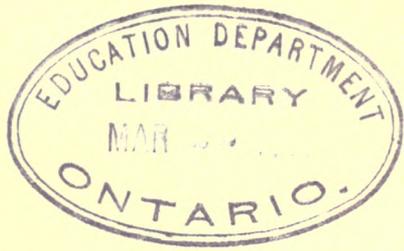




Presented to the
LIBRARY *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by
ONTARIO LEGISLATIVE
LIBRARY

(48)

182-



CASELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CASSELL'S
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE ILLNESS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES
TO THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT

1840
WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS,
INCLUDING COLOURED
AND REMBRANDT PLATES

VOL. VII

THE KING'S EDITION

CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED
LONDON, NEW YORK, TORONTO AND MELBOURNE
MCMX

DA
30
C35
1909
v.7

9437





CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

PAGE

The *Alabama* Claims—Complaints against Great Britain urged by the United States—Recognition of Belligerent Rights—Supposed Breaches of Neutrality—The *Alabama*—The *Florida*—Mr. Dudley's Report—Inquiry of the Commissioners of Customs—The *Florida* sails—At Nassau—Captain Hieckley's Report—Release of the *Florida*—Earl Russell's Instructions—The *Shenandoah*—The Captain's Report to the Melbourne Government—The *Shenandoah's* Naturalisation—Her Repairs—Reports of Illegal Enlistment—The Governor's Proclamation—Arrest of the Stowaways—The *Georgia*, *Sunter*, and the Rest—Earl Russell declines Arbitration—Lord Stanley accepts the Principle—Reverdy Johnson's Convention—Its Rejection by the Washington Senate—Mr. Motley and Lord Clarendon—Recall of Motley—The Joint High Commissioners—The Question submitted to Arbitration—The San Juan Boundary—Terms of the Treaty of Washington—The Geneva Tribunal—The British and American Cases—The Indirect Claims—The Cases of the *Florida* and *Alabama*—The Award—Sketch of Continental History—The Commune—France, Germany, and Italy 1

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Galway and Kerry Elections—Judge Keogh's Judgment—Assassination of Lord Mayo—Attempt on the Queen—Meeting of Parliament—The "Colliery Explosion"—Ewelme Rectory Scandal—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Ayrton's Parks Bill—Bill for the Regulation of Mines—The Scottish Education Bill—Mr. Cardwell's Army Reform—Sir Charles Dilke's Motion for an Inquiry into the Civil List—Uproar in the House—The Ballot Bill—History of the Movement—The Bill of 1872—The Corrupt Practices Bill—Fusion of the two Measures—Mr. Leatham's Amendment—The Second Reading in the Lords—The Duke of Richmond's Amendment—The Liquor Traffic—The United Kingdom Alliance—The Intoxicating Liquors Bill—Dr. Magee—The Bill in the Commons—Results of the Session 28

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Weather Year of 1872—The Agricultural Labourers—Their Status—Hours of Improvement—Mr. Arch's Movement—The Strike—The National Labourers' Union—Its Side-issues—Lock-out in the Building Trade—Strike of the Bakers and Police—The Gas-stokers—Sentence of Mr. Justice Brett—The South Wales Colliers—Speeches of the Liberal Leaders—The Belfast Riots—The Athanasian Creed—Dean Stanley's Speech—Archbishop Tait's Mediation—The Attack on Dean Stanley—Mr. Gladstone on the Church—Foreign Affairs—Political Corruption in America—Contest for the Presidency—France—The Budget and the English Commercial Treaty—The new Loan—Prince Bismarck's domestic Policy—Alsace-Lorraine—Dissensions in Austria-Hungary—Meeting of the Emperors—Russia in Central Asia—South-Eastern Europe—Italy and Spain—Japan and Zanzibar 45

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Death of the ex-Emperor Napoleon—Irish University Education—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli declines to form a Government—Mr. Gladstone resumes Office—The Judicature Act—Law and Equity—Appellate Jurisdiction—Lord Cairns's Amendment—Mr. Hardy's Amendment—Other Events of the Session—Visit of the Shah of Persia—Royal Impressions—Wreck of the *Northfleet*—Loss of the *Atlantic*—Collision of the *Ville du Havre* and *Loch Earn*—Obituary of the Year—Ministerial Changes—The Bye-elections—Mr. Disraeli's Bath Letter 61

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Ashantee War—Its Causes—Redistribution of Dutch and English Territory—Accession of King Coffee Calcahi—Capture of European Missionaries—Invasion of Fanteeland—Defence of Elmina—Despatch of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Affair at Chamah—Preliminary Operations—Escaboo and Abraerampa—Retreat of the Ashantees—Glover on the Volta—The March on the Prah—King Coffee negotiates—The Captives liberated—At Prahsu—Gifford's Advance—The Battle of Amoaful—Battle of Ordahsu—Occupation of Coomassie—Burning of the Town—Treaty of Fommanah—Dalrymple's and Butler's Columns—Glover's Expedition—Sartorius's Ride—Conclusion of the War 71

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

European Events in 1873—Evacuation of French Soil by the Germans—Fall of M. Thiers—Election of MacMahon—The Count de Chambord's Declaration—The Septemate—The "May Laws" in Germany—The Pope and the Emperor—The Vienna Exhibition—The Khivan Campaign—Gortschakoff and Granville—The Intermediary Zone—Schouvaloff's Mission—The Russian Advance—Kauffmann's and Verëvkin's Columns—Fall of Khiva—Treaty with the Khan—Sir Samuel Baker in Africa—Discovery of Albert Nyanza—The White Nile Slave Trade—Annexation of Gondokoro—Unyoro and its King—Kabba Rega attacks the Expedition—Colonel Gordon 80

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of the Year 1874—Dissolution of Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Mr. Disraeli's reply—The General Election—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—The New Ministry—Re-election of the Speaker—Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Lord Granville—The Queen's Speech—The Famine in India—Relief Works—The Export of Grain—Question of Distribution—Sir R. Temple—Mansion House Relief Fund—Government Loan—The Labour Test—End of the Famine—Sir S. Northcote's Budget—Mr. Ward Hunt and the "Phantom Fleet"—The Army Estimates—The Licensing Bill—The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Liberal Obstruction—The Bill withdrawn—The Scottish Patronage Bill—Debate in the House of Lords—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Reception of the Measure in Scotland—The Public Worship Regulation Bill—Growth of Ritualism—Archbishop Tait's Bill—Criticism in Convocation—Debate on the Second Reading—Lord Shaftesbury's Amendments—Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions—Mr. Disraeli's Tactics—Mr. Holt's Resolution—Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Disraeli and Lord Salisbury—Lord Salisbury's Explanation—Minor Events of the Session

90

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Death of Dr. Livingstone—His First Expedition—Exploration of the Zambesi—The Nyassa and Tanganyika Problem—The Stanley Expedition—The Relief Expedition under Cameron—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—Mr. Gladstone on Ritual—His Pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees—Archbishop Manning's Reply—Dr. Newman's Letter to the Duke of Norfolk—Conversion of the Marquis of Ripon—Strikes in the Coal and Iron Trades—The Agricultural Lock-out—Obituary of the Year—The Norwich Railway Accident—Extra-Parliamentary Politics—The Liberals and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Chamberlain and the Prince of Wales—Mr. Disraeli at Guildhall

119

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Tichborne Claimant—History of Sir Roger Tichborne—Communications from the Claimant—His Story—Meeting with the Dowager Lady Tichborne—Opinions of the Tichborne Family and of the Officers in the Carabineers—Tichborne *v.* Lushington—Collapse of the Case—Trial of Arthur Orton—Witnesses for the Defence—Dr. Kenealy's Speech—Summing up of the Lord Chief Justice—The Sentence—Foreign Events in 1874: French Politics—Fall of the Broglie Ministry—A Ministry of Affairs—Germany: Bismarck and the Clericals—The Army Bill—Moltke's Speech—The Septennate voted—Weakness of the Government—Attempt on Bismarck's Life—Enforcement of the Falk Laws—Rupture of Relations with the Vatican—Bismarck's Resignation—Anti Clerical Legislation in Austria—The Brussels Conference—The International and other Congresses—The Civil War in Spain—Abdication of Amadeus—The Carlists—The *Vigilante* Affair—Admiral Yelverton—Fall of Cartagena—Castelar Dictator—The *Virginus* Affair—Serrano's *Coup d'état*—The Carlists in the North—Recognition of the Serrano Government—Proclamation of Alfonso—He enters Madrid—Quarrel with the United States—Extinction of Carlism

129

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

A quiet New Year—Mr. Gladstone resigns the Leadership of the Opposition—Candidates for the Leadership—Lord Hartington chosen—The Queen's Speech—The Artisans' Dwellings Bill—Mr. Cross's Speech—Mr. Fawcett's Criticism—John Mitchel—Mr. Parnell's first Appearance—The Regimental Exchanges Bill—Mr. Trevelyan's Amendment—Lord Derby's Speech—The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill—Speech of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—"Dry Champagne"—The American Loans Episode—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—Other Ministerial Measures—The Judicature Act Amendment Bill withdrawn—A Stop-gap Bill—Withdrawal of the Merchant Shipping Bill—The Pimsoll Episode—Mr. Bright on his Seat—The Loss of the *Schiller*—The Collision of the *Alberta* and the *Mistletoe*—Inquests on the Bodies—Loss of the *Vanguard*—The Admiralty Minute and the First Lord's Speech—The Fugitive Slave Circular—Public Indignation—The Second Circular—Visit of the Sultan of Zanzibar—Messrs. Moody and Sankey—The O'Connell Centenary—Disturbances during the Procession and at the Banquet—The Darlington Jubilee—First Sitting of the High Court of Judicature—Obituary of the Year—The South Wales Strike—Lord Aberdare's Mediation—Prosperity of the Agricultural Labourers

147

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares—Strained Relations with China—Colonel Browne's Expedition—Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission—Wade at Pekin—Settlement of Perak—Sketch of European Events—Bismarck's Aggressiveness—A War Scare—The Czar acts as Peacemaker—Internal Affairs of Germany—Austria and the Eastern Question—Constitution of the French Republic—The Wallon Project—The Constitution of 1875—Two more Constitutional Bills—Dissolution of the National Assembly—A peaceful Italy—Russian Advance in Central Asia—Annexation of Kokand—Lamakin's reported Expedition to Merv

171

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Indian and Colonial Affairs 1872-75—Death of Lord Mayo—Lord Northbrook succeeds—The Guicowar of Baroda—Attempt to Poison the Resident—The Commission of Inquiry—Acquittal of the Guicowar—The Prince of Wales's Visit to India—Bombay and Baroda—Chapter of the Star of India—The North-West Provinces—The Punjab and Gwalior—Close of the Tour—Lord Lytton succeeds Lord Northbrook—Annexation of the Diamond Fields—The case of Langalibalele—Bishop Colenso's Intervention—Lord Carnarvon's Despatch—Sir Garnet Wolseley in Natal—The South African Federation Project—Mr. Froude's Mission—Settlement of the Gold Coast—Delagoa Bay—The Congo—Annexation of Fiji—New Zealand remodels her Constitution—Australia and New Guinea—Lord Dufferin in Canada—Grievances with the United States—Resignation of the Macdonald Ministry—Riots in Montreal

180

CHAPTER XIII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1876—The Queen's Speech—The Suez Canal Shares—The Fugitive Slave Circular—The Royal Titles Bill—Mr. Disraeli's Speech—The Premier and Mr. Lowe—Lord Hartington's Amendment—Mr. Lowe at Retford—Mr. Disraeli's Revenge—The Merchant Shipping Bill—The Commons Enclosure Bill—Lord Sanden's Education Bill—The Vivisection Bill—The Judicature Amendment Act—The Budget and the Estimates—Mr. Disraeli becomes Earl of Beaconsfield—His Farewell Address to his Constituents—The Polar Expedition—The *Challenger* Expedition—Cameron's Travels in Africa—The *Thunderer* Explosion—Sir Salar Jung's Visit—The Queen in Whitechapel—The Mobilisation Scheme—The Second and Fifth Army Corps—The Dublin Banquet—Mere Riots in Belfast—Report on the Fugitive Slave Circular—The New Domesday Book—The *Franconia* Case—Obituary of the Year 195

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Foreign Affairs, 1876—Comotions in India under Lord Lytton—Africa: Dispute with the King of Dahomey—Fiji: Outbreak of a Rebellion: its Suppression—The Barbadoes: Troubles of Mr. Hennessy—Canada: Attempt of British Columbia to accede from the Dominion—United States: Political Corruption—General Grant's Retirement—Egypt: Disastrous Expedition against Abyssinia—Mr. Goschen's Mission—Intrigues of Ismail Sadyk Pasha—Proposals of Messrs. Goschen and Joubert—France: MacMahon's Manifesto—Senatorial Elections—Victories of the Gambettists—The Dufaure Ministry—M. Jules Simon's Ministry—Spain and Portugal—Italy: Death of Antonelli—Germany: Attitude of Bismarck towards Russia and Austria—His Home Policy—Struggles with the Clergy—Bismarck's Speech on the Eastern Question—Austria: Turbulence of Hungary—Meetings of the Emperors—Russia: Annexation of Southern Kokand—The Eastern Question: Condition of the Turkish Empire—Famine in Asia Minor—Revolt of Herzegovina—Bankruptcy of Turkey—The Iradé, the Firman, and the Andrassy Note—Reply of the Porte and Lord Derby's Comments—Postponement of the Dividend—Outbreak in Salonica and consequent Movements of the Fleets—Deposition of Abdul Aziz—The Circassian Officer Hassan—Conference of the Imperial Ministers—The Berlin Memorandum—Lord Derby's Objections—Rumours of Atrocities in Bulgaria—Mr. Disraeli's Reply to Mr. Forster—Lord Derby's Reply to a Deputation—Sir H. Elliot's Despatches—Mr. MacGahan's Letters—Excitement in England—The Agitation and Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—His Speech at Blackheath—The Liberal and Conservative Leaders—The Aylebury Speech and the Buckinghamshire Election—Mr. Baring's Report—Conduct of the Porte—Statement of Lord Derby 214

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Eastern Question continued: War declared by the Servians and Montenegrins—Prince Milan becomes King—Prince Gortschakoff's Proposals and Lord Derby's Modification—Counter-Proposals of the Porte and the Russian Ultimatum—Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall Speech—Speech of the Czar at Moscow—Departure of Lord Salisbury for Constantinople—General Ignatieff's Proposals—Great Meeting at St. James's Hall—The Conference—The New Constitution and Midhat Pasha—The Ambassadors—Defiant Attitude of Saffet Pasha—Interviews between the British Diplomats and the Turkish Authorities—Odan Effendi's Mission—Subsequent Meeting of the Congress—The Grand Council—Rejection of the final Appeal—Ignatieff's Speech—The Porte's Despatch and Prince Gortschakoff's Circular—General Ignatieff's Mission and the Protocol—Russian Declaration of War—The Queen's Speech—Rumours of Lord Beaconsfield's Resignation—Mr. Layard's proposed Appeal to the Powers—Lord Derby's Letter to Count Scheuvaloff—Prince Gortschakoff's Reply—Mr. Carlyle's Letter—Mr. Gladstone's Five Resolutions—Divisions in the Liberal Party—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Mr. Cross's Speech—The Division—The Russo-Turkish War—The Asian Campaign—Operations round Kars—The Kizil Tépe—European Campaign—Conduct of the Roumanians—The Russians on the Danube—Conquest of Bulgaria—Gourko in the Balkans—Mehemet Ali Pasha placed in Command—Suleiman Pasha in the Shipka Pass—Osman Pasha at Plevna—Battle in the Shipka Pass—Mehemet Ali on the Lom—Investment of Plevna—Mukhtar Pasha's Defence—He is driven towards Kars—Battle in the Deve-Boyun Pass—Fall of Kars—Investment of Erzeroum—Plevna surrounded—Efforts of Suleiman and Mehemet Ali—Battle of Pravca—Failure of Mehemet Ali—Fall of Plevna 235

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Diplomacy and Public Opinion—Representations of Count Schouvaloff and Mr. Layard—The Czar's Communications to Colonel Wellesey and the Replies of the British Government—Mr. Forster's Declaration—Reported Atrocities on both Sides—Efforts for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded—Mr. Gladstone and the *Daily Telegraph*—Explanations of M. Negroponte and Mr. Gladstone—The Affair in Parliament—Lord Hartington in Scotland—Lord Beaconsfield at Guildhall—Lord Derby's Reply to a Deputation—Communications between the Powers 274

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Parliamentary History of 1877—Army and Navy Estimates—Death of Mr. Ward Hunt—The Duke of Richmond's Burials Bill—The Prisons Bill—The Universities Bill of 1876 and its Abandonment—The Consolidated Bill of 1877—The Bill in Committee—In the Upper House—The Pigott Scandal—Independent Attitude of the Home Rule Party—The South Africa Bill—Lord Carnarvon's Speech—Annexation of the Transvaal—Obstruction in the Commons—Sir S. Northcote's Resolutions—Twenty-six Hours' Sitting—Divisions among the Home Rulers—Mr. Butt *versus* Mr. Parnell—Conference of the Party—Ecclesiastical Comotions—Case of Mr. Tooth—Proceedings in Convocation with regard to "The Priest in Absolution"—The Ridsdale Judgment and its Effect—Shipping Disasters—Depression of Trade and Mining Accidents—Obituary of the Year—Proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India—Lord Lytton's Speech—Effect of the Proclamation—News of the Approach of Famine—Official Correspondence—Lord Carnarvon's Despatch—Sir R. Temple in Bengal—in Madras and Mysore—Official Controversies—Gloominess of the Prospect—The Duke of Buckinghamshire's Appeal—The Famine Loan—Irrigation Schemes—Colonial Affairs 285

CHAPTER XVIII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Russo-Turkish War continued: Advance of Gourko—The Crossing of the Balkans—Fall of Sofia—Recapture of the Shipka Pass and Abandonment of the Balkans—Occupation of Philippopolis—Success of the Servians and Montenegrins—Occupation of Adrianople—Collapse of the Defence in Asia Minor—Desperate Position of Constantinople—Mission of Server and Namyk Pashas—Lord Carnarvon's Speech—Meeting of Parliament; the Queen's Speech—Lord Granville's Comments—Speeches of the Duke of Argyll and Lord Salisbury—Debate in the Commons; Lord Hartington, Sir S. Northcote, and Mr. Gladstone—Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Derby—The Message to Admiral Hornby—Temporary Resignation of Lord Derby—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon—The Vote for the Six Millions—The Reported Bases of Peace—Mr. Layard's Telegram—Count Schouvaloff's Statement—Sir S. Northcote's Declaration—The First and Second Nights of the Debate—Speeches of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Hardy—The Jingoes—The *Daily News* Telegram—The Seventh of February—Withdrawal of Mr. Forster's Amendment and Victory of the Government—Dangers from Greece—Movement of the British Fleet—Communications between Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Derby—The British Fleet in the Dardanelles—Understanding with regard to Gallipoli—Movements of Admiral Hornby—Count Benst's Proposals—Speeches of Prince Bismarck and Prince Auersperg—Signature of the Treaty of San Stefano—Its Terms—"Liberty of Appreciation and Action"—Resignation of Lord Derby—Lord Beaconsfield's Explanation—Changes in the Cabinet and Lord Salisbury's Circular—Prince Gortschakoff's Reply—Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Derby, and Lord Salisbury—Military and Naval Preparations—Despatch of Indian Troops to Malta—State of Affairs in the East—Bye-elections and Hopes of the Liberal Party 309

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Debates on the Indian Troops—Count Schouvaloff's Mission—Possibilities of a Congress—Invitation of the German Government—The Secret Agreement published in the *Globe*—First Meeting of the Congress—Lord Salisbury on Greece and on the new Bulgaria—Eastern Roumelia—Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Servia—Roumania and Montenegro—The Danube and the Indemnity—The Asian Question and Reforms in Armenia—M. Waddington's Compromise—Final Deliberations and Prince Bismarck's Speech—Lord Salisbury's Despatch—The Anglo-Turkish Agreement—Occupation of Cyprus—Return of the Pfenipotentiaries—Invested with the Garter—Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords—Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury—Lord Beaconsfield's Attack on Mr. Gladstone—Lord Hartington's Resolutions—Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury in the City—Settlement of the East; the Greeks—Occupation of Bosnia—The Dobruzscha, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia—Revolt of Albania—Misery in the Rhodope Mountains—The European Commission—Evacuation of Turkish Territory—Change of Ministry at Constantinople—Marshal MacMahon's retrograde Policy—Death of Thiers—Defeat of the Marshal—The Paris Exhibition—Socialism in Germany—Austrian Affairs—Nihilism in Russia—Marriage of King Alfonso—Death of Victor Emmanuel—A New Pope—Trouble in the United States 342

CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Home Politics of 1878—The Queen's Speech—The Home Rule Party—The Irish Sunday Closing Bill—Murder of Lord Leitrim—The Factory and Workshops Bill—The Animals Contagious Diseases Bill—The Irish Intermediate Education Bill—Distress in South Wales—Strikes in Lancashire—Loss of the *Eurydice*—Loss of the *Princess Alice*—Colliery Accidents—The Abercrombie Explosion—Obituary of the Year; Historians—Mr. Russell Gurney—Earl Russell—Lord Chelmsford—The Princess Alice—Opening of 1879; Gloominess of the Outlook—Extra-Parliamentary Speeches—Bye-Elections—Meeting of Parliament; Ministerial Statements—Resolution for the Reform of Procedure—The Army Bill—Prolonged Debates on the Flogging Clauses—The O'Connor Don's Irish University Bill—The Government Bill—Its Progress in the Lower House—The Public Works Loans Bill—Legislation of Private Members—Debates on General and Financial Topics—Foreign Questions—Mr. Forster on Reciprocity—Lord Bateman's Resolution and Lord Beaconsfield's Criticism—The Farmers' Alliance—Mr. Chaplin's Proposal of an Agricultural Commission—Speeches of Mr. Bright and Lord Hartington—Appointment of the Commission—Lord Beaconsfield on Land Tenure—Opinions of the Liberal Leaders 370

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Ireland: Depressed Condition of the Farmers and Peasantry—Appeals for Assistance—Mr. Parnell and the Tenant-Farmers' Agitation—The Autumn Campaign—Mr. Parnell at Limerick and Navan—Proposed National Convention—The Land League—Arrest of Messrs. Davitt, Killen, and Daly—Meeting at Balla and its Result—Lord Derby at Southport—Lord Beaconsfield at Guildhall—Marriage of the Duke of Connaught—Obituary of the Year—Sir John Shaw Lefevre—Isaac Butt—J. A. Roebuck—Sir Rowland Hill—Lord Lawrence—Fall of the Tay Bridge—The Political Campaign—Mr. Gladstone at Chester—The Cabul Massacre and its Effect upon Politics—Lord Hartington at Newcastle—Sir W. Harcourt on Armenian Reforms—Mr. Cross and Mr. Childers—Lord Salisbury at Manchester—Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright—Mr. Gladstone's Departure for Midlothian—His Speech at Carlisle—Speech in the Edinburgh Music Hall—At Dalkeith—At West Calder—Condition of India—Famine in Cashmere—Sir John Strachey's Financial Proposals—Natives and the Indian Civil Service—Rising of the Naga Hill-tribes—King Theebaw's Butchery—General Lazareff's March to Merv—Russian Retreat from Daghil Tepe—The Nihilists in Russia—Attempts upon the Czar—Occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novi-Bazar by Austria—The Austro-German Alliance—Bismarck and the Socialists—Crushing Defeat of the German Liberals—Austria and Italy—Affairs in France—Resignation of Marshal MacMahon—Election of M. Grévy to the Presidency—Gambetta President of the Chamber—M. Ferry's Education Bill—Affairs in the United States and in Canada 396

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Relations with Afghanistan since 1838—Reign of Dost Mohammed—Shere Ali's Struggle for the Throne—His Interview with Lord Mayo—Frontier Negotiations with Russia—Noor Mohammed at Simla—The Ameer's Relations with Lord Northbrook and General Kaufmann—The Frere Note and its Consequences—Lord Lytton's Instructions—The

Vakeel at Simla—Sir Lewis Pelly at Peshawur—The Russian Mission to Cahul—Determination to send a British Mission—Its Postponement—The Ameer's Distress—The British Mission stopped—The Ultimatum and Declaration of War—Lord Beaconsfield on the "Scientific Frontier"—December Session—Debates on the Queen's Speech—Lord Cranbrook's Motion—Mr. Whitbread's Resolution—Speeches of Lord John Manners and Mr. Chamberlain—The Afghan War—Disposition of the British Forces—Capture of Fort Ali Musjid—Biddulph's and Stewart's Columns—General Roberts in the Peiwar Pass—Capture of the Kotal—He retires to Kurum—Browne at Jelalabad—Flight and Death of Shere Ali—Stewart and Biddulph converge upon Candahar—Occupation of the Town—Operations of Sir S. Browne—Roberts in the Khost Valley—Yakoob Khan's Negotiations—Treaty of Gundannuk—Cavagnari's Position at Cahul—Attack on the Embassy—Massacre of the Mission—Advance on Cahul—Flight of Yakoob Khan to Kushi—Battle of Charasiah—Occupation of Cabul—Abdication of Yakoob Khan 419

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Afghan War continued: Retirement of Roberts to Sherpur—Mohammed Jan's Attack—The Takht-i-Shah—Arrival of Gough and previous Defeat of Mohammed Jan—Battle of Ahmed Kheyli—Arrival of Stewart at Cabul—Abdurrahman Khan—Mr. Griffin's Statement of Terms—Abdurrahman's Recognition and Interview with Mr. Griffin—Evacuation of Sherpur—Advance of Ayoub Khan on Candahar—Battle of Maiwand—Preparations for the Relief of Candahar—The Siege—Roberts's March to Candahar—The Battle of Candahar—The Settlement of Afghanistan—Evacuation of the Country and Establishment of Abdurrahman—The Zulu War—Relations with Cetewayo—Effects of the Transvaal Annexation—Report of the Boundary Commission—Sir B. Frere's Memorandum—Publication of the Award—The Ultimatum—Invasion of Zululand—The Zulu Army—Movements of Wood and of Pearson—Difficulties of Glyn's March—Operations of Lord Chelmsford—Disaster of Isandhlwana—The Defence of Rorke's Drift—Discussions in Parliament—Motions of Lord Lansdowne and of Sir Charles Dilke—Relief of Ekowe—Battle of Ginghulovo—Movements of Wood—Disaster on the Intombi River—Attack on Umbellini's Camp—Defence of Kambula Kop—Landing of Reinforcements—Preparations for the Advance—Appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Death of Prince Louis Napoleon—Battle of Ulundi—Departure of Lord Chelmsford—Capture of Cetewayo—Settlement of Zululand—Subjection of Sikukuni 440

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1880: Relations between Sir Henry Layard and the Sultan—Mr. Parnell in America—The Queen's Speech—The Relief of Distress Bill—Mr. Plimsoll's Proceedings—Resolution against Obstruction—Legislation and the Water Bill—Announcement of the Dissolution—The Marlborough Letter—Reply of the Home Rule Confederation and of Lord Hartington—Mr. Gladstone's Address—The Second Midlothian Campaign—Facts about the Election—Mr. Gladstone becomes Prime Minister—The Ministry—The Indian Budget—Mr. Gladstone and Count Karolyi—Political Speeches—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Peace Preservation Act and on Turkey—The Irish Land Question—Mr. Bradlaugh: his Attempts to take the Oath—Report of the Committee—Subsequent Proceedings—The Burials Bill: its Progress through Parliament—The Grand Game Bill: its Progress and Lord Beaconsfield's Advice—The Employers' Liability Bill—The Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—The Radicals and the Fourth Party—The Irish Difficulty—Mr. O'Connor Power's Bill—The Relief of Distress Bill—The Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Course of the Measure in the Lower House—Debate in the House of Lords and Rejection of the Measure—Mr. O'Donnell on the French Ambassador—State of Ireland and Mr. Dillon's Speech—The Land League Agitation—Mr. Parnell at Ennis—Murder of Lord Mountmorres—The Landlords' Deputation—Mr. Parnell at New Ross—Arrest of Messrs. Walsh and Healy—The Boycott Episode—Mr. Bence Jones—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and others—Mr. Gladstone at Guildhall—Rumours of a Land Bill—British Affairs—The *Atalanta*—Russia and China—The Sultan and the Treaty of Berlin—The Question of the Greek Frontier—The Montenegrin Difficulty—Naval Demonstration off Albania—Surrender of Dulcigno—The Pan-Slavonic Movement—Position of the Prince of Bulgaria—Affairs in Austria—Prince Bismarck's Army Bill—Affairs in France—The Government and the Jesuits—Gambetta's Speech at Cherbourg—Resignation of M. de Freycinet—M. Ferry in Office—The contemplated Anglo-French Commercial Treaty—Affairs in the United States—Election of General Garfield to the Presidency 466

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1881—The Trial of the Traversers—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. McCarthy's Resolution—The Protection of Persons and Property Bill—The Speaker's *coup d'état*—Suspension of the Home Rulers—Mr. Gladstone's Resolution—The Arms Bill—Debates in the Lords on Afghanistan—Speeches of Lord Lytton and Lord Derby—Lord Beaconsfield's last great Speech—His Illness and Death—Mr. Gladstone's Estimate of his Character—The Irish Land Bill—Reports of the Richmond and Bessborough Commissions—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Land Court—The Court as a Land Commission—Resignation of the Duke of Argyll—Lord John Manners' Amendment and Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Bill in Committee—Mr. Gladstone's Concessions—The Arrears Clause—Clauses on Loans and Emigration—The Land Commission—The Final Clauses—The Third Reading—Lord Salisbury's Speech in the Lords—Amendments in Committee—Their Reception by the Commons—Lord Salisbury's Ultimatum—Mr. Gladstone's Compromise—Remainder of the Session 497

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Report of the Bribery Commissioners—Mr. Bradlaugh's Case in the Law Courts—His Attempt to take the Oath—By-elections and the "Fair Trade" Cry—Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Leeds—The Ritualists and the Salvation Army—Arrest of Mr. Davitt—Conduct of Mr. Parnell—Proceedings of the Dynamite Faction—Arrest of Mr. Dillon—Attitude of Ulster and of the Irish Nationalists towards the Land Act—The Irish Catholic Bishops—Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Leeds—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and others—Suppression of the Land League—Working of the Land Act and the Condition of Ireland—Obituary of the Year 517

CHAPTER XXVII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Assassination of President Garfield—The United States and the Panama Canal—Affairs in Russia—Cession of Kuldja to China—Assassination of the Czar—Alexander III.—Events in South-Eastern Europe—The Greek Frontier Question—The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty—French Aggression in Tunis—The Revolt in Algeria—Fall of the Ferry Ministry—Gambetta Premier—Affairs in Germany—Affairs in Austro-Hungary and Italy—Events in India and Australasia—The Boer War—Sir B. Frere in the Transvaal—Sir Garnet Wolseley's Declaration—Disappointment of the Boers—Imminence of the Struggle—The Declaration of Independence—The First Shot—Concentration of Forces, and Defeat of Col. Anstruther—The Basuto Rebellion—Colley's Advance—The Battle of Laing's Nek—Battle of the Ingogo River—Arrival of Reinforcements—Occupation of Majuba Hill—The Battle—President Brand's Mediation—The Armistice—Resistance of the Garrisons—Terms of the Convention.

526

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1882; Speeches on Ireland and the Closure—Opening of Parliament: the Queen's Speech—Lord Salisbury and Lord Granville—Mr. Bradlaugh in the House—Motion in the Lords for a Committee on the Land Act—Mr. Gladstone's Vote of Censure on the House of Lords, and his Speech—Mr. Bradlaugh's Attempt to take the Oath, and his Exclusion after his Re-election—The Affirmation Question in the Lords—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Resolution and his Speech—Block of Public Business—State of Ireland—Temporary Release of Mr. Parnell—Conservative Demonstration at Liverpool—Mr. Redmond's Bill—Release of the Suspects and Resignation of Mr. Forster—Appointment of Lord F. Cavendish—Mr. Forster's Defence—Murder of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke—Opinion in Ireland and England—The Prevention of Crimes Bill—The Arrears Bill—The "Kilmainham Treaty"—Progress of the Crimes Bill—Dr. Playfair's Suspension *en bloc*—The Arrears Bill in the Lords—Collision between the Houses—Mr. Gladstone's Concessions—Lord Salisbury's Surrender—Condition of Ireland during the Spring—The Ladies' Land League—Attitude of the Priests—The Landlords—Suppression of Newspapers—Murders and Trials—The Maamtrassna Massacre—The Mutiny of the Irish Constabulary—Decline of Mr. Parnell's Influence in America—Rivalry between Mr. Davitt and Mr. Parnell—Attempt on the Life of the Queen—Her Majesty's Letter—Fenianism in London—Marriage of the Duke of Albany—Visit of Cetewayo to England—Ecclesiastical Affairs—The Salvation Army—The Channel Tunnel and the History of the Scheme—The Autumn Session—The Closure Resolutions—Lord R. Churchill's Revolt—Amendments to the First Resolution—Speeches of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Gladstone—The Half-past Twelve Rule—The Remaining Resolutions—The Grand Committees—Changes in the Cabinet—Opening of the New Law Courts—Obituary of the Year.

544

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Skoheleff's Address to the Servian Students—Death of the General—Resignation of Prince Gortschakoff—Death of General Kaufmann—Nihilism and its Victims—Affairs in Turkey, Austria and Italy—Death of Garibaldi—Resignation of Gambetta—M. de Freycinet in Power—The "Holiday Government"—French Proceedings in Tunis, Madagascar, and Tonquin—Death of Gambetta—Affairs in Germany—Prince Bismarck's Concessions to Rome—Affairs in the United States—Affairs in Canada, the Colonies, and India—Egyptian Affairs from 1876—General Gordon in the Soudan—Deposition of Ismail—Tewfik and the Dual Control—Their First Report—The Commission of Liquidation—The Military *Emeute*—Baron de Ring—"Egypt for the Egyptians"—Arabi's Preparations—The Military Demonstration—Cherif Pasha's Ministry—The Sultan's Mission—Joint Note of the Powers—The Nationalist Ministry—Plot for the Restoration of Ismail—Ultimatum of the Powers—Conference of the Ambassadors and Dervish Pasha's Mission—Riot in Alexandria and Preparations for War—The Bombardment—Destruction of Ports—Arrival of British Troops—The Affair at Kassassin—Tel-el-Kebir—Surrender of Arabi—Murder of Professor Palmer and his Comrades—The Fate of Arabi—Lord Dufferin and the Settlement of Affairs.

569

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1883—The Queen's Speech—The O'Brien Incident—Mr. Childers's Budget—The Affirmation Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Mr. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Bill—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—The Corrupt Practices Bill—The Bright Celebration and its Consequences—The Transvaal Question—The Proposed Annexation of New Guinea—Egypt and the Proposed Second Suez Canal—Ireland in 1883—Arrest of the Phoenix Park Murderers—Their appearance at Kilmainham Court House—James Carey—The Trials and Convictions—The Fate of Carey and his Murderer—Dynamite Outrages—Attempt to Blow up the *Times* Office—Arrests at Birmingham and in London—The Explosives Bill—Trial of Gallagher and his Companions—Ireland under the Coercion Act—The *Kerry Sentinel* and Mr. Healy at Monaghan—State of Parties in Ulster—The Pope and the Parnell Fund—The Parnell Banquet in the Rotunda, Dublin.

584

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Fisheries Exhibition—Mr. Bradlaugh in the Law Courts—The Leeds Conference—The "Bitter Cry of Outcast London"—Rise of Socialism—The Controversy on the Franchise Bill—Obituary of the Year—Afghanistan and the Russian Advance—Lord Ripon and the Ilbert Bill—African Affairs and the Boers—The New Guinea Question—Canada and the United States—Prince Bismarck's Doings in Germany—France and the Pretenders—Death of the Count of Chambord—The Capture of Tamatave—The Tonquin Question—The Chinese Protest—Troubles in the South and East of Europe—Egypt—Lord Granville's Circular Note—Lord Dufferin's Despatch, and the Reorganisation of the Government—Outbreak of Cholera—The Mahdi and his Successes.

599

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The <i>Alabama</i>	1	Interior of the French Senate-House (Luxembourg Palace, Paris)	177
The Harbour of Nassau	5	The Town Hall, Bombay	181
Arrest of Sailors of the <i>Shenandoah</i> in Melbourne Harbour	9	Lord Northbrook	184
John Lothrop Motley	13	Reception of the Prince of Wales at Baroda	185
Map illustrating the San Juan Question	16	The Prince of Wales at a Tiger-hunt in the Jungle of Nepal	188
Geneva	17	Bluejackets clearing out the Congo Pirates	192
Sir Alexander Cockburn	21	Levuka, Island of Ovalau, Capital of the Fiji Islands, at the Time of the Annexation	193
Rioters and <i>Pétroleuses</i> firing Public Buildings in Paris	25	Statue of Queen Victoria, Bombay	197
The Earl of Mayo	32	The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.	201
The Reform Club, Pall Mall, London	33	Departure of the <i>Alert</i> and <i>Discovery</i> from Portsmouth	205
Scene at the Hustings in the Days of Open Election	37	Papuans of Humboldt Bay, New Guinea, alarmed at the Steam-launch of the <i>Challenger</i>	208
The "Angel," Islington, London	41	Lieut. (afterwards Captain) Cameron	209
The late Sir Wilfrid Lawson	44	The Horse Guards, from Whitehall	213
Warwickshire Farm Labourers' Strike : Meeting at Whitnash	48	Fight between the United States Troops and the Sioux Indians	217
Mr. Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare)	49	Palace of the Reichstag, Berlin	220
Dragoons and Highlanders scattering the Rioters in Belfast	53	Pope Pius IX.	221
Exterior of the Chamber of Deputies, Paris	57	Chief Street in Cetinje, the Capital of Montenegro	225
Funeral of Napoleon III. : The Procession approaching St. Mary's Chapel, Chislehurst	61	The Burning and Sack of Latak	229
Nasser-ed-Deen, Shah of Persia	65	Lord Augustus Loftus	232
Rescue of the Survivors of the <i>Northfleet</i>	69	Lord Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in Guildhall, London	237
Map illustrating the Ashantee War	73	The Sublime Porte, Constantinople	241
The British Army entering Coomassie	77	Lord Derby (fifteenth Earl)	245
Interior of the Chamber of Deputies, Paris	81	The Winter Palace, St. Petersburg	249
Colonel Fred Burnaby	85	The Duke of Argyll	253
Hostile Demonstration against Baker at Masindi	89	The Russo-Turkish War : Map of the Seat of War in Europe	257
The Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London	93	View in Constantinople : A Mosque on the Rosporus	261
Lord Hartington (afterwards Duke of Devonshire)	96	The Russo-Turkish War : Map of the Seat of War in Armenia	264
Hindoo Labourers in a Paddy Field	97	The Russians crossing the Danube at Simnitza	265
The Fort, Allahabad, from the right bank of the Jumna	101	General Skobelev	269
King Edward VI. School, Birmingham	105	Osman Pasha attempting to cut his Way out of Plevna	273
Procession of the Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland to the Assembly Hall, Edinburgh	108	Valetta, Malta, from the Grand Harbour	277
Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury	109	Mr. Archibald Forbes	281
Lambeth Palace, from the Garden	113	Hughenden Manor, Buckinghamshire	284
Lord Penzance	117	The Entrance of Queen's College, Oxford	289
Meeting of Mr. Stanley and Dr. Livingstone	120	Lord Carnarvon	293
David Livingstone	121	Riot at St. James's, Hatcham	297
Titchborne Park, Alresford, Hampshire	129	The Viceroy proclaiming Queen Victoria Empress of India	301
The Titchborne Claimant in Court	133	Sir Richard Temple	305
The Luxembourg Palace, Paris, where the French Senate meets	137	The Russians under Gourko crossing the Balkans	309
William I., German Emperor	141	Capture of the <i>Mercene</i> by the <i>Russia</i>	313
General Pavia dismissing the Cortes	144	Lord Granville	317
Emilio Castelar	145	Besika Bay	321
Treasury Chambers, Whitehall	149	Meeting of Jingoos in Guildhall, London	325
Mr. Disraeli telling the House of Commons his Story about "Dry Champagne"	153	The British Fleet passing the Dardanelles	329
Samuel Plimsoll	157	Gallipoli	333
Foundering of the <i>Schiller</i>	160	Sir Austen H. Layard	337
Messrs. Moody and Sankey's Revivalist Meeting in the Agricultural Hall, London	165	The Governor of Malta reviewing the Indian Troops	341
"Puffing Billy," the Pioneer Locomotive	167	Radziwill Palace, Berlin, where the Congress met	345
The first Railway Passenger Carriage "Experiment" (1825)	167	Athens	349
Charles Kingsley	169		
The Suez Canal : View at Kantara	173		

	PAGE		PAGE
The Marina, Larnaca Cyprus	353	Mr. Gladstone (1880)	477
"Peace with Honour:" Reception of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury at Charing Cross	356	The Clock Tower, Westminster Palace	481
Street Battle at Serajevo	361	Sir Charles Dilke	485
The Paris Exhibition of 1878: the Trocadéro	364	The Saving of Captain Boycott's Crops	489
M. Dufaure	365	Duleigno	493
Audience Chamber in the Royal Palace, Rome	369	Mr. Parnell	497
Mr. Speaker Brand (afterwards Lord Hampden)	373	The Speaker's <i>Coup d'État</i> : Withdrawal of the Irish Home Rulers	501
Collision of the <i>Bywell Castle</i> with the <i>Princess Alice</i>	377	Hughenden Church	505
The Princess Alice	381	Funeral of Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden	508
The Town Hall, Bradford	384	Michael Davitt	513
Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (afterwards Viscount St. Aldwyn)	385	Old Bridge and Barbican Gate, Sandwich	517
Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, by Moonlight	389	Assault on a Salvation Army Procession	521
Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester	393	Arrival of Mr. Parnell at Kilmainham Goal	525
Mr. Parnell addressing the anti-Rent Meeting at Limerick	397	President Garfield	528
Marriage of the Duke of Connaught	401	Mountaineer of Janina, Albania	529
The first Tay Bridge, looking north	405	Sir Bartle Frere	533
The Fifth Duke of Buccleuch	409	Map of the Theatre of War in the Transvaal	537
Dalmeny House	412	Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill	540
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris	417	Lord Lytton ("Owen Meredith")	545
Shere Ali, Ameer of Cabul	421	Town Hall, Northampton	549
Fort Ali Musjid and the Khyber Pass	425	Views in Dublin	553
Attack on Ali Musjid	429	Lord Frederick Cavendish	557
General Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts	432	Officers and Men of the Royal Irish Constabulary	561
British Forces crossing the Bolan Pass	433	The Queen opening the Royal Palace of Justice	568
The Attack on the British Residency, Cabul	437	The Khedive's Palace, Ras-el-Tin, Alexandria	573
Action in the Chardeh Valley: "Trying to save the Guns"	441	Ahmed Arabi Pasha	577
Sir Donald Stewart	445	Charge of the Highlanders at Tel-el-Kebir	581
Candahar	449	The Terrace, Westminster Palace	584
Cetewayo, King of the Zulus	453	Mr. William O'Brien, M.P.	585
Isandhlwana: The Dash with the Colours	457	The Bright Celebration in Birmingham: Triumphal Procession	593
Surrender of Cetewayo	465	The <i>Times</i> Office, Printing House Square	597
Mr. Leonard Courtney (later Lord Courtney of Penwith)	469	The United States Court at the International Fisheries Exhibition	600
After the Midlothian Victory: Mr. Gladstone addressing the Crowd from the Balcony of Lord Rosebery's House in George Street	473	Henry George	605

LIST OF PLATES.

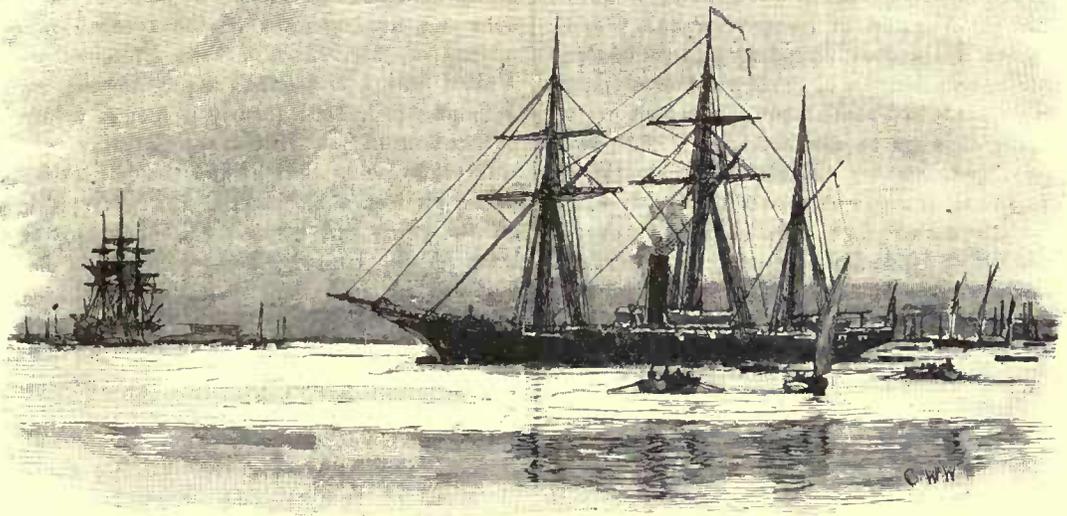
BRITANNIA'S REALM. (<i>By J. Brett, A.R.A.</i>)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE EMIGRANTS. (<i>By Erskine Nicol, A.R.A.</i>)	<i>To face p. 32</i>
THE TURRET ARMOUR-CLAD SHIP "DEVASTATION" AT SPITHEAD, ON THE OCCASION OF THE NAVAL REVIEW IN HONOUR OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA'S VISIT. (<i>By Edward W. Cooke, R.A., F.R.S.</i>)	114
THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH. (<i>By N. Chevalier</i>)	124
QUEEN VICTORIA. (<i>By Lady Abercromby, after Professor H. von Angeli</i>)	148
THE RAILWAY STATION. (<i>By W. P. Frith, R.A.</i>)	168
THE POOL OF LONDON. (<i>By Vicat Cole, R.A.</i>)	194
COMMERCE AND SEA POWER. (<i>By W. L. Wyllie, R.A.</i>)	238
THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA. (<i>By Sydney P. Hall, M.V.O.</i>)	270
ENTRANCE TO PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR. (<i>By E. Hayes, R.I.</i>)	336
SAVING THE GUNS AT MAIWAND. (<i>By R. Caton Woodville</i>)	446
THE LAST ELEVEN AT MAIWAND. (<i>By Frank Fellar</i>)	462
MAP OF INDUSTRIAL BRITAIN, 1881	506
BRITISH ARTILLERY ENTERING THE ENEMY'S LINES AT TEL-EL-KEBIR. (<i>By John Charlton, R.I.</i>)	576
"TOIL, GLITTER, GRIME, AND WEALTH, ON A FLOWING TIDE." (<i>By W. L. Wyllie, R.A.</i>)	602



Reproduced by André & Seign, Ltd., Bushy, Herts.

BRITANNIA'S REALM

FROM THE PAINTING BY J. BRETT A.R.A. IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF BRITISH ART



THE "ALABAMA."

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The *Alabama* Claims—Complaints against Great Britain urged by the United States—Recognition of Belligerent Rights—Inadequacy of the Complaint—Supposed Breaches of Neutrality—The *Alabama*—The *Florida*—Mr. Dudley's Report—Inquiry of the Commissioners of Customs—The *Florida* sails—At Nassau—Captain Hickey's Report—Release of the *Florida*—She is allowed to arm and coal—Earl Russell's Instructions—The *Shenandoah*—The Captain's Report to the Melbourne Government—The *Shenandoah's* Naturalisation—Her Repairs—Reports of Illegal Enlistment—Where was Charlie?—The Governor's Proclamation—Arrest of the Stowaways—Violation of the Enlistment Act—Was Governor Darling to blame?—The *Georgia*, *Sumter*, and the rest—"Unfriendliness and Insincere Neutrality"—Earl Russell declines Arbitration—Lord Stanley accepts the Principle—Reverdy Johnson's Convention—Its Rejection by the Washington Senate—Mr. Motley and Lord Clarendon—Recall of Motley—The Joint High Commissioners—The Rival Arguments—The Question submitted to Arbitration—An Expression of Regret—The San Juan Boundary—Terms of the Treaty of Washington—Its Reception—The Geneva Tribunal—The British and American Cases—The Indirect Claims—They are ruled Out—The Counter-arguments lodged—The Cases of the *Florida* and *Alabama*—The Last Session—The Award—British and American Sentiment—Sketch of Continental History—The Commune—France, Germany, and Italy.

THE year 1871 witnessed the re-discussion and reference to international arbitration of those claims, generically known as the "*Alabama* claims," which, since the close of the American civil war, had troubled and embarrassed the relations between

Great Britain and the United States. This result was obtained by the Treaty of Washington, concluded on the 8th of May, 1871. Brief allusion has been made more than once in these pages to the state of feeling which prevailed in the United

States, after the suppression of the South, with reference to the mode in which Great Britain had maintained her neutrality during the struggle, as also to previous endeavours to settle the matters in debate by negotiation. We have, however, thought it desirable to reserve for the present occasion a full and connected account (1) of those proceedings on the part of the British Government, British officials, and British subjects, which originally gave umbrage to the Government and people of the United States; (2) of the representations and negotiations with reference to these proceedings which bear date earlier than 1871; (3) of the negotiation of 1871, and the treaty resulting from it; (4) of the final decision given by the tribunal of arbitration, constituted at Geneva in pursuance of that treaty.

I. The proceedings on the part of Great Britain which were complained of by the United States were of a threefold character. The original offence, and, perhaps, the greatest of all in American estimation, was the concession of belligerent rights by Great Britain to the Confederate States, by the Queen's proclamation of the 14th of May, 1861. The second class of grievances consisted of alleged breaches of neutrality, whereby Great Britain was said to have allowed her agents and private citizens to neglect the duties and transgress the limits which are prescribed by international law as binding upon neutrals and distinctly set forth in most cases by British statute law or governmental regulation. The third class of grievances comprised the alleged general spirit of unfriendliness, frequently exhibiting itself in particular acts of harshness or discourtesy, the hostile animus—a disposition to deal strictly with Federal and leniently with Confederate officers—by which the exhausting and almost superhuman efforts of the United States to preserve their national integrity were said to have been met by the agents and citizens of Great Britain. These complaints we shall consider *seriatim* in the order in which we have named them.

1. With regard to the recognition of Southern belligerency, it is natural, as we have already remarked, that the Northern Americans—looking at the strife between them and the Southern States solely from their own point of view—should be both grieved and indignant that Great Britain should see in them only a large and civilised population, organised both for war and peace, which appeared determined to suffer any extremity rather than submit to re-union to the Federal system of the Union, from which they had *de facto*

seceded. Judging the quarrel from American principles only, we could not see how, if the South considered secession to be necessary to their welfare, the North could consistently hold them guilty of a heinous crime. To come to the actual date and circumstances of the recognition complained of, Mr. Lincoln, then President of the United States, had issued a proclamation on the 19th of April, 1861 (nearly a month before the publication of the British proclamation of neutrality), declaring that he had thought it desirable to set on foot a blockade of the ports within the States which had seceded “in pursuance of the laws of the United States *and of the Law of Nations in such case provided.*” The words printed in italics are enough of themselves to prove that the Government of the United States did in fact recognise the Confederate States as a belligerent Power before a similar recognition was made by Great Britain. For the “Law of Nations” regulating blockades is solely applicable to cases of belligerency; when Mr. Lincoln appealed therefore to that law, he did what was equivalent to conceding belligerent rights. A decision pronounced on the 17th of June, 1861, by the Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, bears out this view. After reciting the various acts and menaces alleged by the President in justification of his calling out 75,000 militia and laying the Southern ports under a blockade, the decision proceeds: “These facts, so set forth by the President, with the assertion of the right of blockade, amount to a declaration that civil war exists. Blockade itself is a belligerent right and can only legally have place in a state of war.” In a debate in the House of Lords, in the course of the Session of 1868, Lord Cairns justly said that the United States had recognised the Southern States as belligerents long before England did, and that if they denied this and would not admit the existence of a state of war, then England had heavy claims against them for seizing and condemning English ships for attempting to break the blockade, such seizure being only justified by the fact of war. The question is indeed not worth arguing in fuller detail. In the award published by the Geneva tribunal there is not one word tending to show that the arbitrators were of opinion, much as the unfriendly character of the proclamation referred to was insisted on in the “case” submitted by the United States, that in this respect Great Britain had departed in the slightest degree from the obligations of a strict and impartial neutrality.

Indeed, if Napoleon III. had gained his point, the independence of the Southern States would have been recognised.

2. We must now examine those proceedings on the part of British subjects, or agents of the British Government, occurring during the continuance of the civil war, which were complained of by the United States as constituting breaches or abuses of British neutrality. But a useful distinction may here be drawn. Out of a long list of vessels said to have been built or adapted for warlike purposes in some British port and issuing thence to have made havoc of American commerce, there were but three—the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, and the *Shenandoah*—in regard to which Great Britain was adjudged by the Geneva tribunal of arbitration to have failed to discharge the duties of a neutral Power. For the depredations of four other vessels the tribunal did indeed hold Great Britain responsible; but it was not because any one in Great Britain had any concern whatever in their building or equipment, but because they were employed as tenders to the *Alabama* and *Florida*; and on the principle "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se*," the acts of the tenders must be ascribed to and estimated in connection with the acts of their principals. As to the *Georgia*, *Sumter*, *Nashville*, *Chickamauga*, *Tallahassee*, and *Retribution*, the proceedings and history of which had furnished the managers of the American case with abundant materials for impugning the fairness of the British Government, the Geneva tribunal found (in most cases by a large, and in the rest by a narrow majority) that England was free from all blame respecting them. Keeping this distinction in view, we propose to state the cases of the vessels in respect of which the adverse award of the tribunal was pronounced, but to dismiss the rest with the briefest notice.

Of the circumstances attending the building of the *Alabama* at Birkenhead and her escape from Liverpool we have already given an account.* That the bungling and dilatoriness of the Government officials on that occasion in permitting the *Alabama* to escape, or not seizing her while she lay off the Welsh coast, furnished the United States with a good and valid claim to an indemnity for the devastation which she afterwards committed upon their mercantile marine, no fair and reasonable inquirer will dispute. The British arbitrator at Geneva, Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, himself admitted the liability of Great Britain for having

permitted the escape of the *Alabama*, though it was upon somewhat different grounds and to a more limited extent, than appeared right to his brother arbitrators.

The next case to which our attention is directed is that of the *Florida*. The framer of the American "case" for submission to the arbitrators related the history of this vessel with considerable heat and asperity, not, we must own, without much reason. The *Florida*, originally known as the *Oreto*, was an iron screw gun-boat of about 700 tons burden, three-masted and barque-rigged. She was built by the firm of Miller and Sons, Liverpool, to the order of Messrs. Fawcett, Preston and Co., also of Liverpool. It is stated in the American case that the contract for her construction was made with the Messrs. Fawcett by Captain Bullock, a Confederate agent, late an officer in the United States navy, who was introduced to them by a Mr. Priolean, well known in Liverpool as a member of the firm of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., the financial connection of which with the Confederate Government was notorious. But these facts were evidently unknown to the British Government at the time, nor were there any obvious means by which they should have attained to the knowledge of them. The vessel was being built by one firm and to the order of another, neither of which bore names that would naturally awaken suspicion, since neither was connected with Confederate trade and adventure. But the vigilance of the American Consul at Liverpool, Mr. Dudley, was not easily to be cheated, and hints as to the character of the *Oreto* and her supposed warlike destination reached his ears. Mr. Dudley then, in February, 1862, wrote to Mr. Adams, the American Minister, a full statement of what he knew and what he suspected. Mr. Adams immediately wrote to Earl Russell, then the Foreign Minister, urgently requesting him to inquire into the character of the vessel and prevent her from leaving Liverpool, should Mr. Dudley's suspicion that she was intended for a Confederate cruiser be confirmed. Lord Russell referred the matter promptly to the Treasury, by which it was placed in the hands of the Commissioners of Customs. The commissioners reported (February 22nd) that they had caused an inquiry to be made, and found that the *Oreto* was pierced for four guns, though at present she had nothing in her but coals and ballast. They added, "She is not at present fitted for the reception of guns." It was further stated by the Commissioners of Customs that the *Oreto* was owned, they found, by Messrs. Thomas

* Vol. VI., pp. 331-3.

Brothers, of Palermo, and that their collector at Liverpool informed them that "he had every reason to believe that the vessel was for the Italian Government." This array of testimony, as the result proved, was completely delusive; and since, after all, the *Oreto* was intended for the Confederate service, it is difficult to understand why the Board of Customs could not, by the exercise of a little more zeal and intelligence, have made out as much or more about her than had been ascertained by Mr. Dudley. However, Lord Russell could not but be guided in the matter by the result of the official inquiries which he had ordered; and the *Oreto* was, consequently, allowed (March 22nd) to leave Liverpool, clearing for Palermo and Jamaica in ballast. So far, although the English officials may perhaps be chargeable with slight errors of judgment, no want of that "due diligence" which, according to the Treaty of Washington, a neutral Power is bound to exercise can fairly be imputed to the British Government.

About the same time that the *Oreto* took her departure from Liverpool, a steamer named the *Bahama* laden with the guns, shells, and other military stores that were to form the warlike equipment of the new cruiser, cleared at Hartlepool for Nassau. The *Oreto*, which now that she has got fairly to sea we may call by her true name of the *Florida*, arrived at Nassau, the chief town of the colony of New Providence, one of the Bahama islands, on the 28th of April. The *Bahama* had come into port a few days before her. Both vessels then went down to a place called Cochrane's Anchorage, about fifteen miles from Nassau, and remained there several weeks, during which time their proceedings seem to have been so closely watched by the commanding naval officer on the station, that little or no progress could be made in arming the *Florida*. The proceedings of the Governor of the colony were indicative of vacillation. On the one hand, the whole civil population of Nassau, including even the Attorney-General of the colony, were warmly attached to the cause of the Confederates; on the other hand, the British naval officers kept urging the Governor to execute his instructions strictly and not allow British neutrality or hospitality to be abused. Under these opposing pressures, the Governor first, on the 7th of June, caused the *Florida* and *Bahama* to be arrested and brought up to Nassau; a day or two afterwards he released them. Again, on the 16th and 17th of June, first on the representation of some of the sailors of the *Florida*,

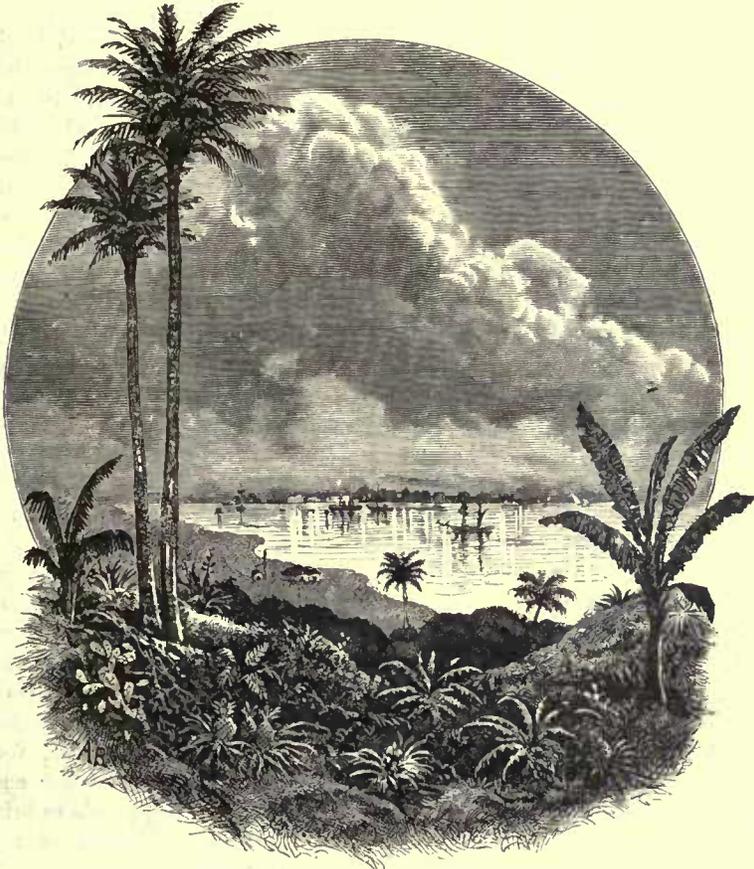
who complained that they were being embarked on a different destination from that which they had shipped for, and afterwards by the renewed orders of the Governor, Captain Hickley, of H.M.S. *Greyhound*, arrested the *Florida*. A few days before this, Captain Hickley had thought it his duty to examine the vessel and reported: "That the *Oreto* is in every respect fitted as a man-of-war, on the principle of the despatch gun-vessels in Her Majesty's Naval Service."

The Governor laid this report before the Attorney-General of the colony and was advised by him that it did not furnish sufficient data for arresting the vessel and libelling her in the Vice-Admiralty Court of the colony for a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. This is a curious instance of the technicalities of law defeating the ends of justice. The ground of the Attorney-General's opinion seems to have been that, whatever had taken place in England, there was no evidence of the vessel having been armed or equipped for warlike purposes against a nation friendly to Great Britain within the limits of the colony. The equipment for war had taken place in England, but till the vessel left Liverpool there could be no clear proof that she was destined to cruise against the United States and not as the builders stated, for consignment to a Palermo firm. Now, the vessel was at Nassau, never having touched at Palermo, and it was as plain as daylight that her warlike equipment had been intended all along to fit her for a Confederate cruiser; yet, because that equipment had taken place in England, the justice of the colony shut its eyes and declared itself powerless.

Within a few days, however, the Governor again changed his mind and, yielding to the representations of Captain Hickley, directed that the *Florida* should be seized and that her owners should be prosecuted for a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The trial was commenced on the 4th of July and lasted a considerable time. "On the 2nd of August . . . the Judge of the Court decreed the release of the ship, on the ground that no proof had been given of any violation of the Act within the limits of his jurisdiction and no evidence produced connecting her with the Confederate Government." Such a decision could not obviously be satisfactory to the American Government. It was now glaringly evident that the *Florida* had been built at Liverpool as a Confederate cruiser. That of itself was an abuse of British neutrality; and if she was now allowed to pass out of British jurisdiction, Great Britain

would be clearly wanting in the discharge of international duty. If the judicial authority of the colony could do nothing for want of legal proof, the executive of the colony had it in its power to step in and detain the vessel till her assumed character of a lawful and pacific trader was established. This, however, seems never to have occurred to Governor Bailey, who acted as if the

The transfer of the armament at Green Cay was a manifest breach of British neutrality; but the secrecy observed and the remoteness of the desolate islet where it occurred probably made it impossible for the colonial authorities to prevent it. From Green Cay the *Florida* steamed for Cardenas in Cuba, hoping to pick up a crew there; but she was warned off by the Spanish authorities.



THE HARBOUR OF NASSAU.

sentence of the Court relieved him of all responsibility in the matter.

A few days after her release, the *Florida*, accompanied by the schooner *Prince Alfred*, which had taken on board from the quay at Nassau the guns and ammunition which the *Bahama* had put on shore, went down to a remote islet of the Bahama group, called Green Cay, and in a very short time transferred to herself the armament with which the schooner was loaded. Thus equipped, she went forth, "to burn, sink, and destroy" the Federal shipping and committed devastations to the amount of six million dollars.

Then she boldly steered for Mobile and, running the gauntlet of the blockading squadron, succeeded, though not without receiving considerable injuries from the fire of the Federal ships, in entering the harbour. This was on the 4th of September, 1862. On the 26th of January, 1863, she was again at Nassau, entering the harbour in the early morning without permission. She sailed again about noon on the 28th, having been allowed to take on board a large supply of coal. "Three months' supply," said the American case, but refuted itself by other facts which it related. Direct evidence was given by one of the men engaged in coaling her, that the

Florida on this occasion received not less than 180 tons. On the other hand, British naval officers, who surveyed the *Florida* at Bermuda in 1864, reported her coal-carrying capacity as not exceeding 135 tons. At any rate, it was undisputed that she took on board at least 130 tons and a serious blot on the equity of British neutrality was incurred, more especially as she obtained a further supply at the port of Barbadoes in February. To show this, it is necessary to refer to the Government Regulations of the 31st of January, 1862.

In a letter of that date addressed to the Admiralty, Earl Russell laid down precise instructions which all British officials were to observe in dealing with belligerent ships in British ports. The general object of the Government was "to prevent, as far as possible, the use of her Majesty's harbours, ports, and coasts, and the waters within her Majesty's territorial jurisdiction, in aid of the warlike purposes of either belligerent;" and among other regulations directed to this end were the following: "If any ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall, after the time when this order shall be first notified and put in force, . . . enter any port, roadstead, or waters belonging to her Majesty, . . . such vessel shall be required to depart and to put to sea within twenty-four hours after her entrance into such port, roadstead, or waters, except in case of stress of weather, or of her requiring provisions or things necessary for the subsistence of her crew or repairs:" and again—"No ship of war or privateer of either belligerent shall hereafter be permitted, while in any port, etc., to take in any supplies, except provisions and such other things as may be requisite for the subsistence of her crew; and except so much coal only as may be sufficient to carry such vessel to the nearest port of her own country, or to some nearer destination; and no coal shall be again supplied to any such ship of war or privateer, in the same or any other port, etc., without special permission, until after the expiration of three months from the time when such coal may have been last supplied to her within British waters as aforesaid."

The third vessel in respect of the building or equipment of which the tribunal adjudged Great Britain to be chargeable with a want of "due diligence" was the *Shenandoah*. But the default was expressly limited to what took place at Melbourne in 1865; for her departure from England and transformation into a cruiser the tribunal declined to hold Great Britain responsible. This part of her history may therefore be dispatched in

a few words. The *Shenandoah* was originally the British steamer *Sea King* and had been long employed in the East India trade. She was purchased by one Richard Wright, who was the father-in-law of the managing partner in the firm of Fraser, Trenholm and Co., whose connection with the Confederate cause has been already referred to. On the 8th of October, 1864, the *Sea King*, under the command of a Captain Corbett and with a British crew on board, cleared from Liverpool. At the same time the British steamer *Laurel*, having the armament designed for the *Sea King* on board, cleared from Liverpool for Matamoras. She took out also some twenty natives of the Confederate States and among them several who had served as officers on board the *Alabama*, before her destruction by the *Kearsarge*. The *Sea King* and the *Laurel* met at Funchal, in Madeira, and about the 21st of October the transfer of the armament was effected off the rocky islet of Desertas, within Portuguese jurisdiction. Captain Corbett then announced to the crew that the ship had been sold and was now in the service of the Confederate Government. Lieutenant Waddell, formerly an officer of the American Navy, who had come out in the *Laurel*, hoisted his flag on board the *Sea King*, which was henceforward to be known as the *Shenandoah*. Great inducements were held out to the crew to reenlist in the new service, but only five out of a crew of forty-seven, besides a few men from the *Laurel*, consented to do so. So far, though the neutrality of Great Britain had been shamefully abused by the acts of the British subjects who were instrumental in concerting the meeting of the *Laurel* and *Sea King* at Madeira, for the purpose of equipping the latter for war against the United States, it seems impossible to bring home a charge of negligence, or breach of regulation, to any British official.

The *Shenandoah* then sailed on a cruise, which lasted about ninety days, and after capturing and destroying several valuable American merchantmen, she arrived in Hobson's Bay, and dropped anchor off Sandridge, two miles from Melbourne, on the evening of the 25th of January, 1865. The captain immediately sent a messenger on shore to convey a request to the Governor, Sir Charles Darling, that the *Shenandoah* might make some necessary repairs and obtain a supply of coals. The Governor held an executive council on the following day to consider the request. The Acts and Regulations bearing on the subject of the maintenance of British neutrality and the treatment of men-of-war in the service of a belligerent

Power were sought out and carefully considered; and a well-weighed answer was returned to the application of the Confederate commander. Lieutenant Waddell was told to state in writing the nature and extent of the repairs which his ship required and also that he would be permitted to take on board provisions and other stores required for the subsistence of his crew, but not beyond what might be necessary for immediate use. The time that the ship would be allowed to remain would be fixed by the Colonial Government as soon as they received Lieutenant Waddell's answer to the inquiry about the repairs.

The United States Consul wrote to the Governor on the 28th of January, tendering evidence of the identity of the *Shenandoah* with the *Sea King* and arguing that since she had not entered a Confederate port since leaving England she could have obtained no new "naturalisation," that her original British registration remained consequently in force and that she was not entitled to any of the rights accorded by international law to the ships of a belligerent. The Governor consulted the law officers, guided by whose opinion he informed the Consul that the Victorian Government considered that the *Shenandoah* could be regarded in no other light than as a vessel of war of the Confederate navy and that she would be so treated.

Lieutenant Waddell engaged a firm of iron-founders, the Messrs. Langlands, to examine the machinery connected with the ship's screw-propeller. The matter was not accomplished with the same expedition that would have been possible in New York or London and the American case made the most of, and put the worst construction on, this comparative tardiness. But when it is considered that the colony of Victoria, though its material and civil progress had been doubtless extraordinary, was at that time just thirty years old, it cannot be deemed a subject of complaint that everything did not proceed with the swiftness and facility that characterise an old community. On the 30th of January Messrs. Langlands reported that in order that the extent of the damage to the screw machinery might be fully ascertained the vessel must be placed on the slip, and that the necessary repairs could not, in their opinion, be effected in less than ten days from that date. This brings us to the 9th of February. Now, if the Government had been content to accept the report of the persons employed by the Confederate commander as to the length of time required for the repairs, they might justly have been charged with laxity and a want of due

diligence; but they incurred no such reproach. On the 29th or 30th of January the Government appointed a board of three officers, of whom one was the Government engineer, to visit and inspect the ship, so that they might obtain an independent professional opinion as to her condition. This board, after visiting the *Shenandoah*, reported on the 1st of February that she was not in a fit state to go to sea as a steamship and must be placed upon the slip that the exact nature of the repairs needed might be ascertained. The framer of the American case omitted all mention of this board, and so worded his narrative as to convey the impression that the Governor took Lieutenant Waddell's bare word about the repairs, and the time required for them and conceded to him all that he asked. After having received the report of the board, which in effect confirmed that of the Messrs. Langlands, the Governor granted to Lieutenant Waddell permission to stay in the port for the number of days required for the completion of the repairs necessary to enable the vessel to put to sea as a steamship.

A fresh difficulty arose for the Colonial Government on the 10th instant. The *Shenandoah* was short-handed; and there is some evidence which points to a diminution of her complement, already far too scanty, by desertion, after her arrival at Melbourne. That Lieutenant Waddell was desirous of enlisting men from shore is beyond a doubt. He is said to have expressed a preference for foreigners. But his later conduct precludes us from believing that his scruples about infringing British neutrality were more than skin-deep. Confederate agents were busy among the low purlieus and sailor-haunted quarters of Melbourne and their machinations reached the vigilant ears of the United States Consul. That gentleman, on the day just named, sent in to the Government the affidavit of a prisoner who had made his escape from the *Shenandoah*, to the effect that fifteen or twenty men, most of whom he named, had joined the ship since she came in and were concealed on board. This was a serious matter and the Government appear to have behaved with becoming promptitude. A Williamstown magistrate granted a warrant for the apprehension of one of the persons mentioned in the affidavit, whose name was James Davidson, but who was commonly called "Charlie." The superintendent of police, armed with a warrant for the apprehension of Davidson, went on board the *Shenandoah*. On the first occasion the captain was on shore and the officer in charge said that in his absence he

could not allow the ship to be searched. The next day (February 14th) the superintendent again visited the ship and informed Lieutenant Waddell of the object of his mission. Waddell declared that he had no such person on board. The superintendent still requested permission to search the ship, but this the commander would not permit.

The superintendent returned to Melbourne and reported to the Government the result of his visit. An executive council was immediately held to consider the state of things. Some thought the claim to execute the warrant should be enforced with all the power of the Government; others (and their opinion was afterwards confirmed by that of the highest legal authorities in England) doubted whether the enforcement of a search was permissible according to international law. A middle course and, as it would seem, a sound and discreet course, was adopted. The commander of the *Shenandoah* was requested to reconsider the determination which he had expressed not to suffer the warrant to be executed and was informed that, meanwhile, the permission to receive supplies and to have repairs executed was suspended. The Governor, by proclamation, forbade all her Majesty's subjects to have anything to do with the supplies or repairs required on the *Shenandoah* from that time forward. Superintendent Lyttleton, the same officer who had boarded the vessel with the search-warrant, crossed with a party of police to Williamstown, where the slip was on which the *Shenandoah* had been raised, cleared the yard, took possession of the slip and sent away the mechanics who were at work on the ship's stern-post. These proceedings do not look like the acts of a Government that was negligent about causing British neutrality to be respected, though it is true that the embargo was removed when it appeared that the longer repairs were postponed the longer would the vessel be detained.

About ten o'clock that same night the police in charge of the slip saw a boat put off from the *Shenandoah*; they pursued and overtook it. In this boat were four men, who were all detained in custody. One turned out to be an American and was before long released; of the other three one proved to be the identical "Charlie" for whose apprehension the warrant had been issued. The three men were charged before a magistrate on the 16th of February with a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act and were committed for trial. When the trial came on one of them, who was only fifteen years of age, was discharged by the

presiding judge on account of his youth; the other two were convicted and sentenced to ten days' imprisonment. This fact again—one surely somewhat material in the inquiry whether the Victorian Government were negligent or diligent in regard to the duties of neutrality—was passed over in the American case.

On the night between the 17th and 18th of February a fraud was committed upon British neutrality and a flagrant violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act perpetrated by the reception on board the *Shenandoah*, to recruit her ship's complement, of a number of British subjects variously stated at from twenty to forty-five. With these on board the vessel sailed early on the morning of the 18th of February. The only question was, whether the Victorian Government could be fairly held responsible for the occurrence. The tribunal of arbitration, or rather a majority of its members, deemed that it was responsible and regulated their award accordingly. How they could arrive at such a conclusion with all the original documents before them, it is most difficult to understand. If indeed the version given in the American case were a truthful one, the responsibility of the Melbourne Government would be clear enough. There it is stated that on the 17th of February, the day before the *Shenandoah* sailed, the United States Consul "lodged with the Governor the affidavit of one Andrew Forbes," showing that six persons whom he named, residents of Melbourne and British subjects, intended to join the *Shenandoah* outside. But the statement made in the American case is not true. The Consul made no communication to the Governor of the nature referred to till the 18th instant, after the *Shenandoah* had sailed, and when, of course, nothing could be done. What happened on the 17th was this: The Consul brought his witness, Forbes, to the Crown Solicitor about five o'clock in the afternoon and said that he wished to lay an information. The Crown Solicitor, not being a magistrate, could not receive the information; the Consul then went to various authorities, all of whom seem to have shown a readiness to act, as far as the law permitted them. But he could not procure a warrant, the resident magistrate at Melbourne not thinking that the unsupported affidavit of Forbes was enough to justify him in granting one and there not being time to procure other depositions. Perhaps the magistrate was wrong, but he certainly acted according to his best judgment. The executive power—acting, not under any pressure from the

United States Consul, but in consequence of information in the hands of the police, and the suspicions which Lieutenant Waddell's conduct in the matter of "Charlie" and his companions had justly awakened—seems to have taken all the precautions which the limited means at its disposal permitted. No British ship of war was in the harbour, the captain of which might have been requested to keep the *Shenandoah* in sight and

acquainting them with all the circumstances of the case, in order that they might be on their guard should Lieutenant Waddell pay any of them a visit.

The claims advanced by the United States against Great Britain in respect of depredations committed by the *Georgia*, the *Sumter*, the *Nashville*, the *Chickamauga*, the *Tallahassee*, and the *Retribution*, having been disallowed by the



ARREST OF SAILORS OF THE "SHENANDOAH" IN MELBOURNE HARBOUR. (See p. 8.)

watch well all her movements, till she was outside the Heads. The water police did what they could; all through the night of the 17th they kept a boat rowing guard between the ship and the shore. But the night was dark and two or three boats full of men, watching their opportunity, contrived to put off from the Sandridge pier and to row, unseen, to the *Shenandoah*. The facts connected with the surreptitious conveyance of these volunteers on board the *Shenandoah* soon became known and the Governor, finding that the neutrality of the British Colony had been shamefully violated, wrote a circular letter to the Governors of the other Australian colonies and New Zealand

tribunal of arbitration, need not detain us long. The first case was certainly the most glaring and we shall pass over the others in silence, as their family history is very similar. The *Georgia*, originally the *Japan*, is said, in the American case, to have been built in the Clyde expressly for the Confederate service; and it is probable that such was really the case. A crew was engaged for her in Liverpool, and sent down to board her in Greenock; she sailed from the Clyde at the beginning of April, 1863. Making for the French coast, she was met off Morlaix by the *Alar* steamer, which had sailed with her armament on board from Newhaven. The transfer of the guns

and stores was effected somewhere off the island of Ushant, but whether or not within French waters appears uncertain. The Confederate flag was then hoisted and the vessel took the name of the *Georgia*. Her career as a cruiser does not appear to have been a very successful one and in May, 1864, she came into Liverpool and was there dismantled and sold, acquiring thus, for a second time, a British nationality. This is certainly a scandalous history. That it should be possible to build a vessel in English waters, equip her with an armament of English manufacture, man her in great part with Englishmen, then change on the high seas (or possibly, in French waters) her nationality from English to Confederate, employ her in making war against the commerce of a nation with which England was at peace and amity, and, finally, when that pursuit became unproductive, to bring her back to England and transform her into a quiet English trader again;—that all this should be possible argued something very lax and defective somewhere; it might be in the laws, it might be in their administration. A more energetic and clear-sighted chief of the Foreign Office than Lord Russell would not have submitted tamely to these impudent and injurious violations of our neutrality; he would have used naval, not legal, means to put down the scandal; he would have applied to the Admiralty more and to the law officers less. Something, however, was done. The Liverpool firm which sent down the crew of the *Georgia* to Greenock was prosecuted before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and two members of it were fined £50 each. Moreover, an Order in Council was adopted on the 8th of September, 1864, prohibiting for the future ships of war belonging to either belligerent from being dismantled and sold in British ports. A few days after the *Georgia* had left the Mersey, in her new, or rather resumed, character of a British trader, she was boarded and captured by the United States frigate *Niagara* off Lisbon. That the act provoked no remonstrance from the British Government proves that they did not recognise any right in the Confederate Government to sell its cruisers to British merchants, nor in British merchants to purchase them and put them on the register of British shipping. It is obvious that Governments can only deal with Governments. If the Confederate Government wished to get rid of one of its commissioned cruisers and, by a sale in England, to transfer it to private British ownership, it is plain that this could only be done through the intervention and with the consent of

the British Government. Now, as a matter of course, no such intervention and consent took place with regard to the *Georgia*; the United States were therefore justified in regarding the assumed transfer of the vessel to British ownership as fictitious and null.

3. In order to sustain the charge against Great Britain of "unfriendliness and insincere neutrality," the American case printed extracts from a number of speeches made at various times, while the war was proceeding, by leading English statesmen; and as all the "cheers" and "hear, hears" with which the remarks of each speaker were greeted were inserted, many people considered that it was done in order that the "unfriendliness" might appear to have existed as much in the breasts of the people as in the minds of their representatives. It was not a matter, however, which it was thought necessary to answer. Of course, if Mr. Gladstone thought and said that the Southern States had succeeded in making a new nation—and if Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston thought that it would be a dreadful thing, and not for the real good of the North itself, that the Union should be restored by force—there was nothing necessarily unfriendly in these observations. As the logical inference from the facts which the framer of the American case enumerated, he drew the following conclusion—that, with a few exceptions, "the leading statesmen of Great Britain, and almost the whole periodical press and other channels through which the British cultivated intellect is accustomed to influence public affairs, sustained the course of the existing Government in the unfriendly acts and omissions which resulted so disastrously for the United States." By these "acts and omissions" the writer evidently meant proceedings taken by the Government in relation to certain vessels which were inconsistent with a sincere neutrality, since nothing else done or left undone by the Government could be truly said to have "resulted disastrously" to America. He meant to say that both the British people and the Government gave a rigorous construction to British neutrality as against the Federal States, but winked hard at infractions of the same neutrality when they tended to the advantage of the Confederates; that both were not really sorry that the *Alabama* had escaped from Liverpool in defiance of British laws and felt a secret satisfaction at hearing of the ravages which she and other vessels of her class committed. If this was the writer's meaning, then the statement can only be met with a formal and unqualified denial.

II. From the foregoing general sketch the reader will gather the nature and the grounds of the complaints which the conduct of the British Government during the war gave rise to on the part of the United States. We now proceed to describe the efforts made to adjust the differences that had arisen prior to 1871. Soon after the termination of the war the American Government preferred a claim to compensation for the damages inflicted by the *Alabama* on American commerce; but Lord Russell, for reasons which it is not worth while to examine, refused at that time to entertain it; he also declined to refer the question to arbitration. This refusal appears to us to have been a great mistake. Whatever excuses might be made, it was clear that a substantial wrong had been done. The *Alabama* ought not to have been allowed to leave Liverpool and yet she was allowed to leave it; our liability, therefore, to make compensation for the damage done by her ought not to have been disputed. Lord Stanley came into office at the close of 1866, and at the close of the year offered, through Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister at Washington, to adopt the principle of arbitration. Mr. Seward accepted the offer, on condition that the whole controversy between the two Governments should be referred to the arbitrators. It appeared after the correspondence had continued some time, that, in insisting on this condition, Mr. Seward intended to assert the right of his Government to impugn before the arbitrators the conduct of Great Britain in recognising the belligerency of the South. Lord Stanley could not consent to this point being referred and the negotiations accordingly came to an end (November, 1867).

Affairs remained in this state till the arrival of Mr. Reverdy Johnson in England, about the beginning of 1868. The new Minister was a man of conciliatory character and a useful pliancy of intellect; his warm attachment to the policy which would remove all causes of difference and multiply binding ties and harmonising relations between the two countries, was well known, and his appointment was unanimously ratified by the Senate, though it had vetoed almost every other diplomatic appointment made by President Johnson. The first attempts at negotiation were abortive, but Mr. Reverdy Johnson's benevolent intentions were not easily to be baffled. After signing protocols with Lord Stanley for the settlement of the questions of naturalisation and the San Juan water boundary, Mr. Johnson at last proposed a scheme for the disposal of the *Alabama*

Claims, which met with the approval of the British Government. Two commissioners were to be appointed on each side, and these four commissioners were then to choose an arbitrator or arbitrators, to whose final decision was to be referred any question upon which, in the course of their examination of the said claims, the commissioners should not be able to come to an agreement. The scheme also provided that neither Government should make out a case in support of its position and that no person should be heard for or against any such claim, the official correspondence alone being laid before the commissioners. A convention, of which these were the leading features, was drawn up and signed by Lord Stanley and Mr. Reverdy Johnson on the 10th of November, 1868. So confident was the American Minister that his Government and the Senate of the United States would approve and ratify this convention, that at the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th of November, the day before it was formally concluded, he spoke in the following terms: "How that end [the termination of the differences between England and America] has been brought about I forbear to say, except that it has been brought about without touching in the slightest degree the rights or the honour of either nation. From 1846 to the present time, from one cause or other, there were clouds which alarmed the people of both countries. We have removed those clouds and leave both nations in an undimmed sunshine of peace."

These anticipations, as it turned out, were too sanguine. Although Mr. Seward had telegraphed to Mr. Reverdy Johnson that the convention was entirely acceptable, except that the place of meeting should be altered to Washington (a modification to which Lord Stanley acceded), when the text was received in America objections were raised by the Government. In a letter intended for Lord Stanley, but which, as it arrived after the resignation of the Conservative Ministry, was received and acted upon by Lord Clarendon, the British Government was informed that Mr. Reverdy Johnson had misunderstood his instructions, that the President thought several of the articles of the convention inadmissible, and that the Cabinet were agreed that the convention could not, in the form which it then wore, be ratified by the Senate. Certain modifications were proposed, which, when examined by Lord Clarendon appeared to him to be variations in form rather than of substance; he did not therefore refuse to entertain them and a new convention was signed

between him and Mr. Johnson on the 14th of January, 1869. Everything seemed at last in train for settlement; the convention was laid before the Senate of the United States and referred by it to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which was expected to report in favour of its adoption. But a speech made by Senator Sumner on the 13th of April, vehemently denouncing the conduct and attitude of England towards the United States, in relation to that whole class of acts and omissions out of which the *Alabama* Claims arose, had so great an effect upon the Assembly that the convention was rejected by an overwhelming majority—fifty-four to one.

By the rejection of the convention, the question returned to its original state. In the summer of 1869, after Mr. Motley had succeeded Mr. Reverdy Johnson as the representative of the United States, various important interviews and much interesting correspondence took place, of which we shall give a very brief outline. Early in June, in an interview held by appointment with Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office, after a discussion of various pending negotiations between the two countries, Mr. Motley offered an explanation tending to throw light on the motives that had influenced the Senate in the rejection of the Reverdy Johnson convention. Owing to some accident, which he could not explain, the text of the convention had been published prematurely in America, long before it was brought under the cognisance of the Senate, and had become the mark for much unfavourable comment. The time at which it was signed was thought inopportune, because the late President and his Cabinet were then virtually out of office and their successors could not be consulted on the question. The convention was further objected to because it dealt only with the claims of individuals and had no reference to those of the two Governments on each other; and lastly, because it did not settle one of the moot points of international law which had been debated between the Governments and laid down no principles for future guidance. Mr. Motley proceeded to say that President Grant had decided that it would be better to let the question stand over for a time, until angry feelings had subsided. When it was again approached, his Cabinet was of opinion that it would be desirable to lay down, with greater precision than heretofore, certain principles of international law with reference to the rights and duties of neutrals.

In the following September Mr. Motley read to Lord Clarendon a long despatch from Mr. Fish,

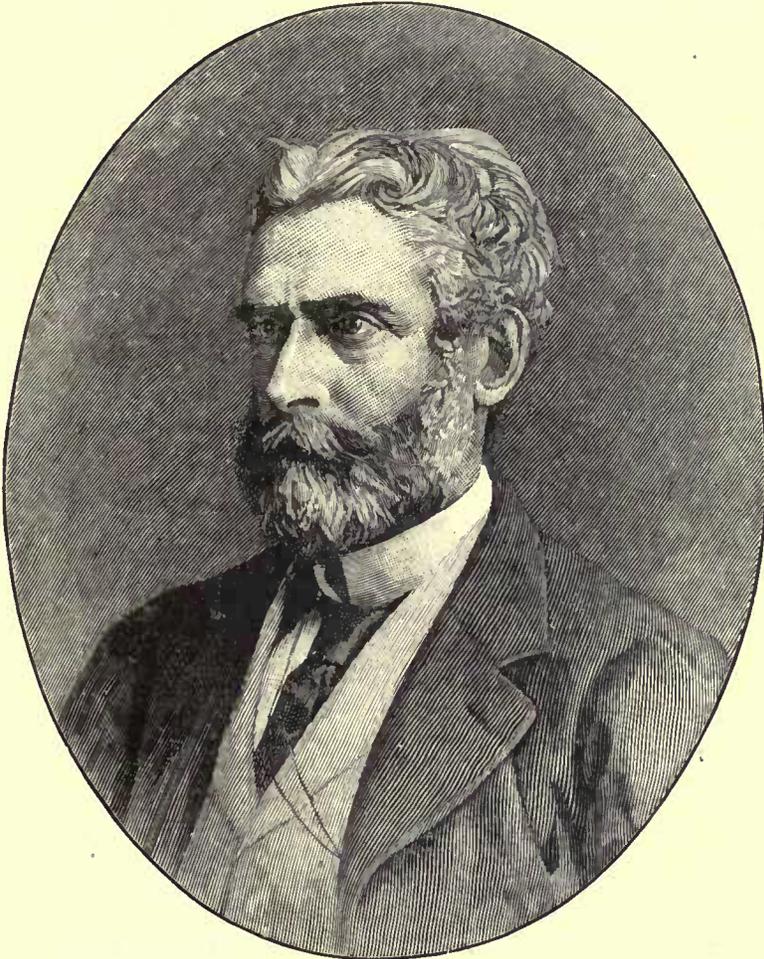
the American Secretary of State, narrating and characterising the circumstances which had given rise to the *Alabama* Claims, from the American point of view. As this despatch travelled over topics which have been frequently handled in these pages, it is not necessary to analyse its contents. Its fairness may be judged from the terms in which it described the secession of the Southern States, as a "mere domestic act of insurrection." It attempted to prove that the recognition by Great Britain of the belligerent rights of the South was a premature and essentially unfriendly act and that it had much to do with hardening and prolonging Southern resistance. Mr. Fish actually connected the proclamation of neutrality with the later escape of the cruisers from British ports, so as to make the former "a virtual act of war"! At the same time the American Government did not in this despatch, he said, propose or desire to set any time for the settlement of their claims. Their present object was merely to make the British Government fully acquainted with the manner in which the subject was regarded in the United States; they were, however, prepared to negotiate whenever a proposition should be made by Britain and to enter on the examination of that proposition with a sincere desire to promote the interests of peace and permanent friendship between the two countries.

Lord Clarendon, in replying to this despatch (November, 1869), thus noticed the hint that America was prepared to consider any fresh overtures. "It is obvious," he said—"and Mr. Fish will probably on reflection admit—that her Majesty's Government cannot make any new proposition or run the risk of another unsuccessful negotiation until they have information more clear than that which is contained in Mr. Fish's despatch respecting the basis upon which the Government of the United States would be disposed to negotiate." He transmitted at the same time to Mr. Thornton (who had succeeded Sir Frederick Bruce as British Minister at Washington) a paper of observations which he was to lay before Mr. Fish, informally replying to the principal allegations, and combating some of the exaggerated statements, which the despatch of the latter had contained.

III. Thus matters stood till the beginning of 1871, except that Mr. Motley was suddenly recalled towards the end of 1870. The impression was general, both in England and America, that the President had thought him too prone to a policy of compromise, and that he was to be

replaced by a more unbending negotiator: and when, after much difficulty, the post was filled up by the appointment of a soldier—General Schenck—that impression naturally gathered strength. But, as it happened, the truth lay in the opposite direction. Mr. Motley was recalled because he

occasion, made the conduct of Britain in that particular substantially unassailable. The damage caused—directly or indirectly—by the cruisers issuing from British ports was, he correctly perceived, the true ground of claim; and the alleged premature recognition was only to be used as



JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, Regent Street, W.)

had identified himself to such an extent with the extreme views and perfervid temper of Mr. Sumner, that he did not conform faithfully to his instructions, but indulged in phrases about "burning questions of grievance," and "the gravity of the occasion," which displeased the cool-headed and sagacious President. Grant had begun to perceive that it would not do to continue to place the conduct of England in conceding belligerent rights in the fore-front of the American case; since not only international law, but the similar behaviour of other neutral nations on the same

evidence of an unfriendly animus, which would give an air of antecedent probability to the alleged positive breaches of neutrality.

Towards the end of 1870 Mr. Gladstone's Government proposed the appointment of a Joint High Commission, to be held at Washington, for the settlement of the Fisheries question. In assenting to the commission, President Grant proposed that all other matters of dispute between the two Governments, including the long-standing question of the *Alabama* Claims, should be referred to the same tribunal. To this Lord

Granville (who had succeeded the Earl of Clarendon at the Foreign Office) consented. It was agreed that five commissioners should be appointed on each side. For England the leading commissioner was Earl de Grey, to whom were joined Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, British Minister at Washington, Sir John Macdonald, a prominent member of the Canadian Government, and Professor Mountague Bernard, the author of a learned and dispassionate essay on British neutrality. It was considered politic on Mr. Gladstone's part that, by requesting one of the leaders of the Conservative party (Sir Stafford Northcote) to join the commission, he in some measure anticipated and disarmed the hostility which the Opposition might otherwise be tempted to raise in Parliament, and partially committed the other side of the House to acquiescence in any treaty that might be concluded. The American commissioners were Mr. Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, General Schenck (whose sailing was purposely postponed that he might serve on the commission), Mr. Ebenezer Hoar, Mr. George H. Williams, and Mr. Justice Nelson. A paragraph in the Queen's Speech stated that the arrangement made with America for the holding of the High Commission included all claims for compensation which had been, or might be, made by each Government, or by its citizens, upon each other. The commission, dated February the 16th, 1871, giving power to Earl de Grey and the other commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty, was very full and large in its expressions; it stated that they were appointed "for the purpose of discussing in a friendly spirit with commissioners to be appointed on the part of our good friends the United States the various questions on which differences have arisen between us and our good friends, and of treating for an agreement as to the mode of their amicable settlement."

The Joint High Commission met and constituted itself at Washington, on the 27th of February, 1871; the first full meeting was held on the 4th of March. The *Alabama* Claims came up for discussion on the 8th of March. The American commissioners then stated the case of their Government, explaining the grounds on which the people of the United States conceived that they had just cause to complain of the conduct of Great Britain during the war, putting in a rough estimate of the direct losses which American commerce had sustained through the depredations of cruisers which had been fitted out or armed, or equipped, or which had received

augmentation of force, in the ports of Great Britain or her colonies; and adding that, "in the hope of an amicable settlement, no estimate was made of the indirect losses"—those alleged to have arisen through the enhanced rate of insurance, the transfer of American ships to foreign flags, and the prolongation of the war, all which grievous effects were ascribed to the cruisers; without prejudice, however, to the "right of indemnification on their account in the event of no such settlement being made." Finally, they expressed the hope that the British commissioners would be able to place upon record an expression of regret by her Majesty's Government for the depredations committed by the vessels, the acts of which were under discussion.

The British commissioners replied, in accordance with their instructions, that they could not admit that Great Britain had failed in any of the duties imposed upon her by international law, nor that she was justly liable to make good to the United States the losses occasioned by the acts of the cruisers referred to. They reminded the American commissioners of various acts of the British Government while the war was in progress, which argued, not merely an impartial, but a friendly animus towards the United States; such as the seizure of the *Alexandra* and the iron-clads and the acquisition, at a great cost, of control over the Anglo-Chinese flotilla, which it was apprehended might be employed against the United States. They added, however, that although Great Britain had consistently disavowed her liability, she had already shown her willingness to adopt the principle of arbitration, provided that a fitting arbitrator could be found and an agreement arrived at as to the points which should be submitted to his decision. They, therefore, would abstain from replying in detail to the arguments urged on the other side, in the hope that a common understanding might be arrived at for the reference of the matters in dispute to an impartial umpire—a course that would tend to the maintenance of amity better than the continued discussion of them by the parties themselves.

To the proposal of the British commissioners to refer the question to arbitration, the American commissioners replied that they would only consent to this, provided the principles by which the arbitrators should be guided could first be made matter of agreement. They gradually developed their meaning, and it appeared that they desired the definition of new rules or principles of international law, laying down more strictly than

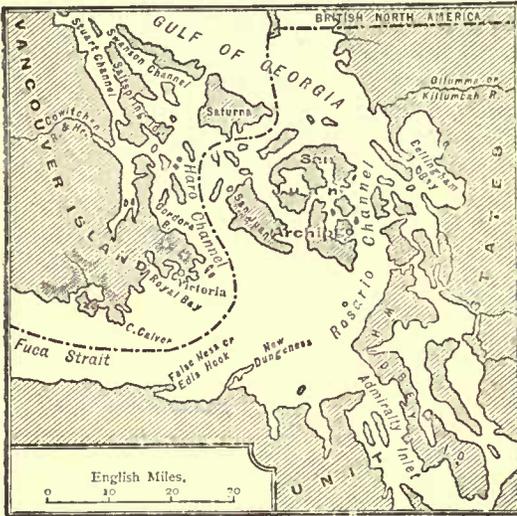
before the duties of neutral Powers in time of war. Long discussions arose on this point. The British commissioners were willing to discuss and agree upon rules the observance of which should be held binding for the future; but they thought that the best mode of conducting an arbitration was to submit the facts to the arbitrator and leave him free to decide on them after hearing arguments. The American commissioners answered that they were willing to consider what principles should be laid down for observance in similar cases in future, provided that those principles, when agreed to, should be held retrospectively applicable to the facts in respect of the *Alabama* Claims. The British commissioners felt that they were being hard pressed, said that their instructions did not permit of their agreeing to the arbitrator being fettered by rules and sought enlightenment from England through the Atlantic telegraph. At this period of the negotiation the communication through the cable between the British commissioners and the Home Government was nearly incessant. The rules of international law proposed by the American commissioners were now brought forward and copiously discussed. There was little difference of opinion in the High Commission as to the soundness of these rules in themselves, or as to the expediency of adding them to the code of international law, for the future guidance of all nations willing to accept them. But it was strongly contended by the British commissioners that no such rules were recognised as binding upon neutrals at the time when the depredations of the *Alabama* and the other cruisers occurred; and that it was not just that the arbitrator should try the conduct of Great Britain under an *ex post facto* law. Upon this point the British Government ultimately gave way and the rules were embodied in the treaty, with a proviso, however, which we shall notice when we come to the examination of that instrument. The three rules were adopted in the session of the 5th of April.

During the remainder of the month various arrangements as to the mode of appointing the arbitrator and the form of procedure were agreed to. The American commissioners about this time reverted to the expression of a hope, to which they had given utterance at the commencement of the proceedings, that Great Britain would signify regret for what had taken place. The British commissioners (who, it will be remembered, were in constant communication with London) replied that they were authorised to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by her Majesty's Government

for the escape, in whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports and for the depredations committed by those vessels. The American commissioners accepted with great satisfaction this expression of regret and said they felt sure it would be received as a token of kindness and goodwill by the Government and people of the United States. The articles of the treaty referring to the *Alabama* Claims were then agreed to.

The remaining clauses referred to the Fisheries question and to the San Juan boundary. The treaty conceded to American fishermen for ten years the right of sea fishery on the Canadian coasts, without restriction as to distance from shore. The river fisheries were, of course, reserved exclusively for British subjects. In return, Canadian fishermen might fish in like manner on American coasts down to the 39th parallel. As to the San Juan boundary question, Articles XXXIV. to XLII. of the treaty established the following method for its solution. Under the treaty signed at Washington in 1846, commonly called the Ashburton Treaty, the 49th parallel was fixed as the boundary between British and American territory, from a point near Lake Superior to the middle of the channel that separates Vancouver Island from the mainland, and thence along the middle of the said channel to the sea. This, it should be observed, was, on the part of Britain, an important, many thought an excessive, concession, for the fertile lower valley of the Columbia river, and the valuable establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company near its mouth, and at Puget Sound, were by the treaty given up to the United States. When the line defined in the treaty was examined, it was found that, instead of there being one broad channel between Vancouver Island and the main, as the contracting parties seem to have supposed, the whole space was, at one point, filled up with an archipelago of islands, with narrow channels dividing them. Of these channels the two most in use were the Haro channel, lying close to Vancouver Island, and the Rosario channel, lying close to the mainland. The British authorities maintained that the Rosario channel corresponded best to the descriptive words of the treaty, and that the boundary line ought to be run along it; the Americans similarly maintained that the Haro was the proper channel. The reader will perceive that if the Rosario channel were adopted, the archipelago of islands, many of which, particularly that called San Juan, were large and fertile,

would fall to Britain; if the Haro, to America. The American Commissioners maintained their view of the question with the greatest determination, and Sir Stafford Northcote, we gather from his biography by Mr. Andrew Lang, was desirous to break up the conference. Earl de Grey, however, demurred and finally the British commissioners were directed to consent to refer the question to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany and to refer it in that particular form



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE SAN JUAN QUESTION.

which the American commissioners were instructed to require. No power of directing or suggesting any compromise whatever was to be left to the Emperor of Germany; he was simply, after hearing both sides and taking any evidence he pleased, to decide finally and without appeal which of the two claims, that fixing the boundary to the Rosario, or that fixing it to the Haro channel, was more in accordance with the true interpretation of the treaty of 1846. In the course of 1872 the Emperor of Germany made his award, which was in favour of the American claim. The important island of San Juan was thus lost to Great Britain and the command of Fuca Strait given up.

The *Alabama* Claims were dealt with in the first eleven articles of the Treaty of Washington. In the first article it was agreed, after the expression of regret before noticed, that the claims "generally known as the *Alabama* Claims" should be referred to a board of five arbitrators, of whom two were to be nominated by the high contracting parties, and the remaining three by the Emperor of Brazil, the King of Italy, and the President of the Swiss Confederation, respectively. "The

world will probably laugh," wrote Sir S. Northcote to Mr. Disraeli, "but after all it will be a good thing if we can get these troublesome matters out of the way." In the second article it was provided that the arbitrators should meet at Geneva on as early a day as possible after their nomination, and proceed to examine and decide all questions that should be laid before them by the two Governments, each of which should also name an agent to attend the tribunal and represent it generally in all matters connected with the arbitration. The next three articles prescribed the mode in which the case of each Government, with documents and evidence, direct and rebutting, should be laid before the tribunal.

The sixth article contained the three rules already referred to. "In deciding the matters submitted to the arbitrators, they shall be governed by the following three rules, which are agreed upon by the high contracting parties as rules to be taken as applicable to the case, and by such principles of international law not inconsistent therewith as the arbitrators shall determine to have been applicable to the case.

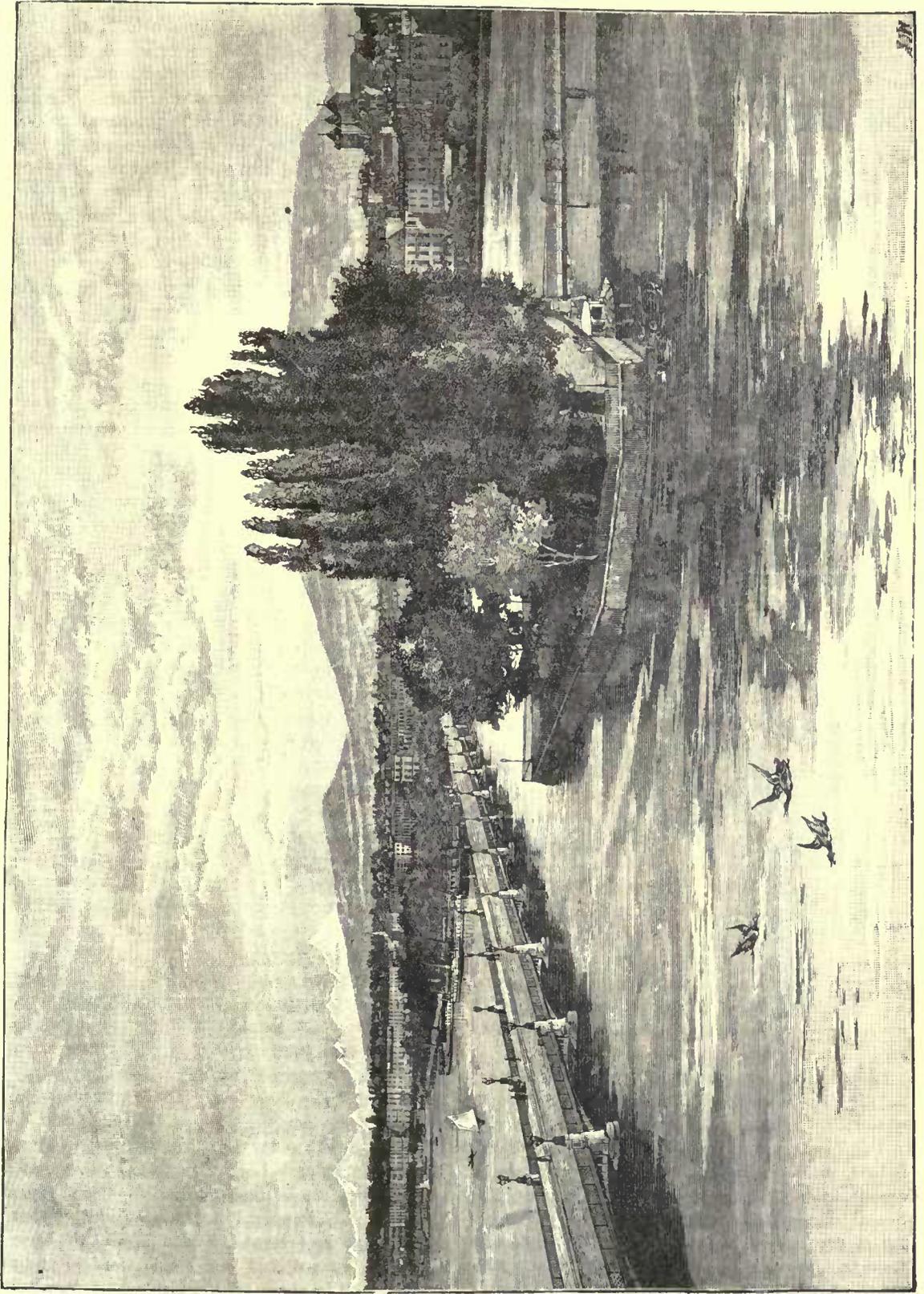
"Rules.—A neutral Government is bound:—

1. "To use true diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

2. "Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

3. "To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

To these rules the following curious proviso was appended:—"Her Britannic Majesty has commissioned her high commissioners and plenipotentiaries to declare that her Majesty's Government cannot assent to the foregoing rules as a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims mentioned in Article I. arose; but that her Majesty's Government, in order to evince its desire of strengthening



GENEVA. (From a Photograph by Tross, Geneva.)

the friendly relations between the two countries, and of making satisfactory provision for the future, agrees that, in deciding the questions arising out of those claims, the arbitrators should assume that her Majesty's Government had undertaken to act upon the principles set forth in those rules." At the end of the article it was stated that the high contracting parties agreed to observe these rules as between themselves in future; and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime Powers and invite them to accede to them.

The seventh article directed the arbitrators to make a separate finding in the case of each cruiser, as to whether Great Britain had or had not violated the obligations of neutrality in her regard. Should the tribunal find that Great Britain had failed to discharge her duty in any such respect, it was empowered to proceed, if it thought proper, to award a sum in gross, to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, in satisfaction of all the claims referred to it, such gross sum being payable in coin at Washington within twelve months after the date of the award. If, however, the tribunal, while finding that Great Britain had failed more or less to perform the duties incumbent upon her as a neutral, should prefer not to award a sum in gross, it was agreed (Article X.) that a board of three assessors, to be nominated respectively by the two Governments and by the Italian Minister at Washington, should be empowered to ascertain and determine what claims were valid, and what amount or amounts should be paid by Great Britain to the United States on account of the liability arising from such failure as to each vessel, according to the extent of such liability as decided by the arbitrators.

The claims of Canada on the United States, on account of depredations committed in the Fenian raid, were brought forward by the British commissioners, who desired that articles for their settlement should be inserted in the present treaty. But the American commissioners refused to enter upon the discussion of this particular class of claims and the matter was not pressed.

The entire treaty was framed on the 4th of May, on the 8th of May it was signed and the labours of the High Commission terminated.

IV. The treaty of Washington was received, not, indeed, with acclamation, but with a discriminating approval, on both sides of the Atlantic. The Senate of the United States ratified it by a majority of fifty to twelve, rejecting some amendments brought forward by Mr. Sumner, who, with characteristic impetuosity, objected to the words

of regret introduced in the preamble of the first article, as not being sufficiently apologetic. A long debate arose in the House of Lords, on the 12th of June, upon the motion of Lord Russell, that an humble address should be presented to her Majesty, praying her Majesty not to ratify any convention for the settlement of the *Alabama* Claims which imposed as binding on the arbitrators any conditions or rules other than the law of nations, and the municipal law of the United Kingdom, as existing and in force at the time when the alleged violations of neutrality occurred. Lord Granville vindicated the conduct of the Government. With regard to the original proposal to negotiate, he said that, although at the end of 1870 the alarming state of Europe had made the Government desirous of closing all questions still open with the United States as soon as possible, that proposal did not emanate from us, the Government having adopted the opinion of his lamented predecessor, Lord Clarendon, that, after the failure of the Stanley-Johnson convention, the next proposal to negotiate should come from the United States. He denied that the conduct of the British commissioners during the negotiation could be fitly described as a series of concessions. The claim to hold us responsible for the premature recognition of Southern belligerency was brought forward by the American commissioners, but abandoned in consequence of the resolute opposition of our negotiators. And speaking of Mr. Fish's large sketch of a host of enormous claims for "indirect losses" in the very beginning of the protocols, Lord Granville said, "These were pretensions which might have been carried out under the former arbitration [that arranged between Lord Stanley and Mr. Johnson]; but they entirely disappear under the limited reference, which includes merely complaints arising out of the escape of the *Alabama*"—he must have meant to add, "and other vessels of her class." Lord Granville, in expressing himself thus, did but interpret the treaty in the way in which it was at that time almost universally interpreted here; but everyone was mistaken, as will appear in the sequel. The keen eye of Lord Cairns was not at fault even then. He quite agreed, he said, in the opinion that under the arbitration proposed by Lord Stanley and Lord Clarendon it was quite possible for the United States to have made extravagant claims. "But," he continued, "what is there in the present treaty to prevent the same thing? I cannot find one single word in these protocols or in these rules which would prevent

such claims being put in and taking their chance, and under the treaty proposed by my noble friend [Lord Stanley] they could do no more." Lord Derby complimented the American negotiators on the shrewdness and tenacity they had displayed, but could not congratulate the British commissioners on that display of "lamb-like meekness" which had led them to make concessions such as were never made before. Lord Russell did not press his motion to a division, and in the Commons the merits of the treaty were not at that time seriously discussed.

