pure
in himself, and however happy in always having agents
equally innocent, is nevertheless descended from an illustrious
line of ancestors, who have, with exemplary uniformity,
dethroned, imprisoned, and slaughtered, husbands, brothers,
and children. Not that I can dream of imputing those
enormities to the parents, or sisters, or consorts; but it does
happen that those exalted and near relations had never failed
to reap the whole benefit of the atrocities, and had ever failed
to bring the perpetrators to justice. In these circumstances,
if I had had the honour of being in the confidence of his
Majesty of all the Russians, I should have been the last person
in the world to counsel my Imperial Master to touch upon
so tender a topic—I should humbly have besought him to
think twice or thrice, nay, even a third and a fourth time,
before he ventured to allude to so delicate a subject—I should,
with all imaginable deference, have requested him to meddle
with any other topic—I should have directed him by
preference to every other point of the compass—I should
have implored him rather to try what he could say about
Turkey, or Greece, or even Minorca, on which he has
of late been casting many an amorous glance—in short, any
thing and every thing, before he approached the subject of
"blood flowing within the precincts of a royal palace,"
and placed his allusion to it, like an artful rhetorician, upon
the uppermost step of his climax. I find, likewise, in these
self-same documents, a topic for which the Spanish Go-
vernment, had it been so inclined, might have ad ministered
to the Holy Alliance another severe lecture; I allude to the
glib manner in which the three Potentates now talk of an
individual, who, let his failings or even his crimes be what
they may, must always be regarded as a great and a res-
plendent character—who, because he was now no longer
either upon a throne or at liberty, or even in life, is describ-
ed by them, not merely as an ambitious ruler not merely
as an arbitrary tyrant, but as an upstart and an usurper.
This is not the language which those Potentates for-
erently employed, nor is it the language which they were
now entitled to use regarding this astonishing individual.
Whatever epithets England, for instance, or Spain, may
have a right to apply to his conduct, the mouths of the
allies at least are stopped: they can have no right to
call him usurper—they who, in his usurpations, had been
either most greedy accomplices or most willing tools. What
entitles the King of Prussia to hold such language now?
he who followed his fortunes with the most shameless subserviency, after the thorough beating he received from him, when trampled upon and trodden down in the year 1806? Before he had risen again and recovered the upright attitude of a man, he fell upon his knees, and still crouching before him who had made him crawl in the dust, kissed the bloodstained hand of Napoleon for leave to keep His Britannic Majesty's foreign dominions, the Electorate of Hanover, which the Prussian had snatched hold of while at peace with England. So the Emperor Alexander, after he had also undergone the like previous ceremony, did not disdain to lick up the crumbs which fell from the table of his more successful rival in usurpation. Little, it is true, was left by the edge of Gallic appetite; but rather than have nothing—rather than desert the true Russian principle of getting something on every occasion, either in Europe or in Asia, (and of late years they had even laid claim to an almost indefinite naval dominion in America)—rather than forego the Calmuck policy for the last century and a half, of always adding something, be it ever so little, to what was already acquired, be it ever so great—he condescended to receive from the hand of Buonaparte a few square leagues of territory, with an additional population of some two or three thousand serfs. The object was trifling indeed, but it served to keep alive the principle. The tender heart of the father, overflowing, as his Imperial grandmother had phrased it, with the milk of human kindness for all his children, could not be satisfied without receiving a further addition to their numbers; and therefore it is not surprising, that on the next occasion he should be ready to seize, in more effectual exemplification of the principle, a share of the booty, large in proportion as his former one had been small. The Emperor of Austria, too, who had entered before the others into the race for plunder, and never weary in illdoing, had continued in it till the very end—he who, if not an accomplice with the Jacobins of France in the spoliation of Venice, was at least a receiver of the stolen property—a felony, of which it was well said at the time in the House, that the receiver was as bad as the thief—that magnanimous Prince, who, after twenty years alternation of truckling and vapouring—now the feeble enemy of Buonaparte, now his willing accomplice—constantly punished for his resistance, by the discipline invariably applied to those mighty Princes in the tenderest places, their capitals, from which they were successively driven—as constantly, after punishment, joining the persecutor, like the rest of them, in attacking and plundering