In the course of the summer the powers of nomination conferred by the treaty, with a view to the appointment of a board of arbitrators, were duly exercised. The United States nominated Charles Francis Adams, the able and vigilant American Minister in London during the war. Great Britain nominated Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Lord Chief Justice of England. The choice of the King of Italy fell on Count Frederic Sclopis, an ex-minister of state and senator of the kingdom of Italy, who was well known as the author of various writings of merit, in the field of history and jurisprudence. The President of the Swiss Confederation appointed M. Jacob Stämpfli, who had once been President himself. Finally the Emperor of Brazil nominated the Baron d'Itajubá, the Brazilian Envoy at Paris. Lord Tenterden, Assistant Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, was appointed to be the English agent and Mr. Bancroft Davis was named agent for the United States.

The first conference of the arbitrators was held at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871. They immediately proceeded to constitute themselves into a tribunal, electing Count Sclopis as their president, and M. Favrot secretary. The agents of the two Powers then filed the respective cases of their Governments, together with the corroborative documents. The American case, with its appendices, extended to eight octavo volumes and filled more than five thousand pages. The British case was also tolerably voluminous, if taken in connection with its appendices, which filled four volumes. It will be observed that the United States appeared before the tribunal to some extent in the character of a plaintiff and that their case might be regarded as their indictment against Great Britain. The British case, on the other hand, was prepared in ignorance of the exact line and range which the American complaints would take; it was therefore inevitable that much that was contained in the American case should be but

imperfectly met in the British case. This had been foreseen and duly provided for at the time of the drafting of the treaty. The tribunal accordingly ordered the respective counter cases to be filed on or before April the 15th and then adjourned till the 15th of June. The counter cases, it will be seen, were answers to the respective cases; at the meeting of the 15th of June the arguments on each side, answering the counter cases and arguing the whole question on the merits, were to be given in; and then the tribunal was to consider and pronounce its decision.

On the delivery of the American case to the tribunal on the 15th of December, it was understood in England for the first time that the claims in respect of indirect losses, originally put forward by Mr. Fish at Washington, had not been withdrawn by the United States. The framer of the case divided the claims of the United States into five categories, as follows:—

1. For direct losses occasioned by the destruction of vessels and their cargoes and other property by the insurgent cruisers;
2. For national expenditure in the pursuit of those cruisers;
3. For loss in the transfer of the American commercial marine to the British flag;
4. For enhanced payments of insurance;
5. For the prolongation of the war and the addition of a large sum to the cost of the war and the suppression of the rebellion.

The case itself furnished a formal estimate of loss only under the first of these categories. The claims for compensation on account of loss of property occasioned by the cruisers amounted, up to the date of the Treaty of Washington, to about fourteen millions of dollars. The claim under the head of "pursuit of cruisers" could not be less, we are told, than "several millions of dollars." With regard to the loss under the head of transfer of commercial marine, the case quoted a speech of Mr. Cobden's drawing a gloomy, perhaps an over-charged, picture of the disastrous effect which the operations of the cruisers produced, in diminishing the number of ships sailing under the American flag. On this, and also on the following head, that relating to enhanced insurance, the case supplied some materials for forming a judgment, and then requested the tribunal to estimate the losses incurred. As to the fifth head, the case said, "After the battle of Gettysburg the offensive operations of the insurgents were conducted only at sea, through the cruisers; . . . the war was prolonged for that purpose;" in the hope, on the

part of the Confederates, argued the writer, of involving Great Britain in war with the United States. Finally, the United States claimed interest on the full amount of their losses, occasioned, as they alleged, by British default, at the rate of seven per cent. per annum, from the 1st of July, 1863, to the day when the award, if any were made, would be payable under the treaty. Their case was concluded with the expression of an earnest hope that the tribunal would, instead of referring the detailed examination of the claims to a board of assessors, exercise the power conferred upon it, to award a sum in gross to be paid by Great Britain to the United States. The British case set out by carefully limiting the scope of the arbitration to claims in respect of losses "growing out of" the acts of certain vessels. The only vessels in respect of which correspondence had arisen between the Governments and complaint had been made by the United States, were the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, and the *Shenandoah*. On one occasion since the war mention had been made in an American despatch of the *Sumter*, but no claims had been made in respect of her acts. The Queen's Government therefore assumed, as the basis of the proceedings, that the only question for the arbitrators was—Whether and how far England had been guilty of a breach of international law, with respect to those four vessels, and was liable to the claims growing out of their acts?

The Ministry were dispersed for the Christmas holidays, and little attention seems to have been paid to the American case before the middle of January, 1872. When its contents were known, feelings of dissatisfaction and anxiety pervaded the public mind. It appeared that Great Britain was being put upon her trial; that the plaintiff was demanding an enormous sum in damages; and that we knew little about the composition of the judicial bench. It would be needless to enter in detail into the narrative of the various expedients which were devised or suggested, with the view of inducing the American Government either to accept the opinion of the British Ministers, that the treaty and protocols, rightly interpreted, excluded and were meant to exclude the indirect claims; or, if that were found impossible, to negotiate a supplementary treaty getting rid of them. To the first alternative the American Government declined to accede; the second they were willing to agree to. Difficulties, however, arose, which had not been overcome when the tribunal met on the 15th of June and set matters right by ruling

out the indirect claims, a decision accepted by the President of the United States. These resultless negotiations have lost all interest; but the question may still be asked—Which was really in the right, the American Government, which considered that the treaty did not exclude claims for indirect losses, or the British Government, which maintained that it did exclude them? To this question most persons would reply, that undoubtedly, as a matter of argument, the American Government was right. Mr. Fish, at the opening of the protocols, expressed the readiness of the United States to withdraw these claims, if an "amicable settlement" could be arrived at by the High Commission. "Exactly so," said the partisans of the exclusion theory; "and what more amicable settlement could there be than the agreement to refer the claims of the United States to arbitration, as was done by the treaty?" But this is not what was meant by Mr. Fish. He meant to say, "If we can settle this matter amicably together, now and here, you owning that reparation was due to the United States and we desiring to remove all causes of difference and replace the nations on their old footing of friendship, in that case we will say nothing about indirect or constructive losses, but merely ask you to pay for the actual damage done by the cruisers which were allowed to escape out of your harbours." The British commissioners rejected this mode of settlement. Surely it is an abuse of language to say that claims which "are not admitted" have been amicably settled. The reference to arbitration involved considerable delay and great expense; it conceded nothing, but simply substituted arbitration for war—a humane and civilised substitution, we grant, but one no more to be confounded with an "amicable settlement" than war itself. It seems that the Ministers, and the commissioners likewise, were so possessed with the idea that they were inaugurating a great epoch, in which peaceful arbitration was to take the place of war, that they failed to weigh their words with sufficient care, or to appreciate the exact bearing of each step in the transaction. Nevertheless the following argument taken from a letter of Sir S. Northcote to Mr. Fish is worth consideration—"I can only say that my impression at the time was that you were proposing to us two alternative methods of settling the direct claims, coupling your proposal with the announcement that if either of the alternatives were adopted, the indirect claims would not be preferred. If this was not the meaning of the statement, I am at a loss to understand why the expression with regard to these claims was

used at all. Of one thing I feel quite confident, that there was nothing in your proposal which could lead us to suppose that the indirect claims were to be waived in case of the adoption of one of your alternatives and not in the case of the adoption of the other. The proposal was made

at great length and pressed upon the tribunal the American view of its merits with the greatest cogency that they could command. On the other hand, the British argument, which was simply entitled "Argument or Summary," was short and meagre; it aimed merely at summarising arguments



SIR ALEXANDER COCKBURN.

as a whole, without our interposing a word, and the four rules which you handed to us were stated by you to be rules which were to govern the decision equally, whichever mode of settlement was adopted."

Each side had filed its argument by the 27th of June. But the article of the treaty directing this appeared to have been diversely understood by the two parties. The American counsel, besides meeting in their argument the various opposing statements, whether of law or of fact, contained in the British counter case, reargued the whole question

which had before been advanced in the case and counter case; and it was felt, or imagined, that the British view of the question, if this were the final word upon it, would be placed at some disadvantage before the tribunal when opposed to the eloquent and forcible argument of the American counsel. Sir Roundell Palmer therefore—who had been appointed counsel to her Majesty's Government—endeavoured to arrange with the counsel on the other side for an adjournment, so that he might have time to prepare a fresh argument; and when this did not succeed, Lord

Tenterden formally moved that the arbitration should be adjourned till August, to give time to Sir Roundell Palmer to prepare a written argument in reply to that put in by the United States. The tribunal decided that there should be no adjournment. The treaty provided for no further argument being laid before the tribunal, after the filing of the arguments which were due on the 15th of June, except on particular points on which the arbitrators might themselves desire to be assisted by hearing the opinions, written or oral, of counsel. If the tribunal had allowed time for Sir Roundell Palmer to prepare an argument which the treaty did not contemplate, the American counsel must have had time to prepare a reply, and then there might have been a rejoinder and a sur-rejoinder with equal propriety, and so the arbitration might have run on to infinity.

The tribunal, after the lodgment of the arguments, adjourned to the 15th of July. On that day M. Stämpfli produced the programme before referred to, and proposed to take up the case of some one vessel, and consider whether on that vessel Great Britain was responsible to the United States. The British arbitrator opposed this and moved that the tribunal should first of all discuss and settle the general principles by which it would be guided in its decision. But the other arbitrators were of the opinion of M. Stämpfli and Sir A. Cockburn's motion was overruled. The case of the *Florida* was then entered upon. Sir A. Cockburn first read his opinion on this case; then Mr. Adams, Baron d'Itajubá and Count Sclopis successively read their opinions. On the 19th of July the case was adjudged, the tribunal deciding by a majority of four to one that Great Britain had been guilty of a want of due diligence in regard to the *Florida*. After a short adjournment the tribunal met again on the 25th of July. On the motion of the Baron d'Itajubá, the counsel for Great Britain were requested to give in a statement in elucidation of the following three points:—

1. The meaning of "due diligence" as defined by the treaty: to be treated in a general manner.
2. The effect of the commissions possessed by Confederate ships-of-war which entered British ports.
3. The supplies of coal granted to those vessels in the ports in question.

The statement required was handed in a few days afterwards. Meanwhile the case of the *Alabama* was proceeded with, being treated in the same way as that of the *Florida*. The arbitrators

all agreed that Great Britain had failed in due diligence in regard to this vessel, but Sir A. Cockburn came to this conclusion on grounds somewhat different from those which commended themselves to the majority of the arbitrators. The Baron d'Itajubá at the time expressed his adhesion to the statement of Sir A. Cockburn, but in the final award he adhered to the views of the majority respecting the *Alabama*. Then the cases of the *Shenandoah*, the *Georgia*, and other vessels were successively examined. Separate decisions having been arrived at respecting all the vessels for whose proceedings it was sought to hold Great Britain responsible, the tribunal voted on the 26th of August, the British arbitrator alone dissenting, to deliberate thenceforward with closed doors, as it was now its object to consider its award. The deliberations of the tribunal had never been public from the first; that is to say, reporters for the press and all other persons not officially connected with the arbitration had been excluded; but the agents and counsel on both sides had, by the invitation of the arbitrators, remained in attendance. These last also were now excluded, during the period from the 26th of August to the 14th of September.

On Saturday, the 14th of September, the tribunal met, this time with open doors, for its thirty-second and last session. The Hall of Conference was crowded with ladies, English and American spectators, and distinguished natives of Geneva. The President produced the Act of Decision and directed the Secretary to read it in English, which was done. The originals of the act or award, in duplicate, were signed by four of the arbitrators, Count Sclopis, M. Stämpfli, the Baron d'Itajubá and Mr. Adams and a copy was delivered to each of the agents. A third original, similarly subscribed, was destined to be preserved among the archives of the Council of State of Geneva. Sir A. Cockburn declined to sign the award and presented a statement of his reasons for dissenting from it, which the tribunal ordered to be received and recorded as an annex to the protocols of that day's proceedings. Then Count Sclopis, in a final address, declared the labours of the arbitrators to be terminated and the tribunal dissolved. Salvos of artillery greeted the announcement that the blessed labours of the "peacemakers" had had a successful issue and the flags of Switzerland and Geneva were unrolled between the banners of Great Britain and the United States.

The award may be summarised as follows:—
The costs incurred by the American Government

in pursuit of the cruisers, being the second head of the claims of the United States, were disallowed, as not properly distinguishable from the general expenses of the war. The personal claims, also included among the direct losses by the United States and founded on an assumed loss of profits and wages to American citizens through the captures effected by the cruisers, were disallowed by the tribunal, on the ground that "prospective earnings cannot properly be made the subject of compensation, inasmuch as they depend in their nature upon future and uncertain contingencies." Having thus passed judgment upon the various claims submitted to it, the tribunal proceeded to make its award of compensation. Discreetly withholding the calculations by which it had attained the result, the tribunal merely stated that the same losses must not be paid for twice over and that interest must be allowed at a reasonable rate; and then, using the authority conferred upon it by the seventh article of the treaty to award a sum in gross, by a "majority of four voices to one, awarded to the United States the sum of 15,500,000 dollars in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States for the satisfaction of all the claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal." All claims known under the name of the "*Alabama* Claims" were then declared to be fully, perfectly, and finally settled and the signatures of the four arbitrators followed, the British arbitrator having, as was mentioned before, refused to sign.

We have now brought the history of the *Alabama* Claims and of the negotiations and other international transactions which grew out of them, to a termination. To a citizen of the United States it is a narrative that must convey almost unqualified satisfaction. In spite of some recklessness of assertion on the part of its agents and some measure of extravagance in the extent to which it carried its claims, it must be said of the American Government that it knew what it wanted and pursued its object temperately and steadily, with a sincere and laudable desire to avoid the calamity of war, but with a firm resolution never to desist from the prosecution of its claims until it had obtained redress. By the award of the arbitrators this persistence was justified in the face of Europe and of the world and we cannot wonder if the 14th of September was to an American citizen a day of proud and joyful emotion. The feelings of Englishmen were of a mixed nature. All rejoiced that the causes of difference between two nations which had every motive to be friends were

removed; but some people in England could not but feel that the finding of the tribunal was not very honourable to the nation which had repudiated its liability for certain acts and omissions, which now were declared by an independent tribunal to have been culpable and injurious.

This chapter will fitly conclude with a short account of the effects of the Franco-German war upon the destinies of Europe. In France its issue was a short but sanguinary insurrection in Paris, known to history as the Commune. The Government of the Defence, which had replaced the Empire, had been a necessity of the hour, but it was never strong and, when Paris capitulated, confessed itself a failure. Already there had been several attempts to overthrow its authority and the National Guard was known to be dangerously disaffected. Bismarck had suggested that the force should be disarmed, but Jules Favre declared that the attempt would inevitably result in a street battle and the Chancellor did not press the point. The result of this weakness on the part of the French Government was that during the brief occupation of Western Paris by the Germans the National Guard withdrew with their artillery to Montmartre, and threw up entrenchments. Too late, on the 18th of March, 1871, General Lecomte attempted to re-capture the guns. His troops fraternised with the mutincers and he and General Clement Thomas were seized and put to death. The capital itself and the whole of the western forts, except Mont Valérien, fell into the hands of the insurgents. The faithful troops withdrew to Versailles, a revolutionary Committee seized the Hôtel de Ville, and a Municipal Council was elected on the 26th of March, which assumed the title of "The Commune." The timid bourgeoisie for the most part abstained from voting, and by the side of respectable nonentities and genuine enthusiasts for municipal liberties sat the wild revolutionaries of the International Society and more than one absolute ruffian. There was nothing for it but a fresh siege of Paris and the return of the French soldiers from Germany left little doubt as to the issue of the struggle. But the Communists fought with desperation, and each side had recourse to bloody reprisals. The murder of Generals Lecomte and Thomas was avenged by the execution of some of the first prisoners taken by the troops of Versailles, now commanded by Marshal MacMahon. Then hostages were seized by the Commune and put to death, after that three hundred of the National Guards surprised at Chamart had been put to

death by the besiegers. Finally, when the army re-occupied Paris on the 22nd of May and the following days, the defenders, as they fell back, murdered the prisoners, including the venerable Archbishop Mgr. Darboy, and fired palaces, museums, and public buildings—notably the Tuileries and the Louvre. The soldiers, driven mad with passion, shot down the Communists that were taken with arms in their hands and finally killed whole batches of prisoners without the slightest inquiry into their antecedents. Then the tribunals went to work and over ten thousand persons were sentenced to imprisonment or transportation. So ended the fantastic and yet tragic experiment.

The healer who was to inspire France with new energy, who was to nurse her with patient hand during long hours of convalescent fretfulness, before she could go forth again and take her part in the affairs of the family of nations, was Louis Thiers. By a curiously rapid process of elimination, the National Assembly of Versailles and its chief of the Executive had become the only power in France. The Empire had failed, the Commune had failed; there remained an amorphous Republic. It was only natural that the members of a deliberative body, elected in a season of ubiquitous chaos as a remedy originated by despair, should contain a strongly reactionary element. The Napoleonists were not for the time being to be reckoned as a factor of political calculations; the "Left," as the Republicans were termed, from their position in the Chamber, found many supporters in the provinces, but were not strongly represented in the Assembly; the power of numbers lay with the advocates of what might be called constitutional monarchy and it was an open secret that these views theoretically found favour in the eyes of M. Thiers. Unfortunately, there was a superfluity of royal candidates. The Count de Paris represented the hopes of the Orleanists, while the Legitimists put their trust in the Count de Chambord—"Henri V.," as they fondly called him—and, failing him, in the Duke of Madrid, son of Don Carlos of Spain. In vain did the "Fusionists" attempt to reconcile these hostile claims; the far-seeing eye of M. Thiers saw that, as those who advocated kingly rule were hopelessly divided against themselves, a Republic was the only possible form of government and it was only with reluctance that he consented to the repeal of the law of the "ostracism," as it was called, of the House of Bourbon.

Meanwhile, the Assembly was attempting to place national affairs on a firm basis. M. Pouyer-

Quertier, the Minister of Finance, proposed the imposition of new taxes to the amount of 460 millions of francs; and M. Thiers, who professed unbounded faith in the recuperative power of his country, instituted a loan to meet the deficit on the years 1870 and 1871, estimated at 1,636 millions of francs, and the war indemnity of 2,000 millions then due. The list filled with surprising promptitude and within a few hours the subscriptions more than covered the amount required. The Government also seemed for the moment to be strengthened by the result of the elections to fill the vacancies in the Assembly, of which there were no less than 113. In Paris, especially, the Conservative "Union of the Public Press" carried its candidates, but the Left gained considerable accession of strength from the result of the provincial elections; and it was noticed that Gambetta was again returned for several places. The first proposals for the settlement of affairs came from the Left Centre and were couched in the form of a scheme for making M. Thiers President for three years, with the power of nominating a Vice-President and a constitutional Cabinet. It was, indeed, rapidly becoming clear that the present state of disagreement between the Executive and the Assembly must before long end in open collision. Thrice had M. Thiers, in a fit of vexation, threatened to resign; twice had a compromise been effected; but on the third occasion—the Army Reconstruction Bill, which involved General Chanzy's scheme of enforced conscription and the disbandment of the National Guard—the petulance of the Chief of the Executive threatened serious consequences. He had openly accused the Right of cowardice and declared that he would resign if more confidence was not placed in him. The Right, in return, made their power to be felt by carrying in committee the "Proposition Vitet," as it was called, after the name of its originator, whereby the title of "President of the Republic" was granted during the existence of the present Assembly; the Ministry were to be responsible to the Assembly, and the President, after due notice given, was allowed to appear in the tribune. By styling the Assembly "constituent," the Right simply continued the Provisionary Government, without making any declaration in favour of a Republic. But it was evident that this reservation was a mere quibble and that the fact that France had chosen to give its chief official the title of "President of the Republic" virtually ensured the eventual triumph of the principles of the Left.



RIOTERS AND PETROLEUSES FIRING PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN PARIS. (See p. 24.)

Shortly before the session came to an end the President was able to announce the completion of a special arrangement which was to accelerate the evacuation of six of the conquered Departments by the German troops. It will be remembered that the stipulations of the treaty were that as each instalment of the indemnity was paid the troops should withdraw from a portion of the occupied territory. Accordingly, it was the President's object to raise the necessary money at all costs, for any pecuniary sacrifice was to be preferred to the continuance of so terrible an incubus on the shoulders of the new Republic. It was above all things necessary that France should break with her past. Nor were pecuniary reasons alone urgent: in spite of the admirable temper of the soldiers of the Empire, more than one collision had taken place between the populace and the occupying forces, several Germans had been murdered, and French juries had refrained from conviction; whereat Prince Bismarck had said bluntly that if the authorities refused to give up the assassins he should make reprisals on the hostages and, if necessary, resort to even more extreme measures. Now that the result of the loan had proved beyond question that France was financially sound and that the future might be anticipated with hope, M. Thiers resolved to ask the German Chancellor to accept paper money. Prince Bismarck stipulated in return that Free Trade should be granted by France for a certain period, ultimately settled to terminate at the end of 1872, to the ceded provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and a convention was signed, on the 13th of October, at Berlin. Thereby France with the exception of six Departments was freed from the invaders.

The great ceremonial at Versailles on the 18th of January, at which the leader of the victorious armies of the North was solemnly hailed Emperor of Germany by the loud acclamations of the assembled kings and princes, was followed by the publication of a proclamation announcing the great fact of the Unity of the Fatherland to his Prussian subjects. When the Kaiser William entered Berlin in triumph, United Germany became an established fact. But although Germany was for a brief period given up to festivities, it was evident that there were serious matters at hand which declined to come under the category of banners or triumphal arches. It is true that the "Unitarians," as they were called, were returned in large numbers to the Reichstag, or German Parliament; and now that Bavaria and Würtemberg had relinquished

their policy of isolation there seemed to be every hope of harmonious political action, since the differences that existed between the various parties were rather apparent than real. No opposition was experienced in passing a law for the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine with the Empire. But the religious difficulty caused by the extreme attitude of the Ultramontane party was as far from settlement as ever. The clerical party took up the cudgels on the question of non-intervention on behalf of the Pope and did not desist from their hostile attacks on Prince Bismarck's policy for the remainder of the session; nor were the accusations of tampering with the elections that were preferred against them calculated to assuage their bitterness. Hence the brief importance of the party which had called itself Old Catholic as a protest against the innovations introduced by the Œcumenical Council.

But it was evident that the Chancellor did not intend to drive the Ultramontanes to desperation. Accordingly, in conjunction with Count Beust, the Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, he arranged meetings between their respective masters at Gastein and afterwards at Salzburg, in September, under the pretext of settling a question concerning the repudiation of certain railway bonds by the Roumanian Government, but with the real intention of discussing the spread of Socialistic views and of combining to urge on the Italian Government the necessity of leaving the freedom of action of the Papacy untouched and of restoring all purely Church property to the Holy See. It was evident that any course of action that would tend to rescue the head of the Church from the pitiable circumstances which surrounded him would be hailed with delight by his followers in Germany and the intervention of Prince Bismarck was received with great satisfaction by the high Catholic party. Nevertheless, the cordiality that ensued between State and Church was not of long duration. A protest, drawn up by several prelates, headed by the Archbishop of Cologne, against the employment of the adherents of Döllingerism in educational pursuits, drew down upon them a most trenchant rebuke from the Emperor and this was followed up by a Bill introduced in the Reichstag by Herr von Lutz, who had recently been castigating the Ultramontanes in Bavaria, which imposed the penalty of imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years on all religious ministers who made the pulpit a vehicle of political agitation. Prince Bismarck was, in fact, being rapidly driven, by an inevitable conjunction of circumstances, to

that sternly repressive course of anti-ecclesiastical legislation known as the Falk laws.

The great fact of the previous year, as far as Southern Europe was concerned, was the immense increase of the power of the house of Savoy. Not only was Victor Emmanuel king over all Italy, but his son, Amadeus, had been chosen to rule the sister peninsula of Spain, and there appeared to be every chance that a combination would be formed which would materially modify the state of affairs in the Mediterranean. However, before a few months were over the hold of the new dynasty on the throne of Castile had become exceedingly precarious. The choice of Amadeus had been dictated rather from necessity than from any motives of preference; the Crown had, in fact, been so long a-begging, that any one who would take it might have it. And so Amadeus became king of a people of whom the so-called Royalists regarded him with feelings of complete indifference, while the remainder of the nation was distracted by the jarring of factions—Bourbon, Carlist, Republican, Montpensierist, and what-not; he had to administer with a bankrupt Treasury, drained dry by the ill-concerted attempts to subdue the Cuban rebellion, and a system of government that was rotten to the core. It was evident that unless a Minister should arise who was strong enough to consolidate the ill-cemented elements of which Spanish political life was composed, Amadeus—his house being built on the quicksands of a momentary enthusiasm, aroused by his open manner and simple mode of life—would be but little better than a “winter king.”

The fortunes of the father, Victor Emmanuel, rested on firmer foundations than those of the son, Amadeus. His triumphant entry into Rome at Christmas was followed by no reaction, and the boundless *furor* with which he was received on that occasion proved that the dream of a United Italy had at last been realised. Accordingly, as we have already said, he was in a position to deal gently with the prostrate and infuriated Pope, placing Pius completely in the wrong by the magnitude of his concessions. It was thus as a prisoner, existing on sufferance in the capital from which his predecessors had ruled a fair kingdom

in Italy and swayed the religious world, that Pio Nono, on the 16th of June, celebrated his religious jubilee. The Italian Government, with wise moderation, directed the prefects to grant perfect liberty to those Roman Catholics who desired to celebrate the occasion with whatever demonstration they might deem fitting. It was followed by the important step of transferring the Government from Florence to Rome. On the 1st of July the chief Ministers appeared in the new capital, and took up their quarters at their respective Ministries. On the following day Victor Emmanuel arrived by train from Florence and was received in great style at the station by his Cabinet. The opening of the first Italian Parliament on the 27th of November completed the edifice of “Italia Redenta.”

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Turin, formerly the capital of the House of Savoy, received a substantial recompense for the departure of the Italian Court by the opening of the Mont Cenis Tunnel. That great triumph of engineering skill had received the active support of the master mind of Cavour and it was his powerful influence that caused the work to be begun in 1857. At first countenanced by the French, but after the consolidation of Northern Italy thwarted by the Emperor in every possible way, the projectors of the undertaking persevered, in spite of want of capital, and after thirteen years of continual work, the two gangs, one working from the Italian and one from the French side, met on the 26th of December, 1870, in the bowels of the earth. The formal opening of the tunnel on the 16th of September in the following year was made a State occasion. The Italians had no intention of throwing the sins of the Empire in the teeth of the Republic and the proceedings were throughout of a most cordial kind. It was hoped that the utterances of M. Lefranc, the French Minister, were not mere commonplaces of Gallic oratory, when he prayed that France and Italy might work together for the good of mankind. The new monarchy was at any rate filled with no unmanly terrors as to the safety of its northern frontier, for hardly had the tunnelling of Mont Cenis been completed when that of St. Gothard was undertaken.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Galway and Kerry Elections—Judge Keogh's Judgment—Excitement in Ireland—The Judgment confirmed—Assassination of Lord Mayo—Expression of Public Sympathy—Details of the Occurrence—The Assassin's Motives—Attempt on the Queen—Meeting of Parliament—The "Colliery Explosion"—Ewelme Rectory Scandal—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Ayrton's Parks Bill—Bill for the Regulation of Mines—The Scottish Education Bill—Mr. Cardwell's Army Reform—Sir Charles Dilke's Motion for an Inquiry into the Civil List—Uproar in the House—The Ballot Bill—History of the Movement—The Bill of 1872—The Corrupt Practices Bill—Fusion of the two Measures—Mr. Leatham's Amendment—Attitude of the Conservative Leaders—The Second Reading in the Lords—The Duke of Richmond's Amendment—Mr. Gladstone stands firm—A Compromise effected—The Liquor Traffic—The United Kingdom Alliance—The Intoxicating Liquors Bill—Dr. Magee—The Bill in the Commons—Its Reception in the Country—Results of the Session.

EARLY in the year 1872 Irish political feeling was stirred to its depths by the elections of Galway and Kerry. The Home Rule agitation had been gaining ground steadily and both its advocates and its opponents had long desired such an opportunity of measuring their strength against each other as seemed offered by these two famous elections. Captain Nolan in Galway and Mr. Blennerhassett in Kerry came forward as Home Rule candidates, against Captain French and Mr. Dease, about whom the mob only cared to know that they were opposed to the notion of a Parliament in Stephen's Green. The two elections were marked by very different features; for while in Galway the whole of the Roman Catholic clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Tuam, canvassed, preached, and threatened with one voice for Captain Nolan, in Kerry Dr. Moriarty, the venerable Roman Catholic bishop, addressed a solemn warning to his diocese against the Home Rule agitation, which he denounced as most mischievous, in the then circumstances of the country, and strictly forbade his clergy to take any part whatever in the election. In Galway also the feeling of the landlords was universally in favour of the moderate candidate, while in Kerry it was much divided. The Galway election came off in the midst of a frenzy of fanaticism and excitement which took all the strength of a considerable military and police force to keep within decent bounds. From the country districts came parish priests, flushed with the excitement of past war and confident of victory, and marching at the head of their docile parishioners. One by one they led them up to the polling booths, overawing all recalcitrants by a mixture of clerical argument and Irish sarcasm, which was extremely effective. They even attempted to harangue the mob within the very precincts of the polling-booths, feeling, doubtless, that an Irishman's enthusiasm must be

taken at the flood and not suffered to evaporate at a distance from the scene of action. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam recorded his vote early in the morning for Captain Nolan, amid the cheers of surrounding crowds, and afterwards went round and inspected the booths, to the great edification of the rustics, who were not often brought into such close contact with an archbishop. In Kerry, Dr. Moriarty's letter was so far effectual that very few parish priests ventured to follow the example of their Galway brethren and espouse Mr. Blennerhassett's cause publicly; but whatever clerical influence could do for him was not spared and the same triumphant results followed as in Galway. Captain Nolan was returned by a majority of 2,165 and Mr. Blennerhassett was also far ahead of his rival. In spite of the disorder and excitement which prevailed at both elections, the efforts of the military and police were effectual in preventing any very serious injuries to persons or property. Still there was abundant material for a protest in both cases; and no sooner were the official returns of the poll made than petitions were lodged by the defeated party against both Captain Nolan and Mr. Blennerhassett.

During the months that intervened between the election of Captain Nolan and the arrival of Justice Keogh to try the petition, the prospect of the coming trial kept up popular excitement in Galway. Both sides brought up an army of witnesses and the trial itself was by no means a model of calm judicial procedure. Mr. Justice Keogh gave sentence in a judgment which it took nine hours to deliver and which unseated Captain Nolan on the ground that his election had been "procured by undue influence and clerical intimidation." The strong language of the judgment, the severe and eloquent condemnation of clerical intolerance by the judge, roused indescribable

excitement in his audience. Never had the cause of ardent Catholicism received such emphatic judicial denunciation. Forty-five pages of the printed judgment, that is to say nearly all of it, were taken up with an elaborate review of the conduct of individual priests and of the character of their evidence. The several cases were strung together by a series of comments, the manner and matter of which might well exasperate the party at which they were levelled. He spoke, for instance, of the "vile tongue" of "an audacious and mendacious priest" and described another priest as "that obscene monster!" Captain Nolan's 2,800 supporters found themselves branded, *en masse*, as "swindlers, cowards, instruments in the hands of ecclesiastical despots." The judgment concluded in these words: "I shall state to the House of Commons the result of all the evidence that I have now investigated as regards the organised system of intimidation which has pervaded this county, in every quarter, in every direction, in every barony, in every town, in every place. I shall report to the House of Commons that the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Galway, the Bishop of Clonfert, all the clergymen whose cases I have gone through, and who have not appeared—with one exception—and all the clergy who have appeared, with, I think, a few exceptions, which I will look most carefully into, have been guilty of an organised attempt to defeat the free franchise and the free vote of the electors of this county; and that Captain Nolan by himself, and Mr. Sebastian Nolan, his brother, as his agent, in company with all those episcopal and clerical persons whom I shall set out by name, have been guilty of these practices; and I shall guard the franchises of the people of this country for seven years at least, for the statute will not allow any one of those persons to be again engaged in conducting or managing an election, or canvassing for a candidate aspiring to be the representative of Galway."

The judgment, as might have been expected, set Ireland in a blaze. That such an utterance should have been delivered by a Catholic judge in a matter in which Catholic feeling was supposed to be specially involved, astounded and enraged the whole of the extreme National and Catholic party. All sections of it joined in abusing and denouncing Justice Keogh; newspapers like the *Irishman* and the *Nation* exhausted the whole vocabulary of retaliation and the obnoxious judge was burnt in effigy in many parts of the country. A great meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy,

conducted within closed doors, was held in Dublin under the presidency of Cardinal Cullen, the result of which was the issue of a lengthy protest addressed to the Catholics of the Archdiocese of Dublin—a document which was little else than a long *tu quoque*, couched in dignified and imposing terms. "Which," it asked, "is the most unpardonable—the priest, in the heat of an angry contested election, in which he believed that the independence of his flock was assailed, yielding to an impulse, unbecoming, if you will; or the ermined judge, in the delivery of a solemn judgment, surrendering himself to almost a paroxysm of vituperation? If the cassock is judged to be defiled, surely the ermine is not quite unstained. If the priest is to be relegated to obscurity and political silence for his indiscretion, is the judge to go unquestioned?"

The storm, however, spent itself in vain. The Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, to whom Justice Keogh carried up the case, not only confirmed the decision which unseated Captain Nolan, but also ratified that provisional part of the original judgment by which Captain French obtained the seat. The Town Council of Kilkenny drew up a memorial calling for the removal of Justice Keogh from the bench; while the Dublin mob amused itself night after night by riotous attempts, generally defeated by the police, to burn the likeness of the judge in various parts of the capital. When the time came for Justice Keogh to go on circuit, strong precautions were found necessary to ensure his personal safety and many were the threatening letters which reached both the offender and his wife. By this time, however, the violence of the extreme party had roused the ire of the moderate Catholics and it became evident that, in spite of all the clamour and tumult of popular excitement, the feeling of the steady-going middle classes was favourable to the judgment and grateful to the courage and spirit of Justice Keogh.

In the Protestant north of Ireland the judgment was as greatly applauded as it was condemned elsewhere; while in England, although few attempted to defend the taste and manner of Judge Keogh's deliverance, it was felt that the general position taken up by him could not be too strongly supported. English opinion found emphatic expression in the debate on the subject in the House of Commons, provoked by Mr. Butt's motion for the removal of Mr. Justice Keogh from the Irish bench, where, after a brilliant debate, Mr. Butt was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

On the afternoon of the 12th of February London was startled and dismayed by a telegram from India which reached the India Office at half-past one and the contents of which became very soon generally known in the City. It bore the name of Mr. Ellis, a member of the Indian Council, and ran as follows :—

“I have to announce, with the deepest regret, that the Viceroy was assassinated by a convict at Port Blair on the 8th instant at seven in the evening. The Viceroy had inspected the several stations of the settlement, and had reached the pier on his way to the boat to return to the man-of-war *Glasgow*, when a convict, under cover of darkness, suddenly broke through the guard surrounding the Viceroy, and stabbed him twice in the back. The Viceroy expired shortly afterwards. The assassin was arrested at once, and is being tried. His name is Shere Ali, a resident in foreign territory beyond the Peshawur frontier. He was convicted of murder by the Commissioner of Peshawur in 1867, and sentenced to transportation for life. He was received in the settlement in May, 1869.”

This most melancholy news was announced in the evening to both Houses of Parliament, by the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Gladstone, and was received with deep and real regret. Lord Mayo, as Viceroy of India, had served his country well, and had won that general respect from all persons qualified to criticise him which is the truest reward of weight and honesty of character. It was in no spirit of empty eulogy that the Duke of Argyll spoke of him in the House of Lords. “This House,” he said, “is full of Lord Mayo’s personal friends. I believe no man ever had more friends than he, and I believe that no man ever deserved better to have them. I may say with perfect truth that no Governor-General who ever ruled India was more energetic in the discharge of his duties, or more assiduous in performing the functions of his great office; and, above all, no Viceroy that ever ruled India had more at heart the good of the people of that vast empire.”

Public sympathy with the bereaved wife and children was real and warm; and when fuller news came, and the tragic story was told in greater detail, its various points were for a time in everybody’s mouth. It was not till March 11th that the anxiously-expected Calcutta mail arrived with full particulars. It appeared that the news which reached London on the 12th of February was only known in Calcutta on that day, and that all

knowledge of the event was for some time confined to a few high officials, and to the near relatives of Lord Mayo.

The Andaman Islands, where Lord Mayo met his death, are a group of islands on the east side of the Bay of Bengal. Till 1857 they had been thinly peopled by a few dark-skinned and barbarous inhabitants, from whose hands the rich and fertile soil received the very slightest cultivation which would suffice to supply their few and primitive needs. But in 1857 the Indian Government, looking round for a suitable place for a great penal settlement, bethought them of the Andaman Islands and a committee was sent to explore and report upon them. The committee reported favourably and recommended Port Blair as a convenient site for the first settlement. The Government closed with their recommendation, building was begun immediately, and in 1858 the first batch of convicts landed at Port Blair. The settlements gradually increased in size and other islands were made use of. The Viceroy was led to visit the settlement by the reports of certain irregularities which had occurred there and of various outbreaks on the part of the convicts, which had put no small strain on the strength and discretion of the authorities. He landed at Ross Island on the morning of February 8th and began a careful inspection of the different settlements. The day passed off very well. The Viceroy went to all three islands, inspecting, consulting, and advising; there were many convicts in sight, both within and without the buildings, pursuing their different works, and occasionally one or two of them were allowed to present petitions to the Viceroy, to which he promised attention, but all were quiet and orderly in demeanour, and though constant precautions were observed by those surrounding the Viceroy, there seemed little or no reason for them. In the evening, when the fierce heat of the day was over and the Viceroy had done his work, it was proposed that the whole party should take advantage of the cool brief tropical twilight to climb to the top of Mount Harriet, on Ross Island, and get a general view of the Andaman group. The Viceroy entered heartily into the plan, a boat manned by stout sailors pulled the party swiftly to the foot of Mount Harriet, and just about sunset the Viceroy and his companions reached the top of the hill. When at last the party descended the hill, it was growing rapidly dark. The Viceroy was as usual closely surrounded by his party, and as they neared the landing-stage a few torch-bearers met them, whom

Lord Mayo, however, sent on to the front, as he disliked the smoke and smell of the torches. Close to the landing-stage the party noticed a line of men drawn up under the care of a prison superintendent. General Stewart explained that they were bearers who were to carry Lady Mayo up Mount Harriet on the following morning. The Viceroy passed on to where the *Glasgow* boat lay waiting for him by the side of the pier; he was just about to step into it when, to quote the words of his private secretary, Major Burne, "in an instant a rushing noise was heard, and a man was seen fastened like a tiger on the Viceroy's back. The whole occurrence was momentary and took place almost in total darkness. The assassin, who was a tall, muscular Khyberite Afreedee, seemed to have the Viceroy in some manner immovably in his grasp, and inflicted the wound so instantaneously as not to give him time to turn round and defend himself. The whole party rushed on the assassin and instantly secured him; alas! not till he had inflicted two mortal wounds. The Viceroy ran a few paces forward, turned to his left, and fell over the pier into some shallow water. I left the assassin and immediately ran to his help as he was struggling in the water."

The question then so warmly debated still remains to be discussed. What was the motive of the murderer? Was the crime a political one, to be taken as evidence of a wide-spread Mohammedan conspiracy against English government in India—or not? Shere Ali, the assassin, had been sentenced to transportation for life five years before this date, for the murder of a relation in consequence of a "blood-feud." That he was a Mussulman was certain, and that he belonged to the fanatical Wahabee sect among the Mussulmans, a sect well known for their fierce hostility to British rule, was strongly suspected. The murder of the Chief Justice of Bengal only a few months earlier by a native assassin had given point to the anxiety with which this sect was commonly regarded. It began to be discovered that, not only upon the Afghan frontier, but throughout Northern India, Wahabee missionaries were stirring up the faithful and preaching a Crescentade. And although it was not proved, it was at least an open question whether Shere Ali had not murdered Lord Mayo from fanatical motives. It is true that up to the time of his execution, which took place a short time afterwards in Calcutta, he never gave any clue to his reasons for the crime; he owned that he had no accomplice "except God." The exception is significant, and sounds like the words

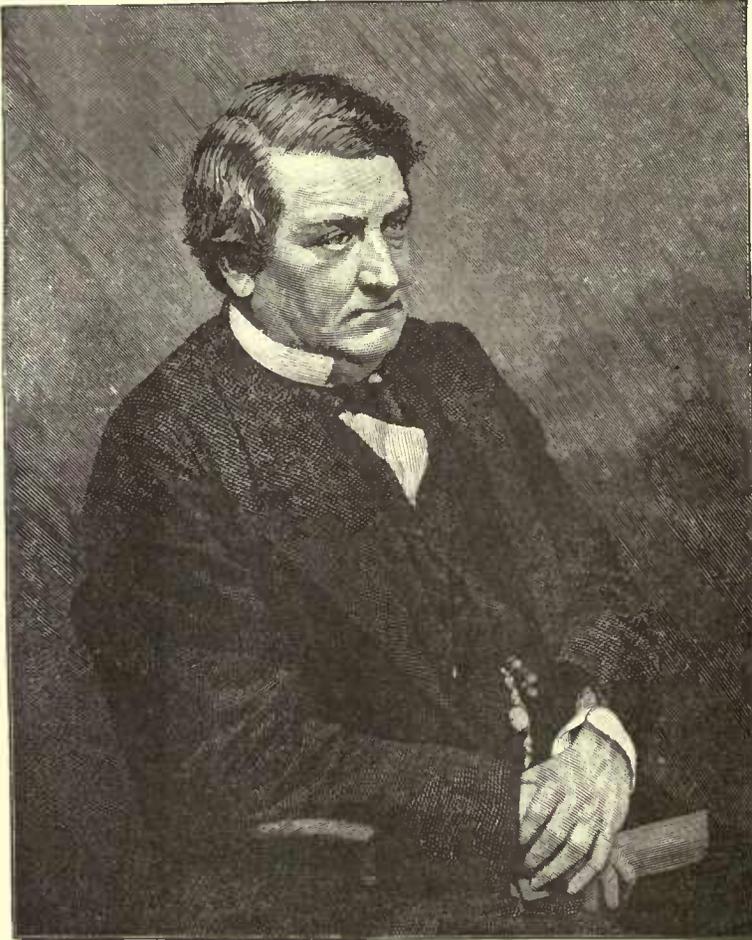
of a fanatic; but there is no proof positive. The common reason given was that Shere Ali, who was a moody man, had brooded upon the supposed injustice of his being punished for killing a man in consequence of a "blood-feud"—which, of course, is an act recognised by the customs of his native country, and indeed of most barbarous peoples.

It may be added that Lord Mayo was succeeded by Lord Napier and Ettrick, Governor of Madras, as temporary Governor-General; and in the course of the summer by Lord Northbrook. A pension was voted by Parliament to Lady Mayo. The body of the Viceroy was conveyed to Dublin in the *Enchantress* and escorted with state ceremonial through the city on the 25th of April, the interment in Johnstoun Churchyard taking place on the following day.

Mention has already been made of the recovery of the Prince of Wales from a most dangerous illness and of the Thanksgiving Service celebrated in consequence on the 27th of February. Scarcely had the shouts of the multitudes who witnessed the royal procession on that occasion died away, when England was alarmed by the intelligence that an attack had been made on the Queen's person. The accounts, at first greatly exaggerated, gradually resolved themselves into the fact that as the Queen was returning on the following day from a drive, and was entering the north gate of Buckingham Palace, a boy stepped up to the carriage, bearing in one hand a pistol, which he presented within a foot of her Majesty's face, and in the other a paper. The weapon was found to be an old flint fire-arm, unloaded and extremely rusty; the document was an incoherent memorial in favour of the release of the Fenian prisoners, which the assailant apparently wished to force her Majesty to sign, together with a declaration that he should not be "strangled like a common felon, but should receive that death which was due to him as a Christian and a Republican." He was immediately seized and disarmed, chiefly by the exertions of Prince Arthur and Mr. John Brown, the Queen's personal attendant. Her Majesty, we are told, was not in the least alarmed. The lad, whose name was Arthur O'Connor, was small and weakly, but not imbecile. He avowed his design with some pride, and asserted that he had attempted on the previous day to force his way into St. Paul's, a statement that was corroborated by subsequent evidence. It was discovered that he was a great nephew of the crack-brained enthusiast Feargus O'Connor, that several members of the family had been insane, and that the prisoner himself had

shown many of the phenomena that accompany mental aberration. Still, his demeanour at Bow Street, and afterwards at the Central Criminal Court, was not that of a maniac, but rather of a pure fanatic, who courts a gratuitous martyrdom. He pleaded guilty, and being indicted under Lord

favour of a lenient sentence. The event would be absolutely insignificant were it not for the fact that there is contagion in crime, and that ten years had barely elapsed ere another weak-brained seeker after notoriety made an attempt on the life of the Queen, which might have been productive of more



THE EARL OF MAYO.

(From a Photograph by Samuel A. Walker, 230, Regent Street, W.)

Campbell's Act, passed in 1842, for "presenting a pistol at the Queen, with an intent then and there to alarm her Majesty," was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and to an introduction, undesirable from the prisoner's point of view, to an "instrument called a birch rod." The maximum of punishment under the Act is transportation for seven years or imprisonment for three; but, as Baron Cleasby pointed out while addressing the prisoner, his age, his enthusiasm, the absurdity of the attempt itself, and the fact that he had afterwards acknowledged its folly, were all in

serious consequences than the abortive exploit of the pitiable Arthur O'Connor.

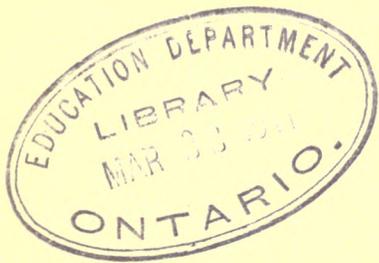
Meanwhile Parliament had met and the debates of the twin branches of the national assembly were in full swing. On the whole, the country was in a most prosperous condition; speculation was being carried on with great activity, the only drawback to the general happiness being that prices were rising in a manner that was rather alarming. One thing was certain, that the Liberal Ministry were becoming more and more unpopular, and that the leaders of the party, whose zeal for



Reproduced by André & Sleight, Ltd., Bushey, Herts.

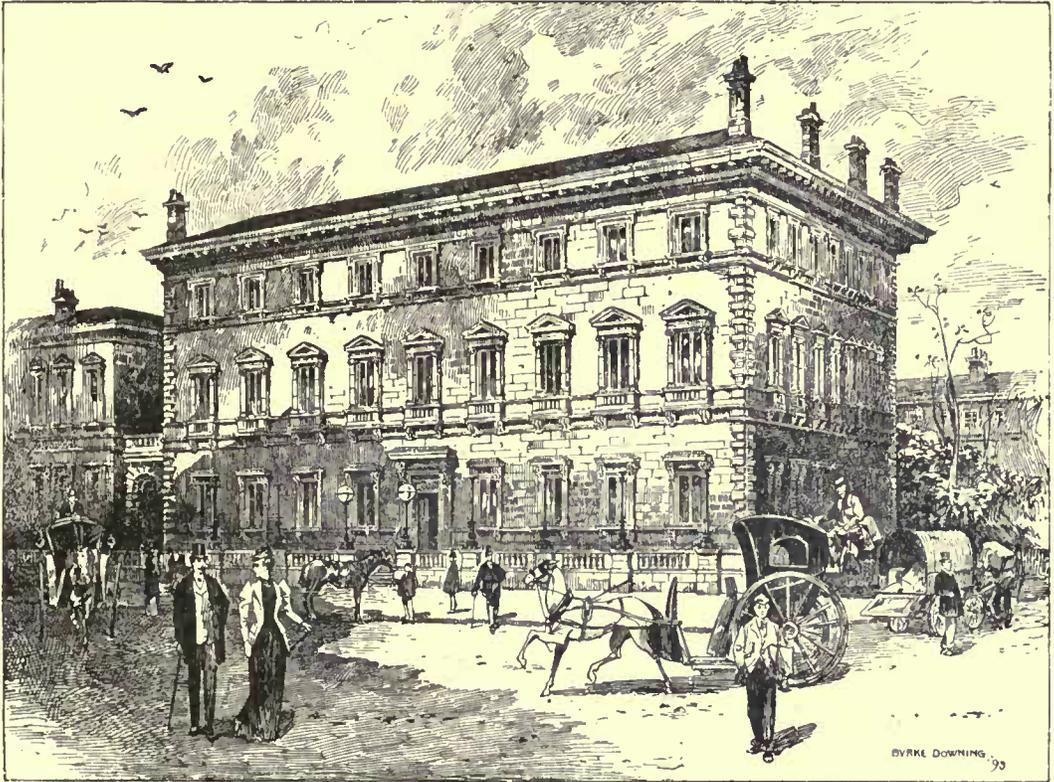
THE EMIGRANTS.

FROM THE PAINTING BY ERSKINE NICOL, A.R.A., IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF BRITISH ART.



reform continued unquenched, could no longer count upon the enthusiasm of their followers. In the past year many of their proceedings had become the subject of bitter criticism, the effect of which had by no means died away. The Abolition of Purchase in the Army had been carried out by the somewhat abnormal exercise of the royal warrant and, as it were, in the teeth of the House of Lords; the Ballot Bill had proved a

Such were the obstacles to the popularity of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry that had arisen in the past; the two burning questions of the moment were familiarly described as the "Colliery Explosion" and the "Ewelme Rectory Scandal." Looking at the first of these episodes impartially, it must be said that the outcry against the appointment was much too severe. Sir Robert Collier, the Attorney-General, was made a member of



THE REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL, LONDON.

temporary fiasco; Mr. Lowe's proposed Match Tax had covered himself and his colleagues with ridicule; and last, but not least, the Treaty of Washington was looked on by a considerable part of the nation as a distinct triumph on the part of Cousin Jonathan; the prospect of seeing British affairs settled by a Court of Arbitration was scouted as an insult to the flag. Added to this, the Education Act of 1870 had alienated the Non-conformist supporters of Mr. Gladstone; and the result of the Galway and Kerry elections proved the growing strength of the Home Rule movement, and that Government would not be able to reckon on the support of the Irish Nationalists.

the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The technical qualification for this office was that its holder should have been a judge in one of the ordinary courts; Sir Robert Collier, therefore, was made a puisne judge of the Court of Common Pleas: that is, he was passed through one appointment in order that he might be fitted for another. Such an act on the part of Mr. Gladstone was fairly open to the charge of being an evasion of a legal enactment, and great was the commotion caused among the lawyers of the day. In the informal trial of the Lord Chancellor Hatherley, effected through the daily press, Sir W. Bovill and Sir A. Cockburn appeared for

the prosecution, Mr. Justice Willes for the defence. The merits of Sir Robert were not doubted; it was pointed out that the strict legality of the appointment could not be questioned; and it was heard in extenuation that the seat on the committee had been offered to several judges, that they had all declined it, and that the consequences of an adverse vote would be most serious to Sir Robert himself, as well as to the relations between the judges and the legislature. The affair was brought to an issue in both Houses of Parliament. In the Upper House a vote of censure, after an eloquent vindication of his conduct by the Lord Chancellor, was lost by a narrow majority of two—the numbers being eighty-seven for, eighty-nine against, the motion. Such a result, where defeat was expected, must have been most acceptable to Ministers, and the debate in the Commons partook of a somewhat similar character. After an animated rhetorical contest, in the course of which Mr. Gathorne Hardy amused the House by accusing Mr. Gladstone of reviving the “dispensing power,” Government escaped condemnation by a majority of twenty-seven.

The second offence consisted in the appointment of the Rev. W. Harvey to the rectory of Ewelme. The statute provided that the holder of the benefice should be a member of the Oxford Convocation. Accordingly, Mr. Harvey, who had taken his degree at Cambridge, was made a member of the Oxford Convocation in order to fulfil the requirements of the law. Mr. Mowbray, who brought this transaction before Parliament, did not pretend to question the fitness of the appointment, but described it as a wanton violation of an Act of Parliament, and pointed out the delay of more than six months that was caused; and Mr. Henley added a little local colouring to the debate by remarking that “the parishioners of Ewelme understood their rector to be an Oxford man; but he could no more be made an Oxford man than a blackamoor could be washed white.” The question was not pressed to a division, but opinion was adverse to Government.

The Queen's Speech had referred somewhat confusedly to the legislative programme of the year. There were to be Bills for the Improvement of Public Education in Scotland, for the Regulation of Mines, for the Amendment of the Licensing System, and in relation to the superior courts of Justice and Appeal. Besides, a Bill was promised “having for its main object the establishment of secret voting, together with a measure relating to corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections,” and

“several measures of administrative improvement for Ireland.” “I should like to know,” asked Mr. Disraeli, “whether we are under an erroneous impression that the Ballot Bill is only to be applied to Ireland.” It was some time before the first item in this scheme was submitted to the consideration of the House. In the interval, Mr. Dixon, champion of Nonconformist views, had effected a vigorous but somewhat premature attack on the Education Bill; and Mr. Fawcett had urged in vain the abolition of the great Parliamentary law offices.

Mr. Ayrton's Bill for the Regulation of the Parks was remarkable chiefly because it eventually produced a battle royal between the leaders of the two parties in the House. Government introduced a clause throwing on the House the responsibility of certain bye-laws. This was denounced by Mr. Hardy as a “cowardly proceeding, and an abandonment of responsibility,” and he was in turn accused by Mr. Gladstone of “introducing on all occasions an acrid and venomous spirit into debates;” while the Premier replied to Mr. Disraeli's comments by taunting him, in the words of Sheridan, with “drawing on his memory for his jokes, and his imagination for his facts.”

An admirable and important measure was Mr. Bruce's Bill for the Regulation of Mines; the object was to consolidate and amend previous legislation on the subject. The Bill applied to all stratified iron mines, and to shale and fire-clay mines, and contained provisions for the employment of boys on the principle of the Factory Acts; children under thirteen were not to work more than ten hours a day. As a precaution against accidents arising from want of discipline, every mine-owner was to appoint managers, who were to be examined by Local Boards, and who were to be registered, their certificate being revocable in case of neglect or misconduct. There were besides some general rules, to the effect that the owner was to keep the roofs of sidings in proper condition, gunpowder was to be taken into mines only in the form of cartridges, and a daily inspection was enforced before work was begun. Besides, good ventilation was provided for, and the staff of inspectors largely increased. In cases where double shafts were necessary the communication between them was to be at least four feet wide and three feet high. In spite of the sensible provisions of Mr. Bruce's Bill, however, the yearly number of mining accidents did not seem to decrease much after its enactment.

On the same day the Lord Advocate, Mr.

Young, introduced the Scottish Education Bill. Several measures of a similar nature had been brought forward in previous Parliaments, but had all failed to reach their goal in the statute-book. The present measure, however, in spite of some reasonable charges of insufficiency that were brought against it, and the strong opposition to its anti-sectarian clauses on the part of the Nonconformists, passed the Lower House almost intact, and was but slightly altered, at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, in the House of Lords. It was generally acknowledged, as the Lord Advocate pointed out, that the then existing public schools had failed to keep pace with the growth of population, and he hoped to remedy this evil by establishing a national instead of a denominational system. After deprecating the spirit of religious and political wrangling which had prevented any previous settlement of the question, he proposed, in imitation of Mr. Forster's Education Act, to establish a School Board in every parish and every borough, to be elected by all who would have to pay the rates, the burden having previously fallen on landed proprietors. The election of these boards was not to be permissive, but compulsory—a fact that marked a considerable advance in the application of the principles of secular education—and the education rate would be increased. The existing public schools would be placed under these boards at once, and they would have to provide the additional means of education that might be necessary. This arrangement excluded the denominational schools recently established, and included only the old parish schools founded under the old Scottish law. The educational committee were to be under the direct management of the Privy Council, without the intervention of a central board in Edinburgh, the grant being administered by a Scottish Committee of the Privy Council. The religious difficulty was wisely left to settle itself: that is to say, the boards were to decide whether the children should be taught the Shorter or the Longer Catechism or any other confession of faith. The school-master's salary was also left unsettled by law, but was regarded as a matter of contract between employers and employed. The Duke of Richmond's amendment, to which reference has been made above, was to the effect that the law of Scotland with regard to Scriptural education should be maintained; but this had no practical effect in diminishing the power of the School Board.

Among the great schemes of the year was Mr. Cardwell's plan for army reform. Encouraged by

the successful abolition of the purchase system, by the great results attendant on the policy of concentration, and on the union of the War Office and the Horse Guards, the War Minister proposed to effect further modifications in the military system, in the spirit of consolidation of which, as he reminded the House, they had in the previous year expressed their approval. The most important of these was the formation of territorial regiments, by dividing the country into sixty-six districts, with central depôts, in each of which there would be a battalion of the line and two militia regiments, and with them would be brigaded the volunteers of the district. By this arrangement there would be one battalion of a regiment at home and another abroad, exchanging officers and men. "The two militia regiments," he said, "will be associated with them in the same brigade. At the head of the whole will be placed a lieutenant-colonel of the regular army, acting as brigadier, and commanding-in-chief not only the regulars and the militia, but also the volunteers of the district." The general effect would be to bring military life home to English households, and prevent the army from becoming a caste apart, as in France and Germany, instead of becoming welded and conjoined with the national existence. In the following year Mr. Cardwell added some finishing touches to his plan with regard to "linked battalions." They were to form the basis of new administrative brigades and, as regards the sub-lieutenants and the soldiers, to constitute one corps for all military purposes. The effect of this arrangement would be a closer connection between the two battalions, and it would afford facilities of exchange in cases where officers serving abroad wished to come home. He proposed also to create a deputy-adjutant generalship, the holder of which should be attached to the Commander-in-Chief and made responsible for the control of the "Intelligence Department," which would give information as to the means of collecting supplies, railway communications, telegraphs, and means of support. "It would be a strange thing," said the *Spectator*, while criticising Mr. Gladstone's Ministry in a tone of some severity, "if Mr. Cardwell saved this Government, but it is not at all impossible. The more his plan of army reform is studied the better will it be liked, more especially by those who believe, as we do, that bad as war can be, military discipline is about the best education through which the majority of mankind can pass." Unfortunately, a considerable outcry against these innovations was raised by military

officers, perhaps the most conservative body of men in the kingdom. Their hands thus strengthened, the Opposition resisted the Bill for the necessary loan of £3,500,000, which was introduced late in the session, with the unfortunate result of its abandonment for the time being.

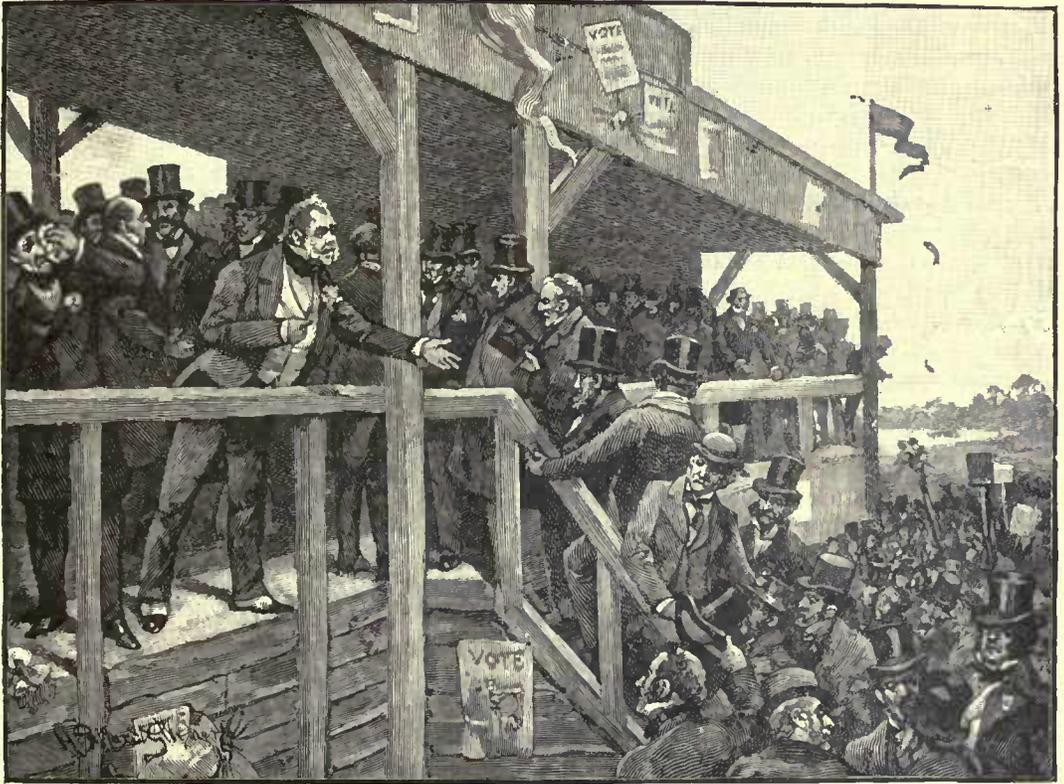
In 1872 Englishmen prided themselves on the dignity of their Parliament, and would point the finger of scorn at the uproarious proceedings which characterised the French Assembly. Hence it is hardly to be wondered at that the maelstrom of disorder which ensued on Sir Charles Dilke's motion for an inquiry into the Civil List being submitted to the Commons was regarded with disgust and surprise by the general public. Undeterred by the coldness with which his speech in the recess had been received, and the ecstasies of loyalty into which the recovery of the Prince of Wales had thrown the nation, the Republican baronet came forward, in answer, it was said, to a challenge that had been brought against him, to the effect that he dared not repeat inside St. Stephen's words which he had uttered outside its walls. With great self-command Sir Charles brought forward the subject before an audience nearly every member of which was hostile to him. His *data* had been carefully arranged, and though the House listened for awhile to the case which he tried to establish, it soon grew apathetic. Mr. Gladstone replied with considerable warmth. He reproached Sir Charles for careless investigation into his facts and complained that he had not furnished the Government with particulars, although he had been requested to do so beforehand. By the unfortunate speech at Newcastle, Sir Charles, said the Premier, had brought the subject into ill-omened association with proposals to change the form of our Government, which were most repugnant to the great body of the people. Sir Charles Dilke ought, in his assumed character of a public instructor, to have made it clear to his audience that Parliament was solely responsible for the Civil List and that the Queen had nothing to do with the settlement of it. "On every ground, therefore," said the Prime Minister, "without attempting to go further into details, many of which have little bearing on the subject—in the peculiar and unhappy circumstances under which this motion presents itself—on the ground of sound policy, and, I would add, of duty towards a sovereign so rooted in the hearts and affections of her people, I would earnestly trust that the House may be disposed to think that the discussion which has taken place is sufficient for the purpose."

Mr. Auberon Herbert, in seconding Sir Charles Dilke's motion, avowed himself a Republican. This unhappily gave rise to a scene such as the House has seldom witnessed, in the present generation at any rate. Hundreds of men howled and bellowed as if they were mad. Respect for the Speaker had vanished for the time. Discordant sounds like the cock-crow occasionally rose above the tumult. Eventually, after an attempt had thrice been made in as many minutes to count the House, and strangers had been ordered to withdraw, Mr. Dodson restored order by drawing attention to cries which had come from behind the chair. A division was requested by the member for Chelsea, but he got only two members to follow him into the lobby. The affair was, on the whole, most discreditably to the House of Commons. It proved, indeed, that a Republican party did not exist, although there might be several men in the Commons who had theoretical sympathies with that form of Government; but it proved also that the loyalty of the representatives of Englishmen found expression, not in temperate argument, but in howling down obnoxious opinions.

Meanwhile, the Ballot Bill, the *pièce de resistance* of the Liberal programme, was "dragging its slow length along" towards the Upper House. It had been entrusted to Mr. Forster, whose skilful pilotage of the Education Act had elicited such favourable comments from occupiers of the Liberal benches. The rise of a movement in favour of secret voting, if we omit several isolated instances of its use in Scotland, may be dated from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The enormous amount of corruption then prevalent caused James Mill to employ his powerful pen in behalf of the measure, and a clause in the original draft of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill provided for its introduction. The Ballot, which had received from Sydney Smith the title of "the mouse-trap," was afterwards supported by Mr. Grote in an annual motion. Grote's mission fell on Mr. Henry Berkeley, concerning whom Lord Palmerston expressed a hope that when he quitted the scene of his mortal labours his tomb might be made in the likeness of a ballot-box. And so the measure drifted along, coming into prominence—in company with proposals in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords or marriage with a deceased wife's sister—once a year, and then dropping into oblivion; it had not yet come within the range of practical politics. Still, the minorities in its favour gradually increased. John Stuart Mill's desertion of the cause was amply compensated by the conversion to it of

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. At length, in 1869, a new impulse was given to the movement by the appointment of a Select Committee, of which Lord Hartington was chairman, to inquire into the method of conducting Parliamentary and municipal elections. A scandalous amount of corruption and intimidation was found to be in vogue, both in England and Ireland; tenants were driven by their landlords to the poll like sheep to

strewn with dead cats and rotten eggs rather than with roses) was to be abolished, and a paper, signed by a proposer, seconder, and eight supporters, substituted in its stead. These propositions were most favourably received by the general public, but fell very coldly on the Houses of Parliament. A proposal for throwing the legitimate expenses of elections on the local rates was rejected by a large majority; and a certain section of the Conservative



SCENE AT THE HUSTINGS IN THE DAYS OF OPEN ELECTION. (See p. 37.)

the slaughter and elections had often become mere synonyms for saturnalia of debauchery. A rapid change at once came over the spirit of public opinion and test ballots taken at Manchester and Stafford were found to be completely successful. In 1871 Mr. Forster introduced his first Ballot Bill. Its object was to obtain secrecy by compelling each voter to use an official voting-paper, which he could obtain only at the polling-place, and to prevent personation by requiring the attendant official to verify the voter's name and address in the register. Besides, the old practice of nominating candidates at the hustings (whither the paths of aspirants to Parliamentary fame were

party, headed by Mr. James Lowther, barred the way by introducing that practice of talking against time which the Home Rulers afterwards adopted and improved. Partly owing to this obstruction, and partly to a want of tact that characterised Government's management of the House, the Bill did not reach the Lords until the second week in August. It was therefore rejected, at the instance of Lord Shaftesbury, on the ground that there was no time for its proper consideration, and it is possible they had with them the sympathies—secret, if not open—of a portion of the House of Commons.

The Ballot Bill of 1872 was submitted to the

Commons on February 8th, under the title of "A Bill to amend the Law relating to the procedure of Parliamentary and Municipal Elections." Mr. Forster explained that in deference to the opinions expressed in the previous year, the proposal to throw the legal expenses of candidates on the rates had been abandoned, and that the Government had resolved to divide last year's measure into two Bills, of which the second, the Corrupt Practices Act, had been entrusted to the Attorney-General, the clause against impersonation having been transferred to it. Furthermore, it was proposed to leave the mode of municipal nominations alone, and merely to alter that of Parliamentary nominations; and secondly, the provision for polling-places was not to be extended to Scotland. "The three objects of the Bill then are—first, the abolition of public nominations; secondly, that the vote shall be taken by ballot; and thirdly, the increase of polling-places." The method of voting was described as follows:—"The ballot of each voter shall consist of a paper, showing the names and description of the candidates. At the time of voting it shall be marked at the back with an official mark, and delivered to the voter within the polling-station, and the voter, having secretly marked his vote on it, and folded it up so as to conceal his vote, shall place it in a closed box in the presence of the presiding officer, after having shown to him the official mark at the back. Any ballot-paper which has not on its back the official mark, or on which the votes are given to more candidates than the voter is entitled to vote for, or on which anything is written or marked by which the voter can be identified, shall be void, and not counted." The Bill also provided that infringement of secrecy by any officer or agent in attendance should be punishable by imprisonment for any term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour. Every resident county elector, as far as was reasonably practicable, should have a polling-place within four miles of his residence, but a polling district need not be constituted in any case where there were less than a hundred registered electors.

The Corrupt Practices Bill was introduced on the same day by the Attorney-General, Sir John Coleridge. He described it as "a short and simple Bill," and stated that it was proposed to make personation a misdemeanour, and to impose on the returning officer the duty of prosecution, while it would be open to any private individual to prosecute if that functionary failed to do his duty. No public-house was to be hired or used by a

candidate, or any person on his behalf, for any purpose connected with the election; and the person so offending was subject to a penalty.

The first important event in the Parliamentary career of these two measures was their practical fusion into one—for such was the ultimate result, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's indignant denial at the time—by the transference to the Ballot Act of the clause relating to personation, and another directing a vote to be struck off in case of bribery, treating and undue influence. The measure, thus transformed, had a stormy career. The abolition of nominations was received with general approval but an amendment for throwing the cost of elections on the Consolidated Fund was rejected by a large majority.

The crisis in the Lower House took place in April, on the occasion of Mr. Leatham producing an amendment, which Ministers accepted, for punishing the disclosure of a vote by six months' imprisonment. Mr. Harcourt agreed to this if the words "with corrupt intent" were substituted for "wilfully." "Supposing," said he, "an elector for Bradford not only called out 'Forster for ever!' but showed his paper with 'Forster' upon it, it would be very hard to send that man to prison. Why, they would in that way fill the gaols of the West Riding." Mr. Harcourt carried the omission of the word "wilfully" from Mr. Leatham's amendment by a majority of one and his own amendment came on for discussion. After Mr. Forster had declared that it was absolutely impossible for the Government to accept the amendment, Mr. Harcourt replied in a speech the liveliness of which imparted fresh interest to a debate that had begun to flag somewhat seriously. The penalties proposed to be inflicted by the Bill, especially that recommended by Mr. Leatham, he characterised as "stringent and violent," if not "absolutely brutal." "It was said that he (Mr. Harcourt) had gone over to the other side of the House. Not at all. He was supporting the Government Bill. It was said that a Bill without a penal clause would not put an end to intimidation. Nor would it. But if they wished to put down intimidation, they ought not to put down the person intimidated, but the intimidator. It amounted to this: they objected to a man beating his wife, and therefore they made it a misdemeanour for the wife to be beaten." The debate now grew very violent, Mr. Henry James eliciting Liberal cheers by disclaiming the honour of being Mr. Harcourt's "guide, philosopher, and friend," and denouncing him as a false friend to the Ballot.

Eventually Mr. Harcourt withdrew his amendment and a division was taken on that of Mr. Leatham. Amidst a scene of intense excitement the numbers were read and it was discovered that Government had suffered defeat by the considerable majority of twenty-eight. As soon as the vociferous cheering of the Opposition was in some degree quelled, Mr. Gladstone announced that although the measure had received a blow, he did not think it was consistent with the duty of Government to abandon it. He was not so enamoured of penalties as Mr. Canning once said Jamaica planters were of the cart-whip. Mr. Forster agreed to accept a modification of Mr. Harcourt's amendment, to the effect that "no person shall, directly or indirectly, induce any voter to display his ballot-paper after he shall have marked the same, so as to make known to any person the name of the candidate for or against whom he has so marked his vote, under penalty of three months' imprisonment with hard labour."

It now became more and more evident that Government were trying to push the Bill through a House composed of lukewarm supporters and bitter opponents. A proposal that the presiding officer should mark the paper of a voter who could not read was forced on Mr. Forster, and Government's suggestion that the hours of polling should vary according to the time of the year was very coldly received and ultimately withdrawn. The third reading was carried by a majority of fifty-eight. Curiously enough, Mr. Disraeli had during the recent debates maintained a studious silence, which some interpreted to mean that the astute chief of the Opposition was not unwilling that the measure should pass. Be that as it may, it was reserved for Sir Stafford Northcote to record the last protest against the fairly complete success of a scheme which for so many years had been the bugbear of Conservative members of Parliament. In the course of a remarkably temperate speech, he admitted the existence of the evils which the Bill was designed to cure, but maintained that they could be cured by other processes, and further that the measure would be productive of other and greater evils. "It was to be imposed on nine-tenths of the electors who did not want it for the sake of the one-tenth who did, who were the weakest, least courageous, and least conscientious of the public; and it would protect the weak and feeble, who lacked courage, at the expense of other qualities. . . . In opposing the Bill, the Opposition were not less anxious than the Government to put down anything in the

shape of illegitimate influence—such as corruption, intimidation, and fraud; and it was because they believed that bringing public opinion and the law to bear upon admitted evils was the more excellent way, that they extended their protest against the third reading of this Bill."

"The strongest Ballot Bill in existence," as Mr. Forster fondly called it, was destined to meet with further mutilation in the Upper House. The cautious speech of Lord Ripon, to whom its conduct had been entrusted, was met by a proposal from Lord Grey that the Bill be read a second time that day six months; while the Duke of Richmond, who twitted the Prime Minister with his sudden conversion to a measure which he had opposed for more than forty years, and remarked that only one-fifth of the members returned to the House were pledged to its support, announced that he was prepared to propose amendments in committee "which would remove all doubt that the secrecy was to be of an optional and not of a compulsory character, and to introduce clauses which at all events commended themselves to the opinion of Mr. Bright in 1870 for providing a scrutiny, so that there might be power to trace a vote which had been given wrongfully and corruptly." Lord Shaftesbury denounced the measure and, while representing the alarms of the Conservative party in their most extreme form, supported his argument by a formidable array of quotations from Montesquieu, Dr. Merivale, *The North American Review*, Pliny, Gibbon, and *The Times*. "I am prepared," he said, at the conclusion of an impassioned speech, "to see the dissolution of the Church of England, torn as it is by internal dissension; I am prepared to see a vital attack made upon the House of Lords, hateful on account of its hereditary privileges; and I am prepared to tremble for the monarchy itself, stripped as it is of its true supporters; but I am not prepared for an immoral people; I am not prepared to see the people exercising their highest rights and privileges in secret, refusing to come to the light because their deeds are evil." It must be confessed that Lord Kimberley while defending the Ballot against these vigorous attacks, seemed inclined to "damn" the Bill "with faint praise." He denied that Government rested their defence of the case on the papers referring to the Australian colonies which had been so freely quoted by the Opposition, but rather on the opinions of responsible Ministers in that country. On the whole, he concluded that the Bill would work well in Ireland. He did not believe that

the passing of the Bill would bring about a political revolution; he believed that its effect would be salutary, but infinitely less so than many people imagined. In spite of the general tone of the debate, the second reading was carried by a majority of thirty.

The Duke of Richmond's amendment, the object of which was to make the Ballot optional, was also carried, in the face of Lord Ripon's warning that Government could not possibly accept it. It would have been fatal to the Bill, because a tenant who voted secretly would, of course, be assumed to have voted against his landlord. Lord Shaftesbury carried an amendment enabling the poll at borough elections to be prolonged until eight o'clock; and over another amendment which was lost, a not very dignified altercation arose among their lordships. Lord Bath accused the Lord Chancellor of "never rising to address the House without showing acrimony and bitterness;" and Lord Granville, while defending Lord Hatherley, charged the Duke of Richmond with "despotism," a more personal remark, said the Duke, than he had ever heard before in that House. Lord Beauchamp gave the Bill a parting blow by carrying an amendment limiting the operation of the Act to the end of 1880, unless Parliament should otherwise determine.

A collision between the two Houses seemed almost inevitable. Government, however, forewarned doubtless by the half-heartedness of their supporters, were not by any means disposed to assume an attitude of uncompromising hostility. Mr. Forster, as Lord Ripon had anticipated, declined to accept the clause making the Ballot optional, on the ground that it rendered the Bill useless or worse than useless, and meant that any man might be bribed or bullied into giving his vote in public. Mr. Disraeli defended the House of Lords on general grounds, but gaily suggested that he should, had he been in their place, have left the Bill quite untouched, merely adding a clause that it should only apply in cases where corruption and intimidation on a very large scale had been proved. He would have kept it in reserve, like the Riot Act, only to be brought into use when the excesses of electoral society demanded it. Mr. Gladstone replied that as the Riot Act was used as a prevention against rioting, so, according to Mr. Disraeli, the Ballot Bill is the effectual and best remedy for intimidation and corruption. He disposed of Mr. Disraeli's argument that there was no feeling in the country in

favour of the Ballot by referring to the fact that the Conservatives returned for Oldham, the Isle of Wight, Tamworth, and the North West Riding, and also the Conservative candidate for Aberdeen, "whose position on the poll was not altogether flattering," had thought it necessary to declare themselves friends of the Ballot. Amid loud laughter, he answered his opponent's remark that the one-fifth of the population who marry are one-fifth of the population who vote, by saying that he had heard and believed that the peasants in the villages of the country were in the habit of marrying, but he had not heard that they were in the habit or capacity of voting. The one-fifth of Mr. Disraeli was a figure undoubtedly, but a figure in more senses than one. It was a figure of arithmetic; it was also a figure of speech, and one of the boldest figures of speech, among the many for which the right honourable gentleman was responsible, that he had ever indulged in. The amendment was rejected, and Lord Beauchamp's proposal of limitation met with a similar fate.

Having thus, to use an appropriate and expressive phrase, "put their foot down," Government had to await the result of the ultimatum. At first the voice of the majority in the House of Lords was for war. The Duke of Richmond, while insisting on the retention of his optional clause, accused the Prime Minister of sneering at the Upper House; and Lord Russell, indulging in his favourite vein of political retrospect, expressed a fear that universal suffrage would follow in the train of secret voting. But more prudent views prevailed and Lord Granville's well-timed speech, in which he cautioned their lordships never to take their stand against the other House unless their ground was much firmer than it was on this occasion, was followed by a division, in which Government had a majority of nineteen. In return for this concession, Mr. Forster agreed to accept the scrutiny clause and Lord Beauchamp's amendment, and so the great Ballot controversy came to an end. We have said that the enthusiasm within the House in favour of the Ballot was not great. But the conduct of two elections which immediately ensued—that of Pontefract, where Mr. Childers was re-elected on obtaining a seat in the Cabinet, and that at Preston, where Mr. Holker was successful—greatly changed the current of popular opinion. The drunkenness and rioting, formerly so prevalent, were conspicuous by their absence and the simplicity of the voting process excited much surprise.

Having thus dealt with the greatest evil

attendant on political life, Parliament now busied itself in attempting to stay that plague of drunkenness, which caused so much misery among the lower classes and which, if unchecked by law, bade fair to become an indelible trait of national character. It was no use trying to get away from facts. "There are," said a contemporary writer, "about 140,000 public and beer houses in the kingdom, of which 10,000 are in the London

was stated at £20,670,000. "The people of this country," according to another authority, "are spending in drink £100,000,000 a year. A traffic has grown up in the United Kingdom with a capital of £117,000,000, and a constituency of 1,500,000 engaged in its 150,000 establishments—a trade more powerful by far than the cotton industry, with its capital of £85,000,000, or the woollen trade, with its £22,000,000, or the iron



THE "ANGEL," ISLINGTON, LONDON, IN 1872.

district ; and, adopting the estimate of the brewer's advocate, setting them at £300 each in the country and £1,500 in London, their trade value would amount to £54,000,000." The average weekly rate of arrests for drunkenness in Liverpool alone was 96 on Monday, 58 on Tuesday, 52 on Wednesday, 36 on Thursday, 43 on Friday, 155 on Saturday, and 26 on Sunday ; and this rate held good in the other great towns in proportion to their populations. The official returns of the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed a steady increase of the revenues derived from the Excise. In 1871 this source of income was £23,032,000, and in 1870 £22,291,000, while in 1867 the amount

trade, with its £25,000,000—a trade which consumes in the manufacture of drink an amount of grain equal to the whole produce of Scotland—which returns to the revenue £29,126,000, or nearly a half of the actual taxation of the United Kingdom—and which, after all, in its legitimate exercise, provides but a luxury, and in its illegitimate, the most insidious of all social temptations." It was computed that two-thirds of the alcoholic liquor manufactured were consumed by the working classes ; out of an average annual income of £85, a labouring man spent £18 in drink and tobacco. These things caused men's hearts to burn within them. Mr. Bright

had tried to persuade the people in spite of themselves. While addressing his constituents in 1870, he pointed out in glowing terms that "if we could subtract from the ignorance, the poverty, the suffering, the sickness, and the crime which are now witnessed among us, the ignorance, the poverty, the suffering, the sickness, and the crime which are caused by one single, but most prevalent habit, or vice, of drinking needlessly, which destroys the body and mind, and home and family, do we not all feel that this country would be so changed, and so changed for the better, that it would be almost impossible for us to know it again?"

In strong opposition to the publicans was the United Kingdom Alliance, a well-known body founded in 1852 for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic. They strenuously urged the adoption of legislation which should leave it in the power of a two-thirds majority in each locality to stop altogether the sale of intoxicating drinks. Sir Wilfrid Lawson came forward as the apostle of teetotalism—perhaps the most jovial advocate of asceticism that could be imagined: a man of whom even his most bitter political opponents hoped that it might be said for many years to come that

"Age cannot wither him,
Nor custom stale his infinite variety."

The reports of temperance meetings were eagerly perused, if only to catch some of Sir Wilfrid's *mots*; his quips and quiddities lent popularity to the movement. Gradually the agitation gained strength; it became a factor in politics which in some degree challenged the all-powerful influence of Beer.

Government were thus forced to take up the question, and in pursuance of the promise in the Queen's Speech, a Bill, known as the Intoxicating Liquors, or Licensing, Bill, was framed by the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce, and introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Kimberley. The measure was a distinct compromise and, as such, acceptable to neither party. Mr. Bruce himself owned it was "elastic," Mr. Disraeli termed it "helter-skelter," Mr. Harcourt quizzed it as "grandmotherly." Still, it was felt that if it would do but little good it would do no harm. Lord Kimberley, in a clear and masterly speech, explained its provisions. After dwelling on the complicated state of the licensing laws, he disclaimed any intention on the part of Government to introduce an ambitious measure; "the regulated monopoly then existing would be maintained." The first part of the Bill related to the granting of new licences. These

were still to be granted by the justices in Brewster Sessions, but they would not be valid until confirmed by a special committee appointed at Quarter Sessions, and approved by the Secretary of State, according to the Suspensory Act of the previous year. In the metropolis all questions regarding the issue of new licences would be dealt with by a limited committee of the magistrates of the different counties forming the metropolis, while the renewal of old licences would be dealt with as before at Brewster Sessions, subject to an appeal to Quarter Sessions, at each of which bodies those who objected to the transfer, renewal, or grant of a licence might appeal. A register would be kept of serious and repeated offences on the part of publicans, and in grave cases the certificate would of itself be forfeited, instead of the matter being left to the discretion of the magistrates, a third conviction cancelling the licence for three years. Then, the penalty for drunkenness was to be increased from 5s. to 10s., to which additional fines were afterwards imposed of 20s. for a second and 40s. for later offences; and additional punishment was to be imposed on the adulteration of beer with sugar, skins of soles, salt, and copperas. The hours of closing were the subject of much discussion in both Houses and were fixed as follows: Within four miles of Charing Cross, in the City of London, or any parish subject to the Metropolitan Board of Works, public-houses or beer-houses would not be allowed to open before six A.M., or in peculiar cases between five and seven, and must close at midnight. Elsewhere in London and in towns of not less than 10,000 souls, they must close at eleven P.M., or, if the magistrates wished, not earlier than ten, or later than twelve; in other towns and districts at ten P.M. On Sundays, Christmas Day, and Good Friday they must not open until half-past twelve or one P.M., and must close between half-past two or three and six P.M., when they might keep open till 10 or 11 P.M. These regulations were framed to counteract the notorious fact that every advancing hour brought an increased ratio of drunkenness. Inspection was to be taken out of the hands of the police and placed in those of special inspectors, not less than one such inspector being appointed for every 100,000 inhabitants. There were no rating qualifications for public-houses, but in the case of beer-houses magistrates would have power to introduce a special valuation, the effect of which would be to suppress a considerable number of low houses which had improperly obtained licences. "The Bill," he said, in conclusion, "may be considered

moderate in its character, but at the same time I trust it may have the effect of considerably diminishing the tendency in many parts of the country to an undue multiplication of public-houses and other houses for the sale of liquors."

The debates in the House of Lords were remarkable only for a most outspoken speech against the measure by Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough. While pleading for the right of humble ratepayers to have some voice in controlling the machinery of the liquor traffic, he denounced in glowing sentences the principle of the Permissive Bill. "If I must take my choice whether England should be free or sober, I declare—strange as such a declaration may sound coming from one of my profession—that I should say it would be better that England should be free than that England should be compulsorily sober. I would distinctly prefer freedom to sobriety, because with freedom we must in the end attain sobriety; but in the other alternative we must lose both freedom and sobriety."

The measure, on its committal to the House of Commons, met with criticism of a very different nature from Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who described it as a Licensing Bill which had really nothing to do with licensing, and styled it the play of *Hamlet* with *Hamlet* omitted. "My doctrine," said the jocund baronet, "is that prevention is better than cure, and that heavy penalties will never stop drunkenness. If a man is determined to ruin his constitution, blast the hopes of his family, and go down to destruction, a fine of 5s. or 10s. will not matter much. I think there is more nonsense talked about adulteration than upon any other subject brought before the House. . . . The *Times* says truly it is all very well to stop adulteration, but if you make drink so good people will only take more of it." In spite of these words of rebuke, the second reading was practically unopposed, and Sir H. Selwin Ibbetson withdrew a rival measure which he had introduced. Nor were the attempts of the brewery interest, as represented by Mr. Watney, to modify the measure in committee more successful; and though Mr. Harcourt, as was his custom at this period of his career, tilted at the proposals of Government, his amendments came practically to nothing. The most important change effected was the transference from the Excise to the licensing magistrates of the power of granting licences to grocers and confectioners to sell spirits not to be consumed on the premises. Thus a guarantee was provided for the respectability of the applicant, while the

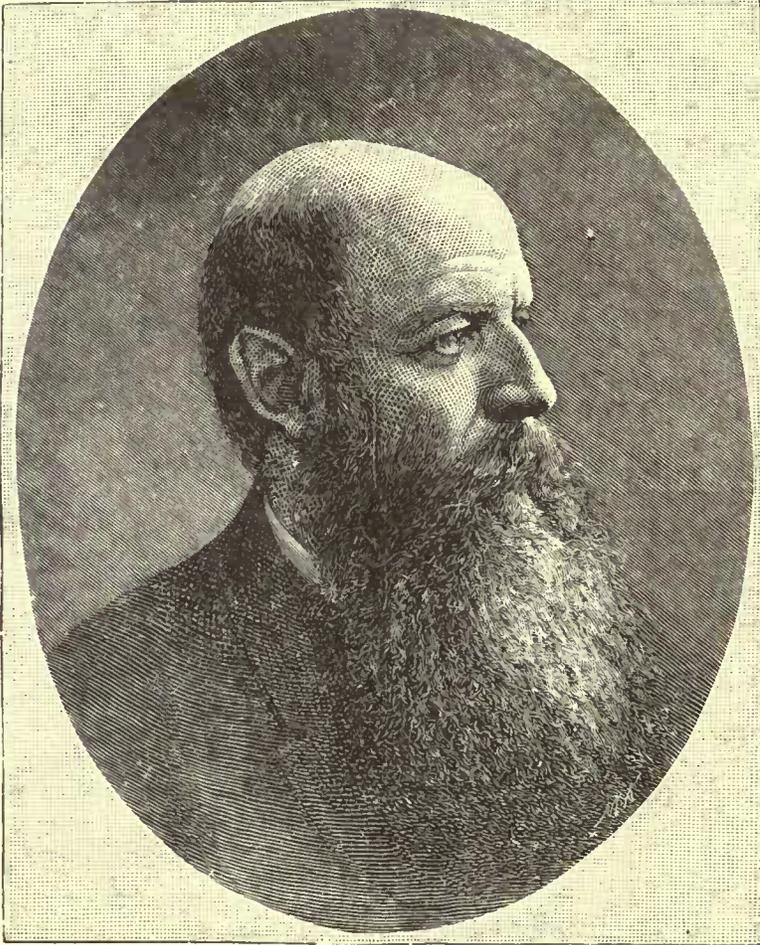
licence was to be refused only on special grounds. At length the debates on the Licensing Bill came to an end, most of the members probably being, as Mr. Henley frankly admitted, "glad to get rid of it."

The reception which the measure met with in the provinces was perhaps the strongest argument that could be brought forward in its favour. The respectable classes received it with general approbation, with the exception of the publicans and brewers, who became permanently alienated from the Liberal party, the former being justly indignant because the sheep and the goats of their trade had met with such indiscriminate censure. The British rough, however, resenting with his customary uproariousness any curtailment of his time-honoured and glorious privilege of getting drunk. In London, indeed, he acquiesced in his unhappy lot without any active expression of discontent, but there were serious riotings in some of the larger towns, especially at Exeter and Leicester, and mass meetings were held at which the Burkes of the beer-barrel emphatically condemned the early hours prescribed by the new Act. At Folkestone the mob expressed their practical dislike of the theory that there should be "one law for the rich and another for the poor" by breaking the windows of the chief hotels and making night hideous by howls, yells and execrations against the unpopular name of Bruce. The agitation was short-lived; indeed, it could easily be accounted for by the well-known dislike entertained by Englishmen to being put out of their accustomed ways, and it soon ceased to exist when submitted to the verdict of common-sense; but it distinctly had a strong temporary impulse towards increasing the unpopularity of Government. With the passing of the Licensing Act ended the fulfilment, with one exception, of the pledges that had been given to the nation in the Queen's Speech. We need not linger over the less important events of the Session; it is enough to say that Mr. Lowe's Budget showed a comfortable surplus of £3,602,000, which enabled him take off the twopence in the pound which he had added to the income tax in 1871, and to reduce the coffee duty; that Mr. Goschen's naval estimates showed a gratifying decrease of expenditure, in conjunction with an increase of organisation and shipbuilding; and lastly, that Government suffered defeat by a majority of a hundred on Sir Massey Lopes's resolution in favour of relieving ratepayers from some of the burdens of local taxation.

On the whole, Government were decidedly to

be congratulated on the result of their labours. They had added to the statute-book several useful, if not ambitious, laws ; they had averted a collision between the two Houses ; the blunders which had been committed at the beginning of the year, notably the appointment of Sir Robert Collier, had

it was evident that the Prime Minister had succeeded in rallying the disordered ranks of his followers, and that the prominent members of the Liberal party, with the exception of Mr. Harcourt and Mr. Fawcett, were fairly under control. Nor had the success of Government been lessened by



THE LATE SIR WILFRID LAWSON. (From a Photograph by Boning and Small.)

been either forgotten or forgiven. "The measures," said the *Daily News*, "which the Government has succeeded in carrying form the best answer to the reproaches addressed to it for the abandonment of others, and for its refusal even to attempt legislation upon matters not less important than those with which it has had to deal." Although, reading the history of this year by the light of later events, we cannot agree, with the same paper, that "Mr. Gladstone's Administration was probably then as strong as ever it was in the confidence of Parliament and of the country," yet

the resort on the part of the Opposition to those fractious tactics which had been adopted in the previous Session. Mr. Lowe had retrieved his lost popularity ; Mr. Ayrton had also escaped comparatively unscathed. Possibly, the nation agreed with Mr. Harcourt that the Ministry was morbidly active in minute legislation and, with Mr. Fawcett that individual freedom had been greatly superseded by legislative interference. Still, it seemed on the whole to have approved of Mr. Gladstone's home policy and to have acquiesced in his management of foreign affairs.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Weather Year of 1872—The Agricultural Labourers—Their Status—Hours of Employment—Mr. Arch's Movement—The Wellesbourne Letter—The Strike—The National Labourers' Union—Its Side-issues—Lock-out in the Building Trade—Its Collapse—Strike of the Bakers and Police—The Gas-stokers—Sentence of Mr. Justice Brett—The South Wales Colliers—Speeches of the Liberal Leaders—Mr. Lowe and Mr. Goschen—The Belfast Riots—Orange Manifesto—Faction Fighting—Intervention of the Military—Continuance of the Riots—Paralysis of the Local Authorities—The Athanasian Creed—Dean Stanley's Speech—Archbishop Tait's Mediation—The Attack on Dean Stanley—Mr. Gladstone on the Church—Foreign Affairs—The *Alabama* and San Juan Arbitrations—Political Corruption in America—Contest for the Presidency—France—The Budget and the English Commercial Treaty—The new Loan—Prince Bismarck's domestic Policy—Alsace-Lorraine—Dissensions in Austria-Hungary—Meeting of the Emperors—Russia in Central Asia—South-Eastern Europe—Italy and Spain—Japan and Zanzibar.

THE weather year of 1872 was characterised by the most extraordinary atmospherical activity. January was ushered in by heavy and disastrous rainfalls, flooding the valleys of the Thames and Severn and causing great damage to property. These misfortunes were followed in the summer months by thunderstorms of almost unprecedented severity and frequency, which stripped forests of their trees and flooded low-lying hamlets. The closing months witnessed the occurrence of several untoward hurricanes, causing a great deal of destruction to shipping and sending many an unfortunate sailor to a watery grave. From a material point of view, the most important loss was that of the emigrant ship *Royal Adelaide* in November, off Portland.

An agitation, similar in degree if not in kind to that which convulsed the elements, seems at the same time to have come over the working-classes. Curiously enough, the movement first arose among those who had hitherto been reckoned as the most stationary members of English society. These, it is unnecessary to say, were the agricultural labourers, of whose condition the following statistics, which appear to have been carefully compiled, will give a clear idea. As usual, the counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Devonshire had an evil notoriety on account of the state of their peasantry, and of the three, Somerset on the whole seems to have been the worst off. "In the county of Somerset wages were in the western districts 7s. or 8s. a week, with cider, and sometimes perquisites. Cider, two or three pints a day, valued at 1s. a week. Sometimes potato ground or grist corn was given. The Poor Law Returns gave the wages in the Shepton Mallet Union at from 10s. to 11s., with three pints of cider; in the Axbridge Union, 10s., with four or five pints of cider. Pauperism 6·8 per cent." In Dorsetshire the wages were 8s.

a week, with a cottage rent-free, 9s. a week without one; and in Devonshire wages were given at from 8s. to 9s. per week. The greatest amount of prosperity among the working-classes was to be found in the extreme north—Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. The tables for Cumberland and Westmoreland show that "wages were from 15s. to 18s. a week, occasionally with privileges. Sometimes two-thirds of the farm work in these counties, however, was done by farm servants living and boarding in the farmhouses. The Poor Law Returns gave the following information in reference to the several unions:—Brampton Union, 15s.; Wigton Union, 15s., or 9s. and food; Bootle Union, the same; East Ward Union, 14s. to 16s. 6d.; Kendal Union, 17s. to 18s. per week. Pauperism at 3·8 per cent." These rates were, however, exceptionally high; and those prevalent in Cambridgeshire may be taken as a fair average. "Agricultural wages ranged from 10s. to 13s. per week. Rents were from 1s. to 2s. weekly, and pauperism was reckoned at 6·9 per cent."

The picture thus presented to the mind cannot with any regard to veracity be described as cheerful; but it is a representation of a state of things that was gradually ceasing to exist. The isolation of agricultural communities was being slowly, but surely, broken down. Railways connected district with district; the spread of manufactures not only created a demand for all kinds of labour, but raised the value of agricultural produce and the scale of agricultural profits near manufacturing districts. The reform of the law of pauper settlements also helped to improve the condition of the tiller of the soil. The chief drawbacks to his material comfort were the custom of part payment in kind, whereby a truck system was made to flourish, with the well-known result that in the case of dishonest landlords the articles supplied

were of a most inferior quality; and secondly, the condition of their cottages, which the Agricultural Commissioners of 1879 described as "deplorable," "detestable," and "a disgrace to a civilised community." For this evil it was not particularly easy to find a remedy. Model cottages had been built by enterprising landlords, but the labourer preferred to herd with his family in the smallest room while the upper part of the house was let to lodgers, the domesticated pig being allowed to wander at his own unsavoury will through the unoccupied rooms on the ground floor.

On the whole, the condition of the agricultural labourer at this period was gloomy, but not desperate. The strike—which was, perhaps, rather an effect than a cause—began where it had most chance of success—not in the poorest parts of the country, but in Warwickshire, where, so far from it being the case that, as was afterwards alleged, "eight or ten shillings a week utterly failed to keep up the family," it seems that the weekly earnings were nearer 15s. than 12s. The leader of the movement was Mr. Joseph Arch, a remarkable man, self-educated, who had formerly been a preacher among the Primitive Methodists.

The area of disaffection extended from Stoneleigh Abbey, some five miles north of Leamington, to Wellesbourne, some six miles south of that town, and it was at Whitnash, near the latter spot, that the first labourers' meeting was summoned, and Arch held forth beneath a large chestnut-tree to an audience of some fourteen hundred persons. In the following month the demands of the Wellesbourne labourers were formulated in a somewhat curt letter addressed to their several employers:—

"Sir,—We jointly and severally request your attention to the following requirements—namely, 2s. 8d. per day for our labour; hours from six to five, and to close at three on Saturday; and 4d. per hour overtime. Hoping you will give this your fair and honest consideration,

"We are, Sir, your humble servants."

This request, which perhaps did not err on the side of moderation, was treated by the farmers with silent contempt; and accordingly in March a strike began, which was, however, extremely restricted, as not more than 200 men out of some 2,500 threw up their work. In some cases the farmers granted about 2s. advance in wages; in others the labourers were evicted from their cottages and accepted employment in the north of England. The novelty of the movement soon attracted attention and many of the advanced thinkers of the day, such as Professor Beesly, Mr.

Fawcett, and Mr. Auberon Herbert, rushed to espouse the cause of fustian-clothed Hodge. A meeting was held at Leamington, with Mr. Herbert in the chair, and the world was shortly afterwards informed, through the medium of the local press, that the "Warwickshire Agricultural Labourers' Union" was in existence.

The movement spread rapidly. The strike had been organised at a time when the farmers could ill afford to be without labourers, and they were accordingly compelled to assume a conciliatory attitude. In May a National Congress of labourers' delegates met at Leamington, under the presidency of Mr. George Dixon, M.P., at which twenty-six counties were said to be represented. A National Labourers' Union was established, with an executive committee of thirteen, and a consultative committee, the former being elected by a council composed of one delegate from each of the district unions throughout England. Mr. Arch was elected president, Mr. Henry Taylor secretary, and Mr. Matthew Vincent treasurer. The objects contemplated by the National Union were declared to be—(1) To improve the general condition of agricultural labourers in the United Kingdom; (2) to encourage the formation of branch and district Unions; and (3) to promote co-operation and communication between Unions already in existence. The first annual conference was held at Leamington in May, 1873. "The movement has," wrote Mr. Heath in the following year, "rapidly developed since the date of the first annual conference. Branches of the Union have now been established in every county of England except the following—Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Cornwall. There are now 1,000 branches, containing no less than 100,000 members. . . . The national organisation of farm labourers has now, indeed become a great fact and a great power in the country." The sphere of the Union widened with the same rapidity as its numbers increased. The transportation of peasants to a new country was seen to be a remedy for the over-burdened labour market; and the result of a visit of Messrs. Arch and Clayden to Canada was the organisation of a system of emigration, which was soon extended to the United States.

The movement also had an upward as well as lateral tendency, and this was the side of the question which most attracted economical and political speculators. Mr. Samuel Morley, at a great labourers' meeting held in Exeter Hall

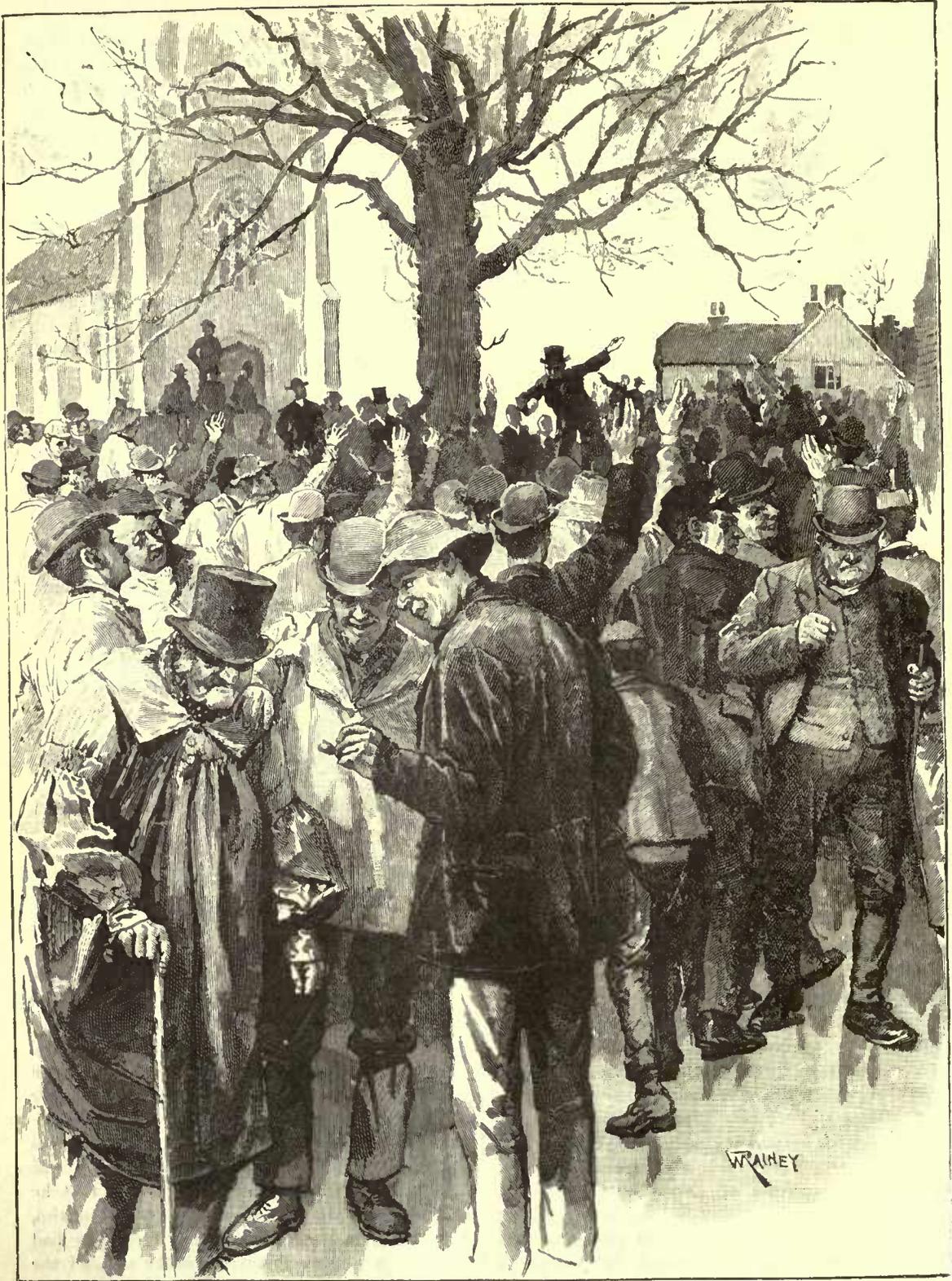
towards the close of 1872, deprecated making the labourers' question one of party; but it was evident that side issues were not far off which had long been identified with the Liberal cause. Accordingly we find that, in the presence of Archbishop Manning, Mr. Mundella, Mr. T. Hughes, and Sir Charles Dilke, resolutions were moved involving the political enfranchisement of the working-man, and sweeping changes in the land laws, especially in the direction of what Mr. Bradlaugh termed "restoring to the people their rightful part in the land." It was seen also that it was unfair to lay the blame for the backward condition of the peasantry entirely on the farmers and that the landlords must bear their share. The immediate result of the agitation, however, developed into a cry for the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, a demand which was advocated with so much ardour that it was soon in a fair way to receive satisfaction. "The trampled worm has turned at last," said the advocates of the Labourers' Union. "England will be ruined by pestilent agitation," said its opponents; and the truth, as usual, lay somewhere between these two opinions. However much we may deprecate agitation and its attendant evils, it cannot be denied that the labourers had on the whole used the power of union moderately and well.

When the patient horny-handed son of the soil had girded up his loins and waxed eloquent on behalf of his rights, it is not to be imagined that his more active-minded brother in the great cities should remain silent beneath the yoke of the taskmaster. Accordingly there began a "nine-hours" movement and the demand, as its corollary, of "ninepence" an hour, became the war-cry of London carpenters, and thence spread rapidly through the whole of the building trade. In June the strike of the carpenters against two large firms belonging to the Masters' Association—as the combination of employers against trades unionism was called—produced a "lock-out," the number of men thrown out of employment being about 5,400, while sixty-four firms closed their establishments. It soon became evident that the victory of the masters was only a question of time. It was true that the rise in the expenses of living justified an increase of wages, but not such a sudden rise as ninepence per hour would imply; while the "nine-hours" movement proved to be a device of the Union calculated to produce a scarcity of labour and enable two men to do the work of one. Further, we are told in the *Saturday*

Review that "it appeared from discussions which had taken place among the workmen that the strike was in the nature of a dynastic *coup*; it was intended to divert attention from domestic strife, and to confirm the authority of the leaders of the Union. It was expected that the members of the Union would close up their ranks in the face of the common foe, that non-Unionists would be driven into the Society for the sake of relief during the strike, and that other Unions would heartily co-operate in an assault on the great enemy of labour—capital. Unfortunately, everything turned out exactly the reverse."

After mediation had been tried in vain by the London Trades Council, the Trades Union Committee of the Social Science Association, and the Trades Parliamentary Committee, nothing remained but to see which side could hold out the longer. The struggle was, however, brought to a somewhat unexpected conclusion by the withdrawal of the masons from the amalgamated committee, a proceeding which they justified by the fluctuating nature of their trade and its dependence on the weather. The carpenters did not submit so easily and it was not until the end of August that, having exhausted the funds of the Union and severely strained its organisation, they accepted under protest the terms which had been previously granted to the masons—namely, eightpence-halfpenny per hour, with an ascending scale of wages for overtime, and fifty-two and a half hours in the summer, and forty-eight in the winter. These terms they might have gained at the beginning of the contest.

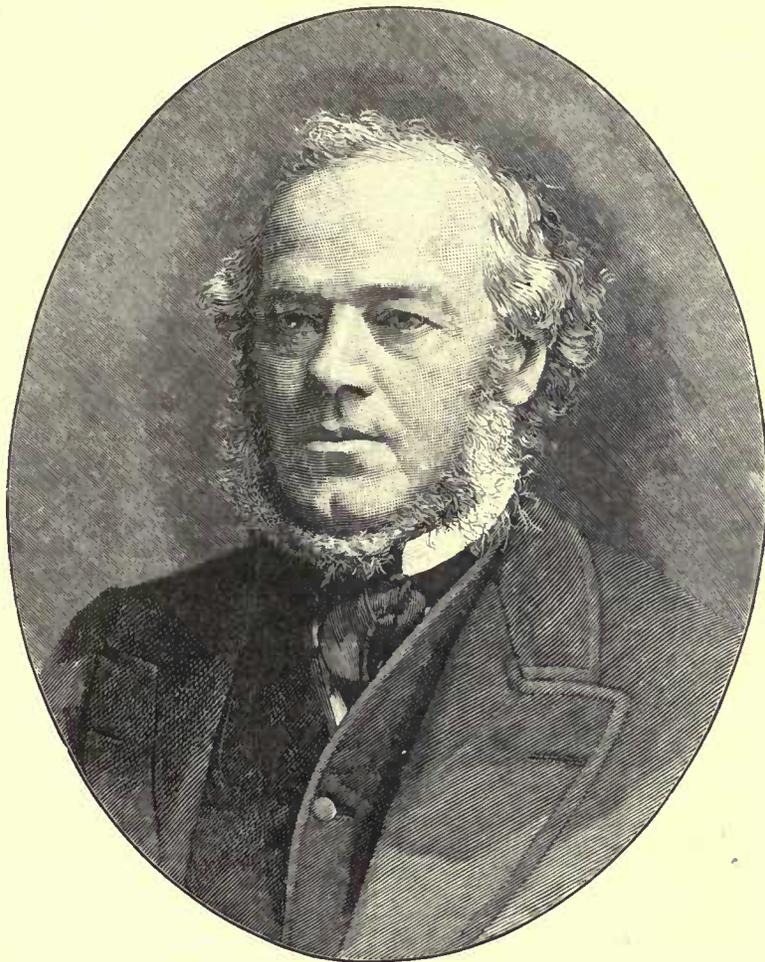
More strikes followed; that of the bakers, however, was short-lived. Their demands, especially that which involved the abolition of Sunday baking, were most reasonable, but their labour is, comparatively speaking, unskilled, and therefore they gained only trifling concessions. Far more serious was the strike of the metropolitan police in November, which eventually assumed the character of a mutiny. For some time past the guardians of the peace had been agitating for a well-deserved increase of pay and eventually obtained their demands. Soon afterwards, Goodchild, the secretary of the delegates who had negotiated with the Chief Commissioner, was dismissed the service, the pretext being that he declined to go to another station. The authorities, however, gave no reason for the step they had taken. A mutiny thereupon broke out, all the more significant because of its spontaneity. The "night reliefs" at Bow Street refused to go on



WARWICKSHIRE FARM LABOURERS' STRIKE: MEETING AT WHITNASH. (See p. 46.)

duty, and the metropolis was left for several hours in a condition of great insecurity. After remaining for some days in a state of indecision, and issuing contradictory orders attributed by the public to Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, those in power dealt summarily with the mutineers

the circumstances were of an aggravated nature. Starting from Fulham Station, where the men refused to work on a most trifling pretext, the area of disaffection widened with rapidity, and soon 2,500 men had thrown up their employment without any reasonable cause. On Monday,



MR. BRUCE (AFTERWARDS LORD ABERDARE).