his allies—ended, by craving the honour of giving Buonaparte his favourite daughter in marriage. Nay, after the genius of Buonaparte had fallen under the still more powerful restlessness of his ambition—when the star of his destiny had waned, and the fortune of the Allies was triumphant, through the roused energies of their gallant people, the severity of the elements, his own turbulent passions, and that without which the storms of popular ferment, and Russian winter, and his own ambition, would have raged in vain, the aid of English arms, and skill, and gallantry—strange to tell, these very men were the first to imitate that policy against which they had inveighed and struggled, and to carry it farther than the enemy himself in all its most detestable points. I maintain that it is so; for not even by his bitterest slanderers was Buonaparte ever accused of actions so atrocious as was the spoliation of Norway, the partition of Saxony, the transfer of Genoa, and the cession of Ragusa, perpetrated by those in whose mouths no sound had been heard for years but that of lamentation over the French attacks upon national independence. It is too much, after such deeds as these—it is too much, after the Allies and submitted to a long course of crouching before Buonaparte, accompanied by every aggravation of disgrace—it is too much for them now to come forth, and calumniate his memory for transactions, in the benefits of which they participated at the time, as his accomplices, and the infamy of which they have since surpassed with the usual exaggeration of imitators. I rejoice that the Spaniards have only such men as these to contend with. I know that there are fearful odds when battalions are arrayed against principles. I may feel solicitous about the issue of such a contest. But it is some consolation to reflect that those embodied hosts are not aided by the merits of their chiefs, and that all the weight of character is happily on one side. It gives me, however, some pain to find that a monarch so enlightened as the King of France has shewn himself on various occasions, should have yielded obedience, even for an instant, to the arbitrary mandates of this tyrannic Junto. I trust that it will only prove a temporary aberration from the sounder principles on which he has hitherto acted: I hope that the men, who appear to have gained his confidence only to abuse it, will soon be dismissed from his councils; or if not, that the voice of the country, whose interests they are sacrificing to their wretched personal views, and whose rising liberties they seem anxious to destroy, in gratification of their hatred and bigotry will appeal them to reason.
manly and more liberal policy. Indeed, the King of France has been persuaded by the parasites who at present surround him, to go even beyond the principles of the Holy Alliance. He has been induced to tell the world that it is from the hands of a tyrant alone that a free people can hold a Constitution. That accomplished Prince—and all Europe acknowledges him to be, amongst other things, a finished scholar,—cannot be but aware that the wise and good men of former times held far other opinions upon this subject; and if I venture to remind him of a passage in a recently recovered work of the greatest philosopher of the ancient world, it is in the sincere hope that his Majesty will consider it with all the attention that is due to such high authority. That great man said, "Non in ulla civitate, nisi in qua summa potestas populi est, ulla domicilium libertas habet." I recommend to his Most Christian Majesty the reflection, that this lesson came not only from the wisdom of so great a philosopher, but also from the experience of so great a statesman. I would have him remember that, like himself, he lived in times of great difficulty and of great danger—that he had to contend with the most formidable conspiracy to which the life, property, and liberty of the citizen had ever been exposed—that, to defeat it, he had recourse only to the powers of the Constitution—threw himself on the good will of his patriotic countrymen—and only put forth the powers of his own genius, and only used the wholesome vigour of the law. He never thought of calling to his assistance the Allobroges, or the Teutones, or the Scythians of his day; and I now say, that if Louis XVIII. shall call upon the modern Teutones or Scythians to assist him in this unholy war, the day their hordes move towards the Rhine, judgement will go forth against him, and his family, and his councillors; and the dynasty of Gaul has ceased to reign.

What, I ask, are the grounds on which the necessity of this war is defended? It is said to be undertaken because an insurrection has broken out with success at Madrid. I deny this to be the fact. What is called an insurrection, was an attempt to restore the lawful Constitution of the country—a Constitution which was its established government, till Ferdinand overthrew it by means of a mutiny in the army; and therefore, when a military movement enabled the friends of liberty to recover what they had lost, it is a gross perversion of language to call this recovery, this restoration, by the name of insurrection,—an insidious confusion of terms, which can only be intended to blind the reason, or play upon the prejudices, of the honest part of mankind. Let the pretext,
however, for the war, be what it may, the real cause of it is not hard to conjecture. It is not from hatred to Spain or to Portugal that the Allied Sovereigns are for marching their swarms of barbarians into the Peninsula—it is not against freedom on the Ebro, or freedom on the Mincio, they make war. No, it is against freedom!—against freedom wherever it is to be found—freedom by whomsoever enjoyed—freedom by whatever means achieved, by whatever institutions secured. Freedom is the object of their implacable hate. For its destruction, they are ready to exhaust every resource of force and fraud. All the blessings which it bestows,—all the establishments in which it is embodied, the monuments that are raised to it, and the miracles that are wrought by it,—they hate with the malignity of demons, who tremble while they are compelled to adore; for they quiver by instinct at the sound of its name, And let us not deceive ourselves; these despots can have but little liking towards this nation and its institutions, more specially our Parliament and our Press. As long as England remains unenslaved; as long as the Parliament continues a free and open tribunal, to which the oppressed of all nations under heaven can appeal against their oppressors, however mighty and exalted—and with all its abuses, (and no man can lament them more than I do, because no man is more sensible of its intrinsic value, which those abuses diminish), with all its imperfections, (and no man can be more anxious to remove them, because none wishes more heartily, by restoring its original purity, to make it entirely worthy of the country’s love),—it is still far too pure and too free to please the state of the continental despots—so long would England be the object of their hatred, and of machinations, sometimes carried on covertly, sometimes openly, but always pursued with the same unremitting activity, and pointed to the same end.