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

(who had been given to understand that their offence had been condoned by their subsequent return to obedience), degrading some of them, while others, to the number of sixty-nine, were dismissed the service. On the whole, the quarrel cannot be said to have reflected credit on either of the parties concerned.

The strike of gas-stokers was the next development of this spreading infection, and with it closed the series of battles in what George Odger termed the "holy war of labour against capital," which had been so remarkable during the year. In this case

December 2nd, and for several days afterwards, London was very near being left in utter darkness, with the probable results of accidents in the streets, loss of life, and ruffianly outbreaks. Fortunately, the exertions of the gas companies averted such a catastrophe. But one of the theatres had to be closed and oil-lamps were used in many of the shops and railway stations. In some streets every alternate lamp was turned off, and the patrols of police were strengthened. It was felt that this wanton attempt on the part of the stokers to benefit themselves at the risk of doing

harm to others could not be suffered to go unpunished. The manager of the Beckton Gas Company promptly took out summonses against 500 of his men, under the Masters and Servants Act, and five of the ringleaders were prosecuted for conspiracy. Upon the latter the hand of the law fell heavily. They were sentenced to a year's imprisonment and Mr. Justice Brett, in passing sentence upon them, commented severely upon their offence. "The time has come," he said, "when a serious punishment, and not a nominal or light one, must be inflicted—a punishment that will teach men in your position that though, without committing offence, they may be members of a Union, or that they may agree to go into employment or leave it without committing offence, yet that they must take care when they agree together that they shall not do it by illegal means. If they do that, they are guilty of a conspiracy; and if they deceive others, they are guilty of a wicked conspiracy." The sentence was generally pronounced to be just, though severe, and it was felt that a timely insistence had been made on the right of the employer as well as the employed to protection against terrorism and tyranny. Some indignation, however, was created at the time and meetings were held to protest against the severity of the punishment. The movement culminated and ended with the strike of the South Wales colliers and the simultaneous cessation of the iron-works in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. The cause of the dispute between masters and men was the refusal of the latter to submit to a reduction of 10 per cent. in wages, demanded by the former on account of the dulness of trade. Proposals for an arbitration having been rejected by the workmen, the masters proceeded summarily to turn off the greater part of their hands and soon about 70,000 men were on strike. Towards the end of January, 1873, one of the owners, Mr. Brogden, M.P., showed some disposition to submit to the dictates of the Trades Union, which was certainly not shared by his fellows; then Sir Rowland Stephenson came forward as mediator, but without success. The situation became very gloomy; the greater part of the population, perhaps the most improvident class in England, lived on credit; the others begged, or clamoured for food at the soup-kitchens. Nevertheless there was no rioting, very little drunkenness and, what was more remarkable, the rates were not sensibly increased. The last days of March witnessed a termination of the honourable struggle, the men on their own proposal returning

to work on receiving their old rate of wages at a definite date. The cost of the strike was estimated at two millions of money.

The unpleasant activity which had so suddenly developed itself in the British working-man found no counterpart in the prominent leaders of the Liberal party after the adjournment. The Ministry no longer lived "in a perpetual blaze of apology," Mr. Gladstone was silent, and though Mr. Bright lifted up his voice, it was only to tell the story of the Corn Laws, Mr. Cobden, and the Crimean War. In the circumstances a speech from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, always amusing, came in the form of an agreeable tonic to the apathetic political world. Especially grateful were advocates of the *odium politicum* for his definition that the Tory's creed is that he sticks to what is and the Liberal's that he sticks to what ought to be. Upon the strict accuracy of the sketch of English history from the reign of George III., with which he favoured his audience, taking as his text Byron's lines—

"Nought's permanent among the human race
Except the Whigs not getting into place"—

it would be hypercritical to insist too strongly. Far more pertinent was his defence of Government against Lord Salisbury's accusation that "they were a party subject to Radical tribute, that is to say, that they made a good measure and then, in order to please the Radical portion of their party, they directly spoiled it and put in what was bad." This Mr. Lowe stoutly denied and supported his denial by an appeal to the Irish Land Act of 1870. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then proceeded to turn the tables on Lord Salisbury for some "startling innovations" he had proposed in favour of the House of Lords. "Lord Salisbury," he remarked, "said that one of the most useful duties of the House of Lords was to control the House of Commons, but he gave no authority in support of that notion. He also said, very truly, that the House of Lords and the House of Commons are the servants of the people. In that I agree. But he must please to remember that the House of Commons is the upper servant, and I will tell you why. We take our orders in the House of Commons direct from the public. Therefore, if there is to be any question as to the control or interfering one with another, we have at least as good a right, or perhaps better, than they, because we are the butler and housekeeper—the upper servants." Having thus disposed of the subordinate, Mr. Lowe attacked the leader, "who," said he, "having never asked anybody to do

anything, now proposed something for the great men of the Tory party to take up. They do not propose to do anything else; but they are going to give us all good constitutions—‘*sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas.*’ I propose to strike out a letter and substitute another, ‘*vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas.*’ ‘vanity of vanities, all is vanity.’”

A far more satisfactory speech than this contribution to the political wit of the day was that of Mr. Goschen at Bristol, which served a double purpose: first, to dissipate the force of the panics which were then so frequent and, secondly, to vindicate the position of Government in the present and their career in the past. “There are,” he said, “always panics going on at the present day. There are social panics, there are navy and army panics and panics as regards currency; and sometimes one would think that this great old country of ours had got its nerves shattered and could no longer contemplate the hardships of life. . . . I claim that the Government has resisted, and to the advantage of the Government, claims of this kind.” Mr. Goschen’s sketch of the past history of Mr. Gladstone’s Ministry was impregnated by none of that party acrimony which Mr. Lowe had thought fit to introduce into his narrative of the fortunes of Liberalism. He acknowledged that they had passed through some arduous years. “There have been times when we have felt that we have been as strong as on the first day when we came into power. There have been other times when we have not felt the ground so strong beneath us; and there have been times—and I rejoice to think that the present is one of those times—when we have again felt the ground grow strong under our feet.” Mr. Goschen disposed of the charge that Government had alienated powerful classes, in a manly and straightforward way. “A weak Government,” he said, “in times of great excitement is always in peril—it must trim its sails to the wind or lose the support of this section or that, and it is tempted to leave the path set before it. Now, a strong Government must behave as a strong Government; and I venture to think there have been a considerable number of occasions on which we have shown—however desirous we may be to conciliate public opinion—we thought that the principles which guided us, as the representatives for the moment of the Liberal party, were superior to the exigencies of the moment.”

Mr. Lowe had referred with great complacency to the success of Liberal measures in Ireland, and nearly went so far as to prophesy success to

the Liberal administrators in that country. But, while doing so, he neglected altogether to notice the disgraceful riots that had broken out in Belfast during the month of August, showing that the old religious hatred which had embittered the lives of Protestant and Catholic neighbours was seen to be not dead, but only asleep. The occasion was a great Catholic and Home Rule gathering, held at Belfast on the 15th of August. The Party Processions Act, inasmuch as the Orangemen had invariably set it at defiance, had lately been judiciously repealed; and the Catholics accordingly were acting strictly within the law. Annoyed that their religious opponents should be in a position of equality with themselves as regards the right of manifesting their opinions, a large body of Protestants lay in wait for their procession as it was returning from the village of Hannahstown.

The temper which animated their ranks was admirably set forth in the following manifesto:—

“No Home Rule.—Orangemen, Protestants, and all loyal men are invited to an Anti-Home Rule meeting, to be held at Gilford, on Thursday, the 15th of August, to show the ‘would-be Home Rulers’ that the patriotic sons of Ulster will never permit the Jesuitical faction to extend its disloyal agencies north of the sacred Boyne. Attend in your thousands, and manifest your loyalty before the invaders. Maintain your old watchwords—‘God save the Queen,’ and ‘No Surrender.’”

This singular document, which reads like some party proclamation of Queen Anne’s time rather than that of Victoria, was, of course, tantamount to a declaration of war; and war promptly began. To the usual ingredients of an Irish faction fight, stones and shillelahs, it appears that pistols were added and accordingly several people were severely injured. The combatants separated, their martial ardour still unquenched. The programme was, however, slightly varied during the evening and night, which were devoted to rioting, wrecking houses, smashing windows, and throwing paving-stones at policemen. “The streets in which the fighting took place were,” we are told, “literally covered with these missiles.”

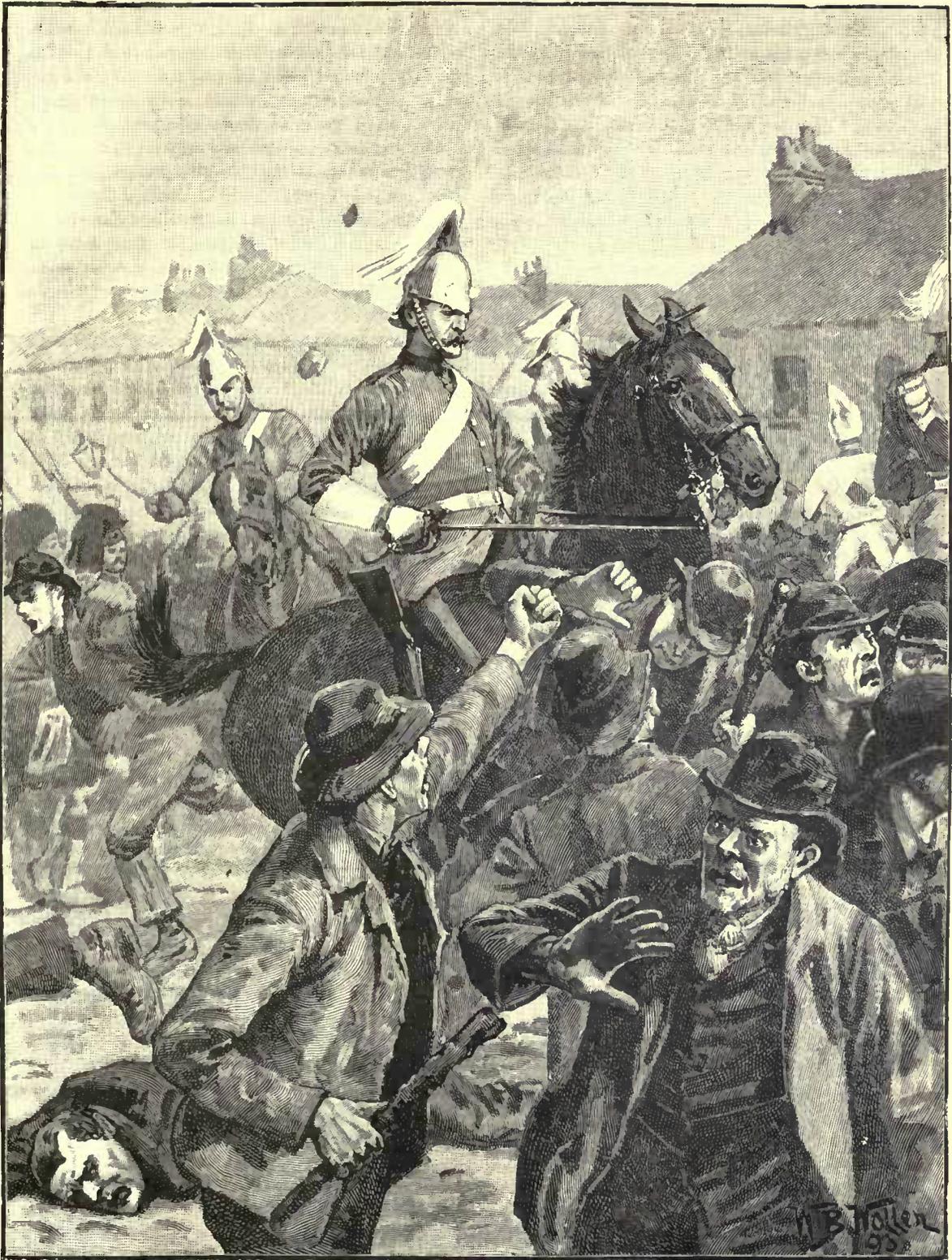
It was not until the next afternoon that the authorities resolved to take any extraordinary steps to stem the tide of anarchy. The town was divided into districts and the military and police in each district were placed under the control of a magistrate; additional cavalry and coastabulary were hastily summoned. In the evening the rival forces were seen to be assembling under their

respective banners, and it was evident that another great battle was at hand. Accordingly, the 4th Dragoon Guards and the 78th Highlanders, accompanied by the Royal Antrim Rifles, were marched to Durham Street—the boundary line between the Catholic and Protestant districts—the schools at Christ Church being, as makeshifts, converted into barracks. After a slight skirmish had terminated at Mill Field without either side being able to claim any advantage, the most desperate battle that had yet taken place came off in a brickfield which ran along one side of Dover Street, the belligerents assembling to the number of several thousands. “A body of constabulary,” wrote the *Times* correspondent, “failed to separate the rioters; but the Dragoons rode in between the contending factions and scattered them. The infantry were then drawn up between the rival parties. Stones were thrown over the heads of the soldiers and pistol shots exchanged. In half an hour the combatants were driven back into their respective districts and were kept apart by lines of military and police. Several persons received injuries during the riot and had to be sent to the hospital. The captain of the Dragoons was deliberately fired at by a person in the mob; the ball struck a wall near him. The military and police remained on duty up to an advanced hour in the morning and prevented further riots.”

On Saturday the mayor and magistrates met and issued a proclamation among the rioters, but they seem to have been afraid to make many arrests. The greater part of Sunday was devoted to the exchange of pistol shots, chiefly at long ranges. In the evening, however, the rioting recommenced. “The women,” according to the *Times* correspondent, “were in a state of frantic excitement and incited the men by taunts and imprecations upon their cowardice. They piled the stones in the streets for them like cannon-balls and assisted at throwing missiles. The public-houses were rifled, and the mob, stimulated by what they drank, became more reckless.” Barrels of beer and spirits were dragged into the streets and drink completed an insanity that fury had created. The roads were thronged with people who did not dare to go to bed lest they should awake to find their houses falling about their ears, and the town looked as if in a state of siege. The police attempted to separate the raging masses, but had to run for their lives and at length turned and fired. As no one fell, it was inferred that their cartridges were blank; but, loading again, they fired a second time with effect, and two men fell wounded.

Once more the Dragoons and Highlanders charged and scattered the crowd on every side. On Monday the Orangemen carried the war into the enemy's territory, wrecking the property of the more prominent Home Rulers—notably, the business premises of Mr. Joseph Biggar, President of the Belfast Home Rule Association. The Mayor, Sir John Savage, issued a fresh proclamation, ordering all peaceable inhabitants to keep indoors, and closing the public-houses until the following Friday. The last pitched battle took place on the next day, when sticks were discarded for guns, and many people injured by the chance shots. The houses on Shankill Road were entirely gutted and the furniture was burnt in the street, while the more portable objects were carried off by the mob. Once more the Orangemen invaded the Catholic district and once more the combatants were separated by the military, only to renew the struggle in the back streets. The police were compelled to fire and two men were killed. More than once during the previous days the troops had been obliged to have recourse to fixed bayonets. Roman Catholic zealots attacked and beat unmercifully all who would not cross themselves. At length the exertions of Major-General Warre, C.B., and Deputy-Inspector-General Duncan, Commander of the Royal Irish Constabulary, served in some degree to still the fury of the mob, maddened though they were with drink and hatred. The most serious event during the night was the shooting of a constable named Moore. On Wednesday there was some severe fighting between the police and the Orangemen; but a heavy downfall of rain, together with the intelligence that more troops were coming from Dublin, considerably damped the ardour of the latter and when darkness fell the civil war in miniature was practically at an end.

Great surprise was felt in England at the complete moral paralysis which seemed to have come over the magistrates of Belfast. With a body of military at their disposal amounting to 4,000 men, they seemed afraid to act and allowed the riots to proceed practically unchecked. At the critical moment the local authorities hesitated to move on their own responsibility and fell back on the stipendiaries, of whom some eight or nine were present during the week. It was suggested at the time that if the numbers of the stipendiary magistrates were increased, it might be the salvation of Ireland; but the more experienced, if more cynical, among politicians advised that the Irish should be left to settle their own differences. “Remember,”



DRAGOONS AND HIGHLANDERS SCATTERING THE RIOTERS IN BELFAST. (See p. 52.)

said a leading newspaper, "poor Leech's last sketch. It represented an Irishman and his wife. The man had lost his hat; his hair looked as if it had been pulled and twisted in all directions, his eyes were black and swollen, his nose was broken, his clothes were in more than their natural tatters. His wife was reproaching him for his folly in running into a fight and, by way of reply, he says, 'Whisht, Biddy, whisht, it's mate and drink to me.'"

If stones and shillelahs were "mate and drink" to the Irish, theological discussions seemed in no less degree to afford pabulum to the dignitaries of the English Church during the year 1872. The misfortunes of Mr. Bennett, rector of Frome, had greatly stirred the minds of High Churchmen within them; but it was the Broad Church party that caused the chief controversy of the year, and the point at issue was what are known as the Damnatory Clauses of the Athanasian Creed. The agitation in favour of the altering of that Creed had been going on for some time in the ecclesiastical journals and the question was brought to an issue in the Lower House of Convocation. The cause of this controversy was the publication of the report of the Rubrics and Ritual Commission, recommending that a rubric should be added to the Creed, whereby its condemnations were to be interpreted merely as "a solemn warning." Without attempting to examine into the merits of the arguments on either side, we will content ourselves with quoting an eloquent passage from the speech of Dean Stanley, the typical representative of Latitudinarian views:—"Knowing," he said, "how entirely these Damnatory Clauses are universally condemned and disbelieved, I might have been well content, using the language of a distinguished statesman, to have looked on them as 'a range of extinct volcanoes' whose jagged and picturesque outline not only pleases the eye, but indicates that the sulphurous fires have long ceased to burn and their destructive floods of lava have long ceased to flow. I might have been content to look upon them as interesting relics of the Carlovingian age, as the last

'blast of that dread horn
'On Fontarabian echoes borne,'

when nations 'were converted in battalions and baptised in platoons.' I might have been well content to look upon them as the last roll of the thunder, the far-off flash of the lightning, of those tempests which three, four, and five hundred years ago deluged Europe with blood and lighted up the

fires of the Inquisition. I might have been content with these reflections; but one does not live for oneself alone, and when I remember that the same scruples which agitated me in my younger years, and which I have no doubt agitate many young men still on entering into holy orders, still continue—when I remember the effect these clauses of this Creed produce on hundreds of devout Christians who have expressed in so many words their loathing, their horror, their repugnance, their sense as of a hideous nightmare when they hear these words repeated on the three most solemn festivals of the Christian year—when I think of the stumbling-block, the unnecessary stumbling-block, this formulary presents in its public recitations to our Nonconformist brethren who have not that familiarity which deadens our minds and consciences to it, I feel it my duty, at the expense of time, trouble, and temper, to do my best to relieve the coming generation of English Churchmen from this almost intolerable burden."

The Lower House of Convocation, however, after most stormy debates, in which Dean Stanley and Archdeacon Denison were protagonists, decided by a large majority that the Creed should be retained in the services of the Church; nor did the Archbishops, who had proposed in the Upper House that it should be removed from the regular service and retained in the Articles, secure a large body of supporters. Here, again, Archbishop Tait attempted to steer a middle course between the ultra-orthodox—for instance, Dr. Pusey and Canon Liddon, who threatened to resign their appointments if the Creed were "mutilated" or "degraded"—and Broad Churchmen, like Dean Stanley, who were against its retention in any shape or form. His speech, in which occurred a phrase about the non-acceptance of the Damnatory Clauses in their literal sense, brought down upon him torrents of criticism; for instance, he was described as having "justified by his own lips the worst accusations of infidelity which had ever been brought against him." Nevertheless, he succeeded in appointing a committee of both Houses, which considered the question in all its bearings and thus gave the High Churchmen time to retreat from their somewhat unpractical position. He was largely assisted by circumstances. While the more moderate High Churchmen contented themselves with forming a committee to consider the steps necessary for the defence of the Creed, which included Lord Salisbury, Dr. Pusey, and Mr. Street, the architect, the sticklers for orthodoxy, under the leadership of Dr. Goulburn, Dean of

Norwich, made an attempt to exclude Dean Stanley from the list of select preachers to Oxford University. The failure of the effort, which was followed by Dean Goulburn's resignation of his own appointment as select preacher, naturally produced a certain reaction, and Bishop Wilberforce came forward with the suggestion that a Synodical declaration should be put forth, which might ultimately take its place as an explanatory rubric in the book of Common Prayer. The declaration was considered in wearisome detail by Convocation in 1873, and at last, on the 7th of May, an agreement was arrived at, which defined the Creed as "a warning against errors," and asserted that it made no "addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture." Archbishop Tait, though his personal preference was for the disuse of the Creed altogether in public service, hailed the compromise as a very considerable benefit.

It is a relief to turn aside from the disputes of the dignitaries of the Church of England, and to read a defence of our common Christianity advanced, not in that spirit of ill-timed partisanship which undermines religion as surely as the attacks from without endanger its security, but in a spirit of wise and magnanimous toleration. Those who had watched with foreboding eye the religious struggles of the year hailed with delight a speech of Mr. Gladstone directed against the more dangerous tendencies of the age, and were glad to find that one of the greatest intellects of the day was not ashamed to avow a belief in a Creed which its enemies scoffed at as an exploded superstition. In an address at Liverpool the Premier referred to the extraordinary and boastful manifestations in that generation, and especially in the past year, of the extremest forms of unbelief. "I am not now," said he, "about to touch upon the differences which distinguish and partly sever the Church of England from those communions by which it is surrounded, whether they be of Protestant Non-conformists, or those who have recently incorporated into the Christian faith what we suppose they think a bulwark and not a danger to religion, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. For handling controversies of such a class this is not the time, I am not the person, and my office is not the proper office. It is not now only the Christian Church, or only the Holy Scriptures, or only Christianity which is attacked. The disposition is boldly proclaimed to deal alike with root and branch, and to snap the ties which, under the venerable name of religion, unite man with the unseen world, and lighten the struggles and woes of life by the hope

of a better land." He then referred at length to Dr. Strauss's book, "The Old Belief and the New," which decides that we are no longer Christians, that there is no personal God, and no hereafter; and exhorted his hearers to remember that the spirit of denial had challenged the spirit of religion to a combat of life and death. "The free thought of which we now hear so much seems too often to mean thought roving and vagrant more than free, like Delos drifting on the seas of Greece, without a root, a direction, or a home. Again, you will hear incessantly of the advancement of the present age, and of the backwardness of those which have gone before it. It has been, and it is, an age of immense mental as well as material ability; it is by no means an age abounding in minds of the first order, who become great immortal teachers of mankind. . . . But what I most wish to observe is this, that it is an insufferable arrogance in the men of any age to assume what I call airs of unmeasured superiority over former ages. God, who cares for us, cared for them also. . . . Again, my friends, you will hear much to the effect that the divisions among Christians render it impossible to say what Christianity is and so destroy the certainty of religion. But if the divisions among Christians are remarkable, not less so is their unity in the greatest doctrines that they hold. Well-nigh fifteen hundred years—years of a more sustained activity than the world has ever seen—have passed away since the great controversies concerning the Deity and the Person of the Redeemer were, after a long agony, determined. As before that time, in a manner less defined, but adequate for their day, so ever since that time, amid all the chance and change, more, ay, many more, than ninety-nine in every hundred Christians have with one will confessed the Deity and Incarnation of Our Lord as the cardinal and central truths of our religion. Surely there is some comfort here, some sense of brotherhood, some glory in the past, some hope for the times that are to come." These noble words bring the domestic history of England during the year 1872 to a fitting close.

Fortunately for Lord Granville, and for those who aided him in directing and controlling the relations of Great Britain with foreign nations, the peaceful disposition of Europe during the twelve months under review allowed them plenty of opportunity for concentrating their attention on the complicated and long-standing controversy between England and the great Republic of the West, which was brought to a conclusion by the

award of the Geneva tribunal. The final issues of the *Alabama* and San Juan arbitrations have been already discussed at length in a previous chapter, and it will suffice here to remind the reader that the decision in both cases, though just and proper, excited a great deal of indignation in certain sections of society.

Public feeling in England being wroth against the United States, it is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that the revelations of deep-seated official and social corruption following the downfall of the infamous Erie Ring should have been received with expressions very nearly akin to exultation. Deprived of its most able and unscrupulous member by the murder of James Fisk, the ring also lost the cunning of Mr. Jay Gould, who was forced by popular odium to retire from the board of directors, and was prosecuted by the new and respectable management for heavy damages, but contrived to escape through a timely compromise. A third confederate, Judge Barnard, was removed for ever from his place on the bench. Some prophets, led away by righteous indignation, declared that a State in which fraud stalked thus openly in high places would soon cease to exist; but so inexhaustible were the national resources that the revenue returns showed no diminution, and American citizens appeared, on the whole, to view the wholesale jobbery which was so deeply ingrained in political life as being by no means incurable.

Though they cared little for the purity of their politics, the citizens of the United States took great interest in politics themselves, and the contest for the Presidency was fought out with extraordinary vigour. As the year advanced, the opposition to the re-election of General Grant grew rapidly; he was bitterly attacked in the Senate by Mr. Charles Sumner, who accused him of incapacity and ambition; and finally it was decided to nominate a rival candidate. The choice of the seceders from the Republican party—the Liberal Republicans, as they called themselves—fell upon Horace Greeley, editor of *The New York Tribune*, an able but impulsive journalist. At the Cincinnati Convention, which met on the 1st of May, an extremely wide programme was propounded, with the evident object of attracting the Democratic vote. To a certain extent it was successful in so doing. At a national Democratic Convention, held at Baltimore on the 9th of July, it was decided that although Mr. Greeley had been all through his life an opponent of the Democratic party, yet his platform left room for agreement

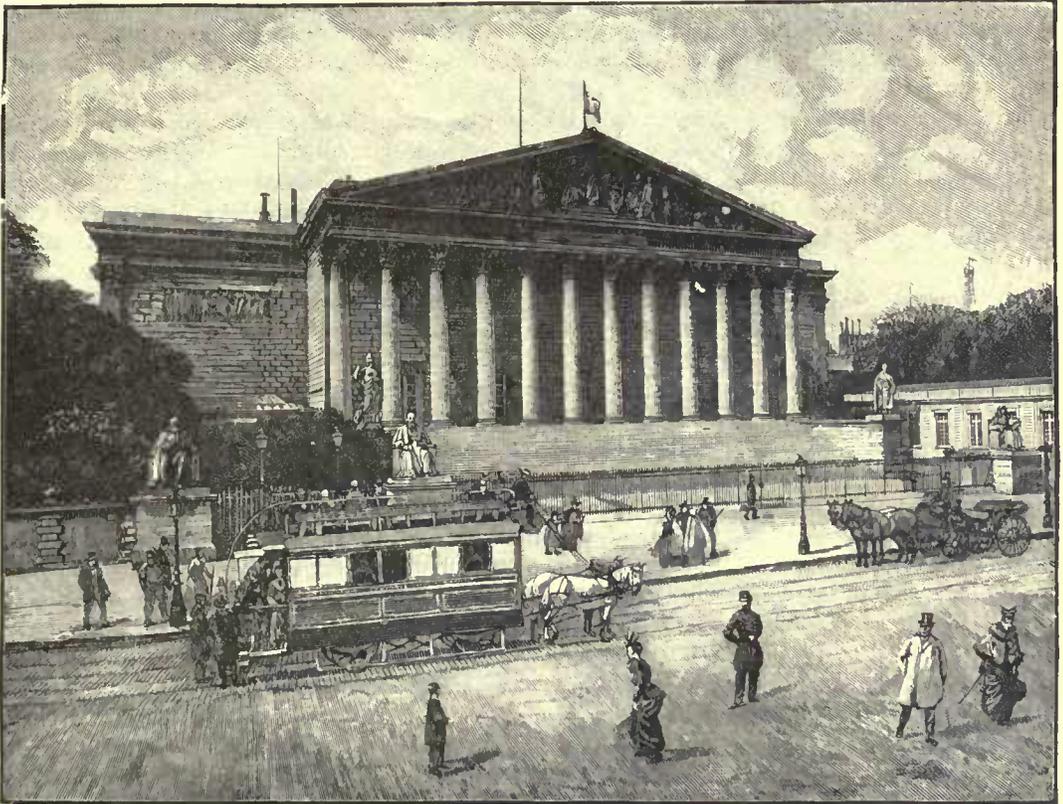
and might therefore be accepted. A certain section of the party, however, refused to have any lot in a coalition which they regarded as a surrender of principle and received, in consequence, the title of "Straight-out Democrats." They asked Mr. O'Connor, the leader of the New York Bar, to be their candidate and persisted in nominating him in spite of an eloquent refusal. The State elections in October proved that General Grant had nothing to fear from the coalition and that his second term of office was secure, and the polling for the Presidency resulted in his re-election by the greatest majority ever known—some 725,000 votes—Mr. Greeley failing to carry a single northern State and the Straight-out Democrats numbering only 10,000. Shortly afterwards Mr. Greeley died, the excitement of the contest, during which he spoke quite a hundred and fifty times, having been too much for his peculiarly mercurial temperament. At the opening of Congress on the 2nd of December, General Grant, in his Presidential message, made certain well-timed promises of Civil Service reform and alluded to the prosperity of the country, the successful result of the *Alabama* and San Juan arbitrations, the cession of the Russian territory of Alaska, and the gradual diminution of the national debt.

On the European Continent we shall find a great calm on the surface of events, except in France, where the distracted Cabinet were grappling with the two great questions which lay immediately before it—the Budget and the abrogation of the commercial treaty with Britain. M. Pouyer-Quertier had modified his former scheme and now proposed to raise eight out of the ten millions by augmentation of previous charges, a tax on transferable securities, a tax on raw materials, computed at four millions, and a tax on textile fabrics, reckoned at two. In the course of an able speech, M. Thiers contrived to set all the recognised doctrines of political economy at defiance, but he found a free-trading opponent in M. Johnston, an Englishman by birth, on the question of the tax on raw materials. M. Ferry, on the eighteenth day of the debate, carried an amendment proposing its adoption as a last resource. Next day M. Thiers sent in his resignation, and his example was followed by the Ministry, but the Assembly refused to accept it. Thiers therefore carried his point, but again he had succeeded in offending the Right, who, it was said, were prepared to elect Marshal MacMahon as President of the Republic. The result of the Budget debate made it inevitable that the Assembly should place in the hands of

the President the power of withdrawing from the commercial treaties with England and Belgium; and thus the action of Napoleon III., which had tended to promote good-fellowship between the two nations, was undone. A way of escape was, however, left open. The abrogation was to take place in 1873, "should no contrary arrangement be made in the interval."

It was evident that many years must pass away

occupation was not to be lessened in numbers, only concentrated, and thus the unfortunate district of Belfort would have to bear the burden until 1874. With that wise submission to the dictates of necessity so characteristic of the logical French mind, the Assembly set themselves to devise plans for ridding themselves of this token of bondage. Once more a loan was proposed of three-and-a-half milliards of francs at 84½ per cent. In two days



EXTERIOR OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS, IN 1872.

before the false creed of Protection could be rooted out of the minds of French statesmen, especially as it found many arguments to support it in the necessities of the moment. For, in the midst of the stormy discussions on abstract political economy, M. de Rémusat, Minister of Foreign Affairs, read aloud the terms of a new convention which had been drawn up between the German Minister, Count Arnim, and M. Thiers, for the payment of the remainder of the war indemnity and the evacuation of France. Three milliards remained to be paid; two Departments were to be evacuated on payment of the first half-milliard, and two more on the third instalment. But the army of

M. de Goulard was able to announce the astounding fact that no less than forty-three milliards, or £1,720,000,000, had been raised in answer to the call of the State.

The position of the President was now very strong, because of the success of the loan and the conclusion of the new commercial treaty with Britain, which was arranged during the recess. Britain had stood out for Free Trade, but could make no impression upon the sturdy Protectionist views of M. Pouyer-Quertier. After his fall, however, a compromise became a fairly easy matter. Lord Granville consented to a reduced tax on raw materials, but only on condition that France

should not resort to the policy of Protection, gaining in return for Britain the position of the "most favoured nation," except as regards some small duties on its manufactures, and securing besides national treatment for its shipping, except as far as the coasting trade was concerned. These duties were looked on by French statesmen as compensations for the tax on raw materials, a piece of reasoning which would not bear too minute an examination. The "most favoured nation clause" was to be permanent, the exceptions enduring till the 1st of January, 1877, after which France was bound to lay no duties on British goods which she did not impose on the same articles when imported from other countries; the provisions affecting navigation were to last for two years longer. "All we have secured," remarked a London critic, "is that we shall be treated on the same footing as other nations, partially at present, completely after the 1st of January, 1877; and that for seven years our shipping shall enjoy a reciprocal free trade with France. It was not worth while to conclude a treaty that secures so little." On the other hand, it was wisely urged at the time that Britain could afford to be generous, and that it was necessary to restore the self-respect of France by showing her that, in spite of her recent humiliation, she had a voice in the comity of nations and that she might gain her point without having recourse to the sword. The British Government felt that the moral advantage gained by a graceful concession was better than the material results of a successful haggles. Despite this successful piece of diplomacy, Thiers found that the task of mediating between the Right and the Left had practically been rendered impossible by a speech of Gambetta's at Grenoble, in which he declared that the Republic must be made a reality and that recourse must be had to men of a different social stratum.

The German Empire, following the course prescribed to it by the circumstances of its foundation and its geographical position, attempted no new departure during the year and was content with keeping what had been gained. Its foreign policy was distinctly pacific and mediatorial, nor was much credence placed in the rumour that was circulated in the spring of the year to the effect that Prince Bismarck had peremptorily ordered France to disarm. At home the great Chancellor went calmly on his way, treading down all resistance to the central authority and stamping out individuality not less in the Church than in the

State. In Prussia, Prince Bismarck gained an important advantage by carrying, in the teeth of the strong opposition of the clerical party, headed by Dr. Windthorst, formerly Minister of Justice at Hanover, a Bill which took the supervision of all schools out of the hands of the clergy and placed it under the care of inspectors appointed by the State. This was a distinct blow at what the Prince termed the "mobilisation of the Ultramontane interest against the State" and it struck also at the power of the High Protestants, who were understood to be in great favour with the reigning dynasty, although disliked by the Crown Prince.

The attention of the German public was, however, soon withdrawn from religious questions to consider the Ministerial crisis in Prussia, where Prince Bismarck quelled the hostile majority of the Upper House by the summary step of "swamping" them by a creation of five-and-twenty peers; and secondly, the definite organisation of the youngest member of the young empire, Alsace-Lorraine. On the last day of September the inhabitants of that unhappy district had to make their choice whether they would serve the French Republic or the German Emperor. Not more than 45,000 inhabitants decided to desert their homes rather than pass under the sway of a ruler of kindred blood to their own; and of these, nearly a quarter seem to have fled from Metz, a city that had good cause for disliking the prospect of annexation to the empire. Indeed, some parts of the country accepted the change of masters with something like enthusiasm. Recruits flocked to the German flag and there was every hope that Bismarck's prophecy that Germany would soon be practically as well as theoretically united would achieve a glorious accomplishment.

The attention of British politicians was attracted more than once during the year towards the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the Ministry of Prince Auersperg were making vigorous efforts to remove the dangerous divisions which the existence side by side of nationalities of widely divergent race characters had inevitably engendered. To a certain extent they were successful. Finance was placed on a much sounder basis than before and the attempts of the local Parliament to overrule the central authority were defeated in the case of Bohemia, where the Diet was dissolved and a new majority returned that was favourable to the concentration of power at Vienna. In other respects, however, they failed. The

Hungarian Diet kept up its old reputation for intractability and not even the caution of the Foreign Minister, Count Andrassy, could prevent the expression of opinions which seriously endangered the cordial relations existing between the Hapsburgs and their Imperial neighbours. In the summer fresh difficulties broke out in Bohemia. That country was visited in June by heavy and disastrous floods, which laid whole districts under water. The Czechs demanded relief from the Imperial Treasury, but their request was couched in such haughty terms that it was in some danger of meeting with a refusal and irritated the German population extremely. Other dissensions occurring in other quarters of the empire seemed to imply that the power of Austria was rapidly decaying and that the close alliance between Francis Joseph and the Emperor William alone made the house of Hapsburg an important factor in European politics.

These two allies held a meeting at Berlin in September and were joined there by the third great wearer of the eagles, the Czar of All the Russias. Such a concourse of mighty men aroused, as usual, the curiosity and apprehensions of Europe, but no report was published either of their deliberations, or, what was more important, of the interviews between their respective ministers, Count Andrassy, Prince Bismarck, and Prince Gortschakoff. It was understood that no written agreement of any sort had been formed and it was only speculation to assert that an arrangement had been made by which Russia and Austria promised not to intervene on the side of France, supposing the Republic to be mad enough to carry out the revenge over which her mind was evidently brooding. Of Russia, indeed, it might be said that her back was turned to the West and her face set steadfastly on the steppes of Central Asia. It was a generally accepted view that the arbitrary conduct of the Czar in 1871, when he availed himself of the storm that was passing over Europe in order to declare that he would no longer consider himself bound by the restrictive clauses of the Black Sea Treaty, was actuated more by schemes of territorial aggrandisement in the direction of Armenia than by a wish to dominate in the Mediterranean. Rumours reached England from time to time of the rapid strides that were being made by the legions of the Czar in the direction of the northern confines of India, and Russophobia, which had slept for some years, awoke again with more violence than ever.

The condition of the nations to the south of European Russia was at this time but little regarded. Not much attention was paid to the announcement that Prince Milan of Servia had entered upon the administration of government, important though his personality became in that quarter of Europe some years later. The Sultan was understood to be, as usual, in a state of considerable financial difficulty; but whether the constant changes of Ministry which he effected during the year were caused by a burning desire to reform the corrupt conduct of his affairs was regarded as more than doubtful. It could not have been with a willing heart that he granted his ambitious vassal, Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt, a firman which made him virtually an independent sovereign; though it needed no very extensive range of vision to foresee that the vast loans that the latter was negotiating in the money market and the grand scale of his expeditions against Abyssinia, were calculated to involve him in embarrassments.

Once again the annual history of the two great Mediterranean peninsulas, Italy and Spain, presented a strange contrast. Italy continued to advance in national prosperity, though nature wrought much destruction through the floods on the Po, the eruptions of Vesuvius, and the hurricane that swept over Sicily. Victor Emmanuel continued to maintain an attitude of studious deference towards Pio Nono, who sat rigid and defiant at the Vatican, scorning to surrender pretensions that he must have known to be perfectly futile. At times the Pope entertained the idea of quitting Rome altogether and sounded both the Austrian and French Governments on the subject, but received in return very cold encouragement. The relations between M. Thiers and the Vatican at this time were the reverse of cordial, for the President, wishing to be the friend at once of the Clerical Right and of the Radical Left, was unable to treat the Pope with that ceremonious attention which he thought to be his due. Pius IX. was, however, far more wroth with Prince Bismarck than with any other representative of the secular arm. Not only did he avail himself of an opportunity to insult him by refusing to accept his envoy, Prince Hohenlohe, but on December the 23rd he alluded in his Allocution with much indignation to the persecutions endured by the Church in Germany. "Not only by pitfalls," said he, "but by open violence is it sought to destroy her, because the people, who not only do not profess our religion but who even do not know

that religion, arrogate to themselves the power of defining the teachings and rights of the Catholic Church."

In Spain, unlike Italy, the enemies of the dynasty established on the throne by no means contented themselves with fulminating sonorous reproofs, but assailed King Amadeus in a far more determined manner. That unfortunate monarch had plainly no one on whom to rely. The beginning of the year found him engaged in the heart-breaking business of keeping together a Cabinet that was so conscious of its weakness as to be afraid to face the Cortes. When at length it did so, the Prime Minister, Señor Sagasta, was promptly defeated on a question of confidence and avoided resignation only by a dissolution. The most formidable section of the exceedingly heterogeneous opposition was that of the Carlists, whose importance was rapidly increasing in the north of Spain. Soon after the elections, the pretender Don Carlos issued a proclamation forbidding his adherents to take their seats in the Assembly, the legality of which he declined to recognise. The Government replied by arresting the Carlist committees in the chief towns and a rebellion immediately broke out over the whole of the north of Spain. Marshal Serrano, however, in command of the royalist forces, was soon at the heels of the insurgents and drove them up into the mountains of Navarre; Don Carlos appeared on the scene of action and issued a manifesto, much in the style of the other Bourbonist pretender, the Count de Chambord; but his troops were defeated at Oroquieta (May the 4th) and he re-crossed the

frontier in somewhat indecent haste. Serrano, knowing that the Royal Treasury was nearly empty, hastened to conclude a convention with the Carlists at Amorovieta, by which they were granted a complete amnesty. Even then the troubles of Amadeus did not come to an end. Down toppled the Sagasta Ministry; Serrano was requested to form a Cabinet, but the king declined to accede to his demand that he should be empowered to suspend, if necessary, the constitutional guarantees and was compelled to fall back upon a Ministry of a Radical, almost Republican, colour, under Señor Zorilla, which happily proved more long-lived than its predecessors. Shot at and insulted in the streets of Madrid and weakened by a severe illness, Amadeus stuck bravely to his desperate post, with a valour which was duly appreciated by Europe, if ignored by faction-tossed Spain.

From the ancient nations of Asia came little to suggest that any new influences were at work, except from Japan, where the Mikado had been seized with a sudden determination to force upon his subjects *volentes volentes* the manners and customs of Europe. He began by opening a railway and sending a commission to Europe with the object of collecting materials for a new Constitution. No such zeal for reform animated the Sultan of Zanzibar, to whom Sir Bartle Frere was sent in October as Special Commissioner to induce him to relinquish the slave trade. Considerable pressure was used, but apparently with no effect, until in March of the following year he consented to sign an acquiescent treaty, which, however, was by no means strictly carried out.



FUNERAL OF NAPOLEON III.: THE PROCESSION APPROACHING ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, CHISLEHURST. (See p. 61.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Death of the ex-Emperor Napoleon—Irish University Education—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli declines to form a Government—Mr. Gladstone resumes office—The Judicature Act—Law and Equity—Appellate Jurisdiction—Lord Cairns's Amendment—Mr. Hardy's Amendment—Other Events of the Session—Paralysis of the Ministry—Visit of the Shah of Persia—Royal impressions—Wreck of the *Northfleet*—Loss of the *Atlantic* off Meagher's Head—Collision of the *Ville du Havre* and *Loch Earn*—Obituary of the Year: Lord Lytton, Lord Westbury, Bishop Wilberforce, Sir E. Landseer, J. S. Mill—Ministerial Changes—The bye-elections—Mr. Disraeli's Bath Letter.

THE first great event of the year 1873 was the death of Napoleon III. at Chislehurst on the 9th of January, but, inasmuch as it had been daily expected, it caused no considerable sensation. In France, indeed, the news was received with an outward semblance of the most profound indifference; the adherents of an immature republic found it convenient to ignore their deposed ruler. In England, however, the sentiment was of a different colour. The awful swiftness of the fall of Louis Napoleon, his second exile in his old age to a country where he had passed so many years of an adventurous and apparently aimless youth, the goodwill which throughout his reign had been

so remarkable in his dealings with England, above all, the dignity with which he bore misfortunes that would have overwhelmed a man cast in a less heroic mould, and the fortitude with which he submitted to the painful operations necessitated by the disease that laid him low, had endeared him to the English public and caused them to cast a kindly veil of forgetfulness over the darker periods of a far from spotless life. The ex-Emperor was buried at the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary, Chislehurst, and his funeral was attended by a great number of people, who felt sincere regret for the death of Napoleon III., although they were animated by

no burning zeal for the cause of his son, Napoleon IV., as he was styled by a small body of enthusiasts.

Meanwhile the British Government were about to take arms against a sea of troubles which were not to be ended by opposition. There could be no doubt that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had failed to regain any of their lost popularity. The country was evidently tired of reform. Still, the Premier was animated by none of that faint-heartedness which seemed to have come over his colleagues; on the contrary, he prepared to attack a question of more than usual intricacy. "A measure," so ran the Queen's Speech, "will be submitted to you at an early day for settling the question of University Education in Ireland. It will have for its object the advancement of learning in that portion of my dominions and will be framed with a careful regard to the rights of conscience." Mr. Gladstone had resolved to hew down the third branch of the "upas tree." Unfortunately, the task of reconciling conflicting interests was found to be too great even for him whom his admirers styled "the greatest creative statesman of the nineteenth century." The English Non-conformists bitterly resented any attempt to endow denominational education; the Irish Protestants upheld the past glories of Trinity College, Dublin; the Irish Catholics clamoured for a Catholic University. It was not easy to frame a measure which would satisfy all parties. No man, and certainly no Irishman, was disposed to underrate the services of the University of Dublin. Its children had won great renown in literature and politics, at the bar and in the Church. It had prepared for the battle of life Plunket, Burke, Swift, Grattan, Berkeley, Goldsmith, Hamilton, and others not less illustrious. Great schools of medicine and law had sprung from it, nor did it show in its later years any decay of that vigour of culture and refinement which had marked its prime. Unfortunately, it was in no sense of the word representative. Founded for the sake of the "English colony," it had continued to support their interests alone; in a country where five-sixths of the inhabitants were Catholics, the great University refused to grant degrees to Catholics. This was all very well as long as the policy of governing Ireland as a conquered country obtained among English statesmen; but when this policy became a thing of the past, it became necessary to make some concession to the followers of the religion of the country. Accordingly, in 1845, Sir Robert Peel attempted to reconcile the

Catholics by establishing the Queen's University, with affiliated colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway. The seat of the University was in Dublin, where all meetings of the Senate, whether for the purpose of granting degrees or for other objects, were held under the sanction of the Lord-Lieutenant. Sir Robert Peel had evaded the religious difficulty by making this institution purely secular, but this failed to satisfy the Roman Catholic clergy; indeed, it only exasperated them. They hastily collected subscriptions in Ireland and Europe, and in 1850 an ill-conceived and unchartered body, known as the Catholic University, sprang into existence, over which the power of the State was professedly recognised only as a delegate of the Church. Thus, there were in existence three educational bodies representing ideas that were always contradictory and often conflicting.

Various attempts were made to bridge over the difficulty, which it is unnecessary to discuss in detail. In 1866 the Liberal Ministry, under the auspices of Sir George Grey, attempted to bestow a supplemental charter on the Queen's University, converting it into an Examining Board, but their fall prevented the plan from reaching maturity. Lord Mayo, in 1868, proposed to found "a new University which should, as far as circumstances permit, stand in the same relation to Roman Catholics that Trinity College does to Protestants." But this scheme, besides being objectionable because of its denominational character, failed to conciliate the Irish priests. The passing of the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill made a speedy attempt to solve the enigma inevitable. Mr. Fawcett now took up the question; he proposed the abolition of all religious tests in Dublin University as a panacea but, although supported by the University authorities, he failed to gain the ear of the House of Commons. In 1872 Mr. Gladstone, seeing that this must become a Government measure, and that a partial settlement was greatly to be deplored, shelved the question for the time, while admitting the justice of Mr. Fawcett's arguments. He had thus pledged himself to introduce a more drastic Bill at the earliest opportunity, and he found his opportunity on the 13th of February, 1873.

The Prime Minister's speech, if considered as a lucid exposition, and not as mere display of oratory, was one of the most successful of his efforts. After alluding to the unfortunate fact that only 181 out of a population of some 4,000,000 Roman Catholics availed themselves of

academical training in the faculty of arts at the Queen's Colleges, and that of students in the English sense of the word there were but 784, and that even this number was diminishing, he proceeded to explain the details of his scheme. Dublin University was to be the central University of the country and not, as before, dependent on Trinity College. Its Chancellor was to be the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the Vice-Chancellor was to be elected by the new governing body; and Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges at Belfast and Cork, the Catholic University at Dublin, and such voluntary colleges as desired to do so, were to be affiliated to it and become colleges of Dublin University. The Queen's University and the College at Galway, which had only about thirty students, were to be abolished. The University of Dublin, thus re-constituted, was not to be a mere examining board, but a teaching body as well, with lecture-rooms, professorships, and fellowships. The Council of twenty-eight were, in the first instance, to be nominated in the Act; afterwards, four members were to retire in each year, and their places to be filled, one by nomination by the Crown, one by co-optation by the Council, one by the senate of graduates and one by the professors. The affiliated colleges were also allowed to elect one or two members of the Council. The theological faculty was taken away from Trinity College and transferred to representatives of the Disestablished Church; there were to be no chairs for theology, modern history, or philosophy, on the ground that these subjects were open to polemical treatment. The revenues were to come partly from Trinity College, which was to contribute £12,000 a year, partly from fees, partly from the £10,000 voted annually for the Galway College, and the rest from the ecclesiastical surplus. Mr. Gladstone, in conclusion, expressed "his hope, nay, his belief, that the plan in its essential features would meet with the approval of the House and the country."

The Premier's exultation had been premature. So complex a plan could hardly fail to meet with some opposition; but, indeed, the scheme met with no supporters outside the Ministry. It was, said Mr. Fawcett, "a mere compromise, intended to please everybody, but which pleased nobody; the Roman Catholic bishops would have nothing to do with a project they had not originated; the Dissenters opposed it as a concession to Catholicism; the Irish Protestants, represented by the Senate of Dublin University, wept over the past glories of Trinity College." In the House of

Commons the best speeches were those of Mr. Horsman, who wanted to know "who asked for the Bill? who accepted it? who was benefited by it? It pleased no one; it settled nothing;" and of Dr. Lyon Playfair, who said the result of the new system would be that "the Irish youth would be satisfied with the results of mere cram," and who commented with very just severity on the exclusion of mental philosophy and modern history from the University curriculum as a slur on Irish common-sense. Mr. Disraeli was in his happiest vein: "You have had four years of it," he cried amid the cheers of his followers: "you have despoiled churches; you have threatened every corporation and endowment in the country; you have examined into everybody's affairs; you have criticised every profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, and nobody knows what duty he may have to perform to-morrow." Mr. Gladstone's reply was full of dignity; he knew that the Irish members would vote against him and that defeat was possible, if not probable; but he would not give way. "As we have begun," he said, "let us go through, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and practice of the country the last—I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland." The division on the second reading was taken and amidst great excitement it was found that the Government were beaten by a small majority—the numbers being 284 for, and 287 against, the motion. Mr. Gladstone, true to his word, promptly placed his resignation in the hands of her Majesty.

The subsequent explanations of the rival leaders give us a clear idea of the protracted negotiations which followed. The Queen sent for Mr. Disraeli, but he, having had some experience of government with a minority, and seeing that there was no issue before the constituencies which he could seize as a pretext for a dissolution, and besides having, as he quaintly acknowledged, no matured policy to present to the country, declined to assume the reins of office. Mr. Gladstone thereupon drew up a statement in the form of a letter to the Queen, in which he laid down the law that Ministers were not entitled to re-assume office "until every means had been exhausted on the part of the Opposition for the government of the country." But even dogma would not move Mr. Disraeli from a course dictated by sound policy; he had consulted his colleagues, he said, and on their refusal to help him he felt that his means were exhausted. After a week's interval.

one, although he owned his reluctance to the office, took his seat once more on the Bench. Perhaps no series of events could illustrate more clearly Mr. Disraeli's excellence in the arts of political finesse; he had shown besides that he was no rash enthusiast, but a sound and calculating party leader, and he had laid down the Conservative programme in sonorous phrases as "the recognition of the aristocratic principle of our Constitution, the continuation of the House of Commons as a state of the realm, the maintenance of a national church, of the functions of corporations, of the sacredness of endowments, and the tenure of landed property."

The discomfited Ministry were able to assist Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, in carrying through an important measure of legal reform, known as the Judicature Act. The cumbersome and dilatory procedure of the English law courts, especially of the Court of Chancery—although this had greatly improved since the days when Dickens wrote "Bleak House"—had long been a subject of unfavourable comment; and the expense of legal proceedings had long been a palpable anachronism. The Judicature Commission had collected a valuable mass of evidence and had suggested many useful reforms. The question was taken up by Lord Hatherley, who, in 1870, introduced Bills for the improvement of the constitution and procedure of the superior tribunals of both original and appellate jurisdiction, which passed the House of Lords only to be withdrawn in the Lower House. In 1871 a slight effort towards solving the legal deadlock was made by the addition of four paid members to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and this apparently exhausted the energies of the Crown lawyers, for in the following year the question was quietly dropped. It remained, therefore, for Lord Selborne to accomplish what his predecessor had failed to carry out and to add to the statute book an Act that both political parties combined to view most favourably.

The measure naturally fell under two heads: one of which aimed at the theoretical, if not practical, fusion of law and equity, and the other at the reconstitution of the system of appellate jurisdiction. He proposed to establish one Supreme Court, consisting of twenty-one judges; to supersede and absorb all the existing Courts of Common Law and Equity, as well as the Probate and Divorce Courts, the Admiralty Court, and the Metropolitan Court of Bankruptcy. The Lord Chief Justice of England was to be President of

this High Court of Justice, and—this was a concession to sentiment—the old historic titles of the chiefs of the Common Law Courts were to remain to them as Presidents of the divisions of the High Court. This court would unite the jurisdictions of all the courts, except that of the Court of Appeal: and law and equity were, except in a few instances, to be united. The recommendations of the Judicature Commission were followed with regard to the distribution of business; the court was divided into four divisions, with five judges each, corresponding as far as possible to the known divisions of the law courts; the remaining judge being left unattached to any particular division. The judges of the Court of King's Bench would constitute the first division. There would be power to remove for good cause any case from one division to another, and the requisite number of judges to hear a case would be not less than three, though trials might be conducted by a single judge as before; the right of trial by jury was retained, except in cases which could be more conveniently decided by official referees.

The second and less satisfactory part of the Bill dealt with the appellate jurisdiction. Appeals from Scotland or Ireland were not to be touched, inasmuch as the House of Lords seemed to satisfy the people of those countries; but this half-measure was no doubt a blot in the plan, especially because it left the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Privy Council unreformed. The new court was to consist of the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and three Chief Justices, and a certain number, not exceeding nine, of ordinary justices; including, in the first instance, the Lords Justices, the four new members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and three other puisne judges to be selected by her Majesty; and it would decide all appeals that had hitherto come before the House of Lords, the Privy Council, the Exchequer Chamber, and the Appellate Court in Equity. The functions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were to be left over for subsequent consideration.

The first great attack on the measure came, naturally enough, from the leading members of the equity bar who, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, protested against the undue subservience of equity to law which this Bill would tend to create; and this feeling was caught up by Lord Cairns, who introduced an amendment in committee with the view of making the Lord Chancellor chief of the High Court of Justice as well as of the Court of

Appeal, to retain him at the head of the Court of Chancery, and to place that division first in order, although its rank should not be superior to that of the others. Thus equity would be administered

he said, "affecting the jurisdiction of the House of Lords ought to commence there and not to be altered elsewhere." He appealed, as a precedent, to a case in 1851, when Lord Lyndhurst



NASSER-ED-DEEN, SHAH OF PERSIA.

by judges who knew equity. The debates in the Lower House were not remarkable, for the lawyers, though numerous, were not particularly influential. Lord Cairns's amendment was struck out; and, in compliance with what appeared to be the unanimous opinion in Scotland and Ireland, Ministers resolved to transfer appeals from those countries to the new appellate jurisdiction. Upon this Lord Cairns promptly raised the question of privilege; "any measure,"

moved the rejection of a Bill which contained a clause empowering the House to call in the assistance of the equity judge in hearing appeals, on the ground that this clause ought to have originated in the Upper House, and the Government gave way. It was, however, pointed out at the time that that Bill dealt with the procedure of the House of Lords in relation to a jurisdiction which it had by immemorial right *quod* House of Lords; but that was not the case in relation to Scottish

and Irish appeal cases, which were transferred to it by statute and not given to it by its ancient privileges. Mr. Gladstone also considered the privilege to be "as purely visionary as any claim in the history of Parliament that ever was set up;" but, though he was undoubtedly right, there was considerable force in Mr. Disraeli's remark that the Prime Minister relied on very doubtful precedents. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone determined not to press the point; he saw that the offended dignity of the Lords was not to be appeased and that Lord Cairns had a good majority at his back, and he therefore wisely preferred an incomplete measure to none at all.

Another amendment, that of Mr. Hardy, proposed that ecclesiastical appeals should be transferred to the Supreme Court. This measure was acceptable to all parties except the bishops, who naturally objected to such a violent curtailment of their powers, although they did not fail to see that lawyers gave these cases a far more impartial hearing than those who were professionally concerned. Lord Selborne, however, was not deaf to their cry; and accordingly inserted, in lieu of the Commons' amendment, a clause providing that a certain number of bishops, appointed by the advice of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the ecclesiastical members of the Privy Council, should in these cases sit as assessors of the Court of Appeal. At length, after a stormy career, the Judicature Bill, a worthy monument of Lord Selborne's genius as a legal administrator, received the Royal assent. Much supplementary legislation was needed before it worked with perfect smoothness, and it fell to the Conservatives to complete what the Liberals had begun.

The only other measure of any importance in this session was Mr. Fawcett's Bill to abolish religious tests in Dublin University, which he had promised to withdraw if the Irish University Bill became law. After the failure of that measure, Mr. Fawcett's proposal, in a different form to that which it had originally assumed, received the support of the Prime Minister and, being carried by considerable majorities, proved a valuable settlement of a part of the burning question of Irish Education. Mr. Lowe's Budget was successful, but, with the memory of the Match Tax still in his mind, he attempted nothing startling; and Mr. W. H. Smith's attack on his proposal, on the ground that the Budget prevented any relief from local taxation, was negatived without a division. Mr. Miall's annual proposal for the disestablishment of the Church of England called forth a

trenchant speech from the Premier, who characterised the motion as one "whose conclusions were at variance alike with the practical wishes and desires, with the intelligent opinion, and with the religious convictions of the large majority of the people of the country." Perhaps sounder arguments were those in which he pointed out that the motion was ill-timed and incapable of discussion; that simple disestablishment would not cure the evils attendant on the connection between Church and State, nor would it allay the distractions within the former body; and that the financial problem was most intricate. The extra annuity of £10,000 a year granted to the Duke of Edinburgh, on the occasion of his betrothal to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, only daughter of the Czar of Russia, was cheerfully voted by the Commons, the number of malcontents being only nineteen. In the Upper House Lord Salisbury, in a burst of eloquence unusually ornate, discovered that it was a subject of great congratulation that the Royal House was now united with the Scandinavian, the Slavonian, and the Teutonic dynasties.

And so ended a Session singularly monotonous—with the exception of the incident of the Ministerial resignation, which was suited rather to the genius of French than of English politics—and singularly barren. Once more the paralysis induced by a half-hearted body of supporters had come over Ministers, and there were other signs to prove that a change was at hand, although at present the struggle, as Mr. Bernal Osborne remarked, lay between a decaying Government and a worn-out Opposition. Of the two great leaders it may be said that Mr. Gladstone was occasionally seen at his best, especially in his speeches on Irish Education, but that his efforts were unequal; Mr. Disraeli had largely added to his reputation as a sayer of good things, but had ventured on very little serious oratory; he was evidently reserving himself for that everything which comes to him who knows how to wait. The fortunes of the two men who were looked on in some quarters as the unconscious authors of much of the Government's unpopularity had this year been different: Mr. Ayrton had kept his tongue quiet, except on a particular occasion when he found it necessary to administer a deserved rebuke to Mr. Harcourt; but Mr. Lowe had not added much lustre to his somewhat tarnished scutcheon by a blunder in connection with a contract for the Zanzibar mails.

Perhaps the event of the greatest importance,

as far as the British sightseer was concerned, in the year 1873, was the visit of the Shah of Persia to England. Born in 1829, and called to the throne in 1848, Nasser-ed-Deen was a man of considerable ability and fitful energy of character. His reign had been hitherto comparatively uneventful; in 1856 the Indian Government had declared war against him, which was terminated by a peace after a few months' hostilities, and he had conducted a successful expedition against the Turcomans; but with these exceptions the Persians may be said to have been in the happy condition of a nation with no history. Then came a sudden change: activity of mind possessed the Oriental potentate; and, with a conscientious wish to combine business with pleasure, he started on a European tour, partly with the object of studying the civilisation of that unknown continent, but more particularly of contracting an agreement with Baron de Reuter, an Austrian financier, in virtue of which the whole of Persia was to be let in farm to the latter, with powers of constructing railways and canals and conducting mining operations.

In the course of his wanderings he arrived in England on the 18th of June, at a time when, fortunately perhaps for him, society was on the look-out for some new amusement, and at once he became a very big lion indeed. It must be acknowledged that the successor of Darius was not hard to entertain; on the contrary, he seemed disposed to enjoy everything he saw. "I saluted incessantly," he wrote in a diary that was afterwards published, "with both head and hands. The crowd of spectators was never-ending. The population of the city of London is said to be four millions of souls. It has most lovely women. The nobleness, the greatness, the gravity, and sedateness of the women and men shine out from their countenance." In the course of a brief visit of eighteen days Nasser-ed-Deen managed to gain a very fair idea of this noble, great, grave, and sedate nation. Under the tutelage of the Royal Princes he explored London with considerable thoroughness; was introduced to all the leading statesmen, including "Lords" Gladstone and Dargil (the Duke of Argyll); and heard a debate in the House of Commons, of which he gave a very appreciative account. He was received by the Queen at Windsor and made a Knight of the Garter. He also inspected the boys of the Greenwich Hospital Schools and was present at a naval review at Portsmouth, during which he seems to have gone in some fear of his life. Afterwards

the Shah started for the north of England, where he observed that "the signs that they obtained a living with difficulty were stamped on the countenances of the people." He visited Liverpool and Manchester, "which, by reason of its exceeding manufactories, has houses, doors, and walls as black as coal," and was entertained by the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham. But, after all, it seemed that the manifold sights of the Crystal Palace had more power to soothe the Persian breast than any other form of entertainment; he went there twice—"c'est la plus heureuse soirée que j'ai goûtée en Europe," he remarked on the occasion of his second visit. Finally, the Shah took his departure in the French Government yacht *Rapide*, bearing none but pleasant memories with him. "Had we the wish," he wrote in his diary, "to write, as they deserve, all the particulars of the City of London or of all England, we should have to write a voluminous History of England. In justice, we can but say that the demeanour of the English, and everything of theirs, is extremely well regulated and governed, and admirable. In respect to populousness, the wealth of the people, the commerce, the arts, business, and *dolce far niente*, they are the chief of all nations."

From these scenes of royal festivity the chronicler must pass to sadder themes, in order to record the fearful shipwrecks which occurred during the year with untoward frequency. Omitting the less terrible disasters, we must dwell for awhile on the sad stories of the loss of the *Northfleet* in January, of the *Atlantic* in April, and of the *Ville du Havre* in November. The *Northfleet* was a fine ship of 940 tons, and had been chartered by Messrs. Clark and Punchard, contractors for the Tasmanian railway, to convey 350 labourers, with a few women and children, to Hobart Town. The vessel was in command of Captain Knowles and left the East India Docks on the 17th, the entire number of souls on board, including the crew, being about 400; the cargo is stated to have been not more than 450 tons. Recent storms had made the sea very rough and the captain accordingly deemed it advisable to anchor off Dungeness, about two miles from the shore. Just as the bells were striking half-past ten, the look-out observed a large steamer, outward bound, bearing down upon them. She appeared to be going at full speed and the frantic shouts of the watch, who called upon her to alter her course, roused Captain Knowles, who was on the after-deck, a moment

before the steamer came broadside on to the *Northfleet*, striking her almost amidships, making a clean breach in her timbers beneath the water-line, and actually crushing the massive timbers traversing the main deck. Utterly scorning any attempt to atone for the terrible wrong which the carelessness of her crew had occasioned, by rendering prompt assistance to the *Northfleet*, the steamer, afterwards identified with the Spanish vessel *Murillo*, cleared the ship and in a few moments was out of sight. Captain Knowles behaved with that heroism which naval traditions have held up for imitation and the nature of his post required. But no attempt was made to send aid to the distressed vessel. Those on board the ships near at hand appear to have thought that the *Northfleet* was only signalling for a pilot; the crash, the cries, and the rockets were not sufficient to arouse the sleepy Dutch sailor who was the only watch on the deck of the Australian clipper *Corona*, not 300 yards off. Meanwhile the doomed ship was sinking fast; and, about half an hour after she had been struck, the *Northfleet* went down, with her captain at his post, meeting the noblest death a man can meet. Some 200 people were struggling and gasping for life in the water. At length help came. The steam-tug *The City of London*, having perceived the signals of distress put out for the spot, but only eighty-five persons in all were saved.

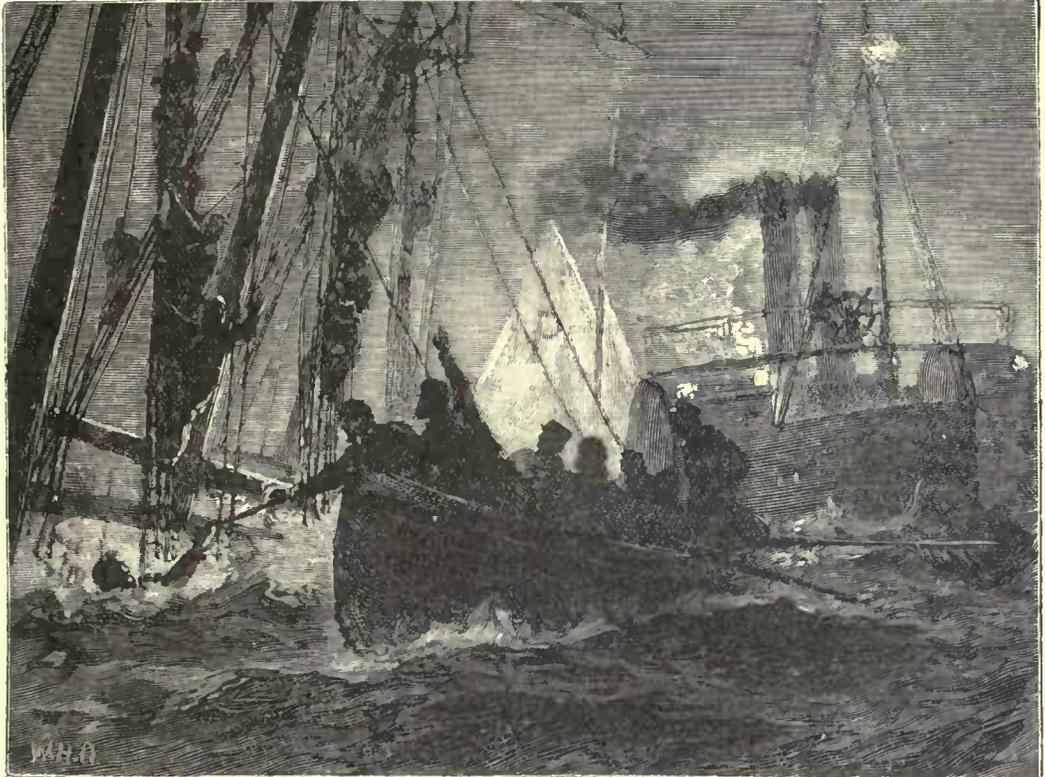
The loss of the *Atlantic* was even more to be deplored, both from the numbers that perished in the catastrophe and the negligence by which it was occasioned. The vessel was one of the White Star line of steamers from Liverpool to New York. Her cost was about £120,000, and she was 420 feet long between perpendiculars, with a registered burden of 3,707 tons. Captain Williams, her commander, had under him a crew of 143; the passengers, of whom more than one-half were English, numbered 647. The greater part of the voyage was accomplished in most favourable circumstances, but on Monday, the 29th of March, the captain seeing, to use his own words, that a storm was coming on and that he was short of coals, stores, and provisions, determined, contrary to the original intentions, to put into Halifax, Nova Scotia. Why the ship was out of coals was never clearly explained, as the supply was 200 tons over the ordinary consumption. The coast was known to be iron-bound and dangerous, but it was a miscalculation as to the ship's whereabouts that caused her to run on the promontory of Meagher's Head, about fifteen miles from Halifax.

The night was very dark and the shock of the ship against the rock occurred without the slightest warning. It must be acknowledged that the officers, by their devotion to their duty, made the best atonement possible for their previous carelessness. Mr. Brady, the third officer, swam to a rock about forty yards off with a small line, by which about fifty were saved, though many fell off in the crossing, and of those who reached the rock, a large number, including several saloon passengers, lay down and died. Of those who remained on the vessel or in the rigging many died from cold and exhaustion; others became maniacs and foamed at the mouth. It was not until 6 a.m., some ten hours after the ship had struck, that the islanders were able to come to the assistance of the *Atlantic* in three large boats, their previous efforts having been thwarted by the violence of the sea. In all, 442 persons were saved; but not a single woman or child, a fact which is sufficiently accounted for by the rigour of the weather. Not even the supreme horrors of the night could prevent a gang of wreckers from laying sacrilegious hands upon the dead. An official inquiry was promptly ordered by the Canadian Government and, according to the general anticipation, the captain did not come off scatheless. The gallantry displayed by him during the long hours on the wreck was held, however, to compensate in some degree for the negligence with which he had managed the ship, his neglect to take soundings, and his desertion of the deck when close to a dangerous coast. He was accordingly suspended for three years; the fourth officer, who was in charge when the ship ran aground, being condemned to a similar punishment for three months.

Although there was no doubt as to those on whom the blame for the wreck of the *Atlantic* ought to fall, it cannot be said that a satisfactory account was ever given of the destruction of the *Ville du Havre*. This was a French steamer of no less than 4,000 tons burden, which started from New York for Brest, with a crew of 172 and about 140 passengers, most of whom were bound for France with the object of spending the winter there. Friday, the 21st of November, was a bright starlight night; and, as there was no prospect of any call for his services, the captain, Surmont by name, went into his cabin at twelve, being sadly in want of rest. About two o'clock the passengers were awakened by a terrific crash. The *Loch Earn*, a large vessel bound from Liverpool to New York, had struck the *Ville du Havre* on the starboard side, just about midships, cutting a hole in her

deck twelve feet deep and breaking in the iron plates of the steamer for twenty or thirty feet. The terror which prevailed among the passengers paralysed their efforts to save themselves. In twelve minutes from the time of the collision the *Ville du Havre* had sunk, the captain with her, but he rose and was eventually saved. The commander of the *Loch Earn*, Captain Urquhart, rendered every possible assistance and picked up

Death, who had thus by successive strokes secured for himself an abundant harvest, by no means spared the taller ears of corn. In 1872 his hand had been less busy among them than was his wont. Lord Mayo, whom we have already mentioned; Lord Dalling, the diplomatist; Charles Lever, the well-known Irish novelist; Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, the hero of the Khyber Pass; and Mrs. Somerville, the mathematician—these



RESCUE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE "NORTHFLEET." (See p. 68.)

many who were floating about in the sea, some on pieces of plank, some on life-buoys, and others on casks, and he was ably seconded by a French lieutenant in the whale-boat; eighty-two in all were saved. As the *Loch Earn* was much damaged by the collision, and indeed had eventually to be abandoned, her crew and the salvagees were transferred to the *British Queen* and taken to Plymouth. The case was submitted to the consideration of French and English courts; the former pronounced the *Loch Earn* to have been the cause of the disaster, the latter acquitted her entirely, an opinion which had been already given out by the passengers of the *Ville du Havre* at the time of their rescue.

were his chief victims. But in the following year great men fell fast; week after week the long obituaries in the papers made it known that men had been taken away whose loss it would be very hard to replace. Among them were Lords Lytton and Westbury, Bishop Wilberforce, Sir Edwin Landseer, and John Stuart Mill. There was hardly a branch of literature that Lord Lytton (b. 1805) left untouched; and, by a cruel freak of fortune, satire—that realm in which he might have won the greatest triumphs—was the one that he neglected most. As a politician he was too unstable to gain permanent success. The claim of Lord Westbury (b. 1800) to renown was won by

qualities of a very different nature ; his' was not a versatile mind, it was entirely concentrated on the details of the law—that profession which is perhaps of all professions the most attractive—and perhaps we may fairly say on one branch of the law. But he was unsurpassed in his time as an advocate and a jurist ; he was a complete failure as Lord Chancellor, and it may be said that on the whole his life should be held rather as a warning than as an example.

Of equally brilliant parts and of less chequered fame was Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester (b. 1805), who expired on the same day as Lord Westbury, a man of whom from various circumstances he had been a life-long antagonist ; the cause of his death being a fall from his horse. "What we claim for the deceased prelate," said the *Times*, "is that, take him all in all, he was an Englishman of the true sort and a representative man of his race. He was a man of battle—in perpetual conflicts without and presumably within. It would scarcely be complimentary to any man under such circumstances to assert for him a uniform and unchanged consistency. But he was, to say the least, far more consistent than men supposed." From the contemplation of so noble a character it is pleasant to turn to one who is equally worthy of our admiration. It is unnecessary to give a list of the pictures of Sir Edwin Landseer (b. 1802) here, the titles of most of them have become household words ; many of the originals are to be seen in national galleries, while the engraver's art has made the refinement of their presence to be felt in the humblest homes. Many of them were reproduced by a brother's hand. His power as a sculptor is commemorated by the fine, though somewhat conventional, lions of bronze that lie with placid dignity at the base of the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square, London. Of the illustrious five who passed away in 1873, John Stuart Mill (b. 1806) had in some sense, perhaps, the highest fame. One department of knowledge was reconstituted by him, another was reconstructed. His great work, which appeared in 1843, was the "System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive." Although there was little in the book that was absolutely original, it popularised for the many a science which had been studied only by the few. "The Principles of Political Economy" followed in 1848 ; it long continued the classic on the subject of which it treats, though in after years there was a strong reaction against its doctrines. It cannot be said that his career in the Lower House was

altogether a success. It was found that this advanced Liberal, far from being a philosopher, was on many points a wild and dreamy enthusiast.

The sharp contrasts in what has been called the *chiaroscuro* of life cause the sudden transition from the dead to the living, from the warrior who had won his *spolia opima* to those whose battle was not yet done, to be by no means uncommon in history ; and that must be our apology for passing abruptly to a consideration of the declining fortunes of the Liberal Administration. "It will," said the Lord Chancellor, in a speech at the Mansion House, "hereafter be acknowledged that during the tenure of office by this Government great questions have been grappled with in a satisfactory manner and many difficult subjects have been so treated as to be removed for ever from the range of public controversy." That might be so ; but at present there was evidently a tendency to make the Liberal policy a subject of considerable controversy ; and, worse than that, it was impossible any longer to conceal the dissensions that existed among Mr. Gladstone's colleagues, for which Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton were, it was said, most to blame. A vigorous shuffling of the cards was resorted to as a remedy. Mr. Baxter, who had quarrelled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned, and his example was followed by Lord Ripon and Mr. Childers ; they were replaced by Mr. Dodson, Mr. Bruce, who rose to the Upper House as Lord Aberdare, and Mr. Bright, whose health was sufficiently restored to enable him to re-enter the Cabinet. Mr. Lowe was removed from the Treasury to the Home Office, Mr. Gladstone taking upon himself the duties of the Exchequer ; and Mr. Ayrton was induced to retire from the Board of Works and take the Judge Advocate-Generalship. More significant were the changes which, later in the year, made Dr. Lyon Playfair Postmaster-General, and Sir Henry James and Mr. Vernon Harcourt Attorney- and Solicitor-General respectively.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Bright remarked, the Conservatives had a policy which they kept for the coming elections, but it was a profound secret. Mr. Disraeli had not yet promulgated the result of his three months' search in the archives of Downing Street. Every election showed, like straws on the water, which way the current was flowing ; the occult principles of Conservatism were evidently in favour with the multitude. As soon as a Liberal vacated a seat a Tory entered into it, and especially significant were the results of the elections necessitated by the elevation to higher

positions of Mr. Bruce, and Sir George Jessel, the Solicitor-General, who became Master of the Rolls. Bath alone supported the sinking hearts of the admirers of the Premier by returning Captain Hayter by a good majority. Mr. Disraeli had thought that the occasion was favourable for doing something out of the common and accordingly he penned his "Bath Letter" to Lord Grey de Wilton. "I cannot doubt," it ran, "that the people of Bath will continue their patriotic course by supporting Mr. Forsyth, an able and accomplished man, who will do honour to those who send him to Parliament. For nearly five years the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied the state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditably, and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy, and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close the career of plundering and blundering."

The tone of the remarks of Mr. Disraeli to his "dear Grey" was not new; they were, in fact, a second and more highly-spiced edition of his famous speech on the Irish Education Bill; but it was felt that words whose want of good taste might be forgiven when uttered in the heat of debate could not be passed over when deliberately served up afresh in a letter that was intended as a mere electioneering *coup*. If the career of the Government was one of "plundering and blundering," surely, it was urged, Mr. Disraeli, as an honourable man, ought not to have declined the responsibility of attempting to remedy their misdeeds. To the leader of the Opposition, however, must at least be conceded some credit for possessing the courage of his opinions. He did not attempt to explain away the Bath Letter; on the contrary, he gloried in it, and in the course of a speech to the Glasgow Conservative Association, delivered in November, he admonished the world in general that the time had come to "leave off mumbling the dry bones of political economy, and munching the remainder biscuit of an effete Liberalism."

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Ashantee War—Its Causes—Redistribution of Dutch and English Territory—Accession of King Coffee Calcali—Capture of European Missionaries—Invasion of Fanteeland—Defence of Elmina—Despatch of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Affair at Chamah—Preliminary Operations—Escaboo and Abracampa—Retreat of the Ashantees—Glover on the Volta—The March on the Prah—King Coffee negotiates—The Captives liberated—At Prahsu—Gifford's Advance—The Battle of Amoafu—Battle of Ordahsu—Occupation of Coomassie—Burning of the Town—Treaty of Fommanah—Dalrymple's and Butler's Columns—Glover's Expedition—Sartorius's Ride—Conclusion of the War.

ONE of the last acts of the Liberal Government was to take stringent measures for finally suppressing what had long been a fruitful source of disturbance on the Gold Coast of Africa. The chastisement of the Ashantees was indeed not thoroughly completed until the following year; but, that credit should be given where credit is due, the narrative of events that necessitated the campaign and the story of its triumphant termination fall more properly under the history of England under Mr. Gladstone than of England under Mr. Disraeli. And, first, it will be necessary to give a short summary of past relations with that West African tribe which had so rashly ventured to contend in the battlefield with the flower of Britain's manhood.

At first the question was confined to the single issue, whether England or Ashantee should be master of the territory south of the river Prah, but in 1867 another burning question arose. The possessions of Britain and Holland on the Gold Coast were so intermingled as to cause continual clashing of mercantile interests and numerous outbreaks between the tribes under Dutch and those under British protection. Accordingly, in 1867, the coast was roughly divided into halves, the English receiving all the forts to the east of the Sweet River, between Elmina and Cape Coast, and the Dutch all the forts to the west. Unfortunately the wishes of the natives were not consulted in this bargain; many of the tribes objected to pass under the sterner rule of the Dutch, and

the Fantees, as a rule a cowardly tribe, over whom Great Britain had established a protectorate, took up arms and besieged Elmina. In fact, matters had become so very unpleasant for the Dutch that they were only too thankful to surrender all claims to the Gold Coast, on condition that they should be allowed to annex territories in Sumatra. Again no attempt was made to consult the wishes of the natives.

In the year of the redistribution of territory, King Coffee Calcali, then thirty years of age, ascended the throne of his fathers. Wishing apparently to begin his reign by a concession to Ashantee Chauvinism, the new potentate, in 1872, laid claim to the town of Elmina, on the ground that the Dutch had always paid a fixed annual tribute of £80. They, however, asserted that this was simply given in the interests of commerce, so many slaves being exchanged at a certain price: it was, in fact, not tribute, but a present. In this view the English concurred and Governor Hennessy, on the 4th of April, 1872, took possession with great pomp, the king and chiefs of Elmina rising one by one and announcing the agreement of their people to the transfer. Meanwhile, negotiations were being conducted between King Coffee and Governor Hennessy for the surrender of some missionaries: Mr. Kühne, a German, and Mr. Ramseyer and his wife, who were Swiss. They had been taken captive by the great Ashantee captain Adu Buffu, during a raid upon the Krupees, a tribe living in the trans-Volta district, and, on their arrival at Coomassie, the capital, found there another prisoner, a Frenchman, named Bonnat, who had attempted to sell guns to the subtle savages, in forgetfulness of the fact that they usually preferred to get them for nothing. In spite of the protection afforded them by Prince Anseh, a cousin of the king, who had received some education, no release could be effected.

The administrator refused to pay the ransom until the missionaries were brought to the Prah; and despite Prince Anseh's assurances of the good faith of his countrymen, he would not swerve from this resolution. The envoys promised to go back and bring the missionaries to the Prah, and first purchased on credit a large quantity of goods from more than one merchant in the town. It was almost universally believed that there would be peace, but as a matter of fact the Ashantees had already determined on invading British territory.

As soon as the envoys returned, the mask was taken off. The missionaries were robbed and

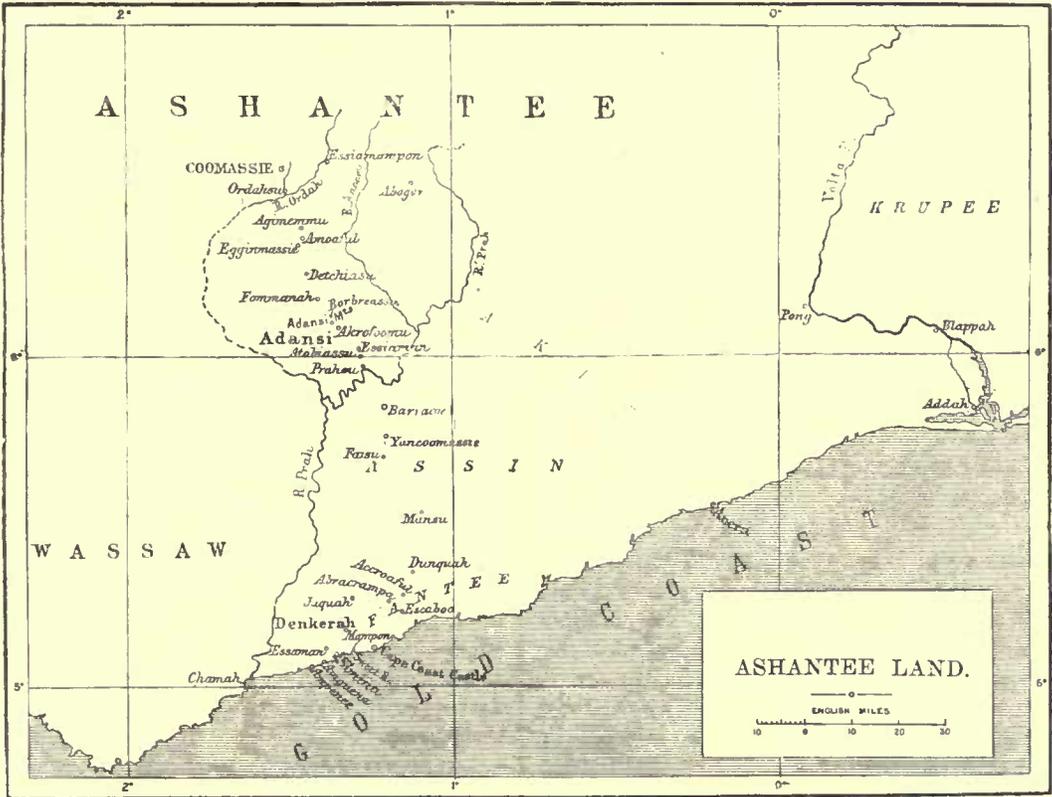
were ordered back to Coomassie from the frontier. On their way they met the Ashantee army in full march for the Prah. The chief, Amanquatia, crossed the sacred river in December, 1872; and since Colonel Harley, the administrator at Cape Coast, and his superior, Governor Hennessy, at Sierra Leone, thought proper to leave their native allies to their fate, his task was easy. His left division ravaged the country of the Akim, burning nine of their villages, and defeated the Fantees. These good people, who had the frames of lions and the hearts of hares, fled at Yancoomassie and ran away at Dunquah, whence Amanquatia marched south-west, and took Juquah, the capital of Denkerah, the natives flying before him to Cape Coast Castle and Elmina, where it was reported the chief, who hated the English, had eaten fetich with the King of Ashantee.

On the 7th of June, 1873, Lieutenant-Colonel Festing, R.M.A., in command of a body of 110 marines, landed at Elmina and at once acted with a promptitude that sharply contrasted with the indecision of the administrator. He ordered the Elminas, who had openly revolted to the enemy, to lay down their arms and, on their refusal, bombarded the town from the fort. Two thousand Elminas, reinforced by Ashantees, came up on the western side of the town, but were driven back and chased along the beach. About five in the afternoon of the 9th an Ashantee force advanced across the plain and attempted to turn Festing's right flank, but they were in turn surprised by the men of H.M.S. *Barracouta*, under Lieutenant Wells, R.N., who, from under the friendly shelter of a garden wall, poured in several volleys at close range. They lost about 500 men, while the British losses were merely nominal. Amanquatia, who had also lost great numbers of men from dysentery and small-pox, retired to his camp at Mampon, about ten miles distant from Elmina, where he received reinforcements, raising his troops to a large number.

Thus it was evident that, whether it was wise or unwise to assume the protectorate over the Fantees and their kindred, war was inevitable, and that the barbarian invader must be taught such a lesson as he would not readily forget. Accordingly Captain Glover, R.N., was sent to the eastern districts of the Gold Coast, to raise, if possible, a large native force and invade Ashantee land. Colonel Harley was recalled; and the British Government determined to send out General Sir Garnet Wolseley to take civil and military command of the Gold Coast. The idea of Government

was that an army of native allies, if commanded by Europeans, would amply suffice to crush the legions of Ashantee. Therefore, Sir Garnet was not supplied with British troops in the first instance, but two regiments were held in readiness, in case the general should find them absolutely necessary. The scheme failed, as many had prophesied, including, it is said, Sir Garnet himself; for it could not be expected that the

of the Ashantees, had lured Captain Commerell, Commodore of the West African Squadron, into an ambuscade, while he was making a reconnaissance up the Prah, and had wounded him and many of his crew so severely that they could hardly get back to the sea. A few shells, however, quickly cooled the ardour of the people of Chamah. They continued, however, to intrigue with the Ashantees. On the arrival of Sir Garnet an intelligence



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE ASHANTEE WAR.

George F. Smith & Son, 22 Fleet St.

Fantees, who had always suffered defeat, could suddenly acquire sufficient courage to resist those who had always marched to victory. On the 2nd of October H.M.S. *Ambriz* anchored off Cape Coast Castle, which, instead of Elmina, had been fixed upon as the basis of operations.

Meanwhile, Amanquatia had certainly not advanced, but, on the other hand, he seemed by no means disposed to retreat and lay inactively at Mampon. And, as if to convince the voyagers in the *Ambriz* that it was high time to bestir themselves, news arrived while they were yet at Madeira of a disaster at Chamah, a town at the mouth of the Prah, where the natives, who were secret allies

department was formed, and placed under the command of Major Russell. Major Home, R.E., entrenched himself at Mansu, Lieutenant Gordon was at Dunquah, and the 2nd West India Regiment were sent to Accroful, about fourteen miles from Cape Coast, to keep the communications open. On October 11th an expedition, commanded by the general in person, was despatched to Elmina, where Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, V.C., was commandant, to chastise a village called Essaman, whose inhabitants supplied the invaders with powder and rum. The Ashantees showed fight and several officers were wounded. The Haussa allies of the British, though personally brave, fired

very wildly, but the skirmish was soon over. The village was burnt and Ampenee and Amguena, in the neighbourhood, were also committed to the flames. On the 24th an answer came to the summons which had been sent to King Coffee. It had been quietly opened by Amanquatia, who sent the modest reply that he did not wish to fight the English, and would be content to retire if the kings of Denkerah, Wassaw, Akim, and Assin were given up to him. Having thus relieved his feelings, he broke up his camp at Mampon and retired towards the Prah.

Some time before, Festing had been sent to Dunquah and had built a stockaded fort there, within which were a few hundred natives and fifty men of the 2nd West India Regiment. Hearing that a division of the enemy, under old Essamanquatia, was hovering in the neighbourhood, Sir Garnet Wolseley, with 200 marines, determined to attack him in concert with Festing. The combined movement was a failure, as the general did not get up in time, but Festing was able to beat off the enemy after several hours' firing. Sir Garnet, therefore, leaving fifty blue-jackets at Abracrampa, several miles to the south, under Lieutenant Wells, returned to Cape Coast Castle. Meanwhile, the Ashantee army had divided into two parts: Essamanquatia's division was near Dunquah; the bulk of the army, under Amanquatia, had approached Abracrampa as soon as the general's back was turned. Festing was the first to engage; he attacked the enemy's camp at Escaboo on the 4th of November, but they had been forewarned of his approach and, deserting the camp, poured a heavy volley into it from the bush as soon as the allies had taken possession. Lieutenant Eardley Wilmot was killed, the allies fled, and Colonel Festing, who was badly wounded, ordered a retreat and bore off with him the body of his comrade, who was buried at Cape Coast Castle. On the 5th of November the Ashantees, who had put out several feelers during the last few days, appeared on the edges of the clearing round Abracrampa. The seamen and the marines were just starting for Cape Coast, in pursuance of an order from Sir Garnet, when the attack began. The enemy fired all through the night and then began again next day at eleven, but without doing any harm. A party of Ashantee skirmishers fired at the men in the church, which had been turned into a magazine, but were soon dislodged by Captain Grant and the garrison retaliated by charging into the bush. In the evening Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived to the rescue with his staff and the naval and native

troops, but the enemy had gone back to their camp, whence they retreated rapidly before the Haussas, leaving all their baggage behind them. They retreated past Mansu, with Colonel Wood hanging about their rear to protect Major Home, who was road-making, moving along very leisurely. At Faisu Wood attacked them, but was speedily forced to retreat; his Haussas fell back on the Cape Coast men, who, mistaking them for the enemy, fired wildly, and killed two men, for which piece of cowardice they were promptly disbanded. On the night after the skirmish the enemy were seized with a panic and ran to the Prah, crossed it in haste, many being drowned in the process, and did not recover their equanimity till they had reached the Adansi Hills. So ended the first stage of the war and already the Protectorate was delivered from the invaders.

From the Prah we would fain ask the reader to accompany us to the mouth of the Volta, where Captain Glover was struggling, with a constancy that certainly deserved success, to organise an expedition which it was hoped would result in the successful invasion of Ashantee. The basis of his operations was at Accra, originally a Dutch slave-port, but now in the hands of Britain. Glover was beloved by the blacks, who readily and fearlessly flocked to his camp. At Addah, the first station up the river, there were 2,000 organised natives; at Blappah, the second port, Sartorius had 2,948 men under him, and the country had been carefully surveyed up to the village of Pong. It was understood that 5,000 Accras were advancing to assist him, under Kings Solomon and Tarkey, but the monarchs arrived some time before their troops. There was, however, considerable awkwardness in Glover's relations with Sir Garnet Wolseley; he had originally been appointed by Lord Kimberley and was, therefore, a servant of the Colonial Office. He was now placed under Sir Garnet, who had been sent out by the War Office, and it was, therefore, impossible to avoid an appearance of rivalry between the two expeditions. There were the usual difficulties about transports and carriers. Added to this, he found that the Accras, when they did arrive, wished to chastise their neighbours and not to march against the Ashantees, and he was induced to contemplate a campaign on the tribes across the Volta, against the Ahwounas, who were allies of Ashantee. There was, at the close of the year, but little prospect that Glover's men would achieve their dearest hopes and present arms to Sir Garnet at the gate of Coomassie.

In the beginning of December the troop-ships *Tamar*, *Himalaya*, and *Sarmatian* arrived off the African coast, conveying with them the Rifle Brigade, the 23rd Fusiliers, and the 42nd Highlanders—the famous Black Watch—while a body of Marines, under Colonel de Courcy, arrived in a separate transport. They were not, however, landed until the new year (1874), and a few days before, on December 27th, Sir Garnet started for the front. January 15th had been fixed for the crossing of the Prah. The road was admirably constructed throughout and bamboo bridges had been thrown across the streams; it was allowed on all sides that no praise was too high for the Engineers. Very little incident appears to have varied the monotony of the march; the regiments tramped through the silent avenues, the impenetrable growth of tropical vegetation overhead shading them from the fierce rays of the sun, but the complete stillness all around, the heavy dampness of the air, and the smell of the swamps, made the journey by no means exhilarating. The troops were well supplied with food, and were provided with fresh meat until they reached the Prah. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had preceded the European regiments, arrived at the camp on the banks of the sacred river on the 2nd of January, 1874, and on the 7th the white troops began to arrive, the first being two hundred and fifty blue-jackets, who stepped briskly into camp to the tune of "When Johnny comes marching home;" they were followed by the 2nd West India Regiment; the Rifles, when they arrived, were quartered a little distance off, at Barracoe. All the men were in fine fettle.

Meanwhile, King Coffee resolved to have recourse to negotiations and despatched his town-crier with a letter to Sir Garnet. It was one of injured innocence; and it seems not improbable that the judicious Amanquatia had preserved a prudent silence about his attack on Denkerah, for the letter alluded only to Wood's affair at Faisu. Be that as it may, the sable potentate complained that as his young men happened to be marching through the forest they had been attacked by the white people and several hundreds slain. What was the meaning of such an act of treachery? The envoys returned to King Coffee, bearing no welcome news. Ashantee was to be invaded from four different points. The counsellors of Ashantee were summoned and by the advice of the queen-mother it was resolved once more to have recourse to soft answers. Late at night the captive missionary, Mr. Kühne, who had suffered miserably

during his imprisonment from sickness and starvation, was brought to the palace, clothed in a robe such as only the king's relations may wear. There he had an interview with the king, who spoke in conciliatory tones. He told Mr. Kühne that he must plead his cause before Sir Garnet, that he had no wish for war and that his ancestors before him had never fought with white men. After which outrageous falsehood he sent the missionary towards the Prah with an escort of torch-bearers. Soon afterwards, the cry still being "The English come!" he also liberated M. Bonnat and Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, entrusting a letter to them, in which he laid the blame for what had occurred on Amanquatia, who, said he, should pay the indemnity, and expressed a wish to be at peace with England. Sir Garnet listened to the voice of the charmer and, apparently thinking that Coffee Calcali's word was as good as his bond, sent a fast steamer to England with the news that peace was at hand: his *penchant* towards prophetic messages costing Government about £7,000.

Meanwhile, the state of affairs at I'rahsu was by no means hopeful. Although there were more camp-followers in the village than fighting men, no work could be got out of them: the treacherous Fantee kings kept their subjects at home. Wood's regiment had to be transformed into carriers and, despite the untiring energy of Colonel Colley, a breakdown in the transports was reported at Dunquah. There was no news of Glover and fears were entertained that the force of Akim which was to be raised by Captain Butler, of the 68th, would exist only in name. Sir Garnet, nevertheless, was not discouraged, nor did he abate one jot of his energy. The bridge across the river, under the watchful eyes of Major Home and Captain Buckle, advanced rapidly towards completion. A body of some fifty men—Haussas, Kossoos, 2nd West India Regiment, and others—were organised as scouts and placed under Lieutenant Lord Gifford.

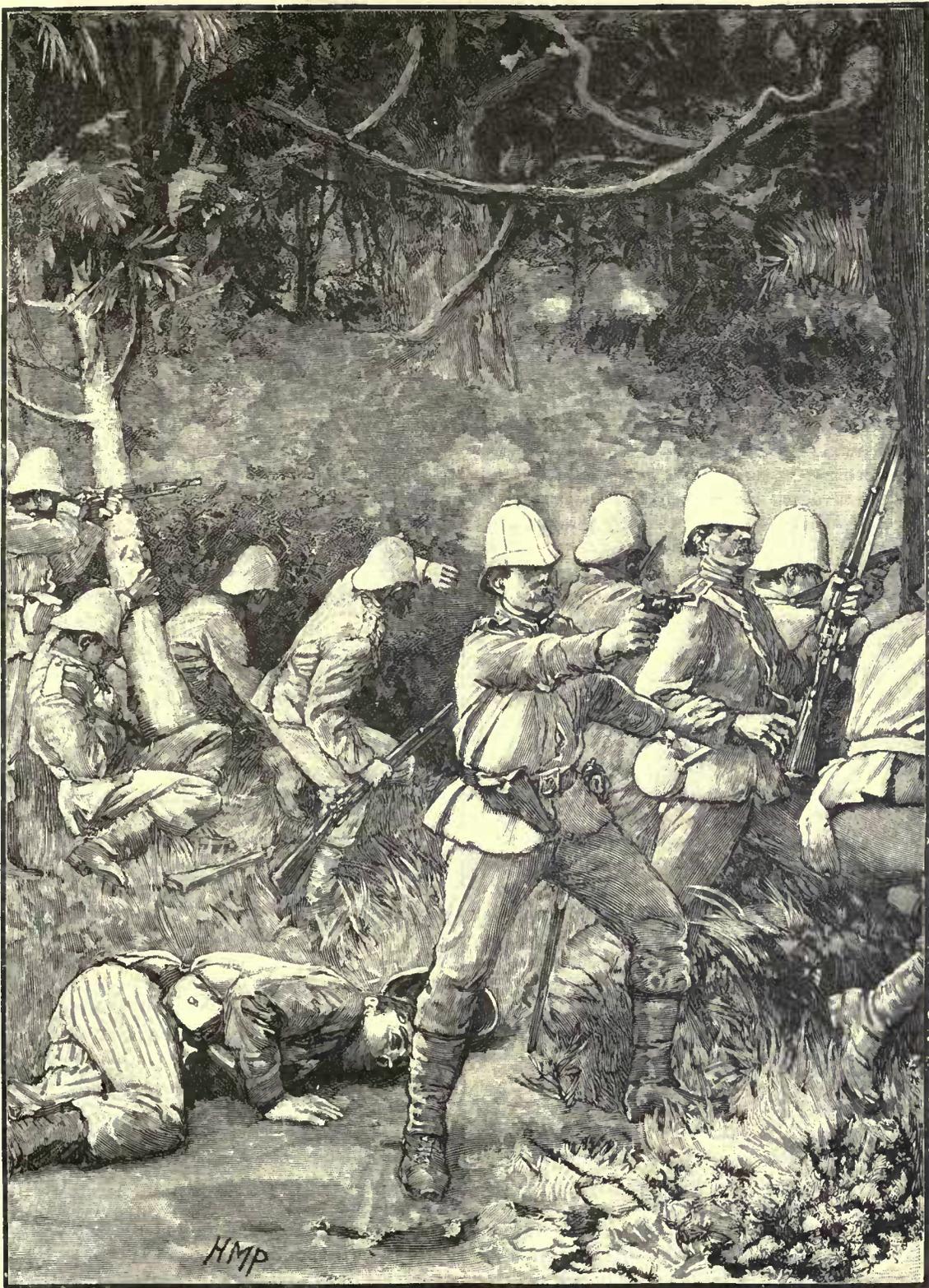
Even before the bridge was completed Lord Gifford had crossed the Prah and was followed a few hours later by Major Russell and his regiment, who encamped at Atobiassu, about six miles along the road. During the day Gifford, who was about nine miles ahead, was fired on by the Ashantees as he was entering the village of Essiaman. He then posted on to Akrofoomu, where the enemy were observed in considerable numbers; but they retreated before him, and the scouts, pushing forward, found that there was no enemy between them and the Adams Hills, the southern boundary of Ashantee proper. Lord Gifford and Major

Russell pushed on until they arrived at the village of Borbreassie, where Essamanquatia and the King of Adansi were reported to be stationed with a considerable force. The inconceivable stupidity of neglecting to defend the steep path that wound up the Adansi Hills can only be accounted for on the supposition that they knew not whether their king had resolved on peace or war. The British forces advanced on the village and, being greatly hampered by the orders not to fire first, Captain Nicol, of Russell's regiment, was sent forward to make a reconnaissance with the Annamaboos. It was vainly expected that negroes would conform to the rules of European warfare. The reconnoitring party advanced towards the village and then stopped to parley; the King of Adansi used the precious moments thus secured to fly, the natives fired and poor Nicol fell, shot through the heart. The allied troops passed into the villages, firing as they went on the flying Ashantees, who rallied as soon as their backs were turned, but were scattered by a volley from the Bluejackets. By this time Sir Garnet Wolseley appears to have given up the notion that Coffee Calcali was willing to accept his terms and from that time there was no more "fighting with the gloves on."

On the last day of January the great battle of the war was fought and won. It seems that Amanquatia, disregarding the commands of his royal master, had employed himself with raising a large army instead of engaging in the less congenial pursuit of collecting gold-dust to pay the war indemnity. He was now stationed at Amoaful, about twenty miles south of Coomassie, with a force of some twelve thousand men. The engagement began about 8 a.m. in an attack on the village of Egginkasoi; Lord Gifford's scouts advanced, feeling the enemy. The 42nd followed them, and in a few minutes the village was cleared by the Black Watch. The enemy, according to their wont, retired into the bush and thence opened a well-directed fusillade on the Highlanders, who in turn continued to sweep the bush in front of them with steadily fired volleys until they had silenced the enemy, during which pause the Engineer labourers were pushed forward to cut the bush for a farther advance. When the labourers had succeeded in clearing a space of ground in front, the Highlanders moved forward until they discovered the enemy again. The road to Amoaful from Egginmassie served as a guide to the wings spread out on each side of Rait's Artillery, which continued to move down in line with the infantry. Whenever a favourable opportunity

presented itself, Captain Arthur Rait, with his brave Haussas, sent in telling shots. Meanwhile, the left was proceeding to cut a path diagonally to the left front, with the view of protecting the left flank of the front column. It was soon under heavy fire and Captain Buckle, while urging on the Engineers to clear the way, fell mortally wounded. The enemy held the bush between the allied left and the Black Watch, but the British gained the crest of the hill on which the Ashantee camp stood and drove them thence. The right was almost stationary and, being attacked on all sides, several companies of the 23rd and Rifle Brigade had to be sent up to keep communications open with the advancing centre. The enemy continued to fire volley after volley until half-past one, some time after Amoaful was taken. Before long Colonel Wood was brought in with a gunshot wound in the chest; but on the whole the enemy fired with singularly little effect, chiefly because of the miserable inefficiency of their weapons. At length the well-directed discharges of the Naval Brigade began to tell and a charge of the Kossoos and Bonny men beat off the foe. The honours of the day were with the centre column and especially with the Black Watch, "on whom," says the official despatch, "fell the hardest share of the work;" for the Ashantees, driven from Egginmassie, had rallied behind a stream to the north of that village and were with difficulty dislodged by Captain Rait and his Haussas. At length the enemy were driven from their camp with loss and Sir Archibald Alison made the victorious Highlanders cross the stream and charge up the opposite slope to the outskirts of Amoaful. The enemy made not the slightest resistance. One shell was sufficient to clear the broad avenue which formed the principal street of the town and to send the terrified enemy skurrying out into the bush. A desultory attack on the rear, which was renewed next morning, terminated the battle.

The relentless allies advanced towards the doomed city of Coomassie, not without much skirmishing by the way, in which Russell's regiment acquitted themselves well. On the 4th of February the last attempt at resistance on the part of the Ashantees was made at Ordahsu, a village about a mile from the Ordah. This time the post of danger was given to the Rifle Brigade and they, with the Bonny men, were the first to engage. The battle was a repetition of that of Amoaful. Lieutenant Saunders, R.E., advanced to the front with his gun and fired a few rounds of grape, clearing the sides of the path of the enemy, and



THE BRITISH ARMY ENTERING COOMASSIE. (See p. 78.)

there was then a slight advance. Suddenly the Bonny levies refused to move, and during the standstill that ensued, Lieutenant Eyre, 90th Light Infantry, a son of the ex-Governor of Jamaica, fell mortally wounded. Thereupon the Rifle Brigade were called up, and advancing through the jungle, reached the clearing and "rushed" the village. The enemy, according to their custom, then attacked both flanks and the rear, but the Naval Brigade picked them off one after another and the baggage was passed up through the soldiers into the village.

It was now about one p.m. and the general determined to reach Coomassie that day. The Black Watch was ordered to the front and advancing at a rattling pace, they fired by companies into the ambush on both sides of the road. "This," says Mr. Stanley, "was a new game of war which the white men inaugurated in Ashantee and which the Ashantees did not understand;" and soon loud blowing of horns announced that they were in full retreat. The whole army followed close on the heels of the Black Watch and at half-past five Coomassie was won. The troops bivouacked in the principal street, and the inhabitants, who seem to have received the British army with great enthusiasm, were treated with consideration, many of them being allowed to go about with arms in their hands. A Fantee who had been caught looting was summarily hanged. All through the night the population of the town streamed out of it unmolested, carrying much treasure and arms into the bush, whereupon the policy of non-interference on the part of Sir Garnet was severely questioned. Meanwhile, the general was in active correspondence with King Coffee, in spite of the fact that he was reported to be in full flight and that, notwithstanding his promises, he had no intention of revisiting the city. Sir Garnet offered to accept a small indemnity, but was much disgusted when he found that the royal envoys, instead of delivering his message, were occupying themselves with conveying powder out of the town. It was gradually forced upon him that there was now no hope of a treaty signed beneath the walls of Coomassie. For some unaccountable reason the Bantoma, or treasure palace, about a mile from the town, was not occupied, although such a proceeding might have brought the king to his senses.

Rain began to fall heavily and Sir Garnet, fearing that the river would rise and make his return a matter of difficulty, determined to delay no longer, but to set fire to the town and be gone. Major Home and his Engineers went with torches

from house to house and soon a dense cloud of smoke arose; the royal palace was undermined and fell with a great crash. "I certainly believe," wrote Sir Garnet that evening to the Secretary of State, "that no more utterly atrocious government than that which has thus fallen, perhaps ever existed on the face of the earth. Their capital was a charnel-house; their religion a combination of cruelty and treachery; their policy the natural outcome of that religion. I believe that the main object of my expedition has been perfectly secured. The territories of the Gold Coast will not again be troubled by the warlike ambition of this restless Power. I may add that the flag of England from this moment will be received throughout West Africa with respectful awe—a treatment which has been of late years by no means its invariable fate among the savage tribes of this region."

The return march was not accomplished without difficulty, since much of the road was under water and rivulets had become torrents, so that the troops experienced some discomfort. At Detchiasu, some distance to the south of Amoafu, a message was received from King Coffee to the effect that he would consent to any terms of peace. Sir Garnet agreed to treat with him if he would send 5,000 ounces of gold as a first instalment of the indemnity, but eventually agreed to accept 1,000 ounces, the envoys protesting that there was no time to collect more. The treaty known as that of Fommanah was signed at that camp on February 13th, 1874. Its stipulations were, that the king should pay an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold, "by such instalments as her Majesty's Government shall from time to time demand"—a carefully-worded clause necessitated by the fact that it was doubtful whether the entire sum would ever be paid; that the independency of the kings of Denkerah, Assin, Akim, Adansi, and the other allies of her Majesty, should be acknowledged. All sovereignty on the part of the Ashantee king over Elmina, or over any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch Government, or over any other of the British possessions on the coast, was to be surrendered, and the king was to withdraw his troops from the coast line; there was to be free trade between Ashantee and her Majesty's forts on the coast, and the roads between Coomassie and the Prah were to be kept open and free from bush; finally, the king, in order to prove his sincerity of friendship for Queen Victoria, promised to use his best endeavours to check the practice of human sacrifice, with a view to hereafter putting an end to it all together.

At Agimemmu Captain Butler, who had been sent to raise an army of Akin, joined the general, and shortly afterwards Captain Dalrymple, who had been on a similar mission to the Wassaws, arrived. The efforts of neither of these men can be said to have been successful. Dalrymple could not persuade the Wassaws to move across the frontier and after travelling through the country and finding that the natives would not even give him provisions, he abandoned his bootless errand. Such was the fate of one column of invasion. Butler succeeded with incredible difficulty in raising a force of some 2,000 men and invading Ashantee land; they took a few villages. They were close enough to the British forces to hear the sound of the firing at Amoafu and this, combined with the statements of an Ashantee prisoner, appears to have chilled with fear their cowardly hearts. At Akina they refused to advance an inch farther and acted on this determination by betaking themselves to a headlong flight. Such was the fate of another column of invasion and Butler returned, "his fine belief in native character," as Sir Garnet termed it, having suffered a severe shock.

Captain Glover's expedition, on the other hand, though not a complete success, effected some important results. It will be remembered that in the last days of 1873 he had commenced a trans-Volta campaign against the Ahwounas. On the following day, however, Glover received orders from Sir Garnet to leave the Ahwounas alone and make with all haste for the Prah, which he was to cross on January 15th, simultaneously with the other three invading columns. The journey is described as having been very difficult; nevertheless, Glover's trustworthy force, consisting of 700 Haussas and Yombas, arrived at the Prah on the 15th.

The first engagement with the enemy took place at Abogov, sixteen miles north of the Prah and twenty-five from Coomassie, when, after a fusillade lasting an hour and a half, the village was carried with a rush. Here Glover was compelled to stay for several days, awaiting stores and ammunition. Soon afterwards the arrival of fresh native levies raised the number of fighting men in the camp to 1,600, besides Yombas and Haussas; 500 more were expected. The river Anoom was forded and the

enemy driven off with much slaughter, by Sartorius, and soon afterwards the news of the capture of Coomassie was received. Arrived at Essiamampon, about fourteen miles from the Ashantee capital, Captain Glover despatched Sartorius with an escort of twenty men to open communications with Sir Garnet. This was by far the most dashing exploit in a somewhat monotonous campaign. Attended only by his faithful Haussas, Sartorius rode through the thickly-populated district, where every bush might conceal a foe and every village might hold an army. Fortune, however, favours the brave and the little band was only twice fired upon. Undeterred by the rumour that Coffee Calcali was weeping over the ruins of the capital, Sartorius rode through the smoking streets, but found only a city of the dead. He came up with the general at Fommanah, after a ride of fifty-five miles. He had indeed done "excellent and hard service." Glover followed close after his gallant harbinger. His troops entered Coomassie on the 12th of February and thence marched by easy stages to the foot of the Adansi Hills, where a present from King Coffee of gold dust and a gold dish reached him, but were returned *sans cérémonie*. Without further adventure he arrived at Cape Coast soon after Sir Garnet, who entered the town on February 19th, 1874. Glover had, indeed, as Sir Garnet Wolseley generously acknowledged, "contributed materially to the success which had been achieved in the war by the diversion effected by his force in favour of the main army operating direct on Coomassie."

The troops, on their return home, were received with great enthusiasm and honours were liberally conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the expedition. Nearly all the officers were promoted. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who declined a title, received the sum of £25,000; Captain Glover was made a Knight of St. Michael and St. George; while Lord Gifford and Captain Sartorius, the Bayards of the campaign, received the Victoria Cross. Sir Garnet Wolseley, having faithfully fulfilled his mission, delivered over a pacified country to Lord Carnarvon, who proposed to establish there such a wholesome system of government that the timid natives on the coast would no longer be compelled to fly in craven terror before the sanguinary myrmidons of Ashantee.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

European Events in 1873—The Monarchist Faction in France—Evacuation of French Soil by the Germans—Fall of M. Thiers—Election of MacMahon—The Fusionist Conspiracy—The Count de Chambord's Declaration—The Septennate—The "May Laws" in Germany—The Pope and the Emperor—The Vienna Exhibition—The Khivan Campaign—Its Pretexs and Causes—Markosoff's Campaign—Gortschakoff and Granville—The Intermediary Zone—Schouvaloff's Mission—The Russian Advance—Kauffmann's and Verëvkin's Columns—Fall of Khiva—Treaty with the Khan—Alarm in England—The Opinion of Experts—Sir Samuel Baker in Africa—Discovery of Albert Nyanza—The White Nile Slave Trade—The Khedive Ismail—Annexation of Gondokoro—Unyoro and its King—Kaboa Rega attacks the Expedition—His Deposition—Temporary Settlement of the annexed Districts—Colonel Gordon.

THE course of events in Europe during the year 1873, unlike that of its predecessor, by no means ran smoothly. There were wars and rumours of wars; the peoples of Europe, whatever their rulers might do, continued to view the new German Empire with the eye of suspicion and to doubt whether Prince Bismarck had finally abandoned his schemes of annexation and conquest. These, however, were mere suppositions; the fact of the year in Germany was the combat *à outrance* between Prince Bismarck and the Pope. From a dramatic point of view, the history of Spain far surpassed that of any other country in interest: a king abdicated, a republic was proclaimed and a civil war broke out. It will, however, be on the whole wiser to postpone the consideration of the events until we come to the day when, on the accession of Alfonso XII., the sun of peace began to dawn once more for the inhabitants of the vine-clad plains of the Ebro and the Douro. Second alone in thrilling interest to the Spanish inferno was the Russian expedition to Khiva, a war which was not without its influence on the course of events in England. On the other hand, the students of politics as a fine art found, as is generally the case, that France continued—at this, the outset of her new career—to arrest the attention more forcibly than any other country.

The death of the ex-Emperor at Chislehurst had, comparatively speaking, but little influence on the current of French history. It was by no means a death-blow to Imperialism in France: in fact, the Parisian journals of that colour assumed a tone of exultation not altogether warranted by the occasion. On the other hand, the followers of the two branches of the Bourbon house, the Legitimists and the Orleanists, were at this time in a state of some mental turmoil. The Fusion became once more their only topic of conversation and considerable pressure was put on the Count de Chambord to induce him to cease his vapourings about the

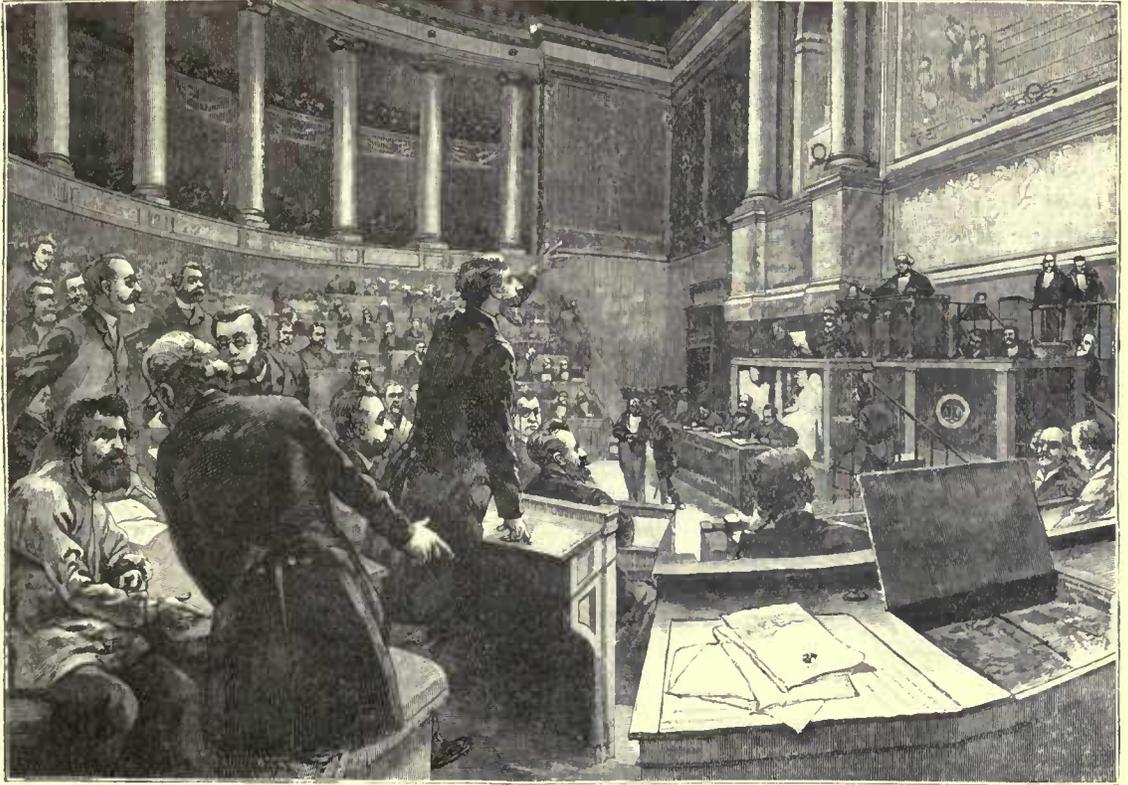
"white flag of Henry IV.," but without success. In the Assembly M. Thiers was once more at daggers drawn with the reactionary Right, whose majority thwarted all his efforts and eventually thrust him rudely from power. The contest between the President and the Committee of Thirty, who had been appointed to consider the necessary changes in the Constitution, was wearisome in the extreme. Thiers' position was perfectly intelligible. He saw that the Committee wished, before everything else, to confine his power; he was on his side determined that he should have complete liberty of action in the formation of a Second Chamber, and other important constitutional changes. The dreary squabble was varied by an announcement that could not fail to gratify all true Frenchmen. The indefatigable President had been all the while in active negotiation with the German Government for the evacuation of French soil by the Army of Occupation within four weeks after the 1st of July; and, what was perhaps even more creditable, he had promised to pay off the fourth and fifth milliards, the last instalments of the war indemnity, by the 5th of September. The result of the labours which were to set France free once more was made known by M. de Rémusat on the 17th of March.

No sooner had M. Thiers' patient labours for the regeneration of his country been brought to this triumphant conclusion than he ceased to be President of the Republic. Indeed, his very success contained the germ of defeat. He was no longer indispensable: besides, by their own confession the existence of the present Assembly was necessary only as long as the Germans continued on French soil. In order, therefore, to avoid an appeal to the nation, which they knew would be adverse to a prolongation of their authority, the majority of the Right resolved to rid themselves of the *petit bourgeois* and to elect as their President a man after their own heart. This was

indubitably the cause of M. Thiers' fall. Its occasion was the defection of a small body of nominal Republicans which the Government had no right to expect, following upon a series of accidents, some of which the Government might possibly have prevented. There could be no doubt on whom the choice of the Assembly would fall, it being understood that the Duc d'Aumale would not come forward. A vote was at once taken and

side of the laws, and the support of all honest men, we will continue the work of liberating the territory and of re-establishing moral order in the country. We will maintain internal tranquillity and the principles upon which society reposes."

The new order of things was received with very little enthusiasm, but with no expressions of hostility. That the Ministry, of which the leadership was given to the Duke de Broglie, was



INTERIOR OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS.

Marshal MacMahon was elected by 390 to 2, a very large number of deputies abstaining from recording their opinion. A deputation, consisting of the President of the Chamber and the Vice-Presidents, promptly waited upon the marshal and begged him to accept the newly-conferred dignity. MacMahon displayed a reluctance which was probably sincere and the personal intervention of M. Thiers was needed to induce him to undertake the Presidency. "Gentlemen," wrote this *honnête homme et soldat*—for so the marshal styled himself—"it is a heavy responsibility imposed upon my patriotism; but with the help of God, the devotion of the army, which will always be found on the

reactionary there could be no doubt, but it was open to question in what direction its activity would be manifested. Marshal MacMahon, in his message to the Assembly, talked about "resolute Conservatism," and "the restoration of order in a society disturbed by the spirit of revolution." To most people it seemed as if the restoration of Monarchy was a matter of a few months. It was not long, however, before the new Government began to lose that popularity which alone could have made such a change possible. They summarily dismissed some twenty prefects of Departments and appointed in their stead men after their own heart; they attempted to buy the Press by

directing these new prefects to find out, as it was delicately put, "the price which the Conservative papers might attach to the friendly aid of the Administration." Never were the hopes of the Fusionists so high as during the summer of 1873 and seldom was the exasperation of their opponents greater. The revival of this seemingly dead idea was due, in the first instance, to the Duke d'Aumale, who induced his nephew, the Count de Paris, to visit the Count de Chambord at Frohsdorf, near Vienna. The interview of these rival competitors for the French crown was said to have been conducted with great cordiality on both sides; tears were in the eyes of the Count de Chambord as he embraced his cousin; and the De Chambord faction jumped at once to the conclusion that "Henry V." might be willing to reconcile the claims of the two Houses by making the Count de Paris his heir. Shortly afterwards the Count came *incognito* to Versailles, and for the moment it seemed as if he would follow the advice of his friends and declare himself. However, he lacked the necessary nerve and retired to Frohsdorf without having mounted the white charger, upon which he was to ride through the streets of Paris. The mysterious visits of the Orleanists to Frohsdorf continued, but nothing was certainly known as to the arrangement which was purported to have been made. As a last resource a deputation, with M. Chesnelong as its spokesman, was sent to the Count de Chambord. It returned, full of excitement, with a list of concessions taken from the Count's own lips; he spoke in the language of a constitutional sovereign and the flag was to be abandoned. Such, at least, was M. Chesnelong's account of the interview; and a very important meeting of the Right and Left Centre was held thereupon, under the auspices of the Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier and General Changarnier, at which a series of resolutions was agreed to, declaring that the Monarchy was to be re-established. While every one was thus on the tiptoe of apprehension, the Count de Chambord once more launched one of his terrible manifestoes and once more crushed—and this time finally—the hopes of his unfortunate partisans. He distinctly denied the interpretation that had been put on his words. This sad destruction of their dearest desires must have been more bitter than ever for the unfortunate Royalists, because at that moment circumstances seemed to be distinctly conspiring in their favour. The majority of the Assembly were for them; the President of the Republic declared himself ready to obey implicitly the

decision of the majority. Now all was lost; the discomfited Legitimists agreed that the only thing to be done was to effect a prolongation of the powers of Marshal MacMahon, in the hope that the Legitimist candidate might be brought to reason. This period, as soon as the Assembly met, was fixed at seven years, the Right gaining a triumphant victory over the Left, in spite of a fine speech of M. Jules Simon against personal power. Thus good came out of evil and the unfortunate country was able to look forward to a settled form of government, which would restore stability to the much agitated interests of commerce and agriculture.

In Germany, the chief event of interest during the year was the battle between the Government and the Pope, which continued to rage unquenchably without much gain to either party. The Papal allocution, published early in January, in which the German princes were accused of "violent persecutions against the Church, not only with concealed machinations, but also with open force, in order to destroy her root and branch," was suppressed by order of the Minister of the Interior, Count Eulenberg. It contained, he said, "insults against his Majesty the Emperor and against the German Empire and, on the other hand, misstated facts, of which the tendency appears to be to bring the laws of the Executive into contempt." This note of warning was a prelude to a grand attack. Three Bills, known as the "May Laws," directed towards providing German clergy with a national as opposed to a Roman education, towards facilitating secessions from the Church of Rome, and appointing a Final Court of Appeal for Ecclesiastical cases which should override the decisions of the Pope, were triumphantly passed during the spring in the Prussian Diet, despite the eloquent protests of Windthorst, the leader of the Clericals. They met with much dogged opposition from the Catholic clergy, in which Ledochowski, the Archbishop of Posen, particularly distinguished himself. Pius IX., with characteristic impetuosity, rushed into the fray and Europe was entertained with the spectacle of a paper warfare between the head of the Church and the head of the German Empire. The tactics of the Pope were certainly not deficient in boldness; he attempted to strike through the Kaiser at Prince Bismarck, and to undermine the authority of the latter by separating his interests from those of his royal master. His letter began with the severe remark that the measures which had been adopted by the Emperor's Government for some time past aimed more and more at

the destruction of Catholicism. "When I seriously ponder," he continued, "over the causes that have led to such very hard measures, I confess that I am unable to discover any reasons for such a course. On the other hand, I am informed that your Majesty does not countenance the proceedings of your Government and does not approve the harshness of the measures adopted against the Catholic religion. If, then, your Majesty does not approve thereof—and the letters which your august Majesty has addressed to me formerly might sufficiently demonstrate that you cannot approve of what is now occurring—if, I say, your Majesty does not approve of your Government continuing in the path it has chosen of further extending its rigorous measures against the religion of Jesus Christ, whereby the latter is most injuriously affected—will your Majesty, then, not become convinced that these measures have no other effect than that of undermining your Majesty's own throne? I speak with frankness, for my banner is truth."

To the query contained in this somewhat involved sentence the Emperor replied, on September the 3rd, with a dignity that became him admirably. "If the reports," he gravely remarked, "which are made to your Holiness respecting German questions only stated the truth, it would not be possible for your Holiness to entertain the supposition that my Government enters upon a path which I do not approve. According to the constitution of my States such a case cannot happen, since the laws and Government measures in Prussia require my consent, as sovereign." He then proceeded to attribute the blame for what had occurred to a portion of his Catholic subjects, who for two years past had organised a political party, which endeavoured to disturb, by intrigues hostile to the Church, the religious peace that had existed in Prussia for centuries. The Imperial controversialist had the last word, and the occasion was turned to good account by Prince Bismarck, who published the two letters just before the elections for the Prussian Diet, in November.

For a moment the Clerical organs seemed to be struck dumb with astonishment at the rashness of the Holy Father, but they soon recovered their spirits and attacked the Government with all the energy of despair. On the other hand, in many places the respectable Catholics signed resolutions calling upon their fellow-religionists to resist the demands of the extreme Ultramontanes. The Protestants were, of course, very jubilant and

both parties girded up their loins. The result of the elections was that the Liberal or Anti-Clerical party gained 73 seats in the Prussian Diet and the Clericals 27, both parties being victorious at the expense of the Conservatives, who were on this occasion without a party cry. Aided by the support of the Liberals and Free Conservatives, Prince Bismarck, who had resumed the Prussian Premiership, proceeded to introduce a Bill for the Civil Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages throughout Prussia.

The great Exhibition held at Vienna, on the Prater, was the chief event of the year in the Austrian Empire. Unfortunately, a variety of causes militated against the complete success of this world-show. Accommodation was either very bad or very dear and with Austrian unreadiness the Exhibition was in an exceedingly backward state on the day fixed for the opening of the building. Then followed a financial panic, owing to the sudden collapse of some leading Viennese capitalists, who dragged down with them many hundreds of smaller men and this break-down of credit was followed in the summer by a visitation of cholera, which caused many of the visitors to cut short their visit to the Austrian capital. The significance of the Exhibition was accentuated both by the prominence given in it to German goods and the importance attached to the visit of the Emperor of Germany to Vienna, which far outshone those of the King of Italy and the Czar of Russia. In the Exhibition building, the central position, the place of honour, and the largest share of space, were assigned to Germany. It seemed, indeed, as if the Germanic races hoped to usher in an era of Teutonic brotherhood, even as England, at her great Exhibition, had hoped, but in vain, to celebrate the commencement of an age of universal peace; but at the same time both Powers were careful to maintain cordial relations with the Czar Alexander II.

The campaign of the Russian army on the river Oxus, which caused some excitement in England at the time, inasmuch as the policy of the Czar in Central Asia tended to be one of continual aggression towards India, calls for more than a passing notice. There were several pretexts for the war, one of which was the marauding character of the nomadic Turkomans, who were guilty of robbery and kidnapping in the steppes. In defence of the course taken by the Russians, it may be said that as a civilised Power in contact with nomadic and half-civilised nations they were almost forced to be continually advancing. Khiva was the only

Khanate in Central Asia that still refused to acknowledge their supremacy, and by its subjection they would round off their frontier by the river Oxus and hold that river as far as Bokhara. "The State," Prince Gortschakoff had candidly remarked, as far back as 1864, "finds itself forced to choose one of two alternatives: either to give up its frontier to perpetual disturbance, rendering all prosperity, all security, all civilisation, an impossibility; or, on the other hand, to plunge deeper and deeper into barbarous countries, where the difficulties increase with every step in advance." There was yet another cause for the expedition, which did not appear on the surface of affairs. The administration of General Kaufmann, appointed Governor of Turkestan in 1867, had been by no means one of unmingled success. There was a gradually-increasing deficit in the budget and at length Kaufmann was obliged to go to St. Petersburg to explain away the charges laid against him. His winning manners and social popularity enabled him to win his cause and, the ear of the Emperor gained, he succeeded in persuading the authorities that now was the time to pay off the long-standing Khivan account. By these means he hoped to win much glory for himself and at the same time to hush up unpleasant inquiries with regard to the government of Turkestan. No doubt, he was also fired with an honourable ambition to play the part of the pacificator of Central Asia.

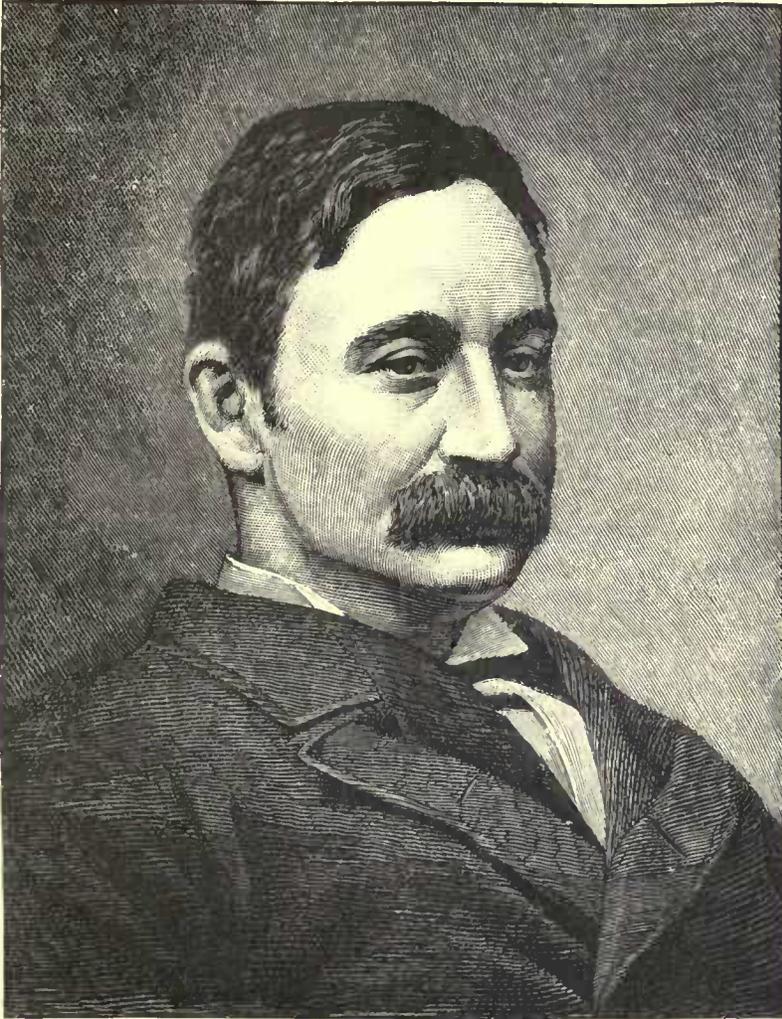
The Czar and his Ministers having cried havoc, they were not slow in finding a pretext for unslipping the dogs of war. Twenty-one Russians were in captivity in Khiva; the insubordinate subjects of the Khan were continually attacking the caravans of Russian merchants and retiring with considerable spoils. Besides, he was accused of aiding and abetting the Adazefs, a nomadic tribe, who, nominally his subjects, refused, with considerable show of reason, to pay taxes to the Czar. They were, however, overcome with much slaughter, and the Khan, who was informed that no communications would be held with him until he released his prisoners, began to anticipate a similar fate. In great alarm he sent a mission to India, but was informed by the Government that he could have no assistance and had better comply with the Russian demands. Thus, free from all fear of Britain, the Russian War Office was able to push on its preparations with a light heart. The expedition, which was originally ordered to start in October, 1872, was placed under the command of Colonel Markosoff, who had already

gained some reputation in this district. Unaccountable delays, however, prevented a start from being made before the end of the year; and then, as if to make up for lost time, Markosoff advanced rapidly until close upon Khiva—so close, indeed, that it was reported both in England and in India that the town had fallen. He had, however, committed the common mistake of underrating his enemy; the Khivan horse surrounded his troops and he was compelled to retreat with more promptitude than was consistent with his good renown.

Meanwhile, the British Government had been viewing these warlike advances towards the south-east not without alarm and an animated correspondence was being carried on between Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Granville. The question at issue between the two Governments divided itself into two heads: the wider one being the remoter effects of the Russian advance on India; the narrower, its immediate effects on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, which lay on the Oxus, to the south-west of Khiva. General Kaufmann, who was to command the expedition in the following year, was requested to draw up a report on the countries claimed by the Ameer of Cabul as his hereditary dominions and, after some delay, it was sent to Prince Gortschakoff, who, in turn, forwarded it to Lord Granville. The task of forming of Afghanistan an "intermediary zone"—so Prince Gortschakoff termed it—"for the purpose of preserving the possessions of England and Russia from immediate contact," was found to be no easy one, the chief difficulty being the settlement of the limits of the frontier to the north-east, in the direction of Badakhshan and Wakhan, districts which Britain declared to be subject to the Ameer and Russia to be independent. Prince Gortschakoff pointed out with considerable plausibility that these States, if preserved in their integrity, would form an admirable barrier between Afghanistan and Kashgar, Khokand and Bokhara. To this, however, Lord Granville strongly demurred. Badakhshan, he said, had been conquered and annexed by the Ameer in the most complete manner; if its independence were recognised by Britain or Russia, the Ameer would probably attempt to assert his claims by arms and Bokhara would not fail to take part in the struggle, to the great disturbance of the peace of Central Asia. At length, after a brilliant display of diplomatic fencing, which lasted for about three months, Prince Gortschakoff gave way and accepted the line of boundary laid down by Great Britain.

The larger question was thus settled to the advantage of Britain, and a little while before an apparently straightforward statement had been given to Lord Granville with regard to the Russian designs against Khiva. At the beginning of 1873

between the two countries, except that of the boundaries of Afghanistan, which could, if necessary, be settled at once. To this Lord Granville replied that, it must be confessed, great jealousy existed in England with regard to any movement



COLONEL FRED BURNABY. (From a Photograph by R. W. Thrupp, Birmingham.)

Count Schouvaloff was sent to England, by the Emperor's desire, with the mission of explaining the policy of the Imperial Government without extenuation or reserve. In a letter to Lord Augustus Loftus, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, dated the 8th of January, Lord Granville gave a *précis* of the results of the interview. The Emperor, it appears, was much surprised at the suspicions with which the Russian movements in Central Asia were regarded; he knew of no question likely to affect the good understanding

affecting India and that, no doubt, the progress of Russia in Asia had of late been considerable. He rejoiced to hear that a decision at an early date could be made with regard to the Afghan frontier. "With regard to the expedition to Khiva," continued the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "Count Schouvaloff added that it was true it was decided upon for next spring. To give an idea of its character, it was sufficient to say that it would consist of four battalions and a half. Its object was to punish acts of brigandage, to recover fifty

Russian prisoners and to teach the Khan that such conduct on his part could not be continued with the impunity which the moderation of Russia had led him to believe. Not only was it far from the intention of the Emperor to take possession of Khiva, but positive orders had been prepared to prevent it and directions given that the conditions imposed should be such as could not in any way lead to a prolonged occupancy of Khiva. Count Schouvaloff repeated the surprise which the Emperor, entertaining such sentiments, felt at the uneasiness which, it is said, existed in England on the subject and he gave me most decided authority that I might give positive assurances to Parliament on this matter." All this was very comforting, if only Count Schouvaloff's word could be relied on. It should be observed that the promise was made verbally and that it was always open to the Russian Government to allege that their envoy had exceeded his instructions.

The cohorts of the Czar advanced on their prey from two sides: one main column started from Tashkend, the capital of independent Tartary, on March 15th, and approached Khiva from the south-east; while the other, under Verëvkin, advanced from Orenburg, in the Caucasus: that is, from the north-west. Kaufmann's march was very successful, considering the difficulties he had to undergo, chiefly from lack of water. The crossing of the river Oxus occupied from May 30th to June 3rd, owing to the want of boats and the rapidity of the current. And now the hungry soldiers found themselves in a land of plenty; food was readily supplied by the inhabitants, to whom the Russian soldiers gave whatever they asked. So far, the Russian march had been practically unopposed; but there was a slight affair at Sheik-Aik and it seemed as if the Khivans were at last beginning to pick up a little courage. However, Hazar-Asp, a place of considerable strength, surrendered without a blow; and after a halt there for three days, in order to collect horses and carts for transport, General Kaufmann arrived on June 9th within ten miles of Khiva. Meanwhile, the Khan had been sending letter after letter, in which he affected at first an ingenuous curiosity as to the intents and aims of the Russian armament, but finally implored for peace in piteous terms. Then Kaufmann received the intelligence that the Orenburg expedition had anticipated him and was already before the walls of the town.

General Verëvkin, to whom the chief honour of the expedition is due, had contended with even greater difficulties than those which Kaufmann

had so successfully overcome. The first part of his march was through snow some ten feet deep and terrible storms. Nevertheless, such was the stoutness of the troops and the excellence of the commissariat, that on the arrival of the troops at Emba not a man out of the 1,600 had perished. On the 2nd of May Verëvkin reached the Aral Sea and marched for nearly a month along its coast to Kungrad, just beyond which town part of a column of 1,800 men, which had started from the Bay of Kenderli under Colonel Lamakin, joined him. The united columns of Verëvkin and Lamakin advanced upon Khiva on the 24th of May and began to meet with serious resistance for the first time. Indeed, something like a pitched battle took place at Manghit. On went the Russian troops, burning the villages as they advanced, until they came within a few miles of Khiva and encamped in the Khan's pleasure-garden. There Verëvkin halted for several days, during which time a letter came from the Khan asking for a truce, to which no attention was paid; and not being able to gain any intelligence of Kaufmann, he resolved to attack on the 9th of June. After a brief bombardment the town was surrendered by the Khan's uncle.

After a day or two, the Khan himself, who had fled with a regiment of Turcomans, went back to Khiva and quietly surrendered. In return for these concessions, the Russians annexed some 80,000 square miles of his territory, comprising the whole of the right bank of the Oxus and the adjoining lands, compelled the Khan to pay a war indemnity of 2,200,000 roubles, which would absorb about two-thirds of the revenues of the Khanate, and reduced him to the most complete state of vassalage. Lord Granville must have opened his eyes when he contrasted the terms of the treaty with the "decided assurance" of Count Schouvaloff that the only object of the expedition was to recover Russian prisoners and to punish acts of brigandage. The excuse alleged by Kaufmann was that the turbulent character of the population of the annexed districts rendered their subjugation to a stronger government than that of the Khan absolutely necessary: but it can hardly be denied that the mental reservations of the Russian authorities, though perhaps diplomatic, were hardly honourable. Language had been given to Count Schouvaloff to conceal the thoughts of General Kaufmann; and it is said that the Czar wished to repudiate the terms contained in the treaty of his too zealous general, but was overruled by the Russian Foreign Office. "Her Majesty's

Government," replied Lord Granville, when the treaty was communicated to him, "see no practical advantage in examining too minutely how far the Khivan arrangements are in strict accordance with the assurances given by Count Schouvaloff as to the intentions with which the expedition was undertaken."

Great was the outcry of Russophobists in England against the onward march of the Russian battalions towards the Indian frontier, but the alarm soon died away and the question came to be judged on its merits. It was seen that in the conquest of Khiva there was no real significance as regards the Indian Empire, beyond that of its moral effect on the Mohammedan population. Of the two roads to India from Central Asia, one is from the southern shores of the Caspian, along the northern frontier of Persia, to Herat and thence to the west frontier of Hindostan; the other line of march would be from Samarkand across the Khanate of Bokhara to Kerki and thence up the Oxus to Kunduz. Now the position of Khiva, as a glance at the map will show, makes it useless for either route. The question therefore remained practically unaffected by the Khivan campaign; and even Colonel Burnaby, who certainly did not view the Russians with a lenient eye, found that there was at that time no cause for any great apprehension. "In my opinion," he wrote, "Russia, from her present position, has not the power of even threatening British India. However, she has the power of threatening points which, should she be permitted to annex them, would form a splendid basis for operations against Hindostan. Merv, Balkh, and Kashgar would make magnificent *étapes*. The former locality is richer than any of the most fertile corn-growing countries in European Russia. Merv is close to Herat: and should the Afghans join with Russia, a direct advance might be made upon India through the Bolan Pass. If Kashgar were permitted to fall into the Czar's possession, we should lose our prestige with the Mohammedans in Central Asia; whilst the occupation of Kashgar would prove a disagreeable thorn in our side, and give rise to endless intrigues. Balkh, from Bokhara, is only twelve days' march, and from Balkh to Cabul, through the Bamian Pass, it is the same distance. This road, though blocked by snow in winter, can be traversed by artillery in the summer and autumn months; whilst Bokhara could supply Balkh with any quantity of provisions which might be required. Should Russia be permitted to annex Kashgar, Balkh, and Merv, India would be liable to attack from three points,

and we should have to divide our small European force." This lucid exposition from one of the greatest authorities on the subject of the then aspects of the Central Asian question was confirmed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who termed Merv "the central point round which the present interest of the Eastern question, as far as India is concerned, revolves." Thus there was this amount of comfort to be extracted from the situation, that the armies of the Czar were yet far from the limits in their approach to India which, to use the words of Sir Henry Rawlinson, "they must not be allowed to overstep."

Soon after the departure of the Shah from British shores, the return of an adventurous Englishman to his native land was hailed by the more intelligent classes of society, especially by the scientific world, with anticipation and delight; for this traveller had a tale to unfold of picturesque incidents and stirring episodes. Sir Samuel Baker returned in the autumn of the year from Egypt, after fulfilling an engagement with the Khedive, the object of which was to "suppress the slave-hunters of Central Africa and to annex the countries constituting the Nile Basin, with the object of opening those savage regions to legitimate commerce and establishing a permanent government." The choice of the organisers of the expedition could not have fallen on a man better qualified, both by character and experience, for the task. At his own cost he fitted out an expedition in 1861, the object of which was to solve that hitherto undiscovered problem, the source of the river Nile. Four years he was engaged on this arduous task. On the banks of the White Nile at Gondokoro, Baker and his comrades met Captains Speke and Grant, who, supported by the British Government, had discovered the inland sea, Victoria Nyanza; and wishing to make assurance doubly sure, he had then pushed on, amidst difficulties almost insuperable, until, in March, 1864, he stood on the shore of a vast inland sea, the existence of which had hitherto been totally unknown to Europeans. This great expanse of water he named Albert Nyanza, and with a boldness of assertion which was near akin to rashness, he at once pronounced the Nile mystery to be finally discovered; a statement which he afterwards withdrew. The return to Egypt was hardly less arduous than the southward journey; and the honours that were bestowed on the explorer after his arrival in London seemed to most men to be by no means a too-abundant acknowledgment of the magnitude of his success.

But the work of civilisation on the "abyss of

waters"—for that is the meaning of the word Nile—was not yet accomplished. In 1869 Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt, was seized with one of those fitful and transient desires that seem to spring up from time to time in the breasts of Eastern monarchs, to reform the more flagrant abuses prevalent throughout his vast dominions. His attention was especially directed to the White Nile slave trade, at that period working great havoc in a district capable of much cultivation and among races susceptible of considerable improvement. To abolish slavery altogether in a country where it was every one's ambition, however poor they might be, to possess a slave, was evidently impossible, but the extraordinary rapidity of its growth might be checked; besides, as Sir Samuel Baker pointed out, "slaves were generally well treated by their owners; the brutality lay in their capture, with the attendant lawlessness and murders." The traders were chiefly Arabs, who, originally agriculturists in the Soudan, had formed themselves into companies, which, issuing from the district of Khartoum, spread ruin and desolation over a huge plateau, comprising some 90,000 square miles of territory, whence they gathered in a human harvest, computed by Sir Samuel at about 50,000 victims per annum. These inhuman traffickers were about 15,000 in number and the terror of their name had spread over the whole length and breadth of Central Africa; whole districts were desolate and had fallen out of cultivation; there was an enormous destruction of human life; industry had disappeared.

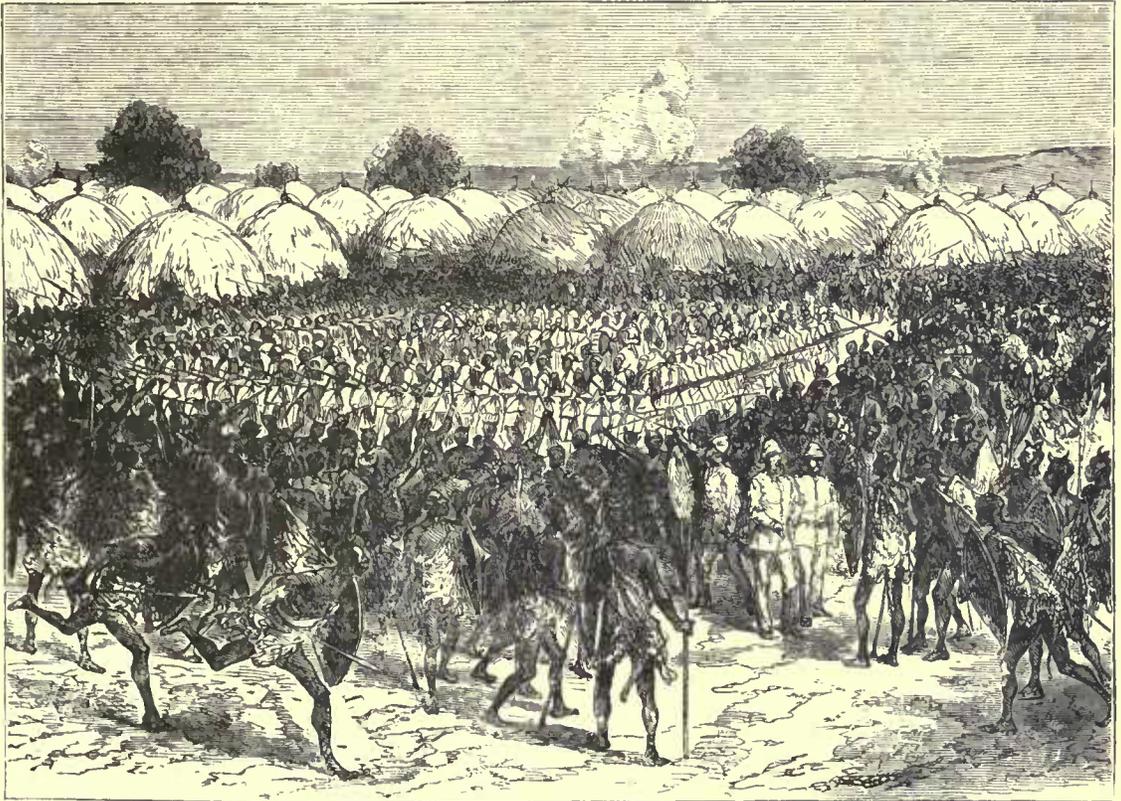
The Khedive, whom Sir Samuel described as "a full century in advance of his people," had to encounter very considerable opposition; indeed, his only supporters were his two Ministers, Nubar and Cherif Pashas. The merchant classes were furious; the Egyptian officials did not hesitate to accuse their master of betraying the cause of Mohanmedanism in order to stand well with Europeans; the abolition of their most cherished privilege was regarded as "a direct challenge and attack upon the assumed rights and necessities of his own subjects." Nevertheless, the Khedive, who was probably swayed by the material considerations of an enlarged dominion, as well as by motives of pure philanthropy, did not abandon the design and before many months had passed Ismail was in a position to decide that the hour and the man were come. Nubar Pasha was accordingly sent to Sir Samuel Baker, with the announcement that the Khedive wished him to take command of an expedition which was to subdue the countries

to the south of Gondokoro and to suppress the slave trade there. This appointment was due to the influence of the Prince of Wales, who, during his visit to Egypt, had taken great interest in the question and had urged on the Viceroy the necessity of placing a capable man in command of the enterprise. "If it had not been for the kindness of his Royal Highness," said Sir Samuel, in a subsequent address to the Royal Geographical Society, "I should never have accepted the command."

Starting from Khartoum on February 8th, 1870, the flotilla, with 800 men on board, sailed up the White Nile, whence they diverged into one of its branches, the Bahr Giraffe, the main stream being at this point impassable. Arrived at the White Nile, Ali Bey, Governor of Fashoda, was caught red-handed in a slave-hunting expedition, and was compelled to disgorge his prey; and Baker temporarily suppressed the traffic throughout the district. He then moved southward and in April, 1871, the fleet arrived at Gondokoro, the second important halting-place. There the country of the Baris, a wild and intractable tribe, occupying a district extending round Gondokoro, which measured about ninety miles from north to south, and about seventy in width, was formally annexed to Egypt, in spite of the unwillingness of their chief, Allorron, who was in league with a notorious slaver named Abou Saood, who, because he had undertaken to supply ivory to the Government, enjoyed considerable immunity. But the new subjects of the Khedive soon began to show resentment against the imposition of a foreign yoke and, after a series of disputes, they began to drive off the cattle of the expedition. The beasts were, however, recaptured, and a severe lesson was taught the natives of Belinian, who were in alliance with the Baris. It was necessary to preach civilisation with the bayonet and it is not surprising that the natives did not at first see the great superiority of Baker's arguments. Soon afterwards Abou Saood arrived, with a large number of stolen cattle, and encamped on the left bank of the river. He promptly began to spread disaffection among the troops, to whom he was permitted access by their native commander, Raouf Bey. However, the conspiracy was detected before it became formidable and Abou Saood departed from the neighbourhood. In describing the events at the close of the year, Sir Samuel says that "all intrigues and opposition had been overcome. Although my force was small, the men were full of confidence, and promised to follow wheresoever I might lead."

Soon afterwards Baker began to form his arrangements for a southward advance towards Unyoro and on his way established a station at Fatiko to keep Abou Saood in check. Fresh difficulties with Abou Saood's subordinates marked the journey as far as Masindi, where the interest of the plot rapidly thickened, and where, indeed, the attitude of the natives became distinctly threatening. As they approached the town, the

who held out in a neighbouring district. Baker's troops were now reduced to a hundred men, from the necessity of keeping communications open with Fatiko and he was accordingly obliged to turn aside warlike demonstrations with honeyed words. Nevertheless, the situation was most unpleasant and accordingly he determined to throw up a circular fort, which he explained to the natives was intended for the storing of gunpowder.



HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST BAKER AT MASINDI. (See p. 89.)

capital of Unyoro, the king of which, Kabba Rega, was supposed to be in league with the slavers, the waters of the Albert Nyanza appeared about twenty miles off. At first all seemed well; the Unyoro slaves were to be restored and free trade principles established in Unyoro; on the 14th of May, 1872, the territory was formally annexed to Egypt. At length Baker seemed to have thoroughly accomplished the task of conciliation; but the character of the young king was so depraved that beneath the mask of friendship he still cherished hatred and suspicion; he was, besides, much disgusted because no help was given him against a pretender named Rionga,

Shortly afterwards an embassy arrived with friendly promises from M'tesa, the great king of Uganda. The wisdom of precautionary measures was soon evident. After a treacherous attempt to poison the troops with plantain cider, the station was suddenly attacked by some thousands of men. Sir Samuel's measures were prompt; the enemy were driven out of the bush and through the town, which was set on fire and speedily reduced to ashes. Baker then betook himself to Rionga and proclaimed him king of Unyoro in room of Kabba Rega. The new monarch succeeded in crushing his rival with Sir Samuel's aid, and peace was established for the time being over Unyoro.

But the hour of Baker's departure was at hand. That peace was not yet thoroughly established in the annexed districts, in spite of Abou Saood's flight to Cairo, was shown by the rout of a party that had been sent to Gondokoro for reinforcements by the treacherous Baris; still, there was considerable cause for hope if the country was handed over at once to an energetic successor. Leaving Major Abdullah in command at Fatiko, with instructions to maintain strict military discipline, the Pasha arrived at Gondokoro on the 1st of April, 1873. After building a new fort and surrounding the powder-magazines with earthworks, Baker bade his troops farewell and went homewards, on his way commending the Governor of Fashoda to capture three slave-vessels belonging to Abou Saood, which were sailing up the river—a proof that much remained to be done.

Upon Colonel C. G. Gordon, R.E.—better known as “Chinese” Gordon—fell the task of

trying to make permanent that prosperity which Baker had, for the time being, established. Already great facilities had been created for opening up the country. Through the energy of Ismail Ayoub Pasha, the new Governor of Khartoum, the White Nile had been cleared of vegetation and the steamers which Baker had sent up from Cairo were ready to ply between Khartoum and Gondokoro and communication with the districts to the south was kept open by the stations, the southernmost, Foweera, being close to Masindi; the Baris were nominally at peace. “The slavery of the White Nile,” wrote Baker, “is impossible so long as the Government is determined that it shall be impossible.” Unfortunately the whole scheme was proved ere long to have been planned on too grand a scale. The limits of the Soudan were far too large and vague for effective patrolling by the troops sent there; the Egyptian treasury was drained, but slavery was not suppressed.*

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*)

Opening of the Year 1874—The Bye-elections—Dissolution of Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Proposed Abolition of the Income-tax—Failure of the Appeal—Mr. Disraeli's reply—His Blunders—The General Election—Defeat of Government—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—The New Ministry—Re-election of the Speaker—Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Lord Granville—The Queen's Speech—The Famine in India—Relief Works—The Export of Grain—Question of Distribution—Sir R. Temple—Mansion House Relief Fund—Government Loan—The Labour Test—End of the Famine—Quietude of Politics—Sir S. Northcote's Budget—Mr. Ward Hunt and the “Phantom Fleet”—Mr. Childers' reply—The Army Estimates—The Licensing Bill—Lord Aberdare's Criticisms—The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill—Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Liberal Obstruction—The Bill withdrawn—Mr. Gladstone's Sarcasms—The Scottish Patronage Bill—Debate in the House of Lords—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Reception of the Measure in Scotland—The Public Worship Regulation Bill—Growth of Ritualism—Archbishop Tait's Bill—Criticism in Convocation—Debate on the Second Reading—Lord Shaftesbury's Amendments—Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions—Mr. Disraeli's Tactics—Mr. Holt's Resolution—Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Disraeli and Lord Salisbury—Lord Salisbury's Explanation—Minor Events of the Session.

“THE year on which we are about to enter,” said Mr. Cardwell, in a speech at Oxford on January 1st, 1874, “is, we are told, to be a year of excitement in political circles,” but he declined to prophesy as to the possible results of a contest between the rival political parties. “Her Majesty's Government,” he contended, “had been cruelly malignèd; their lot had been

“To win no praise if well-wrought plans prevail,
And to be hardly censured if they fail.”

“It appears to me,” he continued, in tones of optimism, “that these evils come periodically in

great numbers just before the meeting of Parliament, much as the fogs come on at the same time of the year. I think many questions are dispelled by the meeting of Parliament before they are answered and a sufficient reply will, I hope, be given to the remainder before Parliament meets.” At first it seemed as if the nation were willing to accept these rose-coloured views, and the proposition that the reconstructed Ministry ought to be

* A full account of the attempts of Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon, as he then was, to put down the slave trade, will be found in the second volume of “The Story of Africa and its Explorers,” by Dr. Robert Brown (Cassell & Co).

given a chance met with silent approval. The constituency of Stroud, however, showed in the most emphatic manner that they would have none of such temporising. An opportunity was given them for expressing their opinions by the death of their member, Mr. Winterbotham, who had been Under-Secretary for the Home Department. The candidates were Mr. Dorington, who had been defeated by the deceased member in 1868, and Sir Henry Havelock, the son of the martyr of the Indian Mutiny. Stroud had returned a Liberal ever since the Reform Bill, but when the declaration of the present poll showed that the Conservative, Mr. Dorington, had been returned by a majority of some five hundred and that nearly one-tenth of the electorate had changed their minds since the last general election, it was clear that the importance of the Conservative victory was great indeed. Only cold comfort could be extracted by the Liberals from the Newcastle election, which took place a little later. Mr. Cowen, indeed, was returned to Parliament by a good round majority of a thousand to fill his father's place, but the general impression that prevailed as to the extreme nature of his views, which were known to be favourable to Irish Home Rule and Trades Unionism and were understood to embrace Republicanism as well, caused the new member to be at this particular moment, when Government wished to assume an attitude of pacific moderation, a not very welcome addition to the ranks of their followers. It was evident that the Ministry was for the moment in troubled waters, but they hoped to get into smooth sailing again without much difficulty. The proposals with which they hoped to tickle the popular ear were put forward tentatively, not as a trumpet-call to rouse the constituencies to action, but as soft music to lull them to sleep. Mr. Cardwell had hinted at the readjustment of the burdens of taxation; the Solicitor-General had touched lightly on the necessity for modifying the law of entail; the Prime Minister followed in their train and vaguely expressed his approval of the extension of the county franchise. For the moment criticism was silent and the political world lay with suspended animation, awaiting the meeting of Parliament on February 5th; when, on the morning of January 24th, the languid openers of the daily papers were roused to the utmost astonishment by the news that the Prime Minister, alike to the bewilderment of his friends—for many of the very members of the Government were ignorant of the impending blow—and the discomfiture of his foes, who did not

expect an immediate crisis, had determined to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country.

Mr. Gladstone's defence for so sudden and, to all appearance, imprudent a step was propounded in what Mr. Disraeli termed "a prolix narrative," addressed to his Greenwich constituents. "The authority of the Government," he said, "which was in 1868 amply confided to the nation and its leaders, if it has now sunk below the point necessary for the due defence and prosecution of the public interests, can in no way be so legitimately and effectually restored as by an appeal to the people." He then proceeded to sketch the state of things, "at once fitful and casual," which had been for some time the cause of such great dissatisfaction to Ministers; they were matters of fact rather than of opinion. Such were the defeat of the Government in March on the Irish Education question, if not by a combined, yet by a concurrent effort of the leader of the Opposition and of the Roman Catholic Prelacy of Ireland; the refusal of the leader of the Opposition to assume office on the consequent resignation of the Government, "and fill the void which he had made," and the consequent resumption of office by the Ministry, with avowed reluctance and diminished strength; and the summary and rapid dismissal in the House of Lords of measures which had cost much time and labour to the House of Commons. The Premier went on to consider the improvement in the organisation of local and subordinate authority, which, under the control of Parliament, would lighten its labours and increase the public business, and the wisdom of further modification of the Education Act of 1870. He then proceeded to raise the questions of the local government of the capital, the enlargement of the sphere of university education, and the extension of the county franchise for the benefit "of our loyal, patient, and intelligent peasantry." But the point of this remarkable document was in its latter part, as the point of a lady's letter is said to be in the postscript: it was no less than a promise of the repeal of the income-tax. Mr. Gladstone showed that, in spite of the difficulties which had surrounded them on their assumption of office, the financial administration of the Ministry had been a great success; the National Debt had been reduced by more than £20,000,000, taxes had been lowered or abolished to the extent of £12,500,000, and yet there was an anticipated surplus of no less than £5,000,000. Thus an admirable opportunity was afforded for the relief and reform of local taxation and for the repeal of

the income-tax. "According to the older financial tradition, the income-tax was a war tax. For such a purpose it is invaluable. Men are willing to sacrifice much, not only of their means, but of their privacy, time, and comfort, at the call of patriotism. In 1842 the income-tax was employed by Sir Robert Peel partly to cover a serious deficit in the revenue, but principally to allow of important advances in the direction of free trade. I need not dwell upon the great work of liberation which has been accomplished by its aid. Mainly, perhaps, on this account it has been borne with exemplary patience. But no Government has ever been able to make it perpetual, like our taxes in general, or even to obtain its renewal for any long term of years. Since 1860 it has been granted by an annual Act. During a long time, for reasons on which it is not necessary for me here to dwell, the country cherished, together with the desire, the expectation or hope of its extinction. But the sum annually drawn from it formed so heavy an item in the accounts from year to year, that it appeared to have grown unmanageable. It has, however, been the happy fortune of Mr. Lowe to bring it down, first from sixpence to fourpence, and then from fourpence to threepence, in the pound. The proceeds of the income-tax for the present year are expected to be between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, and, at a sacrifice for the financial year of something less than £4,500,000, the country may enjoy the advantage and relief of its total repeal." "If," wrote Mr. Gladstone, in conclusion, "the trust of this administration be, by the effect of the present elections, virtually renewed, I, for one, will serve you, for what remains of my time, faithfully; if the confidence of the country shall be taken from us, and handed over to others whom you may judge more worthy, I, for one, shall accept cheerfully my dismissal."

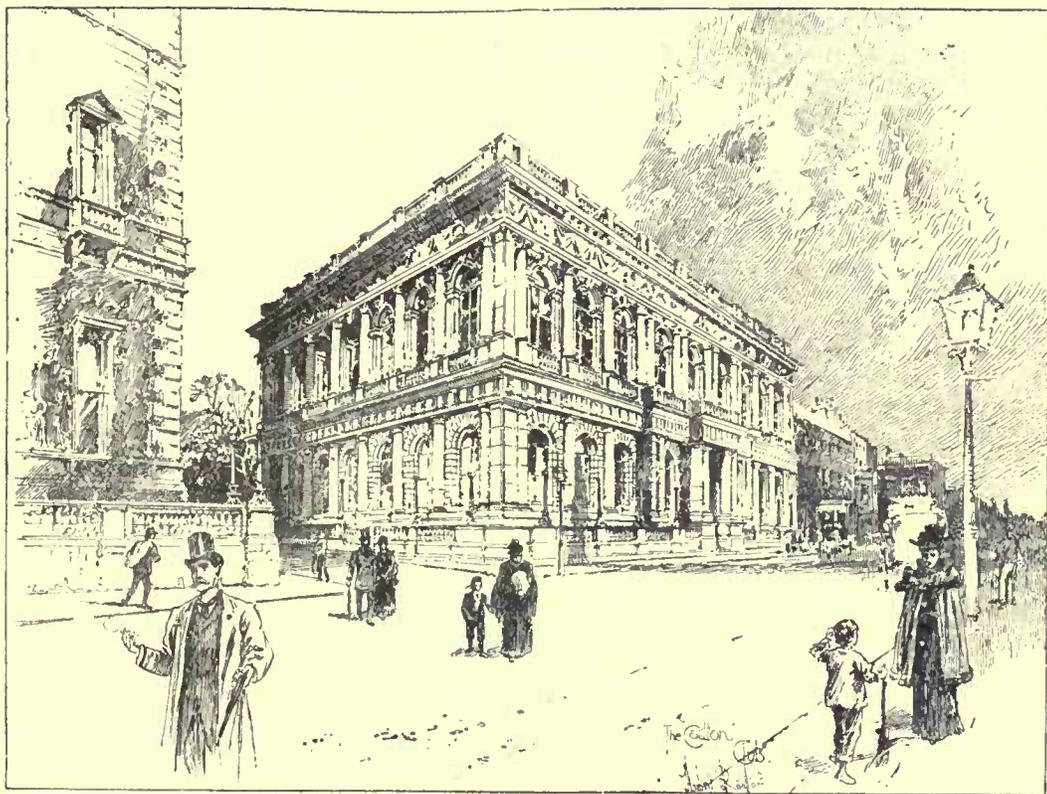
Dignified and impressive as was the Premier's appeal to the people, it distinctly missed its aim and the proposed abolition of the income-tax was promptly construed by his opponents into the offer of a bribe. The tone of his appeal, too, was ill suited to the occasion; it was not that of one who, knowing the popularity of his cause, was about to engage in a struggle in which he had a fair hope of success, but of one who had been deserted by fair-weather friends; their backslidings filled him indeed with sorrow rather than anger, but, nevertheless, served to weaken his stroke and paralyse his arm.

Mr. Disraeli's fireworks were far more calculated to please the multitude than the thunderbolt of

his rival. He complained that there was nothing definite in the Prime Minister's prolix narrative except this—"that, having the prospect of a large surplus, he will, if retained in power, devote that surplus to the remission of taxation, which would be the course of any party or any Ministry. But what is remarkable in his proposals is that, on the one hand, they are accompanied by the disquieting information that the surplus, in order to make it adequate, must be enlarged by an 'adjustment,' which must mean an increase of existing taxes; and that, on the other hand, his principal measures of relief will be the diminution of local taxation and the abolition of the income-tax—measures which the Conservatives have always favoured and which the Prime Minister and his friends have always opposed." Mr. Disraeli was ever ready to propose or support all measures calculated to improve the condition of the people. "But I do not think," he continued, "this great end is advanced by incessant and harassing legislation. The English people are governed by their customs quite as much as by their laws and there is nothing they more dislike than unnecessary restraint and meddling interference in their affairs. Generally speaking, I should say of the Administration of the last five years that it would have been better for us all if there had been a little more energy in our foreign policy and a little less in our domestic legislation." After a hearty fling at the Ashantee War, the member for Buckinghamshire proceeded to declare that the argument for extending to the counties the household franchise of the towns, on the ground of the existing system being anomalous, was itself fallacious. "There has always been a difference between the franchise of the two divisions of the country, and no one has argued more strongly than the present Prime Minister against the contemplated identity of suffrage. The Conservative party view this question without prejudice. They have proved that they are not afraid of popular rights. But the late Reform Act was a large measure, which, in conjunction with the Ballot, has scarcely been tested by experience, and they will hesitate before they sanction further legislation, which will inevitably involve, among other considerable changes, the disfranchisement of at least half the boroughs in the kingdom, comprising at least 40,000 inhabitants." Mr. Disraeli wound up his letter by throwing discredit on the Liberal cause generally by means of the clever expedient of praising the Premier at the expense of his followers. He owned that Mr. Gladstone was

"certainly not at present opposed to our national institutions and the maintenance of the integrity of the empire. But, unfortunately, among his adherents some assail the monarchy, others impugn the independence of the House of Lords, while there are those who would relieve Parliament altogether from any share in the government of one portion of the kingdom. Others, again, urge him to pursue his peculiar policy by disestablishing

experience to consider as inseparable from the advent to power of a Tory Ministry, has prevented the party from sooner giving effect, or even utterance, to these associations." The second mistake committed by Mr. Disraeli was the assertion that, "by an act of folly or of ignorance rarely equalled, the Ministry relinquished a treaty which secured the freedom of the Strait of Malacca for our trade with China and Japan."



THE CARLTON CLUB, PALL MALL, LONDON.

the Anglican, as he has despoiled the Irish, Church; while trusted colleagues in his Cabinet openly concur with him in their desire altogether to thrust religion from the place which it ought to occupy in national education."

Two blunders alone marred the otherwise telling effect of Mr. Disraeli's counter-attack. The first was the statement that the Conservatives had continually urged the repeal of the income-tax. "That Mr. Disraeli should have disliked it from the first," said Mr. Lowe, in reply, "is quite natural, for it was the means of bringing about that free trade which he so bitterly opposed. It is only to be regretted that the great increase of expenditure, which we have learnt from long

For this he was taken to task by Mr. Gladstone. There was no such treaty; the only agreement which concerned the question was a treaty made by Mr. Disraeli in 1868, which gave the Dutch virtual supremacy over the kingdom of Siak, where the strait is narrowest. This Mr. Disraeli said was untrue, as he could no more have prevented the treaty of the Dutch and the King of Siak than he could have prevented the transit of Venus. Eventually, however, it was discovered that Mr. Disraeli was referring to the kingdom of Acheen, which, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, is separated from the opposite shore by a sheet of water about two hundred miles wide, hardly to be called a strait.

This, however, was merely by-play and the main interest in the duel between the two great leaders lay in the question of the income-tax, which Mr. Disraeli began to look upon with less favour, though it had been the financial policy of the Conservative party. The Premier addressed meeting after meeting at Blackheath with that energy which was peculiarly his own; Mr. Disraeli canvassed up and down Buckinghamshire with equal zeal. The lieutenants on each side vied in activity with their chiefs. On the whole, however, though much activity prevailed in isolated localities, the elections, considered as occasions for the display of the more popular qualities of an orator, were rather dull. There were no good party-cries and perhaps the only really witty remark that was made during the contest was one of Mr. Bright's, to the effect that if those who complained of the harassing nature of Mr. Gladstone's measures had been in the Wilderness, they would have said that they were harassed by the publication of the Ten Commandments. On the other hand, the dearth of wit was by no means atoned for by absence of horse-play; the outbreaks in several districts—notably in Durham—were serious, though nothing like the pitched battles of the "good old days." In less than a month the candidates for Parliamentary honours were put out of this misery. The contest had been a spirited one, though the shortness of the time for preparation had caused it to be fought in some districts on false issues; there was a good deal of complaint that no time had been given for organisation; but, on the other hand, few seats were allowed to go uncontested and in the scramble ability had a fair chance of jockeying money. When both parties were completely taken by surprise, it was natural that the one which had very little to lose, and everything to gain, should have the better chance and so it proved in the event. The Conservative reaction made itself to be felt from the first most unmistakably. The first elections took place on the 30th of January; on the 7th of February the *Spectator* cried, in tones of lamentation, "The Liberal party has been smitten hip and thigh, from Dan to Beersheba." Amongst prominent Liberals, Mr. Ayrton was rejected, nor was his failure unexpected; the defeat of Mr. Fawcett at Brighton, however, was a matter of general regret. On the other side, fickle Stroud, which had, by returning a Conservative a few weeks previously, been one of the many causes of the dissolution, now cast him forth, and became Liberal again. This, however, availed

but little against the crushing Tory victory at Westminster, where Mr. W. H. Smith and Sir Charles Russell were returned by tremendous majorities. Mr. Goschen just succeeded in keeping his seat for the City of London. Of the two great Liberal strongholds—Birmingham and Sheffield—the first remained true to its former convictions; but the poll taken at the latter town showed that the citizens had returned to their old love, Mr. Roebuck, who called himself an Independent member, but was, to all intents and purposes, a Conservative; Mr. Mundella being second; and Mr. Chamberlain, a rising Radical politician, nowhere, in spite of his clever cry, "Free Church! Free Schools! Free Land! and Free Labour!" By the end of the second week of the struggle the Conservative majority could be reckoned at fifty-six. Middlesex had followed Westminster in returning two Conservatives—Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Coope—Lord Enfield, a Minister, sharing the fate of Mr. Ayrton; and though Greenwich discovered that she could not do without Mr. Gladstone, she placed him second on the poll to Mr. Boord, a local distiller. The Ministerialists gained a little in the last two or three days, and when all was over it was found that Mr. Gladstone's Liberal majority of sixty-eight had been converted into a Conservative majority of fifty. This vast upheaval was due chiefly to the change of opinion in the boroughs, especially in the English boroughs, where the number of seats held by the Conservatives was one hundred and forty-two, instead of ninety-four, their number in 1868; in the counties of England their forces were now reckoned at one hundred and fifty-four, instead of one hundred and thirty-one. Scotland had, on the whole, remained Liberal still, although one or two victories had been gained there by the Tories. In Ireland the band of Home Rulers had been largely reinforced, and that their support could no longer be depended on by the Liberals was proved by the fact that in several places they had stood against followers of that political persuasion and prevailed against them. Few defeats in the general elections were more significant than that of Mr. Chichester Fortescue at Louth, where the leading Irish statesman was defeated by Messrs. Sullivan and Callan, of whom the latter enjoyed the unusual privilege of being returned for two constituencies at the same time, by a majority of nearly two to one. No man less deserved so cruel a slight.

Mr. Gladstone wisely did not attempt to face Parliament, but following the precedent set by

Mr. Disraeli, placed his resignation in the hands of her Majesty on February 17th, before the elections were quite over and as soon as it was seen that it was impossible for him to carry on the Government. On his retirement he urged the claims of several of his trusted followers for peerages and their merits at once met with due recognition. Mr. Cardwell, though triumphantly returned for Oxford, preferred a seat in the serene atmosphere of the Upper House; Mr. Chichester Fortescue became Lord Carlingford; Lord Enfield became Baron Enfield, a title which was to be only temporary, as on his father's death he would become Earl of Strafford; Sir Thomas Fremantle, who had in former years filled, with great credit to himself, subordinate posts in Liberal Ministries, took the title of Baron Cottesloe; the fifth claimant for the rewards of long and tried service was Mr. Hammond, who had for many years ruled over the secrets of the Foreign Office.

On the following day Mr. Disraeli went down to Windsor and received orders to form a new Administration. It was not long before the public curiosity as to the men on whom the new Premier's choice would fall was gratified. Fortunately for him, Mr. Disraeli was at no loss for materials for his Cabinet, as many of those statesmen who had served under him and Lord Derby were willing to take office again. The Prime Minister himself became First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Cairns Lord Chancellor. The Duke of Richmond, as Lord President of the Council, was to lead the Government in the Upper House. Two men of marked ability, Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury, were entrusted respectively with the Secretaryships of Foreign Affairs and of India; the Colonies were handed over to the care of Lord Carnarvon. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer was not, as many had anticipated—not without misgiving—Mr. Ward Hunt, but Sir Stafford Northcote; to Mr. Gathorne Hardy was entrusted the congenial employment of Secretary at War. Lord Malmesbury, Lord John Manners, and Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, completed the Cabinet. The last-named was the only untried man among them, and his appointment was the sole sensational one of the list. Mr. Disraeli seemed to have been actuated by a similar determination to put the right man in the right place in the selections for the minor offices of state: in all cases he chose moderate men, who would administer rather than legislate. Of such a character were the appointments of Lord Sandon as Vice-President of the Council, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as Chief

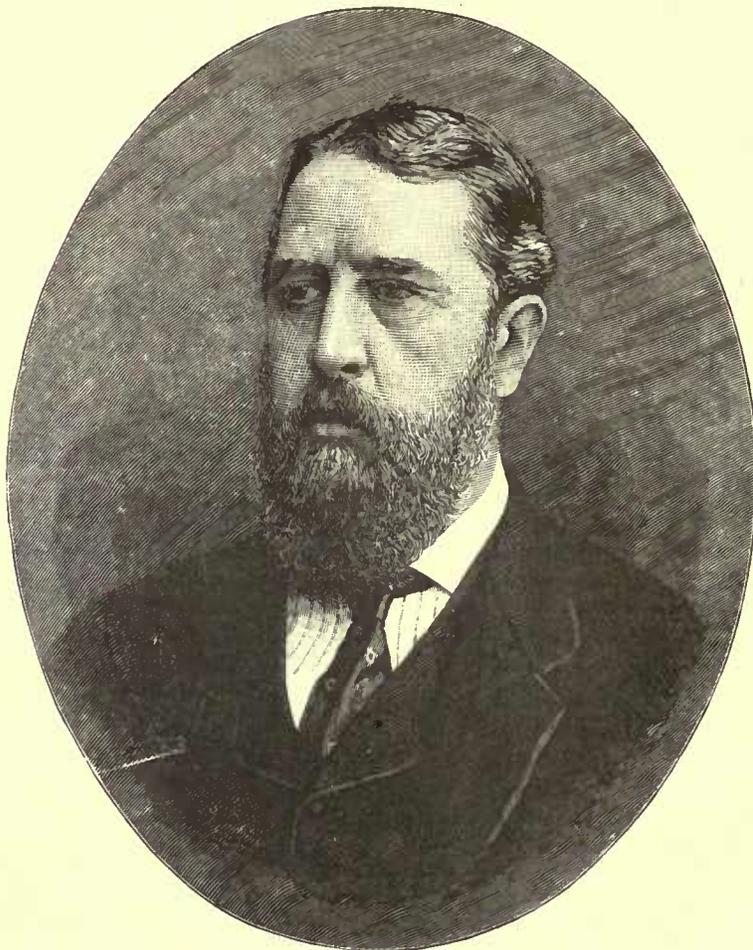
Secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Sclater-Booth as President of the Local Government Board. The Premier's peculiar *penchant* towards "young men" was supposed to be exemplified by the choice of Lord Pembroke, Sidney Herbert's son, Mr. James Lowther, and Lord George Hamilton, to fill the Under-Secretaryships at War for the Colonies and India respectively.

The first act of the new Parliament was a graceful one. Mr. Brand, who had carried out the onerous duties of Speaker during the last Parliament with great dignity, was now re-elected without opposition. He was proposed by Mr. Chaplin and seconded by Lord George Cavendish. Mr. Gladstone, who, as if to contradict the current rumours of his intended resignation of the leadership of the Liberal party, was at the head of the front Opposition bench, eloquently expressed the feelings of every one present when he said that "we expect much from our Speaker: not only such an assemblage of qualities as may be frequently found in many an excellent and able man among us; but we expect further a combination of those qualities such as is rarely to be found possessed by the same person. We look for extensive and well-digested knowledge, for a high and delicate sense of honour, and for, at all times and in all cases, an unvarying and unswerving impartiality; and we look also for great dignity of manner, for patience and forbearance in an eminent degree; and in combination with these, we look for prudence in coming to and firmness in carrying out a decision. There is no fear, sir, that any of these requisites will ever be wanting in you, nor, after the manifestation of to-day, is there any danger of them being unduly put to proof."

This pleasant business satisfactorily accomplished, Parliament adjourned until the 19th of March for the re-election, according to custom, of the new Ministers by their constituents. The interval was not without a little excitement of its own. For some weeks the rumour had been industriously circulated, and as industriously contradicted, that Mr. Gladstone intended to retire from the leadership of the Opposition. It now appeared that he would continue to act as leader for the present, though the need of rest would prevent him from giving more than an occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the Session. "But," he wrote to Lord Granville, "for a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service; and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with whom I have acted in

the direction of affairs that at my age I must reserve entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the Session of 1875, to consider whether there would be any advantage in my placing my

to it, but it seemed most unfortunate that the party should be deprived of the inspiring energy of their chief at the very moment when disorganisation and defeat seemed to prompt them to sink into the lethargy of indifference. Still there was no help for it; and the Liberals proceeded, as



LORD HARTINGTON (AFTERWARDS DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE).
(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)

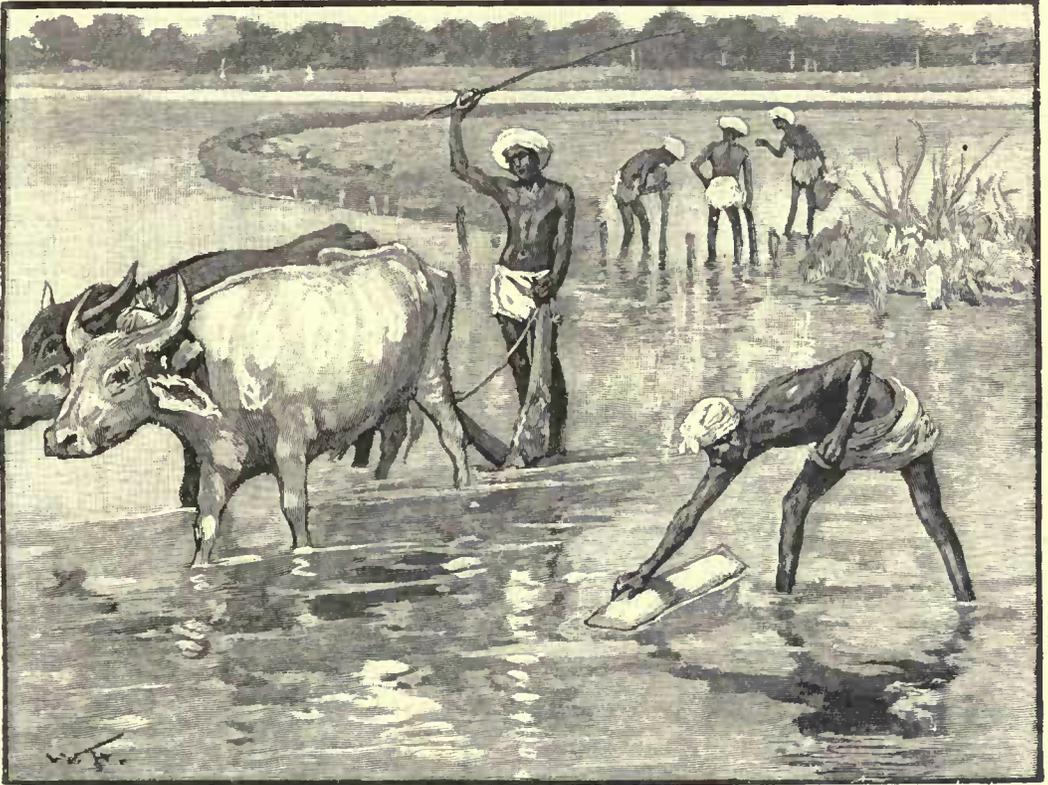
services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be reasonable ground for believing that, instead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable in view of the party generally for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative." The disconcerted Opposition had no choice but to accept these somewhat hard terms. No one doubted that the Premier was in need of rest, or that he had a right

Mr. Lowther waggishly remarked, to put their leadership in commission, the post being sometimes occupied by Lord Hartington and sometimes by Mr. Forster.

In these circumstances the Queen's Speech was read on the appointed day to the two Houses. The portion which was addressed to the House of Lords did not contain any engrossing topics. The Duke of Edinburgh had been happily married, the Ashantee War had been brought to a satisfactory end, and every effort had been made to mitigate the terrible calamity of famine in India. Some

indications of the policy of Government were expected in the paragraphs which concerned the gentlemen of the House of Commons. But there was no ambition in the programme. The delay and expense attending the transfer of land in England was to be a subject of legislation; the Judicature Act was to be extended to Ireland, and the procedure in Scottish tribunals was to be brought into harmony with recent legislation; the

and for this purpose I have issued a Royal Commission to inquire into the state and working of the present law, with a view to its early amendment, if it should be found necessary." Clearly, the new Ministers were feeling their way cautiously; they knew that what the country wanted was a period of rest, after the long spell of legislative activity, against which it had at last made so decisive a protest. It was remarked at the time that,



HINDOO LABOURERS IN A PADDY FIELD.

causes of complaint as to the working of the Liquor Acts were to be removed, and the laws affecting friendly and provident societies were to be considered. Besides, "serious differences have arisen, and remonstrances have been made by large classes of the community as to the working of the recent Act of Parliament affecting the relationship of master and servant; of the Act of 1871, which deals with offences connected with trade; and of the law of conspiracy, more especially as connected with these offences. On these subjects I am desirous that, before attempting any fresh legislation, you should be in possession of all material facts and of the precise questions in controversy,

"with the exception of the Land Transfer Bill, all the measures were of such a modest kind that they would, in an ordinary session, not have been honoured with formal mention." Mr. Gladstone acquiesced in the verdict of the country as expressed at the recent elections and made a speech in opposition to an amendment moved by Mr. Butt, the leader of the Home Rule party, in which he opposed the idea of granting legislative independence to Ireland; but his attitude was somewhat uncertain, and was based rather on the unwisdom of giving any "vague promise of an intention to inquire into Irish dissatisfaction" than to any dislike of the scheme.

The Bengal famine was the chief subject to occupy the attention of Parliament during the early days of the session; and it was with satisfaction that members learned that the calamity, though some of its aspects were grave enough, was of not quite so terrible a nature as had been at first supposed. The first news of the impending scarcity had reached England in the previous autumn and at once assumed the most exaggerated form. The rainfall during the month of September had been very slight indeed; instead of a continual downpour during that month, succeeded by October showers, there had been no rain at all after the first fortnight of September. The possible consequences were terrible; the people of Bengal live almost entirely on rice—the cheapest of food—so that, if that crop failed, there was nothing to fall back upon; the only chance for them, unless help came from outside, was that the pulse crop in April should be unusually abundant, in which case though the people would suffer from scarcity, there was little danger of absolute famine. It seemed, therefore, not improbable that the greater part of the population of Bengal, and of the neighbouring province of Behar, which was reckoned at 25,000,000, packed together more closely than almost any other people in the world, would be suddenly thrown for support upon the hands of Government. There appeared, however, no reason to think that the horrors of previous famines would be repeated in anything like the old intensity. Government on this occasion were not taken by surprise; they would, if necessary, have millions at their disposal, instead of a few thousands; and of late years road-making had been carried on with great vigour, so that each village was no longer isolated from its neighbour.

The Indian officials at once awoke to the necessity of acquitting themselves like men, and proceeded, to use Sir Bartle Frere's phrase, "to declare war against famine." Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, brought the matter to the Viceroy and the two set to work to consider the various suggestions which were laid before them for the alleviation of the impending misery. One of the most obvious means for helping those who were thrown out of employment by the failure of the crops was the establishment of relief-works; and a resolution that several public schemes should be pushed on as fast as possible, so as "to save the labouring population from even beginnings of distress, and from the debility which would render their labour valueless,"

was published on the 3rd of November. These works, all of which had been for a long time under consideration, were carefully distributed, so as to cause as little movement of the population as possible. Arrangements were made for the prosecution of the Soane Canal and the Northern Bengal Railway works with great activity, and roads were to be constructed to the railway connecting it with the neighbouring districts, so that "complete means of communication from west to east should be established north of the Ganges." Proposals were also made for advancing money to landlords for private irrigation works, on the security of their estates. Thus it was hoped that sufficient impulses for energy had been provided to check the fatalist submission to destiny which adds so greatly to the calamities of an Indian famine.

Unfortunately, there were several points on which the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor could not agree. Sir George Campbell urged that the export of the commoner kinds of rice should be prohibited, at least from Bengal, and he also wished that relief-houses should be established within easy reach of the villages, where grain should be stored, and that grain should be bought wherever it was to be had—remedial measures for the carrying out of which he asked for £500,000. To this Lord Northbrook would not consent; suggestions, he said, had been made to the effect that Government should interfere with the trade in grain, either by prohibiting the exportation of this most important article, or by undertaking the general purchase and distribution of it throughout the country, or by regulating in some manner the prices of it in the markets; but Government were not prepared to adopt such measures and would always avoid them so long as they could possibly be avoided. He preferred rather to rely on the energy and enterprise of those engaged in the internal trade of British India and pointed out that large quantities of grain had already reached Behar. It was determined, however, to pay the men employed in the public works with grain instead of money and for this purpose supplies of grain were collected from beyond the limits of the affected provinces, chiefly from Madras and British Burmah. He also trusted "that private benevolence, which has always been conspicuous in India, will be evoked on this occasion, according as the need for its exercise shall become apparent;" if necessary, Government would assist in forming relief committees, of which the centre was to be Calcutta. Against

this optimistic view—that public works and private charity would be enough to stay the plague—Sir George Campbell protested in vain; late in the year he was reported to have resigned, but patriotism prevailed over private mortification and he remained at his post.

Whatever question there might be in the minds of British statesmen as to the policy or justice of Lord Northbrook's strict regard for economy, there was none as to the wisdom of his refusal to forbid the export of grain against which the native press were raising so great an outcry. "The objections to the prohibition of export," wrote the Duke of Argyll to him, early in the following year, "are so many and so grave that nothing, in the opinion of her Majesty's Government, could justify having recourse to such a measure, unless it were a certainty that exports of food will so exhaust the resources of India as to render them incapable of affording the supplies which may be required for the affected districts." This opinion was cordially endorsed by Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Argyll's successor, who pointed out that the export grain did not come from the suffering districts—Northern Tirhoot, for example—but from other parts of Bengal, where there was a surplus crop. "What advantage, then, would it be to stop the export of grain from other parts of Bengal, when the difficulty was to convey it from the stations of Eastern India to the place where it is wanted? Besides, the prohibition of exports would only paralyse private trade, by creating a panic among the merchants."

The difficulty was, indeed, one not of supply, but of distribution; at no period was there any difficulty in buying corn, although, owing to the failure of the April crop, Government had eventually to purchase rice amounting to about 500,000 tons. "But," says a contemporary writer, "to distribute food over an area of 60,000 square miles, sufficient to maintain 3,500,000 people for eleven months, would, in any country, be a tremendous undertaking; but in India there were exceptional difficulties to contend with. There was, it is true, a line of railway running like a main artery through a great portion of the famine-stricken tract; but the communications from this central channel into the interior of the country were most defective and totally unfit for traffic when the periodical rains set in." It appeared, also, that the country carriage inland, which was being arranged by the district officers under the direction of the local government, was in a very backward state, and Lord Salisbury was

compelled to own in March that preparations had not been so far advanced as they might have been. "The local authorities," he said, "were necessarily the hands and the eyes of the Governor-General, and they, to a certain extent, did indulge in too sanguine expectations; but preparations were made which it was thought would be effectual, and I do not think you can impute any severe blame to the Governor-General, because he was unable to foresee the full extent of the calamity." As soon as the Viceroy realised the danger, he pushed on with all speed the construction of a railway between Durbungah, in the heart of the distressed country, to Barrh, on the East India Railway; entered into a large contract for a supply of carts, and ordered the construction of steamers, which were to sail up the small rivers in flood-time and so take a portion of the transport.

As had been anticipated, distress began to set in in January and assumed its severest form in Northern Tirhoot. Despite the efforts of the local officers, of whom Mr. Worsley displayed conspicuous energy, affairs in this district were in some confusion; it seemed that there was some delay in paying the wages of labourers employed at the relief-works and two or three deaths were recorded. All hopes of a spring harvest departed when January passed without rain. At this juncture, Lord Northbrook determined to send Sir Richard Temple to Behar, to direct the relief operations. He, as if by magic, at once set the relief machinery in working order and by his timely exertions staved off the deadly peril which seemed likely to overtake the poor people of Behar. "Never," says the writer of an article in *Fraser's*, "were his powers of organisation more conspicuously displayed than during the present famine. Leaving Calcutta at the end of January, he made a careful inspection of the distressed districts, and by the end of March he had organised a commissariat capable of supplying the largest army. Food was poured into the distressed districts both by land and water. A train of 100,000 carts and 200,000 bullocks carried the grain from the central line of railway to well-selected depôts in the interior; while a supplementary troop of 2,000 camels and 9,000 pack-animals were employed to carry supplies to the more remote and inaccessible parts of the country. A fleet of 2,300 boats and nine steamers plied the Ganges and its tributary streams, and before the end of May 330,000 tons of Government grain had been safely stored at convenient centres within the famine stricken districts." Before the end of March the

Viceroy sent a telegram to England, containing the welcome news: "Lieutenant-Governor reports that wide-spreading want has been stayed." It was only just that, when ill-health compelled Sir George Campbell to resign his appointment in April, Sir Richard Temple should have been at once chosen to succeed him.

Meanwhile, the agitation in England had been extreme and the populace were, in their excess of philanthropy, ready to listen to any one who chose to assume the voice of authority, or helped to swell the cry against the Indian Government. As usual, the Lord Mayor gave a practical turn to enthusiasm by opening a subscription for the relief of the sufferers. That the heart of the people was really touched by the sorrows of their fellow-subjects was proved by the rapidity with which the lists filled; and the popularity of the cause was shown when politicians of such widely different views as Lord Salisbury and Mr. Fawcett were to be heard from the same platform. Manchester and Liverpool vied with London in their generosity. By the middle of April £100,000 had been collected, and in November, when the last meeting was held at the Mansion House, it was found that the total sum amounted, within a few pounds, to £130,000.

When the beneficence of individuals proved so unmistakably the temper of the nation, Lord George Hamilton had a pleasant task before him when, on March the 20th, he asked the House for a loan of £10,000,000 in aid of the Indian Government. The greater part of his speech dealt, as did that of Lord Salisbury in the Upper House, with the area of the famine district, the numbers who were likely to be affected by the lack of rice, and the measures which had been taken to prevent widespread distress. Government had wisely determined to ask for more than was absolutely necessary, so as to have a good reserve in case their worst fears should be realised. "The expenditure for the famine," said the Under-Secretary, "up to the end of February, had been about £2,500,000. Sir George Campbell calculated that the total amount incurred in relieving the distress and in starting relief funds during that famine would be £6,295,000; but of that sum about £1,900,000 was expected to be refunded; and, speaking roughly, it was estimated that the total expenditure would be not less than £4,500,000. Although they hoped it might not be necessary for them to raise more than these millions, which would be the amount by which they were originally requested to reduce their

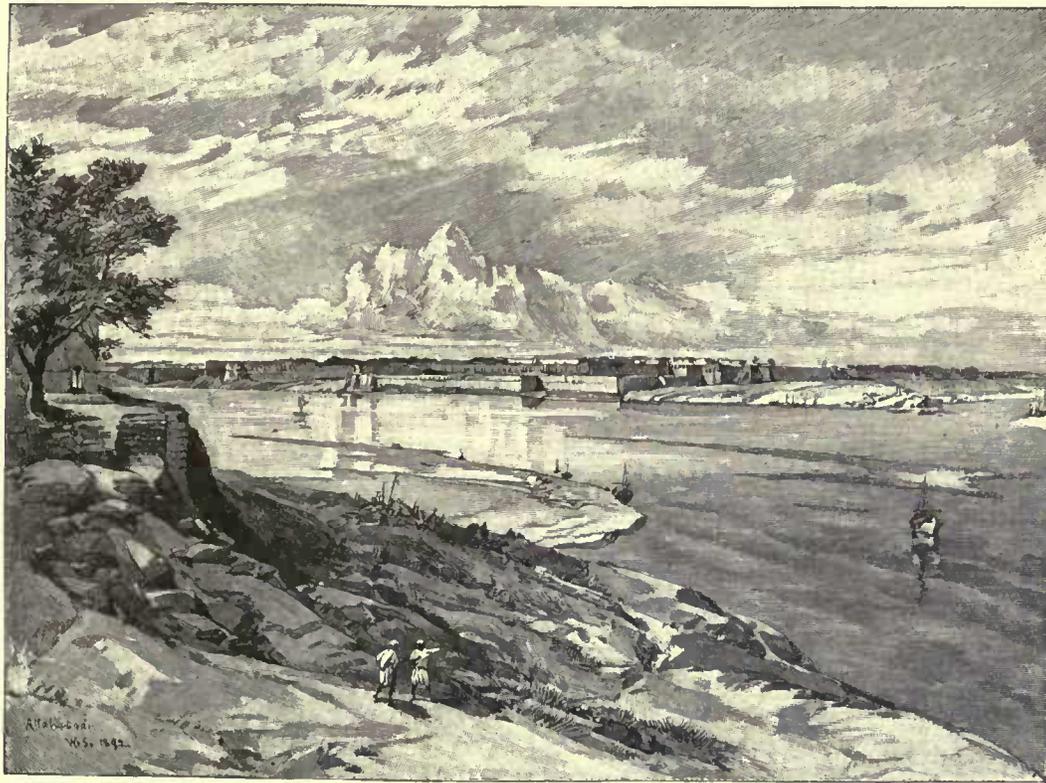
monthly drafts—viz. £250,000 per month—still, the Secretary of State in Council deemed it absolutely essential to ask for larger powers; and for this reason: it was impossible to foretell what would be the condition of the great winter crops that year. Parliament would, in all probability, be up at the end of July. They would receive no accurate information, very likely, till late in October. Those who had experience of the East knew that local famines frequently lasted more than one year; and he would point out to the House what a terrible position they would be placed in if they merely asked for power to borrow £3,000,000, the amount by which Lord Northbrook requested them to diminish their drafts, and when Parliament was prorogued should receive intelligence from India that there was every probability of a perhaps more dreadful famine lasting during the winter months, without having the power of raising the necessary money to meet such an emergency."

How great a strain was laid on the resources of the Government may be seen by the account given by the writer in *Fraser's* of the numbers employed on the great relief works—the Soane Irrigation Canal and the Northern Bengal Railway. "At the beginning of February the Government found that they had 287,000 labourers to provide for; by the beginning of March the numbers had risen to 393,000; by the end of May to 785,000 and by the end of June they amounted to 1,500,000. The maximum was reached by the middle of June, when the almost incredible number of 1,770,000 persons were receiving wages from the Government." Now the "labour test," by which the Viceroy hoped to gauge the amount of distress prevalent in different districts, had been one of the points in his policy against which the London press had declaimed with so much bitterness; it would fail, they said; the Bengalese would starve rather than labour and do work to which they were unaccustomed, or they would not come forward to work until they were so weak from starvation as to be perfectly useless. Still, it was better to employ the natives in tasks of some kind, however unremunerative, than to allow them to accustom themselves to trust blindly to charity, thus increasing those fatalist tendencies which were already far too powerful among them. And how sure an indicator the labour-test was of the amount of relief that was necessary from time to time, is shown by the fact that as soon as the rain began to fall the number of labourers decreased in less than a fortnight by nearly one million.

Besides, as Lord Northbrook had said in a despatch quoted by Lord Salisbury, "stringent labour-tests were not applicable." They could not possibly be employed in the case of the aged, nor could women and children be compelled to submit to conditions which they regarded as worse than death. They were, therefore, supported by gratuitous relief; in the towns, cooked food was distributed; in the country, Sir Richard Temple's scheme, directed

East India Railway for bringing down such an immense quantity of grain by the North-West and Punjab to the Behar grain-dealers." All accounts, however, were not equally good, and if matters had mended in Tirhoot, they were growing worse in Malwa and Singapore.

There were two critical periods to be passed through before the famine terror that had hung like a smoky cloud for so many months over India



THE FORT, ALLAHABAD, FROM THE RIGHT BANK OF THE JUMNA.

by the Lieutenant-Governor from his headquarters at Monghyr, on the Ganges, brought relief to every door, for such was the timidity of the inhabitants that they would often starve rather than apply for help. In May, 29,000 villages were brought under official inspection: and Mr. Charles Bernard wrote home to his uncle, Lord Lawrence, who had bestirred himself zealously as a supporter of the Lord Mayor, that "the result in the middle of May is that the famine is not so general over the whole of the province of Behar as we feared it might be. For this escape we have to thank Providence for sending us a good summer harvest, and we are also indebted to the

was finally dissipated. The first was during June and July and the second was in September. If no rain fell in these months, the natives would have had to be supported in rapidly-increasing numbers for at least twelve months more. Fortunately, there was abundant rain both in June and September and so the harvest for the year was saved: indeed, it proved to be abnormally abundant; and by the end of October the necessity for extraordinary Government relief had passed away; famine-rice was sold, because there was no more need of it. Of the number of those who fell victims to hunger, there were widely different estimates; the Viceroy put it at twenty-four,

while the Special Commissioner of the *Spectator*, in a letter from North Behar, in May, computed the deaths in which scarcity of food was directly concerned at not less than two thousand, and this is probably nearer the mark. Even had the mortality been greatly in excess of this last figure, the result of the campaign against famine would have been distinctly a victory for Government, when it is remembered that for over five months they were compelled to support a population considerably exceeding ten millions.

In the House of Commons, it was soon perceived that the weeks that followed Lord George Hamilton's first ministerial speech would, unless enlivened by any unforeseen incident, pass monotonously enough. The Liberals were too much disheartened by their late defeat to assume a very bellicose attitude; moreover when, as shortly happened, Mr. Gladstone made good his threat and exchanged the scene of his Parliamentary triumphs for the pleasant seclusion of the Welsh mountains, they were in the unpleasant position of sheep with several shepherds, who were not quite of one mind as to the direction in which the flock were to be driven. Mr. Disraeli also was careful to take up a very conciliatory attitude; perhaps he wished to prove the truth of the encomium passed on him by an ardent Liberal, Mr. Baxter, in a sudden burst of enthusiasm, that he "was a politician who thoroughly understood his countrymen and the House of Commons." At any rate, he was remarkably suave himself and did his best to check the exuberance which occasionally displayed itself among the younger members of his following. In imitation of his chief, Sir Stafford Northcote was equally liberal in compliments to his predecessor in office in his Budget speech, which was the first important event on the meeting of the House after the Easter recess. Mr. Gladstone's calculations, at the time when he offered the so-called "bribe" at the general election, had been rather under than over the mark, and it was found that there was a handsome surplus of five millions and a half. The statement of the late Prime Minister had been received with incredulity and was a good deal criticised in the Press and upon the hustings. "I myself," said Sir Stafford, "never ventured in any degree to challenge the calculations upon which I felt sure my right honourable friend the late Prime Minister must have made that statement. I knew he was not a man who would be likely to be deceived in these matters, or to risk his high reputation by making a reckless statement on so

grave a subject; and when we succeeded to office, I found, as I expected, that the calculations made by the officers of the Revenue entirely justified the expectation which the right honourable gentleman had in his mind at the time he penned the address to which I have referred." The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to devote one half-million of his surplus to the reduction of the National Debt, a second to the removing of the duties on horses, while a third was to be kept as a reserve to meet unexpected expenses. Besides, a penny was to be taken off the income-tax—Sir Stafford did not venture to abolish that impost,—the sugar duties were to be abandoned and the pressure of local taxation was to be relieved. The scheme was censured by some critics as being too timid, the Chancellor being charged with "frittering away" Mr. Gladstone's surplus.

Mr. Ward Hunt, the First Lord of the Admiralty was by no means disposed to sing the praises of Mr. Goschen in the same strains as Sir Stafford Northcote had extolled Mr. Gladstone. He adopted, indeed, the calculations of his predecessor, with a few trifling exceptions, but gloomily declared that he was by no means satisfied that they would be sufficient and it might be necessary hereafter to ask for supplementary estimates. With regard to the ironclad fleet, Mr. Ward Hunt used language which was doleful in the extreme and its depressing effect on his audience was increased by the air of mystery which he thought fit to adopt, thereby conveying the idea that the worst was not told. "I have no wish," said the First Lord, in solemn accents, "to exalt or depreciate our strength unduly. We have fifty-five ironclads, of which forty-one are sea-going, and fourteen are adapted for harbour and coast defence. In the latter category I have placed the *Devastation*, for though some authorities think her fit for sea-going service, I shrink, after the sad warning furnished by another ship of novel construction, from placing her, without further trial and advice, among the sea-going ships. . . What is the condition of the sea-going ships? I think the committee will be prepared to hear, after all they have read in the ordinary channels of communication, that the state of many of these ships is—not to put it too strongly—anything but satisfactory."

The immediate effect of this speech was to produce something very like a popular panic. Mr. Hunt's hints of "dummy ships" and a "paper navy" were taken up on all sides. Nor was Mr. Goschen's speech in reply calculated to allay the tremors of the uninformed; he unfortunately

displayed a totally unnecessary amount of candour, and so conveyed to his hearers the impression that there was some foundation for Mr. Hunt's scare; indeed, it was with some show of reason that Sir Stafford Northcote afterwards accused him of frightening the country and acquitted Mr. Hunt of having promulgated alarmist opinions. It was reserved for Mr. Childers to still the commotion that had so unexpectedly arisen. He proceeded in an animated speech, during the course of which he showed considerable forbearance towards Mr. Hunt, to defend himself and his successor, Mr. Goschen, from the charges of neglect and inefficiency which had been brought against them. He dwelt on the fallacy of supposing that the navy was inefficient because there were fewer men-of-war in the days of ironclads than in the days of the wooden walls; and proceeded to show, by an exhaustive criticism of the navies of the great nations, that there could be no possible ground for alarm. "If," he said, "we should be at twenty-four hours' notice entangled, without an ally; in a war with the three principal maritime Powers, even allowing an ally to them, our strength is such that we should be able to hold our own in the Channel, in our home seas, in the Mediterranean, and in the Chinese and colonial waters. Within six months—such is the power of developing a force afloat which this nation possesses—we should have complete command of the seas and have ruined our opponents' commerce; and within twelve or fifteen months, at the outside, we should have added so many powerful ships to the navy as would prevent any enemy's ships from putting to sea without the almost certainty of meeting with a superior British force." Mr. Hunt's apology was somewhat lame. He had not created the scare: it had been raised by Mr. Goschen and Mr. E. J. Reed, who had talked about "phantom ships"—an expression which the latter denied he had ever used,—nor had he imported anything of a party character into the debate: those who had sat with him for years would bear witness that he never did so. All he had meant by his speech was that, though the navy was strong, it might be made and it should be made much stronger; at the same time, he was not contemplating a heroic but a business-like administration of the navy; and so on. But though his explanation can hardly have been very satisfactory to himself or to his colleagues, the First Lord's statement was received by the country with a profound feeling of relief.

A few weeks before this, the Secretary for War had made his speech on the sister service without

discovering any mare's-nest of "skeleton regiments" or "paper battalions." On the contrary, Mr. Hardy endorsed the policy of Lord Cardwell. He regarded the abolition of purchase as settled and promised to carry out the views of his predecessor with regard to retirement, promotion, the steps necessary to secure greater efficiency in the reserves, recruiting, and the brigade depôts. As to recruiting, he described the results as favourable; but desertions had gone on on a scale that was extremely unsatisfactory: very nearly 4,000 men deserted in 1873 and the percentage upon recruiting was nearly 33 per cent. of the whole. In the Infantry of the Line it was nearly 30 per cent., in the Foot Guards, 51 per cent., and in the Army Service Corps it had attained to the extraordinary proportion of 146 per cent., so that if the corps were not recruited a little more assiduously, it would soon melt away altogether; it was hoped, however, that by offering new terms to the recruits—among others, the extension of short service to the Cavalry and Artillery—desertion would be checked. The total number of men was 128,994, and the expenditure though slightly increased had been kept within reasonable limits. For the rest, Mr. Hardy's speech was optimistic in its tone. All the fortification works, he hoped, would be completed in two years and the sea-defences were nearly all armed; while with regard to the Volunteers and Militia, he was informed that though there was a slight falling-off in numbers, there was a great improvement in their training.

Of the meagre list of legislative reforms announced in the Queen's Speech, only one, the Licensing Bill, ever passed through its necessary stages. The Land Transfer Bill was suddenly postponed at the end of the session; Lord Cairns's efforts to amend the Judicature Act of the previous year and to extend its working to Ireland and as far as possible to Scotland, were also suddenly suspended on the inexorable approach of the prorogation of Parliament, and all that the Lord Chancellor was able to do was to pass a somewhat meaningless Suspensory Bill, which put off the operation of the Act until the following year, so that it might not come into use until the necessary touching-up had been effected. Of the other measures announced at the opening of Parliament, the Masters and Servants Amendment Act was never introduced at all; and the Friendly Societies Bill and the Land Titles Bill were with drawn: the former had been introduced by Mr. Cross, the latter by Lord Cairns. In fact, as Mr. Childers remarked, the official legislation of the

year resulted in "half-an-hour more every day for drinking in London, and the dismissal of three officers who were appointed by the late Government and the appointment of three other officers by the present Government"—in allusion to the Endowed Schools Commission. The Home Secretary's Licensing Act was not a measure of very majestic proportions; it was not introduced without misgiving; but the Conservatives had given pledges to the publicans at the general election and Mr. Cross now attempted to make them good by a compromise which was to smooth down the rough edges of Mr. Bruce's measure. What the Home Secretary proposed to do was briefly as follows:—The hours of closing were to be slightly extended—in London the closing hour was to be 12.30 p.m.; in towns above 10,000 inhabitants, 11.30; and in the country 11; but, as he was careful to explain in the course of the debate, these hours were merely suggestions and he left their ultimate decision to the House—a somewhat weak shifting of responsibility to the shoulders of others. The liberty given to magistrates to enlarge or limit the hours of closing was, however, abolished. There was no intention of altering the hours during which public-houses were kept open on Sunday. Night-houses, of which there were some 10,000 scattered through London—which Mr. Cross described as places whither people resorted who had been turned out of the public-house at their hours of closing—were no longer to enjoy their exceptional privileges; nor were the licences granted to fifty-four houses in the neighbourhood of the theatres allowing them to remain open till 1 a.m., to be continued. Besides, the adulteration clauses of the Act of 1872 were to be swept away, having, said Mr. Cross, been practically inoperative—a confession that seemed to show that the poor man's beer was not the filthy poison which Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his friends condemned in vigorous language. There was to be a change in the method of endorsing convictions for offences of the law upon licences that were made optional for the magistrates; for, said the Home Secretary, "we have come to the conclusion that the best test we can obtain as to the conduct of a public-house is the character of the man who keeps it."

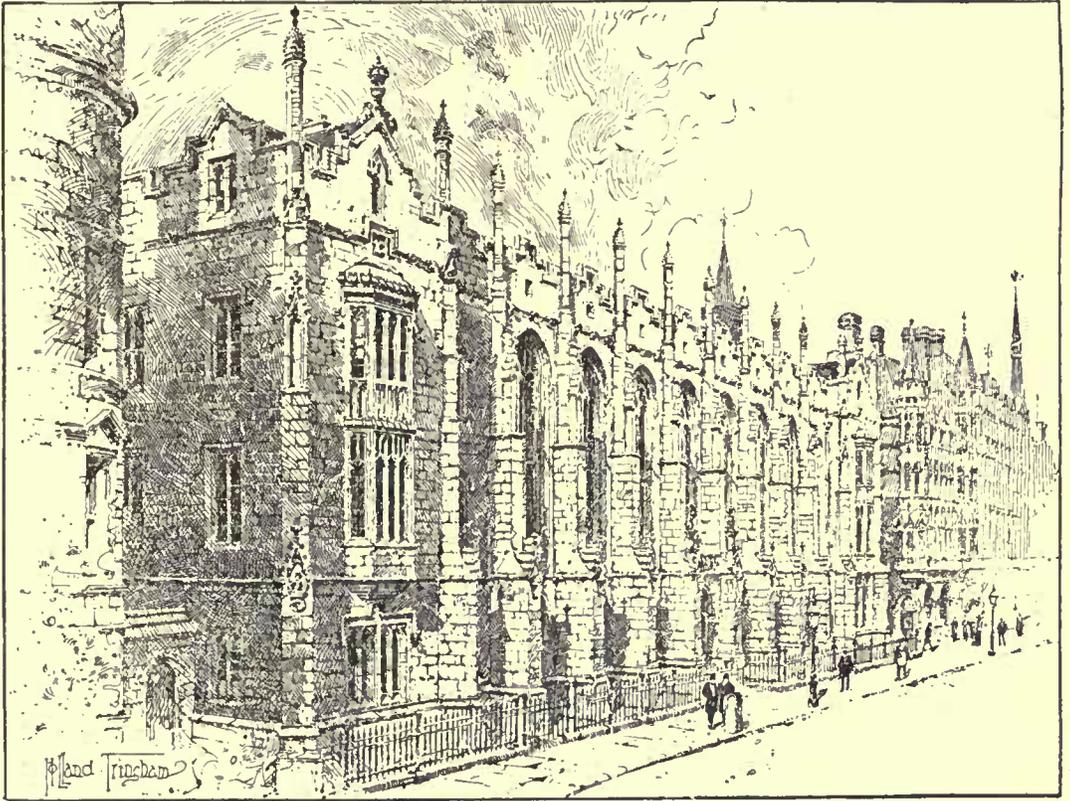
Despite the extremely modest character of the proposed measure, its discussion seemed almost endless; not that the feeling inside the House was particularly bitter, but that pressure from outside was put upon members to compel them to say their say either for or against the Bill. Mr. Cross found his proposed task one of unusual difficulty,

owing to this unwelcome flood of talk; nor did his expedient of allowing the House to do what it liked, tend to its elucidation and, in addition, it exposed him to the charge of not knowing his own mind. Sir William Harcourt succeeded in abolishing the distinction between beer and spirit licences created, in the first instance, by Mr. Bruce and afterwards supported by his successor; and the hours of closing were eventually fixed at 12.30 for London, 11 for populous places—what were and what were not populous places was left to the defining genius of the local magistrates—and in rural districts at 10, which had been the minimum of opening allowed them under the Act of 1872. Great was the wrath of the licensed victuallers, who had fondly imagined that the day of their triumph was at hand. Whatever Lord Aberdare's private sentiments might be, there was no display of unnecessary exultation in the speech he delivered when, towards the end of the weary session, the Bill arrived at the House of Lords. He contented himself with remarking that, considering the measure had been put forward as one of first-rate importance, and that it had occupied the House of Commons for such a lengthened period of the session, no one could be much alarmed at the nature of the changes proposed. At the same time he quite failed to see the necessity of its introduction at all and contended that there had been little complaint of the working of the Act of 1872 and especially of the manner in which the magistrates had exercised their discretion, or in respect of the restriction of the hours. "The fact is," said Lord Aberdare—and the Duke of Richmond afterwards agreed with him—"the Act is working admirably."

It so happened that of the sensational measures by which the first Parliamentary session held under the leadership of Mr. Disraeli was remembered, there was not one hint or syllable to be found in the Queen's Speech; they were either introduced as after-thoughts, or brought forward, in the first instance, by private members and then adopted by Government. Of the nature of an *arrière pensée* and of one which inculcated the doctrine that "second thoughts are best," as an exception rather than as an instance in point, was Lord Sandon's Endowed Schools Act (Amendment) Bill, which was brought forward early in July. Lord Sandon, Mr. Disraeli afterwards explained, was asked to move the Bill, "in pursuance of the desire I have always felt to give the rising generation of statesmen every opportunity of bringing themselves before the country;" but on this

occasion he rather missed his opportunity. The object of the Endowed Schools Bill was, in part, distinctly reactionary. In 1869, when, as Lord Sandon owned, the Conservatives had been "stunned and dazed" by their late reverses, they allowed—indeed, they could not help it—a Bill to pass which established an Endowed Schools Commission for a term of three years, on the expiry of which term, in 1873, another twelve months had

them and not praise them, though it was not clear why the already overworked Charity Commission was the particular body which Lord Sandon delighted to honour. It was the second part of the Bill which created such a universal storm of disapproval. Lord Sandon proposed to restore to the control of the Church of England all schools the founders of which had proved their sympathy with the doctrines of the Establishment by providing



KING EDWARD VI. SCHOOL, BIRMINGHAM.

been added. It was now proposed that these commissioners—chief among them being Lord Lyttelton—whose popularity, according to Lord Sandon, was "dead and gone," and whose work, moreover, would probably not be over for twenty or twenty-five years, if they proceeded at their present rate, should be dismissed and their powers transferred to the Charity Commissioners. So far so good. The Endowed Schools Commission had, as Liberals and Conservatives alike confessed, failed to work particularly well, and had failed to live down the odium invariably created by an attempt to meddle with so-called vested interests; the only thing to be done, therefore, was to bury

that the head master should be in holy orders, or that all the governors should be members of the Church of England, or that the bishop should approve the regulations, or that attendance at church should be enforced on all the boys. The injustice committed was this: that it would hand over to the Church the sole and entire possession of the many schools which had been founded either before Dissent existed at all, or when it was unrecognised by law. As Mr. Forster pointed out, of 1,082 grammar schools, 584 were founded before the Toleration Act, 35 were pre-Reformation schools, 44 were founded during the Commonwealth.

In spite of the undoubted vigour and force of his remarks in the debate on the second reading, Lord Sandon was found to be unequal to a contest with the Achilles of the Opposition; for Mr. Gladstone had some weeks previously quitted his tent, and, when matters theological were under discussion, had—"naturally," silyly remarked Mr. Disraeli—thrown himself into the Parliamentary battle with all his old fire. Late in the night he arose, after a long debate, raised by Mr. Forster (who had, in an extremely moderate speech, moved the rejection of the Bill and had been answered by Mr. Cross in a speech of equal fairness), had been going on for several hours. The leader of the Opposition was in no melting mood and as he spoke the scattered ranks of the Liberals closed up and, for the first time in the session, they presented the appearance of a compact and united party, obedient to their leader's call. He began by a review of the debate, in the course of which he warmly defended the Endowed Schools Commissioners and commented on the fact that not one syllable of information had been given by Lord Sandon as to the view taken by the Charity Commissioners of the great change to which the Endowed Schools Commission was to be subjected. At the close of a most powerful speech he remarked—"This is the first instance on record, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any deliberate attempt being made by a Ministry at retrogression. . . . If that be so—if this be a most unusual step—it is also as unwise as it is unusual. . . . What are we now asked to do? The majority of this Parliament is invited to undo the work of their predecessors in office, in defiance of precedents which I should weary the House by enumerating, so great are their number and uniformity. It is rather remarkable that what is now the majority is about to undo an Act which they never opposed in its passage. Is this wise? Is it politic? Is it favourable to the true interests of the Church of England? Is it well that the members of that great and wealthy body should be represented as struggling every instant to keep their hands upon the pounds, shillings, and pence, whatever else may be in danger? *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Whatever has been once decided—whatever has once taken its place in the statute-book, or has been adopted in our administration, no feelings of party and no vicissitudes of majorities or minorities are allowed to draw the nation into the dangerous, though they may be seductive, paths of retrogression." Despite this fine effort of oratory on the part of the leader of the Opposition, the

second reading of the Bill was carried by 291 votes to 209.

The Liberals, however were not to be baulked. Mr. Fawcett opposed the motion that the Bill should go into Committee by an amendment which declared the measure inexpedient, and for a whole week the debate raged, much heat being shown by the speakers on both sides. Lord Sandon showed, indeed, a strong disposition to be conciliatory and owned that he had done wrong in challenging the Dissenters to try a fall, thus becoming, according to Mr. Mundella, "the mildest-mannered man who ever scuttled ship or cut a throat." Mr. Disraeli followed in the same strain on the following day. He believed the Bill was a good Bill, he said, amidst Opposition laughter, "because we have availed ourselves of the experience of our very experienced predecessors," but he entreated the Liberals to consent to go into Committee. The amendment was defeated by 69, a result which showed that the Government majority was sensibly decreased, in spite of the Premier's assertion that it had exactly doubled.