—But it is not free states alone that have to dread this system of interference; this plan of marching armies to improve the political condition of foreign nations. It is idle to suppose that those armed critics will confine their objections to the internal policy of popular governments. Can any one imagine, that, if there be a portion of territory in the neighbourhood of the Emperor Alexander peculiarly suited to his views, he will not soon be able to discover some fault, to spy out some flaw in its political institutions requiring his intervention, however little these may savour of democracy, supposing it even to be a part of the Ottoman Government itself? If his Imperial Majesty be present in
Ulemah, to send a deputation of learned Muftis, for the purpose of vindicating the Turkish institutions. These sages of the law many contend that the Ottoman government is of the most "venerable description"—that it has "antiquity in its favour"—that it is in full possession of "the conservative principle of social order" in its purest form—that it is replete with "grand truths;"—a system "powerful and paralysed"—that it has never lent an ear to the doctrines of a "disorganized philosophy"—never indulged in "vain theories," nor been visited by such things as "dreams of fallacious liberty." All this the learned and reverend deputies of the Ulemah may urge, and may maintain to be true as holy Koran: still "The Three Gentlemen of Verona," I fear, will turn a deaf ear to the argument, and set about prying for some imperfection in the "pure and venerable system"—some avenue by which to enter the territory; and, if they cannot find a way, will probably not be very scrupulous about making one. The windings of the path may be hard to trace, but the result of the operation will be plain enough. In about three months from the time of deliberation, the Emperor Alexander will be found one morning at Constantinople—or if it suit him, at Minorca—for he has long shewn a desire to have some footing in what he pleasantly termed the "western provinces" of Europe which, in the Muscovite tongue, signifies the petty territories of France and Spain, while Austria and Prussia will be invited to look for an indemnity elsewhere; the latter, as formerly, taking whatever the King of England may have on the Continent. The principles on which this band of confederated despots have shewn their readiness to act, are dangerous in the extreme, not only to free states, (and to those to which no liberty can be imputed), but also to the states over which the very members of this unholy league preside. Resistance to them is a matter of duty to all nations, and the duty of this country is especially plain. It behoves us, however, to take care that we rush not blindly into a war. An appeal to arms is the last alternative we should try, but still it ought never to be so foreign to our thoughts as to be deemed very distant, much less impossible; or so foreign from our councils as to leave us unprepared. Already, if there is any force in language, or any validity in public engagements, we are committed by the defensive treaties into which we have entered. We are bound by various ties to prevent Portugal from being overrun by an enemy. If (which Heaven avert!) Spain were overrun by foreign
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frontier on the side of Spain can scarcely be said to have an existence; there is no defending it anywhere; and it is in many places a mere imaginary line, that can only be traced on the page of the geographer; her real frontier is in the Pyrenees; her real defence is in their fastnesses and in the defence of Spain; whenever those passes are crossed, the danger which has reached Spain will hang over Portugal. If we acknowledge the force of treaties, and really mean that to be performed for which we engaged, though we may not be bound to send an army of observation to watch the motions of the French by land, because that would be far from the surest way of providing for the integrity of our ally, at least we are bound to send a naval armament; to aid with arms and stores; to have at all times the earliest information; and to be ready at any moment to give effectual assistance to our ancient ally. Above all things, we ought to do that which of itself will be a powerful British armament by sea and by land—repeal without delay the Foreign Enlistment Bill—a measure which, in my opinion, we ought never to have enacted, for it does little credit to us either in policy or justice. I will not, however, look backward to measures on the nature of which all may not agree; I will much rather look forward, to avoid every matter of vituperation, reserving all blame for the foreign tyrants whose profligate conduct makes this nation hate them with one heart and soul, and my co-operation for any faithful servant of the Crown, who shall, in performing his duty to his country, to freedom, and to the world, speak a language that is truly British—pursue a policy that is truly free—and look to free states as our best and most natural allies against all enemies whatsoever; allies upon principle, but whose friendship was also closely connected with our highest interests;—quarrelling with none, whatever may be the form of their government, for that would be copying the faults we condemn;—keeping peace wherever we could, but not leaving ourselves a moment unprepared for war;—not courting hostilities from any quarter, but not fearing the issue, and calmly resolved to brave it at all hazards, should it involve us in the affray with them all;—determined to maintain, amid every sacrifice, the honour and dignity of the Crown, the independence of the country, the ancient law of nations, the supremacy of all separate states; all those principles which are cherished as most precious and most sacred by the whole civilized world.