The indefatigable Mr. Fawcett returned next day to the charge and moved that the Committee should report progress, and upon this obstructive motion a long and dull debate was raised, the obvious intention of the Liberals being to talk against time. As the hours went on some of the Conservatives became very impatient, though one of them, Mr. Greene, declared, with heroic resignation, that as there were no turnips and, consequently, the shooting season would not begin till October, he was prepared to sit there as long as any honourable member opposite might wish to remain. Such, however, was not the feeling of Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, who relieved his overcharged feelings by "skulking" about in different parts of the House—so said Mr. Mundella, and he was told that his language was unparliamentary—that he might shout "Divide!" Amidst increasing din the discussion was prolonged, though the successive speakers were quite inaudible, until at length the hour for adjournment arrived and at once the crowded house was emptied.

On the next day the proceedings were hardly less turbulent and it became clear to Mr. Disraeli's experienced eye that he was involved in a very unpleasant imbroglio, and that there was nothing for it but to retract before it was too late. Accordingly, in a statement on the business of the session, he announced that Government had determined to drop the obnoxious part of the Bill, now that the House had sanctioned the appointment

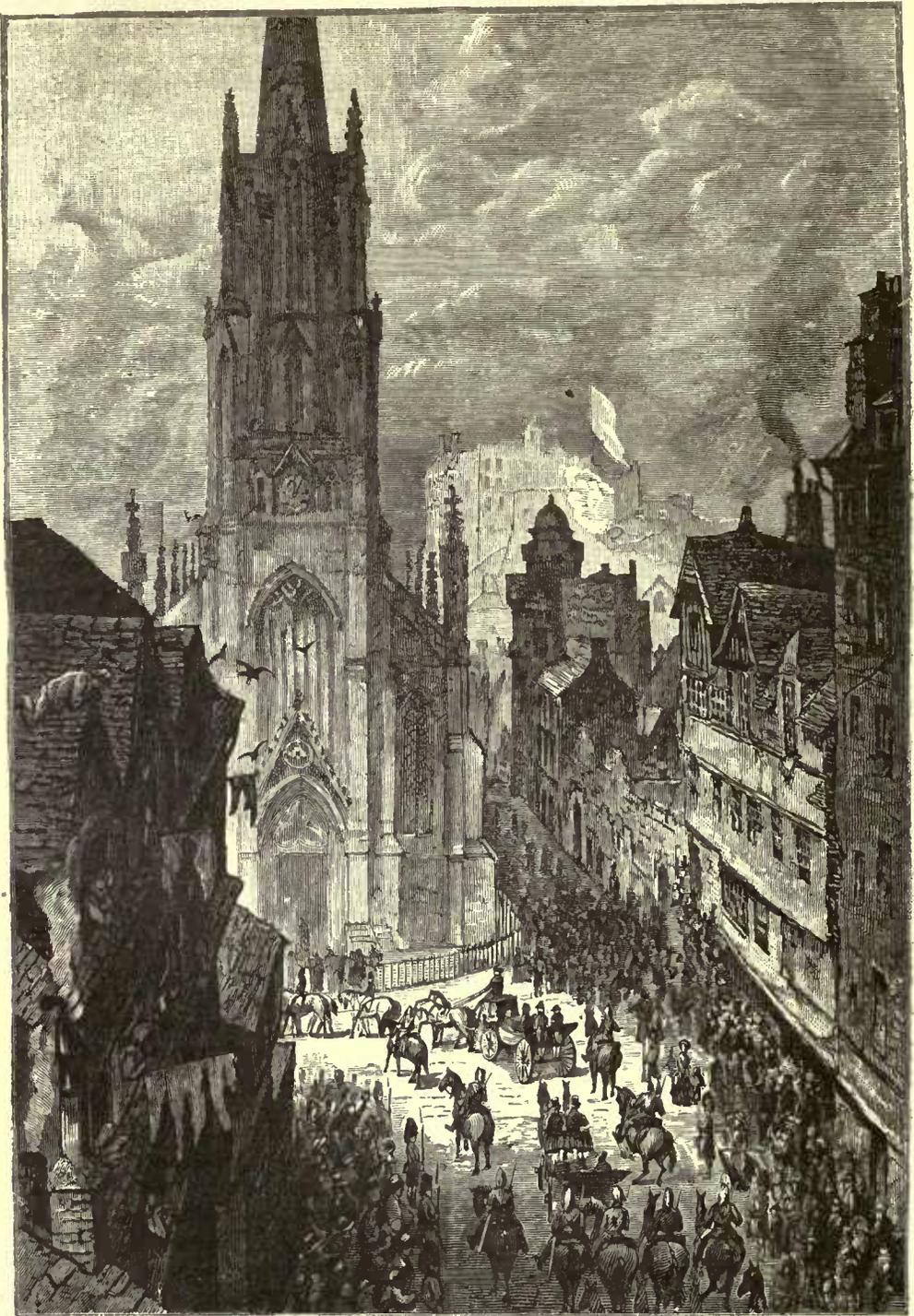
of a new Commission, and would introduce it next session—a promise which was never fulfilled. “The Bill,” blandly remarked the Premier, “has led to many protracted debates—I believe, from an entire misconception of many of its clauses. I do not attribute any blame to gentlemen opposite and I hope they also will acquit her Majesty’s Government and gentlemen on this side of the House. I attribute it chiefly to that language which has of late years stolen into our legislation and which is certainly of a character that requires the presence of experts and adepts for the purposes of explanation.” Afterwards it appeared that Lord Sandon had not devised the Endowed Schools scheme; it was, said the Premier, a Government measure and was proposed by the Cabinet—“The Cabinet are responsible and I do not shrink from the responsibility.”

Mr. Gladstone was not the man to lose such an admirable opportunity of castigating the opponent thus delivered into his hands. It was a great pity, he quietly remarked, that the Premier’s confession of incapacity to understand the Bill had not been made a little earlier, before the Opposition were, if not charged with obstructive conduct, at least admonished on the effects of obstructive conduct. He hoped that they should not hear anything more of the pledge to re-introduce the rejected clauses next year, which, he said, was dictated by Ministerial exigencies and by the state of the relations in the Cabinet, far more than by any well-weighed and well-considered anticipation of what was likely to take place in future years. In sarcastic tones he referred to the division of the Dissenters into two classes: one to be designated, “Our Nonconformist brethren,” and the other relegated to a different category as “Political Nonconformists.” It seemed, however, as if, in spite of this brilliant philippic, feeling outside Parliament was not greatly on the alert; and soon after Mr. Disraeli’s announcement that the new Endowed Schools Commissioners, who were now to form part of the Charity Commission, were to be Canon Robinson and Lord Clinton, all controversy died away.

A far less ignominious fate attended the Scottish Patronage Bill, which was another of those ecclesiastical measures which the Ministry thought it necessary to propose in order, as Mr. Disraeli phrased it at the Mansion House, “to strengthen those bulwarks of our civil and religious liberty on which in old days we relied, and did not rely in vain.” This Bill “for the Abolition of Patronage in the Established Church of Scotland” was

introduced by the Duke of Richmond in the Upper House on May 18th. In 1866 and in 1867, he explained, the General Assembly approached the question of the abolition of lay patronage with great earnestness, but it first assumed a tangible form in 1868, when they appointed a committee to consider the subject, and, on their recommendation, condemned the existing law. Similar resolutions were adopted in 1870 and 1871; and the duke, to show that the matter was still regarded in the light of a burning question, instanced the fact that at the last general election there was scarcely a constituency in Scotland in which this question was not discussed, and the candidates were subjected to a severe examination as to the views they entertained with respect to Church patronage. The salve which he proposed to apply to the irritated susceptibilities of the Scots was composed of very simple ingredients. The Act of Queen Anne and Lord Aberdeen’s Act, by which the courts of the Church were allowed to deal with objections raised by presenters to their congregations on personal grounds, were both to be repealed, and for the future Church patronage should be vested in the communicants of the parishes, to which, at the instance of the Duke of Argyll, was added, “and members of the congregation, under regulations which are to be framed from time to time by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.” The patrons were entitled to compensation to an amount not exceeding one year’s stipend. The Bill—which, as the duke modestly remarked, was a very short one—was received with approval by most of the Upper House, both Liberal and Conservative; although, on the motion for the second reading, Lord Selkirk, “with feelings of great pain,” moved its rejection in a long speech, on the ground that it would be most disastrous to the true interests of Scotland—more so, indeed, than any measure he recollected brought forward since he had been a member of the House. The Duke of Argyll, on the other hand, was eloquent in its praises: “It is a Bill,” said he, “which has been conscientiously framed on the ancient principles of the Church of Scotland. It has been accepted by an overwhelming majority of the great representative body of the Church, and it is a Bill which, if carried, is calculated to do great good to Scotland.”

In the Commons, the Bill, under the tutelage of the Lord Advocate, Mr. E. S. Gordon, proceeded for some time almost *pari passu* with the Public Worship Regulation Bill, which during the summer months attracted political attention, to the exclusion



PROCESSION OF THE LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND TO THE ASSEMBLY HALL, EDINBURGH.

of all other objects. His speech on the second reading, in the course of which he stated that the measure was opposed only by those who were antagonistic to establishments generally, and to the Established Church of Scotland in particular, and that the public feeling in Scotland was

decidedly in favour of the measure, was followed by one from Mr. Baxter, who moved that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland. But the speeches of both members, though good of their kind, were dwarfed in importance by that of Mr Gladstone

hostile action; it must be done by the movers and promoters of the Bill." He pointed out, in the first place, that the prayer of the Scottish Assembly, that "heritors," as they were called, should be introduced into the body of those who elect the ministers, had been disregarded, and that



DR. TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. (From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

who now made his re-appearance in the House, after an absence of several months. He professed, indeed, to be sorry to find himself involved in a new ecclesiastical controversy, but owned that he could not avoid giving his opinion on the subject. Some, he said, declared that it was a Bill the general principle of which might be regarded with great favour, but the details of which required liberal amendment in Committee. "I have very great doubt whether it is possible to amend effectually the details of this Bill in that manner, and I am quite sure that it cannot be done by

"the congregation," which they did not mention, had been introduced. He objected also to the extraordinary powers that were entrusted to the General Assembly, and even to a committee of that Assembly, and thought the compensation insufficient. He then proceeded to show the fallacy of placing the choice of ministers in the hands of communicants, who often—in the counties of Ross and Sunderland, for instance—were only about five or six in number, including the minister himself, his wife, children, and dependents; nor would it be any use to transfer the vote from the parish to

the Presbytery, for the latter was a still more remote body. If the late Government had been rash in dealing with the Irish Church—which, however, he did not admit—their rashness was utterly insignificant by the side of the gratuitous hardihood with which ministers were about to initiate a religious war in Scotland, under the influence, he believed, of the best of motives, but in circumstances the most slippery and dangerous. He should, therefore, support Mr. Baxter's motion.

Mr. Disraeli, who addressed the House after an interval mainly occupied by Scottish members, was in a bantering mood. He congratulated the leader of the Opposition on his return to the scene of his former triumphs. "We have all missed him," said he, "and I not the least. I have found the conduct of debate much more difficult in his absence; and as there appears to be for the remainder of the session some preponderance of these peculiar subjects in which he is so remarkably interested, I trust his appearance to-night will not be a solitary one." He reminded the House that the distinction between ecclesiastical patronage in England and Scotland was that the Scottish patron did not patronise in the English sense of the word, and all that the Bill provided was that there should be a new rule of selecting a minister by the congregation; he showed also that the measure did not put a stop to the connection of the Church and the Crown, because her Majesty was not the head of the Scottish Church, or with the land, because the patron merely renounced an act of patronage which he had never exercised. He then turned to Mr. Gladstone's objections to the Bill, and pointed out that its principle was the principle of the Aberdeen Act, which was passed by a Government of which Mr. Gladstone was a member. Mr. Gladstone had said that one year's income was not sufficient compensation—and compensation no doubt was a subject of which he was always master—whereas not only had the Duke of Argyll stated that the patrons thereby got considerably more than they would ever obtain in the open market, but that this was confirmed by the price advowsons had fetched since Lord Aberdeen's Act. Mr. Disraeli concluded with the hope that the destruction of another Church would not be inscribed on Mr. Gladstone's tombstone. After another night's debate, the second reading was carried by a majority of 198, and the measure in due course became law.

The General Assembly, as the representative body of the Scottish Established Church, received

the Patronage Bill with gratitude and, no doubt, it proved an effectual remedy to what was a very great grievance. On the other hand, if Government hoped to heal the breach of thirty years by an Act which was, at the best, a compromise, they must have been deeply disappointed. Probably they never did entertain such pleasant delusions. None of the chief speakers on the Bill put the probability of reconciliation between the Established Church and the Free Kirk in a prominent place in their speeches, although they occasionally hinted at its possibility: indeed, one of Mr. Gladstone's chief arguments was that no overtures to the Free Kirk or the Voluntaries were made at all. They would, probably, have been made in vain. At any rate, the sentiments of the Commission of the Free Church, summoned in November, were not in favour of the union with other Churches, which Lord Polwarth so earnestly advocated before the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, held on the same day. On the contrary, Dr. Rainy submitted to the Assembly a long motion, divided into four heads, one of which declared that the recent Act regarding patronage did not profess to change the principle of law which bound the Church to give obedience to any directions which the civil courts might hold themselves entitled to issue, but rather to confirm it; and another proclaimed that the Free Church of Scotland had attained a position which she was not prepared to give up for the sake of any advantages her re-establishment could offer her. "We contend," said Sir Henry Moncrieff, in support of the motion, "that the Established Church is not the true Church of Scotland, and that anything to bring about union among the Presbyterians in Scotland must not be on the footing of an Act for the benefit of that Church, or an Act intended to draw other Churches to it." Applause and slight hisses, according to the report in the *Scotsman*, followed the reading of the resolution; but that the latter must have been very slight indeed was proved by the division, in which 116 voted for Dr. Rainy's motion, and 33 against it. This language was decisive enough; the Free Kirk clearly enjoyed the sweets of liberty too much to consent to any renewed connection with a body that was subject to State control. The Conservatives could congratulate themselves that they had placed the Established Church on a firmer basis; they could hardly say that they had increased its numbers, or aided in any way to remove from it the stigma that it was the Church of the minority, not of the majority, of the nation.

The Public Worship Regulation Bill, which proved to be the chief legislative enactment of this somewhat barren session, was described by Mr. Disraeli as a "Bill to put down Ritualism." Who were the Ritualists? and what was Ritualism? It may be defined as an after-development of the great Tractarian movement, availing itself of the Gothic revival, which, under the guiding hand of Sir Gilbert Scott, was raising sacred edifices of architectural excellence where before there had been buildings unsightly to the eye, or else no churches at all. Its advocates rapidly obtained converts, not only among the fashionable congregations of the West End of London, but also among the poorest classes of the great towns, notably in Liverpool and Birmingham. Their work was noble and its effects promised to be permanent, especially among the lower orders; but, unfortunately, it carried with it the seeds of religious controversy, and the violent quarrels that broke out in various parts of England between Ritualistic rectors and Low Church churchwardens, and between Ritualistic congregations and their Protestant neighbours, became a great and serious scandal. How great an offence the observances in the churches devoted to these more ornate forms of worship must have been, can be judged from various instances of advanced Ritualism quoted by the Archbishop in his speech on proposing the Bill. For instance, acolytes and a crucifer stood or knelt round the officiating priests; a vessel, filled with black powder, had been taken from the Holy Table, and blessed, and a portion of it rubbed on the foreheads of certain persons; a large metal crucifix was placed on the Holy Table and reverence done unto it; a clergyman was caused to kiss the book from which he read the Gospel. Besides, the erection of confession-boxes was openly advocated; and altar-cards—cards placed on the Holy Table, containing instructions as to the best mode of celebrating Holy Communion—had on them prayers that implied invocations to the Virgin Mary and the Twelve Apostles. Nevertheless, though the cause of complaint was clear enough, it was not equally clear where the remedy lay. The aggrieved parishioners had, in several instances, called in the assistance of the courts of law, but with indifferent success; and the cases of *Hibbert v. Purchas*, *Martin v. Mackonochie*, *Shepherd v. Bennett*, and others of a similar character, had served, despite the enormous amount of time and money that had been expended, rather to engender than to put an end to strife. In 1867 a Ritual Commission was issued and it drew up several full and laborious

reports; but these were without effect and the storm continued to rage, menacing the very existence of the Established Church. Lord Shaftesbury's somewhat crude attempts to abolish the existing ecclesiastical courts failed to become law and he wrote in his diary, "All establishments are doomed." Numerous addresses had been presented to the Archbishops and to Parliament, urging an attempt to remedy such a critical state of things; but their prayers had fallen on ears that were too deaf or too cautious to listen until early in 1874, when an announcement appeared in the columns of the *Times*, to the effect that a Bill—of which the outline was given—was in preparation with the view of dealing with these matters. It was perfectly correct, for a meeting of the bishops of both provinces had been held at Lambeth on January 12th and 13th, at which immediate action had been decided upon and the two Archbishops authorised to draft the Bill. The effect of this ill-timed and unauthorised manifesto was to exasperate the Ritualists to the uttermost, while its unofficial character caused it distinctly to fail in gaining friends for the proposed measure of conciliation. Dr. Pusey sounded the tocsin of alarm in a series of letters to the *Times*.

The remedy proposed by the Archbishops was briefly as follows:—The bishop of the diocese and three assessors were to sit in judgment on all cases that should arise under the Bill; these complaints were to be made by any parishioner, or the rural dean, or the archdeacon. If the bishop should think that the matter was one that ought to be inquired into, he was to have the complaint drawn up on paper. He was then to call his assessors together, hear the case, and pronounce sentence upon it as speedily as possible. Should the judgment forbid the thing complained of, the bishop was to issue his monition under seal, forbidding it to be done. If the clergyman chose to appeal to the superior court, consisting of the Archbishop and assessors—and he could do so only if his freehold were interfered with—the monition was to take place *pendente lite*, and the clergyman was not to do the thing forbidden by the monition until he had obtained a judgment in the highest court of appeal deciding that he might do it. This final tribunal was to be the new Court of Appeal, to which the Archbishop might immediately send the case if he should be so advised.

Thus, the main objects of the Bill were to provide cheap and prompt justice and, above all things, to abolish the wearisome web of appeals and counter-appeals. On the other hand, it was at once

perceived that some of its measures would simply throw oil on the burning fiery furnace of ecclesiastical strife. The Broad Church party objected to its aims *in toto*; it would tend, they said, to confine still more rigidly the limits of the national Church, already by far too closely cabined and cribbed. It was all very well to establish definite boundaries to the fold, but within these boundaries as much latitude as possible should be allowed in things that were matters of ceremony and not articles of faith. Another objection taken to the measure was that, by arousing expectations of change in the hearts of certain sections of the community of many parishes in many dioceses, no matter in how small a minority they might be, religion would infallibly become a matter of public polemics, not of private comfort; creeds and observances would lose much if not all their sacredness, by being turned into weapons of offence and defence; the mysteries of faith would be dragged through the dust of the law-courts, and be degraded into bones of contention between men who cared not a straw for the vital interests contained in the questions at issue. Besides, bishops are but fallible men, with passions and prejudices like their neighbours, and it was feared that the amount of power now placed in their hands was too great: individual feelings would be brought insensibly to bear on particular cases; when the proposed Act became law, it would be administered with extreme severity in one quarter and with great laxity in another, whereby much ill-will would be promoted. Besides, it was remarked that the Archbishop had committed the mistake of elevating his opponents into martyrs; it was evident that though the measure professed to be directed against too little, quite as much as against too much, ceremonial, its real aim was an attack on the Ritualists.

The opinion of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, at any rate, was by no means favourable and it was expressed with considerable frankness. The original intention had been that the Bill should be presented to Convocation simultaneously with its introduction in Parliament. It was unfortunately frustrated by the dissolution and in the meantime the panic had grown. Canon Gregory, in the Lower House, with much emphasis opposed the Bill, on the ground that it destroyed independence, was likely to promote reprisals and involved a grave scandal in dealing only with ritual and not with moral offences. His severe strictures were, however, superseded by a less aggressive resolution of Prebendary Joyce, part of which—namely, the recommendation of placing the

initiative of legislation in the hands of the clergy whose plan was to be submitted to the Crown for assent and licence, and then confirmed, if Parliament thought fit, by statute—was adopted, in conjunction with a resolution of Lord Alwyne Compton's recognising the necessity of legislation, but regretting inability to approve of the Archbishop's Bill, and requesting him to appoint a Committee of Convocation to amend it and report thereon. Archdeacon Denison, however, had a considerable following when he declared his unconditional hostility to the Bill and deprecated any law-making on the subject whatever. "Obstruction," he characteristically remarked, "is always useful." Prudent counsels, however, won the day, and the Archbishop, who professed perfect willingness to accept advice from the clergy, was in due course presented with the report of a Committee of the Lower House. It told an unflattering tale; amendment after amendment was suggested; but even then the committee deeply regretted that they were "unable to recommend legislation in the manner suggested by the Bill." As Dean Stanley pointed out, the real meaning of the report was to dissuade legislation in the form of a Bill or Act of Parliament altogether.

The effect of this disparaging criticism was soon apparent when, on May the 11th, the Archbishop of York moved the second reading of the Public Worship Regulation Bill. Apparently he was not quite satisfied with the conduct of Convocation and at once repudiated, as an entirely modern claim, the notion of its right to have any Bill introduced in Parliament laid before it to be discussed clause by clause. Nevertheless, he was prepared to adopt some of the suggestions of that body: namely, that the Board of Assessors to the bishop should be abolished; that the court to hear complaints in the first instance should consist of the bishop with his chancellor, the latter being a lawyer; and that three parishioners instead of one should be requisite to make application to the bishop by way of complaint. Further, the bishop's court might, in the first instance, have power to lay a case before the Court of Appeal upon any question of law, and the judgment pronounced by the bishop was to be in conformity with its determination. With these alterations, Dr. Thomson recommended the Bill to the Upper House, as a "vital question affecting the constitution of the country—affecting the existence of the Church of England."

It was understood that there was to be no

division and that the second reading was to be allowed to pass on the understanding that the Bill was to be submitted to much grafting and pruning in Committee. Accordingly, the noble Lords gave free rein to their eloquence and the debate, though instructive, was occasionally a little irregular. Lord Shaftesbury was the first to assail the position taken up by the Archbishop of York. He objected entirely to the excess of authority placed

steep the Establishment in ineffable ruin, would be unchecked, while the status of the clergy would be most seriously affected by the Bill. The Bishop of Peterborough professed regret at being compelled to cross swords with the noble earl, but he soon made it evident that though he might not be quickly moved to strike, yet he struck quickly, being moved. He rated Lord Shaftesbury for his assertion that bishops were devoid of anything like



LAMBETH PALACE, FROM THE GARDEN.

in the hands of the bishops. "The better a bishop is the less is he qualified to sit on the judicial bench; for a good-hearted bishop, whose soul is devoted to his work, must be under a considerable bias and give such a judgment as he thinks will be most conducive to the interests of the Church. I am called a Low Churchman, a very Low Churchman; but this I say most solemnly, that if I could be assured that for the next half-century there would not be anything but Low Church bishops, I would not give to them the power which the Bill proposes to give to bishops: for no man ought to be trusted with such irresponsible power." The confessional, he declared, which would speedily

a judicial mind and said that the only inference which he could draw was that, taking the noble earl's principle—the better the bishop the less fit he is to be a judge—he had come to the conclusion that every bishop was as bad as he could be. He combated the argument that the measure, which was aimed at certain practices, would not have the effect of repressing others and said that it was necessary to proceed decisively and rapidly. Nevertheless, though Dr. Magee was opposed to Lord Shaftesbury, he had not much to say in favour of the Bill, for which he apologised, without seriously attempting to defend it.

After a careful and lawyer-like speech from Lord

Selborne, in which, restraining all inducements to wander from the point at issue, he entreated the bishops to move spontaneously in the regulation of public worship rather than to be moved by the complaints of parishioners, Lord Salisbury rose and explained the attitude of the Government towards the measure—at any rate, as he understood it. “I have to remark,” he said, “that we do not oppose the second reading of the Bill. At the same time, we do not consider ourselves responsible for its introduction. We are not responsible for the selection of this particular moment for the moving of the question. Nor can we admit what the Duke of Marlborough contended early in the evening—that it properly falls to Governments to deal with subjects of this kind. Surely, if there be any duty which the episcopal bench has to discharge, it must be to take the initiative in a matter specially relating to the government of the Church.” What Lord Salisbury’s own feelings were he showed pretty clearly. No settlement, he said, could be satisfactory which “put in jeopardy that spirit of toleration upon which, as upon a foundation, the stately fabric of the Church Establishment reposed,” by attacking any one of the three great schools in the Church—the Sacramental, Emotional, and Philosophical. “If,” he concluded, in solemn tones, “you attempt to drive from the Church of England any one of the parties of which it is composed, if you tamper with the spirit of toleration of which she is the embodiment, you will produce a convulsion in the Church and imperil the interests of the State itself.” The Archbishop of Canterbury, who wound up the debate, could only thank the House for not insisting on a division and express a hope that Lord Salisbury had not represented the real sentiments of Government any more than Lord Shaftesbury fully represented the great Evangelical party, “of which,” said Dr. Tait, “I was at one time in the habit of considering him chief.”

The amendments suggested in Committee were many and various, chief in importance being those of Lord Shaftesbury, which so entirely altered the character of the Bill that it may fairly be said that it was to him rather than to the Archbishop of Canterbury that it owed its distinctive features. Their genesis is shown by a passage in his diary—“May 26, 1874. Had resolved to abandon Bishop’s Bill altogether. But Cairns besought me—promising me privately the whole support of the Government—to bring forward as an amendment a large portion of my former Ecclesiastical Courts Bill. Agreed, as he wished it, but, I fear, to my

vast trouble and confusion.” He still held to his opinion as to the impolicy of placing judicial powers in the hands of the bishops and proposed accordingly that all complaints as to ritual should be referred to a regular judge, with a salary of £4,000 a year; he was to be appointed by the two Archbishops jointly, subject to the approval of the Crown. It was still possible for both parties concerned in the dispute to agree to submit to the bishop, but there was to be an appeal from the bishop’s sentence to the Queen in Council. This was a great improvement on the provisions contained in the original draft of the Bill, as a regular legal tribunal was substituted for the hybrid body of the Archbishops’ choice; against this, however, there was the danger of imposing a narrow code on a Church necessarily of the most composite elements. On the other hand, Archbishop Tait absolutely declined to give up the clause which gave to each bishop the absolute veto against the commencement of civil proceedings within his diocese, and prevailed against the combined opposition of Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Salisbury. An amendment of the Bishop of Peterborough’s, which proposed to exempt from the proceedings of the Act certain matters—for instance, the use of the Communion Service, which, it was thought, might be relaxed with advantage—would have minimised this danger; but it was withdrawn by the bishops, partly because the progress of the Bill was likely to be encumbered by the desire of the Lords to enlarge the “neutralised debating territory,” as Lord Selborne called it, partly to avoid discussions which could hardly fail to be prejudicial. An amendment introduced by Lord Selborne, that the bishop should have power to issue a monition on his own responsibility, leaving to the incumbent the right of appeal, met with little enthusiasm and was eventually quashed. The third reading passed the Lords without a division, though a large number of peers treated it with undisguised hostility, undiminished by the fact that it was held, in the words of Lord Salisbury, to be merely “a Bill to give £3,000 a year to the Dean of Arches, and to reprint certain minor portions of the Clergy Discipline Act.”

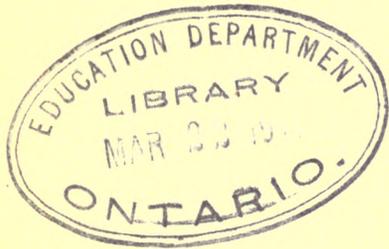
Banned by this parting malediction, the Bill arrived in the Lower House, where, on July 9th, its second reading was moved by Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London. Hitherto it had not obtained the support of Government. Dr. Tait was unable to extract from Mr. Disraeli more than a guarded promise of “his best



By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

**THE TURRET ARMOUR-CLAD SHIP "DEVASTATION" AT SPITHEAD ON THE OCCASION OF THE NAVAL REVIEW
IN HONOUR OF THE SHAH OF PERSIA'S VISIT, 23RD JUNE, 1873.**

FROM THE PAINTING BY EDWARD W. COOKE, R.A., F.R.S., IN THE PAINTED HALL, GREENWICH HOSPITAL.



consideration of the circumstances." In an exceedingly cautious speech, which carefully avoided all thorny points of controversy, the learned gentleman went over the already well-worn ground of the unsatisfactory state of the law, owing to the inefficient working of the Church Discipline Act, of the necessity of providing a less cumbersome system of legislation, of the merits of the Bill, and of the necessity of recognising no parties except those who were willing to obey the law; and he wound up with a peroration, in which he urged that "whatever was done should be done at once. Angry speeches had been made and hasty threats uttered; but he believed they would have but little weight when the excitement had passed away. There was a large party whose voices had not been heard, but who were resting in full assurance that the powers asked by our episcopal rulers and granted by the House of Parliament, in which the Church of England was as well represented as in any other assembly, would be cheerfully granted by the House of Commons, in order that the disorders complained of might exist no longer; and that, while perfect security was given for the prevention of injustice, the majesty of the law should be maintained."

Mr. A. W. Hall, who had been elected for the city of Oxford on the elevation of Mr. Cardwell to the peerage, thereupon moved, in what Mr. Gladstone called a "manly, kindly speech," an amendment to the effect that it was inexpedient to proceed further with a measure for amending the administration of the law in regard to the offences against the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer while the law was in an uncertain condition; and on that amendment the leader of the Opposition made what was certainly the greatest oratorical effort of the Session. "I have been dragged," he said, "from what I could wish, at the present moment, to be retirement, by the urgent call of duty, to take part in a discussion of a subject which I feel to be of the greatest difficulty and importance. I have, indeed, never, for more than forty years, approached the discussion of a public question with a greater sense of embarrassment or perplexity. I envy, I must own, in some degree, the rosy view which the right honourable and learned gentleman who moved the second reading finds himself able to take." On the contrary, Mr. Gladstone believed that profound ignorance prevailed of what the operation of the Bill would be and of the dangers which its provisions were calculated to cause. He then adverted to the unfortunate circumstances through which the

scheme had passed. In the first place, it was made public in the *Times*, through some "clever fellow, who, no doubt, thought he was making a great stroke by this ingenious means of communication." Then a totally different plan was introduced by the Archbishop; but the charitable contributions of lay peers had assisted to make what was virtually a third Bill; while at the last moment a plan was withdrawn—that of Dr. Magee—on the acceptance or rejection of which depended whether the Bill was to be substantially one thing or substantially another. Mr. Gladstone pointed out the fallacy of looking on the question as a mere question of procedure and at once went to the root of the matter by saying that "he took his stand upon the broad ground that a certain degree of liberty has been permitted in the congregations of the Church of England; that great diversity exists in different parts of the country, and in different congregations; that various customs have grown up, in accordance with the feelings and usages of the people; and whether the practices that have grown up are or are not in accordance with the law, I say they ought not to be rashly and rudely rooted out. . . . I want to know whether the House is prepared to adopt the principle that, in the Service-book of the Church of England, all unlawful omissions and commissions shall be deliberately and unadvisedly put down? I do not scruple to say that they ought not to be put down, and contend for the liberty of the congregations of the Church of England. I am not to be frightened out of that contention by anything that anybody can tell me about Ritualism, which, after all, is but the smallest part of the question with which we have to deal." Turning to the eighth clause of the Bill, which defined the offences to be dealt with, he insisted that by strictly and uniformly enforcing the rubrics, any indiscreet or fussy bishop would be enabled to root out local usages, traditions, customs, and variations from the rubric. He alluded to the great change that had, within forty or fifty years, come over the character of the clergy, and implored the House not to rush too wildly into a course which might break up a state of things in which so much good had been done. "I am very willing to have a good system of procedure; but let such a procedure be directed to good objects. . . . I have on this subject the feeling that we are standing on the edge of a precipice, and that we may, if we do not take care, rush into the midst of serious evils, compared with which everything which we are suffering is really too insignificant to be

thought of for a moment." Mr. Gladstone concluded this speech—which certainly bore out the assertion made at the time, that he was heard at his very best on ecclesiastical questions—by moving six resolutions as a guide to the principles on which legislation ought to proceed. They were to this effect—(1) That the rubrics were of ancient date, multifarious, and often doubtful, and that diversities of local customs had, in these circumstances, long prevailed; (2) That it was inexpedient to allow a single bishop to establish an inflexible rule of nonconformity to the prejudices of existing liberties; (3) That the House was disposed to guard against the indiscretion or thirst for power of individual clergy; (4) That it was, therefore, willing to provide more effectual securities against any departure from the strict law which might give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion; (5) That the Bill before the House did not give ample protection against any precipitate and arbitrary changes of established custom, by the sole will of the clergyman against the wishes locally prevalent; (6) And that the House attached a high value to the concurrence of her Majesty's Government with the ecclesiastical authorities in the initiation of legislation affecting the Established Church.

As soon as the House was released from what Sir William Harcourt termed the "spell of the great enchanter's wand," it became evident that its ordinary combinations were strangely divided and that the great fountains of party politics were broken up. As Mr. Mowbray remarked, at the outset of an earnest and able speech, the Bill had brought about strange companionships: for instance, that he should go into the lobby with Mr. Dillwyn and against Mr. Russell Gurney. Sir William Harcourt, at any rate, was eager to show that he could, when occasion required, take up a line of his own. Quotations from Archbishop Cranmer and Fuller, the Prayer Book of Edward VI., and Lord Clarendon were plentifully scattered about his speech, until it became, as Mr. Gathorne Hardy pointed out, a speech directed to many points connected with Church and State, but with little relevance to the Bill under discussion. Nevertheless, the ex-Solicitor-General made several clever points: for instance, when he termed Mr. Gladstone's speech an argument in favour of Universal Nonconformity, raising the issue that if a majority of the congregation desired a clergyman either to commit or omit something, however inconsistent with the law, that was a venial and laudable

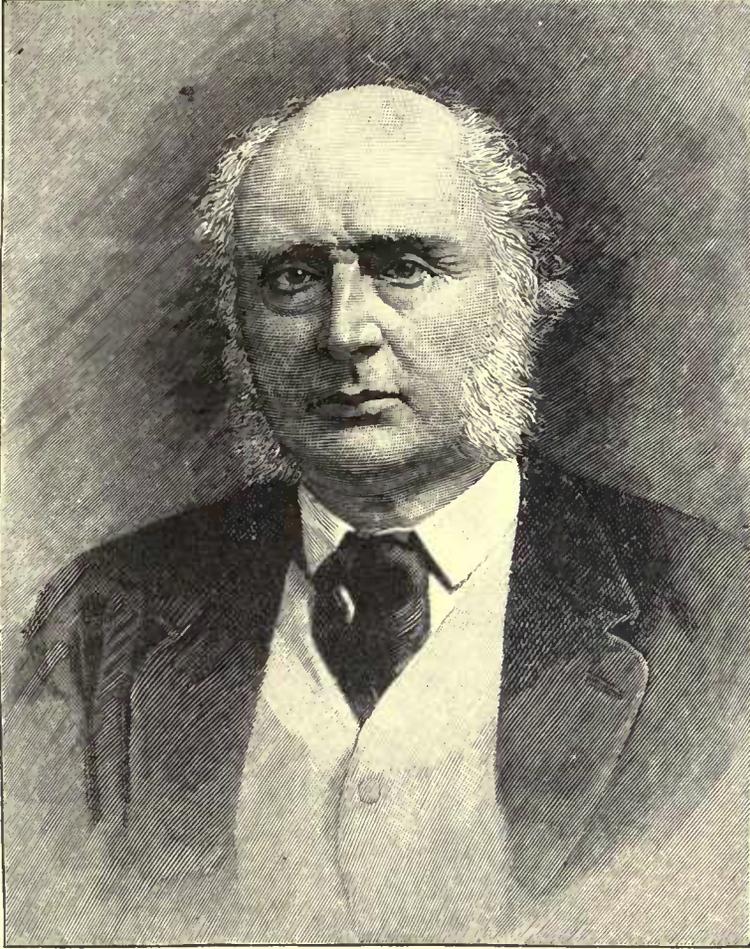
thing to be done. This, he said, was not the principle of Uniformity, but of optional Nonconformity.

Sir William Harcourt had said that the Bill was in accordance with the will of the people and he appealed to Government to give effect to the voice of public opinion. After one member of the Ministry, Mr. Hardy, amid the interruptions of the Conservatives, had shown that he, at any rate, was not of this mind, curiosity was naturally aroused as to the proposed announcement which Mr. Disraeli intimated that he would make on Monday. It was found to be that Mr. Gladstone was to be given an early opportunity of bringing forward his resolutions, which, said the Premier, "point to the abolition of that religious settlement which has prevailed in this country for more than two centuries." Having thus out-generalled his opponent, whom, by cleverly pushing forward the resolutions, he had caused to appear as the enemy of the Establishment, Mr. Disraeli a few days afterwards proceeded to declare that Government had adopted the measure. He began, however, by dissenting from the argument that this question could be best dealt with by Government, pointing out, among other objections, that the question would thus assume a party aspect. The Bill, he said, was not directed against any of the legitimate parties of the Church; if it had been, he would never have given facilities for its discussion. Parties had always existed in the Church, and within her bosom all the three parties—High, Broad, and Low Church—could pursue their instincts in complete consistency with the principles of the Reformation. "I take the primary object of this Bill, whose powers, if it be enacted, will be applied and extended impartially to all subjects of her Majesty, to be this—to put down Ritualism. If Mr. Gladstone did not know—as he professed not to know—what Ritualism meant, he was in a very isolated position. Everybody else knew thoroughly well what was meant by Ritualism; and the Bill was aimed at clergymen who disseminated doctrines which they had solemnly engaged to oppose when they entered the Church. What I do object to," he said, amid vociferous cheers from both sides of the House, "is mass in masquerade." The Bill, he maintained, was a very mild one; but he had come to the conclusion that, from the resolutions which Mr. Gladstone had introduced, it ought to be settled this year, to avoid the dangers of an autumnal agitation and the necessity which delay might produce for treatment of a more stringent character. It was

of the utmost importance to the Church and to the country that a remedy should be applied at once to an evil which was universally acknowledged. "My opinions on the resolutions have been expressed already and it is not necessary for me to repeat them; but to those resolutions, I

uncomfortable prophecy from a staunch Liberal, Mr. Hussey Vivian, that he would not carry twenty of his followers into the lobby.

To all appearance the interest of the Bill was now at an end. Its chief provisions passed absolutely unscathed through Committee and the



LORD PENZANCE. (From a Photograph by Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

repeat, I shall give an uncompromising opposition."

This speech concluded a long debate, remarkable chiefly for an extremely thoughtful defence of the Bill by Mr. Walter, who found men of his own way of thinking in Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen. The success of Mr. Disraeli's tactics was seen when the Bill, in spite of the formidable character of the Opposition, was read a second time without a division, amid much laughter from the victorious Ministerialists, and when, on the following day, Mr. Gladstone withdrew his resolutions, after an

amendments that were introduced from time to time were of minor importance. About this time Mr. Disraeli announced that Lord Penzance had agreed to accept the office of Judge under the Public Worship Regulation Bill and his salary was fixed afterwards at £3,000. Sir William Harcourt, however, thought it necessary to rekindle the dying embers of strife and, certainly, his manner of doing so was effective enough. Mr. Holt introduced a provision which crippled the power of the bishop to stop inexpedient suits, by an appeal to the Archbishop, but the leader of the

Opposition disagreed with the expediency of such a clause and made a motion to rescind it. The casual mention of the Canonist, Van Espen, was enough for Sir William, and he promptly declared that he was happy to say that he was entirely unacquainted with the name of the writer in question and that to hear a canonist quoted as an authority against Parliamentary legislation was enough to make the bones of Judge Coke turn in his grave. The House cheered this instance of Protestant zeal and, in spite of Mr. Hardy's support, Mr. Gladstone's amendment was negatived by 118 to 95. But the triumph of Government was brief; for the House of Lords, under the instigation of Lord Salisbury, adopted the alternative of the leader of the Opposition and struck out Mr. Holt's proviso. In an emphatic speech, which was in strong contrast to the temporising proposals of Lord Cairns, the Secretary for India remarked that "much had been said of the majority in another place, and of the peril in which the Bill would be if the clause under discussion were rejected. There was a great deal of that kind of bluster when any particular course had been taken by the other House of Parliament. He, for one, utterly repudiated the bugbear of a majority of the House of Commons."

Mr. Disraeli had watched the crisis with some anxiety. "If Mr. Gladstone's amendment," he wrote to Archbishop Tait, "is inserted by the Lords, the House of Commons will throw out the Bill. You may rely upon this. No combination between the Government and Mr. Gladstone could insure success. There are 200 men who are prepared at a moment's notice to return to town for this object and their organisation is complete." For the moment it seemed as if his apprehensions would be realised. Sir William Harcourt apparently thought that this was a favourable opportunity for cementing the alliance between himself and Mr. Disraeli, for on the return of the Bill to the Lower House, he called upon Mr. Disraeli, "a leader who is proud of the House of Commons, and of whom the House of Commons is proud, to vindicate its honour and dignity. . . . We may well leave the vindication of the reputation of this famous assembly to one who will well know how to defend its credit and its dignity against the ill-advised railing of a rash and rancorous tongue, even though it be the tongue of a Cabinet Minister, a Secretary of State, and a colleague." After more quotations from Blackstone, Holt, and others, the honourable and learned gentleman concluded by informing the Prime

Minister that he could, if he liked, yet save the Church. "It may not be too late; but I also am firmly convinced that if the Church of England is to be saved, it can only be by satisfying the nation." The whole discourse was fairly open to the sarcastic comment passed on it, later in the evening, by Mr. Gladstone, that, "finding that he had delivered to the House a most extraordinary proposition of law and history that would not bear a moment's explanation, Sir William Harcourt had had the opportunity of spending four or five days in better informing himself upon the subject, and was thus in a position to come down to the House and, for an hour and a half, to display and develop the erudition, which he had thus rapidly and cleverly acquired."

Mr. Disraeli, however, though ready enough to accept and improve upon any phrases derogatory to Lord Salisbury, did not appear disposed to adopt Sir William Harcourt's suggestion of a quarrel with the House of Lords, as a means of saving the Church. Upon his colleague he was more severe than his new-found ally had been. "He is not," said the Premier, "a man who measures his phrases. He is a great master of gibes, and flouts, and jeers; but I do not suppose there is any one who is prejudiced against a member of Parliament on account of such qualifications. My noble friend knows the House of Commons well, and perhaps he is not superior to the consideration that, by making a speech of that kind and taunting respectable men like ourselves as being 'a blustering majority,' he probably might stimulate the *amour propre* of some individuals to take the very course which he wants and to defeat the Bill. Now I hope we shall not fall into that trap. I hope we shall show my noble friend that we remember some of his manœuvres when he was a simple member of the House and that we are not to be taunted into taking a very indiscreet step, a step ruinous to all our own wishes and expectations, merely to show that we resent the contemptuous phrases of one of my colleagues." By this ingenious excuse, Mr. Disraeli made the acceptance of the Lords' amendment seem less ignominious to his party, while at the same time he was careful to imply that its rejection would entail the loss of the Bill.

A few days afterwards, Lord Salisbury gave a dignified explanation of his supposed use of the phrase "blustering majority." He denied that he had ever employed it at all; all that he had meant was, that the argument that the House of Lords was always found to yield to the Lower House was of

the sort which might be justly denominated by the term "bluster." It is very natural that those whose opinions are overruled should feel irritation. "My own object is to clear myself of this imputation and to express a hope that we may never again see so great an irregularity as the discussion in one House of the debates in the other." The Public Worship Regulation Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons on August 3rd.

The minor events of the Session may be passed over rapidly. Earl Russell raised a premature debate on the foreign relations of Great Britain, which gave Lord Derby admirable opportunity of showing judgment and statesman-like reserve; Mr. Butt argued the question of Home Rule for Ireland in a speech of much

moderation and ability, but found very few supporters. Mr. Trevelyan's motion for the extension of Household Suffrage to the Counties was defeated on a division, by 287 votes to 173. Mr. Cross passed a little Factory Bill, which limited the hours of labour for women and children; Lord Salisbury introduced a valuable Bill for regulating the Council of the Governor-General of India, which became law in spite of the sturdy opposition of Mr. Fawcett. At the end of the Session the general feeling among moderate politicians was that Government had fairly fulfilled the expectations that had been formed of them, and that though one or two blunders had been made, it was inexpedient to be too severe upon a body of men who had so lately assumed the reins of office.

CHAPTER VIII.

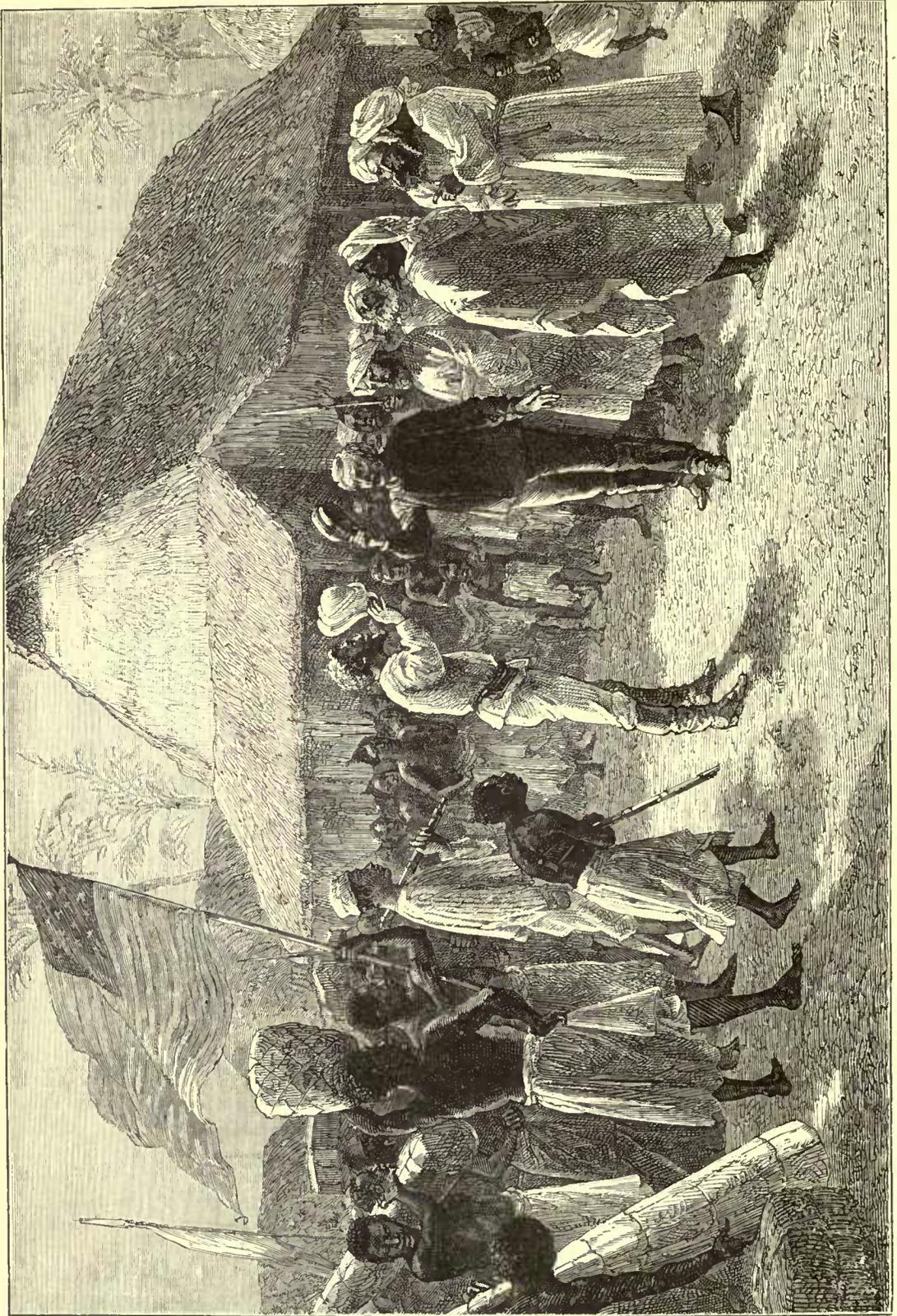
THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Death of Dr. Livingstone—His First Expedition—Exploration of the Zambesi—The Nyassa and Tanganyika Problem—The Stanley Expedition—The Relief Expedition under Cameron—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh—The Two Ceremonies—State Entry into London—Mr. Gladstone on Ritual—His Pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees—Archbishop Manning's Reply—Dr. Newman's Letter to the Duke of Norfolk—End of the Controversy—Conversion of the Marquis of Ripon—Strikes in the Coal and Iron Trades—The Agricultural Lock-out—The Lincolnshire Labourers yield—The Cambridgeshire Farmers—The Labourers' Pilgrimage—End of the Strife—Obituary of the Year—The Norwich Railway Accident—Extra-Parliamentary Politics—The Liberals and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Chamberlain and the Prince of Wales—Mr. Lowther's Indiscretions—Mr. Disraeli at Guildhall.

BEFORE the first month of 1874 had drawn to a close, the worst fears of the nation as to the fate of the great African explorer, Dr. Livingstone, were realised. He had been so often given up for lost and had so often returned safe and sound from the confines of wild and savage countries, that the undefined rumour, originating in England from a despatch of the Consul-General at Zanzibar, was slow to gather shape; and his friends persisted, with fond obstinacy, in clinging to the hope of hearing his familiar voice among them once more. He had added much to the geographical and linguistic knowledge of Africa. In June, 1849, he set forth on a long-contemplated journey, the object of which was to settle the existence of Lake Ngami. After travelling about 300 miles, the party reached the river Zouga and, proceeding along its course, reached a beautiful sheet of water nearly 100 miles in circumference, situated in the midst of a finely wooded country, of which and the neighbouring Batoka tribe he sent home an account that attracted at once immense attention. A second expedition in the following year

had to be abandoned at the Zouga river; but this disappointment was atoned for, in 1851, by the discovery of the Zambesi at a point where it was not known previously to exist, and in a third journey Livingstone penetrated as far as Linyanti, where he was warmly received by the great chief Sebituane, but here the weak health of his wife and children compelled him to betake himself to the Cape of Good Hope, whence he despatched them to England. Then he returned into the wilderness alone and, after traversing the old ground, started westward from Linyanti, until he arrived at the West Coast of Africa, in ten degrees south latitude; then he retraced his steps to Linyanti and, passing through the Portuguese settlement of Tete, followed the Zambesi to its mouth in the Indian Ocean, crossing Africa almost in the centre. He had traversed Africa from the south to the centre, and across its whole breadth from shore to shore.

In 1858 Livingstone returned to Africa at the head of a Government expedition, the object of which was to explore the Zambesi. During the



MEETING OF MR. STANLEY AND DR. LIVINGSTONE. (See p. 122.)

fourth year of this adventure Mrs. Livingstone died and was buried on the banks of the Zambesi. The results of this expedition, which terminated in

discoveries as the journey Livingstone made while travelling alone. But there were many most important results obtained by it. A port was



ever affectionate
David Livingstone

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

1863, are to be found in the traveller's plain unvarnished tale "Zambesi and its Tributaries." Mr. Stanley, in his work "How I found Livingstone," considered that it "was not so fruitful in

discovered, which might easily be made available for commerce, when it should direct itself to the Zambesi region. The noble river Zambesi was proved to be navigable for light-draught river

steamers, as far as the Kebrabasa rapids. The river Shiré was explored and Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa were discovered. The Shiré is capable of floating paddle-wheeled steamers, drawing three feet of water, at all seasons; and Nyassa Lake whence the Shiré flows, is a capacious inland sea."

At the age of fifty-two this indomitable man, though bankrupt in purse and sorely in need of rest, was induced by the Royal Geographical Society to start once more for the great lone land of Central Africa, with the object of solving the problem of the watershed between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, and thus exploring the sources of the Nile. Before he departed, he was accredited as her Majesty's Consul to all the native states in the interior of Africa. He left England in August, 1865, and in March, 1866, crossed from Zanzibar to the mainland. A few letters at first reached his friends at home; but soon all trustworthy information ceased to percolate through the African jungle, while, on the other hand, false and horrible stories of the murder of the Doctor were invented by his cowardly native servants, who had deserted him in the bush. At the instigation of Sir Roderick Murchison, however, a relief expedition was despatched under Mr. Edward Young and Lieutenant Faulkner of the 17th Lancers, which procured abundant evidence of the mendacity of these Marenga blacks. After this illusion had been triumphantly detected, letters were received, notably one on the 30th of May, 1869, in which he wrote exultantly, that "as to the work to be done, it was only to connect the sources, which I have discovered, from five hundred to seven hundred miles south of Speke's and Baker's, with their Nile." Then all information ceased again and at once speculation became rife. It remained for an enterprising journalist to clear up the mystery. Mr. H. M. Stanley, of the *New York Herald*, supplied by Mr. Gordon Bennett with the simple marching order, "Find Livingstone," started from the mainland opposite Zanzibar, in March, 1871, and after a perilous journey of two hundred and forty-two days, found Livingstone at Ujiji, on the shores of the great Lake Tanganyika. After four months' stay with his host, during which the Doctor communicated to him the story of his long struggle against the difficulties which Nature and man alike threw in his way, and after a cruise, in which the travellers explored the northern end of the lake, Mr. Stanley left the traveller to pursue his work alone, "with little or nothing to sustain him save his own high spirit, and his faith in God," fully determined to prove,

if proof were possible, that in the broad and mighty Lualaba he had found the waters of the Nile. His theory, which later discoveries showed to be more or less erroneous, was that from the north of Lake Tanganyika spread a series of lakes and rivers, which joined the Albert Nyanza, thus forming feeders to the "river of Egypt."

Furnished with stores and supplies, part of which were left him by Mr. Stanley, and part furnished by the money collected in England as a Relief Fund, Livingstone, attended by his faithful native servants, started in September, 1872, for the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. A relief expedition under Lieutenant Cameron, R.N., was despatched to the Doctor's aid early in 1873, and through them the sad tale of Livingstone's end became known, though in an imperfect and disconnected form, to Europe. For the bringers of aid had started too late; on the journey, near Unyanyembe, they met Livingstone's confidential servant, Chumah, who brought them the tidings that his master was no more, and close behind him came a solemn funeral train, bearing the confirmatory evidence of his tale. It appeared that the little band, after many devious wanderings, had reached Ilala, beyond Lake Bemba, on their homeward journey from Ujiji. They had marched for five days in water above their waists; and the Doctor, who had suffered from dysentery for several months, became violently ill. "Build me a hut," he said to his followers, "to die in." There, in agony and alone, for his followers did not speak or go near him, David Livingstone breathed his last on the 1st of May, 1873. The body was conveyed to England in the Peninsular and Oriental steamship *Mahwa*, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 18th of April, 1874, being escorted to its long home by a band of African travellers who had known and loved the man well.

The news of the death of Livingstone arrived in England all the more untowardly because the great body of the people were on the eve of preparing for a display of loyal enthusiasm such as had not been seen since the memorable day of thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales two years before. The marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh, his next brother, and the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna, the only daughter of the Emperor of Russia, was solemnised on January the 23rd, at the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg, first according to the rites of the Greek Church, and then according to those of the English Establishment. About half-past twelve the imperial

procession was arranged and defiled from the Salle des Armes to the Greek Chapel; the Czar and Czarina occupying the place of honour among the royalties present, and the bride and bridegroom walking hand-in-hand—the latter in the uniform of a captain of the British navy.

In the chapel, the bridal pair stood before the altar. The Monsignor Bashanoff, the Protopresbyter, officiated, supported by Isidore, the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, and Innocent, the Metropolitan of Moscow. On the right stood the Emperor and Empress; next to them, in full view, were the Princess of Wales, the German Crown Princess, and the Czarevna; while exactly opposite were the Prince of Wales, the German Crown Prince, the Crown Prince of Denmark, and the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. The Grand Duke Sergius, fourth son of the Emperor, the best man, and Prince Arthur, groomsmen, stood on the right and left of the bride and bridegroom. English eyes at once noted several incidents in the marriage ceremony; among such were the lighted tapers placed in the left hands of the happy pair, the golden marriage crowns which were held above their heads, the betrothal rings of silver and of gold which were placed on the fingers, first of the one and then of the other, and the common cup from which they drank. The crowning portion of the ceremony consisted in the procession of the bride and bridegroom thrice round the lectern, their extended right hands placed on the hands of the priest, which were covered by his vestment, and this function made the tie indissoluble. Then followed the English marriage in the Alexander Hall, where the service was performed by Dean Stanley, assisted by the English chaplain. The Prayer Book, by the way, used by the dean was employed at the coronations of William IV. and Queen Victoria, and at the union of George III. with Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The Emperor gave his daughter away, Prince Arthur being best man. In place of the exhortation, the dean recited a prayer composed by himself, in which he invoked the blessing of Heaven on the royal and imperial houses at the moment of their marriage alliance, and prayed that the union in deeds of war which that hall celebrated might be exchanged for union of brotherly kindness and well-doing. Thus was happily concluded the second marriage alliance between the royal families of England and Russia, the first having taken place nearly eight hundred years previously.

Dean Stanley, in an eloquent historical retrospect, told the congregation in the English chapel,

on the Sunday before the wedding, "how in the dim twilight between history and fable, Vladimir Monomachus, the greatest and best of the early princes of Muscovy, wooed and won the love of the Princess Gytta, the daughter of King Harold, the last of the Saxons." Only one other attempt had been made during the long march of centuries to effect a match between the princes of the Eastern and Western Europe—when Ivan the Terrible sued in vain for the hand of good Queen Bess—between those far-off nuptials and the day when the Duke led to the altar the daughter of Alexander.

On Saturday, March 7th, the princely pair disembarked at Gravesend, where the blue-jackets and crews of the merchant vessels greeted the duke and his bride with ringing huzzas, and proceeded to Windsor. On Thursday, March 12th, the duke and duchess made their State entry into London in true Russian weather, for snow fell heavily in the early morning and the wind was bitterly cold. Nevertheless, the London citizens stood their ground and won a complete victory over the elements. With equal courage the Queen accompanied by the imperial bride and her husband defied the wintry blast, and on their arrival at Paddington Station entered an open carriage, in which they drove towards Buckingham Palace at a leisurely pace along the narrow way made musical by British cheers. The splendour of the procession began at Oxford Circus, where a pavilion, resplendent with gildings, groups of statuary, and choice plants, occupied the centre of the roadway. The Circus was conspicuous by its festoons of flowers, which stretched from pole to pole across that broad thoroughfare. Down Regent Street the royal *cortège* passed into Waterloo Place, and so to Whitehall, whence it swept round the Mall to Buckingham Palace, amidst the strains of the English and Russian National Anthems. It was long before the crowd dispersed, and until a late hour of night the brilliantly illuminated streets shone out with devices in fire.

A visit of the Czar to England followed some two months after the advent of his daughter. An unfortunate mischance delayed the royal yacht *Derjava* outside the port of Flushing, where the rapidly ebbing tide left her hard and fast aground; and, in consequence, the Czar landed at Dover instead of Gravesend, where great preparations had been made to receive him. After being received by the Queen at Windsor, Alexander took up his quarters in Buckingham Palace. An event, out of which much political significance was

manufactured at the time, but which was, in all probability, simply dictated by a generous regard for the memory of a fallen rival, was the Emperor's visit to the ex-Empress of the French at Chislehurst. On the usual round of expeditions to the 'sights of London it is unnecessary to dilate; on Monday, May 18th, the Czar paid a state visit to the City of London and was received with great warmth by the inhabitants of the metropolis on his way to the Guildhall. There he read a reply to the address of the Corporation, in which he expressed his firm reliance on their good feelings towards his beloved daughter and hoped the affectionate home she would find in England would strengthen the good feeling between Russia and Great Britain. A review of the troops at Aldershot was held on the following day, and from that and a visit to Woolwich the Czar must have gained a fair though superficial knowledge of the military system of the United Kingdom, which extreme alarmists, of course, declared he would not fail to turn to future account. After a week's sight-seeing, the Czar departed leaving respectful, if not enthusiastic, recollections. For he had not effaced the antipathy to things Russian which was so deeply imbedded in the political consciousness of the nation, and the events of the next few years were destined to increase this feeling a hundredfold.

From these royal rejoicings, the attention of the nation was not unfrequently distracted by those ecclesiastical storms which, having been raised in the House of Lords, continued to rage long after Parliament had ceased to sit. Mr. Gladstone had evidently by no means forgiven Government for their championship of the Public Worship Regulation Bill; and he accordingly turned to account the period of his relaxation from Parliamentary duties by betaking himself to a defence of High Church doctrines in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*. "I view," said he, "with mistrust and jealousy all tendency, wherever shown, either to employ ritual as the substitute for religious life, or to treat ritual as its producing cause." Mr. Gladstone, throughout the article, studiously refrained from making any political capital. Indeed, it must be confessed that to English Liberals, who were eagerly expecting some definitive policy with which it might be possible to obviate the evils of Conservative Church legislation, the essay seemed rather flat and unprofitable; while the Roman Catholics, especially Irish Roman Catholics, were by no means gratified by a vigorous sentence, in which the ex-Premier

declared that "Rome had substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; that she had re-furnished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; that no one could become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; . . . that she had equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history."

Several remonstrances were addressed to Mr. Gladstone on the subject of the charges against the Church of Rome contained in this sentence; but he was by no means disposed to withdraw them and maintained their accuracy at great length in a pamphlet, which appeared in November, entitled "The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Expostulation." "The Pope's infallibility," he wrote, "when he speaks *ex cathedra* on faith and morals has been declared, with the assent of the bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world." It was impossible, he argued, to construe the late Papal declarations in any other manner and he declared that their limitation to "faith and morals" was not in the least efficacious. "Individual servitude, however abject, will not satisfy the party now dominant in the Latin Church; the State must also be a slave."

Mr. Gladstone must have anticipated, when he wrote the Expostulation, that leading English Catholics would not be disposed to bear this rebuke in silence. There seemed, however, to be some difference of opinion amongst them as to the best means of rebutting the charges brought against their Church. At once it was seen how completely the Vatican decrees had split up the Church of Rome: the clergy were divided against the laity, the Liberals against the Ultramontanes; and of the latter, Archbishop Manning was the first to adventure into the field of controversy. He distinctly supported the Vatican decrees, declaring that they had not changed "in any jot or tittle the obligations or conditions of civil allegiance," and maintaining that he and his flock were as loyal subjects of Queen Victoria as the ex-Premier himself. As the dispute went on,



THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, JAN. 23rd, 1874.

FROM THE PAINTING IN THE ROYAL COLLECTION BY N. CHEVALIER.

however, he became more outspoken and issued a circular letter, in which he declared that whoever did not in his heart believe the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of the Infallibility of the Pope did by that very fact cease to be a Catholic, and he warned any who disbelieved the said doctrines that they committed sacrilege by going to confession and to Holy Communion. Here was an extreme position indeed, although he could assert that all the Pope's more intimate following was on his side. On the whole, with the exception of Sir George Bowyer and Lord Petre, who spoke in the name of the Roman Catholic Union, Archbishop Manning found but few supporters among the laity. Bishop Ullathorne assailed the ex-Premier in a bitter pastoral, addressed to the diocese of Birmingham; while Monsignor Capel argued, in opposition to the Liberals, that the Vatican decrees in no way touched the pre-existing doctrine of infallibility.

The camp of the laity seemed to be divided against itself on smaller points, though the majority were separated by a deep gulf from the undisguised Ultramontanism of Manning. Lord Acton, Lord Camoys, and Mr. Henry Petre wrote what the *Voce della Verità* termed "deplorable letters" to the *Times*, the gist of which seemed to be that they were Englishmen first and Catholics after; while Mr. Martin Shee vindicated the position of the Catholics by the odd assertion that he failed to see that the Vatican Council had pronounced any decree whatever on the subject of Papal infallibility. The controversy tended to degenerate into words until, in the following year, Dr. Newman arose in his strength, and issued a trenchant and powerful reply to the Expostulation of Mr. Gladstone. His letter to the Duke of Norfolk, and the verbal duel which thereupon ensued, brought the dispute—for the present, at any rate—to a dignified conclusion, and defined beyond all doubt the writer's position in the Catholic Church. He took up a definitively middle position between the Ultramontanes—who, "having done their best to set the house on fire, leave to others the task of putting out the flame"—and Mr. Gladstone, of whose cardinal assertion that "a great change and irreversible was effected in the political attitude of the Church by the third and fourth chapters of the Vatican decree *Pastor Æternus*; a change which no state or statesman can afford to pass over," he declared no proof at all had been given. Indeed, when it came to quoting chapter and verse he seemed to get the upper hand, and proved that no acts apart from *ex*

cathedrâ decisions were binding on Catholics. Mr. Gladstone's reply was somewhat weak: it attempted to propound no method for checking aggressive Ultramontanism such as had been adopted in Germany; on the other hand, he remarked that "the immediate purpose of my appeal has been attained, in that the loyalty of our Roman Catholic subjects in the mass remains untainted and secure." Dr. Newman had the last word. In reply to what he regarded as suggested in the second pamphlet—namely, the question whether he had used aright the talents God had given him—he said, with all the dignity of the *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*: "All I can say in answer to it is that from the day I became a Catholic to this day, now close upon thirty years, I have never had a moment's misgiving that the communion of Rome is that Church which the Apostles set up at Pentecost, which alone has 'the adoption of sons, and the glory, and the covenants, and the revealed law, and the service of God, and the promises,' and in which the Anglican communion, whatever its merits and demerits, whatever the great excellence of individuals in it, has, as such, no part."

After the last echoes of the battle had died away it seemed but natural to inquire of its originator, *Cui bono?* For what purpose was this strife? It might be that the Vatican decrees were, if taken literally, antagonistic to all ideas of submission to civil power: Prince Bismarck had found them so in Germany; still, no prominent English Catholics had shown any disposition to construe them literally. Although rents were now visible in what had hitherto appeared to be a whole and undivided fabric, the Catholics were able to present an unwavering front to English Protestantism and even seemed to show additional activity of religion. The autumn pilgrimage to Potigny was attended by considerable numbers of the devout, and about this time they hailed to their ranks a more important convert than they had claimed for a number of years. This was the Marquis of Ripon, who had held office under Liberal Governments with some success since 1859, and had lately been Lord President of the Council in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. Naturally enough, the Roman Catholic journals welcomed the ex-Premier's late colleague with every sign of enthusiasm.

While the fountains of ecclesiastical controversy were being thus broken up, a dispute of far less dignity, but of some importance, nevertheless, to the national welfare, was brought to a satisfactory termination. For several months the economic world had ceased to devote its attention exclusively

to the apparently hopeless tasks of reconciling the conflicting interests of employers and employed. From this sleep of false security it was doomed to be rudely awakened. Disaffection first showed itself prominently among those engaged in the coal and iron trades, chiefly because of the considerable reduction of wages imposed on them consequent on a rapid fall in the price of the former commodity. At first the area of the disturbance was confined to the north of England, but it was nowhere pushed to extremes, the colliers being in most cases willing to submit to arbitration. Still, the crisis during the spring was one of some gravity, and the ironmasters—whether seriously or not it is impossible to say—threatened more than once to employ foreign labour. Hardly had affairs in the districts of Durham and Northumberland seemed to have assumed their normal aspect of quietude, when a dispute broke out in Wales, in which Mr. Gladstone interfered with considerable success. It appeared that the miners at Aston Hall Colliery, near the ex-Premier's estate at Hawarden, had struck because their manager employed four non-union men. Thereupon the manager, resolved apparently to oppose interference by interference, requested Mr. Gladstone to turn them out of their cottages. He refused to do so and preferred to call the malcontents together and lecture them on their misdeeds. One of his arguments, which was to the effect that it would be difficult to grant the suffrage to a class of men who acted unjustly and tyrannically, was much censured by the papers, but the admonition, as a whole, was effectual, the miners agreeing for the future to look on non-unionists as men and brethren.

The agricultural lock-out in the eastern counties was the result of the deliberate collision of considerably greater interests and the struggle was in consequence less easy to abate. Ever since the agitation begun by the labourers of Warwickshire in 1872, under the auspices of Mr. Arch, the position of masters and men in many of the English counties had been one of positive hostility. More than once the labourers of Suffolk had applied for and obtained an advance of one shilling per week in wages, the farmers preferring to represent it as a voluntary gift, not a concession extorted by the pressure of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. At length they found it impossible to blink at facts any longer; and when the labourers of Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, early in 1874, asked that their wages might be raised from thirteen shillings per week to fourteen shillings, and struck as an alternative, the Newmarket District Farmers'

Association issued a declaration that no member of the Association should, for the future, employ any man who was a member of the Union. This resolve resulted in the dismissal of from 1,500 to 2,000 men, whom the Union had to support at nine shillings per week. Both parties were clearly acting within their lawful rights and it was simply a question which had the longer purse. There was no reason to suppose that, as the Bishop of Manchester suggested in the *Times*, the "farmers were going mad," or that there was any danger of a peasants' war. It was felt that the former were morally wrong in refusing to allow the labourers a right to combine, which existed in their own case, and this feeling made Trades' Unions contribute to the necessities of the Agricultural Labourers' Union with a liberality which made its position considerably stronger. The fair sex was, as usual, in the forefront of the battle and declined, as one of them energetically expressed it, "to become dirt under the farmers' feet."

Of the unsuccessful attempts at arbitration, the proposal of Mr. Ball, a delegate of the Union, who demanded the recognition of that obnoxious body, was peremptorily rejected by the farmers; so were those of Lord Waveney, Mr. Brand, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Mundella, M.P. The exertions of Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P. and Mr. Dixon, M.P. were, however, partially rewarded: the Lincolnshire labourers returned to work in May, their League having been recognised by the farmers, on condition that they would withdraw its most obnoxious regulations. On the other hand, the Cambridgeshire masters steadily declined to recognise the National Union, either directly or indirectly, and that body, in return, would not allow its members to return to work without an increase of their present wages.

The farmers were already beginning to perceive that they would, in the end, win the day. The great question was whether they would be able to get in the hay harvest and it was to be answered in the affirmative. The weather was most propitious, the crops were not very heavy, and by working hard themselves and making their families labour, while at the same time they availed themselves of all the machine-power obtainable, the farmers were able to dispense with the services of the recalcitrant Unionists, who began to despair. As a last resource, a pilgrimage, organised by Mr. H. Taylor, the secretary of the Union, started from Newmarket on July 1st, with the object of collecting funds in the great manufacturing towns. They were at first some sixty or seventy in number,

but man after man fell out of the ranks, until, on reaching Halifax, only twenty-one remained. The trip was not a financial success, the sum of £700 which was raised being quite insufficient to support the locked-out labourers for any length of time, seeing that they could now no longer hope for supplementary aid from the Union. It would appear that the reception of the expedition in many of the large towns was singularly apathetic. By the beginning of August the strike might be considered at an end. The Union, having spent nearly £25,000, was obliged to acknowledge that they could no longer afford to pay allowances to men on strike; but they offered emigration as an alternative to an unconditional surrender to the masters' terms. The farmers had conquered, but not all along the line; the very fact that the labourers had been able to hold out so long warned them in time, and they were ultimately compelled to acquiesce in a rise of wages, amounting in some, though not in all, cases to two shillings a week.

Passing from the struggling living to those who were at rest from their labours, we have to notice the decease of three writers: not, perhaps, of the first order of excellence, but still, occupying honourable places in the temple of literary fame. Mr. Herman Merivale, Under-Secretary for India, who died on February 8th, was known to the world in the double capacity of an able official and a thoughtful and cultivated writer. He owed his success in the former capacity to his excellence in the latter. The success of his published lectures on "Colonisation," originally delivered by him as Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, led to the appointment of Under-Secretary for the Colonies being bestowed on him by Earl Grey, whence he was transferred to the India Office in 1860. Of his works, perhaps the most valuable were those on political economy. Agnes Strickland was best known as a writer of somewhat uncritical historical biographies; but she was also a poetess of some ability, and wrote admirable stories for the young. Bryan Waller Procter is, perhaps, more familiar to most readers under the *nom de plume* "Barry Cornwall." Mr. Procter tried many walks of life: he was a barrister, a dramatist—his tragedy *Mirandola* was a great success at Covent Garden Theatre—and a Commissioner of Lunacy. He will, however, be chiefly remembered as a writer of some graceful songs.

Early in September the readers of the daily papers were constrained to abandon the perusal of the accounts of the deaths of individuals in order

to contemplate wholesale destruction. For many years there had been no railway accident half as appalling as that which happened on the Great Eastern Railway, about two miles from Norwich, on the 10th of the month. It would appear that the mail train from Yarmouth was accustomed to wait at Brundall, about six miles from Norwich, until the evening express from Norwich to Yarmouth had passed that station, the line from that point being single. On this ill-starred evening, however, a mistake of a telegraph clerk, who sent off a message to start the mail train without the knowledge of the night inspector, allowed the two trains to leave their respective stations and set off at ordinary speed towards one another. Hardly had the last carriage of the express disappeared when the inspector discovered the mistake. "Stop mail," he telegraphed to Brundall, only to receive the awful reply, "Mail gone." They met at Thorpe, two miles from the capital of Norfolk. In the crash which followed the collision the funnel of the engine No. 54 was carried away, and the engine from Norwich rushed on the top of its assailant, some of the carriages of each train following, until a pyramid was formed of the locomotives, the shattered carriages, and the wounded, dead, or dying passengers. Eighteen persons were killed, including the enginemen and firemen of both trains, and four died afterwards; seventy-four were seriously injured. It was a wonder that the disaster had not been productive of more loss of life. The hinder part of the mail train did not leave the rails; had it done so, it must have been hurled over a narrow wooden bridge, then under process of repair, which spanned the River Yare. Again, had the two engines met on the frail structure, it would, in all probability, have given way; and even if it had stood firm, many carriages would have fallen into the water, which at this spot was fifty yards wide. At the inquest before the county coroner the verdict of manslaughter was returned against the poor telegraph clerk; but it was felt that the man was the victim of the system, and that timely expenditure on the part of the company might have reduced to a minimum the risk of such a terrible catastrophe.

The facts of extra-parliamentary politics during the year were not of particular moment. The first important member of the Lower House to break silence after the prorogation of Parliament was Mr. Goschen, who implored the Liberals to assert themselves, and so force the Tories to do Liberal work, and advised them to look still to Mr. Gladstone as their leader. This sensible piece of advice

he followed up, later in the year, by advising the party to assist in the work which was before the Conservative party—the Sanitary Bills, Judicature Bills, Land Transfer Bills, Local Taxation Bills, and so forth. A similar spirit of conciliation was, however, not to be traced in the extreme left of the Opposition. Sir Charles Dilke, in a speech to a meeting at Hammersmith, lectured both sides alike with equal severity—the Government for the iniquity of their measures, the Opposition for the mediocrity of their men. However, his colleague in arms, Mr. Leatham, paid an eloquent tribute to the genius of Mr. Gladstone, though he declared that the Liberals had done very little for the working-classes, except giving them the Ballot, and he urged the introduction of the disestablishment of the Church into the party bill of fare. Another Radical who was rapidly pushing his way to the front was Mr. Fawcett; he was heard more than once during the later months of the year. In August he joined the chorus of those who, with one consent, were singing the praises of Mr. Gladstone, “for whom no one could accuse him of having an unreasonable partiality.” In November he sketched a programme, which included County Franchise, the Redistribution of Parliamentary Seats, and the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church. But public attention was turned from these men, whose opinions on most subjects were pretty well known, to the utterances and writings of Mr. Chamberlain, the unsuccessful candidate for Sheffield, who was understood to be the dark horse of Radicalism. An important article by his pen appeared in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*, entitled “The Next Page in the Liberal Programme.” This he declared to be the separation of Church and State, its claims being, in his eyes, superior to those of the reform of representation or the re-casting of the land system; and with blunt straightforwardness he argued that the proceeds of disendowment would be the means of popularising the question. But though he committed himself to the most advanced expressions on party questions, Mr. Chamberlain declined to preach Republicanism, even in its mildest form. There was considerable curiosity to see how he would behave in his official capacity of Mayor of Birmingham on the occasion of the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to that town on Tuesday, November 2nd. The ordeal must have been exceedingly trying; but the mayor came out of it with a fine display of tact and dignity. He assured his hearers that her Majesty’s popularity had never been greater or more fully assured, and

said that the sincerity of the wishes for the welcome of their Royal Highnesses had been proved by the fact that Birmingham had been long distinguished by the independence of its citizens, and the freedom with which all opinions were discussed there. Prophets now began to predict that this man would make a bold bid for political honours, and that at no distant date.

The Conservative leaders on their side, though they did not display the volubility of statesmen out of office, seized without hesitation the remaining chances afforded them of promulgating their opinions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, addressing the Church Defence Association, kept up the spirit of the supporters of the Church of England by an animated speech, in which he exhorted them to resist the agitation for a dissolution between Church and State. Mr. James Lowther, who spoke on October 13th to the Working Men’s Association at Thirsk, eschewed ecclesiastical questions, but hinted that, though he was ignorant of the designs of Government for the next session, if he were consulted he should be strongly in favour of Ministers availing themselves of the Conservative reaction. “If he found his watch had gained five minutes, he did not hesitate to pull out his key and put the hands back five minutes; and he should never be deterred from approving any measure because it was a reversal of the policy which had been sanctioned by the previous House of Commons.” These incautious utterances of a subaltern were by no means echoed by his chief at the Guildhall banquet in November. The Premier was in one of his favourite moods—that of the political acrostic-maker; he propounded his puzzle in sonorous phrases and then left his audience to solve it. For instance, he informed the assembled guests that England would exhibit to Europe “the example of a State which, if some troubles which were anticipated occurred, would not shrink from proclaiming the principle of religious truth, while it still vindicated the principles of religious liberty.” Evidently there was a lion in the path. Here was another portentous hint: “As for pretending that, in the present state of affairs on the Continent, there is no cause for anxiety, that would be trifling with any body of intelligent men that one addressed; but I can express, at least, the belief of her Majesty’s Ministers that there is an unanimous desire on the part of the great Powers to maintain peace, and I can express the belief of her Majesty’s Ministers that peace will be maintained.”



TICHBORNE PARK, ALRESFORD, HAMPSHIRE. (From a Photograph by A. G. Rider, Winchester.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Tichborne Claimant—History of Sir Roger Tichborne—Communications from the Claimant—His Story—His Arrival in England and Connection with Arthur Orton—Interviews with Mr. Gosford—Meeting with the Dowager Lady Tichborne—Opinions of the Tichborne Family and of the Officers in the Carabineers—Results of the visit to Alresford—Tichborne *v.* Lushington—Examination of the Plaintiff—Witnesses for the Defence—Collapse of the Case—Committal of the Plaintiff for Trial—Trial of Arthur Orton—Speech for the Defence—Witnesses for the Defence—Dr. Kenealy's Speech—Summing up of the Lord Chief Justice—The Sentence—Foreign events in 1874: French Politics—Fall of the Broglie Ministry—A Ministry of Affairs—Germany: Bismarck and the Clericals—The Army Bill—Moltke's Speech—The Septennate voted—Weakness of the Government—Attempt on Bismarck's Life—Enforcement of the Falk Laws—Rupture of Relations with the Vatican—Bismarck's Resignation—Anti-Clerical Legislation in Austria—The Brussels Conference—The International and other Congresses—The Civil War in Spain—Abdication of Amadeus—The Carlists—The *Vigilante* Affair—Admiral Yelverton—Fall of Cartagena—Castelar Dictator—The *Virginus* Affair—Serrano's *Coup d'état*—The Carlists in the North—Recognition of the Serrano Government—Proclamation of Alphonso—He enters Madrid—Quarrel with the United States—Extinction of Carlism.

As the imperial yacht bears the stately figure of the Czar away from the hospitable shores of England, the dissolving view of history presents to our notice a form of startling contrast: a man of huge bulk, of no education, and of manners not the most polished. This was the claimant to an ancient baronetcy and large estates in Hampshire—Arthur Orton, alias Thomas Castro, alias Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne—who, in spite of the

outrageous nature of his attempted imposture, yet, by his very audacity, succeeded in gaining a large number of followers, including many persons of wealth, attainments, and influence, and attracted public attention to a degree almost unparalleled, the death of kings and the fall of ministries barely distracting lovers of the marvellous from the perennial fount of interest and excitement which was fed by the legal proceedings in which he

became involved. Without a doubt, the Tichborne claimant was one of the greatest of impostors, either of ancient or of modern times.

Roger Tichborne, the heir of Sir James Tichborne, was born in 1829 and was educated at Stonyhurst College. The greater part of his youth, however, was spent in France, to which nation his mother belonged; indeed, Sir Roger would appear to have been almost more of a Frenchman than an Englishman. In 1849 he obtained a commission in the Sixth Dragoon Guards, the Carabineers, and remained in that regiment until 1852. He appears to have been a retiring, delicate lad, moving in good society, and of refined and gentlemanly manners. For the cause of his sudden throwing up of his commission *cherchez la femme*: he fell in love with his cousin, Miss Kate Doughty, and was rejected by her. Thereupon he suddenly took it into his head to go to South America and, in spite of the entreaties of his parents, he started early in 1853 for Valparaiso, and thence wandered aimlessly from town to town, and from the mainland to the West India Islands. On the 20th of April, 1854, he started from Rio in the *Bella* for Liverpool; the ship was supposed to have foundered with all hands, and for many years nothing was heard of the lost heir. Sir James Tichborne died, and was succeeded by his next son, Alfred, after the death of Roger had been legally proved. Still, his mother did not give up all hope of seeing her son again, and from time to time she caused advertisements to be inserted in the papers, giving the facts immediately preceding his disappearance, and offering large rewards for information. It would seem that she also put herself in communication with a Mr. Cubitt who had advertised his "Missing Friends Office" at Sydney in the *Times* early in 1865. He had replied in mysterious language, to the effect that her son was still living, and after a dispute about the reward, and dark letters from an attorney named Gibbes, who was agent between the future claimant and Cubitt, a letter was despatched from Wagga-Wagga to Lady Tichborne, in which the former said: "Mr. Gibbes suggests to me as essential that I should recall to your memory things which can only be known to you and me to convince you of my identity. I don't think it needful, my dear mother, although I send them: namely, the brown mark on my left side and the card case at Brighton."

The man's subsequent story was that when the *Bella* went down, he escaped in one of the boats, with some of the crew, and that after drifting about the sea for several days, he and his

companions were picked up by a vessel called the *Osprey*, and landed in Australia. Oddly enough, he did not display the slightest desire to return home, but lived for many years a miserable existence as horse-dealer and butcher; and it was in the latter capacity that he was discovered in 1865 at Wagga-Wagga, under the name of Castro, which name, he said, he had borrowed from a family whose acquaintance he had made at Melipilla, in Chili: a place that was never mentioned in the correspondence of Roger Tichborne.

Letters to the Dowager Lady Tichborne, Roger's mother, now came with great frequency; she did not, however, recognise his handwriting, although she could trace a likeness to her son in the photographs. On his part, the claimant was in no hurry to enjoy his own again. "He wasted time," wrote Serjeant Ballantine in his "Reminiscences," "took a circuitous route, and did not eventually reach London until Christmas day, 1866. Then his proceedings, if he really were Sir Roger, were of the most eccentric description. He undoubtedly went down to Wapping, and made apparently anxious inquiries about the family of a butcher named Orton, whose son had started some years before on a voyage to Melbourne. He showed a knowledge both of the Orton family and of the locality that subsequently became an important feature in the different inquiries, and led to very unfavourable conclusions." Indeed, the connection between the claimant and Arthur Orton seemed to be most intimate: it was afterwards proved that Orton had been at Melipilla as well as Thomas Castro. In a note-book of the latter's, discovered in Australia by the defence, Miss Mary Ann Loder, Arthur Orton's sweetheart, who afterwards swore positively to the identity of the two men, was styled "own dear fair one." After his visit to Wapping, he sent to Orton's sisters the photographs of his own wife and child as those of their brother's. Other facts pointed to the same conclusion—namely, that the plaintiff was none other than Arthur Orton. The latter had on his left arm the letters A.O.; the plaintiff was proved to have a scar on his arm which might well have been produced by an attempt to obliterate these marks. Again, it was proved not only that Thomas Castro and Arthur Orton were in South America at the same time, but they were also simultaneously in Australia, and though Castro represented himself as a great friend of Orton, it was extremely difficult to prove that they had ever been seen together. At any rate, the claimant thought it necessary to take the Orton family into his pay, until the

brother, Charles Orton, finding that supplies did not come with any great regularity, changed sides and made an affidavit to the effect that the defendant was Arthur Orton.

After his extraordinary visit to Wapping, the claimant returned to Gravesend, whence he paid a flying visit to Alresford, and visited Tichborne House, "to look at the dear old place again," as he wrote to the dowager, whom he appeared to be in no hurry to see. He returned to Gravesend, where he was visited by Mr. Gosford, an attorney in whom Roger Tichborne had placed the utmost confidence. Mr. Gosford unwisely tried to force himself upon the claimant, who at first refused to see him, but an interview was arranged by Mr. Holmes, the plaintiff's solicitor. He was extremely nervous, and in the course of a long conversation displayed the utmost ignorance as to his supposed relations and the events of his youth and early boyhood, except in points of information which he might have extracted from Bogle, an old negro servant of the Tichbornes, who came home with him from Australia, where he had been living on a pension from the family. This man was one of the claimant's chief supporters, and, as Serjeant Ballantine says, "it is extremely difficult to know how he could be mistaken, and, at least, equally difficult to understand why he should have perjured himself." It should be mentioned that Mr. Gosford, whose honourable exertions in the case placed public justice, as the Lord Chief Justice afterwards said, greatly in his debt, was dragged into the most vilely wicked part of the whole constructive imposture. On his departure from England Roger Tichborne left a certain sealed packet with Mr. Gosford, containing his last wishes. At first the claimant declared that he remembered nothing about it, but afterwards, on finding that Mr. Gosford had destroyed it as soon as the report of Roger's death reached England, he drew up a statement in which he declared that the document contained instructions with regard to Miss Kate Doughty, afterwards Lady Radcliffe, whom he solemnly declared that he had seduced. The blackness of this gratuitous lie did more than any other single statement of Castro's to alienate public sympathy from him.

After his interview with Gosford, the claimant wrote to his "dear and beloved Mama," who was at Paris, entreating her to come and see him, because, as he ingeniously remarked, "it is dangerous for me to go out, as some of the bills i drew in sydney are due, and i think they intend to arrest me if i attempt to leave England." Failing,

however, to bring her to England, he went to her, arriving at Paris late in the evening, and there, next afternoon, the celebrated meeting between him and the dowager took place. Now, this lady had from the very first accepted the claimant as her son, even before there was a shadow of proof as to the identity of the two persons, and accordingly she was not dismayed when he refrained from seeing her in the evening of the previous day, and finally received her as he lay on the bed with his clothes on, with his face to the wall. The interview was certainly most strange. The mother stood over her son, whom she had not seen for years, and kissed him, saying, "He looks like his father, and his ears are like his uncle's." The claimant, however, did not display the slightest sign of emotion, but contented himself with requesting the servant to put some coals on the fire. This, after an absence of some fourteen years! Nevertheless, she continued to cling fondly to the idea, and kept him with her during the ten days that he was at Paris, during which time only one of the many people who had known Roger there was allowed to see him, M. Chatillon, Roger's former tutor, who immediately exclaimed, "My lady, this is not your son." Shortly afterwards Lady Tichborne left Paris and lived with her putative son for some time at Croydon; she was in constant and affectionate communication with him until her sudden death on March 12th, 1868. No doubt the mother's acknowledgment was a point which told very strongly in his favour; and it should be mentioned that another member of the family, Sir Frederick Constable, made an affidavit on his behalf, but, oddly enough, he was not put into the witness-box. On the other hand, the rest of Roger Tichborne's relations were positive that the claimant was not the man. Mr. Seymour, Roger's uncle, saw him at Alresford and utterly failed to recognise him; so did Mrs. Nangle, Sir Edward Doughty's sister; and in an interview with Miss Doughty, the old love of the lost heir (now Lady Radcliffe), who went to see him, accompanied by her cousin, Mrs. Towneley, he mistook the one for the other, addressing Mrs. Towneley as "Kate" and Lady Radcliffe as "Lucy." This interview, by the way, was not obtained without some difficulty—indeed, the claimant fought shy of all Sir Roger's relations.

Among the officers in the Carabineers, however, there was a much greater division of opinion, there being quite as many for as against him; but the questions they put seemed to suggest their own answers, and the claimant had, as was afterwards

proved, been carefully primed with extraneous information from Carter, the regimental servant of Mr. Tichborne, and Sergeants M'Cann and Quinn, late of the Carabineers, whom he took into his service.

The visit to Alresford had been thus far successful, in that it gained him several important allies, among whom were Mr. Hopkins, a solicitor, who had formerly been employed by the Tichborne family; Mr. Baigent, his friend, who became, as Sir Alexander Cockburn afterwards remarked, "the defendant's active ally, and who, apparently, was not particularly scrupulous as to the means to be used for promoting the claim;" and even Colonel Lushington, the tenant of Tichborne House, who went so far as to invite the claimant and his wife to stay with him, and during a subsequent visit one of their children was baptised in the chapel attached to the mansion. This ill-timed proceeding naturally afforded considerable opportunities to the adventurer for priming himself with information; nor did he neglect these chances.

Legal proceedings began, as far as the public were concerned, in 1867, when the plaintiff applied to the Court of Chancery to remove the impediments which prevented him from entering into what he represented as his just inheritance. Affidavits were filed on both sides, and for three days the claimant was under examination. Had a rigid cross-examination been employed against the plaintiff at this period of the case, the counsel having been previously furnished with all the available information possessed by the Tichborne family, Serjeant Ballantine thinks that the fraud would have been at once exposed, and "the monster trial, with the gigantic bill of costs, would have perished at its birth in the Court of Chancery." However, the impostor escaped for the time, and in the following year commissions were issued, on the application of the defendants, to Chili and Australia, and the claimant consented to go out in order to be brought face to face with the witnesses who were to be examined under the commission. He arrived, accordingly, at Rio in October; but on reaching Cordova, half-way between Rio and Mendoza, he gave his friends the slip, and returned to England by the next steamer, without having seen a single witness. Mr. Holmes, his solicitor, felt that this conduct was so damaging to the plaintiff's case, that he declined to take any further part in it.

At length, on May 11th, 1871, the great trial, Tichborne *v.* Lushington, began in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, before Lord Chief

Justice Bovill. Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, Mr. Giffard, Q.C., Mr. Pollard, Mr. Jeune, and Mr. W. B. Rose appeared for the plaintiff; Sir John Coleridge, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Hawkins, Q.C., Sir George Honeyman, Q.C., Mr. Chapman Barber, and Mr. Charles Bowen were for the defence. Mr. H. Matthews, Q.C., and Mr. Purcell were counsel for the trustees of the Tichborne estate. Of this gigantic battle of lawyers, which lasted for very nearly a year, it is impossible to give more than the briefest summary here: Serjeant Ballantine marshalled the witnesses for the plaintiff with admirable skill, and the feeling of the country, taken as a whole, ran quite as much in his favour as against him. All these impressions were destroyed in an instant, when the claimant, on the fourteenth day of the trial, made his appearance in the witness-box, and his examination-in-chief, conducted by Mr. Giffard, revealed him an impostor. Still more was this the case when he was subjected to the terrible and searching cross-examination of the Solicitor-General; at once the brazen impudence of the fraud stood revealed. Here was a man who had been brought up as a Frenchman rather than as an Englishman, whose letters, before his disappearance, had been full of Gallicisms, and whose foreign manners had been constantly an object of ridicule among the officers of his regiment, and yet, after an absence from England of not so much as twenty years, he expected people to believe, not only that his mind was an absolute blank as to his life in Paris, but also that he had contrived to forget every word of the French language. For instance, Roger had read Molière's "Misanthrope;" yet the plaintiff, when asked whether a misanthrope was a girl, a beast, a fish, or what, replied, "I'm sure I can't tell." He could not remember the name of one of the books which he had read with his tutor—M. Chatillon; he could not read his own letters, or say the French alphabet; though he had lived at Paris until he was sixteen, he could not swear to any single residence of his father and mother in the French capital. A mist hardly less dense hung over his recollections of his school-days at Stonyhurst College. *Laus Deo Semper*, the motto of the college, he rendered with bold incorrectness, "the laws of God for ever;" no more satisfactory definition of a "quadrange" could be extracted from him than that it was "part of a building;" on being supplied with a "Virgil," he opined that it was written in Greek; physiology he described as a science relating to the formation of the head; he could not remember the name of one of the plays

in which it was proved that the real Sir Roger had taken part. The points which seemed to prove the identity of the claimant and Arthur Orton were more than once pressed severely home by the Solicitor-General, and several questions were addressed to him concerning the tattoo-marks, which

impostor, and a villain, and the address throughout its duration exhibited no falling-off from this animated and vigorous beginning. He spoke out boldly on behalf of Lady Radcliffe, and utterly demolished the foul statements made against her by the plaintiff; he commented humorously on a



THE TICHBORNE CLAIMANT IN COURT.

proved so important a link in the chain of damnable evidence.

On the resumption of the trial after the long vacation, more witnesses for the plaintiff were called, and their examination and cross-examination were not finished before the closing days of the year, when the court adjourned until January 15th, when the Attorney-General—for a higher office had been bestowed on Sir John Coleridge since the beginning of the trial—opened the case for the defence. He began his speech by denouncing the plaintiff as a conspirator, a perjurer, a forger, an

certain note-book of the claimant's which had been discovered in Australia, on the pages of which was found to be the following sentiment, culled from the pages of Miss Braddon's "Aurora Floyd:" "Some men has plenty money and no brains, and some men has plenty brains and no money. Surely, men with plenty money and no brains was made for men with plenty brains and no money." He noticed the plaintiff's fondness for disguise, the blunders committed by him when brought face to face with any member of the Tichborne family; the tortuous conduct of Mr. Baigent and his

method of preparing witnesses were submitted to equally searching exposure. The body-marks of the two men were then described at great length, and the Attorney-General pointed out that if it could be proved that Roger was tattooed, and that the claimant was not—as, indeed, he had distinctly sworn—then the case would at once come to an end. The whole story of the wreck of the *Bella* was characterised as extremely improbable, and the Attorney-General promised to produce evidence showing that the claimant had been in Australia long before 1854, in which case he could not possibly be Sir Roger Tichborne, and pointed out the similarity in face, handwriting, and method of expression between the man now before the jury and Arthur Orton. At length, on February 22nd, Sir John Coleridge brought his excellent speech to an end. “On you,” he said to the jury, with great emotion, at the close of the longest of recorded orations, “and you alone, it depends whether a young and noble lady of spotless character, and a young child—too young, indeed, for us to point out his future with certainty, but of whom a good many things may reasonably be hoped—shall enjoy that estate and represent that family—crippled, indeed, by the ruinous expenses of this lawsuit, yet still an old and honourable family, and still a great estate; or whether the estate is to be wasted and the family is to be destroyed by the man whom I have described before in words which I do not repent of using—in words which I have made good—in words which I repeat—as a conspirator, a perjurer, a forger, a slanderer, and a villain.” In the midst of this speech a significant incident occurred: three solicitors in succession—Messrs. Gibbes, Holmes, and Morgan—had abandoned the plaintiff, and now Mr. Rose, one of the plaintiff's junior counsel, son of Mr. Rose, of the firm of Baxter, Rose, and Norton, withdrew from the case, a fact to which the Attorney-General did not fail to draw the attention of the jury.

After this, the witnesses for the defence were called; the first of them being Lord Bellew, who swore most positively that he tattooed the initials R. C. T. on Roger Tichborne's left arm at Stonyhurst, and that there were marks on it, made previously, of a cross, a heart, and an anchor. Mr. Alfred Seymour, M.P. for Salisbury, and Mrs. Radcliffe also gave confirmatory evidence of the existence of these marks. Lady Doughty, Lady Radcliffe's mother, and Mrs. Nangle, Sir Edward Doughty's sister, gave the strongest possible evidence that the plaintiff was not Sir Roger Tichborne; and M. Chatillon, who had been Roger's

tutor, also ridiculed the idea. The whole of the impostor's structure was falling about his ears like a house of cards; Serjeant Ballantine had lost all hope, and was ready, he tells us, to accept a nonsuit upon the part of his client.

At length, on March 4th, the first act of the Tichborne drama terminated in a sudden and startling denouement. Late in the afternoon the foreman of the jury rose, and said that having received the evidence on the tattoo marks, they did not require any further evidence. Serjeant Ballantine promptly asked for an adjournment until Wednesday, when, on being assured that the jury had formed their resolution upon a general view of the evidence adduced, and not simply on that of the tattoo marks, he acquiesced at once in a nonsuit. The Lord Chief Justice expressed his entire concurrence in the proceedings of the jury, and said that, as he felt that the plaintiff had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury, he should then and there commit him to custody, to await his trial at the next session of the Central Criminal Court. In a brief space of time the claimant was lodged in Newgate, to be afterwards set at liberty on bail, the amount being fixed at £5,000 in the plaintiff's own recognisances, and two sureties of £2,500.

Still the Tichborne bubble did not burst, although the claimant could now count supporters only in hundreds where before he had numbered them in thousands; yet the collapse of his case had been so sudden that it seemed as if some people—and those people of good education—could not grasp its full meaning. Two members of Parliament, Mr. Guildford Onslow and Mr. Whalley, still adhered to the exposed adventurer, and their zeal so far outran their discretion that, early in 1873, they were ordered to appear before the Court of Queen's Bench for contempt of court, and they did not escape without a severe reprimand and a nominal fine of £100 each; the Lord Chief Justice informing them that had they not promised to abstain for the future from all such demonstrations as the one in question at St. James's Hall, he should have ordered them to be imprisoned.

Owing to various delays, the trial of the claimant on the charges of perjury and forgery did not begin until April 23rd, 1873. The case was conducted before the Court of Queen's Bench. The Judges were Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Justice Mellor, and Justice Lush. Mr. Hawkins, Q.C. and Serjeant Parry, Q.C., were the chief counsel for the prosecution; while for the prisoner appeared Dr. Kenealy, Q.C. and Mr. MacMahon,

Q.C. The choice of Dr. Kenealy, as the result too plainly showed, was a peculiarly unfortunate one. In his paper, the *Englishman*, as well as in the open court, there was no opprobrious title which he could possibly fling at Sir A. Cockburn that Dr. Kenealy failed to throw—he was a Scroggs and a Jeffreys, he had blurred and sullied his name, and blasted his reputation. Nor was the manner of his attack in court less deplorable than the weapons he used. “The learned counsel,” said the Chief Justice in his summing-up, “spoke with bated breath, loud enough for the reporters to catch his words, but not for us. And yet one or two words caught our listening ears which to me seemed as if some contumely or insult was intended to be conveyed, and I called upon the learned counsel to speak out as a man should speak; but his answer was that his indisposition, brought about by over-work and exertion, prevented him from speaking aloud. Afterwards, however, when he changed his subject, he was loud enough to be heard at the other side of Westminster Hall.”

Once more the portions of this apparently interminable puzzle had to be fitted together again, and fresh pieces had to be inserted as well, so that the issues presented to the jury and their intelligent foreman, Mr. H. F. Dickens, seemed to be almost boundless. The prosecution naturally laid stronger stress on the identity of the claimant and Arthur Orton than had been laid by the defence in the former trial; it was made the foremost point in Mr. Hawkins’s opening speech; and Miss Mary Ann Loder, Orton’s former sweetheart, and a host of Wapping witnesses, gave the most conclusive proofs that the two men were really one and the same. The evidence of the Tichborne family was once more decidedly against the claimant, and the officers of the Carabineers were not nearly as strongly in his favour as they had been at the previous trial. Mr. Gosford emphatically denied that any secret had been committed to him by Roger Tichborne as to any intimacy between him and Miss Kate Doughty such as the defendant swore to have existed, and so on, and so on.

The case, which had been hitherto simply wearisome, became positively painful when Dr. Kenealy began his speech for the defence. He commenced with a violent attack on Mr. Hawkins, whom he termed a Queen’s jester in the disguise of a Queen’s Counsel; then, in order to prove his case, he accused the boy Roger Tichborne of infamous vices, and went out of his way to malign Lord Bellew. The doctor was frequently rebuked by

the Bench during his speech: on one occasion he remarked that an explanation of Sir A. Cockburn’s was “most ingenious.” “I beg,” retorted his lordship, “you will not apply such language to me.” On another occasion he informed Mr. Justice Mellor that he knew how to behave like a gentleman quite as well as did his lordship. The general line of his argument throughout was to describe Roger Tichborne, and consequently the claimant, as a man of weak intellect; although, as Sir A. Cockburn remarked, the latter had fairly beaten the Attorney-General more than once during his cross-examination. The speech of the counsel for the defence concluded on August 21st, having lasted about a month, the peroration containing a stirring and almost touching allusion to the maternal instinct through which the dowager had recognised her supposed son. Once more the long files of witnesses appeared one by one in the box, and delivered their prolix and tedious accounts of the boyhood of Arthur Orton, his adventures in Australia, or the childhood of Roger; Bogle’s examination was important, and several important facts were elicited from him which he had previously suppressed or forgotten. In the midst of the evidence of the witnesses for the defence, the judges forbade the defendant to attend any more public meetings, under penalty of committal to prison. “It is an outrage on all public decency and propriety,” said the Lord Chief Justice, “that a man committed by a learned judge, after a long trial, for perjury should be paraded about the country preparatory to his trial, and while it is pending, as a victim and a martyr.”

One of those who appeared to give information in favour of the defendant eventually found reason to regret his temerity. This was Jean Luie, who represented himself as steward of the *Osprey*, and swore that the defendant and five others were picked up off the coast of Brazil and carried to Melbourne. His statements, however, were proved to be a mere tissue of lies, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Purcell, barrister-at-law, who was sent to America to hunt out the true facts of the case, backed up by a host of witnesses, who proved him to be a man of infamous character; and even Doctor Kenealy was obliged to give up this “scandalous witness.” He was brought to trial in the following year for perjury and condemned to seven years’ penal servitude; Captain Brown, another gentleman with confused ideas, who swore that he was an acquaintance of Roger Tichborne’s at Rio, being condemned soon afterwards to penal servitude for five years.

The closing mouth of the year found Dr. Kenealy in the midst of an intemperate speech for the defence, in the course of which he charged the prosecution with having bribed witnesses, and of having formed a great Popish plot to keep the rightful heir from his own. He accused Mr. Hawkins of sinister designs when he cast a doubt on a certain bit of handwriting which both judge and jury afterwards decided to be that of Roger Tichborne; he denied the complicity of his client in the perjury of Luie. Not content with quarrelling with the Court, he quarrelled with his client, who "had never said 'Thank you,' though I have worked for him as I would work for my own flesh and blood." During the first fortnight of the following year the doctor continued to spin out his address, in spite of remonstrances from the Court; but he concluded at length, with an allusion as in his previous speech, to the departed Lady Tichborne, whom he prayed the jury never to forget in their investigation. "Doctor," said the claimant, "I tender you my very sincere thanks for the very able manner in which you have defended me."

Able though the constructive argument of the speech was, the worthlessness of its subject necessarily caused it to wither and perish before the merciless logic of Mr. Hawkins, Q.C. He began by commenting with no undue severity on the audacity of the defendant's counsel, who had not hesitated, "unblushingly and audaciously," to charge the prosecution with having been supported by wholesale bribery, forgery, perjury, and conspiracy, induced by the grossest and most corrupt agencies. He conclusively established the Orton theory, and exposed the ignorance of the defendant as to things Tichborne did in Australia. After a short interruption, caused by the appearance of Mr. Whalley, M.P., on a charge of contempt of court, which resulted in his enforced detention for a night in Holloway Gaol, Mr. Hawkins proceeded to go into the history of South American adventures and the sealed packet. Lady Radcliffe was defended against the foul aspersions of the defendant with a combination of successive argument and impassioned rhetoric, that did credit alike to the brain and to the heart of the learned counsel.

Equally successful, as an effort of oratory, and surpassing, as it inevitably must, Mr. Hawkins's speech as an impartial exposition of the whole case, the summing-up of the Lord Chief Justice was a monument of luminous analysis, of which the English bar might well be proud; it is unnecessary to discuss it here. Sir A. Cockburn adopted, for

the most part, an historical rather than an argumentative method, leaving the jury to form their own conclusions. For twenty days he handled the case with unswerving fidelity to truth, the whole court listening with silent attention, save only when one of the patient and earnest jury put a question on some point which seemed a little obscure. "Gentlemen," he said, in finishing, "I have done; I have discharged my duty to the best of my ability. It only remains that you should do yours; and I am sure the verdict you will pronounce will be received on all hands, except by fanatics and fools, as the judgment of twelve men who have brought to the conclusion of this great cause the most marked and, I may say, remarkable intelligence, and the most sincere desire to discharge their duty before God and man, according to what they believe in their hearts and souls to be the truth and justice of the case." Mr. Justice Mellor and Mr. Justice Lush followed with graceful compliments to the officers of the court, and with expressions of their convictions that the bar of England would never suffer themselves to be influenced by the evil example of Dr. Kenealy.

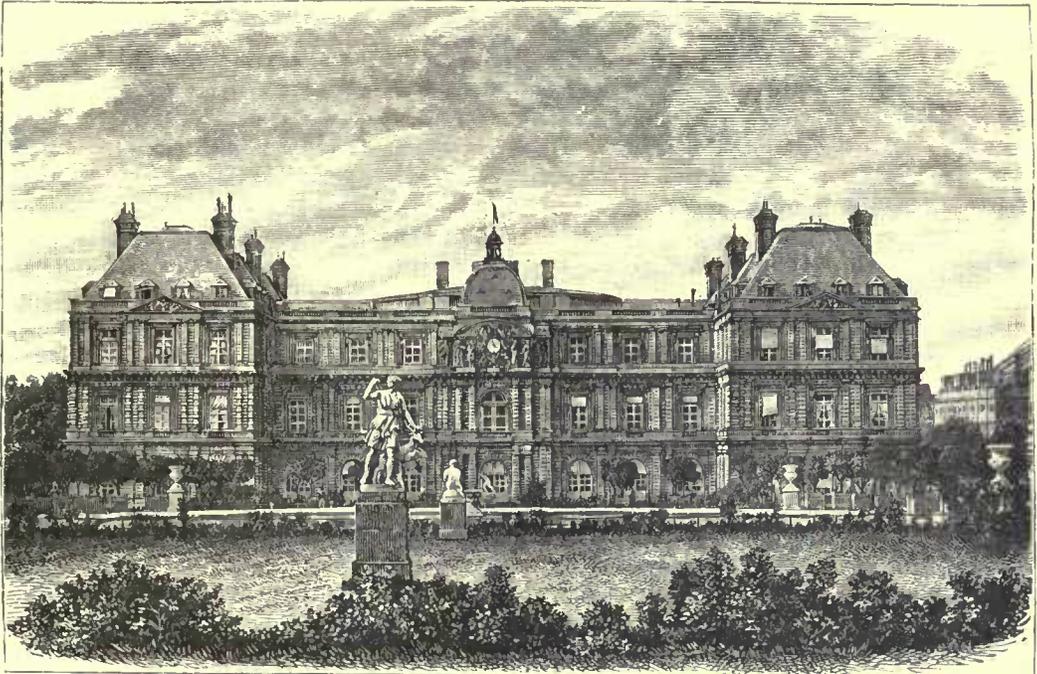
The jury were not long in making up their minds as to the verdict; in little more than half-an-hour after their retirement they returned, and, through the foreman, pronounced the defendant "guilty on all the counts," adding an earnest vindication of Lady Radcliffe from the charges brought against her. Mr. Justice Mellor pronounced sentence. He pointed out the care that had been bestowed on the case, and the impossibility of arriving at a different conclusion to that of the jury, noticing especially the defendant's entire ignorance of the French language, the result of comparing his letters with those of Roger Tichborne and Arthur Orton, the visit to Wapping, the failure of the defendant's counsel to put Arthur Orton's sister in the witness-box, although they were in the defendant's pay. The fraud of imposing on society was not half as iniquitous as the perjury by which he sought to blast the reputation of Lady Radcliffe. "I believe I am speaking the sentiment of every member of the Court when I say that the punishment about to be assigned by the Court is wholly inadequate for your offence. The framers of the Act of Parliament that fixes and limits the sentence that the Court is authorised to pass upon you never dreamt of circumstances so aggravated as exist in your case." The sentence was penal servitude for fourteen years.

The great Tichborne case was over; the "conspirator, forger, perjurer, slanderer, and villain"

was condemned to his just deserts, while his miserable dupes were left ruefully to contemplate the losses they had sustained through contributions to "Tichborne Defence Associations" and similar bubbles. The "unfortunate nobleman," as one of the petitions on his behalf to the House of Commons had it, departed "to languish in Dartmore," and emerged in due course to spend the remainder of his days as an obscure wanderer about the country, till his death in 1898.

Upon Dr. Kenealy, his intemperate counsel, the

faction was their *bête noire*, and of the two it was, without doubt, the more powerful: the violets had the call of the white flag in the speculations of those who pretended to know something. Thus considerable excitement was caused by the Prince Imperial's reply to a deputation at Chislehurst in which he challenged the Republicans to resort to a *plébiscite*. As a whole, however, the story of statecraft during the twelve months is rather dull; there is no central figure in it, such as that presented in the past by M. Thiers at bay; there



THE LUXEMBOURO PALACE, PARIS, WHERE THE FRENCH SENATE MEETS.

censure of the bar fell with just severity; he was disbenched and disbarred by the benchers of Gray's Inn, and his name was struck off the list of Queen's Counsel. He met with little sympathy in his fall. For there are limits to licence of tongue; and, to quote the words of Mr. Justice Mellor, it is possible to distinguish between "truckling and independence, between braggart demeanour and the manly dignity becoming the profession of the bar."

The eternal see-saw of French politics had been swaying up and down during the year 1874 with more than usual velocity, but the outcome of this vast expenditure of motive force had been exceedingly small. As in the previous year the well-wishers of the Republic had been terrified by the activity of the Legitimists, so now the Bonapartist

was no constructive ingenuity displayed such as that of the constitution-building which was to come.

The first important incident in the career of the Broglie Cabinet during these days was its resignation in a huff, and its resumption of office as soon as its wounded vanity had been healed. In the previous year the duke had introduced a reactionary Bill, placing the power of appointing the mayors of the communes in the hands of the Government until the constitution had been definitely settled—or, to put it more plainly, the temporary creation of some 72,000 places. This, of course, was resisted with the utmost vigour by the Left; but a strange change seemed to have come over the ultra-Legitimists when they announced their intention

of combining with their extreme opponents in an attack on the Bill. A motion in favour of the postponement of the measure was carried against the Cabinet by a majority of over forty, and the Ministry thereupon felt it their duty to surrender their portfolios to the Marshal-President. He implored them to remain in office for a few days, and during those days the Right, aghast at its own temerity, resolved to apologise and a vote of confidence was carried. The Mayors Bill became law and the Premier, despite protests to the contrary, proceeded to pack the magistracies with Royalists.

Despite this success the duke and his friends began to blunder terribly during the spring. In the first place, they approved of a report of the Committee of Thirty on the revision of the electoral law, excluding soldiers from the franchise, and substituting voting by arrondissements for voting by Departments, which things were gall and wormwood to earnest Republicans; they had resolved to keep their Conservative mayors in office by introducing a Bill, the effect of which would be to postpone the impending municipal elections until an organic law had been considered by the Assembly, and this law, despite the opposition of the Left, was carried by a large majority.

The events of the Easter recess were significant enough; Radicals were returned almost without exception for the vacant seats in the Assembly, and the Government were compelled to publish a circular commanding the Procureurs-Généraux to forward to them any newspaper articles published within their jurisdiction which contained attacks on Marshal MacMahon and the Septennate. The Duke de Broglie seemed inclined to force on the struggle, for, without going through the preliminary of a Presidential message, he proceeded to bring forward a Bill for the creation of the long-delayed Second Chamber. The details of the measure for creating a "Grand Council" can be passed over here, inasmuch as they were afterwards realised in a somewhat different form; and it is perhaps more interesting to observe the manœuvre by which the Government were driven from power. The Ministry insisted that the new electoral law should be taken before the Municipal Bill, for which the Opposition—consisting of nearly the whole of the Left and most of the Extreme Right—claimed priority of consideration. Rightly perceiving that the question at issue involved no less than a vote of confidence, the Government resolved to accept the gage of battle thus thrown down before them, and on a division they suffered

a decisive defeat by a majority of sixty-four. The only course left open to them was to resign, and the unfortunate marshal was left to look about for a successor to the Duke de Broglie.

To find one was apparently no easy task. The Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier and M. de Goulard were applied to in vain, and it was only with difficulty that the marshal succeeded in forming a Cabinet, which consisted of some old elements: the Duke Decazes, M. Magne, and M. Fourtou, and some colourless politicians, such as M. Caillaux and Admiral de Montaignac. At its head was placed General de Cissey, M. Thiers' War Minister, who had endeavoured to inspire with some of his own courage the feeble heart of Marshal Bazaine at Metz, and had taken a vigorous part in the suppression of the Commune. It was reported that the marshal had christened the Cabinet a *Ministère d'Affaires*—a Ministry which was to administer only, or not legislate, or, in other words, a ministry which was to do as little as possible. In carrying out this policy they were decidedly successful, in spite of, or perhaps one ought to say favoured by, Bonapartist scares, and a fine denunciation of that party by M. Gambetta at Auxerre, and in spite of the strife of parties, of whom the Left Centre were clamouring for an immediate settlement of the form of government, while the Right Centre wished to postpone any definite arrangement until the end of the Septennate. At the end of the year General de Cissey was still in power though discredited by the escape of Marshal Bazaine from his prison on the Island of St. Marguerite. Meanwhile it was whispered also that MM. Gambetta and Thiers were laying their heads together with the object of "founding a Republic"—and certainly the Radical papers had grown very outspoken in favour of the ex-President.

The new year opened in Germany peacefully enough: the elections to the Reichstag had not begun; there was a truce between Prince Bismarck and the Church. Of course it did not last long; the elections came on, and resulted in the return of an overwhelming majority of Liberals; the Clericals held their ground, but Conservatives were not in the ascendant. The Church laws of the previous year, which had been directed against contumacious prelates, were now strengthened by supplemental legislation and carried out to the letter, and their first victim was Archbishop Ledochowski, who was sent to prison for refusing to pay the numerous fines that had been heaped upon him. Nor did the arm of

the law stop there, for the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Treves soon afterwards had to submit to the same hard fate.

The second Parliament of the German Empire met on February 5th, when the speech from the throne was read by Prince Bismarck. It touched very happily on the admission of delegates from Alsace-Lorraine; "the old German lands, torn from the German Empire by former wars, but reunited with it by the Peace of Frankfort, are to-day for the first time again constitutionally represented in our midst." It then proceeded to enumerate the proposed business, first in order being a "general military law," which, after a protest on the part of the Alsatian deputies against the annexation of their country to Germany, received by the Diet with shouts of laughter, was discussed during the second week of the session. It was ably criticised by Herr Richter, the leader of the Radicals, and defended by Count Von Moltke. The principal provision was that the standing army should be maintained at 401,659 men, exclusive of one-year volunteers. "What we have won by arms," said the veteran Field-Marshal, "in half a year, we shall have to defend by arms for half a century. . . Since our fortunate wars we have gained respect everywhere, but love nowhere. On all sides we meet with suspicion that Germany, now that it has grown so great, must be for the future an uneasy neighbour."

This was plain speaking indeed, and though no menace could be extracted from the sayings of the greatest of modern commanders, yet wisecracks persisted in reading between the lines, and declaring that the Empire had some new scheme of aggression on foot, though against whom it was directed there was matter for great diversity of opinion. The Army Bill was referred to a committee of twenty-eight; and so the matter was postponed until April, when Prince Bismarck, owing to ill-health, was absent from his post. When the Committee presented its report, it was found to be of a hostile character; they declared it to be most unreasonable to wish to maintain an army of 401,659 men, that is, one per cent. of the population, and soon Ministers discovered with dismay that the Liberals and the Clericals were in close alliance against them, the former demanding a decrease of permanent strength, the latter two years' compulsory service instead of three. In the absence of their leader, they adopted the usual policy of discomfited statesmen—a complete silence—until they were goaded by the Opposition into a rejection of all compromise. Herein was seen the influence of the Emperor,

who made no secret of his determination to have the Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill; wiser counsels, however, prevailed. Bismarck declared that concessions must be made and, on the second reading of the measure, General Von Kamecke, the Minister at War, after declaring that its object was simply the preservation of peace, announced amidst cheers that the Federal Government were prepared to accept Herr Von Bennigsen's suggestion that the peace effective should be voted for seven years only. The "Septennate" was accepted, after animated discussions, and the Bill, after some critical moments during the second reading, was finally passed by a triumphant majority of ninety-one.

Of the other great Government measures, the Press Bill, the object of which was that every paper should have a responsible editor, and that the police should be supplied with a copy of every periodical publication, became law just before the prorogation of the Diet. Here, again, the Committee compelled the Government, much against its will, to strike out a clause directed against papers which incited violation of the law—a piece of unexpected submission, for which they encountered the fierce taunts of Dr. Windthorst; the Civil Marriage and Registration Bill, however, passed without much opposition. It was only by throwing much valuable property overboard that the ship of the State had been able, in the absence of its tried pilot, to weather the storm, though by the Church Ministers Bill they had certainly strengthened their position against the ever-increasing Ultramontane difficulty. In a few months, however, an event occurred which raised the popularity of the German statesman, and hence of the Government of which he was the omnipotent chief, to a height which made it secure for the instant from all attack. This was an attempt on Bismarck's life (July 13th) by a young artisan named Kullmann at Kissingen.

Meanwhile, the terrible struggle between Ultramontanism and the State went on. Ledochowski was deposed from the bishopric of Posen and Gnesen; but the administrators appointed in his stead were not a whit more tractable and, after the threats of the law had been suffered for some time to hang over them, they were both committed to prison. Then a fourth prelate—the Bishop of Paderborn—was arrested in August. He was requested to resign his see; he refused and early in the following year was deposed. Still the priests persisted in evading the law in every possible way. When suspended by the officers of

State, they returned to their parishes a few days afterwards, as if nothing had happened, while the Ultramontane papers preached as openly as they dared a crusade against Prince Bismarck and others like unto him. According to the letter of a German correspondent, published by the Duke of Norfolk early in the following year, (1) five bishops had been imprisoned; (2) fines had been imposed upon all of them, and upon all the bishops of Prussia, except the Bishop of Osnabrück. "The see of Fulda is vacant. Domiciliary visits from the priests, or from the officers who sold their furniture have been received by those of Cologne, Treves, Münster, Hildesheim, Breslau, Culm, Posen, Limburg; (3) how many priests there are in prison at this date I cannot say; but up to December 23rd—since the beginning of the Falk Laws—1,400 priests of Prussia have either been sent to prison or fined on account of these laws; about one hundred have been driven out of their country, or several countries have been forbidden for them; and some few who persisted in returning to their flocks, after they had been driven by the police over the frontier, have been banished to the Isle of Rügen."

In the autumn session of the Reichstag Prince Bismarck made the important statement that the abolition of the post of Envoy to the Vatican was advisable, because the Pope was simply a religious chief. He accused the Vatican of being a fomentor of revolution and declared that had it not been for its evil machinations the Franco-German War would not have taken place. The Centre, however, had its revenge: upon the question of the imprisonment of an Ultramontane Deputy, they induced the Left to join them and the Chancellor thought it necessary to resign when the liberation of the Deputy was decided upon. A visit from the Crown Prince and the prayers of the Emperor could not move him from his fixed intent, until Windthorst made an attack on him in his absence; the vote was treated as one of confidence and the Centre was utterly defeated. Whereupon the Prince returned with strengthened power, Dr. Lasker the Left's leader was gravely rebuked by the newspapers and the members separated for Christmas.

The history of Italy during 1874 may be summed up by the remark that brigandage was very rife and that the authorities did not know how to cope with it. That of the Austrian Empire is not much more attractive and was removed from absolute barrenness chiefly by the importance of its ecclesiastical legislation and by the important discoveries made known on the return of a Polar

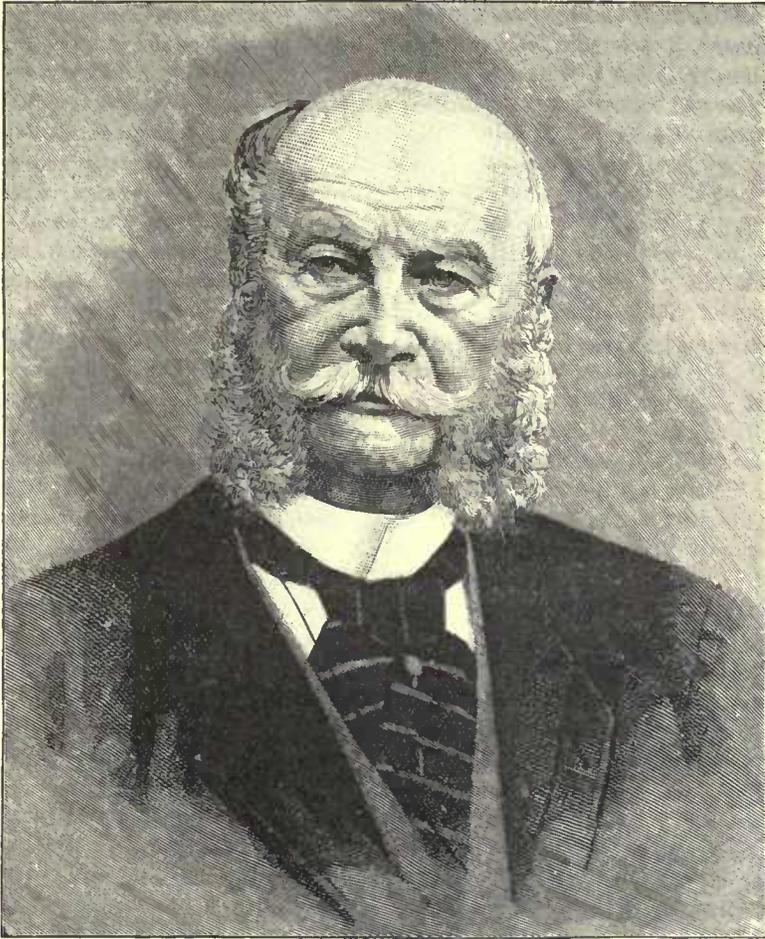
Expedition, which had reached a new country, the size of Spitzbergen, which was christened Franz-Joseph's Land. The former was a milder edition of the Falk Laws. The Bills, four in number, were introduced to the House of Deputies on January 1st. The first aimed at abolishing altogether the Concordat of 1855; the Government was to have the right of control and supervision of the endowments and the Church property, and of all religious establishments; it had also the right of sanctioning or disapproving the appointment of priests; the second Bill empowered the Government to deal with monastic orders and convents, for instance, by forbidding the erection of monasteries; the third regulated the contributions from the property of benefices to the funds required for providing for the wants of Catholic worship; and the last related to the legal recognition of separate religious bodies. Of course, such legislation met with some opposition, but the clever management of the Premier, Prince Anersperg, and the Minister of Public Worship secured triumphant majorities for the batch of Bills. In vain did Pius IX. send forth encyclical letters to the bishops, in which he protested against the rupture of the Concordat, and wrote to the Emperor, adjuring him not to allow his Catholic subjects to be visited by the deepest affliction; the Bills received the Imperial sanction in the second week in May. The well-deserved reputation for toleration borne by the house of Hapsburg, and the tact of the civil authorities, and, it should be added, the wise submission of the clergy, prevented the occurrence of any of those disgraceful scenes of violence such as in Prussia had of late been a scandal to Catholic Europe.

This was a year of conferences and congresses of the minor sort. In July Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian Premier, as if to persuade Europe that his recent introduction of universal conscription for the Russian army was only in pursuance of the adage "If you wish for peace, be prepared for war," caused an assembly of men learned in the law to meet at Brussels, with a view to ameliorate the conditions of civilised warfare. It was understood that the idea had originated with the Society for the Amelioration of the Condition of Prisoners of War, and it was also understood that the British Government had given only a very qualified consent to the proposed programme.

It was soon seen that Lord Derby had acted wisely; for, although the proceedings were conducted with mysterious secrecy, it was quite easy to judge from the daily summary published in the

République Française what were the aims of the representatives of Russia and Germany, Baron Jomini and General Voigts Retz. It was no less than a desire on the part of the Great Powers to limit the chances of resistance on the part of smaller states by making general levies of citizens

of the International Society in the same city, in the following month. That occult body, which had been regarded with such apprehension by respectable Europe during the troubled days of the Paris Commune, was apparently decreasing rapidly in numbers and influence; indeed, it would seem



WILLIAM I., GERMAN EMPEROR. (From a Photograph by E. Lände, Berlin.)

unlawful and by recognising presumptive occupation. The British Commissioner, Sir Alfred Horsford, and the representatives of the smaller states naturally objected to such new and strange regulations and the conference finally broke up, after some vague discussions on the horrors of war. It had accomplished little or nothing beyond formulating ideas which might, if sifted under more favourable conditions, be conducive to the benefit of mankind.

Equally unproductive from a practical point of view was the assembly of the Seventh Congress

that thinking working-men had, during the last few years, forsaken the theories of Socialism, which, no doubt, they found very fascinating at first, and adopted instead the wiser policy of co-operation. Nevertheless, the society had held numerous meetings, in spite of the increasing divisions between out-and-out Communists and the advocates of simple trades-unionism. In 1873 their cause was disgraced by a wild outbreak in Valencia. These and other causes combined to make the meeting of 1874 a complete failure; and it was to no purpose that on the present occasion

the assembled delegates tried to make up for the weakness of their numerical strength by the violence of their language. "Anarchy" was the avowed programme of the greater part of those present—a doctrine which, as the Swiss delegates complained, found no favour in their country; but how to bring about such a state of things was a question about which the most varied ideas were promulgated. Finally, the congress broke up, after much bootless debate. Switzerland was the scene of other international palavers: there was a Law Association Congress at Geneva, where England was worthily represented by Sir Travers Twiss, Mr. Mountague Bernard, and Professor Amos, which, after a week's discussion, resolved itself into an association for the reform and codification of the law of nations; and the International Postal Congress met at Berne.

Towards the end of the year the proclamation of Alphonso XII. seemed to promise an end to the Spanish troubles. We shall confine ourselves to a very brief review of the squalid struggle. By the beginning of 1873 it had become evident that the position of the unfortunate Amadeus had become perfectly untenable. He had been very ill during the autumn, but his malady had been treated with indifference by the populace; nor did the birth of an heir to the throne, towards the end of January, seem to attract the sympathies of the proud hidalgos towards the dynasty of Savoy. A mutiny of the artillery officers who were ordered to proceed to the north against the Carlists precipitated the crisis. Amadeus announced his intention of resigning his thankless honours, and the prayers of Zorilla could induce him only to postpone a final decision for twenty-four hours. The abdication message to the Congress was dated February 11th, and the following day the ex-king, with his wife and children, left Madrid.

"The inflexible logic of events," as Señor Castelar termed it, certainly pointed to a republic as the next experiment in forms of government, and it was adopted by the united Cortes by 258 votes to 31—a vote which showed a rapid change of opinion by no means favourable to the stability of any Constitution. For the present, however, Castelar carried all before him; Zorilla's protests were unheeded, and there were great shouts of applause when the former cried in exultation, "Let us salute the new-born sun." Figueras, the president, said that the division was a rainbow of peace, and he requested to be allowed to shout "Viva el Republica!" and the shout was taken up by thousands in the streets. Spain nevertheless

continued to seek rest and to find none. A coalition Ministry had been formed out of the members of the Zorilla Cabinet, and the Democratic Republicans, Castelar, Pi-y-Margall, and their friends. Within a few days there was a quarrel among the councillors, the Zorillists were driven from office and a series of phantom Ministries succeeded, varied by risings in Madrid.

That Don Carlos had not been able to make himself master of the country during this general upheaval proved conclusively that, except in the north, his cause was hopeless. Everything favoured him; there were riots in revolutionary Barcelona, the pupil of the International, where the soldiers drove forth their officers with kicks and imprecations and fraternised with the mob, who in their turn beat the priests, and where the mellifluous eloquence of Señor Figueras, sent thither on a message of conciliation, was suffered to diffuse itself over the anarchic city. Nevertheless, Don Alfonso, who managed affairs in the absence of his brother, could gain no permanent successes and drew, in addition, much deserved hatred on his party because he could not, or would not, control the excesses of the guerilla chiefs. In spite of these divisions of opinion among the followers of Carlos, the Government troops could barely hold their ground; the troops were not of one mind, and there was a constant change of generals; from political reasons Moriones was superseded by Pavia, and Pavia by Novilas. The last proved fairly capable and effected a diversion in the Biscay provinces, but battle there was none.

In the south autonomous cantons sprang up like mushrooms. At Cartagena, General Conturas, the Commander-in-Chief and Delegate of Marine for the New State, as he called himself, had created what was termed the Provisional Government of the Spanish Federal Republic. He openly defied the Republic, hoisted the red flag on the ramparts of Cartagena, seized all the ships in the harbour, and waited to see what would happen. It was not long before a serious complication ensued. The captain of the German frigate *Friedrich Karl* took upon himself to seize one of the captured men-of-war, the *Vigilante*, now sailing under the red flag, on the ground that their ensign was not recognisable. Conturas was furious and threatened to put the German Consul to death, but finally came to reason, and Captain Werner retained his prize. Shortly afterwards Conturas went forth with two frigates, the *Vitoria* and *Almanza*, threatening to bombard seaport towns unless they supplied his necessities. Malaga refused to obey, and the

free-booters had begun to open fire on the defenceless town, when the *Friedrich Karl* came up, accompanied by the British frigate *Swiftsure*, and compelled the insurgents to surrender ignominiously, Conturas being detained as a hostage for several days. Meanwhile Captain Werner made for Cartagena with the captive vessels in tow and proceeded to cruise about outside the harbour, in supreme contempt of the insurgents. Unfortunately, the German Government, being in some doubt as to what course it would be best to pursue in view of the complete state of anarchy now prevalent in Spain, determined to recall the gallant sailor, on account of his excess of zeal in the *Vigilante* affair. Conturas was released and the captured ships, failing any more satisfactory arrangement, were delivered over to the British admiral, Sir Hastings Yelverton, whose flag-ship, the *Lord Warden*, was anchored outside the harbour in Escombrera Bay, so as to be at hand in case of treachery on the part of the Cartagenists. Shortly after this, the Republican General Martinez Campos and Admiral Lobo came up, and prepared to lay a regular siege to the town by land and sea; Admiral Yelverton was thus placed in an awkward position of enforced neutrality. He announced, however, in obedience to instructions from home, that in case a crisis arose he should be prepared to hand over the captured vessels to Admiral Lobo, as the representative of the Central Government, and as the surrender was not to be immediate, that he was about to remove them to Gibraltar, where their position would be less dangerous. The Communists, in reply, threatened to open fire on the British ships from the forts, but Admiral Yelverton with calm determination sailed past the guns, with his decks cleared for action. The bombardment of Cartagena began in November and the place surrendered on January 11th, 1874.

At this epoch, Spain, being apparently engaged in the effort of trying how many different forms of government it was possible to endure in a twelve-month, was nominally ruled by a Dictator. The Cortes at length ventured to place the reins of government in the hands of their most capable man, and Emilio Castelar was elected President of the Executive power on September 6th, 1873, by a majority of nearly two to one. Now it seemed as if the Republic were beginning to assume form, for the new President, in the most determined manner, submitted certain conditions to the Assembly, and said that if one of them were denied him he was irrevocably determined not to accept power. Chief among these guarantees were a

power to increase the army indefinitely, a compulsory citizen militia, a forced loan, and the suspension, if necessary, of the laws of personal liberty. The Cortes hastily determined to adjourn until January 3rd, 1874, and thus Castelar found himself Dictator, with the power of inflicting the severest military punishments, suspending the Constitution, and gagging the Press. To a certain extent it seemed as if his position was strong, but when its supports were closely examined, it was seen that the only sound one among them was his unequalled oratory. His difficulties were not even confined to Spain; the insurrection in the province of Cuba continued, and from it arose the "*Virginus* affair," which nearly plunged Spain, already rent with internal dissensions, into a war with the United States. Accordingly as soon as the Cortes met, he was beaten on a vote of confidence and resigned.

The American dispute came about through the capture of the blockade-runner *Virginus*, about six miles from Jamaica, by the Spanish gunboat the *Tornado*. The *Virginus*, like the English *Deerhound*, was detected in the act of smuggling arms to insurgents, but the crew of the former vessel were not set free, like that of the latter, but taken at once to Santiago, where about thirty of them were shot, by command of the governor of the town, as pirates. Some of the crew were Americans and others English, so that as soon as the details of the story were known the utmost indignation was aroused at this breach of international law. Taking the initiative, the American Government at once telegraphed to Madrid, giving instructions to their Minister, General Sikes, to protest against the executions, as an outrage on civilisation and humanity and an insult to the Government of the United States. At the same time, in the event of an apology being refused, preparations were made for a declaration of war and an invasion of Cuba. In the circumstances, the only course for the Spaniards was an unqualified submission; an apology was offered and the ship, with the survivors of her crew and passengers, was given up to the United States Government—a surrender to which the magistrates of Havannah did not submit without much grumbling. Soon after this it was discovered by the Attorney-General of the United States that this vessel of doubtful morality had no right to carry the American flag, and that her captain had obtained his papers by perjury; the conduct of the authorities of Santiago was therefore, to a certain extent, excusable. It was determined to put the

survivors of the crew on their trial, but they were released after examination; and the prospect of further international complications was cut short by the foundering of the *Virginus* off Cape Fear, on her way to New York.

The *coup d'état* which followed Castelar's fall utterly destroyed the hopes of those who had expected to profit by the overthrow of the Dictator. For a more accomplished schemer was at work,

Pavia was generous enough to relieve of all responsibility by declaring that he had acted purely on his own authority, was not long in making known his plans. After being chosen Premier by an obedient and picked Assembly, consisting of politicians of all shades, he formed a monarchical Conservative Ministry of such men as his friend Admiral Topete, Sagasta, Garcia Ruiz, and others; General Pavia declined to receive office. The next step was to



GENERAL PAVIA DISMISSING THE CORTES. (See p. 144.)

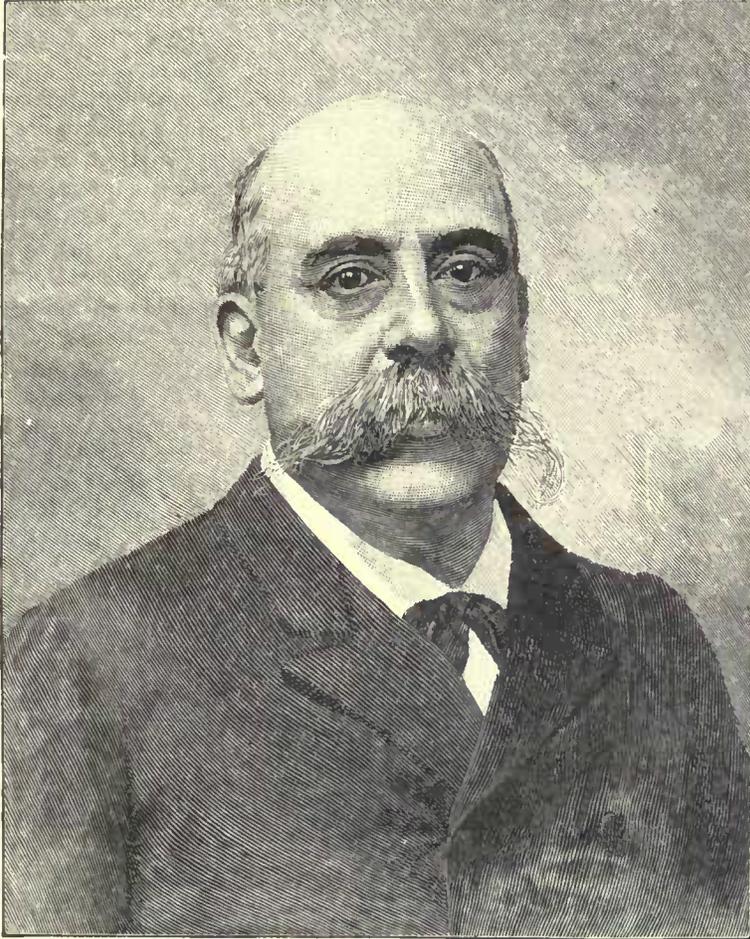
namely, Marshal Serrano, who had at length determined that Spain should be governed by a Bourbon—not, however, Don Carlos, but Alfonso, the son of the ex-Queen Isabella. Accordingly, the same day, Serrano's *fidus Achates*, General Pavia, the Captain-General of Madrid, entered the Cortes and informed the President that they must disperse in five minutes. A wild uproar arose; every one prayed every one else to save the State, but no one seemed disposed to do so; and after the five minutes had elapsed, two or three shots were fired into the air, whereupon the whole Assembly fled, with a unanimity by no means dignified. The capital was occupied by the army. Serrano, whom

dissolve the Cortes and publish an exculpatory proclamation, in which the late revolution was explained in language which, if nothing else, was most magnificent.

The Carlists, however, had meanwhile been successful and were threatening Bilbao, having defeated a relieving force under Moriones. Immediately Serrano, with ready patriotism, accepted the onerous responsibility, went to the front, accompanied by the faithful Topete, and by the most vigorous exertions succeeded, within a fortnight, in raising the number of his troops to something like 30,000 men. The position was most critical; everything depended on Bilbao, which

still held out with the grimness of despair. At the same time, news was received at Madrid that Domínguez, who had been sent to suppress a Carlist rising in Valencia, had failed utterly. After a period of sickening suspense, Serrano, on March 25th, marched against the lines of San

of their getting to Madrid. Bilbao was threatened by a large force and Don Alfonso, advancing from Valencia, took Cuenca. However, the victorious generals caused prisoners to be massacred and public buildings to be fired, with a heartless brutality which utterly took away the sympathy



EMILIO CASTELAR.

(From a Photograph by Nadar, Paris.)

Pedro de Abanto, and a two days' battle ensued. It was a drawn affair, but on the 28th of April Serrano renewed the contest, defeated the Carlists and relieved Bilbao. Unfortunately, at this moment, when the campaign might have finished at a blow, the General was compelled by Ministerial dissensions to return hastily to Madrid, leaving old Concha in command. In June the latter attacked the Carlists before Estella, but fell early in the battle and his troops retired beaten.

The improvement in the Carlist position was for the moment immense, though there was no chance

of Europe from their cause. It was reported that after the victory of Estella, Dorregaray decimated the captured Republicans, while Alfonso was accused of acts of equal horror. At any rate, the execution, by the command of the former, of Captain Schmidt, a German newspaper correspondent, produced the most unlooked-for consequences. For Prince Bismarck, who had long viewed Don Carlos and his friends with supreme disapproval, determined to improve on the occasion. Not only did he send two gunboats, the *Nautilus* and the *Albatross*, to watch the movements of the

Pretender's troops, and, if necessary, to act on the offensive, but he went farther and, after some vigorous negotiation, induced the Powers of Europe, Russia alone excepted, to declare the recognition of Marshal Serrano's provisional Government—an important step, which they had hitherto scrupulously avoided.

At the capital the political situation was dark indeed, and the citizens might be pardoned if they failed to see that it was the darkness which comes before the dawn. The feeling in favour of Prince Alfonso grew, and grew silently, and the bold man who first gave it expression was General Martinez Campos, who proclaimed Alfonso in Valencia on December 29th, 1874. The news spread through Spain like wildfire. Serrano, to save appearances, had already hurried from Madrid and taken command of the army of the north, only to find that his officers were avowed Alfonsists; a similar spirit seized the army of the centre, commanded by General Jovellar. Changeable Madrid was, of course, only too delighted to follow the example of the provinces. The garrison went over in a moment and proclaimed Alfonso XII.; a Ministry was formed, under the leadership of Canovas del Castillo, a journalist-statesman, who had been Finance Minister under O'Donnell and was banished at the Revolution in 1868. It was of a distinctly Conservative hue and embraced all the shades of that colour. It was with such preparations towards a stable Government that the promoters of the Bourbon Restoration were able to invite young Alfonso to return to his fatherland; and the king, in response to their invitation, landed at Barcelona, where he was received by royal salutes, and much cheering from an excited and loyal multitude. He entered Madrid on January 14, 1875.

The final extinction of Carlism was delayed by a period of exceedingly strained relations between the Spanish Government and that of the United States. The Cuban rebellion produced representations and remonstrances from President Grant. They were to the effect that the disturbed state of that island was an insupportable nuisance to the United States Government, and that it was due to the existence of slavery; that if the Government of Spain did not take some decided steps towards ameliorating the condition of the colony, his Government, with the sanction of the Great Powers,

would be compelled to interfere and raise Cuba into an independent Republic. A copy of this despatch, which was dated November 5th, was sent to the capitals of Europe, with the suggestion that an expression of approval of the views of the American Government would lead to a settlement and tend more surely to induce Spain by some wise and comprehensive measure to render intervention unnecessary. In spite of the coldness with which these proposals were received—Lord Derby, for one, by no means favouring the scheme—the United States Government, pending a reply from Madrid, made vigorous preparations for war and the matter began to assume a serious aspect. The Spanish Note, when it arrived, was found to be firm and, considering the exhausted condition of the country, remarkably dignified. After dealing point by point with the accusations of the United States, the Minister of Foreign Affairs mentioned that Spain had during the American civil war refused to acknowledge the Confederate States, and that it would therefore be most unjust if the United States recognised the Cuban insurgents. With this remonstrance General Grant was forced to be content, and he took occasion to represent to the American public, in his message to Congress, that for the present the recognition of the insurgent Cuban Government would be unwise and premature.

The death-struggle of Carlism may be briefly dismissed. General Martinez Campos, now Commander-in-Chief of the Alfonsists, had under him Loma, Quesada, Primo de Rivera, and Moriones, and they all acted harmoniously and zealously together. Gradually a narrowing circle was formed round the enemy; the bold Biscayans were caught in the toils. On February 26th, 1876, the faithful Lizauaga informed the French commander at Bayonne that Don Carlos, overcome by adversity, had resolved for the present to relinquish the useless struggle, and to beg the generous hospitality of France. Any further resistance on the part of his followers was now, of course, impossible. They availed themselves *en masse* of the promise of complete amnesty offered by the Government to all those who would lay down their arms before March 15th, and the war was snuffed out with a swiftness which proved how mistaken had been the Fabian tactics till then adopted by the Government generals.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

A quiet New Year—Mr. Gladstone resigns the Leadership of the Opposition—Candidates for the Leadership—Lord Hartington chosen—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address—The Artisans' Dwellings Bill—Mr. Cross's Speech—Mr. Fawcett's Criticism—John Mitchel—Mr. Parnell's first Appearance—Dr. Kenealy returned for Stoke—His Proceedings in the House—The Regimental Exchanges Bill—Mr. Trevelyan's Amendment—Lord Derby's Speech—The Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill—Speech of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—"Dry Champagne"—The Bill in Committee—Collapse of Obstruction—The American Loans Episode—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—Other Ministerial Measures—The Judicature Act Amendment Bill withdrawn—A Stop-gap Bill—Withdrawal of the Merchant Shipping Bill—The Plimsoll Episode—Mr. Bright on his Sect—Naval Disasters—The Loss of the *Schiller*—The Collision of the *Alberta* and the *Mistletoe*—Inquests on the Beries—Public Opinion—Loss of the *Vanguard*—Account of the Disaster—Evidence and Sentence of the Court-Martial—The Admiralty Minute and the First Lord's Speech—The Fugitive Slave Circular—Public Indignation and Withdrawal of the Circular—The Second Circular—Its Discussion in Parliament—Visit of the Sultan of Zanzibar—Messrs. Moedy and Sankey—Their Mission in Scotland, Ireland, and the Midlands—Arrival in London—At Eton—Their Departure—The O'Connell Centenary—Disturbances during the Procession and at the Banquet—The Darlington Jubilee—First Sitting of the High Court of Judicature—Obituary of the Year—The South Wales Strike—Lord Aberdare's Mediation—End of the Lock-Out—Prosperity of the Agricultural Labourers.

THE first week of the year 1875 passed off quietly enough. Perhaps the coldness of the weather chilled the energies of politicians; at any rate, they were for the most part silent, with the exception of Mr. Trevelyan, the sound of whose trenchant blows on the impenetrable armour of Sir William Harcourt rang with startling clearness through the frosty air. This unnatural calm, however, was not long to continue and Mr. Gladstone was once more the cause of the commotion that suddenly shook the political atmosphere. With the same startling abruptness as he had previously displayed in the dissolution of Parliament, he now announced in the newspapers that he had determined to resign the leadership of the Liberal party. The letter to Lord Granville by means of which this resolve was made public was dated January 13th. The ex-Premier considered that the time had arrived when he ought to revert to the object of the letter which he addressed to Lord Granville on March 12th, 1874; he said that he had "reviewed a number of considerations, both public and private, of which a portion—and these not by any means insignificant—were not in existence at the date of that letter. The result has been that I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as the head of the Liberal party; and that, at the age of sixty-five, and after forty-two years of a laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life." He offered his cordial support to whatever arrangements might be made for the treatment of general business and for the advantage or convenience of the Liberal party, and concluded

by saying that he was for a short time engaged on a special matter which occupied him closely. Though Mr. Gladstone had given the party fair notice of his intention, the immediate effect of the communication was that of a sudden blow. The remarkable activity displayed by him during the ecclesiastical legislation of the previous session had caused people to forget that Mr. Gladstone had— to use his own expression—reserved to himself entire freedom to divest himself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time and that the leadership had been, as a matter of fact, for some time "in commission." It was felt that Mr. Gladstone had a perfect right to act as he had done, much though the step was to be regretted; and at the same time it was not forgotten that his abdication was relative, not absolute, and that there was a strong probability when the battle began to rage again that he would smell it from afar and take his place in the front rank.

The consequence of the ex-Premier's retirement was obvious: a new leader would have to be selected by the party. Accordingly, a notice was issued by the Liberal whip, Mr. Adam, summoning a meeting at the Reform Club to discuss the question of the leadership in the Lower House. The result was eagerly anticipated; there were several men of talent among the party whose candidature had almost equal claims, if ability, experience, and tact were considered, and at first the choice appeared extremely difficult. The names of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, Sir William Harcourt, and the Marquis of Hartington were all mentioned as possessing favourable chances; great division of opinion manifested itself; nor did

the political utterances of the last of these statesmen and of Mr. Bright tend to clear away men's doubts, since they pointedly avoided the topic. Gradually, however, the numbers of the field became limited. Mr. Lowe was hardly popular enough to lead an opposition so disunited as the Liberals were at present; Mr. Goschen had hardly enough personality; Sir William Harcourt had too small a following and was thought to be averse from household suffrage in the counties. Then, shortly before the day appointed for the meeting, Mr. Forster—who, if honourable service counted for anything, would certainly have been the choice of the majority—wrote to Mr. Adam and withdrew his name from the list of candidates, on the ground that he “should not receive that general support without which he ought not to attempt to fulfil the duties of this most difficult, though honourable post.” That unfortunate twenty-fifth clause of the Elementary Education Act had been cast once more in his teeth. In the circumstances, the contest terminated in what in sporting phrase is called a “walk over.” At the meeting, which was by no means numerously attended, Lord Hartington, who was proposed by Mr. Charles Villiers and seconded by Mr. Samuel Morley, two politicians of widely divergent views, was elected without opposition and Mr. Bright, who had taken the chair, expressed his entire and hearty concurrence in the selection that had been made and complimented Lord Hartington on his “health and hard-headedness.”

He was soon to be put to the test. The session of Parliament opened on the 6th of February, when the royal speech was read by Commission, the original intention of the Queen to be present having been frustrated by the illness of her youngest son, Prince Leopold, which was at first of an alarming nature. It was not a sensational speech and it ushered in no sensational session. The peace of Europe, my lords and gentlemen were informed, had remained unbroken; England had refused to take further part in the conferences on the laws and usages of war and the question of formally recognising King Alfonso was under consideration. Passing to the affairs of the Colonies, the improved state of affairs on the Gold Coast, the measures taken for the better government of Natal, the annexation of Fiji, and the restoration of prosperity to the provinces of India, all received favourable comment. Then came the Ministerial programme—a list of little and useful measures. “The various statutes of an exceptional or temporary nature now in force for the preservation of peace

in Ireland will be brought to your notice, with a view to determine whether some of them may not be dispensed with;” there were to be bills for facilitating the transfer of land and completing the re-construction of the judicature, for improving agricultural tenancies, for improving working-men's dwellings in large towns, for consolidating the sanitary laws, for improving friendly societies, for punishing personal violence and for establishing the office of a public prosecutor.

Lord Hartington's first speech in the capacity of leader of the Opposition was looked forward to with much anticipation and it was soon decided that he quitted himself like a man. A remark of Mr. Disraeli's, in reply, to the effect that the practical way in which the noble lord had dealt with the address rendered any apology unnecessary from him for undertaking to fill the post he now occupied, was felt to be only just. Lord Hartington made a very good point by asking whether the Premier had repented of the pledge given to Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. Talbot, that the clauses of the Endowed Schools Act of the previous year, which were withdrawn, were not dropped, but simply postponed; and another by observing that the list of measures presented to the House was hardly such as might have been expected after all the outcries of the Conservatives, during the last few years, on the ruin and desolation of the country. To the last accusation Mr. Disraeli put forward a somewhat peculiar retort. “There is,” he said, “a most ingenious, but at the same time most inconvenient, course, which I have noticed among many hon. gentlemen opposite—and to-night the noble lord has assumed the habit as if he had been born to it—of seeking out the most violent speeches made by the most unimportant persons in the most obscure places, and the most absurd articles appearing in the dullest and most unimportant newspapers, and saying these are the opinions of the great Conservative party. Sir, I must protest against the grotesque reminiscences of the noble lord.”

With as little delay as possible Mr. Cross introduced his Bill for facilitating the improvement of the dwellings of the working-classes in large towns, which became known more familiarly as the Artisans' Dwellings Bill. After graceful allusion to the labours of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir Sydney Waterlow, and Mr. W. M. Torrens, he proceeded to quote a memorial of the Charity Organisation Society, which urged the imperative necessity of comprehensive improvement in the interests of the poorer classes. After stating the maxim that health is wealth, Mr. Cross



QUEEN VICTORIA (1875).

FROM THE COPY BY LADY ABERCROMBY IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY AFTER THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT PAINTED BY PROFESSOR H. VON ANGELI.

proceeded to quote facts to show the localisation of disease and death. "See," said he, "the marked difference between one part of a town and another. In Liverpool, where the death-rate is 38 in 1,000—the average throughout the whole country being about 28 per 1,000—some parts of the town are just as healthy as some parts of London, and if you inquire into local areas, you will find that in certain courts the death-rate

In Paddington, in the less crowded district, with one-sixth of the population of the other district, twice the number of children grow up to be adults." These evils sprang from over-crowding and bad building; and he went on to show, from his personal observation, what great results had been effected under the imperfect Acts already in existence in Liverpool, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. He proposed therefore to empower



TREASURY CHAMBERS, WHITEHALL. (From a Photograph by J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.)

is very greatly in excess of other parts of the town, and swells the total average. For instance, in one district in London, having a population of from 2,000 to 2,100, there have been more people sick in five years than the whole population—not of ordinary diseases, but fevers—and there is not one house where there is not a death annually. These are startling facts; and when you find that in Manchester, in some of the small enumerated districts, the death-rate was in one district 67 per 1,000, and that in another district—now happily swept away—the death-rate amounted to 70 per 1,000, it must be admitted that there is a great deal of preventible disease.

corporations, on the report of their medical officers, to acquire by compulsory purchase the land on which these "rookeries" existed. They were then empowered to let out the land for building, and in special cases to build themselves, on the express condition that there should be accommodation for the labouring classes. Powers were to be given for borrowing and lending to the local authorities by the Public Works Commissioners at a certain rate of interest.

This measure was at first received with a chorus of approval, the general complaint being that it was of too limited a range. Afterwards, at the suggestion of Mr. Fawcett, a provision was

made that if the local authority failed to let the land, it might be put up to auction by the Secretary of State at the end of five years. That talented political economist prophesied that in many cases there would be great difficulty in obtaining remunerative prices for the sites whereupon rookeries formerly stood, shackled as the local boards were by conditions as to rebuilding; and when, in 1879, the Metropolitan Board of Works, in consequence of pressure from the Home Office, sold some of its sites to the Peabody Trustees at a loss to the ratepayers of nearly £600,000, it seemed as if his worst fears had been realised, but the rise in the value of land eventually made such a contingency seem more remote. In spite of the Cassandra-like forebodings of Mr. Fawcett, the measure might fairly be considered a step in the right direction: at any rate, the Board of Works thought so, and it was promptly put in motion by the district boards of Holborn and Whitechapel against the small-pox-haunted rookeries within their jurisdiction.

The Friendly Societies Bill, which was introduced on the same day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was an equally modest measure and equally beneficial. There was, however, a certain timidity about it, which marred its otherwise excellent intentions. Societies were offered facilities for testing the soundness of their calculations and arrangements, but they were not subjected to compulsory supervision, and they might, if they pleased, appoint an auditor of their own selection, instead of a Government official. This was the first of the specimens of permissive legislation to which the Conservatives became so wedded at this time; it was open to the objection common to all such measures, that the dishonest societies would decline to place themselves under its restrictions, while it was unnecessary in the case of honest associations. The Bill was read, however, a second time without a division, and worked so satisfactorily when put in practice that it was a subject of regret that its provisions were not more stringent.

Two Parliamentary elections disturbed the peaceful course of the political stream during the earlier months of the year, and the results in both cases were certainly unusual. That for Tipperary resulted in the unopposed return of Mr. John Mitchel, one of the Fenians of '48, who had escaped from Tasmania, it was said, like Meagher and others, by breaking his parole, and who as a citizen of the United States had fought for the South against the North, in which cause he lost a

son. Of course the election could not be sanctioned by the House, and Mr. Disraeli promptly moved "that John Mitchel having been adjudged guilty of treason-felony, and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and not having endured the full term of his sentence, or received pardon under the Great Seal, has become, and continues to be, incapable of sitting in Parliament," and moved for a new writ. Thereupon an animated debate arose among legal experts on the nice points whether the chosen of Tipperary could be proceeded against for breaking prison or for not having served out his original sentence, and if not, whether he was labouring under any legal disability. The Attorney-General opined that he could not be re-arrested, owing to the peculiar provisions of the Irish law, but that he still remained a felon. The debate dragged on wearily, the only moment of interest being caused by the emphatic declaration of Mr. John Martin, Mitchel's brother-in-law. "I, John Martin, member for Meath, who am called honourable by this House, and who value my honour above all other kind of reputation, declare that if John Mitchel broke his parole, I broke mine." At length, in spite of the wish expressed by Mr. Whitbread, Lord Hartington, and others, that the question should be referred to a Select Committee, Mr. Disraeli's motion was accepted by the House and a fresh writ was issued for Tipperary. On this second occasion Mitchel stood again, and Mr. Moore, a Conservative, against him; the former was elected by a big majority, but Mr. Moore brought the case before the Irish Court of Common Pleas and the return was set aside. The undaunted agitator thereupon declared that he would stand for every vacant seat in Ireland, so that they should be disfranchised one after another, and it seemed as if in these latter days a second Wilkes had arisen. However, an uncompromising adversary met him in the gate; before the month was out, death laid him by the heels. Mr. John Martin, who was passionately attached to Mr. Mitchel, followed him within a few days to the grave, much to the regret of all who knew him, for the violence of his opinions was more than counterbalanced by his genuine honesty. In his stead, Mr. C. S. Parnell, a young man who had been educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge, was returned without opposition.

The second election was that of Dr. Kenealy, for Stoke-on-Trent—perhaps the strongest instance on the record of those years exemplifying the vitality of popular delusions. The choice was a peculiar one, but Dr. Kenealy appeared before the

pottery in the character of one who, oppressed himself, was yet a champion of the oppressed; he used swelling words, talking much of *Magna Charta*, death to tyrants, the glorious privileges of an Englishman, and no Popery. They believed him, just as the electors of Tipperary—probably far more justly—believed John Mitchel. There were three candidates—Mr. Davenport, Q.C., a Conservative, Mr. Walton, a Liberal working man, who had the support of Mr. Bright, and Dr. Kenealy, who called himself, and was, Independent. There was evidently much bitter feeling at work, no one knew exactly why, and if the Kenealy party had been defeated, a serious riot would have been imminent; however, all passed off quietly when the numbers were announced—for Kenealy, 6,110; for Walton, 4,168; and for Davenport, 3,901.

Forthwith the doctor presented himself to take his seat. For many years it had been customary that a new Member should be presented to the Speaker by two Members, but the Member for Stoke appeared alone. The Speaker reminded him that he was breaking an ancient custom, whereupon Dr. Kenealy launched forth into a speech on the law of the House, which was cut short by the information that it was not for him to discuss the rules. Mr. Disraeli, however, proposed that the ceremony should be waived on this occasion; it had been instituted, he said, to establish identity, but the identity of the honourable member was indisputable, and he carried the day, although Mr. Bright good-naturedly offered to become one of his escorts if Mr. Whalley would be the other.

It was anticipated that the Member for Stoke would soon be reduced to decorum by the House of Commons, but he did not yield without a struggle. He began by attacking Mr. Evelyn Ashley by accusing him of unjust comments on the use made of Jean Luie in the Tichborne trial, and extracted an apology. Then he made a three hours' speech on the Tichborne trial, the division on which gave him but one supporter, Major O'Gorman. After an excursion to the Potteries, he returned undaunted to the charge with a Bill for establishing Triennial Parliaments, which was counted out on the first occasion by the "shallow, miserable, and ignorant statesmen of the day," and on the second was defeated by 68 votes to 11. The doctor's speeches were less frequent after this defeat; still he had wasted much time and put Government to considerable inconvenience.

The Regimental Exchanges Bill, introduced soon after the appearance of Dr. Kenealy by Mr.

Gathorne Hardy, caused some surprise, as it had not been announced in the Speech from the Throne. Its object was expressed plainly enough in its title: namely, to legalise, as recommended by a Royal Commission, exchange by purchase in the case of officers who wished to quit their present regiment, either from reasons of health or monetary considerations. Mr. Hardy protested that such a measure could not possibly bring about a re-introduction of the purchase system, and declared that he had not proceeded by warrant, as the previous Parliament had done, because he thought that the Houses ought to be consulted, and because the War Office would have to lay down a regulation price, which he thought would be altogether a mistake. Of course, there was a great outcry from the Liberal benches: it was, they said, a restoration of purchase under another name. The debate was one of the most animated of the Session. Mr. Lowe made a palpable hit when he said there were three things which ought never to be bought or sold—the virtue of a woman, the integrity of a statesman, and the honour of a soldier—but numbers carried the day against eloquence, and the Bill passed its second reading by a majority of 97. In Committee, an amendment of Mr. Trevelyan's, to the effect that the provisions of the Act should not apply to any officer who had entered her Majesty's service on any day subsequent to the 1st of November, 1871, brought Mr. Gladstone forward once more. In a short and temperate speech the great orator pointed out the danger of reactionary measures, and condemned the theory embodied in the Bill under consideration: that the possession of wealth is a ground for the avoidance of irksome service. The Secretary for War, in a very graceful reply, expressed his pleasure at hearing the eloquent voice and arguments of Mr. Gladstone yet again, and thanked him for his courtesy to himself. He refused, however, to accept the amendment; it was based on the fact that no faith could be placed in the declarations of British officers, but he trusted in their honour and integrity. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 91.

In the House of Lords the Bill was accepted by a large majority, after a very fine debate, in which Lord Cardwell and Lord Sandhurst—the latter in a particularly brilliant argument—attacked the Bill on the ground that payment would end in the poor officers doing the work of the rich, the former serving at home, and the latter abroad; while the Duke of Cambridge ably seconded Lord Derby in his defence of the Bill. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made what was, on the whole, the

ablest of all the Ministerial speeches. He utterly demolished the restoration-of-purchase theory, by pointing out that no officer could buy himself into higher rank or higher pay. "All that he gets by exchange is an appointment exactly similar to that which he held before; and in point of fact he is rather a loser, for he goes to the bottom of his own rank. Does he stand in the way of anyone else's promotion? No; all he gains is to be quartered in a place which, for purely personal feelings, whether of health, family, or taste, he finds better suited to him than another." Altogether, Lord Derby's remarks were of the most reassuring kind, and public opinion was completely won over by his moderation and decisiveness of judgment.

It is unnecessary to linger over the Army and Navy estimates or the Budget, the discussion of which last was made remarkable only by the fact that Sir Stafford Northcote repelled a somewhat irregular attack of Mr. Gladstone with such ease that he established his reputation as an accomplished financier. The Irish Coercion Bill, or, as it was officially and euphemistically called, the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill, was not so much of importance from its intrinsic merits as for the development of the system of obstruction of debate, to which it indirectly gave a distinct impulse. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach asked for the renewal of the Peace Preservation Act for five years, and the Protection of Life and Property Act of 1871, which was confined to Westmeath and the surrounding districts, where Ribbonism was still known to exist, for two years; he proposed to allow the Act for the summary suppression of seditious papers to lapse; the punishment for the unlawful possession of arms was to be reduced from two years' imprisonment with hard labour, to one year's imprisonment without; the clauses authorising the arrest of suspected persons, the closing of public-houses, and the search for arms in specially proclaimed districts were to be dropped. At the conclusion of an extremely able speech, the Chief Secretary for Ireland urged that restrictive laws cannot be immediately and entirely removed, and that, whatever the outward appearance of the country, a policy of gradual relaxation is the only policy which Government could safely recommend. He hoped, however, that the next time the subject was brought before the House the circumstances of Ireland would be such as to warrant Government in at length proposing that there should be the same laws for Ireland as for the rest of the United Kingdom. Lord Hartington, who followed, and who spoke

with the authority of a late Chief Secretary, cordially endorsed these opinions: indeed, the speech was received with approbation by nearly the whole of the Liberal party, and by moderate Irishmen of the stamp of The O'Connor Don.

The Home Rulers, however, who, from the expression in the Queen's Speech, had hoped for greater things than these, were, perhaps not altogether without reason, very angry indeed, and they put forth their whole strength in Committee in order to embarrass and hamper Government. The second reading was carried without much difficulty, though Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Member for Louth, a journalist who, in the capacity of editor of the *Nation* newspaper, had made himself a prominent man in Ireland, as Mr. Chichester Fortescue found to his cost at the general election of 1873, made a long speech, in which he dwelt in detail on the absence of ordinary crime in Ireland and expressed his doubts as to the existence of Ribbonism. To this last argument Mr. Disraeli replied by an apologue which is well worth retelling. "In Mr. Canning's time, besides the discovery of a new world, dry champagne was invented. Hearing everybody talk of dry champagne, Mr. Canning had a great desire to taste it, and Charles Ellis, afterwards Lord Seaford, got up a little dinner for him, care, of course, being taken that there should be some dry champagne. Mr. Canning took a glass and, after drinking it and thinking for a moment, exclaimed:—'The man who says he likes dry champagne will say anything.' Now, I do not wish to enter into any rude controversy with any of my hon. friends opposite who doubt the existence of Ribbonism, but this I will say, that the man who maintains that Ribbonism does not exist is a man who ought to drink dry champagne."

In spite of this condemnation, the Member for Louth persevered in his vigorous opposition to the Coercion Bill and it needed all the patience and all the tact of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to steer the "message of peace" through Committee. Reinforced by an occasional ally from the Liberal side and, on one occasion, when Sir William Harcourt proposed that the whole of the Act should be limited to two years, by the mass of the Liberal party, the compact little body of Irishmen brought forward amendment after amendment and division followed division. On one amendment, Mr. Biggar, member for Cavan, distinguished himself by a four hours' speech, and such was the wealth of oratory at the disposal of Mr. Butt and his subordinates, that an offer of assistance from

the Irish Conservatives was contemptuously rejected, Mr. Sullivan taking occasion to designate them by the novel nickname of Ultramarines. On the whole, the Home Rulers had no reason to feel dissatisfied with the result of their labours; the more stringent provisions of the Bill were mitigated. At length, the Irish Members suffered their mutilated prey to escape from their grip, Mr. Butt, on the last night, declaring, with an

application of the epithet "disreputable" to his party in an extra-Parliamentary speech by Mr. Lopes, member for Frome, and had couched his lance against the Premier and once had overthrown him. To find the cause of this passage of arms, we must travel to Central and South America, where the republics of Honduras, Paraguay, San Domingo, and Costa Rica, finding themselves in pecuniary difficulties, determined to



MR. DISRAELI TELLING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HIS STORY ABOUT "DRY CHAMPAGNE." (See p. 152.)

unexpected outburst of sentiment, that the kindness with which their speeches had been received, both by Government and the House, would do much to soften the ill-feeling with which the measure would be received in Ireland. "I merely rise," replied Mr. Disraeli, with solemnity, "to say that I think this is the best message of peace that we have had for a long period." The Upper House was apparently of the same opinion and passed the Bill, without a division and without much discussion, in the second week of May.

During these weeks of weary debates, Mr. Sullivan had by no means confined his attention to Irish affairs; he had found time to resent the

raise money, after the ordinary practice, by foreign loans, but with very insincere prospectuses. Much distress and discontent arose accordingly; and at length, on the motion of Sir Henry James, a Select Committee was appointed, with Mr. Lowe as chairman, which drew up an elaborate report on this peculiarly unfavourable instance of Stock Exchange morality. In the interval between the commencement and the conclusion of their labours, a letter appeared both in the *Times* and *Daily News* from the Honduras Minister at Paris, addressed to Mr. Lowe, containing a libellous attack on Mr. Bedford Pim, M.P., who had fallen foul of the envoy about these loans. This letter, Mr. Charles Lewis,

Member for Londonderry, took upon himself to resent as a breach of privilege, and the House agreed with him, whereupon he moved that the printers of the *Times* and *Daily News* should be directed to attend at the bar of the House on a certain day and at a certain hour. To this Mr. Disraeli rather feebly assented, but when the time came he confessed his error and moved that the order be discharged. However, the Premier's weakness was Mr. Sullivan's opportunity, and he asked Mr. Disraeli whether he intended to propose some reform which should relieve the public press from the hazards at which it discharged important and useful functions towards the House and towards the country. Then receiving a curt reply in the negative, the vivacious Member for Louth announced his intention of "espionage" every evening until some attention was paid to his wishes. However, at the request of Lord Hartington, he postponed the fulfilment of his stern resolve; but Mr. Biggar would brook no delay, and he promptly "espied strangers" in the gallery at a moment when the Prince of Wales was present and the Heir Apparent had to withdraw. With much heat the Premier reminded Mr. Biggar that the House of Commons was an assembly of gentlemen and moved the suspension of the Standing Order concerning strangers, a motion seconded by Lord Hartington, and the reporters and the Prince returned in peace. Still Mr. Disraeli refused to act; Lord Hartington's proposed resolution by which the Speaker or Chairman of Committees retained the power of excluding strangers, while time was economised by the provision that the question, that they be ordered to withdraw, must be put at once, without debate, he contemptuously rejected and declared his opinion that the wisest course would be not to assent to any change of the common law of Parliament. Mr. Sullivan thereupon proceeded to "spy strangers," and an unseemly wrangle arose about what the creator of all the disorder termed "Press slavery," which did not terminate until after one o'clock. Mr. Disraeli was compelled by this move to swing rapidly round and to accept Lord Hartington's resolution with a few modifications.

Meanwhile, the Lords were far busier than was their wont and were taking the initiative in legislation of a somewhat pretentious character. The Agricultural Holdings Bill was introduced into the Upper House by the Duke of Richmond on March 12th. In a speech remarkable rather for its sound common sense than for any flights of oratory, he propounded to the House the details of

a measure which was soon found to be a thoroughly conscientious, if somewhat too cautious, attempt to deal with the intricate question of Tenant Right. He began by informing their lordships that the Bill under consideration would apply only to agricultural holdings in England: not because he desired to evade dealing with the matter as regarded Scotland, but because the difference of the laws and customs prevailing in the two countries respectively was so great as to forbid the combining of their cases in one and the same Bill. The principle of the Bill which he proceeded to lay before their lordships was that where a tenant made improvements of certain kinds he should be entitled to compensation, whether he cultivated the land under a yearly tenancy or under a lease. These improvements he divided into three classes—drainage, hedges, and so forth; boning and marling of pasture land and artificial manure—and different conditions for compensation were attached to each. Those in the first class were not to be allowed unless the improvement had been made within twenty years before the termination of the tenancy, those in the second within seven years, and those in the third within two. The tenant's compensation was liable to deductions on account of taxes or rent due and for various acts of waste. Notices of claims were to be given within three months before the end of the tenancy; in case the landlord and tenant did not agree, their differences were to be settled by a referee; and in case the referees did not agree, the County Court judge might appoint an umpire; no appeal would be allowed for any sum less than £100. The tenant's security would be that the amount of compensation granted him might be made a charge on the holding; and the limited owner would also be brought within the four corners of the Bill. In yearly tenancies the notice to quit would be increased from half a year to a year; but existing leases were excluded from the operation of the Bill. The principle of the measure was permissive as regards yearly holdings, either landlord or tenant being able to give notice within two months of the coming into operation of the Act that he did not intend to avail himself of its provisions. He did not propose to interfere with freedom of contract.

The cheers which greeted the Duke's speech in the House of Lords may fairly be said to have been re-echoed by the country. Not that there was any originality in the measure: on the contrary, its principle was borrowed from the Irish Land Act of 1870; not that it was likely to prove a radical cure for existing evil: on the contrary,

it was styled a tentative and half-hearted Bill. On the other hand, the difficulties and prejudices with which any attempt to alter the land laws was surrounded were acknowledged to be enormous; there was much force in the argument that compulsory legislation tended rather to check than to promote production; and the charge of placing restraints on freedom of contract could only be avoided by giving the Bill a permissive character. Mr. Disraeli, on introducing this landlords' bugbear in the Lower House on June 24th, expressed a hope that the Bill would meet with the approval of Members and prove beneficial to the country; his speech allayed all apprehensions. On the night of the second reading, Mr. Lowe, who confessed himself not to be a great master of his subject, was the only Liberal leader who found serious fault with the Bill; and though Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen in Committee did his best to make it hateful to land-owners by limiting their power to contract themselves out of its provisions, he was not more successful than Mr. Fawcett in his attempt to reduce the permissive clause to conformity with the doctrines of political economy. Late in the Session the Agricultural Holdings Bill became law.

There were some other Government proposals which were not received with equal favour. There was a Patents Bill which came to nothing, but an excellent Public Health Bill effected a statesman-like consolidation of previous legislation on the subject. It is sufficient to mention the names of other measures, which, though exceedingly useful, were unpretentious and did not provoke any attention or discussion; they were the Sale of Food and Drugs Bill, the Land Titles and Transfer Bill, the Epping Forest Bill, and the Explosives Bill. On the other hand, Mr. Cross brought in two excellent measures for amending the labour laws: one the Employers and Workmen Bill, which secured masters from injury done to them either by breach of contract of service or by malicious injury; and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Bill, in which, supported by the valuable aid of Mr. Lowe, he succeeded in asserting the legality of Trades Unions, while he protected substitutes or contented workmen from the annoyances inflicted on them by artisans on strike, by making it unlawful to follow a man about from place to place, or to watch or beset him with the intent seriously to annoy or intimidate him.

The Judicature Act Amendment Bill, which had been sacrificed in the previous year to the Public Worship Regulation Bill, was the

cause of some very peculiar proceedings which aroused at the time much indignation. It was re-introduced by Lord Cairns, in accordance with the promise contained in the Queen's Speech, early in the Session. It is unnecessary to describe its details, inasmuch as it never came to maturity: a fact which was all the more surprising because it was fairly well received. The cause of the sudden death of the Judicature Act Amendment Bill after it had passed, apparently unscathed, through the ordeal of a second reading was the sullen hostility of a certain section of the Upper House. Lord Selborne's great Act of 1873 had proposed to abolish the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords for all divisions of the realm, but this had been effected only as far as England was concerned and not in Scotland and Ireland, to which countries it was to be extended by the present Bill. Now the peers bitterly regretted the surrender of one of their most cherished privileges, and the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Redesdale, and others, announced that after Easter they would propose amendments of a strongly reactionary character, relying for support in their unusual course of action on the prominent members of the bar in the Lower House, headed by Mr. Spencer Walpole. They went further and formed a committee, the influence of which—though the names of its members were never formally made known—was so powerful, and the pressure it contrived to exercise on Government so great, that Lord Cairns, early in March, suddenly astonished the uninitiated by announcing that the Judicature Bill was to be withdrawn. Loud was the indignation of the Liberal peers at this ignominious surrender to what Lord Selborne called "circumstances to which it was painful to allude;" Lord Grey declared that a measure, "having been introduced by the Government, ought not to be disposed of by secret communications;" and Lord Granville exclaimed, "Let the Bill be discussed in open light; let us have the opinion of the House on it, and do not let it be withdrawn in this manner." Nevertheless, the Cabal prevailed.

The unfortunate Lord Chancellor was compelled to eat the leek with the best grace he could, and instead of his thorough Bill, he produced, about a month later, a slight and temporary attempt to remedy mistakes without exciting prejudices. The informal Lords' Committee were found to have won all along the line; not only was their appellate jurisdiction not to be taken away from them in Scotland and Ireland, but it was to be restored to them in England as well for one year,

after which the question of the Court of Final Appeal was to be reconsidered on broad and general grounds. In the meanwhile he proposed to constitute at once an intermediate appellate court to hear appeals from all courts, and to consist of ten judges, five of whom were to receive salaries, while the *ex officio* members were to be the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of whom not more than three were to sit at a time. Of the officers of this new Court, Lord Selborne some days afterwards expressed considerable doubts. No necessity, he thought, had been shown for hastily deciding to overturn what had been done two years ago; and it was not for the public interest that the decisions of Parliament upon questions of that magnitude, whatever they might be, should be constantly disturbed.

In the House of Commons, the Attorney-General, Sir John Holker, to whose care the Judicature Bill was committed, introduced it with the almost apologetic remark that it would be futile to attempt to adhere to the abolition of the legal jurisdiction of the House of Lords. Mr. Disraeli did not speak, and a lawyers' debate ensued, in which Sir William Harcourt, though he announced his intention of voting for the second reading, made a trenchant speech against it, wishing to know, amongst other things, why, if they were going to hang up the question of a Final Court of Appeal, there was any necessity to produce an intermediate appeal at all? A debate on an amendment introduced by Sir Henry James was remarkable as being one of the rare occasions on which Mr. Gladstone addressed the House. The question at issue was the reduction of the number of salaried judges, and the ex-Premier gave his opinion that law reforms turned on establishments: the creation of new establishments, and the continuance of old establishments. In spite of this condemnatory view, the Judicature Amendment Bill passed the House of Commons almost intact, and was found to work to the satisfaction of everyone concerned.

The hurried monotony of the closing weeks of a most industrious session was suddenly broken in upon by an incident of a startling and painful nature. For some years public indignation against the unseaworthiness of many snips owned by wealthy and experienced men, and the consequent loss of life, had been increasing steadily, and Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, Member for Derby, became its spokesman. He issued a book called "Our Seamen :

an Appeal," which created great anger among individual owners from its sweeping charges, but which the public believed to be correct in the main. This attack on criminal negligence was followed up by a Bill for the protection of the lives of seamen, which he introduced into the House of Commons in 1874, when, in spite of its exceedingly drastic nature, it suffered defeat by a narrow majority of three only. Undismayed by defeat, he continued, both inside and outside Parliament, to agitate for the abolition of this wickedness, and such was the force of his eloquent tongue that Government, though their hands were already full, were forced to take up the question. A Merchant Shipping Acts Amendment Bill was accordingly entrusted to Sir Charles Adderley, and read without a division on April 8th. The President of the Board of Trade did not make out a very strong case, nor did he attempt to go to the root of the matter. Nevertheless, a half-cure was felt to be better than none, and it was with some indignation that the House received from Mr. Disraeli the intelligence that the Bill, the progress of which had been constantly checked by the pressure of other business, was now to be abandoned altogether in favour of the Agricultural Holdings Bill.

This was too much for Mr. Plimsoll. The effect of overwork and disappointment rushed with sudden and unbearable violence upon him and he completely lost all self-control. He begged to move the adjournment of the House. "Sir," he cried, in tones of the utmost excitement, "I earnestly entreat the right hon. gentleman at the head of her Majesty's Government not to consign some thousands of living human beings to undeserved and miserable death. There are shipowners in this country of ours," he continued, "who have never built a ship or bought a new one, but who are simply what are called 'ship-knackers'; and I accidentally overheard a Member of the House described in the lobby by an ex-Secretary to the Treasury as a 'ship-knacker.'" At this point the Speaker interposed and pointed out to Mr. Plimsoll that he was not in order, whereupon he passionately declared that on Tuesday next he would put a question to the President of the Board of Trade. "I will ask the right hon. gentleman whether he will inform the House as to the following ships—the *Tethys*, the *Melbourne*, the *Nora Graeme*, which were all lost in 1874, with eighty-seven lives, and the *Foundling* and *Sydney Dacres*, abandoned in the early part of this year, representing in all a tonnage of 9,000 tons; and

I shall ask him whether the registered owner of these ships, Edward Bates, is the Member for Plymouth, or if he is some other person of the same name. And, Sir, I shall ask some questions about Members on this side of the House

so—"this," he added, as he placed a paper on the table, "is my protest."

A scene of wild confusion followed, during which Mr. Plimsoll resisted all attempts to lead him to his place, but stood in the middle of the hall,



SAMUEL PLIMSOLL.

also. I am determined to unmask the villains who send to death and destruction—" Again the Speaker interposed, amidst great excitement, and said that the word "villains" was an unparliamentary expression and that he trusted that it had not been used with reference to any member of the House. "I did, Sir," retorted Mr. Plimsoll, "and I decline to withdraw it:" a declaration which he repeated thrice; and when informed that his conduct must be submitted to the judgment of the House, he said that he should be happy to have it

waving his hands violently in the air. In a few remarks, which displayed much good taste and gentle commiseration, Mr. Disraeli expressed his sense of deep pain that a brother Member should have conducted himself in a manner almost unparalleled and moved that he be reprimanded for his violent and disorderly conduct. The Speaker directed the Member for Derby to speak from his place, and then withdraw; but Mr. Plimsoll preferred to withdraw at once, exclaiming as he was leaving the House, "Do you know that

thousands are dying for this?" As soon as he was gone, Lord Hartington, who seconded Mr. Disraeli's motion, appealed for postponement of action in the matter, and Mr. Sullivan, who with Mr. Fawcett, had gone after Mr. Plimsoll, informed the House that his friend was extremely ill, and that his mental excitement was the result of over-strain. The Prime Minister, on receiving these representations, at once agreed to adjourn the matter for a week.

In the interval, the feeling of the country expressed itself in a manner not to be mistaken; meeting after meeting was held, and numerous expressions of sympathy were sent to the high-minded, if excitable, enthusiast. Mr. Bates found occasion to offer an ample explanation of the charges so hastily urged against him. The agitation continued to acquire fresh strength, but before the week had elapsed Mr. Plimsoll appeared in his place and made a full apology for his excessive display of heat. Patriotism, good sense, and good feeling alike demanded that he should withdraw such expressions as had transgressed Parliamentary usage, and this he did frankly and in no grudging or reluctant spirit. "I trust, Sir," he added, "that it will not be found inconsistent with that respect which I feel for, and have now expressed to, this House, if I add that I do not withdraw any statement of fact." This apology Mr. Disraeli at once accepted, saying that if he had been aware of the circumstances with which the House was afterwards acquainted, he would not have made the motion which he had submitted to their notice, and he at once moved that the order should be discharged.

The matter did not end there, for so great was the tension of the public feeling that a Government Bill was hastily introduced in the last fortnight of the session to meet the difficulty. It was a temporary measure, but as might be expected if it was to have Mr. Plimsoll's approval, very thorough as far as it went. The Board of Trade was entrusted for a year with extraordinary powers for detaining ships, and the responsibility of fixing a load-line was thrown upon owners, while grain was not to be carried in bulk where it should form more than a third of the cargo. The extraordinary episode was over, but it would certainly have never occurred to anyone that it reflected any credit on Government, had not Mr. Disraeli, at a Mansion House dinner, taken occasion to explain that such was really the case. He explained with sublime audacity that "it was not under pressure of public opinion, but by aid of public opinion, that

we have carried this measure. . . . The Bill was introduced, and the feeling of the country was so great that it assisted what was the policy of the Government, and enabled us to do that in ten or twelve hours which otherwise we could not have done in twelve days." The Prime Minister was evidently possessed with a most convenient memory.

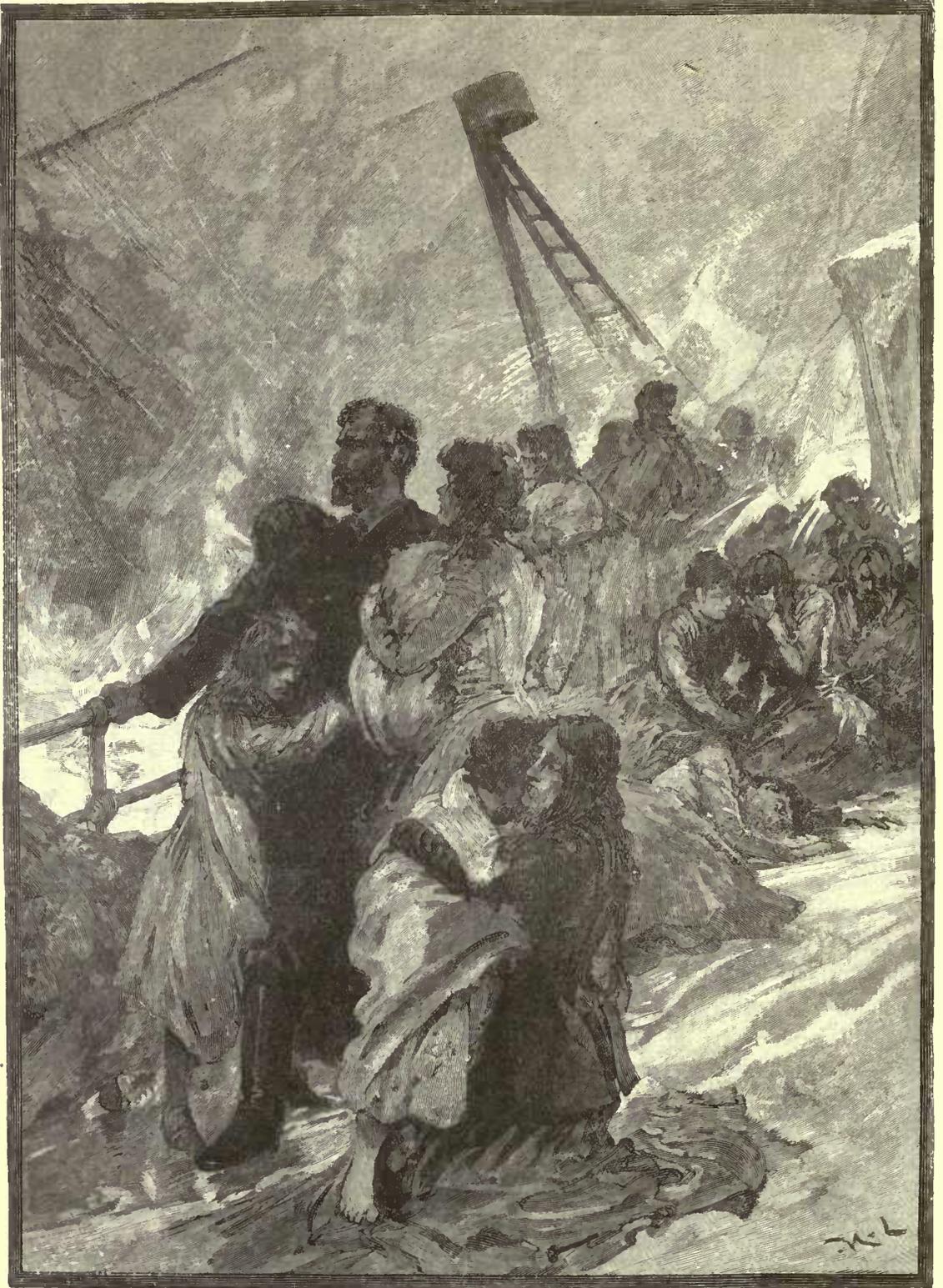
The Parliamentary history of the year need not detain us much longer. There was a good debate on the sum which was to be granted to the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his proposed visit to India, and another on the Russian advance in Central Asia, in which Sir George Campbell, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, particularly distinguished himself; but the finest speech of the session, and, indeed, of many sessions was made on the well-worn subject of the Burials Bill, and it has therefore been reserved as a *bonne bouche* until the last. The question was brought to the notice of Parliament by Mr. Osborne Morgan, its unflagging advocate, and the oratorical effort of the session was made by Mr. Bright. "You say," he retorted to his opponents, "the graveyard is the graveyard of the parish. Well, the body which is brought to the parish graveyard is that of a parishioner whom only last week you held as a fellow-parishioner, and whom you met in your streets, on his farm, or in his garden. He is brought to the graveyard, and his friends propose to bury him there. But you say—'No, he shall not come at all, except on certain conditions. First of all, he shall have read over him a service arranged some two hundred or three hundred years ago'—which I am willing to admit is very impressive and beautiful; nobody, I think, denies that—but, 'he shall have this read over him, and nothing else; if he does not have this, he shall have nothing at all;' I will not say that he shall be buried like a dog—that is an expression founded on a miserable superstition; why, in that case, I shall be buried like a dog, and all those with whom I am best acquainted, whom I best love and esteem, shall be buried like dogs." He then went on to describe with moving pathos the mode of burial in vogue among his own sect. "We have no service—no ordered or stated service—over the dead. We do not think that necessary. But when a funeral occurs in my sect, the body is borne, with as much decency and solemnity as in any other sect, or in any other case, to the graveside. The coffin is laid by the side of the grave. The family and friends and the mourners stand around, and they are given some time—no fixed

time: it may be five minutes, or ten, or even longer—for that private and solemn meditation to which the grave invites even the most unthinking and the most frivolous. If anyone feels it his duty to offer any word of exhortation, he is at liberty to offer it. If he feels that he can bow the knee and offer a prayer to Heaven, not for the dead, but for those who stand around the grave, for comfort for the widow, or for succour and fatherly care for the fatherless children, that prayer is offered." In conclusion, he regretted that the question was made one of party. Party or other considerations, however, did prevail, and the Bill was rejected, though only by a narrow majority of fourteen. Such were the annals of a session which Lord Hartington, with somewhat unjust severity, described as "aimless and purposeless, and barren of all benefit to the country, and all credit to Parliament."

The naval catastrophes of the year 1875 were numerous and untoward, and the loss of the *Schiller* in May was the first of a series of terrible wrecks, which destroyed many a brave man's life, and which caused sorrow and want to visit many a home. The vessel was a splendid iron screw-steamer of 3,500 tons, belonging to a German steamship company, the Adler line. She left New York on April 28th, bound for Hamburg, with instructions to call at Plymouth on her way. There were on board a crew of 101 officers and men and 254 passengers; the *Schiller* also carried the heavy Australian and New Zealand mails, and specie to the value of 300,000 dollars. During the voyage the vessel encountered very dirty weather and hence was somewhat behind time. Three days before the fatal 7th of May the fog came on so thickly that it was impossible to take observations. Still Captain Thomas clung to the idea of making a quick passage; he knew that he was near the dangerous Scilly Isles, and wishing to give them a wide berth, he suddenly altered his course and proceeded to the S.S.W., nearly at right angles to his former direction. Unfortunately, the movement was made too late; an hour afterwards, about ten p.m., the vessel struck on the Retarrier reef, and in a few moments she was thrown over on to her broadside, and soon began to break up on the teeth of the granite rocks. In spite of the panic, seven of the eight boats were eventually got out, but two were broken by the fall of the smoke-stack; only three were launched with any success, and only two survived the storm. About one o'clock a heavy sea caught the vessel and swept away the pavilion,

with its two hundred inmates, crying for help where help there was none. The captain then collected all he could on the bridge, and stood there, with women and children clinging about him; they were washed off one by one, and about three the brave man himself was called down to the deck to save someone, when a merciless wave seized him and whirled him off. At length the islanders became aware that their brother-men were perishing from want of help at their very doors, and they at once began to launch boats with all possible speed. They arrived, however, too late on the scene of the disaster to do more than pick up those who were still floating about here and there. Of the 355 who at ten p.m. on the previous night were anticipating a speedy arrival at their desired haven, but forty-five were saved; the women perished all but one. The two boats, after having been swamped several times, drifted with the tide in the direction of Trescoe, where they were received and taken in by Mr. Dorrien Smith, the lord proprietor of the island. It was stated at the inquest that had there been telegraphic communication between the Bishop Light and the shore, all on board might have been rescued, and the first and fourth officers concurred in this view.

Such was the absorbing nature of the interest aroused by the loss of the *Schiller* that the wreck of the *Cadiz* off Brest, whereby some sixty lives were lost, passed almost unnoticed. This was not the case with the collision of the *Alberta* and *Mistletoe*, concerning which a good deal of excitement prevailed, with the result that the Admiralty authorities became for the time thoroughly unpopular. The facts of the accident were briefly as follows:—One evening in August, the royal yacht *Alberta*, with Prince Leiningen in command, was conveying the Queen from Osborne to Gosport, on her way to Balmoral. The vessel was going down the crowded Solent at full speed, some seventeen miles an hour, her Majesty sitting on deck. Suddenly a schooner, called the *Mistletoe*, of 120 tons, belonging to Mr. Heywood, of Manchester, appeared across the *Alberta's* bows, and though Prince Leiningen and Commander Welch did their utmost to avert the disaster, it was too late: the royal yacht cut the *Mistletoe* in two, and the latter sank almost immediately. The officers and men on board the *Alberta* behaved with a gallantry to which the Queen herself bore witness, particularly Commander Fullerton, who saved the life of Miss Peel, Mr. Heywood's sister-in-law. He failed, however, in his efforts to save her younger sister, Miss Annie Peel, who went down with the vessel,



FOUNDERING OF THE "SCHILLER." (See p. 159.)

and Turner, the mate, was drowned in an attempt to rescue her. Stokes, the master, also received such injuries that he died shortly afterwards. The Queen, who witnessed the whole of this concentrated tragedy, was terribly shocked, but recovered sufficiently to assist those who attempted to revive Stokes, an old man of seventy-five.

The question who was to blame for the mishap was broached at the inquest held at Gosport on the body of Stokes. On the one hand, it was shown that the dead man, who was steering at the moment of the collision, had been directed to come as near as possible to the royal yacht, which had apparently throughout obeyed the rule of the road; on the other hand, it was clear the rate of speed maintained by Captain Welch in the crowded channel was exceedingly dangerous. At all events, public sympathy at Gosport was strongly in favour of the *Mistletoe*; of the jury, who separated without being able to agree, it was stated by the *Times* that eleven were in favour of a verdict of manslaughter. Another inquest was opened on the body of the mate, Turner, which was not recovered until some time afterwards, when the jury brought in a verdict which stated that the deceased was drowned in consequence of an accidental collision between the *Alberta* and the *Mistletoe*, adding a "rider" to the effect that the navigating officer of the *Alberta* had committed an error of judgment, and that a "slow rate of speed, especially during the summer months, would be more conducive to the public safety, and that a more efficient watch should be kept."

The coroner took the unusual step of bringing the jury which had failed to agree before Baron Bramwell at Assizes, but in spite of his assistance they were still unable to give a unanimous verdict and were ultimately discharged. This of course by no means tended to soothe the excited state of the public mind, and some clamoured for a court-martial on the officers of the *Alberta* and, failing in their object, assailed with much accusation the Admiralty in general and Mr. Ward Hunt in particular. It was urged besides, with much justice, that the commander of the *Alberta* ought to be allowed to defend himself before a professional tribunal. There was also a most unfortunate misconception of the meaning of a letter of her Majesty to Lord Exeter, President of the Cowes Yacht Club, in which she expressed a wish that yachts would for the future avoid the habit of approaching the royal yacht to gain a sight of the Queen. This appeared to throw all the blame of the collision on the crew of the *Mistletoe*, but

afterwards an explanation was published, in which it was made clear that "the letter was intended solely to convey the simple request contained therein, that any expression upon the cause of the accident was sedulously avoided, and that no blame whatever was imputed by her Majesty to the owner of the *Mistletoe* or any other person."

The unpopularity incurred by the Admiralty for their inaction in this matter was heightened by their conduct in relation to the loss of H.M.S. *Vanguard*. It appeared from subsequent evidence that the reserve squadron of the Channel fleet, consisting of five ironclads, the *Iron Duke*, the *Vanguard*, the *Achilles*, the *Hector*, and the flagship *Warrior*, with Admiral Tarleton on board, had been stationed during the last week of August at Kingstown, in Ireland, and proceeded on September 1st towards Cork. Off the Kish Lightship, about six miles from the mouth of Kingstown Harbour, the *Achilles* parted company with the rest of the squadron shortly before noon. At this moment a thick fog came on, and the ships reduced their speed to about seven miles an hour, the *Vanguard*, Captain Dawkins, a splendid vessel of 3,774 tons and fourteen guns, valued at something over £300,000, leading the way. She suddenly turned aside to avoid a merchant vessel which was bearing down upon her, and was promptly run into by her sister ship, the *Iron Duke*, which was steaming along about a cable's length apart. Captain Hickley had attempted to avoid the collision by reversing the engines, but it was too late; the ram of his vessel tapped a huge hole in the four-and-a-half inch armour-plating of the *Vanguard*, and the water at once began to run into her in large volumes. Captain Dawkins at once perceiving the full extent of the peril which surrounded his crew and himself, had the men beaten to quarters, and then explained to them in emphatic and resolute tones that all depended on a strict attention to orders. He was obeyed in every particular; some of the officers attempted to close the water-tight compartments, but found that they had been anticipated by the sea; an engineer went below, at the risk of his life, and prevented a terrific explosion by letting off the steam. Then, with the ship going down at the rate of an inch a minute, the men stood calmly in their places upon deck, while the boats were launched, and then, each in turn, the young and invalided going first, was transferred to the *Iron Duke*, and, so successfully were they removed, that not a single life was lost. Commander Tandy and Captain Dawkins were the last to leave the

ship. Throughout the discipline and courage of the men were admirable. Some twenty minutes afterwards the vessel heeled over and sank in ninety feet of water, leaving her topgallantmasts visible above the sea.

There was at once a general outcry of indignation at the mistakes and want of capacity which had caused the loss of such a valuable national possession, and to a certain extent, no doubt, the public were prepared to prejudge the case and to offer the incriminated sailors no mercy. A court-martial was promptly held on board the *Royal Adelaide* at Plymouth, presided over by Rear-Admiral Lord John Hay, assisted by Rear-Admiral Chamberlain, Captain Hope of the *Resistance*, and others. The result of the careful inquiry, which extended over nearly three weeks, was such as to confirm the national apprehensions. For instance, when the fog came on, Admiral Tarleton gave no definite instruction as to the rate of speed to be maintained, his excuse being that he could not make any signal to reduce speed which would not be misunderstood. Left to their own resources, the captains adopted two entirely different courses: Captain Dawkins slackened, while Captain Hickey increased speed, without much attempt at communicating with each other, and neither commander seemed to think it necessary to remain on deck. Above all, Captain Dawkins and his officers, though they showed admirable coolness of nerve, evinced no fertility of resource; it was held that the ship might have been saved if the pumps had been promptly worked; again, everything on board seemed out of gear. The sentence of the court-martial distributed blame on all concerned with impartial severity. The loss was ascribed (1) to the high rate of speed maintained by the squadron in the fog; (2) to the fact that while the evolution of taking station was going on Captain Dawkins was not on deck; (3) to the unnecessary reductions in the speed of the *Vanguard* without any signal from the flag-ship, and without any proper communication of those reductions to the *Iron Duke*; (4) to the increase of speed ordered on board the *Iron Duke* in a dense fog, her speed being already high; (5) to the *Iron Duke* improperly sheering out of line; (6) to the want of a fog signal on the *Iron Duke*; (7) to the fact that no effort was made to get the pumps at once to work, or to stop the leak from outside; and (8) to the fact that the *Vanguard* was not at once towed into shallow water. Captain Dawkins was therefore dismissed his ship and the superior officers were severely reprimanded.

The Admiralty, to whose absurd system of fog-

signals it was thought the disaster was due quite as much as to any other cause, were by no means disposed thankfully to allow the matter to rest in oblivion. Their lordships suddenly astonished the world by issuing a minute, in which they delivered what looked very like a snub to the court-martial. Vice-Admiral Tarleton, they declared, was justified in continuing the high rate of speed through the fog, though they blamed him for some minor points; and they declared the loss of the *Vanguard* to be due to her slackening speed, and to the sheering out of line ordered by Lieutenant Eyans (the officer of the watch at the time of the collision), of the *Iron Duke*, who was dismissed from his ship without having a chance of defending himself; no blame was attached to Captain Hickey. The Admiralty minute was followed up by an exceedingly ill-timed speech from the First Lord. Perhaps he was nettled at the comments that were freely passed on the high-handed proceedings of himself and his colleagues. Be that as it may, Mr. Hunt attempted to dismiss the unpleasant subject with a few jaunty remarks, a politic device, often adopted with success by Mr. Disraeli, but unfortunately the manner of the First Lord was not suited to a bantering strain. He invited his audience at the Guildhall to look on the "bright features of that unfortunate event. I think we are apt to lay too much stress on the destructibility of the *Vanguard* and too little on the destructiveness of the *Iron Duke*. If the *Iron Duke* had sent an enemy's ship to the bottom, we should have called her one of the most formidable ships of war in the world; and all that she has done is actually what she was intended to do, except of course that the ship she struck was unfortunately our own property and not that of the enemy." After this, it was hardly to be wondered that the Opposition looked forward with fierce delight to the occasion when, as Mr. Hunt remarked, with philosophic calmness, "I shall be challenged elsewhere." In the meantime, frantic schemes for raising the sunken vessel were rapidly proposed and rapidly abandoned; much storage was recovered, however, by means of divers, several of whom nearly lost their lives in their enterprise.

The Admiralty certainly was not the most popular department of Government when the year came to an end. It had dissatisfied many by its proceedings in the cases of the *Mistletoe* and the *Vanguard*, and in addition to these grave offences, it issued in September a document which speedily became notorious as the Fugitive Slave Circular. This paper set forth that a fugitive

slave should never be permanently received on board a British ship unless his life should be endangered if he were not allowed to come on board. If the British ship were in harbour, or within territorial waters, a slave was not to remain on board after it had been satisfactorily proved that he was a slave; if on the high seas he was to be returned when the vessel entered the territorial limits of the country from which he had escaped; if a slave claimed protection on the ground that he was detained contrary to treaty, the case was to be examined, those interested in maintaining the slavery of the person claiming to be free being present at the inquiry; and if the claim were established, "the local authorities should be requested to take steps to insure his not relapsing into slavery"—a quaint expression. Lastly, when surrendering fugitive slaves, the commanding officers should exercise their discretion in endeavouring to obtain an assurance that the slaves would not be treated with undue severity.

There seemed to be a cynical coldness of tone about the whole document, which justly gained for it the opprobrium it aroused. It was some time before its existence was generally known: indeed, an anonymous correspondent first made it public in a letter to the *Daily News*, but when once the spark was lighted, the fire ran along the ground unquenchably. Meetings were held all over England; Liberal members hastily summoned their constituents and addressed them in winged words; it was evident that Mr. Hunt and those about him had raised the whirlwind. It is said that many of his colleagues saw the circular for the first time in the *Daily News* and were justly surprised; but Lord Derby, at any rate, was probably not ignorant of its existence, for in his announcement at Liverpool on October 7th, that the obnoxious circular had been suspended, he said this was owing to the unwarranted misconstructions to which it had been exposed, and protested that on the points of law involved Government had been guided by "the highest legal authority," which authority was afterwards discovered to be the opinions of Sir John Karslake, Sir Richard Baggallay, Dr. Deane, and Sir John Holker. Early in November the circular was withdrawn altogether and it was thought that nothing more would be heard of the matter.

Much to every one's astonishment, an abridged, revised, and amended edition of this document was issued in December. It appeared that the "highest legal authority" invoked on the first

occasion had not included Lord Cairns, but that on this second occasion he had been summoned, and had given the perplexed Government his assistance. The instruction about the restoration of fugitive slaves received on board one of her Majesty's ships on the high seas was withdrawn; they might be retained on board the ship, if they so desired, until they could be landed in some country or transferred to some other ship, where their liberty would be recognised and respected; but they were not to be received "unless their lives should be in manifest danger if they were not admitted into the ship," and "not to be permitted to continue on board after the danger is passed." If a fugitive alleged that he had been kept in a state of slavery contrary to treaties with Great Britain, he was to be retained until the justice of his statement had been examined into, in which case the nearest British consular authority should be communicated with. This compromise was too weak to please anyone; again the indignant clamour was renewed; again Government gave way. The Queen's Speech of the following Session announced that directions had been given "for the issue of a Royal Commission to inquire into all treaty arrangements and other international obligations bearing on this subject." Subsequently, Mr. Whitbread attacked Government in a temperate speech. There was an animated debate on this motion for two nights, after which the Opposition were defeated only by a majority of forty-five in a full House. Later in the year the report of the Royal Commission appeared, which substantially restored the old honourable rule by which a slave-owner's power ceases on a British ship.

To turn from things marine to things terrestrial: it may be surmised that the visit of the Sultan Seyyid of Zanzibar was not wholly unconnected, in the relation of cause and effect, with the publication of the ill-considered Fugitive Slave Circular, inasmuch as his was one of the territories especially mentioned in the amended edition. It is useless to describe minutely the details of the Prince's visit, since it was a mere repetition of that of the Shah. He came up the Thames—and was reported to have been much impressed by the shipping, the masts of which he compared to his own African mangroves—and was received at the steps on the west side of Westminster Bridge by Mr. Bourke, M.P., the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, as the representative of the British Government, welcomed him to England. Then began the usual round of sight-seeing; he

was taken to Ascot, where he admired the horses exceedingly, but not the jockeys, who could not, he said, ride as well as Arabs. As is usually the case with Oriental visitors, Seyyid was taken to the great places of amusement, and it is said that he maintained his Arabian dignity unimpaired by the influence of these wondrous sights. and allowed none of that childish delight and curiosity to escape him which had made the Shah so popular. His reception of various missionary deputations was cordial in the extreme; he promised the Archbishop of Canterbury that his priests would be welcome at Zanzibar, and he communicated to a deputation of the Central African Mission, through his interpreter, Dr. Badger, the assurance that "what we have seen thus far of the good proceedings of the mission we heartily approve." He spent the first week in July in visiting Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, where the arts and manufactures interested him much; the last of these cities was called, he explained, "the well" in Arabic, from the quantities of beautiful things which came out of it. After his return to London, he received more deputations. Finally, the Sultan departed for Paris, after having, it was hoped, learnt how valuable the friendship of Britain would be to Zanzibar. The advantage to the ruler of Zanzibar of a good understanding with Britain was seen when, later in the year, the troops of the Khedive on the march to Abyssinia were compelled, through the remonstrances of our Foreign Office, to respect the neutrality of Seyyid's territory.

It is a far cry, no doubt, from the Seyyid Bârghash to Messrs. Moody and Sankey, the American revivalist preachers, but as they were certainly the most important visitors to London after the African potentate, they fitly find a place by his side. They had not been long in England before they began to hold meetings in the provinces. Wherever they went they attracted immense congregations, and at length they made their appearance in London on March 9th, at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, where they were received by an audience of from 15,000 to 20,000 persons. The whole of the huge building was packed from end to end, people remaining patiently in their seats, though they could hear little or nothing of Mr. Moody's discourse. It was distinctly a stroke of policy on the part of the revivalists to arouse curiosity in the metropolis by refraining from visiting it until they had exhausted the chief towns in other parts of Great Britain, and this contributed, no doubt, considerably to their unquestionable success. This was not their

first visit, however, for they had been invited to England by the Rev. W. Pennefather, of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, at the close of 1872, and "opened fire," to use their favourite expression, in July, 1873. Thence they proceeded to Scotland, where, though they at first failed to attract many, they soon gained the ear of multitudes, and left not a single large town unvisited. During their stay in Ireland, which lasted for about two months, they were received everywhere with much enthusiasm, being as popular among the Roman Catholics of the south as among the Protestants of the north. They re-crossed St. George's Channel towards the end of November, and visited the great manufacturing towns, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Liverpool. They were everywhere successful, and at their farewell service at Birmingham it was stated that applications had been made for nearly 16,000 converts' tickets.

Evidently Messrs. Moody and Sankey were confident of success, from the large scale on which they conducted their operations on the occasion of their second visit. Besides hiring the Agricultural Hall, they engaged Her Majesty's Opera House and Exeter Hall, and erected a large wooden building, capable of holding some 10,000, at the East End. Their first meeting attracted many gentlemen who believed in Evangelical doctrines, the Earl of Cavan and Lord Radstock being amongst those who were present on the platform. It was generally supposed that the upper classes, as a whole, held somewhat aloof from Revivalism, and accordingly there was considerable surprise when it was announced that Messrs. Moody and Sankey had asked to be allowed to address the boys of Eton, and, after a good deal of hesitation on the part of the authorities, had obtained permission. There was annoyance among many of the parents at this concession, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P., heading the opposition, and a requisition, signed by seventy-four Members of the House of Commons, was sent to Dr. Hornby requesting him to discontinue the services. An irregular debate was also held on the subject in the House of Lords, where a somewhat similar opinion was expressed. The head-master, however, refused to prohibit the attendance of such boys as wished to go, and the meeting was finally held in a tent pitched in a garden off the High Street; it was attended by some 200 boys and everything went off in the most orderly manner. Such was not the case at the farewell service held a few days afterwards at Camberwell Green Hall. The place was already crammed to suffocation, when the

pressure from the outside forced the doors and a terrible panic ensued, which was calmed by the decision of Mr. Moody and his stewards. Shortly afterwards the Revivalists delivered their farewell addresses to a conference consisting chiefly of some 700 ministers who had assisted them, 188 of whom belonged to the Church of England. There were present also Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Cowper-Temple, M.P., Mr. S. Morley, M.P., General Alexander,

hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Liberator, Daniel O'Connell, was celebrated with some pomp and a good deal of rioting. The greatest manifestation was of course in Dublin, and there the festival was held from two different motives: the priests wished to regard it as the occasion for declaring the supremacy of Roman Catholicism in Ireland; the Home Rulers wished to make it a day for promulgating their political ideas; and it



MESSRS. MOODY AND SANKEY'S REVIVALIST MEETING IN THE AGRICULTURAL HALL, LONDON. (See p. 164.)

and others. The meeting terminated amid some emotion, and Messrs. Moody and Sankey started homewards, bearing with them Lord Shaftesbury's emphatic eulogium: "I have been conversant for many years with the people of this metropolis, and wherever I go I find the traces of these men, of the impression they have made, of the feeling they have produced, of the stamp they have impressed on many of the people, which I hope will be indelible."

The remaining events of interest in Britain and Ireland during the year were of a political or of a semi-political nature. There was immense excitement all over Ireland, and in some parts of the United Kingdom, on August 6th, when the

was soon seen that Dublin was not large enough for both parties at once. At first the ecclesiastical side prevailed; they began the festival, and the grand mass was celebrated with some magnificence in the Roman Catholic cathedral on August 5th. There the presence of several foreign notabilities gave an almost international character to the proceedings, for though many of those who were invited did not come, there were present the Bishops of Nantes, Constance, and Basle, Prince Radziwill, a Pole, and several members of the German Reichstag. The sermon was preached by the new Archbishop of Cashel, the most Rev. Dr. Croke, and it was noted

with pleasure that his discourse was entirely free from all traces of anti-secular Ultramontaniam. There was a banquet at the Mansion House in the evening, at which the Lord Mayor, Mr. McSwiney, presided. The toasts were numerous, and by a piece of good fortune it was found possible to blend ecclesiastical and secular ideas in the contemplation of the two-sided character of the Liberator. Cardinal Cullen extolled him as "a lover of religion, a lover of the Catholic religion, a determined Catholic in everything;" and the Lord Mayor, in a curious confusion of metaphors, expressed a hope that Irishmen would not "abate one jot of the standard raised by O'Connell—Repeal of the Union."

The anniversary itself, the 6th, was celebrated by a huge procession of deputations from the trades, religious confraternities, friendly societies, the corporation, and the other customary ingredients of an urban demonstration. Unfortunately, there was a disorderly element in the crowd in the shape of a strong detachment of extreme Nationalists, who declined to withdraw from the procession. An attempt was made to stop them by cutting the traces of their principal carriage: a piece of strategy due, it was said, to the ingenuity of Mr. P. J. Smyth, M.P., but which he modestly disclaimed. It was in vain; and, infuriated at this attempt to disorganise their little demonstration, the Amnesty men, as they called themselves, from their sympathy with the imprisoned Fenians, stormed the platform, on which a large number of priests were assembled in expectation of a public oration, and when the Lord Mayor arrived and tried to speak, they gave vent to their irritation by clanking fetters before him and shouting, "God save Ireland!" The uproar was tremendous and it was with great difficulty that Mr. Butt, who was requested by the Lord Mayor to close the demonstration, could obtain a hearing. In vain he requested the audience, having met as a united nation, not to let disunion come amongst them. Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., who followed, made a fiery speech, in which he declared, amidst terrific cheers, that he stood before the assembled multitude not only as a Member of Parliament, but as a freed political prisoner. He asked them to identify themselves with the cause of Amnesty, and he hoped that the voice they had raised that day would not be allowed to sink in silence on the bosom of the evening air. Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., a gifted orator, spoke in a somewhat similar strain.

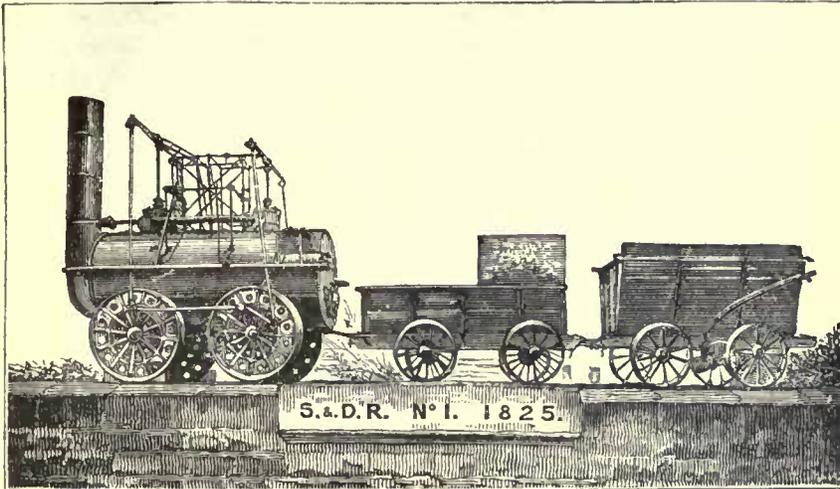
The banquet in the evening was an unfortunate

affair. About seven hundred were assembled and everything promised well, but it was found that the patriot would not forgather with the priest. The absence of Lord O'Hagan, "the Whig place-man" and "Government pensioner," as the Nationalists called him, who was to have pronounced the Liberator's eulogy, was, indeed, no unmitigated disaster, as the favour he gained by being a Catholic and friend of O'Connell he lost as Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. Mr. Callan, M.P., is said to have caused considerable commotion before the feast began by trying to force his way into the hall by the unusual method of climbing over the banisters, and after dinner differences of opinion commenced in earnest. The Home Rule party were indignant that Sir Charles Gavan Duffy should have been chosen to reply to the toast, "The People of Ireland," instead of Mr. Butt, and refused to listen to him. Mr. Butt thereupon rose and courteously attempted to obtain a hearing for his rival, but the Lord Mayor in high dudgeon declined to let him speak. The Bishop of Nantes then endeavoured to quell the tumult, and to explain the misunderstanding which had arisen, but the Mayor went off with his foreign guests, leaving Mr. Butt vainly striving to explain himself. The gas was turned off and the company hastily dispersed. On the following day an Amnesty meeting was dispersed by a downpour of rain, and so ended what was to have been the greatest of Irish national festivals. The O'Connell Centenary Committee dissolved itself, amid bitter personal recriminations, on the question of the payment of the bill.

A commemoration of a more peaceful character was the jubilee held at Darlington in September, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway. Though of national interest, this was, from the somewhat remote situation of the town where the festival was held, merely a local affair. Fifty years before, the first passenger train, carrying only a load of ninety tons, and averaging only eight miles an hour, started on its journey, its first-class carriage consisting of the inside of an old stage-coach put on a truck, the second-class of the outside of it, and the third-class of an ordinary coal-waggon. The "locomotive" which drew this strange vehicle, built by George Stephenson in 1825, was shown on this occasion. Since then, to use Lord Beaconsfield's famous phrase, many things had happened, and none of them was more wonderful than the development of railways. The distance of nine or ten miles over which the first line ran had

increased in 1875 to 16,449 miles in the United Kingdom, with a total of 28,607 in the British Empire. The total receipts during the first

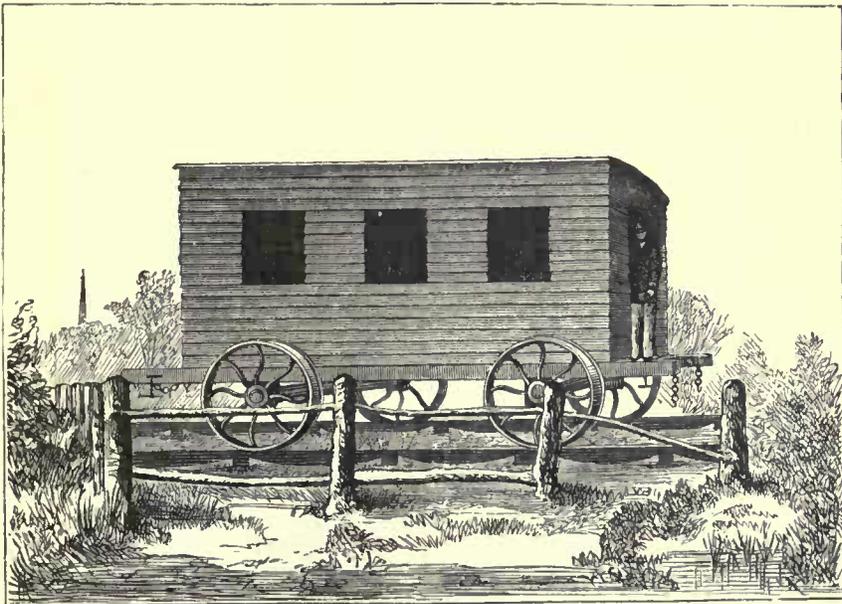
the average rate of dividend on ordinary capital was 4.49 per cent., and on the total capital 4.45 per cent. A mighty oak had indeed arisen in fifty



"PUFFING BILLY," THE PIONEER LOCOMOTIVE.

twenty-one months of the working of the Stockton and Darlington Railway were but £800; now the

years from a little acorn, and the possibility of its further ramifications seemed almost infinite. The



THE FIRST RAILWAY PASSENGER CARRIAGE "EXPERIMENT" (1825).

average net profit was no less than £1,535 per open mile. There were 11,935 locomotive engines, or one to every mile and a-half, and 379,809 vehicles, or about 23 per mile; the gross revenue was £56,899,498, and the net profit £25,251,981;

chief event of the festivities, which are said to have cost £20,000, was the unveiling of a statue of Darlington's illustrious citizen, Joseph Pease, son of Edward Pease, the founder of the railway, and the first Quaker Member of Parliament, who

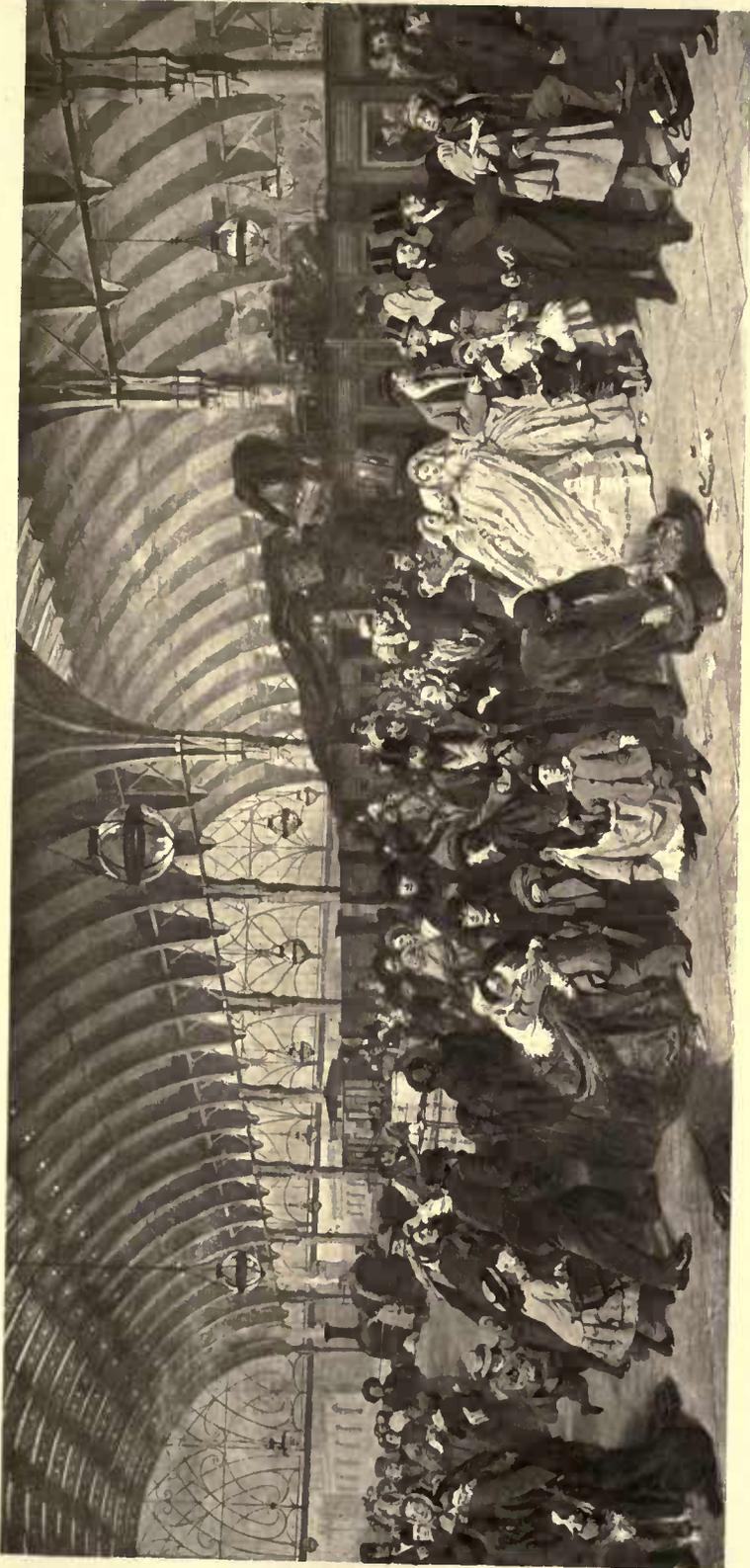
had laboured honourably for the emancipation of the slaves and the education of the poor.

Of prospective rather than retrospective significance was the first sitting of the High Court of Judicature, which took place some few days afterwards, on November 1st. It is needless to recur to the provisions of Lord Selborne's great Act of 1873, and of Lord Cairns's Supplementary Act of 1875: it is enough to say that they had fused into one the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, together with the Courts of Admiralty, Probate and Divorce, thus accomplishing the blending of law and equity. Instead of a system of separate and exclusive courts, there was to be one supreme Court of Judicature in England, with two main permanent divisions, the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal. Law and equity were to be concurrently administered, but in case of a conflict the rules of equity were to prevail. There were other advantages besides. Justice was found to be expedited by the multiplication of tribunals and the increase of the number of their sittings. Arrears were to be cleared off by the "sub-divisional" tribunals, which might be composed of one or two judges, instead of three, or even of four; while the sittings were to be continuous at Westminster for three weeks and more, instead of there being the old plan of two or three interrupted sittings of two or three days each, and one continuous sitting for two weeks; and in London there were to be continuous sittings of three weeks instead of two. There was no distinctive ceremony, it being apparently thought that the majesty of the law when unadorned is adorned the most. At first considerable difficulties arose; prominent members of the bar crowded into the court, anxious to find out how the new judicial proceedings were to be carried out, notably with respect to the number of judges who were to constitute the divisions and, secondly, whether the old practice or the new was to be applied to cases pending. That some misunderstandings should have arisen was inevitable, but fortunately, the power of settling them given by the Judicature Act to the judges was very large, and as soon as the all-important question how many judges were to sit in each particular court had been decided, the fountain of pure justice began to flow uninterruptedly.

The obituary of the year contained few names of first-rate celebrity. Rear-Admiral Sherard Osborn was a tar combining the dash of the old school with the scientific knowledge of the new. Of the learned several were taken: Professor Cairnes,

one of the soundest and most painstaking writers on the science of political economy, died in July; Lord Stanhope, a careful and judicious, if not particularly brilliant, historian, and a successful Under-Secretary of State under his friend Sir Robert Peel, died on December 22nd; and in July perished another historian, of perhaps superior genius, Bishop Thirlwall, the writer of a "History of Greece," which was the authority on the subject in its day. Sir Charles Lyell died on February 22nd, perhaps the most learned specialist of his time, whose "Principles of Geology" and "The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man" had done more to popularise that science than the works of any other writer. Edward Sugden, Lord St. Leonards, died at the good old age of ninety-four, having outlived his renown by many years. He had begun at the lowest rung of the ladder of fame, for he was the son of a hairdresser, and reached the very top, for he became Lord Chancellor. Far different from this career of plodding industry, and the conscientious performance of duties which could hardly fail to be at times wearisome in the extreme, is the record of the brilliant and impulsive Charles Kingsley (died January 23), the admirable novelist and advocate of Socialism, whose lifelong interest in the welfare of the working classes made him a welcome arbiter in several of the conflicts that unhappily arose between Capital and Labour.

Had Charles Kingsley been alive and well for a few weeks longer, he would have had a chance of appearing in his old character of mediator between the suffering of the poor and the indifference of the rich. Perhaps, however, the prosaic nature of the South Wales lock-out, which lasted from January until May, would have prevented his interference, since it seems to have originated simply in a desire on the part of the colliers for an increase of filthy pelf. Encouraged by their great successes of 1871 and 1873, they resolved to persevere in their efforts and not only to resist any demands for the reduction of wages, but even to ask for more. As usual, they put blind confidence in their Union, which they imagined to be omnipotent, overlooking the fact that it was the favourable state of the market which had enabled them to secure additional recompense for their toil rather than the power of combination. Their wages had, it is said in some instances, risen as much as 117 or 118 per cent., and accordingly, when the tide turned, and the masters declared that wages must be reduced to their former amount or the collieries must be shut up, the men refused to believe they were in-

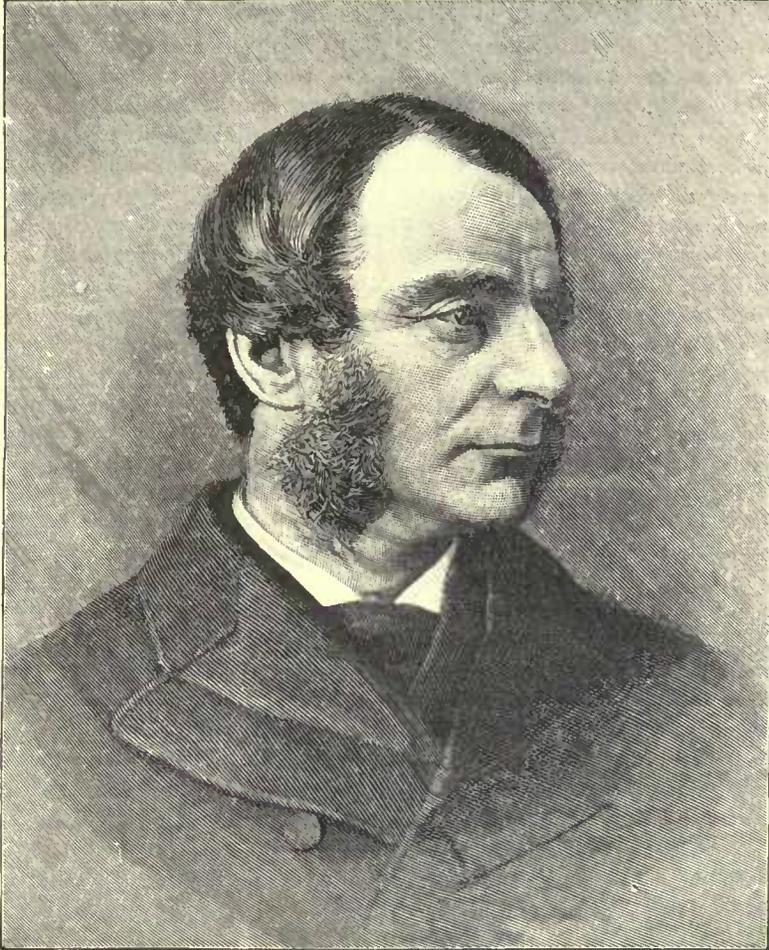


THE RAILWAY STATION.
FROM THE PAINTING BY W. P. FRITH, R.A., IN THE
ROYAL HOLLOWAY COLLEGE, EGHAM.



earnest. The situation was indeed a little complicated: the coal market was regulated by the iron trade, and it was the dulness of the latter which caused a glut of the former article, because the coal which usually served the iron-works was now sent into the open market. The colliers cried

began to manifest itself at the end of the first fortnight, and all that could be obtained from the Union was $8\frac{1}{2}$ d. per man; and so, though the masters declared that they would not listen to arbitration, it was determined at a mass meeting of the men to ask Lord Aberdare, who was



CHARLES KINGSLEY.

(From a Photograph by Elliot & Fry, Baker Street, London, W.)

out against being sacrificed to another trade and imagined that they would find the masters, as on previous occasions, of different minds.

In that, at any rate, they were disappointed, for the owners, taught by previous experience, had formed a Monmouthshire and South Wales Collieries Association, and towards the end of January, finding that their remonstrances passed absolutely unheeded for the most part—though the men of Rhymney and Dowlais, who had threatened to strike on New Year's Day, had resumed work at reduced wages—they closed their works. Distress

deservedly popular in South Wales, to see what could be done, to settle the unfortunate dispute. Meanwhile, the Perthyr guardians were only able, owing to the pressure on their finances, to offer relief to heads of families at the famine rate of 1s. per cubic yard for breaking limestone, and 1s. 4d. for field or quarry stone. In the sixth week of the lock-out Lord Aberdare promulgated his opinion in the *South Wales Daily News*. He appealed earnestly to the good sense of the men, and told them that after his previous offer to mediate between them and their masters had been

rejected, he addressed a communication to the leading colliery proprietors. In reply, he was confidentially informed of the prices which had been paid for coal in the last twelve months, and he could assert that the reduction in price had generally exceeded 2s. per ton; even with the present ten per cent. reduction in wages, the coal-owners would, on the average, be still losers by 1s. 3d. per ton as compared with last August.

These seasonable remarks appear to have opened the eyes of those to whom they were addressed. The secretary and treasurer of the Aberdare branch of the Amalgamated Association of Miners published an answer, in which they declined to surrender unconditionally, but stated that they were prepared to accept his lordship's arbitration. Indeed, it was not the masters, but the men, who refused to give way; again and again through the month of April the former offered to open their collieries at a fifteen, and in some cases—for instance, at Chester—a ten per cent. reduction of wages, and the ironstone miners returned to work at the latter rate, at the request of the Dowlais Company and of Mr. Robert Crawshay, of Cyfarthfa. Still the sturdy colliers held out grimly, but at length, influenced perhaps by the admonitions of Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., they began in the first week of May to return to work in great numbers at a fifteen per cent. reduction, and this was afterwards made twelve and a-half per cent. for three months at a meeting of the Masters' Defence Association. Thus the men had gained a slight advantage: their wages were still fifty per cent. higher than they were in 1870, but £3,000,000 at least had been lost to them in the struggle, and they had

shown that they could not hold their own even when they put forth their full strength.

The period of agitation among the labouring classes seemed indeed to be passing away. Mr. Arch, speaking in Suffolk to a branch of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, addressed his audience in the tone of one who would say *finis coronat opus*. The Union agitation, he said, had done good; it had raised wages, and its influence had taught men to read who had never eared to learn before. Later in the year, Mr. Arthur Clayden, the historian of the movement, wrote to the *Times* in September in a similar spirit of contentedness. "Good ploughmen, herdsman, and shepherds are everywhere," said he, "masters of the position; the farmer who has got such takes good care to keep them. As for lock-outs, we shall have no more of them. Scores of half-starved families whom we have sent from this country to New Zealand are already on the way to fortune . . . Thus the village agitator's vocation is at an end . . . and the National Agricultural Labourers' Union is in reality a sort of superfluity in the land." There was a National Trades Union Congress held at Glasgow in October, and there the chairman, Mr Robert Knight, took occasion to eulogise "the great and glorious legislative changes" effected by Mr. Cross, and it was moved that a vote of thanks should be sent to the Home Secretary, the proposer, Mr. Howell, having been a Liberal and a Radical all his life, saying that he felt all the more pleasure in recognising the work done by a Conservative. A similar spirit of moderation was maintained throughout the sittings of the Congress.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares—M. de Lesseps's difficulties—The Canal for Sale—Intervention of the Sultan—M. de Lesseps's Pretensions—The Khedive's Offer—Lord Derby's Explanation—His Speech at Edinburgh—Submissiveness of the Khedive—Mr. Cave's Report—Strained Relations with China—Colonel Browne's Expedition—Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission—Wade at Pekin—Settlement of Perak—Sketch of European Events—Bismarck's Aggressiveness—A War Scare—The Czar acts as Peacemaker—Internal Affairs of Germany—Austria and the Eastern Question—Constitution of the French Republic—The Wallon Project—The Constitution of 1875—Two more Constitutional Bills—Dissolution of the National Assembly—A peaceful Italy—Russian Advance in Central Asia—Annexation of Kokand—Account of the Campaign—Lamakin's reported Expedition to Merv.

THE recess, however, was not entirely filled up by events of this commonplace character, and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, which was announced in November, was like a newly invented condiment to the palate of the public, wearied with the sameness of life. It will be remembered that this great triumph of engineering skill, the work of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, was opened in 1869. Since that date the finances of Egypt had, like those of Turkey, been drifting from bad to worse, and the Khedive was in a hopelessly impecunious position. He therefore offered for sale his shares in the Suez Canal: first, to the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, and when they viewed them with disfavour, to the French Société Générale. To this last purchaser, however, the British Government offered the strongest objection. France already possessed 110 millions out of the 200 which the capital of the shares represented, and to allow her to have more would be, as Lord Derby expressed it to the French Ambassador on the 20th of November, to place us "absolutely at the mercy of M. de Lesseps . . . though the maintenance of the thoroughfare had become a capital question for us."

Soon afterwards it occurred to Mr. Greenwood, the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that the British Government might themselves buy the shares with advantage to the country; after taking counsel with Mr. Henry Oppenheim, he rushed off to Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli and laid the scheme before them; they seized it at once, telegraphed to General Stanton, the British Agent, and within a week the purchase was concluded. As a matter of fact, however, it would seem that this suggestion did but help the British Government along the road and that it came rather late in the day. Indeed, Government had cherished the plan for some time, but had never been able to put it into execution. In order to prove this, a brief retrospect is necessary. From

the first, the attitude of British statesmen towards the canal had been mistaken, and it was only of late years that they had begun to see their error. M. de Lesseps, however, prevailed; the great highway became a reality, but it was entirely monopolised by a French company. The importance of getting the active co-operation of Britain was recognised on all sides; as M. de Lesseps wrote on the 29th of November, 1875, "To-day the English nation accepts in the Canal Company the part which had been loyally reserved for it at the outset." For instance, the Khedive in December, 1870, expressed to the British Consul-General that "the only way to insure the canal being made really serviceable for general navigation was for an English company to take possession of it, adding that Britain was undoubtedly the country most interested in keeping it open;" and he went on to say that he would do everything in his power to facilitate the transfer. The idea was taken up promptly, though in a modified form, by the Board of Trade, Mr. Chichester Fortescue being at the head of affairs. It was suggested that, instead of allowing the canal to be worked by a private company, it should be worked by an international commission.

Meanwhile, the company was not paying very well; there was a deficit of £383,570, and in the following year, 1871, M. de Lesseps tried to raise a loan of £600,000, and imposed at the same time heavy tolls on vessels passing through the canal. At last, seeing that his canal could not be worked by bankrupts, he began to hawk it about to the several European Governments. The Italians entertained the idea very favourably, and Sir Daniel Lange thereupon ventured to write to Lord Granville, proposing that Britain should purchase the canal, which, said he, M. de Lesseps was willing to sell for £600,000. Lord Granville, however, declined to have anything to do with the transaction, and soon afterwards, at the instigation,

no doubt, of the Foreign Office, the Sultan of Turkey suddenly interposed with his claim of suzerainty over Egypt, and peremptorily forbade any further negotiations.

In 1872 it became evident how anomalous and unsatisfactory to all parties concerned was the system of management. The French law courts suddenly put forth a claim to be able to decide upon questions of tonnage, whereby a vista of endless complications and of quarrels between State and State was opened up, and the International Tonnage Commission, which sat at Constantinople in 1873, with a view to evolve a peaceful solution of the difficulty, was firmly opposed by the company and M. de Lesseps. He asked with considerable show of reason why those who had not shared in the undertaking should interfere with the rights of private property; he demanded that he should be arbiter himself, threatened to abandon the canal, and only yielded to a military display on the part of the Khedive. But though foiled in his attempt to establish himself as king of the canal, M. de Lesseps asserted continually the most vexatious rights over the vessels which passed through it, and it was evident that some change of administration, such as would be gained by placing the company in the hands of an International Tribunal, as proposed by the Government, or of the British Government, as suggested by the Board of Trade, was absolutely imperative.

At last the Khedive arose as a *deus ex machinâ*, and extricated the company, the British Government, and every one concerned, from a thoroughly uncomfortable position. He was, as we have said, in hopeless money difficulties, and therefore asked the British Government to send them out a tried financier, who would aid his Finance Minister in giving his unfortunate dynasty a new lease of life. The Right Hon. Stephen Cave, Member for Shoreham, formerly Judge Advocate-General, was chosen by Mr. Disraeli to act the part of Necker, and at once, apparently in expectation of his arrival, great activity was visible in the formerly sluggish departments of Egyptian finance. The Suez Canal shares were put into the market, and the Khedive having failed to come to terms with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank, turned to the Société Générale and, as Sir Stafford Northcote afterwards remarked, "for the next ten days," the British Government "were informed that the Anglo-Egyptian Bank was negotiating the purchase, sometimes the Société Générale, sometimes one thing and sometimes another; and we undoubtedly

had good reason to suppose that something serious was going on with respect to them. . . . At length, on November 25th, we received a communication which appeared to make it obvious that the matter had come to a crisis. We were informed that the Khedive had made a distinct offer of £4,000,000 for the shares, while he intimated to us that he would give us the preference, and that we might have them at that price." The bargain was struck on that day, and on the 26th the announcement was made to the world that the British Government had bought from the Khedive of Egypt his shares in the Suez Canal for £4,000,000 sterling, and that permission had been given to the Egyptian Government to draw at sight on Messrs. Rothschild for that amount.

Naturally the French Government were not particularly disposed to join in M. de Lesseps's song of exultation over the transference of the shares; they held that they had been to a certain extent outwitted, and that they had allowed a valuable instrument to slip through their fingers. Lord Derby's explanation to the French Chargé d'Affaires was frank in the extreme. His wish had been that the Khedive should keep the shares, but hearing that he proposed to sell them to the Société Générale, the British Government had determined to buy them themselves. "I can assure you that we have acted solely with the intention of preventing any larger foreign influence from preponderating in a matter so important to us. We have the greatest consideration for M. de Lesseps. We acknowledge that instead of opposing his great work, we should have done better to associate ourselves with him. I deny, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, any intention of predominating in the deliberations of the company, or of abusing our recent acquisition to force its decisions. What we have done is purely defensive. I do not think, moreover, that the Government and English subjects are proprietors of the majority of the shares. I said some time ago in the House of Lords that I would not oppose an arrangement which would place the Suez Canal under the management of an international syndicate. I will not propose this, but I in no way withdraw my words."

It was, of course, some time before this simple explanation of the stock-jobbing transactions of Government was made public, and meanwhile the mind was, as Sir William Harcourt remarked, "dazzled, fascinated, mystified." The popular imagination grew and grew, until at last Lord Derby, in answer to a challenge from Lord

Hartington, went to Edinburgh, and explained the policy of the Conservative Government. To the astonishment of his hearers, he whittled down the positive advantages gained by the purchase until they were scarcely visible to the naked eye. "It is hardly necessary," said he, "to disclaim any such notions as those which have been imputed to us—a wish to establish a protectorate over Egypt, an interested reversal of our policy on the whole

was not so much to buy the property for ourselves as to prevent it from changing hands at all. I am happy to believe that in foreign countries there has been little, if any, of the jealousy excited which was predicted by some persons as a probable consequence. We have stated clearly what we want and why we want it, and Europe is accustomed to believe what we say."

For the present the Khedive seemed determined



THE SUEZ CANAL: VIEW AT KANTARA. (From a Photograph by Frith & Co., Reigate.)

Eastern Question, or an intention to take part in a general scramble which does not belong to us. We wanted, and we have obtained, additional national security for that which is to us a necessity—free and uninterrupted passage from Egypt to India. We felt it to be essential that the great highway over which we have now three-fourths of the traffic should not be exclusively in the hands of the foreign shareholders of a foreign country. An opportunity was offered us of acquiring a right in it, and that opportunity we used. There was no deep-laid scheme in the matter. We had not a week to consider it from the first moment we heard that the sale was intended, and our first idea

to rid himself altogether of French influences and start afresh with the help of what Englishmen he could gather around him. Already Gordon Pasha had, as has been previously mentioned, followed in the footsteps of Sir Samuel Baker and carried out his work. The Khedive was most submissive; for instance, when a detachment of Egyptian troops was about to proceed on an expedition, dictated by motives of revenge, against John, King of Abyssinia, in December, the British Government politely requested him to abandon the design, and Ismail Pasha obeyed with the gentleness of a dove. On the arrival of Mr. Stephen Cavé, the Khedive delivered up the reins of

government into his hands with a placid resignation that was quite touching. Not only did he allow him to overhaul his accounts, but he appeared to look for advice to him in other matters as well. Mr. Cave, aided by Colonel Stokes, Mr. Victor Buckley, and Mr. White, submitted the finances of Egypt to a most searching investigation, and his report was published in the following year, at the beginning of April, after the disinclination of the Khedive to display his accounts in black and white had been overcome. It tended in some slight degree to reassure the panic-struck money market. The debts of Egypt, it appeared, amounted to some seventy-five millions sterling, and it would be possible for her to pay seven per cent. interest on the amount, and to provide a sinking fund by which in fifty years the debt would be paid off. It seemed that the intentions of the Khedive were good, but that he had undertaken huge works without counting the cost. Egypt was suffering from "the ignorance, dishonesty, waste, and extravagance of the East, such as have brought her suzerain to the verge of ruin, and at the same time from the vast expense caused by hasty and inconsiderate endeavours to adopt the civilisation of the West." The canal had indeed proved a dangerous luxury to the ruler of Egypt; he had constructed some 1,210 miles of railway, but though they had been carried out at the cost of about £11,000 per mile, they were as nothing in comparison with the expense of maintaining the brain-child of M. de Lesseps. After examining minutely the resources of the country, Mr. Cave arrived at the conclusion that the best remedy would be for the Khedive to consent to the appointment of a person who would command general confidence, such, for instance, as the financial agent sent out by her Majesty's Government, to take employment under his Highness at the head of a control department, which should have general supervision of the incidence and the levying of taxes, and that his Highness should promise not to borrow without that Minister's consent. Such was the substance of Mr. Cave's report: it certainly was drastic enough, but it was soon seen that the British Government were about to make an even more thorough attempt to purge the Augean stable of Egyptian mismanagement.

Egypt was not the only Oriental country with which Britain had some delicate negotiations during the year. Her relations with the Celestial Empire were for a time exceedingly strained, and it seemed as if an open rupture could with difficulty be avoided. These complications arose, in the first

instance, not from any double-dealing on the part of the Chinese Emperor, who was but a child, but on account of a vile atrocity perpetrated with the connivance, if not at the instance, of his vassal, the King of Burmah. For many years it had been the object of the Indian Government to restore the old overland trade-route between British Burmah and China, and the Chief Commissioner of Burmah, the Hon. Ashley Eden, was directed to send an expedition through the country, under Colonel Horace Browne. Taking with him Dr. Anderson, Mr. Ney Elias, and an escort of some fifty Sikhs armed with Sniders, he proceeded from Rangoon, and arrived at Mandalay on the 23rd of December, 1874, where Mendom-men received them with every demonstration of friendship. They went on their way rejoicing, reaching Bhamo on the 15th of January, where they were met by Mr. Augustus Margary, a young man of great promise, who was in the service of the Chinese Consulate. He had been sent to meet them from Shanghai, it being thought that his thorough knowledge of Chinese would be invaluable to the expedition, and reached Momiên after an adventurous journey of six months. On the 18th of February the mission arrived on the border-land between Burmah and China. Danger loomed in their path; the Kachins, wild hill-tribes, were reputed to be hostile to the British advance, and it was said that the Chinese authorities at Seray, the first frontier town, and Manwyne, the chief city of the neighbourhood, were egging them on. Margary, however, laughed at these rumours, and went ahead with a handful of men to find out the real state of affairs. He was well received at Seray, and passed through it to Manwyne. There he was treacherously murdered as he rode out of the town. Colonel Browne and the rest of the mission were in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by numbers, but after a hard day's fighting they crossed the frontier and returned safely to Rangoon, but without having accomplished their task.

It was suspected that the King of Burmah was the instigator of this dastardly crime; not only did the change of the attitude of the Chinese officials from friendship to enmity towards Mr. Margary correspond exactly with the arrival of a Burmese embassy charged with the payment of the annual tribute due to the Emperor, but shortly afterwards the King of Burmah received with every sign of respect the Chinese general Lee-see-tahi, who was believed to have been concerned in the attack on the Browne expedition. To Sir Douglas Forsyth, who was sent to Mandalay in order to insist on

the passage of British troops through Burmah if it was found necessary to chastise the Chinese, the king replied pacifically: the troops should pass through; the intrusive warrior had come simply to announce the death of the Emperor, and he promised to agree to a new treaty. This promise he as promptly withdrew and war seemed imminent, but in the autumn he changed his ground and yielded unconditionally to the British demands.

The conduct of the Burmese Sovereign was probably influenced by hints from Peking. There also the firmness and sagacity of the British Minister, Mr. Wade, averted a bloody issue of this intricate question. As soon as the news of the murder of Mr. Margary was received, he was instructed to demand satisfaction for the crime, and at the same time to obtain from the Celestial Government guarantees for the establishment of a trade-route between British Burmah and China. For the whole of the summer the Chinese authorities played fast and loose with the British request; at one time their tone was most insolent, and war seemed inevitable. Then they began to temporise, but towards the end of September Mr. Wade cut matters short by announcing that he would leave Peking immediately unless satisfactory conditions were made. The war party, with the great Minister Li-Hung-Chang at their head, held out until the last, but on October 7th the British Minister was able to telegraph home that opposition was at an end. A commission, under Mr. Grosvenor, proceeded to Yunnan in the following year, to investigate the actual circumstances of the murder. Such was, however, the mendacity among the Chinese of all classes, rich and poor alike, that no truth could be arrived at, and Sir Thomas Wade—for he had been knighted for his services—was compelled to accept as compensation a sum of 200,000 taels from the Chinese Government and an apology to the Queen. Shortly afterwards, having concluded the Chefoo convention between Britain and China, by which the security of travellers was guaranteed throughout the Celestial Empire and facilities were granted to trade, this successful administrator returned to England.

Altogether, this had been an anxious time for Britain in South-Western Asia, and on one occasion there had been an actual outbreak of hostilities. This occurred in the Malay Peninsula, where there was a succession dispute to the rulership of Perak. Sir Andrew Clark, who had been Governor of the Straits Settlements since 1873, took upon himself to decide it, shortly before his resignation, in favour of Abdullah, the elected

chief, and against the Pretender, Sultan Ismail; and despatched Mr. Birch as Resident to Perak. These arrangements received Lord Carnarvon's approval; but as soon as Sir Andrew's back was turned, Abdullah rose in arms, surrounded the town, and murdered Mr. Birch. The rebels then stockaded themselves near Perak, and beat off a small body of the 10th Regiment and the native police, with the loss of Captain Innes. Sir William Jervois, the new governor, promptly telegraphed for troops to Calcutta, and called up reserves from Singapore. Ismail's men, to the number of 800, entrenched themselves on the river, and were there subdued, after a sturdy resistance, by General Colborne. A strict blockade of the coast brought the insurrection to an end in December, the nature of the country having prevented a more speedy termination of this, the smallest of Great Britain's little wars; Ismail surrendered unconditionally. Lord Carnarvon eventually decided to leave the States of Malay under the administration of native Sultans, placing a British Resident, who was to be protected by an adequate guard, at the elbow of each of these royal puppets.

The course of events in Europe need not occupy our attention at much length. Already from the far East came those sharp sudden gusts of wind which are the precursors of a tempest; men's eyes were strained in that direction, and they cared not to look at the blue sky that stretched with but little interruption towards the other quarters of the horizon. Besides, the German Empire adopted towards the neighbouring Powers about it an attitude of menace which they could ill afford to resent actively. For instance, in order to humble the pride of the Belgians, the German envoy was entrusted to rake up old offences contained in the pastorals of the Belgian bishops in 1872 and 1873, together with the proposals of a drunken carpenter, named Duchesne, to murder Prince Bismarck, and to demand satisfaction for them. The Belgian Minister, the Count d'Aspremont Linden, replied in dignified terms, offering to make some changes in the penal laws, but at the same time asserting the independence of his country in firm and temperate language; and after a little further wrangling, the subject dropped. Prince Bismarck's treatment of France attracted far more attention, and produced a general impression in Europe that the Franco-German war would be fought again. The cause of this scare was the French Army Bill, which was devised with the view to increase the numbers and efficiency of the force. This Prince Bismarck took upon himself to regard as a menace,

and accordingly hints at war appeared in the semi-official German newspapers; complaints were addressed to the Ministers of the Great Powers; and Marshal MacMahon was, so the story went, informed that Paris must prepare herself for another siege, unless France consented to limit her army immediately, pay a further indemnity, and surrender Belfort. For some ten days the scare continued in England; Ministers were pestered with questions in both Houses, but no satisfactory answer could be extracted from them. At length Mr. Bourke, in the second week in May, was able to assure the Lower House that all further danger was over. It was extremely doubtful whether Prince Bismarck had ever seriously contemplated a wanton attack on Germany's prostrate enemy; probably he had wished to give the Marshal nothing more than an extremely strong hint. The Czar Alexander was understood to have played the part of peace-maker: at any rate, he met his uncle, the Emperor, at Berlin, on May 10th, and soon afterwards it was announced that the crisis was at an end. The British Government "played up to" him in this solemn farce. "We did not," said Lord Derby afterwards, in some cautious remarks on the peace of Europe, "think that France was contemplating a renewal of the war, neither did we believe that the German Government were contemplating an act so entirely repugnant to the moral sense of Europe as that of rushing into an unprovoked war with the intention of completing the destruction of her former opponent. We found that the Russian Government were determined to use their best efforts in the interests of peace, and the late visit of the Emperor of Russia to Berlin furnished us with a convenient opportunity of supporting—as far as support appeared to be necessary—the representations in favour of peace which we were led to believe the Emperor of Russia intended to make in the course of his visit to the German capital."

The home affairs of the Empire during the year were but as an old tale re-told. Prince Bismarck had made his bed in Prussia on a basis of Ultramontanism and he lay on it unflinchingly, despite the discomfort it must have caused him. Inexorable as fate, he continued to depose bishops, to use the purse-strings as a test of priestly allegiance; and finally, he struck a tremendous blow at the Papal authority, by putting up his *fidus Achates*, Dr. Falk, to introduce a Bill which practically disestablished the bishops, inasmuch as it abolished their State grants. The measure passed triumphantly, as well as another repealing those clauses

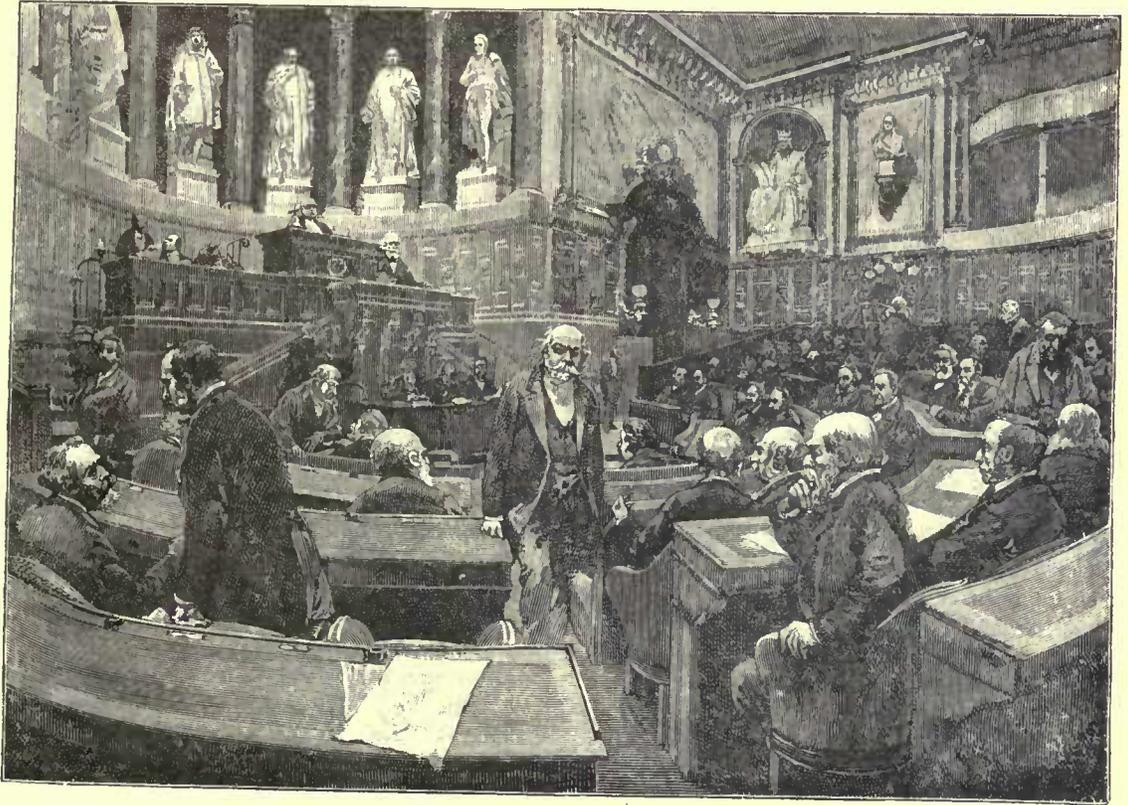
in the Constitution which amounted to a Concordat with Rome, guaranteeing ecclesiastical independence and uninterrupted intercourse between religious bodies and their superiors. Prince Bismarck also crushed his fallen rival, Count Arnim, by a prosecution for embezzling public documents, and the latter put himself in the wrong by a bombastic pamphlet entitled "*Pro Nihilo*." Bavaria was the only other individual state which came into prominence during the year. Always the most independent of the German bodies politic, she now asserted her Separatist, or, to be more correct, Particularist, propensities unmistakably. Having a huge majority in, the Chamber of Deputies, the adherents of this party were perfectly safe in proposing that an address should be laid before the king, complaining that his Ministry were subordinating Bavarian to Imperial interests, and demanding their dismissal. Unfortunately, the violence of their tone was such that it was carried by only a small majority; and the eccentric monarch from the heights of his Alpine fastnesses sent a trenchant reply, in which he declined altogether to accept the address and shortly adjourned the Diet *sine die*.

The sister Empire of Austria was the while in her usual attitude of watchfulness, standing on guard against an outbreak in the East, though not, as in former centuries, oppressed with that sickness of heart with which she used to watch the Crescent advancing with swift ferocity upon Vienna, for now the whole body of Turkey was sick and its whole heart faint. As to the troubles on the Dalmatian frontier, it is enough to say here that in spite of the upheaval of the Slav population outside his borders, those within the limits of the Empire remained tranquil, even the Hungarians adopting a conciliatory attitude, and a delegation of Magyars announced their acquiescence in the foreign policy of Austria. Meanwhile the Emperor, in order to be prepared for all contingencies, had carefully re-armed his forces throughout with new guns, while at the same time he did not neglect more peaceful pursuits, and by his inauguration of the new bed of the Danube, at Vienna, consummated what it was hoped would prove a lasting benefit to the Austrian capital.

Turn we now to France, where the year proved a momentous and on the whole a successful one, despite the terrible floods in June, which, caused by the overflow of the Garonne, destroyed a vast amount of property, estimated roughly at some £12,000,000, including a whole suburb of the town of Toulouse, and claimed some three or four

hundred victims. All men were on the tiptoe of expectation when the National Assembly, with the formidable task of creating a Second Chamber before it, met on January 6th. Fortunately, after a Ministerial crisis had replaced General de Cissez as Premier by M. Buffet, conciliation and compromise were now completely the order of the day. Before the Buffet Cabinet was formed, the Senate Bill and the Bill for the Organisation of Powers

This was M. Henri Wallon, a hitherto obscure politician of moderate views and a Professor of the Sorbonne, where he trod in the footsteps and held many of the views of M. Guizot. His amendment ran as follows:—"The President of the Republic is elected by a majority of votes obtained by the Senate and by the Chamber of Deputies, acting as a National Assembly. He is named for seven years, and can be re-elected." Thus was the



INTERIOR OF THE FRENCH SENATE-HOUSE (LUXEMBOURG PALACE, PARIS).

had become law, having had the way cleared for them by the unexpected success of the Wallon project. Strangely enough, the constitution of the Republic was fixed almost at haphazard: first, the scheme of the Right Centre, known as the Ventavon project, was broached; then the counter-scheme of the Left Centre appeared in the form of an amendment, moved in an extremely able speech by M. Laboulaye. The latter was outvoted by twenty-four; and it was thought that the discussion would be dragged on endlessly, when suddenly a man appeared who hit upon a happy compromise, which all parties really accepted with thankfulness, though it was carried by a majority of only one.

Republic established. "My proposal," said its godfather, "does not proclaim the Republic: it makes it."

When the foundation stone had been laid, the French proceeded with their usual rapidity to their favourite employment of Constitution-building. The majority of one became a majority of 180, and soon the Constitution was drafted in seven articles and the text placed before the world. The Constitution of 1875 may be fairly pronounced safe, cautious and distinctly reactionary. It was the creation of a coalition who were afraid of committing themselves to anything extreme, or, for that matter, to anything definite. That was probably

the secret of the great powers placed in the hands of Marshal MacMahon : it was known that he was personally desirous of authority and it was felt that he would resent being turned into a puppet. As to the Senate, a prudent concession to the theories of French Conservatives, it was a good specimen of a ready-made Second Chamber. It was selected by different constituents to those who voted for the Deputies ; the Councils-General were bodies to which it was some honour to belong ; and lest they should be tampered with by Government, the delegates and the remainder of the composite electoral body were thrown in as a make-weight. The idea—and to a certain extent it was successful—was to create a legislative body of landowners, manufacturers, and merchants. At the same time, as it was shrewdly remarked, though France was a Republic, there were no more Republicans in it than before.

After a recess of two months, during which period the German war scare gave the good people of Paris plenty to think about, the Assembly met again on May 11th. Two more constitutional Bills were discussed and passed, one giving a considerable increase of authority to the President of the Republic, inasmuch as he could convoke the Chambers, communicate with them by message, demand a fresh discussion on a vote already passed, and make and ratify treaties, which he was to "make the Chambers acquainted with as soon as the interests and safety of the State allow ;" the other, which tended to make the Senate a less aristocratic body, provided that its members should be paid, that the expenses of the delegates from the communal councils to the hustings at the chief town in the arrondissements should be paid, and that Government officials were ineligible in their own Departments.

The autumn session was signalled by events of considerable importance, though, to some extent, they neutralised one another. The Right and Government gained a victory by insisting that an amendment should be inserted in the electoral law providing for the return of members of the Chamber of Deputies by *scrutin d'arrondissement* (ballot by ward), one deputy to each arrondissement ; the great speech of M. Gambetta in favour of *scrutin de liste* (ballot by list) fell on deaf ears. Then their joy was turned into mourning when the results were known of the elections of the seventy-five life members to the Senate by the National Assembly. The Left had secured a totally unexpected advantage, and gained, at the lowest computation, fifty-five seats out of the seventy-five. Its work now

complete, the National Assembly, after a career of five years, during which it had made many mistakes, but had done much more good work, dissolved, the date of the meeting of the new Parliament being fixed for the 8th of March, 1876.

The tranquillity of Italy during the year was absolutely uninterrupted. King Victor Emmanuel appeared as the brother of great potentates, and received visits from two out of the three European Emperors : that of the Emperor of Austria, who met the Italian monarch in Venice, a city which had been freed from the hated Hapsburg yoke, being one of much significance ; that of the Emperor of Germany at Milan serving only to recall memories of an age of Teutonic invasions that had long passed away. But perhaps of even more importance was the visit he received in January from Garibaldi. The patriot's dream of an Italian Republic dispersed, the life-long Republican acquiesced in the existence of a monarchy which had united Italy and he now came to take his seat in the Italian Parliament ; nay, to swear allegiance to the king and to enter the royal palace. Pius IX., the third great man in Italy, continued to thunder against Germany with all the energy of former years, and as a mark of his appreciation of dogged perseverance, presented Archbishop Ledochowski with a cardinal's hat ; among his colleagues were Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, and Dr. Manning, of Westminster. And so Mr. Disraeli's prophecy came true : Cardinal Grandison was a reality.

No peace such as reigned over Italy was destined to be the lot of Russia. Though she was honey-combed by Nihilism and Socialism, and though her finances were very nearly exhausted, she put forth her strength in nearly every direction. Two great ironclads, the *Novgorod* and the *Admiral Popoff*, were launched in the northern seas ; she watched the turn of events in the south carefully, but saw that the time had not yet come for active interference in the struggle between the Sultan and his Christian subjects. It was chiefly in Asia, and in that continent in the direction of India, that the activity of the agents of the Czar was shown. Besides this, the southern half of the island of Saghalien, at the mouth of the river Amur, was ceded to Russia by Japan, whereby she obtained the command of the Japanese waters and received, in addition, a piece of land known to be very rich in coal and capable of becoming the centre of a considerable trade. Western China was also explored by a Russian emissary, who was

said to have met with a very favourable reception from the inhabitants.

It was, however, the cautious advances of the Russian troops towards the northern Indian frontier that attracted most attention in England. The great effort was in the direction of Kokand, part of the province of Ferghana, the whole of which was ruled by an independent khan, named Khudayar. The wearer of the crown of Kokand must have found that his head lay uneasily, for he was constantly being driven out by his oppressed subjects, who in addition to picking quarrels with their prince, were fond of fighting amongst themselves, the Mahometan Khirghiz being at daggers drawn with the Tartar Uzbegs. Meanwhile, the Russians were advancing by swift degrees on the divided khanate; in 1874 came the usual preliminary to annexation, a mission to Kokand, and the unfortunate Khudayar, who was at this moment sore vexed by the mutinous Khirghiz, was very humble to his imperious guests. The whole of the territory north of the Syr was thereupon virtually, though not ostensibly, annexed, the khan being left in empty possession, with a Cossack garrison to protect him. The Khirghiz, however, were not long before they broke out into open rebellion, one Abdurrahman being their leader; a holy war was proclaimed and an intimate and suspicious friendship was seen to exist between the insurgent chief and Yakoub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar. Khudayar Khan fled to Tashkend. Thereupon the Russian semi-official journal, the *Golos*, announced towards the end of August, 1875, that Kokand must be annexed "in the interests of order" and hinted that Kashgar might suffer the same fate. General Golovatchoff was sent to the front with a considerable force and General Kaufmann, following after him, inflicted a defeat on the insurgents, who submitted humbly, whereupon the Khan of Kashgar attempted to atone for his error by sending an embassy to St. Petersburg. Khudayar was deposed, his eldest son set up in his place, and things went on as before, the formal annexation of the country to the Empire being postponed. A small force was sent out in the direction of Gharm, situated about 150 miles farther south, and almost on the borders of Afghanistan. It was not long, however, before Kaufmann found that he had quite enough to

occupy him without advancing farther. Although the country was known to be very disaffected, it was at length deemed advisable to publish an order of the day, dated November 6th, announcing that the territory to the north of the Syr Darya had passed under the dominion of Russia, and that General Skobelev was to administer the country. The whole of the Mahometan population rose at once; Kaufmann was surrounded on all sides, and towards the end of November his little band was in imminent danger from the mere superiority of numbers. Reinforcements were, however, not long in arriving from Tashkend, and the rebellion was crushed.

Meanwhile, the Autocrat of all the Russias had not forgotten his recent victories over the Khivese, and accordingly General Lamakin, whose exploits in the campaign of '73 had gained him a high position among the soldiers of his country, was despatched from Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian, at the head of an expedition, half military and half scientific, the object of which was chiefly to explore the bed of the Oxus, and secondly, to aid General Ivanoff, the Governor of Khiva, in chastising the Tekke Turkomans, whose marauding propensities had made the caravan route between that town and Krasnovodsk perfectly impassable. So, at least, it was given out, but men whispered that its real intent was to take Merv, only two hundred miles from Herat. Indeed, it was currently reported in November that a mission had been secretly despatched to the unknown town, and there were many found to urge that Sir Henry Rawlinson's advice should be taken, namely, that Herat should be immediately occupied by British troops. Eventually however, apprehension appeared to be premature. Lamakin returned to Krasnovodsk without having been near Merv; he had simply explored the bed of the Oxus as far as Igdy and sent on a reconnaissance to the Sarykamish Lake, with the view of surveying the entire course of the proposed canal between the Sea of Aral and the Caspian. Nevertheless, it was not easy to see, as the *Times* pertinently remarked, the object of sending out an expedition of 1,000 men and 574 camels to survey an old river bed, and the feeling of Great Britain, strengthened by the course of events in the south-east of Europe, was defiantly anti-Russian.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Indian and Colonial Affairs 1872-75—Death of Lord Mayo—Review of his Policy—The Frontier States—Public Works and Agriculture—Financial Decentralisation—Lord Northbrook succeeds—His first Proceedings—The Guicowar of Baroda—Attempt to Poison the Resident—The Commission of Inquiry—Acquittal of the Guicowar—The Prince of Wales's Visit to India—Bombay and Baroda—Chapter of the Star of India—The North-West Provinces—The Punjab and Gwalior—Close of the Tour—Lord Lytton succeeds Lord Northbrook—Annexation of the Diamond Fields—The case of Langalibalele—Bishop Colenso's Intervention—Lord Carnarvon's Despatch—Sir Garnet Wolseley in Natal—The South African Federation Project—Mr. Froude's Mission—Settlement of the Gold Coast—Delagoa Bay—The Congo—Annexation of Fiji—History of the Negotiations—The Settlement—New Zealand remodels her Constitution—Australia and New Guinea—Lord Dufferin in Canada—Grievances with the United States—Resignation of the Macdonald Ministry—Failure of the Commercial Negotiations—Riots in Montreal.

THE increased attention given in 1875 and onwards to Indian and colonial affairs makes that year an opportune starting-point for a brief retrospective description of the more remarkable events which stand out in relief from the flat surface of tranquillity. The story of the Indian famine has already been told, and that of the Ashantee War, which arose out of colonial responsibilities, has been placed in its proper chronological order.

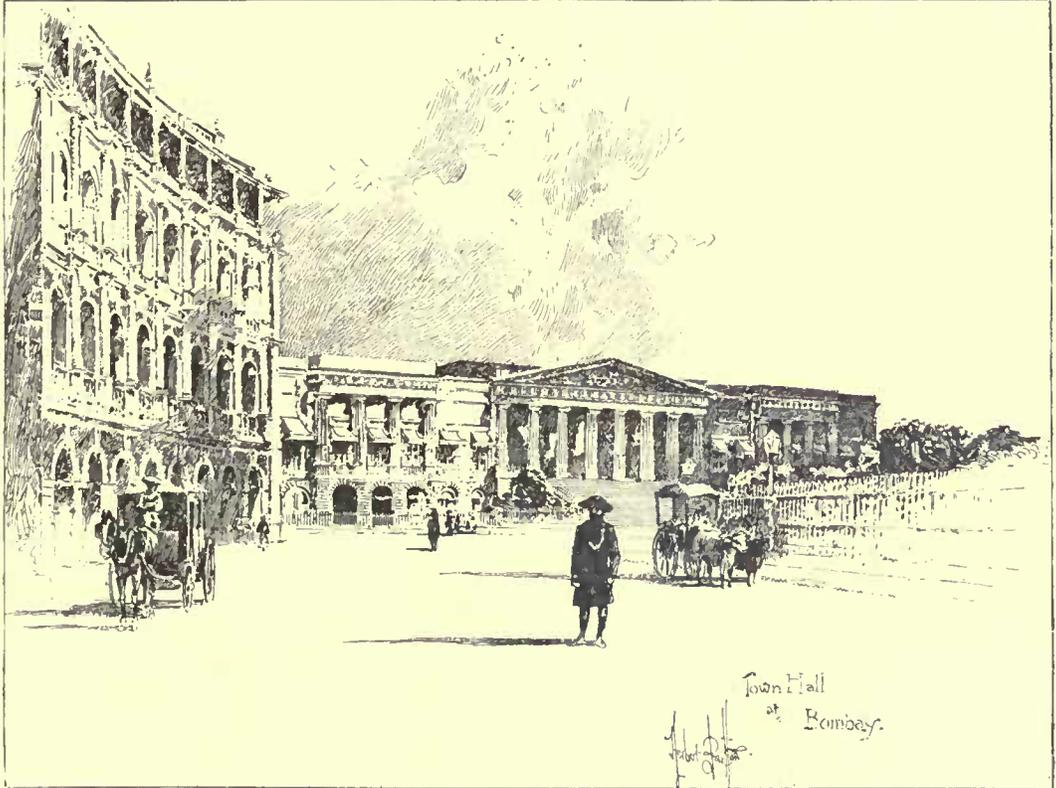
The death of Lord Mayo, the Indian Viceroy, was a grave loss to India. He had proved himself capable of governing men; beneath a somewhat unprepossessing exterior was hidden an intellect of great determination, and he met the difficulties of his reign with admirable firmness of policy. In fact, it would be difficult to over-estimate the results of his Viceroyalty. After the Ameer of Afghanistan, Shere Ali, had established his supremacy upon the musnud of Cabul at the close of a sanguinary civil war, Lord Mayo arranged a meeting with him at Umballa, at which, while declining to give him an annual subsidy or to support him by armed intervention in any emergency, he gave the Prince emphatic assurances of the desire of the Government of India for the speedy consolidation of his power, and of its determination to respect the independence of Afghanistan. He restrained Persian aggression, and prevented the Shah from coming to blows with the Ameer by appointing a commission to determine the boundary of the Afghan province of Seistan. His general policy, which was opposed to the "masterly inactivity" of Lord Lawrence, can be summed up in his own words, "We should establish with our frontier states of Kelat, Afghanistan, Yarkand, Nepaul, and Burmah intimate relations of friendship; we should make them feel that, though we are all-powerful, we desire to support their nationality; that when necessity arises, we

might assist them with money, arms, and, even perhaps in certain eventualities, with men. We should thus create in them out-works of our Empire, and, assuring them that the days of annexation are past, let them know that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by endeavouring to deserve our favour and support. Further, we should strenuously oppose any attempt to neutralise those territories in the European sense, or to sanction or invite the interference of any European Power in our affairs."

Within the Empire, Lord Mayo discountenanced punitive expeditions as far as possible, though he was compelled in 1871 to chastise the Lushais, and cultivated good relations with the native States. Among the beneficent results of his rule were the foundation of the Mayo College at Ajmeer and the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar for the education of young princes and nobles. But his influence was felt more powerfully still in the domains of commerce and finance. When he arrived at Calcutta (January, 1869), the financial outlook was decidedly gloomy and a deficit imminent. However, he raised a small surplus by reductions of expenditure on public works, by increasing the salt duties in Madras and Bombay, and by raising the income-tax in the middle of the financial year. That impost, however, he afterwards discarded as unsuited to Indian wants. He also cut down the military expenditure by nearly half a million without diminishing the numerical strength of the army and effected large saving in the construction of barracks. He personally supervised the Public Works department, and effected large economies in irrigation by enforcing provincial and local responsibility. Again, he revolutionised the railway extension system by abolishing the plan of entrusting such works to private enterprise with interest guaranteed by the Government, in favour of that

of constructing minor lines by the direct agency of the State, on a narrower gauge of three feet three inches, and therefore at a cheaper rate than the guarantee railways. Lord Mayo further encouraged the development of towns by facilitating the construction of works of utility by means of Government loans and passed a Land Improvement Act for the country districts. He wisely decided that the permanent system of land revenue established

inquiry every five years, of which the first was made in 1872. Under this scheme, wrote the Anglo-Indian authority, Sir William Hunter, "the Government of India enters into an agreement with the eight Provincial Governments, and hands over to them the control of the administration and expenditure of nearly all departments, subject to limitations as to the creation of new appointments and other slight restrictions. To meet this



THE TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.
(From a Photograph by Frith & Co., Reigate.)

by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal should not be extended, but advocated instead an assessment fixed with reference to agricultural produce, which principle was carried out with much scientific precision by his successors.

Before Lord Mayo's arrival in India the relations between the Central and Provincial Governments were decidedly hostile, and there was no stimulus to avoid waste or to develop the revenues so as to increase the local means of improvement. The Viceroy saw that the only remedy was a policy of decentralisation, and that policy he carried out with emphatic success. He established the system of Provincial contracts, formulated after due

expenditure the Provincial Government is guaranteed the whole or a specified portion of nearly all sources of revenue. A careful estimate is made of the probable revenue and expenditure under these heads, and specific sums are accepted as fixed amounts. Any expenditure in excess of those sums must be met out of the growth of the provincial allotted sources of revenue by local taxation, and the Government of India can only be appealed to for financial assistance when the additional expenditure has clearly arisen out of circumstances which were not taken into consideration when the contract was drawn up. On the other hand, certain departments of the administration,

such as the Army, Military Works, the Post Office, Railways, Irrigation, Indian Marine, Telegraphs, the Mint, the raising of loans, and the negotiation of the exchange for home charges, are kept in the hands of the Supreme Government, which draws the whole of certain departments of revenue, and a specified proportion from others in each province, to defray its Imperial charges." Lord Mayo naturally began, somewhat tentatively, provincialising merely the chief spending departments, such as Education, Civil Buildings, Jails, and Police. It was not until 1877 that some of the larger departments of revenue, such as Excise and Stamps, were handed over to the Provincial Governments. Further developments occurred in 1882, when the income from Forests and Assessed Taxes was equally divided between the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and even the Land Revenue, the most important source of revenue, was partly provincialised. These arrangements do not come, strictly speaking, within the period under review, but they show how important was the influence upon the history of India of Lord Mayo's brief three years' administration. Sorrow for the untimely close of a career so eminently useful was universal and sincere, not only among Europeans, but also among the natives as well; the Ameer of Afghanistan sent from beyond the Himalayas a letter of regret to Lord Napier, the governor of Madras, who succeeded as *ad interim* administrator until Government should have decided on a new appointment. This, however, seemed by no means an easy task: the pretensions of three men who had distinguished themselves in colonial statesmanship—Lord Dufferin, Lord Kimberley, and Lord Northbrook—were freely canvassed by the public, and the lot fell on the last of the three.

The period under consideration coincides almost exactly with Lord Northbrook's tenure of office. At first it seemed as if his rule would be prosaic enough; for the first few months the word India was almost unknown to readers of the daily press, save on one or two occasions, when her new satrap admonished the Calcutta Trade Association on the wisdom of balancing expenditure and income, or established new regulations for the civil service. Nor were the incidents of the earlier part of 1873 of a much more sensational character; all eyes were turned from cis-Himalayan affairs to the desolate steppes around the Caspian Sea, across which the Russians were marching upon the doomed town of Khiva, and to the mountains of Afghanistan, where the quarrels between the Ameer and his son, Yakoub Khan, were becoming unpleasantly

frequent. Though there were agrarian disturbances in the province of Bengal, which seemed likely at one time to assume a serious aspect, they were stopped opportunely by the firm attitude of the Government, which stood between the irate peasants and the zemindars, or landlords, who were inclined in many cases to oppress them. In the autumn months arose the dread rumour of famine, but how Lord Northbrook and his zealous coadjutors grappled with the famine fiend, and how they overcame it, has already been told.

We now pass on to describe briefly the trial and deposition of the Guicowar of Baroda, which, with the reported, but, as it turned out, false discovery of Nana Sahib, were the cause of much excitement and speculation. Mulharrao, the Guicowar of Baroda, ascended the throne in 1870, and at first gave promise of turning out a fair specimen of the Indian despot, but latterly his government had been corrupt and his court abandoned in the extreme: so notorious, indeed, had his profligacy become, that at length the British Resident, Colonel Phayre, laid a long series of complaints before the Supreme Government at Calcutta, and after a commission of inquiry had carefully investigated them, the Guicowar was informed that if he had not reformed "by the 31st of December, 1875," he would be deposed. Hence it may be imagined that the relations between the Guicowar and the Resident were not particularly cordial. The coolness was increased by Colonel Phayre's disinclination to regard the Guicowar's son by his wife Lakshmi Bai as heir to the throne. This woman had been recently wedded to the Guicowar with great splendour; she was understood to be of alien race, and there were, besides, grave doubts as to the legitimacy of her son, as she had been married to another man who was still alive. In the circumstances, in spite of the laxity of the Oriental marriage tie, the Resident was no doubt acting perfectly within his right in refusing to recognise the infant.

The alleged attempt on the part of the revengeful Mahratta to rid himself of his enemy by poison was made in November, 1874. The medium employed was a glass of sherbet, which the colonel was in the habit of drinking before breakfast. Fortunately, the intended victim discovered the presence of a peculiar powder in the liquid, and noticed an unpleasant taste as soon as he began to drink, so that he escaped the snare. An analysis of the sediment at the bottom of the glass, of which the contents were thrown out of window, at once revealed the presence of arsenic and diamond

dust in the sherbet but, owing to the promptness of medical assistance, Colonel Phayre suffered no harm in health. He was immediately recalled, not in consequence of the attempt to murder him, but because of Lord Northbrook's strong disapproval of his meddlesome tactics. His successor, Sir Lewis Pelly, at once summoned to his aid Mr. Soutar, of the Bombay police, and a stringent inquiry was instituted into the matter. Its proceedings were kept strictly secret and the wildest rumours were accordingly afloat as to the degree of criminality which had been proved.

The Government had, by the beginning of 1875, obtained sufficient evidence to warrant a supposition that Mulharrao was implicated in the crime; "he had," said the proclamation, "instigated the attempt to administer poison to Colonel Phayre." He was arrested in his own palace, and in the midst of his own troops, by Sir Lewis Pelly and conveyed as a prisoner to the Residency. For a moment there was a possibility of a second mutiny and a wholesale massacre of Europeans, but it passed away and the people accepted the situation with wonderful equanimity. Sir Lewis Pelly was entrusted for the present with the administration of the country, which, it was understood, would, after justice had been done, be handed over to a regency, pending the coming of age of the ex-Guicowar's eldest son. It was determined to try the high-born criminal by a court of justice taking the form of a Commission of Inquiry.

Upon this commission the Viceroy, with a policy which was afterwards severely questioned, invited three of the great Indian princes to take seats—Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Jeypore. Holkar, true to the traditions of his family, refused, but the other two consented, and with them was associated Sir Dinkur Rao, the ablest of native Ministers. Sir Richard Crouch, Chief Justice of Bengal, was president, and with him were Mr. Justice West, one of the judges of the Bombay High Court, and Sir Richard Meade. Mr. Scoble, the Advocate-General of Bombay, represented the Indian Government; while Serjeant Ballantine, whose talents had been employed in the earlier stages of the Tichborne case, was retained by the Guicowar as his leading counsel, application having been previously made to Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Henry Matthews. The Commission met on February 25th, and proceedings promptly began. Altogether, though the evidence—chiefly that of native servants—was conflicting, it tended to establish the guilt of the Guicowar. Unfortunately, the opinions of the Commission could not be made

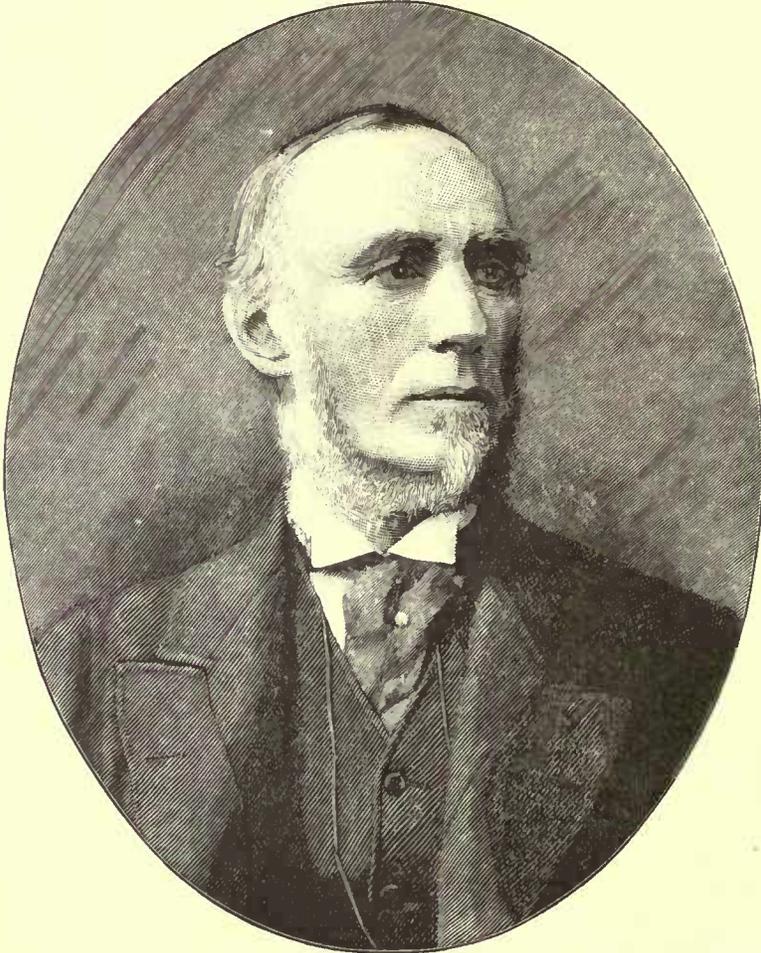
to agree. The Englishmen were unanimous as to the deliberateness of the attempt and the complicity of the Guicowar; the natives, however—carried away, no doubt, by the masterly cross-examination of Serjeant Ballantine—decided that the charge had not been proved.

Lord Northbrook was thereby placed on the horns of a dilemma: he had either to reinstate the Guicowar or to disregard the Commission. He chose the second course. The Commission had been only one of inquiry, though its judicial form made people forget the fact, and the Viceroy was not bound in any way to act upon its reports; all that could be said was that it had not been a perfectly successful experiment, and that it was to be hoped that the Indian princes would not resent the apparent disregard of their verdict. Nor could it be denied that the Guicowar was perfectly incompetent to rule. On the other hand, the period of grace which had been allotted to him had not yet expired, therefore his deposition was logically indefensible; nor, though he was suspected of much, could it be demonstrated that he had committed any additional crime since the last solemn warning had been addressed to him. In the circumstances, the proclamation issued by Lord Northbrook, deposing Mulharrao on account of his gross misconduct and misgovernment, and making arrangements for the succession of a young prince of his house, had all the appearance of being an unwarrantable act of arbitrary rule; it was, however, entirely justified by its result.

Shortly after this unpleasant difficulty had been thus summarily settled, Mr. Disraeli asked the House of Commons to vote a sum of £60,000 to defray a portion of the expenses of the Prince of Wales on his visit to India. The idea, said the Premier, had been for some time in contemplation, and the arrangements were fairly complete; even the day of departure had been fixed. It was understood to have been a subject of deliberation in the winter of 1874, but the relations of the Prince of Wales to the princes whom he would visit, and to the Viceroy whose guest he would become, were of so delicate a nature that several points were a matter of anxious official correspondence, the complication being increased by the fact that there was no precedent for the visit, except, perhaps, the hurried excursion of the Duke of Edinburgh. At length all obstacles were overcome; it was decided, said Mr. Disraeli, that the Prince should go to India, "not as the representative of her Majesty, but as the heir-apparent to her crown. It is therefore obvious that some

difficulties which, under other circumstances, might be contemplated as arising from the position of the Viceroy and his Royal Highness cannot prevail in the present instance, because no one has been so earnestly anxious for this visit as the Viceroy himself, and no one has been more careful and

quote Mr. Disraeli once more, part of his necessary education. It was felt that the Prince was going to see the country in the right way, with much pageantry and but little diplomacy. No great Minister of State was a member of his escort. The first who was invited to join it was Sir Bartle



LORD NORTHBROOK.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company, Regent Street, W.)

fruitful in devising expedients which may secure for his Royal Highness a position which may satisfy the country and himself." The approval expressed in Parliament, with hardly a single expression of dissidence, was re-echoed through the country: many, indeed, complained of the parsimony of the Parliamentary grant; it was felt to be only a matter of justice that the people of India should become acquainted with the king who would one day rule over them, and that the prince should, on his side, have an opportunity of realising the magnitude of his position; it was, to

Frere, who had spent the greater part of his life in India, and had risen from a clerkship in the Indian Civil Service to the high position of Governor of Bombay. Soon afterwards it was announced that the Duke of Sutherland was to join the suite. The remainder were selected from the Prince's household and his personal friends.

After a most prosperous journey, Bombay was reached on November 8th, and the business of the journey began. It was clear that the Prince was on no mere pleasure outing; hardly had the Viceroy welcomed him to India when the first of the



RECEPTION OF THE PRINCE OF WALES AT BARODA. (See p. 186.)

long list of presentations and receptions commenced. Baroda was the next destination, the opportunity of seeing a native court being one which was not to be neglected. On the 19th the Royal party embarked in the *Serapis*, and arrived at the capital of the Guicowar on the following day, where they were received with much pomp by the young prince and his Prime Minister, Sir Madhava Rao, and rode on richly-caparisoned elephants to the Residency. This was the most purely Eastern place visited by the Prince during the whole of his travels; there were wild-beast fights in the arena, almost in the manner of ancient Rome, great hunting parties, and a state banquet, at which the Prince, in an admirable speech, pointed out the greatness of the future career of the young Maharajah, and expressed a hope that the friendly relations between the two Governments would continue.

The year had almost expired when the Prince arrived at the capital of the Indian Empire, after visiting Ceylon and Madras; there were the usual grand entry, reception of chiefs, banquets, displays of fireworks, and review. The visits of the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, who was supposed to be not too well disposed to British rule, and of the Maharajah of Cashmere, who appeared with a retinue of much splendour, however, were events of more than ordinary significance, and they proved to be the prelude of the most interesting ceremony of the whole tour. This was the Chapter of the Star of India, held on New Year's Day, 1876, at Calcutta. The scene of this imposing ritual was a huge tent carpeted with cloth of gold, which had been erected at a distance of a mile from Government House. At one end was an elevated dais surmounted by a canopy; beneath the canopy were two chairs with silver arms, one with the Prince of Wales's plumes, the other with a crown embossed on the back. The Companions of the Order first entered two by two, and took their seats on each side of and behind the dais; then came a procession of Indian princes mingled with the less sensational arrivals of Sir Salar Jung, Lord Napier of Magdala, and Sir Bartle Frere. Last of all, the Prince arrived, preceded by his household and his officers in two lines. "The Prince took his seat on the dais. . . . The Viceroy ordered the secretary to read the roll of the order. Mr. Aitchison did so. Each member stood up as his name was called, bowed and sat down. The Chapter was then declared open; the secretary reported the business to be the investiture of the persons named in a warrant directing the

Prince to invest them from the Queen, dated, Balmoral, October 25th, 1875. The Viceroy and members of the Order rose, bowed to the Prince, and sat down. The Prince then received from the secretary the grants of the several dignities, which were handed to a page. He directed 'the investiture to proceed.' It was an interesting, though somewhat lengthy, ceremony. Among those who were decorated by the royal hand were the Maharajah of Jodhpore, the Rajah of Jheend, Holkar's brother, the Rajah Mahun Kasee, and the Maharajah of Poonah; at length the Prince desired the Chapter to be closed, and the magnificent procession filed off."

The railway bore the travellers from Calcutta to Bankipore, where they were received by Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay, and where a levee was held at which those who had distinguished themselves during the famine were especially presented: and thence to Benares, the holy city, where six poor old men were presented, who boasted themselves the lineal descendants of the Great Mogul, Shah Allum, who was himself sprung from the stock of Timour. Thence the Prince passed on to Lucknow, and thence to Cawnpore: thus visiting scenes of undying interest and spots hallowed by memories of virtuous and brave lives. At the former place he was presented to the survivors of the faithful Sepoys who had aided the British during the siege, and laid a foundation stone to the memory of the native soldiers who had fallen: at the latter he visited the building which marks the place of the fatal well, and read the touching words, "To the memory of a great company of Christian people—principally women and children—who were cruelly slaughtered here."

The entry into Delhi afforded an excellent opportunity for military display of the most imposing character. Lines of soldiery, extending five miles, kept the road to the camp, and a grand review, commanded by Lord Napier, and march-past—in which native and British regiments stepped side by side—proved that the Empire was as safe from civil war within its boundaries as it was from invasion from without. By the Hindoos Delhi was regarded with feelings of another nature, which were well described in the address presented by members of the municipality. "More than a thousand years," it ran, "Delhi has been the seat of dynasties, which have risen, flourished, and passed away, leaving traces of splendour in the palace and tomb, in mosque and temple, minaret and tower. Although no longer the seat of Empire,

it is flourishing. . . . It is still the home of the language of Hindostan and the seat of learning." Sham-fights and field-days followed the review until the 18th of January, 1876, when the Prince and his friends bade farewell to the old town and to Lord Napier.

At Lahore the picturesque chiefs of the Punjab were received with the most elaborate ceremonial; at Agra there was another reception, and the beautiful tomb known as the Taj Mahal was visited by moonlight, and an excursion made thence by rail to the domain of Scindia, the Maharajah of Gwalior, where some fine manœuvres of native soldiery were witnessed, and where that chief, at a grand durbar, expressed himself, with hands clasped, the Queen's most faithful servant for ever. Burtpore and Jeypore were also seen, and there was a sporting expedition in Nepal. Indore was touched at on the 9th of March, and there Holkar came to pay his respects. On March the 11th Bombay was reached, and farewell visits were received from the grandees of the town. "Just this day seventeen weeks ago," wrote Dr. Russell, in his diary, "the *Serapis* cast anchor in Bombay Harbour. The Prince has travelled nearly 7,600 miles by land and 2,300 miles by sea, knows more chiefs than all the Viceroys and Governors together, and has seen more of the country in the time than any living man." From the *Serapis* the Prince sent to Lord Northbrook an expression of the sincere pleasure and deep interest with which he had visited the wonderful country of the Indies. "I can candidly say," he wrote, "that my expectations have been more than realised by what I have witnessed, so that I return to my native country most deeply impressed with all I have seen and heard." The homeward voyage was accomplished without much incident to vary the usual monotony of the route.

Lord Northbrook had already sent in his resignation when the Prince wrote to him the farewell letter. The reason given for his retirement was ill-health, but it was understood that political motives had something to do with the sudden step. He had for some time been at variance with the India Office on small matters notably concerning a Tariff Act which he had passed the previous summer without submitting it to the Secretary of State—a proceeding on which Lord Salisbury commented in a dispatch with much severity, and of which he had spoken in deprecatory terms in the House of Lords. Whether or no this was the real cause of the Viceroy's surrender of his official insignia, it was certain that he had more than

earned the reward of rest and an earldom by the untiring industry with which he had fulfilled the duties of his onerous position. Mr. Disraeli's choice of a successor took the world by surprise. Lord Lytton was known as a graceful poet and as a popular diplomatist, but he had not exhibited any of those qualities which are supposed to be the outward and visible signs of a genius for administration.

Affairs in Cape Colony—and, indeed, in British Africa generally—wore, during the period under review (1872-5) a very unsettled aspect; on the Gold Coast, as we have seen, actual blows were not averted, and in the southernmost portion of the continent the complications arising from the clashing interests of race and race became from time to time of a most serious character. The discovery of the diamond-fields two or three years before had caused a vast immigration into the district known as Griqualand West, a tract governed by a native chief, named Waterboer, who ruled over a race of half-castes living between the Orange and Vaal rivers. Such a rush had hardly been known since the discovery of the Australian gold mines; all the adventurous members of society were irresistibly attracted by the prospects of becoming wealthy men by a few strokes of the spade; and though it soon grew evident that of those who went out full of hope, by far the greater part returned sadder, poorer, and wiser men, the stream of diggers still poured up the country. Composed of the ne'er-do-weels of civilisation, the settlement was a source of considerable inconvenience to its neighbours; in July, 1872, a wild outbreak known as the "New Bush Riot," resulted in the violent expulsion of the native diggers from the fields. In the circumstances, their chief, Waterboer, resolved to place himself under the protection of a stronger Power; he appealed to Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of the Cape, and, in consequence, Griqualand West was annexed by proclamation in October. This annexation the Dutch President of the Orange Free State refused to recognise, and declined to acknowledge the Governor, Mr. Southey; and the boundaries of the new colony had to be left unsettled, while the natives, under this doubtful rule, became turbulent and discontented. All things considered, therefore, Mr. Southey's custom of giving the natives of the Diamond Fields arms in lieu of wages seems to have been imprudent; the guns, moreover, were frequently seized on their way to the interior by the Dutch: hence the ill-feeling between the two nations became worse than before.

Among the chiefs whose men received arms in this way was one Langelibalele, who, with his tribe, the Amahlubi, had been driven out of Zululand by Umpanda, the reigning king, in 1848, and been allowed to settle by the Government of Natal in a tract of country below the Drakenberg Mountains. For some time past he had been suspected of rebellious tendencies, in particular because he had neglected to have the guns in possession of

that they had intermarried with the Amahlubis, were also attacked by the bellicose people of Natal; the whole tribe was surrounded, surrendered without striking a blow, and was driven off to Pietermaritzburg to share the fate of its unhappy kinsmen, but eventually it was restored to its location. Langelibalele fled into Basutoland, where he and his men were betrayed to the colonists by a chief named Molappo, and brought



THE PRINCE OF WALES AT A TIGER-HUNT IN THE JUNGLE OF NEPAUL. (See p. 187.)

his warriors registered according to law. He was therefore summoned by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Shepstone, to Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal, to answer for his conduct, but, with the natural suspicions of a savage, he stayed at home. Thereupon, a mixed force of regulars of the 75th Regiment, colonials, and a horde of natives was hastily organised and pursued the flying Amahlubis; in an attempt to cut off their retreat through the Bushman's River Pass, Major Durnford, R.E., with a handful of men, was overpowered by numbers and very roughly handled. Soon afterwards, the Putulis, a harmless tribe, whose chief offence appeared to consist in the fact

to the capital for trial. The proceedings began on January 16th, 1874, under Kaffir law, in a court which seems to have been very irregularly constituted. Langelibalele was accused of allowing his tribe to possess fire-arms contrary to law, of defying the magistrate, and refusing to appear before the Supreme Chief. Unable to produce witnesses, and with legal assistance forbidden him, he was condemned without any defence and sentenced as a rebel to banishment for life.

Bishop Colenso, however—who had from the first taken an interest in the prisoner—was not inclined to let the matter rest thus. His efforts, however, were of little avail; in spite of an

intimation from the Colonial Office that they had acted quite unjustly, the Natal Government quietly disregarded the despatch and sent the prisoner into exile. Bishop Colenso, who had business in England, thereupon resolved to plead his cause in person before the Colonial Secretary, and he did so with far better success than at Natal. In December, 1874, Lord Carnarvon, who had ere this been for some time alive to the necessity of vigorous action in South Africa, requested Sir Benjamin Pine, the Governor of Natal—by whose authority the raids had been made—to send in his resignation, and at the same time censured the colonial Administration with severity not often to be found, even in official correspondence, for their highhanded conduct towards Langalibalele. After remarking on the peculiar and anomalous constitution of the court, the blending of civilised and savage terms of procedure, and the absence of counsel, he said:—"I am brought to the conclusion that though there was probably negligence—it may be more or less culpable—in complying with the law, there is no sufficient justification for the charge in the indictment that Langalibalele did encourage and conspire with the people under him to procure fire-arms and retain them, as he and they well knew, contrary to the law . . . Langalibalele justly deserved punishment, but the sentence passed on him punishes him for treason, sedition, and rebellion, and is, in my judgment, far too severe . . . That the Amahlubi tribe should be removed from its location may have been a political necessity which, after all that had occurred, was forced upon you, and I fear it is out of the question to reinstate them in the position, whether of land or property, which they occupied previously . . . But every care should be taken to obviate the hardships and to mitigate the severities which, assuming the offence of the chief and his tribe to be even greater than I have estimated it, have far exceeded the limits of justice . . . With respect to the Putuli tribe, I have in their case expressed my opinion that no sufficient cause has been shown for removing them from their location . . . Their losses cannot, I fear, now be entirely replaced or repaired, but as far as reparation can be made without lowering the influence and endangering the authority of the local government, it must be done." Langalibalele was "to be released from imprisonment on the island in the sea," and the Amahlubis might, "if they chose, when that is prepared which is to be prepared, go to him;" but as he was closely confined in a farm on the mainland, and only one

or two of his wives and children were allowed to visit him, it does not appear that he derived much solid benefit from the change.

That someone of unusual administrative ability was a strong desideratum in South Africa at the moment was undoubted, and accordingly, Lord Carnarvon, who had sent out Mr. Froude, the historian, on a semi-official tour of inspection in the previous year, despatched Sir Garnet Wolseley to South Africa in 1875 as administrator of the Government of Natal. On his arrival, he found the government of the colony in a state of great irritation; they had expected high commendation for their chastisement of the natives and they had received instead a very sharp rebuke. Nevertheless, he was able to carry an exceedingly useful measure, which, by strengthening the executive, minimised the danger of hasty action and shifty policy on the part of those in authority. At the time of the conquest of Natal from Holland it had been found impossible, seeing that the proportions of Dutch and other white peoples to the Zulus and other natives were as one to fifteen, to establish an administration upon English principles. An Executive Council, therefore, had been formed, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, five Crown nominees, and fifteen members elected by the white population. Recent events had shown that the colonists were not yet capable of self-government, and Sir Garnet therefore resolved to put a drag on their spasmodic displays of authority by increasing the Council to thirty, a number afterwards reduced, at the request of the Legislative council, to twenty-eight, of whom thirteen were nominees, and fifteen elected with a property qualification. Thus the Legislature would be far more evenly balanced; at the same time, the administrator hinted, and Lord Carnarvon repeated the hint, that if the Anglo-Dutch settlers did not amend their conduct in the future it would be necessary to reduce Natal to the position of a Crown colony. Sir Garnet Wolseley made several other efforts to promote the welfare of this member of the British Empire; Colonel Colley was appointed as arbitrator, to settle, if possible, the dispute between the Shepstones and Bishop Colenso *in re* the pamphlet which had divided Pietermaritzburg society into two bitterly hostile camps, and an impulse was given to the construction of railways and the re-settlement of taxation. Sir Garnet quitted Natal in September, leaving the government in the hands of Sir Henry Bulwer.

Besides these matters, Lord Carnarvon had a great and ambitious scheme in view which had

long been favourably regarded by the Colonial Office: this was no less than to form a confederation of the three British colonies, the Cape, Natal, and Griqualand West, and to invite the two Dutch Republics—the Transvaal and the Orange Free State—to join it. The idea was unquestionably a very great one, but considerable doubts were entertained whether, though a Federal Government had worked admirably in Canada, it would be at all practicable in Africa; the Dutch, it was well known, would not have it at any price; nor would the Cape colonists, who had all the trade in their hands and were perfectly secure, feel disposed to share their profits with the people of Natal and send troops for their protection against the natives. Still, the anomalous position of Griqualand West must somehow be changed for the better, and, as Lord Carnarvon remarked in a dispatch to Sir Henry Barkly, the Governor of Cape Colony, the project, if successful, would “tend to develop the prosperity of South Africa, to sweep away many subjects of prolonged and unfruitful discussion, and to knit together the scattered communities of European race into a powerful and harmonious union, valuable alike for the interests of themselves and of the whole Empire.”

Unfortunately, the scheme was not even to have a trial; in his dispatch Lord Carnarvon proposed that Sir Henry Barkly should preside at a conference, which representatives from the colonies should be invited to attend, and at which Mr. Froude should be present as a sort of Imperial Commissioner. But he unwisely proceeded to name those whom he would like to represent the various states, and by so doing mortally offended the officials of Cape Colony, who were inordinately jealous of interference, and thought that their influence would be gone if they carried out a plan which they had not themselves suggested. Mr. Molteno, the Premier—for the Cape had possessed responsible government since 1872—a clever, though prejudiced, man, at once led the anti-English-interference cry, and the conference was rejected to the great displeasure of Lord Carnarvon.

Mr. Froude arrived at Capetown, and at once perceived that the feeling of the country, taken as a whole, was in favour of a confederation and against the Ministry, but that the Dutch thought that Lord Carnarvon had sinister designs against them. He went, accordingly, on a tour through the colony, praising the conference and denouncing the Ministry of Capetown pretty roundly, thereby raising no small stir among the people. Altogether, it can hardly be denied that he put himself in the

wrong. Mr. Molteno saw where his advantage lay; an extraordinary session of the Legislature was summoned, and he met the Legislative Assembly with a resolution condemning Mr. Froude and proposing that no delegates should be sent to a conference. It seemed, however, extremely probable that the motion would not be carried, even in a milder form, and that the colony would be plunged into the confusion of a dissolution and general election. Fortunately, a dispatch arrived at the critical moment, in which Lord Carnarvon stated that the preliminary work which it was intended the local conference should do had been accomplished by the discussion created by the proposal, and that the remainder could be effected by a conference in London. Mr. Molteno still held out, and triumphantly carried in the House of Assembly a censure on Mr. Froude, together with a resolution, in which it was assumed that the plan of a conference had been abandoned. As a matter of fact, he was right; there was much discussion at the London Conference; it was understood that Mr. Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, looked upon the idea with favour, but soon the disturbances with the Dutch of the Transvaal and the Zulus dissipated political castle-building, and what the pen had failed to do was left for the sword.

In other parts of the dark continent the activity of Lord Carnarvon was placed in strong contrast with the policy of his predecessor, Lord Kimberley. Upon him fell the task of clinching the good results of the Ashantee war by a re-settlement of affairs on the Gold Coast, and this he accomplished to the complete satisfaction of both parties in the State. The question was, as he said in the House of Lords on May 12th, 1874, whether Britain was to retain the Gold Coast or whether she was to abandon it, beaten by the difficulty of dealing with the natives and the climate. He showed that written obligations would not allow Britain to abandon the native races to anarchy; “human sacrifices would,” said he, “be seen at Cape Coast Castle within a year.” The protectorate over the Fantees was to be maintained, but the limits of territorial power were not to be enlarged. “We propose to consolidate Lagos and the Gold Coast into one colony, and to consolidate them very much on the principle of the Straits Settlements . . . We propose to have a legislative and executive council of small numbers at the Gold Coast, but require that it shall hold its councils three times a year at Lagos.” Governor Strachan, who was sent out to administer the united colony, found that

the petty kings of Fanteeland looked with no small disfavour upon the royal proclamation against "the buying, selling, and pawning of slaves" to which Lord Carnarvon had alluded. They managed, however, to gain the important concession that although to buy or sell slaves was unlawful, they were not obliged to release them unless absolute cruelty was proved. Afterwards they petitioned the Queen with much earnestness that their old privileges might be restored to them, but met with no sympathy from the representative of the Imperial authority, who, in obedience to instructions from the Colonial Office, refused to grant their request.

In 1875 an attempt was made to settle the ownership of Delagoa Bay, a valuable harbour to the north of Natal, and the only outlet of the Dutch Republic in the Transvaal. There the Portuguese had established a fort called Lorenzo Marquez, and on the strength of this little stronghold they put in a claim to the land to the south as far as lat. 26° 30'. Now, there had never been a single Portuguese settlement on this debatable ground; on the contrary, it was colonised by the Dutch, who, driven thence by the climate and the tsetse-fly, had handed over their claims to the British. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Republic, itself a Dutch offshoot, had been growing in importance, and naturally wished to have some method of communicating with the sea. Therefore it put in its claim to the land south of Delagoa Bay; the Portuguese, however, prudently obtained a compromise: the land was to be theirs, and the Boers were to have free passage to the sea. Britain, therefore, had now to contend against the Transvaal and the Portuguese conjoined; the matter was referred to arbitration, the decision lying first with M. Thiers, and, after his resignation, with Marshal MacMahon. With customary evil fortune, the decision went against Britain.

The English have always, according to Philippe de Comines, been good fighters, but bad negotiators, and they certainly shone to greater advantage in their extermination of the pirates on the Congo River. These black miscreants had not only fired at and killed some of the crew of the British schooner *Geraldine*, but when requested by Commodore Hewett to surrender the actual criminals, they had insulted him and shown a disposition to charge his sailors with fixed bayonets. Thereupon he determined to destroy the nest of desperadoes, and a flotilla of boats was sent up the deadly swamps, under Captain Bradshaw. The sailors toiled through the stinking creeks, often waist-deep

in water, exposed to a continuous, though exceedingly ill-directed, fire of slugs, and emerged from the swamps to cut their way through the bush. In the end they were completely successful; sixty-seven villages were burnt, the settlements scattered, and the wretches taught that their trade could no longer be prosecuted with impunity.

Griqualand West was, as we have seen, annexed in 1872, and in 1873 and 1874 the Colonial Office, as if encouraged by their new departure, proceeded to include the Fiji Islands in the British dominion. This was another of the many projects begun by Lord Kimberley which it was left for Lord Carnarvon to carry through. First settled by a band of escaped English convicts early in the century, this South Pacific group soon acquired an evil notoriety, fairly earned by the piratical propensities of the white population, conjoined with the cannibalism of the blacks. Meanwhile, Thakombau, the king of the principal island, having become heavily indebted to the United States, proposed in 1858, through the British Consul Mr. Pritchard, to transfer his sovereignty to Queen Victoria as a means of ridding himself of his liabilities. The British Government entertained the idea for some time, sent out Colonel Smythe, R.A., to make a report on the resources of the islands, and finally rejected it. Nevertheless, the immigration of whites continued, and finding there was considerable probability that if Britain did not annex the islands the United States would, the chief politicians of Australia, at an Inter-Colonial Conference held in 1870, resolved to urge the British Government to re-consider its determination. At first Lord Kimberley sent a negative reply, but soon afterwards Mr. Gladstone admitted that the state of things in the islands demanded an alteration, and Commander Goodenough and Mr. Layard were despatched to Fiji to make a report. It was not of a flattering nature; a certain clique of whites, headed by one Woods, had gained the ear of Thakombau, and succeeded, by using his name, in imposing upon the islanders of both colours, much to their disgust, a brand-new government, Thakombau being king, and themselves Cabinet. They displayed what the report naïvely called "a continued want of frankness in financial matters," and succeeded in running up a national debt of £87,000. One item of intelligence conveyed in the report was satisfactory: that the great native chiefs were willing to consent to a cession, though the conditions they offered were quite unacceptable. At this juncture Lord Carnarvon succeeded Lord Kimberley, and having obtained

the sanction of Parliament, instructed Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of New South Wales, to proceed at once to Fiji, and inform the chiefs that they must hand over the island unconditionally, or not at all. The old chief Thakombau was induced to go on board *H.M.S. Dido*, and there the case was laid before him as plainly as possible, whereupon he asked for a day to consider; a knotty point was the land question, with regard to which

Roko Tuis, were salaried officials, were allowed to exercise considerable power. The numbers of the European population began to increase enormously year after year, and, it is sad to relate, with the usual evil results on the natives; the country had belonged to the British Empire for a few months only when an epidemic of measles, brought thither by an emigrant ship, broke out among them and swept away a third of the population.



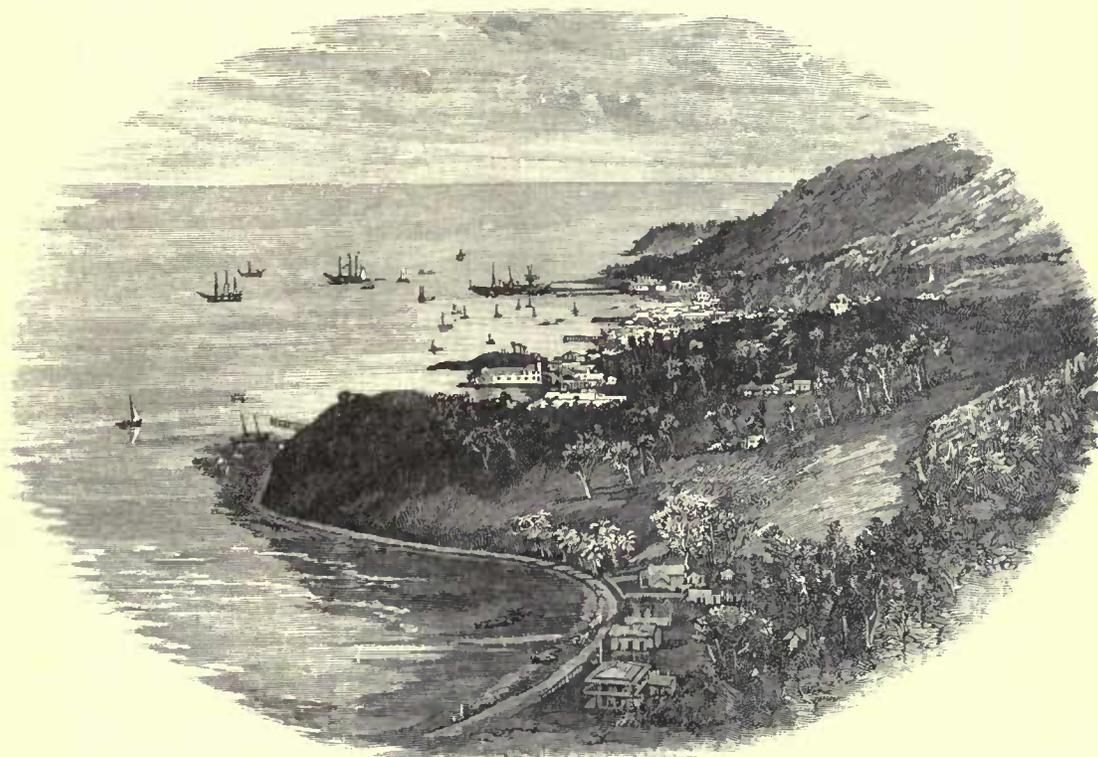
BLUEJACKETS CLEARING OUT THE CONGO PIRATES. (See p. 191.)

Sir Hercules informed him that all lands actually occupied or likely to be occupied by any tribe should be set apart for them, and that the remainder should go to the Government. A final deliberation of the chiefs was held on September 29th, and they decided to cede the islands to Great Britain, which was effected on the 10th of October, 1874. Thus with little trouble Britain became the possessor of a valuable station on the water highway between Australia and Panama, and was able as well to suppress the abuses of the Polynesian labour traffic. In the islands themselves native customs were, as far as possible, left untouched; and the chiefs, the higher of whom, called

The condition of the great colonies of Australia and New Zealand during the years 1872 to 1875 does not call for any lengthy comment. The latter country, at a census held in 1874, showed a population of 299,514 souls, exclusive of Maoris—an increase of some 43,000 on the numbers taken three years previously. Unfortunately, the national debt was increasing still faster; it had been £8,496,000 in 1871, and was £13,897,185 in 1875, the total debt per head of the population being about double that of Great Britain. At the same time that the French were setting up their Senate, New Zealand was quietly remodelling her little constitution. This scheme of government, the

work of Sir George Grey, was framed on the following plan; there was a Governor appointed by the Crown, and a General Assembly, consisting of two Houses: viz. a Legislative Council, whose members were nominated for life by the Governor, and a House of Representatives, together with four representatives of the Maori population. These last had hitherto been returned by the ten provinces into which the colony was divided, each one of which had a Provincial Assembly, with considerable

mother-country had been drawn closer by the opening of telegraphic communication between Australia and England. At the same time, attempts, as yet immature, were made to turn the vast food-producing powers of the colony to further account by sending frozen meat to England, but the mechanical arrangements in the trial vessel were defective, and so what promised to be a great boon to the town populations of England was to remain for the present unrealised. The desire for



LEVUKA, ISLAND OF OVALAU, CAPITAL OF THE FIJI ISLANDS, AT THE TIME OF THE ANNEXATION.

powers of local legislation, the result of which had been much financial waste. In consequence of this, the provincial system of government was abolished in 1875, its authority was placed in the hands of local boards, and in the following year the colony was divided afresh into counties and boroughs.

The record of Australian commerce showed a steady circulation of wealth and continuance of prosperity; in Victoria especially both imports and exports increased rapidly; in 1872 they were worth £13,691,000 and £13,871,000 respectively, and in 1875 £16,685,000 and £14,766,000; those of West Australia, which lies outside the limits of the great gold area, were far more stationary in character. Meanwhile, the connection with the

annexation animated, in 1875, the statesmen of Victoria; they wished to extend the British dominion over New Guinea, an almost unknown land. Lord Carnarvon, however, pointed out the unwisdom of taking over territory of which the resources, the climate, and, above all, the disposition of the natives, were unknown, and with this answer the colonists, though they grumbled sorely, were forced to be content. A few months afterwards, the Secretary of State for the Colonies might have taken ground for his argument on the dangers of expeditions to strange lands upon the fate of Commander Goodenough, R.N., who was murdered by the savages of Santa Cruz Island, not far from Australian shores, while visiting them

with the view of impressing them with the friendly intentions of the white men towards them.

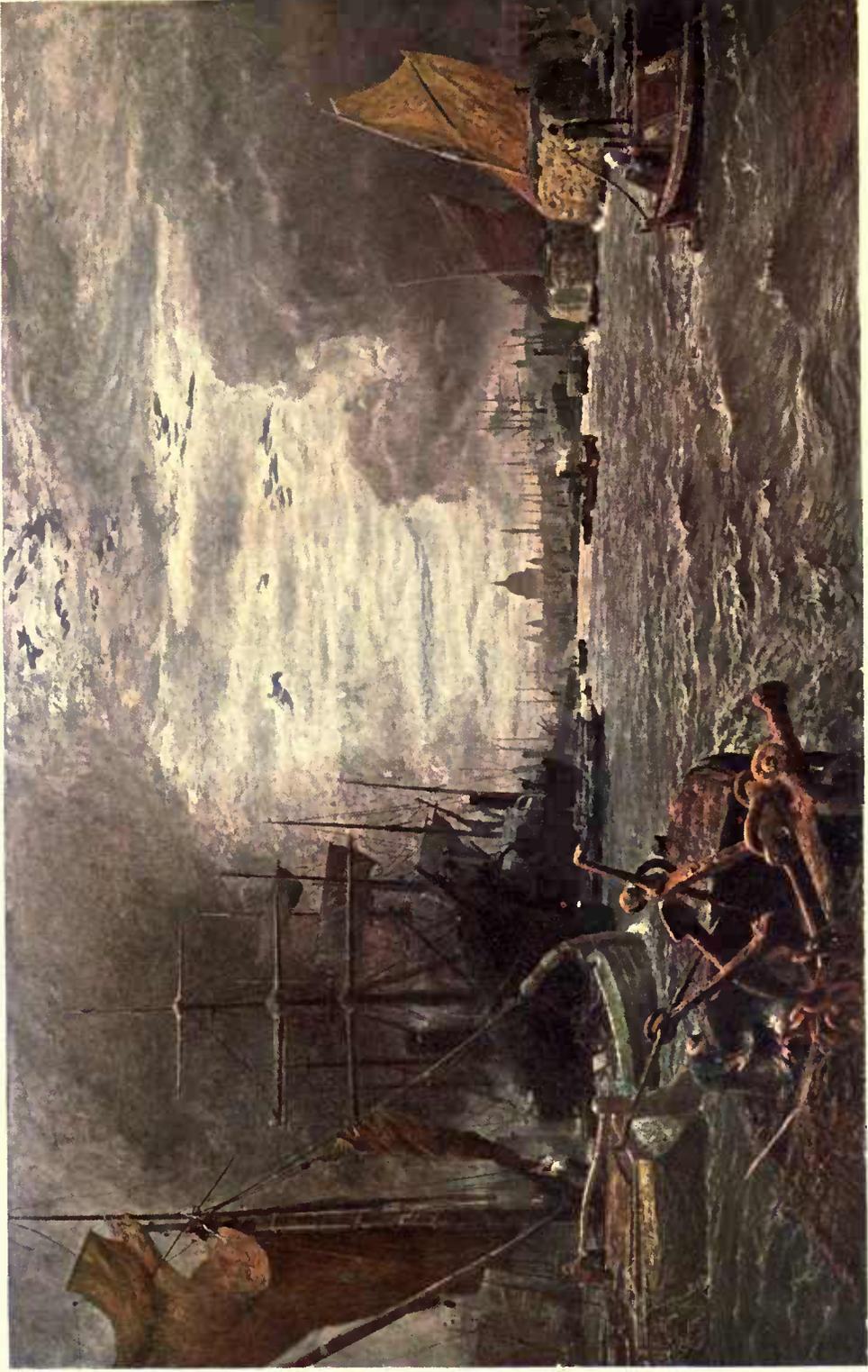
In Canada Lord Dufferin entered upon his highly successful administration as Governor-General in 1872, which terminated on the appointment of the Marquis of Lorne in 1878. The position of Governor-General of the Dominion was, as a rule, no sinecure, and Lord Dufferin had considerable reason for anxiety during the first few months of his administration. In the first place, there was considerable irritation throughout the colony at the clauses in the treaty of Washington which especially concerned it, the Canadians declaring, and not without reason, that they had lost much and gained little; "they failed to discover," said their Prime Minister, "that in the settlement of the so-called *Alabama* claims, England gained such advantages as to be required to make further concessions at the expense of Canada." These concessions were that no compensation should be paid by America for the injuries committed during the Fenian raids of 1870, and that the right of coast fishery should be extended to the Americans on condition of an equivalent on their waters, and a money payment, which was to be settled by arbitration. As to the first point, the position of the Canadians was exceedingly strong, and the British Government allowed their statement, "that the principal cause of difference between Canada and the United States still remains a subject of anxiety," to pass unchallenged; and as to the second, a mistake had been committed in neglecting to obtain the previous consent of the Canadian Parliament. That was, however, the only real grievance, because the maritime provinces would, on the whole, profit by the relaxation of the fishery laws, and the Canadian Ministers offered early in January to be content with an Imperial guarantee for four millions for a portion of the Pacific Railway loan—a sum which Lord Kimberley, rather unwisely, considering the perfect soundness of the Dominion, reduced to two and a half millions.

This well-meant concession was the cause of a grave scandal. Hardly had the British Parliament, in pursuance of its previous promise, guaranteed a portion of the cost of a proposed railway connecting the eastern and western provinces of Canada, when it became known that the railway itself was a huge piece of jobbery. It appeared that, after examining into the various offers of contract for the construction of the railway, the Ministry of Sir John Macdonald accepted that of Sir Hugh Allan, a wealthy speculator. Unfortunately, they allowed him to advance them large sums of money before

this concession was made, which were employed forelectioneering purposes. Naturally, the Opposition raised a great outcry at this abuse of trust, and even went out of their way to attack Lord Dufferin, who was in the unpleasant position of having to rely on the advice of a Cabinet whose conduct was gravely impugned. After some delay Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues were forced to resign.

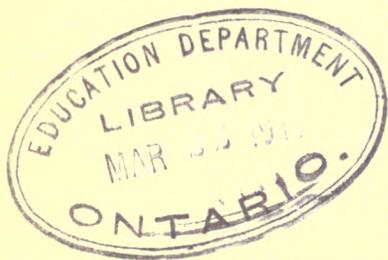
Once more the United States and Canada failed to arrange a commercial treaty to their mutual satisfaction. This arrangement was promoted in the first instance by the Canadians, who wished for a wider trade intercourse than that implied in the fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington; to return, in fact, to the relations which had been broken off by the States in 1866. A somewhat hastily-penned treaty, based upon the principles of reciprocity—that is, that certain products should be admitted into one state in consideration of corresponding reductions on imports in the other—was accordingly submitted, with the consent of Lord Carnarvon and Lord Derby, to the American Foreign Minister, Mr. Fisk, by the two plenipotentiaries, Mr. Brown, a Canadian senator, and Sir Edward Thornton. Mr. Fisk, however, shelved it by referring the matter to a committee of the Senate of the United States; they condemned it and the question dropped.

So far, though the relations between Canada and the United States had been unpleasant, and there had been political revelations of a questionable nature, the social condition of the people under Lord Dufferin had been quite satisfactory. In 1875, however, a cloud passed for awhile over the fair aspect. Montreal was the scene of two very grave riots: one caused by the question whether or not a Roman Catholic, who was a member of an institution which had been denounced by the Pope, could be buried in consecrated ground; and the other by a great number of French Canadians being out of work during the winter months. They assembled in large multitudes and shouted for bread, wrecked several bakers' carts, and engaged in such a furious fight with the police that the disturbance began to assume serious proportions. Gallic ardour is, however, effervescent, and a well-directed charge, supported by a show of rifles, speedily subdued all opposition. Nevertheless, Lord Dufferin, earlier in the year, at a meeting of the Canadian Club in London, had described the condition of the Dominion in terms of the highest eulogium, dwelling especially on the attachment of the Canadians to the British connection.



THE POOL OF LONDON

FROM THE PAINTING BY VICAT COLE, R.A., IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF BRITISH ART



CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1876—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address—The Suez Canal Shares—The Fugitive Slave Circular—The Royal Titles Bill—Mr. Disraeli's Speech—The Premier and Mr. Lowe—The Second Reading—Lord Hartington's Amendment—Mr. Lowe at Retford—Mr. Disraeli's Revenge—The Measure becomes Law—The Merchant Shipping Bill—The Commons Enclosure Bill—Lord Sandon's Education Bill—The Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Mundella's Amendment—The Struggle in Committee—The Vivisection Bill—The Judicature Amendment Act—Irish Debates—The Budget and the Estimates—Mr. Disraeli becomes Earl of Beaconsfield—His Farewell Address to his Constituents—The Polar Expedition—Its Experiences and Results—The *Challenger* Expedition—Cameron's Travels in Africa—The *Thunderer* Explosion—Sir Salar Jung's Visit—The Queen in Whitechapel—The Mobilisation Scheme—The Second and Fifth Army Corps—The Dublin Banquet—Mere Riots in Belfast—Report on the Fugitive Slave Circular—The New Domesday Book—The *Franconia* Case—Obituary of the Year.

WITH the exception of Sir William Harcourt, who in a series of speeches to his constituents at Oxford endeavoured to impress on the Liberals the expediency of patience, organisation, and confidence in their leader, Lord Hartington, no great political leader thought it incumbent upon him to relieve the sameness of the weeks preceding the opening of Parliament in 1876 until almost the eve of its assembly. Even Sir Charles Dilke's speech on general affairs failed to instil any vitality into the latter end of an extremely dull recess. Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 8th of February—an imposing ceremony, which was on this occasion witnessed for the first time since 1871, and for the second time since her widowhood, ten years earlier. The Royal Speech, which was read from the throne by the Lord Chancellor, referred, as had been expected, chiefly to foreign affairs. In the clause referring to the tour of the Heir Apparent there was the important announcement that "at the time that the direct government of my Indian Empire was transferred to the Crown no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign. I have deemed the present a fitting opportunity for supplying this omission, and a Bill upon the subject will be presented to you." This was the only surprise in an extremely short list of Bills; there was to be a measure for regulating the ultimate tribunal of Appeal, for amending the Merchant Shipping Laws, for doing something about University Reform and Elementary Education, for improving the Enclosure Acts, and for promoting economy and efficiency in prisons and effecting a relief of local burdens.

On the whole, the criticisms of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington on the foreign policy of Government conveyed the impression that the Opposition had nothing better to propose. Upon the purchase of the Suez Canal shares they were

less reserved; Lord Granville deprecated the step unless Government had any ulterior designs on Egypt. Lord Hartington doubted if the purchase would be of any use in securing the route to India either in peace or in war. Mr. Disraeli, in his reply to the accusations that had been made against the Ministry, was careful to absolve himself from all previous knowledge of the first Fugitive Slave Circular. "The Government are responsible for it, though I am not here to defend it for a moment. But the country condoned the error: they were satisfied when it was recalled, and I need not dwell upon it further." He defended the purchase of the Canal shares with much eloquence, as a means of securing the free intercourse of the waters "in the great chain of fortresses which we possess almost from the metropolis to India," and promised that there should be an early discussion on the subject.

The debate came off on the following Monday, when Sir Stafford Northcote made the extremely able speech in support of his application to borrow £4,000,000 from the Commissioners of the National Debt, the historical argument of which has already been dealt with in a previous chapter. It was adjourned at the request of Lord Hartington, on account of the new matter imported into it, in particular with regard to Mr. Cave's mission. An incisive speech from Mr. Lowe began the battle, in which he argued that the shares had been purchased in an extravagant way, and criticised the Cave mission, which, he said, was undertaken solely as a political demonstration. He was followed later by Mr. Gladstone, who, carefully avoiding the political aspect of the question, treated it simply as a matter of finance, showing that Messrs. Rothschild were lending Government money at the enormous rate of 15 per cent. per annum, and that the speculation was

unsound, as Government had no security for the Khedive's being able to pay. To this the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that England only paid 10 per cent. per annum, and the Khedive the other 5 per cent.; and Mr. Disraeli, who followed him, covered his retreat most ingeniously. "How was this £4,000,000 to be obtained?" he asked. "Only by the rapid conversion of securities to the same amount. Well, I need not tell anyone who is at all acquainted with such affairs that the rapid conversion of securities to the amount of £4,000,000 can never be effected without loss, and sometimes considerable loss; and it is to guard against risk of that kind that a commission is asked for before advances are made to Government." In spite of the flimsy nature of this argument, advanced to hide Government's somewhat reckless liberality, the House felt that the whole transaction was one of which it had reason to approve and the motion was agreed to without a division.

Far more vigorous and well-sustained was the onslaught of the Opposition on the Fugitive Slave Circular, yet it succeeded only in demonstrating that Government were, for the present at any rate, impregnable. To this debate allusion has already been made while discussing the effect of that ill-timed document on its appearance in the previous autumn; it is enough to say here, in recapitulation, that Mr. Whitbread asked Government to withdraw all circulars and to leave the treatment of fugitive slaves to the discretion of the Queen's captains. Mr. Hanbury, Member for Tamworth, moved that the House should wait for the report of the Royal Commission, and thereupon a debate ensued. Mr. Hanbury's motion was supported by a majority of forty-five, and a proposal by Mr. Fawcett that the second Slave Circular should be suspended was defeated by the same number; while Lord Cardwell, who brought the question before the notice of the House of Lords, did not venture to try the hazard of a division. Mr. Disraeli might congratulate himself on the obedience of his followers, which had prevented an awkward mistake from being productive of rather serious consequences.

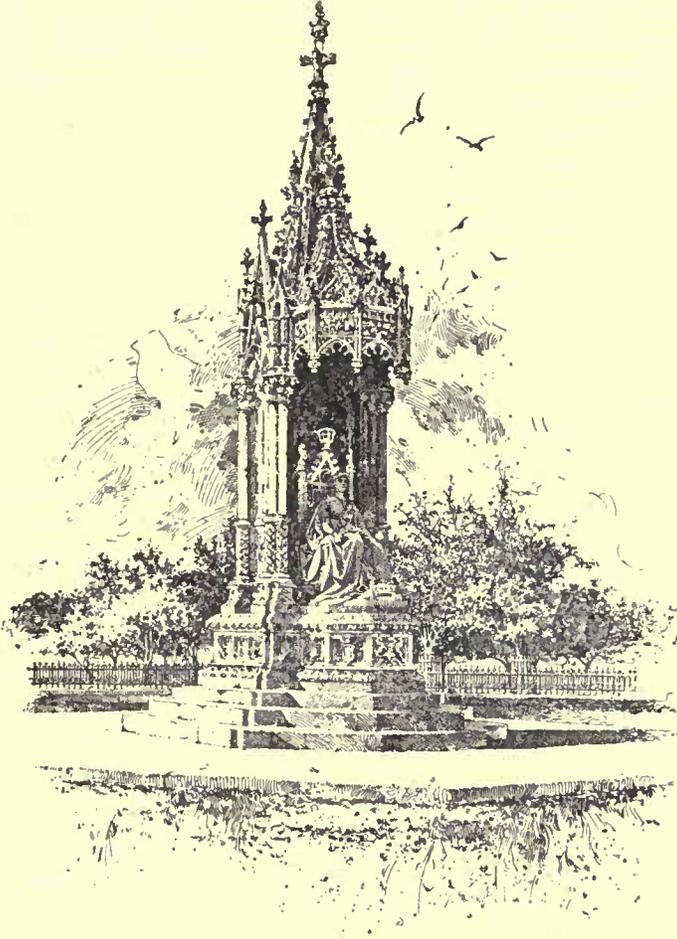
The Royal Titles Bill, which had been previously announced in the Queen's Speech, was introduced by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, about the middle of February, in a short and rather mysterious harangue, in which he said it was needless to inform the House that the change contemplated by the Queen referred to India; the propriety of some addition to the royal style and titles was considered at the time of the transference

of the government of India to the Queen by the East India Company and though not then adopted, it had not been abandoned. "Since that period—since the transfer of the direct government of India to the Queen—the interest felt by the people of this country in India has greatly increased. It has become every year deeper and wider. I remember when I first entered this House—now about forty years ago—that there were, I believe, even Members of Parliament who looked upon India as a vast country, which, generally speaking, was inhabited by a single and subjugated race. But since then information has been so much diffused among all classes of our countrymen on the subject of India, that even those who have the most ordinary knowledge are now well aware that India is an ancient country of many nations; that it is peopled by various and varying races, differing in origin, in language, in religion, in manners, and in laws—some of them highly gifted and highly civilised, and many of them of rare antiquity. And this vast community is governed under the authority of the Queen, by many sovereign princes, some of whom occupy thrones which were filled by their ancestors when England was a Roman province." He then alluded to the happy consequences of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, where "his demeanour and conduct had been such that it is not his birth only which qualifies him for an Imperial post." Now, therefore, was the time for bringing the original intention of the Queen's Ministers into effect. The proposed Bill, following the precedent set by George III. at the time of the union with Ireland, would enable the Queen to exercise her high prerogative, and proclaim such addition to her style and title as she deems expedient and proper. This step would give great satisfaction to the princes and natives of India, who were looking forward to some act of this kind with excitement and interest, and by various modes had conveyed to Government their desire that such a policy should be pursued. "I cannot myself doubt that it is one which will be agreeable to the people of the United Kingdom, because they must feel that such a step gives a seal, as it were, to that sentiment which has long existed, and the strength of which has increased by time, and that is the unanimous determination of the people of this country to retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And that will be an answer to those mere economists and those foreign diplomatists who announce that India is to us only a burden and a danger."

Mr. Lowe was, with his usual disregard of

consequences, the first to assail the Bill. He followed the Premier with the assertion that the colonies had a right to be equally honoured with India, a view which Mr. Forster also supported, and went on to say that Great Britain might possibly lose India some day, as it had nearly

The Bill was not received with much favour out of doors; in the first place, there was some doubt what the new title was to be; and it was urged, with some plausibility, that if that of Empress was assumed, a step downwards was taken and not a step upwards. The general opinion seemed to be



STATUE OF QUEEN VICTORIA, BOMBAY. (From a Photograph by Frith & Co.)

done twenty years before, and as had actually happened with British possessions in France, so that it was most inconvenient "to load yourself with titles which you are not sure of retaining." Mr. Disraeli, in reply, remarked that the colonies had been expressly declared parts of Great Britain and Ireland at the time of the Union, and rebuked Mr. Lowe for contemplating the possibility of the loss of India. "He is the only right honourable gentleman in the House who would have offered an argument of that kind. He is a prophet, but he is always a prophet of evil."

that "Queen of Great Britain, Ireland, and India" would be a preferable expression, if an addition to the royal titles was really necessary. These not unnatural apprehensions were contradicted by Mr. Disraeli in the debate on the second reading, when, as had been anticipated, he announced that the title selected was that of "Empress of India." He did not, however, increase the popularity of the measure by his speech, in which he failed to produce any instances to support his assertion that the princes of India wished for an addition to the royal style, and offended many by his grandiose

remark that "it would add splendour even to her throne, and security even to her empire," and by his somewhat trivial quotation of the use of the title of "Empress" in the dedication of Spenser's "Faëry Queene." Mr. Gladstone expressed the feelings of his party in a speech full of dignity. "I feel with the right hon. gentleman—indeed, I feel a little more than the right hon. gentleman—the greatness, the unsullied greatness, of the title which is now borne by the Queen of England. I think I use the language of moderation when I say that it is a title unequalled for its dignity and weight, unequalled for the glory of its historic associations, unequalled for the promise which it offers to the future among the titles of the Sovereigns of Europe, among all the States and nations of the earth. Sir, I have a jealousy in touching that title, and I am not to be told that it is a small matter. There is nothing small in a matter, in my judgment, which touches the honour and dignity of the Crown of England." Contrary to his own wish, the motion of Mr. Samuelson in favour of an adjournment of the debate was pressed to a division, and Ministers were victorious by the huge majority of 284 to 31.

Nevertheless, relying on the storm of opposition which was daily increasing outside, Lord Hartington moved an amendment that, while willing to consider a measure enabling the Queen to make an addition to the royal style and title, he thought it inexpedient to impair the ancient and royal dignity of the Crown by the style and title of Empress. It was rejected by a majority of 105, after a very powerful defence of the measure by Sir Stafford Northcote; but Mr. Disraeli thought it expedient to calm the Opposition by the information that the Queen would in no circumstances assume the title of Empress in England, and that princes of the blood Royal would never be designated as of the blood Imperial.

The debate on the third reading was equally animated; Mr. Gladstone made another great speech, which called up the Premier in reply. Mr. Disraeli was in a bantering mood, and after gravely supplementing the authority of Spenser by that of Camden, went on to quote a letter from the parent of a child of twelve who had thought, on the authority of her geography book, that the Queen was Empress of India, and quoted an instance of a similar blunder from "Whitaker's Almanack"; after which he diverged into the important statement that there were grave political reasons why the Bill should pass, amongst them the fact that the frontiers of Russia were only a

few days' march from those of her Majesty's dominions in India. Mr. Lowe, in a speech full of his bitterest wit, taunted the Prime Minister with using upon a momentous occasion the lisping of the nursery voice:—

"My brother Jack was nine in May,
And I was eight on New Year's Day."

The division showed that the Conservative majority had dwindled to 75. It was not long, however, before the Prime Minister had his revenge on Mr. Lowe. In a speech at Retford during the Easter recess, Mr. Lowe stated that it was his "impression that at least two Ministers had entirely refused, though pressed to do so, to have anything to do with a change in the royal title. However, more pliant persons have been found, and I have no doubt the thing will be done." This speech was brought before the House by Mr. C. Lewis, the Member for Londonderry, and Mr. Disraeli seized the opportunity with great eagerness. "The statements of Mr. Lowe were monstrous if they were true, but if they were not true, must be described by an epithet he could not find in his vocabulary." He then proved that the statement could not be supported for a moment; Mr. Gladstone had explicitly denied it in a published letter; Mr. Disraeli himself could not be in the category, because, "being so servile at the present moment, he could not have been much bolder on a former occasion;" he could vouch for the fact that such a proposition had never been made to Lord Derby. Finally, he had the authority of the Queen to make a statement, on her part, that there was not the slightest foundation for the statement that proposals such as were described in the Royal Speech were ever made to any Minister at any time. Mr. Lowe's apology, made two nights afterwards, was considered by most of his audience to be a very noble reparation for his blunder. He had believed the statement to be true, but he owned that it was wrong to have made it, because no one has the right to drag the name of the Sovereign, even indirectly, into their disputes in the House. But that was not all. After the communication made by the Queen, nothing remained for him except to express his most sincere and extreme regret that by his fault and by his words the Queen should have been put to what she must have felt the disagreeable necessity of making a communication on the subject to the House—a necessity which ought never to have been imposed upon her.

Before this unsatisfactory episode had occurred, the Royal Titles Bill had run its course in the

House of Lords. Its second reading was carried without a division, after Lord Salisbury had parried to the best of his ability the caustic remarks of the Duke of Somerset on "the cheap defence of nations," as exemplified by Mr. Disraeli's assertion that England could be defended against Russia by making the Queen an Empress. On the third reading, Lord Shaftesbury moved an address to the Crown entreating the Queen to assume some title less distasteful to her subjects than that of Empress—a proposal objected to by Lord Cairns in an argument of much learning and deliberative force, and applauded by Lord Rosebery in an amusing speech, which described the title as "labelled *For external application only.*" Even yet there were stumbling-blocks thrown in the Premier's way. Mr. Fawcett, in the Lower House, moved an address to the Crown similar in purport to that of Lord Shaftesbury, which Mr. Disraeli dexterously defeated by inability to give him a day for the debate, assisted by Lord Hartington, who admitted that it was inexpedient to pursue the subject any further—a declaration which gave considerable offence to the Radical section of the Opposition. Nevertheless, when the proclamation of the new title announced that it was to be used, not in India only, as Mr. Disraeli had promised, but "in all instruments, except those not extending in the operation beyond the United Kingdom," there was a great outcry, and Sir Henry James moved a resolution that the title was not localised to India. When his motion came on for discussion there was a very acrimonious debate, in which Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gathorne Hardy, supported by the unexpected alliance of Dr. Kenealy, were chiefly conspicuous. After several members had spoken, amidst much interruption, Mr. Disraeli rose and, speaking with but little of his usual animation, thanked the Opposition for the course they had taken, because it had considerably increased his majority. In the end, Sir Henry James was defeated by 108. Nearly a fortnight before, the proclamation of the new title had been made in London and Edinburgh, and it was received everywhere with little hostility, though with little enthusiasm.

In accordance with the promise made in the Queen's Speech, the Merchant Shipping Bill was introduced early in the Session by Sir Charles Adderley, together with a Marine Contracts Bill, which, however, pressure of more weighty business compelled Government to withdraw towards the end of the Session. The measure of the President of the Board of Trade, which was intended

to supplement the hasty legislation of the previous Session, received throughout the support of Mr. Plimsoll, who generously withdrew a rival measure of his own. Its scope was thus considerably enlarged: in fact, so vital were the alterations to which the Bill was subjected in committee, that in its final shape it was hardly recognisable as the measure which had been introduced in February. Nevertheless, it proved a fairly successful settlement of a most knotty question; its lines were chiefly those of the temporary Act, most clauses of which were made perpetual. The responsibility of fixing the load-line of the ships was still left to their owners, contrary to Mr. Plimsoll's wish, who desired that in every case it should be compulsorily fixed by the Board of Trade, and the deck-loading of timber ships was not to exceed three feet, whether the vessels came from British or foreign ports. Thus at length reasonable precaution was taken to ensure the safety of the life of Poor Jack, but his liability to imprisonment for breach of contract was still retained in the Act.

The Home Secretary's Bill to amend the law relating to the enclosure of commons was the only other Government measure that was submitted to the House before the Easter recess. In his speech Mr. Cross gave some interesting information as to the amount of land still remaining unenclosed. About 2,633,000 acres were yet unenclosed, of which about 883,000 acres were apparently capable of being brought into cultivation, while nearly 1,500,000 acres were unsuited for cultivation, and about 250,000 acres might be called common field land. Out of the 587,000 acres enclosed since the passing of the Enclosure Acts, only something like 4,000 acres had been made into allotments for gardens, recreation grounds, etc., though about 414,000 were available for that purpose, and this he believed was one of the main causes why the Enclosure Acts had fallen into disfavour. The conclusions that had been arrived at seemed to be that legislation on the subject should not have the effect of preventing the further enclosure of the commons; secondly, that landowners should be able to enclose as inexpensively as possible, due regard being had to the rights of those interested in the commons; thirdly, that it was no longer the duty of the State to interest itself in the multiplication of enclosures. On the contrary, as Mr. Shaw Lefevre remarked in his criticism of the Bill, its duty was to prevent them. It was the failure of the measure to do so, and the fact that its real tendency was to set in motion the enclosure system, which for the last seven years had for the most

part slumbered, that the Bill was exposed to the reproofs of the two Parliamentary authorities on the subject, Mr. Lefevre and Professor Fawcett. Several of the members of Government gave the Bill a lukewarm support, and at one time its existence seemed to be in peril; however, the patience and tact of the Home Secretary preserved it in the Commons and it fortunately survived the ordeal of a passage through the House of Lords. In its final form the Commons Act proved a moderate measure. Its chief provision was the regulation of such commons as might be made available for the health and recreation of the public. Besides, it was enacted, in order to prevent further enclosures, that persons wishing to enclose land within six miles of a town of not less than five thousand inhabitants must give notice to the Sanitary Commissioners of that town, at the same time as they applied to the commissioners for a provisional order of enclosure—the latter preliminary being necessary also in country places. In all cases the final decision lay with Parliament. The commissioners were to issue the most stringent inquiries as to the population of the neighbourhood and the arrangements made to compensate the people for the abolition of common rights, and to hold a public meeting in order to ascertain the local feeling about a proposed enclosure. To county court judges was given the power of hearing cases relating to the illegal enclosure of a common and to make an order for the removal of the enclosure.

Lord Sandon's Bill on the delicate topic of Elementary Education was brought forward on the 18th of May, in a speech the ability and moderation of which went far to disarm opposition. He did not, he said, pretend to embody a proposal for a general reconstruction of the educational system, and further, he did not pretend to reverse the policy of the Act of 1870. There was school accommodation for the enormous number of 3,150,000 children; and in the two classes of schools—those of private adventure, which were very numerous and very bad, and the public elementary schools, receiving a Government grant—the attendance amounted to only 1,800,000 children a day, and of these only 200,000 offered themselves for examination in the higher standards, and 800,000 for examination in the three lower standards. How was this state of affairs to be remedied? Not by universal school boards, with their expense and turmoil, nor by direct compulsion through a system of domiciliary visitation. In order to secure attendance, every town and country parish was given the power of applying compulsion,

if necessary, through the Town Council or Board of Guardians, acting through attendance committees, without requiring them to elect a school board. At the same time, the school board system was not to be disturbed; localities would be able to apply for school boards, and the Education Department would be able to force them on districts which did not provide adequate educational facilities. The Government proposal was to operate gradually, and the Act, if it became law, would not come into full operation for five years—namely, till 1881—and would not apply to the children under eleven years of age already at work. Lord Sandon gave an account of the various Acts—the Factory Act, the Agricultural Children's Act, etc.—which had been passed in order to secure instruction and said that they did not provide simplicity or uniformity of arrangement. It was proposed to consolidate the legislation on the subject by prohibiting the employment of any child under ten years absolutely, and of any child between ten and fourteen without a certificate that it had passed in reading, writing, and arithmetic according to Standard IV., or there might be a certificate of attendance for 250 times in five previous years in not more than two public elementary schools. There were to be certain exceptions to this clause; one standard lower would be accepted for a certificate where half-time had been secured under the Factory, Workshop, and similar Acts, and where any local bye-laws secured the attendance of children at half-time up to thirteen years of age. With regard to neglected children under ten years of age—"wastrels," as he might venture to call them—power was given to local authorities to bring the parents before a court of summary jurisdiction, to fine them, and commit the children for a certain number of years to an industrial school.

In the discussion which followed this able speech, Members on both sides of the House treated the Bill if not, as Lord Sandon said, with an enthusiastic chorus of approbation, yet with an undercurrent of feeling in its favour. Outside the walls of the House, too, it was exceedingly well received; the Nonconformists complained, indeed, that denominational schools were favoured at the expense of school-board schools, and their mouth-piece, Mr. Dixon, had already brought forward an alternative Education Act Amendment Bill, the main purport of which was to make the school board system universal and to impose compulsory education by its means on the whole nation. It met, however, with little favour from the House, Mr. Bright in a fine speech throwing a good deal

of cold water on the proposal, and it was rejected by the large majority of 121. Upon the second reading, the vexed question of the relative merits of direct and indirect compulsion was raised by Mr. Mundella, who, in view of the want of zeal usually attributed to Boards of Guardians, proposed

remarkable speeches that were made against the Bill. Finally, Mr. Mundella's amendment was defeated by a majority of 146, and Sir Charles Dilke, who moved the rejection of the Bill, was defeated even more crushingly by 356 to 73.

However, Lord Sandon, in committee, proved



THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, K.G.

(From a Photograph by Hughes and Mullins, Ryde, Isle of Wight.)

an amendment in favour of embodying in the Bill the recommendations of the Factory and Workshop Acts, pointing out with some justice that the evils of indirect tests were that the maximum requirements of the State were taken as the maximum of what parental duties enjoined. He was seconded by Mr. Evelyn Ashley in a vigorous speech, and there followed such a continuous stream of speakers on the Liberal side, except when Mr. Ridley defended the measure in a half-hearted way, that Mr. Fawcett had some reason for complaining that no Minister had condescended to reply to the

that though invincible, he was open to conviction, and himself strengthened the machinery of compulsion by inserting a new clause authorising the establishment of day industrial schools. For this scheme he modestly declined to take credit; it belonged, he said, to "many benevolent people outside the House, and among them he would mention the honoured name of Miss Carpenter," who had worked a school of this kind with great success at Bristol. Besides, there was introduced a declaratory clause that it was the parents' duty to send their children to school between the ages

of five and ten, unless there was some urgent reason against it, and making it compulsory instead of optional on Town Councils and Boards of Guardians to appoint attendance committees. These amendments went far to conciliate the Liberal opposition, but as late as the third week in July their animosity was revived by Lord Sandon's announcement that he intended to accept an amendment of Mr. Pell's, proposing that school boards in rural districts where there were no schools to administer should be dissolved. Thereby a turmoil was created which lasted for a whole week, Mr. Bright and Mr. Mundella vehemently upbraiding Lord Sandon for some disparaging remarks he had incautiously made on the popularity of the board system. The storm broke out afresh over a clause proposed by Lord Robert Montagu, that Boards of Guardians should be compelled to pay the fees of parents who were themselves too poor where school boards failed to pay them. Mr. Forster pointed out that this would revive with increased acrimony the controversy about the 25th clause of the Act of 1870, and Lord Sandon agreed not to accept it, but Sir Stafford Northcote suddenly rose and accepted it in the name of the Cabinet. The Liberals furiously demanded an adjournment and by repeated divisions forced Government to give way; on the following day a compromise was proposed by Lord Sandon, namely, that Boards of Guardians should everywhere pay the school fees of very poor parents; and then Mr. Forster, amidst great cheering, proposed the repeal of the famous 25th clause. The Bill was fought out in the Commons to the last, but only forty-six members could be found to oppose the third reading. In the Lords it was hurriedly discussed in the last days of the Session by a listless and half-empty house, the best speech being made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that in its favour; and it was read for the third time, without debate, on the day before the prorogation of Parliament.

The other measures proposed in the Queen's Speech did not attract nearly so much attention. The Prisons Bill, as Mr. Disraeli facetiously remarked, was approved by the majority of the House, and the country would have an opportunity of considering its merits during the recess. The University Bill, after being well threshed out in the House of Lords, met a similar fate. Better success was in store for Lord Carnarvon's Vivisection Bill, which made its *début* a few days before the Education Bill. Its main purport was that experiments calculated to give pain might be

performed only in registered places, and by a person holding a licence from a Secretary of State; that they should be made only for the advancement of physiological knowledge, and take place after the animal had been placed under an anæsthetic powerful enough to prevent it from feeling pain, and if any serious injury had been inflicted upon the animal it was to be killed off before it recovered. The Bill was opposed by the Duke of Somerset, who declared that it would check the development of the science of physiology, but it passed through the Upper House with but little alteration. Outside the Houses of Parliament the Vivisection Bill caused no small stir; there was a meeting to support it, in opposition to any attenuating clauses, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, with Lord Shaftesbury in the chair; another held by the Medical Council, at which the proposed restrictions were commented upon with some severity, and the Senate of the University of London backed up the Council strenuously, on the motion of Sir William Gull. In the House of Commons Mr. Lowe, as had been expected, opposed the Bill with some vehemence, but without success. Mr. Cross declined to yield to the outcry raised by science, and the measure became law without much alteration, to the relief of all humanitarians.

The Judicature Amendment Act was another of those useful supplements to Lord Selborne's great measure for which his successor, Lord Cairns, was to be credited. It restored the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords, and strengthened its capabilities by providing that two Lords of Appeal, chosen from the Bench or the Bar, should sit in the Upper House with the title of Baron, which they were to hold for life. The Act also economised much valuable time by a provision introduced at the instance of the Attorney-General, by which a single judge could hear and determine any action in the High Court of Justice. Thus the coping-stone was at length placed on Lord Selborne's edifice, and the procedure of English justice made complete throughout.

That this was not a session of much legislative activity was accounted for by the fact that during its most crucial business weeks the attention of both Houses was taken up by the wild tales of bloodshed and atrocity that were despatched from Bulgaria, and by the pertinacity of the Irish Home Rulers, who announced at the beginning of the Session a huge list of motions which they intended to introduce, and by straining the rules of the House they succeeded in bringing their grievances into notice. Mr. Butt's Land Bill, though

considered revolutionary at the time, contained many features that were embodied in later legislation, and his resolution in favour of Home Rule was brought forward in language of much moderation and dignity. The scheme for the federation of England and Ireland was, however, traversed by the fiery oratory of Mr. P. J. Smyth, the Member for Tipperary, who ridiculed the Home Rule compromise and advocated repeal pure and simple. The resolution was negatived by 230 votes, Mr. Smyth abstaining from recording his opinion on either side. Shortly before this, his namesake, Mr. R. Smyth, had carried a resolution in the teeth of Government opposition, proposing to stop the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday in Ireland, and thereupon introduced a Bill to that effect, which, in spite of its admirable intentions, was talked out.

To turn to non-Irish matters: the Budget unfortunately showed a deficit of £800,000, which Sir Stafford Northcote was compelled to turn into a surplus by adding a penny to the income-tax. At the same time he made the burden fall lighter on people of small means, by fixing the line of exemption at £150 instead of £100, and making the deduction for exemption to be taken from all incomes of £400 and under, £120, instead of £80. The Indian Budget of Lord George Hamilton told an equally unflattering tale, and though he preferred to dwell on its brighter side, it was clear that a rapid depreciation of silver had caused such a loss to the revenue that only a bare surplus remained. Mr. Ward Hunt's administration was severely overhauled, both in the matters of the *Vanguard* and the *Mistletoe*, and on the general efficiency of the navy; however, on the latter topic, at any rate, he made out an excellent case. The army, in the hands of Mr. Hardy, was raised from about 129,000 to nearly 133,000; at the same time the pay of the regulars was increased throughout, twopence a day extra being given to all private soldiers, which they were to receive as a bounty at the end of six years' service, while the Guards were, besides this, to receive an extra penny directly; non-commissioned officers were to receive similar advantages. He touched on the mobilisation of the Volunteers, a scheme which had been the subject of some discussion during the previous autumn; its object, he said, was defence, not defiance. Such were the accounts of their stewardships rendered by the heads of the chief Government departments; the only other matter of very great importance was Mr. Osborne Morgan's resolution on the burials topic, which was rejected

by the narrow majority of 31 in the Commons; while a resolution of similar purport, brought forward by Lord Granville, though defeated by larger numbers, called forth expressions of goodwill from nearly all the leading Liberals.

Before the Session came to an end there were one or two changes in the *personnel* of the Ministry. Lord Henry Lennox felt called upon to resign the office of First Commissioner of Works, in consequence of his unfortunate but perfectly innocent connection with the Lisbon Tramways Company, which had been detected in some rather shady transactions. He was much cheered by the House for his honourable conduct. But the last days of the Session brought a genuine surprise, when it was announced that the Premier had taken the title of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and that Sir Stafford Northcote would succeed him as leader of the Lower House. Great curiosity was expressed as to the manner in which the new peer would bear himself in the strange atmosphere of the House of Lords, but it had of necessity to be deferred. At the same time, general satisfaction was felt that he should be able to resign the laborious duties of leader of the Commons before they had worn him out and to entrust them into such skilled hands. It is true that at many moments of his previous life Benjamin Disraeli had been far more popular than he was at that of his elevation to the peerage. The Bulgarian atrocity agitation was raging furiously, and he had, before he was in full possession of the facts of the case, treated the subject with a levity which to many was inexpressibly shocking. Nevertheless, every one wished good things to Mr. Disraeli, and a consciousness that he had deserved well of his country was to be traced in his address to his Buckinghamshire constituents. "I return to you," he said, "the trust which for so many years you have confided in me as your Member in the House of Commons, an assembly in which I have passed the greater part of my life. It has been a period of trying occasions and memorable events, and if I have been permitted to take some part in their management and control, next to the favour of my Sovereign, I am deeply conscious that I am indebted for that opportunity to the fidelity of your feelings. Throughout my public life I have aimed at two chief results. Not insensible to the principle of progress, I have endeavoured to reconcile change with that respect for tradition which is one of the main elements of our social strength; and in external affairs I have endeavoured to develop and strengthen our Empire, believing that combination

of achievement and responsibility elevates the character and condition of a people." Certainly a constituency which could return the same Member to the House of Commons at election after election ever since 1847 without a serious contest deserved thanks for its fidelity.

One of the last official announcements of the year 1874 was made by Mr. Disraeli in a letter to Sir Henry Rawlinson, and it was to the effect that an expedition was shortly to be dispatched by Government which was to attempt to penetrate to the Arctic Pole. It started in due course, and returned in 1876, without, indeed, having attained that ambitious goal; but having succeeded in adding much to the somewhat scanty stock of information previously acquired concerning the icebound and inhospitable shores that lie around the rude hyperborean seas. The expedition was placed under the command of Captain G. S. Nares, under whom was Commander Markham, and of Captain Stephenson, the last being on board the *Discovery*, the other two on the *Alert*. The Admiralty issued sailing orders of the most precise nature. Having provided themselves with dogs and Eskimo drivers, they were to proceed up Smith Sound with all speed, stopping only to erect cairns on conspicuous places. The second ship was to serve for the crew of the other to fall back upon: she was not therefore to advance beyond the 82nd parallel; the *Alert* was not to winter more than 200 miles distant, whence a sledging attempt was to be made to reach the Pole, "this being the main feature of the expedition."

The *Alert* and *Discovery* left Portsmouth on the 29th of May, 1875. On the 28th of July Smith Sound was sighted by the expedition, and the entrance discovered to be free from ice; a cairn was erected at Littleton Island, and they went on again. The first ice was encountered off Cape Sabine, when the *Discovery* was beset by a close "pack," and the *Alert* had to come to her rescue. The two ships put into harbour, and were compelled to wait for three days, until an opening presented itself, but soon they were caught again and in imminent danger of being crushed; this time the *Discovery* went to the front and forced her way through. They arrived in due course, and after frequent perils, at Cape Morton, soon reached a spacious harbour on the other side of the channel, and to the north of Lady Franklin Sound, which was named Discovery Harbour, near which the *Alert* and *Discovery* parted company, the latter retiring into winter quarters, where she remained from the 26th of August, 1875, to the 20th of

August, 1876. The *Alert*, therefore, went on alone up Robson Channel, the ice getting thicker and thicker, and on September 1st reached a higher latitude than any vessel had before attained, viz. 82° 24', and great were the rejoicings on board. There was now every prospect of at last reaching the reported position of President Land, viz. 84° 20' N. without a check, but in a few hours they came to a deadlock off Cape Sheridan, and there the *Alert* was destined to pass the winter.

All that could be done was to attempt to get into snugger winter quarters (but this, owing to an accident to the screw, could not be accomplished), to send out sledging expeditions under Commander Markham and Lieutenant Aldrich, and to despatch Lieutenant Rawson to communicate with the *Discovery*—an attempt which, owing to the rottenness of the ice, had to be speedily relinquished. Great hardships were experienced during these trips, and several of the men were severely frost-bitten. Commander Markham, nevertheless, reached lat. 83° 20' 26", about 400 miles from the Pole. Observations taken at this, the most northern point as yet attained by human enterprise, gave a depth of sea of 72 fathoms, with a clay bottom, and a temperature of 8° Fahr.

The return journey was one of great suffering. Man after man fell a victim to the scurvy, and had to be carried on the sledges, until at last only the two officers and three men could keep on their legs. They arrived under Cape Joseph Henry, but were still thirty miles from the ship, and succour was urgent. Lieutenant Parr thereupon volunteered to start alone for the ship, being the only one of the party strong enough to undertake the march, and, guided by the tracks of a roaming wolf, he accomplished his solitary walk across the dreary waste of snow, arriving on board ship in the evening of the following day. His efforts, among the noblest of the many noble deeds which cause the story of Arctic adventure to form one of the proudest pages in history, reaped their reward; relief sledges were despatched with all haste and the expedition was saved, with the exception of one man, who had died on the day after Parr's departure. The result of the expedition was that Commander Markham reported that one point was definitely settled—"the utter impracticability of reaching the North Pole over the floe in that locality."

Meanwhile Lieutenant Aldrich had succeeded in exploring to long. 85° 33' W., or 220 miles westward from the position of the *Alert*, but had failed to discover any land to the northward or



DEPARTURE OF THE "ALERT" AND "DISCOVERY" FROM PORTSMOUTH. (See p. 204.)

westward; nothing but water covered with ice of the extreme thickness of some 80 feet.

After the return of these expeditions, Captain Nares, seeing that all attempts to reach the Pole were fruitless, and that the utmost that could be done was to extend the explorations along the shores to the east and west, determined to turn homeward as soon as the ice broke up. The reception of the crews was almost overwhelming; the Queen sent a message, communicating her high appreciation of their valuable services, and there were banquets and receptions galore; Captain Nares was knighted and in the following year Captain Young received the same honour. No men could have deserved these distinctions more; although the North Pole had not been reached, "its impracticability," as Captain Nares telegraphed from Valentia, "was proved." Smith Sound, in spite of the flattering reports of the *Polaris* expedition, was shown to be an unworkable route, and it was extremely doubtful whether the opening between Greenland and Novaya Zemlya offered a better promise of success. One fallacy that was completely exploded was the fanciful theory of a navigable Polar sea; and the positive results were the thorough exploration of the lands on the edge of the channel, and much useful information concerning the distribution of animal and vegetable life, the action of the tides, and the geological conformation of the coast.

Sir George Nares' former ship, the *Challenger*, had returned on the 24th of May, 1876, after an absence of three years and five months, during which time she had completed a voyage of discovery round the world, bringing back with her great quantities of the treasures of the deep. Her principal object, as laid down in her instructions, was to determine, as far as possible, the physical and biological conditions of the great ocean basins, the Atlantic, the Southern Sea, and the Pacific—to examine fully, in fact, the bed of the ocean, both from a scientific point of view and in its bearings on ocean telegraphy. The necessity for a scientific survey of the depth of the sea had long been acknowledged; and the important discoveries made during the cruises of H.M. gunboats *Lightning* and *Porcupine*, placed by the Admiralty at the disposal of the Royal Society, during the years 1868 to 1870, had given a distinct impetus to projects of even more extended investigation. Accordingly the *Challenger*, a vessel of 2,000 tons and 400 horse-power, was placed in commission at Sheerness, Captain Nares being in command, and Professor Wyville Thomson, who had been on

board the *Lightning* and the *Porcupine*, being at the head of the department of natural science and chemistry. The vessel was elaborately fitted out with the most perfect scientific apparatus, under the superintendance of Admiral Richards, Hydrographer to the Navy, and the arrangements throughout were made with much forethought. The *Challenger* left England on the 21st of December, 1872. The total distance accomplished in 1873 was 19,300 miles. The first day of the new year found the *Challenger* near the Crozet Islands, and on the 14th of February she had reached her most southerly station—lat. 65° 42' S., long. 79° 49' E. There Captain Nares anticipated his disappointment in the Arctic circle by discovering that land which had been reported by previous explorers was non-existent, a search for the mythical continent named after Wilkes, the American voyager, being without result. From the Antarctic regions they made for Melbourne, and after a short stay in the colony, the ocean was carefully surveyed with the view of establishing telegraphic communications between New Zealand and Europe; a great work which, as we have seen, was soon afterwards carried out. After visiting the Fiji and Friendly Islands, the vessels sailed in the autumn months through the Melanesian Sea, and arrived at Hong Kong in December. There Captain Nares received a telegram from the Admiralty offering him the command of the Arctic Expedition which, to the infinite regret of all on board, he accepted. He was succeeded by Captain F. T. Thomson, of H.M.S. *Modeste*, who was on the station. On the 6th of January, 1875, the *Challenger* left Hong Kong and proceeded to cruise about the China Sea, visiting New Guinea—the natives of which, at Humboldt Bay, were much alarmed by an unexpected visit of her steam-launch—Admiralty Islands, and Japan. It was shortly after leaving Nares Bay, so named in honour of the Commander of the Arctic Expedition, in Admiralty Island, that the greatest depth was found, viz. 4,575 fathoms, perhaps the deepest trustworthy sounding on record. Thence they made for the Sandwich Islands, taking frequent soundings on their way, the greatest depth being 3,950 fathoms, and the sea-bed showing much uniformity of surface. The circle of the world was completed at Cape de Verde islands, and her appointed task being thus successfully accomplished the *Challenger* turned her head homewards, and arrived at Spithead on the 24th of May, 1876. "The expedition," said a writer in *Nature*, "although by no means sensational, has been

thoroughly successful. The *Challenger* has steadily traversed a track of 69,000 miles, and during her absence of three years and a-half from England has established 362 observing stations, at all of which the depth has been ascertained with the greatest possible accuracy, a sufficient specimen of the bottom has been procured, and the trawl or dredge has been lowered to ascertain the nature of the fauna. At most of these stations serial soundings have been taken, with specially devised instruments, to ascertain by the determination of intermediate temperatures, and by the analysis and physical examination of samples of water from intermediate depths, the directions and rate of movement of deep-sea currents."

Assuredly the navy bore off the honours of the year; not only did whole crews return, having accomplished and suffered much in the great cause of scientific research, but individuals also distinguished themselves for their labours in the same honourable field. Lieutenant Cameron's journey across Central Africa was a wonderful piece of courage and endurance. He volunteered in the first instance to the Royal Geographical Society to go on a relief expedition in search of Doctor Livingstone, but his offer was refused; however, in 1872, the idea was revived, and Lieutenant Cameron was placed at its head. The first portion of the proposed journey was successfully accomplished by August, and the party had arrived at Unyanyembe or Taborah in the country of the Wanyamwesi tribe, when their trials began. Fever and ophthalmia attacked them, and in the midst of these troubles came a letter from the interior written by Livingstone's faithful servant, Jacob Wainwright, informing them that the great traveller, in search of whom they had come thus far, was dead, and soon afterwards the corpse itself was brought into the camp. Cameron, nevertheless, pushed on to Ujiji, on the shore of Lake Tanganyika, where he was courteously received by the Arab traders, and was fortunate enough to recover Livingstone's last papers and journals. There he resolved to use the remainder of the funds of the expedition in carrying on Livingstone's work of exploration. In the first place he thoroughly explored the shores of the great lake Tanganyika, to the south of Ujiji. On the 31st of May, 1874, he left Lake Tanganyika behind him, and started on the third portion of his journey, the object of which was to reach a place called Nyangwé, and then float down the unknown waters of the Congo to the west coast. He crossed the mountains of Bambara, and arrived in the Manyema country.

Soon afterwards he crossed the mighty river Lualaba, about 1,800 yards in breadth; he reached Nyangwé in August, the haven where he expected that his labours would be at an end. In this hope he was, however, doomed to disappointment; his effort to obtain canoes ended in a complete failure, as he had none of the currency of the country, in the shape of cows, goats, and slaves. He was compelled, therefore, to start southwards, in company with an Arab half-caste, named Tippee Tib, to the court of the native king Kasongo. Cameron was now in a region quite new to European travellers—the kingdom of Urua, covering the central watershed between the Congo and Zambesi tributaries—and on this vast plateau he spent more than a twelvemonth. Eventually he returned to Europe through the Portuguese territory of Benguela. So the great walk of 4,000 miles across Africa was accomplished. The news of his exploit having gone before him, it was no wonder that he was received everywhere with enthusiasm. He was promoted to the rank of commander, and the officers of the Royal Navy presented him with a testimonial in appreciation of his pluck and perseverance, and of the value of the scientific information which he had obtained. Upon several platforms he urged the necessity of abolishing the slave-trade—which was rapidly converting the interior of Africa into a desert—and establishing commercial routes as the surest means of civilising and pacifying the interior.

In spite of these incontestable proofs that British sailors possessed all their old dash and resource, the year was not to pass without further disaster to the Royal Navy, resulting, not indeed in the destruction of a valuable ironclad, as in the case of the unfortunate *Vanguard*, but in the loss of many brave men's lives. H.M.S. *Thunderer* was the sister-ship to the *Devastation*; she had been launched at Pembroke in 1872 and sent round to Portsmouth to be completed. There she had remained until 1876, when it was intended to send her to join the Mediterranean fleet, and accordingly on the 14th of July she was got under weigh for the official trial of her machinery on the measured mile in Stokes Bay. Captain Waddilove, captain of the Steam Reserve at Portsmouth, was in command, and as the vessel was about to be submitted to very severe tests there were several experts on board, as well as a number of experienced engineers and stokers—about five hundred men in all. Steam was being worked up to the required pressure, before making the first run, when at about a quarter to one a sharp explosion was heard below,

described as resembling exactly the explosion of a 38-ton gun, and volumes of steam forced their way up through the gratings, severely scalding those on deck. At once there was a panic amongst the landsmen on board; the volume of steam was such that it was impossible to ascertain the cause of the disaster, and even the engineers did not know what to make of the catastrophe. One of them, Mr. Weekes, at once stopped both engines, believing

total number of deaths amounting to forty-five. A survey of the vessel made by Admiral Houston Stewart and Sir Leopold M'Clintock showed that the front of one of the starboard boilers in the after stoke-hole had been blown clean out, carrying with it the connecting machinery, and bursting open the floor. A long and careful inquiry into the cause of the explosion was held, and terminated in September in a verdict which acquitted everyone



PAPUANS OF HUMBOLDT BAY, NEW GUINEA, ALARMED AT THE STEAM-LAUNCH OF THE "CHALLENGER." (See p. 206.)

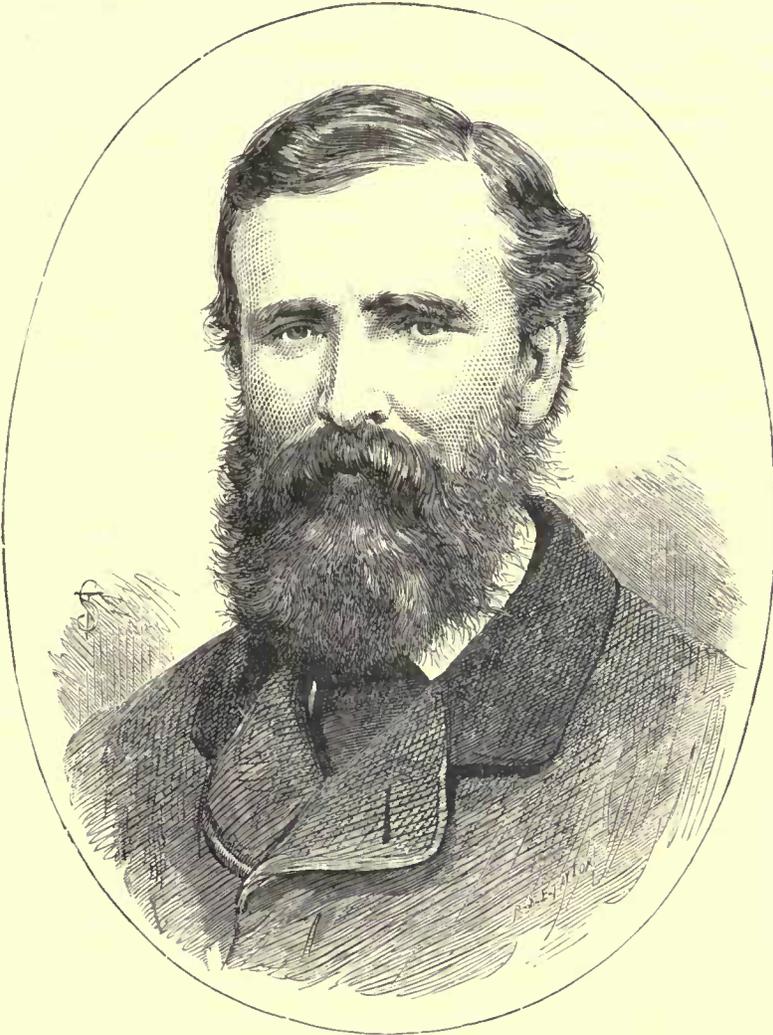
that one of the cylinders had burst, groped his way to the stop-valves, which he closed, and then called upon the dockyard hands to volunteer to go below and bring out the dead and dying from the stoke-holes. He was at once responded to by three members of his staff, and a number of volunteers, who fought their way into the engine room, whither the unfortunate stokers had crawled in their agony. Mr. Slade, the chief engineer, and Mr. Winfield, an engineer officer, were both found dead, and soon thirteen others were brought up in a frightful state of mutilation. Subsequent search discovered more bodies, and by the evening there were some forty others under medical treatment, of whom many succumbed to their injuries, the

concerned. The accident was due to the sticking of the safety-valves from the contraction of the metal seats, and the stop-valves being shut was also contributory to it. The jury added several technical recommendations, and considered it their duty to add that the evidence showed that the boilers of the *Thunderer* were of excellent material and workmanship. The testimony of Mr. Bramwell, a celebrated engineer, chiefly brought them to this conclusion.

The promised visit of Sir Salar Jung to England took place a few days after the return of the Prince of Wales from his seven months' tour. The Prime Minister of the Nizam had come on an errand of some political importance, no less than to demand

the cession of the province of Berar back again into Indian hands. This territory was a portion of the larger district which had been handed over to Lord Wellesley by the then reigning Nizam to be administered by the British Government, who

could no longer be any necessity for the British Government to retain territory as a guarantee for payment; and that the reason for annexing the territory, namely, the bad management of the affairs of the Nizam, no longer existed. On the



LIEUT. (AFTERWARDS CAPTAIN) CAMERON. (From a Photograph by Maull and Co.)

undertook to provide for him out of the revenues troops sufficient for purposes of defence. It was soon found, however, that under an orderly British administration the revenue of the ceded lands was far in excess of what was required for the payment of the small contingent, and accordingly Lord Dalhousie restored a considerable portion of it and Lord Canning gave back all of it except Berar. Sir Salar Jung now argued that as the revenues of the Nizam were in a state of prosperity there

other hand it was argued that Indian administrations were unstable, and that to surrender a guarantee because it was not necessary for the moment would be a retrograde step which might be productive of the most dangerous consequences. Nevertheless, though opinions differed about the object of Sir Salar Jung's mission, everyone gave a hearty welcome to the great Minister himself. During his visit to England Sir Salar was the guest of the Duke of Sutherland, and on the 26th

of July he was presented with the freedom of the City of London. He returned home with the main object of his mission unfulfilled, but having obtained an insight into the workings of the English social system.

To pay a visit to England from India is a matter of greater risk and expense than to pay a visit to the East-end of London, but rank, if it has its disadvantages has its privileges, and what is a commonplace act when done by a statesman, becomes a deed of gracious kindness when performed by Royalty. The visit was all the wiser and more appropriate because it was made to Whitechapel—a district rarely seen by Royalty, and for the sake of an institution whose utility was recognised alike by rich and poor—the London Hospital. The route chosen on May 7th was along the Thames Embankment, past Aldgate Church to Mile End Road; it was strikingly decorated throughout and at every point the Queen and the Princess Beatrice received a cordial welcome. Her Majesty was met at the hospital by the Duke of Cambridge and proceeded to open the new wing which had been built by the Grocers' Company. In her speech she alluded to the opening of the Alexandra wing by the Prince and Princess of Wales nearly twelve years before. Then it had accommodation for less than 400 patients, now it had provision for more than 800 beds. The ceremony, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London took part, was a very brief one, after which the Queen went through the wards and comforted the patients with kindly expressions of pity and sympathy.

From deeds of charity we must ask the reader to divert his attention to the panoply of mimic war. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, in his speech on the Army Estimates, had mentioned the mobilisation scheme and his determination to test it in the course of the summer. Accordingly, during the month of July, the Second and Fifth of the eight corps into which the army was divided were massed at Aldershot and Salisbury respectively and a series of manœuvres and reviews took place. The idea was to see whether the new plan for working the Regular and Volunteer troops together was available in cases of sudden emergency. This, however, was not found practicable and so artificial conditions had to be arranged. All who were to be mobilised received three months' intimation; and the War Office had been making preparations for the event for at least six months. Moreover, ample time had been allowed for the concentration of troops at the

different rendezvous, so that the experiment did not receive fair trial and could be looked upon only as a gigantic and protracted review. Several defects were at once pointed out by military critics. At Lewes both the horses and men of the Cavalry Brigade of the Second Corps, which consisted of a battery of the R.H.A., the 2nd Dragoons, the 5th Lancers, and the 21st Hussars, were reported to be in excellent condition; but complaints were made that no test was applied to the Commissariat and that the Transport was not mobilised at all, being far under the proper war strength; it was also alleged that the troops had no experience in marching in field order. They were, however, well exercised in the duties of patrolling and reconnoitring, although their numbers fell short of what had been intended in the original scheme. A little way off, at Horsham, was encamped the brigade of Irish Militia, under General Glyn, some 1,500 in number, mostly men of fine physique, but backward in their drill and somewhat disorderly in conduct. The Perth Rifles were a very soldierlike body of men. On the 20th, the whole of the troops of the Second corps *d'armée* were moved from their different rendezvous and concentrated at Aldershot, according to the previous arrangements. They were then found to consist of about 25,000 men of all ranks, including the Yeomanry, and 1,700 Army Reserve men who had been attached to the First Division.

The headquarters of the Fifth Army Corps were about four miles from Salisbury, and the divisions were stationed in the neighbourhood with the exception of the Third, which was at Stroud, under Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar. The total estimated strength of the corps was 17,777 of all ranks, while its war strength was 35,505. Here, again, the Commissariat and Ordnance departments were much under their proper strength, so that the corps was utterly unable to move as a body; indeed it was estimated that if all resources were concentrated, no more than one brigade could take the field. The cavalry also were very weak; there were only two regiments present, the 8th Hussars and the 17th Lancers, besides some Yeomanry, which would not be available outside the United Kingdom. Another point of defect was the formation of the staff, whose members were, in many instances, men who would not be selected in case of active service, while others held active appointments elsewhere and so would not be available if a sudden emergency were to arise. Nevertheless, a review on the 22nd of July displayed qualities of a sterling order, and the general in command,

Sir A. Spencer, congratulated the troops on their appearance and steadiness under arms; and this sentiment was echoed by the Duke of Cambridge in a general order to both corps. The Militia regiments deserved high commendation for their smartness and steadiness, and the condition of the first class Army Reserve was satisfactory, and its conduct exemplary.

Other questions that tended to give individuality to the year had, like the mobilisation scheme, been discussed already in Parliament. For instance the difference of opinion between Mr. Butt and Mr. Smyth, which had been submitted to the notice of the House, continued to attract attention; and so, unfortunately, did the dislike entertained by the Irish Home Rulers towards the British Government. The sentiment found expression at a banquet held at Dublin, at which Mr. Butt's followers were entertained by their admirers, their chief being in the chair. The proceedings were most harmonious until the presence of a detective was discovered, upon which a violent storm arose. The "Castle spy" was brought up before Mr. Butt, severely examined as to the authority on which he had ventured to intrude himself upon the meeting and then violently ejected from the room. Mr. Butt announced, amidst tremendous cheers, that he would know from the Lord-Lieutenant before the morrow's sunset how he dared send a detective into the room and said, as one of her Majesty's counsel, that a more gross outrage had never been committed on a body of Irish gentlemen. Then Major O'Gorman arose and, in a voice of thunder, sang the "Tight Little Island," as an act of defiance to the "infamous Irish Government."

In pursuance of his declaration, Mr. Butt wrote to the Under-Secretary of State and demanded an inquiry. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's reply proved that a great deal of fuss had been made for very little cause. It appeared that the detective had no commission whatever from the Castle; being on his ordinary patrol duty, he had entered the room without authority and without consideration; he was quite unarmed and he had not been in the building many minutes before attention was called to his presence. More was to be heard of this banquet; for Mr. Butt, in the course of one of his speeches, had, moved by the genial influences of his surroundings, ventured, when commenting on the experiences of the past session, to allude to Mr. Smyth with expressions of regard. In a letter to the Dublin newspapers, this fervid Nationalist indignantly repudiated any

friendship with the rival who had presided at what he termed "a farce as disgusting as ever was enacted in that city—beginning with a magisterial manifesto and ending with a comic song." Mr. Butt replied in terms of equal acrimony, though not of equal force, and the battle was fought out in the columns of *Freeman's Journal*. There was besides a third party, whose views were advocated in the *Nation* by Mr. A. M. Sullivan, which, though eschewing Repeal, denounced Mr. Butt's Parliamentary tactics as feeble and ineffectual and advocated a course of uncompromising obstruction, in order to force the British Parliament to grant Irish demands.

It has been said that religious differences are at the bottom of all Irish disturbances and, though they were only indirectly concerned in the quarrels of the leading politicians, they were distinctly the motive power of the riots that had previously broken out in Belfast. Once more, as in 1872, it would appear that the Orangemen were to blame. They had held their annual demonstration on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, without molestation; but when the Catholics, in turn, marched in procession through the streets on the festival of the Assumption, their natural feelings could not be subdued and an Irish row began. Once more the brick-fields were the scene of a violent struggle between enraged and undisciplined masses whom the police in vain attempted to separate. The confusion lasted from Wednesday to Friday; but at no time did it assume so grave an aspect as that of previous riots, although many of the police were badly wounded and there was considerable wrecking of houses. Again the military had to be held in readiness; schoolrooms were converted into temporary barracks; and on more than one occasion the 4th Dragoon Guards were compelled to charge the mob, which received them with volleys of stones. Saturday witnessed an attempt to renew the fighting, when the Roman Catholics were reported to be about to pull down a church; the tumult, however, was quelled without ever assuming a serious form, though some of the police were badly beaten.

Another question, which had been turned over in Parliament even more thoroughly than the relative merits of Home Rule and Repeal, was the Fugitive Slave Circular, and this received its quietus in June, when the report of the Royal Commission appeared. The names of the Commissioners, which included those of the Duke of Somerset, Sir R. Phillimore, Sir H. S. Maine, Sir

George Campbell, and Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, were a guarantee that this complicated question of international law would be discussed on its merits independently of party considerations. With the exception of Sir George Campbell, who drew up some brief categorical instructions as a specimen of what, in his opinion, should be enjoined on naval officers, the Commission were in favour of leaving a large discretion to captains in command. They found that the cases which presented themselves varied so much in character that it was inexpedient, even if it were possible, to lay down any strict rules for the guidance of naval officers in all the circumstances that might occur. The nations followed no uniform rule. For instance, Portugal and Holland would deliver up a slave seeking refuge on board a ship of war in the territorial waters of a foreign State, while Germany and Italy held that one of their ships is a continuance of their territory and therefore enfranchises a slave who gains footing on its decks; the United States did not give up slaves, while Russia and France left a discretion to their officers. This last course was advocated by the Commission. "In dealing with this question, the officer should be guided, before all things, by considerations of humanity. Whenever, in his judgment, humanity requires that a slave should be retained on board, as in cases where a slave has been, or is, in danger of being cruelly used, the officer should retain him; in other cases he should do so only when special reasons exist." Thus the report was virtually a recommendation that there should be a return to the old order of things, in contradistinction to the narrow injunctions of the Slave Circular, which had aroused such deep hostility.

While lawyers were delivering themselves on questions of extraterritoriality, economists found much food for reflection in the second "Domesday Book," giving a return of the landowners of England and Wales, exclusive of the metropolis. The idea of such a compilation had originally been started in 1861, when the census gave only 30,766 persons as proprietors of the soil, and added much point to the strictures of Cobden and Mill, on the accumulation of huge quantities of land in the hands of one or two men. Lord Derby, however, impugned the accuracy of the statement, and, in 1872, suggested that Government should take steps to obtain positive information, a suggestion which they at once adopted. The compilation of the work was undertaken by Mr. Lambert, the Secretary of the Local Government Board, who had performed, with conspicuous success, the task of

collecting Irish statistics for Mr. Gladstone. The facts disclosed were of some significance; they showed that nearly a million of persons in England and Wales owned a freehold, though in most cases it was but the land on which their house was built and a small strip of garden; on the other hand, the owners of land exceeding an acre were only 267,547, or, allowing five to a family, about 6 per cent. of the whole population. Of landowners over 100 acres there were 37,719 in England, and 4,750 in Wales, and with them remained nearly the whole representation of the counties. In this class again, property was most unevenly distributed. For instance, the Duke of Northumberland possessed 181,616 acres in Northumberland only, and twenty-six gentlemen owned half the county: while the Duke of Devonshire owned 83,000 acres in Derbyshire alone. In fact, less than 280 gentlemen owned 5,426,764 acres, or little less than a sixth of the whole enclosed soil of England and Wales, and 53 per cent., out of a total rateable area of 33,000,000 acres, belonged to some 4,500 gentry. This, of course, would give them, supposing they chose to combine, enormous political power, and seemed to support the cry raised by Mr. Bright and others, that the people were divorced from the soil, though the first objection was, to a certain extent, neutralised by the ballot.

Towards the end of the year, however, other and more ephemeral political topics caused the land question to sink into the shade. There was, for instance, a good deal of hubbub over the triennial elections of the London School Board, for which the clerical and anti-clerical parties arrayed themselves in force. There was a keen struggle between the two parties and a good deal of violent language flew about. The electors were stirred to great exertions and some of the constituencies were polled almost to a man. The question before them was the old one of "Voluntary" and "School-board Schools," both of which were doing useful work and for both of which there was room. The advocates of the former were able to hold out the inducement of cheapness of education, and complained that the partisans of the latter were building far too many schools. Their views were propounded at a great meeting held at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of the Bishop of London. To this argument, however, the electors turned a deaf ear; and they supported the policy of the moderate party of the late School Board.

There were few occurrences within the closing months of the year to distract men's attention from

the somewhat dismal contemplation of dulness in trade, the scanty crops of a bad harvest, and want and discontent among the working classes. Among them perhaps the only one that in any sense can be said to rise to the dignity of history, was the celebrated *Franconia* case, which raised important points of law, similar to those involved in the Slave Circular. This ship, Ferdinand Kuhn being in command, had run down the British steamer,

this world were John Forster, an animated if inaccurate biographer, and Lord Sandhurst, perhaps better known as General Mansfield, who played a prominent part in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and who was, in his latter years, a somewhat dogmatic military authority. Another gallant soldier who passed away was the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose first laurels were won so long ago as the Peninsular War. Sir John Kaye was



THE HORSE GUARDS, FROM WHITEHALL.

Strathclyde within three miles from Dover, and killed one of her passengers. Kuhn was convicted of manslaughter, but his counsel raised the question of extritoriality, and this was argued, first before six judges, and then, when they failed to agree, before fourteen. It was decided by a majority of eight to six that English courts have no criminal jurisdiction over ships passing within three miles of the coasts of the United Kingdom, and the conviction was therefore quashed.

While men were wrangling over the justice as well as the policy of this judgment, the obituary lists began to appear in the daily papers. Among those whose friends were to see them no more in

held in deserved esteem by his contemporaries as an historian, and a capable Secretary of the India Office. The death of Mr. Horsman, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, made a gap in the body of Liberal politicians which was not easily filled. But of those who died in the year 1876, Harriet Martineau was the most remarkable, since she was one of the very few women who have attained eminence as political writers. Her "History of England" may be a somewhat one-sided and acrimonious production, but her pen did much to aid some of the chief movements of the time, notably the Reform of the Poor Law

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Foreign Affairs, 1876—Commutations in India under Lord Lytton—Africa: Dispute with the King of Dahomey—Fiji: Outbreak of a Rebellion: its Suppression—The Barbadoes: Troubles of Mr. Hennessy—Canada: Attempt of British Columbia to secede from the Dominion—United States: Political Corruption—General Grant's Retirement—Egypt: Disastrous Expedition against Abyssinia—Mr. Goschen's Mission—Intrigues of Ismail Sadyk Pasha—Proposals of Messrs. Goschen and Joubert—France: MacMahon's Manifesto—Senatorial Elections—Victories of the Gambettists—The Dufaure Ministry—Resignation of M. Dufaure—M. Jules Simon's Ministry—Spain and Portugal—Italy: Death of Antonelli—Germany: Attitude of Bismarck towards Russia and Austria—His Home Policy—Struggles with the Clergy—Bismarck's Speech on the Eastern Question—Austria; Turbulence of Hungary—Meetings of the Emperors—Russia: Gloominess of the Prospect—Annexation of Southern Kokand—The Eastern Question: Condition of the Turkish Empire—Famine in Asia Minor—Revolt of Herzegovina—Bankruptcy of Turkey—The Iradé, the Firman, and the Andrassy Note—Reply of the Porte and Lord Derby's Comments—Postponement of the Dividend—Outbreak in Salonica and consequent Movements of the Fleets—Situation at the Capital—Deposition of Abdul Aziz—The Circassian Officer Hassan—Conference of the Imperial Ministers—The Berlin Memorandum—Lord Derby's Objections—Rumours of Atrocities in Bulgaria—Unsatisfactory Explanations of Government—Mr. Disraeli's Reply to Mr. Forster—Lord Derby's Reply to a Deputation—Sir H. Elliot's Despatches—Mr. MacGahan's Letters—Statements and Explanations of Government—Excitement in England—The Agitation and Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—His Three Aims—His Speech at Blackheath—The Liberal and Conservative Leaders—The Aylesbury Speech and the Buckinghamshire Election—Mr. Baring's Report—The Panic and its Revenge—Conduct of the Porte—Statement of Lord Derby.

IN spite of the overwhelming attention attracted by the Eastern Question, the year 1876 did not pass without events in other parts of the globe, which in a less disturbed season would have been certainly set down as out of the ordinary course of things. It was said that no year during the last quarter of a century had diffused so generally in the Old World a sense of unstable equilibrium, and the infectious feeling of unrest seemed to have spread from that centre to the ends of the earth. In India, for instance, the first nine months of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty were not to pass without commotion, chiefly of an ecclesiastical nature. Dr. Copleston, Bishop of Colombo, became involved in a quarrel with the Church Missionary Society, by investing his chaplains with powers of supervision over the missionaries and their native churches. When the latter body refused to obey, their licences were taken from them, but at this juncture Dr. Gell, Bishop of Madras, interfered, and compelled Dr. Copleston to restore them, and this, after some angry correspondence, was done. The occurrence was the more to be regretted because there was at the time no Metropolitan to settle the question once and for all; Bishop Milman had lately died and his successor, Dr. Johnson, had not yet reached Calcutta. In other respects India could not be considered a fortunate country; the depreciation of silver promised to develop into a most serious evil; there were dim rumours of another impending famine which, though they were not to be realised, disquieted the people; and lastly, there were terrible atmospheric

disturbances. A cyclone suddenly burst forth in the bay of Bengal, and swept in three storm-waves across the islands, many of which it covered with a wave twenty feet deep, and thence spread to the mainland. The loss of life caused by this whirlwind was enormous, and does not appear to have been overstated at 215,000.

What was really by far the most important event in the colonial history of the time, namely the negotiation for the annexation of the Transvaal Republic, attracted absolutely no notice whatever, and will be treated in a later chapter in connection with its momentous bearings on the course of South African prosperity. In another part of that tropical continent Great Britain was involved in what threatened to become a second war on the Gold Coast, this time not with the Ashantees, but with the neighbouring king of Dahomey. This sable tyrant, by name Gelele, undeterred by the condign chastisement inflicted on his neighbour, had seized the goods of an English merchant, Mr. Turnbull, in the port of Whydah, and when Mr. Turnbull naturally protested against such arbitrary proceedings, he was seized, flogged, and subjected to great indignities. Thereupon the British merchants applied for aid to Sir William Hewett, admiral of the station, and he, arriving on the coast in February, invited the headman of Whydah to a palaver. This functionary refused to appear, and sent a subordinate, who, by omitting some of the most important formularies of a conference, deliberately insulted the Commodore. Thereupon a fine was imposed upon him,

amounting to about £6,000, but the king sent a message to the effect that if the English came they should receive payment in bullets and powder. He was thereupon informed that if he persisted in his obstinacy a blockade would be enforced on the 1st of July—a punishment which had proved efficacious on three previous occasions. In due course the blockade began, but the desired result did not follow; the king, infuriated by the great loss inflicted thereby on his revenue, promptly seized all the Europeans within his dominions and threatened to execute them. Nay, more, he declared that he would invade the Lagos settlement, and kill every European on whom he could lay hands. No attention, however, was paid to these threats, and finding that he could gain nothing by bluster, the tyrant released his captives and peace was for the time restored.

Affairs in some of the British colonies were not uniformly pacific. In the newly-annexed Fiji Islands Sir Arthur Gordon discovered that his office was no sinecure; for the effects of the terrible epidemic of measles had hardly been allayed when a rebellion broke out among the natives. Indeed, the latter appears to have been more or less intimately connected with the former visitation; it was regarded by the cannibal tribes of the mountains either as a sign of the anger of the gods or as a wilful importation of Europeans. They therefore attacked the Christian villages on the banks of the river Siga Toka, and murdered and ate eighteen women and children. As soon, however, as the villagers had recovered from their surprise, they attacked the invaders and drove them off with some loss. Sir Arthur Gordon resolved to punish these outrages. Accordingly he sent for a hundred Snider rifles from New Zealand, and drilled the native police and villagers, whom he formed into a force of 14,000 men. The war was over in about two months, and cost the extremely moderate sum of £35. It was found that the native troops were perfectly amenable to discipline and that they obeyed the order to commit no outrages and give quarter.

The Barbadoes riots did not reflect equal credit upon the authorities. With regard to that island, Lord Carnarvon resolved to adopt his predecessor's (Lord Kimberley's) plan of confederation with the Windward Islands, and Mr. Pope Hennessy, formerly Governor of the Gold Coast, was directed, in a despatch, dated January 28th, to bring the proposal before the Assembly. This he did with undue warmth and when the planters, who disliked him because he had denounced with just severity

their brutality towards the negroes, utterly refused to entertain the idea, he pressed it once more on their notice. For this excess of zeal he was afterwards censured by Lord Carnarvon and certainly its consequences were very unfortunate; for the upper classes were furious at having confederation forced down their throats, as one speaker called it, and the blacks, becoming wildly excited at the idea of increased emigration, by which they would receive better wages and better treatment, rose against their taskmasters and commenced to plunder their potato-fields. A civil war between class and class began all over the island, and a good deal of damage was done by the negroes, of whom some four hundred were taken prisoners on charges of rioting and stealing, for they had taken no lives. Blacker deeds were committed when the whites, under the influence of panic, took the law into their own hands and, without waiting for the soldiers for whom Mr. Pope Hennessy had telegraphed, began to exact reprisals. This state of anarchy, however, did not long continue. In three days the Governor's firmness had suppressed the disturbance, the native police patrolled the roads, and the equanimity of the planters was restored. Whatever might be thought of his proceedings before the riots began, Mr. Hennessy was acknowledged on all sides to have acted with vigour and tact after they had broken out and to have averted a repetition of the Jamaica rebellion. Still, the tide of feeling ran so high in the island that the Colonial Office judged it expedient to send out a special judge, Mr. Lushington Philips, to try the cases. The greater part of the negroes he directed to be discharged at once; in fact, nearly 300 out of the 450 prisoners were set free forthwith; and the grand jury, who were composed entirely of landowners, in a similar spirit refused to return true bills against the planters who were brought up for trial. Thus quiet was restored to the Barbadoes; but it was thought to be inadvisable to bring forward again the confederation scheme, which, no matter in what form it might be served up, seemed utterly unacceptable to the colonial palate.

To Lord Dufferin, in Canada, the year brought very considerable anxiety. The unfortunate Pacific Railway still hung like a millstone about his neck. Now, the construction of this railway, which was to run between the lakes and the sea, was the price at which British Columbia had consented, after much hesitation, to become a member of the Dominion in 1871. Since that date the new member had been the Ephraim of the Confederation. She was continually starting

aside and threatening to secede, her interests, as she declared, being bound up quite as closely with the United States as with Canada; and when Mr. Mackenzie's Ministry, under pressure of financial difficulties, consequent on the unfortunate negotiations between Sir John Macdonald and Sir Hugh Allan, already alluded to, declined to proceed with the railway, British Columbia began to threaten secession in good earnest. However, Lord Carnarvon, after some difficulty, induced the colony to come to terms and to accept, instead of the Pacific Railway, the construction of a line between Esquimalt and Nanaimo, in Vancouver Island. A Bill to this effect was therefore introduced in the Canadian Parliament, but it was thrown out by the Senate; not altogether, it would appear, against the wish of the Ministry, who offered instead a quarter of a million as compensation. This the Columbians absolutely refused to accept; they demanded, as indeed they had a perfect right to demand, the fulfilment of the contract or liberty to secede, a step which would infallibly have produced sooner or later the breaking up of the Dominion. Lord Dufferin therefore resolved to use his powers of persuasion and went on a mission to Columbia, where, in the Government House of Victoria, the capital of Vancouver Island, he made an important statement on September 20th. It was an ingenious, and as it proved, successful, attempt to varnish over the breach of faith on the part of the Canadian Ministry. He pointed out that a great change had taken place in the financial condition of the Dominion since the bargain with British Columbia had been struck which absolutely prohibited the carrying out of the original conditions, and he vindicated Mr. Mackenzie from the charge of underhand intrigues against the Bill. The Carnarvon compromise would be carried out in its integrity in spite of what had occurred. The Columbians received his speech with acclamations; and the fact that, by a few well-chosen words, he had quelled the discontent of a nation, was only another testimony to Lord Dufferin's sterling merits as a British governor.

Of the adjacent nation of the United States there is little to record, as far as politics were concerned, which can be said to be in any way creditable. And yet, considering that it was the centennial year of the Republic, when unusual attention would be called to its progress and internal economy by festivities and an Exhibition at Philadelphia, it might have been expected that some attempt would be made to set things in order. Such, however, was not the case;

corruption, which had for many years been on the increase, now raged without restraint, and there was hardly a single prominent man of whom it could be said that his hands were clean. The unholy hunger for gold was found to influence the President's nearest followers; his private secretary, General Babcock, was accused of participation in certain whisky frauds, but was acquitted after an investigation, in which several very ugly facts came out. Shortly afterwards, accusations were brought against Mr. Grant, the President's brother, of complicity in certain dubious transactions connected with Indian partnerships. Other revelations followed. General Schenck, the American Minister at London, was compelled to resign his post, in consequence of his connection with the notorious Emma Mine, though he stood acquitted of dishonesty, and was guilty only of imprudence; but an equally lenient view could not be taken of the case of General Belknap, Secretary for War. He was proved, beyond all doubt, to have sold appointments to purveyors to the military forts, and was compelled by public opinion to resign, though he escaped an impeachment before the Senate, because there was not the necessary two-thirds majority against him.

Shortly after the Exhibition at Philadelphia had been opened with great pomp on the 10th of May, General Grant ceased to be President of the United States. Apart from the success of the Exhibition, his last year of office was not altogether a fortunate one; there was a totally unnecessary war with the Sioux Indians, caused by the attempts of Government to deprive the red men of land that had been secured to them by treaty, in which the chief, Sitting Bull, proved an astute and courageous opponent. There was also a dispute with Britain on the vexed question of extradition, caused by the refusal of Government to surrender a forger, named Winslow, unless a pledge was given that he would not be tried for any crime except that for which he was extradited. On December 5th General Grant delivered his final message to Congress; for it being understood that no person should be President more than two quadrennial terms, his candidature was not pressed at the elections. The consciousness of the bad effects of the recent disclosures seemed to weigh on the President as he delivered a dignified apology for his official career. While his valedictory words were being uttered, the Presidency, after a violent contest between the Republican and Democratic parties, was still hanging in the balance.

Egypt, one of the most ancient of nations, unlike

America the most modern, had little or no cause for self-congratulation in the pass to which her affairs had come. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares and Mr. Cave's financial investigations were certainly steps in the direction of reform, but it was of little avail to retrench in one direction when reins were given to reckless extravagance in another. While penury was pressing on the Khedive at home, he was contemplating costly

town; after which they apologised and promised amendment. These expectations of conquest were grievously misplaced. The Abyssinians, though unable to stand up before British troops, proved themselves perfectly competent to tackle the Egyptians. In the early part of the year it transpired that the first army, dispatched in October, 1875, under Colonel Arendrup had been exterminated in the Goundel Pass by a force ten times



FIGHT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES TROOPS AND THE SIOUX INDIANS. (See p. 216.)

expeditions into the interior of Africa, no one precisely knew with what object. The Sultan of Zanzibar was greatly alarmed, but when the troops marched it was found that it was not his destruction, but that of King John of Abyssinia, which was contemplated. The Egyptians contented themselves with simply laying claim to the whole of the former country, and, in pursuance of this claim, they began to tax the English inhabitants of Brava—a town on the Zanzibar coast with some Indian and African trade—and when Dr. Kirk, the British consul, remonstrated with the authorities they showed so insolent a bearing that the guns of H.M.S. *Thetis* had to be pointed on the

its number; and a second expedition, with Prince Hassan and a staff of American adventurers in command, which was sent off three months later, met a similar fate. Nevertheless, the Khedive continued to cast longing eyes in the direction of the fabled realms of Prester John, and meanwhile starved the little band with which Gordon Pasha was attempting to suppress the slave trade on the borders of the Soudan.

In Egypt itself affairs were in a most deplorable condition; the judicial system broke down altogether and the condition of the miserable fellahen was pitiable. It was in the midst of these gloomy manifestations of a rotten state of

government, that Mr. Goschen arrived as a delegate of the English bondholders, on the desperate errand of creating order out of the chaos of Egyptian finance. With him was associated M. Joubert, in the interest of the French, an economist of high reputation. Mr. Cave's suggestions, it appeared, were of no avail, nor was the Khedive inclined to accept the modifications of his plans proposed by the French Syndicate. It became more and more evident that he was practically in the hands of Ismail Sadyk Pasha, his foster-brother, who, though of very lowly origin, had risen to the position of Minister of Finance, and was the richest subject in the kingdom. This man's policy was simple enough: it consisted in offering a stubborn resistance to all foreign influence, whether good or bad. Nevertheless, he found that his authority was on the wane, for Mr. Goschen succeeded in obtaining the ear of the Government and in November it was understood that they were about to accept his proposals. Thereupon Ismail Sadyk had recourse to more desperate schemes and began, it was said, to stir up the people to revolt against the Khedive, and though this was not proved beyond all doubt, yet he incriminated himself by writing a most violent letter to his master in which he accused him of "selling his country to the infidels—Goschen and Joubert—and threatening him with the vengeance of the Faithful." He was thereupon entrapped, on the pretence of a drive, and arrested by the Khedive, dismissed from his post, his vast property confiscated and Prince Hassan appointed in his place. The disgraced Minister was exiled to Dongola, but on the way up the Nile was reported to have died from excessive drinking, a statement which most people received with some incredulity.

With the removal of this obstacle the success of Mr. Goschen and his colleague was assured; their proposals were submitted to a council of Ministers and finally adopted in every respect. The only doubt was as to the Daira or private debt of the Khedive, which amounted to £9,000,000, secured on 150,000 acres; and in a speech to the bondholders, made in December, Mr. Goschen asked them to give him further time for consideration of this difficult problem. The State debt was to be paid off by the following device: the revenue he ascertained, as nearly as was possible, to be about £10,500,000 per annum; the Khedive's expenditure, after a vigorous resistance on the part of that prince, was fixed at £4,500,000. There thus remained £6,000,000, and this was to be paid in various ways to the national creditors, of whom

the Turks were to receive their due share. The imperial debt was reduced by various expedients to £59,000,000, paying 7 per cent. interest, of which 6 per cent. was to go to the bondholders, and 1 per cent. to balance the moukalah, or redemption of land-tax revenue, which was applied to pay off the principal. No doubt if this proposal was followed there was yet hope for Egypt; the only question was whether the estimate of the Egyptian revenues was not too sanguine, and whether the Khedive would not, as soon as his European advisers' backs were turned, immediately relapse into his usual condition of apathy alternating with extravagant enterprise.

France, whose attitude with regard to Egypt was, like that of England, one of reproof, not altogether without hope, was otherwise enabled to look around her with perfect complacency and freedom from apprehension. It is true that the elections consequent on the dissolution of the General Assembly seemed to be a considerable leap in the dark. So impressed were the Ministry with the gravity of the situation, they could not agree on the terms of the necessary manifesto; and Marshal MacMahon accordingly was compelled to put forth a proclamation in his own name. He showed the nation that order and peace depended on the character of the Deputies who were to be elected. This warning was much needed in times when a panic was possible at any moment, and on the whole it was most creditably obeyed. The results of the Senatorial elections, which were made public before those for the Chamber of Deputies, exhibited an evident desire on the part of the constituencies to return moderate and honourable men; there was a majority of Republicans, but they were chiefly Conservatives, with the exception of some ten or twelve pronounced Radicals, among whom was Victor Hugo; when to these were added the life-Senators, it was still found that the moderate Republicans were in the majority, though, as it was afterwards shown, the majority was very small. They were, on the whole, a worthy set of representatives, favourable to the maintenance of the *status quo*, but opposed to M. Buffet, who suffered defeat in two Departments.

This was a pretty strong condemnation of the Minister who was credited, and probably with justice, with designs against the establishment of the French Republic, and a still stronger mark of public disapproval was awaiting him. When the elections for the Chamber of Deputies were made public, it was found that the Prime Minister had

been defeated in all the four Departments which he contested ; while his great opponent, M. Gambetta, was successful in four, though unsuccessful at Avignon. Not only was M. Buffet personally overthrown, but his policy suffered a similar rebuff. There were 532 contested seats, but of these more than a hundred had to submit to the ordeal of a second ballot ; the result of the first election, however, showed a return of some 330 Republicans, including a considerable portion of Radicals, 100 Bonapartists, and about 100 more of Legitimist, Orleanist, or doubtful propensities. Thus M. Gambetta had conquered everywhere ; the only party that could be said to menace him on questions of vital importance was that of the Bonapartists, led by M. Rouher, and even among them there were fatal dissensions, as the contest between Prince Napoleon and their chief in Corsica made evident.

As soon as the result of the first ballot was declared, M. Buffet, as in duty bound, sent in his resignation ; and the Marshal, after refusing to receive it, appointed M. Dufaure Premier *ad interim* and Minister of the Interior. The second ballots were also favourable to the Republicans ; but it was a good omen that the Duke Decazes, a moderate man, and the most able diplomatist in France, was returned for an *arrondissement* of Radical Paris by an overwhelming majority. After some delay M. Dufaure, despite the want of confidence with which he was regarded as the associate of the late Premier, succeeded in forming the strongest Ministry, as far as names went, that Republican France had as yet secured : M. Leon Say was Minister of Finance, the Duke Decazes of Foreign Affairs, General Cissey Minister of War, and M. Waddington, of English descent and education, was made Minister of Education. However, after an acrimonious and barren Session, the Cabinet came to grief in the autumn over the question of granting an amnesty to the Communists.

The usual amount of intrigues and negotiations followed ; the Marshal applied first to the Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier, then again to M. Dufaure. In both instances he was unsuccessful, and finally, at some violence to his own opinions, was compelled to summon to his councils M. Jules Simon, who retained the old Ministry with the exception of the ex-Premier and M. de Marcère, General Berthaut being retained at the wish of the Marshal. The patriotism which had impelled MacMahon, by temper and traditions a Conservative, to choose as his confidential adviser a statesman who announced

himself as "profoundly Republican," though profoundly Conservative, and who, moreover, had frequently been in direct antagonism to himself, was highly praised by all classes. Nor was the Conservative majority in the Senate at all adverse to M. Simon, though he was thoroughly identified with the opposite party ; they recognised his very considerable merits, both as philosopher and politician, though his Jewish origin was to his disadvantage. The only people who showed hostility to the new arrangement were the Archbishop of Orleans, who pleaded in vain for extra money for religious purposes, and M. Gambetta. The latter, as President of the Budget Committee, attempted to set one house against the other on a question of finance, but fortunately matters did not come to a crisis and the last days of the year were spent in profound tranquillity.

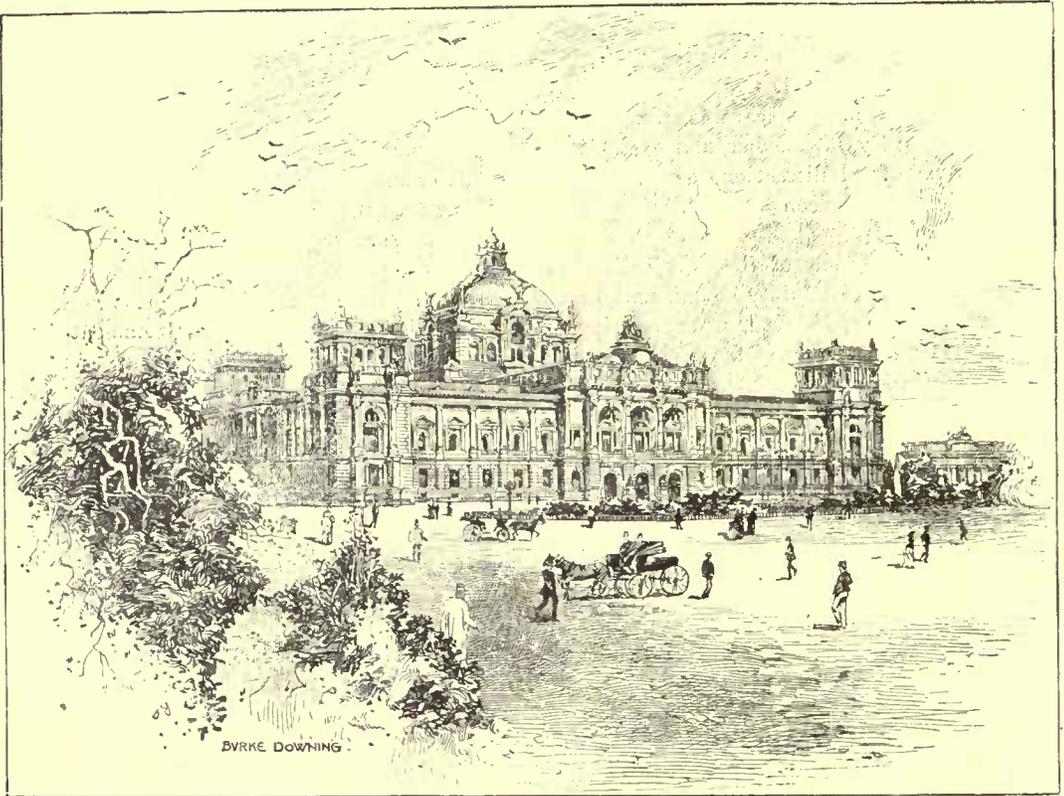
The history of the other so-called Latin races during the period under review was by no means eventful. In Spain there was the conclusion of the Carlist war and the establishment of King Alfonso on the throne, both which events have been dealt with in a previous chapter ; and the only other fact that calls for particular attention is the return of the ex-Queen Isabella to Spain. The young king's advisers were from the first severely censured for allowing him to assent to such a proceeding and its unwisdom was soon proved. Not only did the ex-Queen fall out with the Ministry forthwith on the subject of her allowance, but Marjori, one of her attendants, when ordered to leave the country, refused to obey and was in consequence imprisoned. Fortunately, after a short visit, she returned to France in the winter. A commercial crisis of some gravity, recalling some past events of English history, occurred in Portugal. In August the Union Bank of Oporto was compelled to suspend payment and a run followed on the other banks, many of which were obliged to follow its example. It appeared, however, that the scarcity of money was due only to temporary causes, and the arrival of supplies from London, together with the publication of a decree postponing the payment of money-obligations for two months, soon restored the public credit.

Italy passed an exceedingly tranquil year. The Minghetti Ministry was defeated in the beginning of the year on a question of taxation and was succeeded by a more Liberal Administration, with Signor Depretis at its head. In the autumn Cardinal Antonelli, the Pope's Secretary of State, died. With the loss of the temporal power of the

Papacy, the office of Secretary of State became an anachronism, and Antonelli had lost much of his influence with his master.

The three great empires of Germany, Austria, and Russia were all so profoundly absorbed in the Eastern Question that their individual political history at this time is somewhat dull and uninteresting. The attitude of Prince Bismarck throughout the year was calculated to preserve

could be construed into demonstrations against the German Empire, the Austrian authorities requested him to withdraw from the country; and he finally found refuge in Rome, where Pius IX., a man of very similar fibre, received him with cordiality. Prince Bismarck did not appear frequently in the Prussian Diet, and of his speeches, the most important was that on the Penal Code Amendment Bill, which had



PALACE OF THE REICHSTAG, BERLIN.

strict neutrality. The unity of his policy, however, can be traced more clearly if it is viewed from the standpoint of Turkish affairs, round which it revolved continually, and over which it exercised at one period a very dominant influence. At home the Chancellor had his hands fully occupied. Hardly had he caught one adversary, Count Arnim, in the meshes of his net, and rendered him powerless to intrigue any more, when another and more honest foe, Cardinal Ledochowski, having completed his term of imprisonment, was free to trouble the country again. The indomitable prelate repaired forthwith to Cracow, where great rejoicings were held in his honour; but, as these

passed through its preliminary stages in the previous year. The object of this measure was to place some restrictions on the Press, and, in the course of a long speech, Prince Bismarck alluded to the "war-scare" of the past year. He denied the existence of semi-official journals, and declared that he had never inspired articles for the *Berlin Post*, least of all that with the heading "War in Sight." "I do not," said Herr Windthorst, "receive every word that the Chancellor says, but I am not so unkind as to tell him so publicly." The Diet refused to give the Prince as ample powers over the Press as he desired, and shortly afterwards it was prorogued, having done little

except to pass a Bill empowering Government to buy up most of the private railways in Prussia, part of a larger scheme which was thwarted by the separatist tendencies of Bavaria and Württemberg. Meanwhile, the conflict between the Prussian Government and the clergy continued, with small advantage to the latter body.

these debates that the Prince was goaded into making a most important statement with regard to the foreign policy of the Empire, which was everywhere received with the profoundest attention. Its tenor, except in its explicitness, was much the same as that of the Emperor's message, in which he asserted that he wished to maintain



POPE PIUS IX.

(From a Photograph by Pierre Petit, Paris.)

The German Parliament met for an extraordinary session late in the year, when an attempt was made to reduce to a system the judicial proceedings of the Empire by passing three Bills relating to the administration of justice. They did not raise much discussion; indeed, the only burning question before the Reichstag was the Penal Code Bill, over which Prince Bismarck came to blows with the Central party, and a compromise was, with difficulty, arranged. It was in the height of

peaceful relations with all the Powers. The Chancellor declared that Germany had no intention of breaking off its old friendly relations with Russia, a friendship which had lasted for ages, and was based on history. He intended to support Russia at the forthcoming Conference; all that she asked was German co-operation for the improvement of the position of the Christians in Turkey, to which the Emperor and nation willingly offered a helping hand. "Our task is in the first place to

maintain peace, and, in the second, to mediate between the Powers in order to dispel existing differences, and to localise a war which is perhaps inevitable." So much for Russia; to Austria he was even more patronising, and announced that Germany would interfere actively only if one of her friends, that is Austria, "was imperilled by another Power," and commentators failed to agree who that other Power was.

Certainly, if internal confusion be calculated to hinder a country from an aggressive frontier policy, Austria would have remained, during the year, extremely quiet all along her borders. For the old Hungarian difficulty continued to trouble the Empire and weaken its resources. The year opened with a quarrel about the Customs and about the right of the Hungarians to establish a bank whose notes should be legal tender on both sides of the Leitha, and the latter, who were very much annoyed by the ill-judged parsimony of the Austrians, threatened, in case of an outbreak of war, to withhold both supplies and troops. This dispute was, however, settled for the time at a meeting composed of delegates from the Austrian and Hungarian Ministries. Nevertheless, the Hungarians continued throughout the summer to try to drag the Empire into the Eastern Question by clamouring for the integrity of the Turkish Empire. The mutual animosity of the two nations gradually increased and it was utterly impossible to come to any settlement on the bank question. In other respects there was not much astir within the Empire at this time. There were mysterious meetings of the Emperors in July; Reichstadt being the rendezvous of the potentates of Austro-Hungary and Russia, and Salzburg that of the former and the Emperor of Germany. Nothing was known of any authentic worth as to the upshot of these interviews, except that the best of understandings prevailed between the three monarchs—a secret which the Berlin Memorandum had already revealed. The real significance of these secret conferences—that Austria had regained the position in Europe which she had lost by the Prussian war—was not at first understood. How perfect was the harmony existing between two out of the three Powers, was evinced by Prince Auersperg's speech in the Vienna Reichstag on the Eastern Question. Taking his cue from Prince Bismarck, he declared that the policy of the Empire was, above all things, to maintain peace and that consequently any aspiration to acquire foreign territory was out of the question; Austria was resolved to adhere to her true interests,

which he declared to be the maintenance of peace in Europe and the amelioration of the Christians in Turkey.

If wars, and rumours of wars, absorbed the attention of the inhabitants of Austro-Hungary and Germany, though their kings and statesmen persisted in crying "Peace, peace," the subjects of the Czar were preparing themselves, with reluctance, for the struggle which, as Prince Bismarck said, was "almost inevitable." Nothing could exceed the gloominess of the prospect; revenue was declining, expenditure was increasing; in fact, so inevitable did the national ruin appear that in the spring it was confidently affirmed that the Czar in a fit of despair had determined to resign, and though the Russian official journals strenuously denied the rumour, it evidently had some foundation. Meanwhile, the whole methods of statecraft were continued and the mistaken policy of centralisation. The whole privileges of the Baltic provinces, with a purely German population, were taken away from them and their administration was made uniform with that of other parts of the Empire. The army, by which alone the rotten system was kept up, was at the same time mobilised, and its numbers were found to amount to the large total of 680,000 men, exclusive of the troops employed in Asia.

A Russophil might have pointed to the fact that, in spite of the dangers hanging over the Empire in Europe, it was thought necessary to continue the costly Asiatic campaigns, as an argument in favour of the statement that the Russian advance on India was actuated by necessity, not by sinister designs. Certainly this was hardly a reason for expending and not husbanding resources, and yet at the very beginning of the year came the news that the invasion of southern Kokand was in contemplation. The campaign lasted about six weeks; General Skobelev defeated the insurgents at Assaki, on January 30th, and the whole country submitted. Shortly afterwards the district was annexed to Russia, the authorities deeming it expedient to depose the incompetent Nassareddin and appoint General Skobelev as governor of the new province of Ferghana, as it continued to be called. In April, the new administrator's able lieutenant, General Kolpakowski, inflicted a severe chastisement on the turbulent tribes of the Khorghiz, who showed some disposition to resent this arrangement.

And now, having thoroughly cleared the approaches, it is possible for us to attack the great Eastern Question, upon the outskirts of

which we have been hovering for some considerable time.

For several years Europe had not troubled itself much about the state of the Turkish empire. Dim rumours had reached the West from time to time, collected, perhaps, by some adventurous newspaper correspondent, or leaking out through the guarded language of an official despatch from some French or British consul, that the affairs of the Porte were drifting from bad to worse. There were ugly stories of want and waste, of Ministerial corruption in the capital, and of brutal misgovernment in the provinces, of oppression of the Christian populations, and of impending bankruptcy. On the whole, the best thing to be done was to try and forget that the "Sick Man" was yet alive; and this intellectual position was still possible until the year 1875, when three terrible visitations of famine, insurrection, and bankruptcy rendered it no longer possible to wink at the general misgovernment.

It was in Asia Minor that famine, aggravated by the state of abject poverty in which the inhabitants of the pashaliks habitually lived, broke out with severity, and it raged during the greater part of 1874 and in the spring of the following year. As usual, the Turkish officials treated the sufferings of the peasantry with a philosophic indifference. It was from the West that help first came to the afflicted districts; subscriptions were collected in Britain, America, and France, and relief was administered by capable committees. From very shame the Porte felt called upon to display a little activity; it stopped a day's pay from all who were in Government service, and devoted the so-called "patriotic offering" thus collected to alleviation of the widespread misery. But even in the distribution of grain there was speculation; and it was through the bounty of Christian nationalities and nature's renewed fertility, not through any charitable activity on the part of the Turkish Government, that the plague was stayed.

The revolt of Herzegovina, a province which was annexed to Turkey by the treaty of Carlowitz, in 1699, followed, and dragged the Administration down into bankruptcy, besides involving it later in war with Russia, and hence in defeat and shame. On the whole, as is often the case, the Porte seemed to have had most trouble where it had been least unjust. It is true that the harvest of 1874 had been a failure and that the people were ground down by taxation; but it appeared also that there had been a wholesale migration of malcontents into Montenegro from the district of

Navesinje, whom the Mohammedan authorities permitted to return and bring back disaffection with them. Shortly afterwards they refused to pay taxes and rose in open rebellion; several Turkish tax-gatherers were murdered and excesses committed on both sides. The insurgents turned for aid to the Emperor of Austria, who was at this time in the neighbouring territory of Dalmatia, having, it was said, the design under consideration of buying Bosnia, of which Herzegovina formed a part, from the Sultan. So open were the intrigues of Francis Joseph that Lord Derby, at the request of the Turkish Ambassador, Musurus Pasha, remonstrated with his Prime Minister, Count Andrassy, and sent similar messages to the turbulent principalities of Servia and Montenegro; the Porte was, on the other hand, advised to suppress the insurrection as soon as possible and on no account to appeal to the Powers. This, however, was easier said than done. Dervish Pasha, the governor of Bosnia, though he issued one or two exceedingly bloodthirsty edicts, proved a vacillating and feeble general, and the insurgents fought resolutely and well. Meanwhile, the neighbouring Powers had determined for the present to observe an attitude of strict neutrality; Austria had ceased to intrigue and the influence of the Czar of Russia held back the turbulent Servians and Montenegrins, both burning for an excuse for war.

The efforts made to suppress the growing revolt strained the already weakened resources of the Porte, until they could bear up against it no longer, and the Herzegovinese rebellion proved the last straw that broke the back of Turkish solvency. Already at the beginning of June, Mr. Yorke had made anxious inquiries in the House of Commons as to the state of the Ottoman Empire. By well-chosen extracts from the accounts of travellers, he proved the extravagance of the Royal Household, and the injustice of the Royal Courts of Justice, and concluded by moving for copies of the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Sublime Porte. His motion was rejected, and Mr. Bourke, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, not only asserted that Britain had no concern in the internal affairs of Turkey, but that the change in the condition of affairs in Turkey since the Crimean War had been most remarkable. Even though the financial and judicial arrangements of Turkey were not what they should be, they were a great contrast to the condition of things fifty years ago. Two things were clear—namely, that Turkey during the last

forty years had been in a state of transition and that she had made considerable advance in tolerance and national prosperity. After these optimistic assertions the announcement, which was made in October, that the Porte was about to repudiate one half of its national debt, must have been an exceedingly unpleasant surprise. Yet people ought to have known what to expect if they had studied a few figures. The Turkish debt had increased in twenty years from £3,000,000 to £180,000,000; the expenditure was about twenty-six millions and a quarter; the receipts were not more than twenty-one and three-quarter millions. The Turks, therefore, blandly proposed that from 1876 to 1881 half the interest of the internal and external debts of Turkey only should be paid in cash, and the remainder in coupons, bearing interest at 5 per cent.; they were to be issued at par, whereas they were in reality worth only 30 per cent. It need hardly be said that, upon these proposals becoming known, the indignation of the unfortunate holders of "Turks" was immense, and it grew more so as time went on, and even the interest promised under these hard terms was not paid, while the Turkish Foreign Minister, Safvet Pasha, talked with inappropriate fluency of "the traditional honesty of the Sublime Porte." A deputation of bondholders waited upon Lord Derby, but he gave them very cold consolation.

Meanwhile the hopes of the insurgents were of course quickened by this catastrophe, which, as they saw, would alienate much sympathy from the Turks. The advisers of the Sultan, therefore, thought it necessary to be conciliatory and, finding that the Consuls of the Foreign Powers, who had visited the disaffected provinces, reported that these had just cause for complaint, they induced him to issue an *Irade*, or circular note, promising the remission of taxes and economical and social reforms. This Abdul Aziz followed up in December by a *Firman*, promising still further amelioration of the condition of his Christian subjects. Europe, however, had grown tired of the Porte's promises of amendment and for some time the Imperial Powers had been laying their heads together and the result of their consultations was the *Andrassy Note*. The date of this document was December 30th, 1875, and it was sent to those of the Western Powers who had signed the treaties of 1856. It declared that although the spirit of the suggested reforms was good, there was some doubt whether the Porte had the strength to carry them out; Count *Andrassy*, therefore, proposed that the execution of the necessary

measures should be placed under the care of a Special Commission, half the members of which should be Mussulmans and half Christians; that there should be full and entire liberty of religion, abolition of the farming of taxes, and a law guaranteeing the employment of the direct taxation of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the benefit of those provinces, and the gradual amelioration of the condition of the rural population; besides, the Sultan should sell portions of his waste lands to the peasantry on easy terms. The Powers must obtain from the Sultan a solemn confirmation of his promises and a formal acceptance of their demands. The document concluded with a serious warning, that if the war was not gone with the snow, "the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro, which have had great difficulty in keeping aloof from the movement, will be unable to resist the current."

The Note was duly presented to the Powers during the first days of 1876 and Count *Andrassy* at once received the agreement of the Governments of France and Italy. Lord Derby, however, delayed his reply for three weeks, until requested by the Porte to communicate these proposals to itself if "they were not altogether objectionable," and then directed Sir Henry *Elliot* the British representative at Constantinople, to give the Note a general support. The Sultan's answer was courteous in the extreme. He had examined the five points concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina with care, and was willing to give yet another proof of his deference to the friendly counsels of the Great Powers, as well as of his earnest desire to bring back order and prosperity among his misguided subjects. He therefore would accept four of the five points of Count *Andrassy's* Note, and as to the fifth, which defined the purposes to which the direct and indirect taxes of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be applied, he promised to set apart a certain sum out of the Imperial revenue for the local wants of these provinces. It was evident, however, that this Note would have but little or no effect; it contained no coercive precautions, and accordingly the Porte quietly allowed the question to drop and contented itself with profuse promises. "The proposals of Count *Andrassy*," wrote Lord Derby in a remarkable despatch to Sir Henry *Elliot*, "amount to little more than a request that the Porte will execute the *Hatti-Scheriff* of *Guilhané* of 1839, the *Hatti-Humayoun* of 1856, and the *Irade* and *Firman* of October 2nd and December 12th, 1875; in short, that the measures for the improvement of the

condition of the non-Mussulman and rural populations generally throughout the Empire, which have been publicly proclaimed, should be brought into practical application." Of course all such representations were perfectly idle, and it was not long before Sir Henry Elliot wrote back to Lord Derby "that while the professions of the Turkish

decree postponing the payment of the dividend then due on the loan of 1858 to July, and when that month came round it was again postponed *sine die*. This simple financial expedient was repeated in August with the Guaranteed Loan, 1855, and no attention was paid to the counsel of the Porte's English advisers, Mr.



CHIEF STREET IN CETINJE, THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO.

Government have been of a determination to raise the administration of justice, its measures seem calculated to further debase it."

So affairs drifted on; the little war continued to sputter on the frontier. Reinforced by Servians and Montenegrins, the Herzegovinese succeeded in keeping their enemy at bay and, instigated by Russian emissaries, put forward demands which the Porte was unable to accept. Yet the Turks must have wished for an early settlement of their difficulties with the Principalities; impecuniosity was pressing hard upon them, and on the 1st of April the Government was compelled to issue a

Hamond, M.P., Mr. Rose, and Mr. Staniforth, who had gone thither to raise the sinking hopes of the bondholders.

Another instance of official incompetency occurred at Salonica, the second town in European Turkey, where there was a street riot between the Greek and Mahometan populations, which ended in the murder of the French and German consuls, who imprudently ventured into the midst of the excited mob. The indignation aroused throughout Europe was intense. Satisfaction was promptly demanded from the Sultan, and that ruler solemnly asserted that he would make every

reparation in his power. This, indeed, he eventually did; some of the chief offenders were hanged, others were imprisoned, and a considerable sum of money was paid to the families of the victims. The German and French Ambassadors at Constantinople, however, were not inclined to trust to mere professions, and accordingly determined to send for their squadrons in the Mediterranean, and have them brought into Turkish waters. With this step Sir Henry Elliot concurred: three British ships were soon stationed in Besika Bay, where they were joined by the French and German squadrons—which had gone to Salonica, where they had landed troops to aid the Turkish soldiers in keeping the town in order and in celebrating the funerals of the murdered consuls with military pomp. Meanwhile the situation in Constantinople grew more and more critical; there was considerable danger that the outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism would spread to the capital and that there might be a massacre of Christians there. Three ships were not sufficient to prevent this, or to protect British interests in the Mediterranean. Accordingly the strength of the squadron was increased; in June there were eleven ironclads and nine unarmoured ships-of-war in Turkish waters, while a force of nearly equal strength was stationed at Gibraltar. "This," said Mr. Disraeli, afterwards, "was no threat to anyone. . . . It was not to maintain the Turkish Empire, and the Turkish Government were never deceived on that point. Our arrival in their waters was to maintain the interests of England and the British Empire, not to bolster up any Power that had fallen into decrepitude from its own weakness."

The situation in the capital was indeed critical enough to warrant any reasonable precautions. There was a riot among the Softas, or legal students, in Constantinople, on May 12th, the pretext being that the Sultan was allowing the Russians to exercise an unwholesome control over his affairs. To appease them, the unpopular Grand Vizier, Mahmoud Pasha, was dismissed, and Mahommed Rushdi, who belonged to the party of Reform, was appointed in his stead. Together with Midhat Pasha, the only statesman of any real merit that Turkey at this moment possessed, he urged on the Sultan the necessity of retrenchment and amendment. To their representations Abdul Aziz turned a deaf ear and at length, wearied by his obstinacy and stupidity, Mahommed Rushdi and Midhat summoned the War Minister, Hussein Avni, to their councils, surrounded the palace with troops, and informed the Sultan that

he must abdicate. His nephew Murad was proclaimed in his stead Caliph and Sultan, and Abdul Aziz, after an outburst of futile rage, submitted calmly to his fate. He was taken by water to the Chiragan—a palace he himself had built. There, on the 4th of June, he was found murdered by an unknown hand.

Little could be hoped from the change of rulers. Murad V., whose reign had begun thus inauspiciously, was in his thirty-third year. He was of weak health and weak intellect, both the consequences of the fatal enervation of the seraglio. Other deeds of blood followed; as the Cabinet were holding a meeting at Midhat Pasha's house, a disgraced Circassian officer, named Hassan, entered the room, and fired upon Hussein Avni, whom he severely wounded. Most of the Ministers fled in terror; the Minister of Marine, Ahmed Kaisserli, closed with the assassin, and was stabbed for his pains, though not mortally. Hassan then despatched Hussein Avni, shot Raschid Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who sat spell-bound with terror, and an aide-de-camp who tried to arrest him. At length he was overpowered by numbers, and two days afterwards hanged before the War Office. It was thought at first that this was some plot of one of the Ministry to rid himself of his rivals, but the real motive was probably to avenge the deposition of Abdul Aziz.

Meanwhile the Powers, in nowise disconcerted by the failure of their first attempt to settle the difficulties between the Sultan and his rebellious subjects, had published a sequel to the Andrassy Note. There was an informal conference of the three Imperial Chancellors, Prince Bismarck, Prince Gortschakoff, and Count Andrassy, at Berlin, in May, and secret meetings were held, the press being nevertheless supplied with frequent hints as to the line which the deliberations were taking. Then on May 18th the Ambassadors of Britain, France, and Italy were invited to Prince Bismarck's house, and the text of the famous Berlin Memorandum was laid before them. It set forth the alarming nature of the tidings from Turkey, and declared that in view of the dangers of the situation a double series of measures was necessary. Outbreaks, such as those which had recently taken place, might be checked by a general agreement concerning the despatch of vessels of war to the menaced points. "Nevertheless this end would be but imperfectly attained if the primary cause of those disturbances were not removed by the prompt pacification of Bosnia and Herzegovina." It was necessary, therefore, to

establish certain guarantees, of a nature to insure beyond doubt the loyal and full application of the measures agreed upon between the Powers and the Porte. As a preliminary the three Imperial Courts proposed to insist on an armistice for three months. Meanwhile the way might be opened for direct negotiations between the Porte and the Bosnian and Herzegovinese delegates on the basis of the wishes the latter had formulated for reforms and compensation for losses incurred during the revolt. Both Christians and Turks were to keep their arms. The Memorandum concluded with a remarkable warning: "If the armistice were to expire without the efforts of the Powers being successful in attaining the end they had in view, the three Imperial Courts were of opinion that it would become necessary to supplement their diplomatic action by the sanction of an agreement with a view to such efficacious measures as might appear to be demanded in the interest of general peace so as to check the evil, and prevent its development."

There was no gainsaying that this Memorandum seemed fraught with most serious consequences, but the French and Italian Governments at once decided to accept it in full. Lord Derby, however, demurred. His objections, as stated to the German Ambassador, were that there was no security for the reality and faithful fulfilment of the contemplated observance of the armistice on both sides. He asserted, too, that the Porte had no money to pay for the reconstruction of the houses and churches of returning refugees, and as to the third and fourth Articles, that the concentration of Turkish troops would defeat the preservation of peace, and that if both sides retained their arms a collision would be inevitable. The intimation contained in the last paragraph of the Memorandum—that the consuls and delegates of the Powers were to watch over the progress of reforms and the return of the refugees—seemed to leave the disposal of events wholly with the insurgents. It almost amounted to an invitation to them to refuse to entertain any terms that were likely or possible to be offered, since it gave them to understand that by continuing the insurrection they would secure further intervention on their behalf. On May 19th Lord Derby, after consulting his colleagues, wrote to Lord Odo Russell, the British representative at Berlin, re-stating his objections, and declaring that the British Government regretted they were unable to co-operate in the policy which the three Governments had invited them to pursue. There was a chorus of surprise

and regret from the Powers; and the Berlin Memorandum followed the Andrassy Note into the huge pigeon-hole of unfulfilled ideas. In Sir Stafford Northcote's Biography is to be found a statement of the reasons which induced the Government not to adhere to the Berlin Memorandum. "It seemed to demand impossibilities, and was not in our judgment well qualified to attain its object. We therefore declined to make ourselves responsible for it; but we insinuated that we should not offer any objection to the other Powers proceeding upon its lines without us. We have been much blamed for contenting ourselves with the rejection of the Note, without proposing any alternative course of action. I remember feeling at the time that we ought to make some alternative proposal."

The fire, however, had been smouldering for so long that it could not now be kept under. While the three Chancellors were forging their diplomatic thunderbolt, a catastrophe of such a terrible nature had occurred in the interior of Turkey that all talk of armistices and mixed commissions had become stale and unprofitable. The Berlin Memorandum was not even presented to the Porte; for a rumour, though carefully suppressed by Turkish officials, was beginning to leak out that there had been an insurrection of the Christian population of Bulgaria, and that the most horrible atrocities had been committed by the Turkish irregular troops in its suppression. It was communicated to Lord Derby by Sir Henry Elliot on the 4th of May, and from time to time he sent fresh information, all of a singularly vague character. At first his fears were for the Mussulmans; but he soon saw that the Christians were in far greater peril, though he was assured that the suppression of the rebellion had been entrusted to competent authorities. On June 16th a letter was received from him at the Foreign Office, saying, "The Bulgarian insurrection appears to be unquestionably put down, although I regret to say, with cruelty, and, in some places, with brutality.

There is evidence that the employment of Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks has led to the atrocities which were to be expected." A week afterwards the Constantinople correspondent of the *Daily News* gave the estimates of Bulgarians slain as varying from 18,000 to 30,000, and the number of villages destroyed at about a hundred. For the next twenty days the correspondent continued to send letters at intervals, in which these figures were repeated with but little alteration.

Government was questioned in both Houses

of Parliament, and put forward in reply two different theories. Lord Derby admitted that "it was quite true that Bashi-Bazouks had been employed in the suppression of the Bulgarian insurrection; that the regular troops had been supplanted by the irregular troops; and that, in consequence of the reports as to the conduct of those troops, Sir Henry Elliot had made a representation to the Porte on the subject." There had been excesses committed on both sides, but he had not received any report which would come up to the atrocity of the acts mentioned in the *Daily News* report. In the House of Commons, the Premier, in reply to Mr. Forster, declared that the troubles had begun by strangers entering the country, and burning the villages, without reference to religion or race. "The Turkish Government had at that time no regular troops in Bulgaria, and the inhabitants, of course, were obliged to defend themselves. The persons who are called Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians are persons who have settled in the country, and have a stake in it. I have not the slightest doubt myself that the war, if you can call it a war, which was carried on between the invaders and the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians, was carried on with great ferocity. One can easily understand, in the circumstances in which those outrages occurred, and with such populations, that that might happen. I am told that no quarter was given, and I have no doubt that scenes took place which we must all entirely deplore." So spoke the Prime Minister, more carelessly than many people had hoped, and, at the same time, inaccurately. Some turned at once to their works of reference, and from them they gathered the information that the Bashi-Bazouks, so far from being settlers with a stake in the country of Bulgaria, were brigand bands of the worst description, composed of the riff-raff, undrilled and ill-disciplined, of the various races comprised within the limits of the Turkish Empire. At any rate, either Lord Derby, who declared that the Bashi-Bazouks were employed to suppress the insurrection, or Mr. Disraeli, who held that as inhabitants they had merely defended themselves, must be wrong; and, on the whole, it was considered probable that the Foreign Secretary would know more about the circumstances than the Premier.

A fortnight afterwards Mr. Forster, having collected more information, put further questions to Mr. Disraeli about the massacres in Bulgaria, and received a reply which can hardly be characterised as otherwise than flippant, though the

Premier afterwards denied that he had intended a joke, and Sir Stafford Northcote records that when somebody laughed, he said to himself rather angrily, "What is there to laugh at?" He said that no further information had yet been received, but there was no doubt that there had been proceedings of an atrocious character in Bulgaria. "Wars of insurrection are always atrocious. . . . I cannot doubt that atrocities have been committed in Bulgaria, but that girls were sold into slavery, or that more than 10,000 persons have been imprisoned, I doubt. In fact, I doubt whether there is prison accommodation for so many, or that torture has been practised on a great scale among an Oriental people, who seldom, I believe, resort to torture, but generally terminate their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner." At which sally there was laughter, and Mr. Disraeli, after a few more remarks, sat down. Naturally enough, the Opposition were highly indignant at this method of disposing of the question. Mr. Forster moved the adjournment of the House, and Mr. Mundella hoped that Government would at once telegraph to Constantinople, and stop, if possible, the commission of further atrocities. In default of sufficient information they were, however, willing to accept Mr. Disraeli's statement, which he repeated, that though atrocities had been committed, Government had no information as to the particular details and horrors mentioned in the journals to which Mr. Forster had referred.

Mr. Disraeli, through pure inadvertence, had imperilled the fortunes of his friends. For from that date the agitation grew and grew. On the 14th of July a deputation was introduced to Lord Derby by Mr. Bright, asking for a pledge that England would maintain peace. Lord Derby's reply was received with general satisfaction. The British Government had decided not to intervene in the war, and would do its best to discourage others from doing so. He declared that it was the most improbable thing in the world that a general European war was imminent, and assured the deputation that the ordering of the fleet to Besika Bay was simply a movement, in conjunction with other Powers, to protect foreigners against anticipated disorders in Constantinople. To another deputation, which protested against the reported atrocities, he declared that there was hope that the Mussulman population would grow more tolerant as time went on, and expressed his opinion that, as to the massacres, there had been provocation, exaggeration, and pure invention.

That there was much truth in the statements of



THE BURNING AND SACK OF BATAK. (See p. 230.)

the newspaper correspondents was, nevertheless, demonstrated beyond possibility of denial as soon as Sir Henry Elliot's despatches were made public. Three days after Lord Derby's reception of the deputations, Mr. Disraeli laid the information he possessed before the House of Commons, confining himself chiefly to extracts from the British Consul's despatches, which he compared with the *Daily News* letters. "I am satisfied," wrote Sir Henry Elliot, "that, while great atrocities have been committed, both by Turks upon Christians and Christians upon Turks, the former have been by far the greatest, although the Christians were undoubtedly the first to commence them. I have spoken to one of the most influential Bulgarians upon the subject of the sale of Bulgarian children, and he told me that it had also been reported to him, but that he had been unable to ascertain that anything in the nature of a traffic had been going on." In a subsequent letter, the British Consul stated that "when the Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians were called out, they indulged in every kind of misconduct, killing and outraging numbers of innocent persons." Mr. Disraeli said that there was one thing consolatory amidst these dreadful circumstances, there was no sign of a religious war, and that Christian subjects of the Sultan were almost everywhere enrolling themselves against the Servians. He added that the Consul at Adrianople had been ordered to repair immediately to the scene of the outrages. On the 31st of the month, however, the Premier shifted his ground, and, adopting a lighter tone, talked about the "coffee-house babble brought by an anonymous Bulgarian to a consul," and still treated the matter as if both sides were equally to blame.

Meanwhile, the *Daily News* had resolved on sending out a special commissioner to make an investigation independent of official reports. Mr. J. A. MacGahan, an American, who had been one of that journal's correspondents during the Franco-German War, was the person selected. He started in company with Mr. Eugene Schuyler, who, in the capacity of Consul-General, was about to prepare a similar statement for the Hon. Horace Maynard, the United States Minister at Constantinople. They arrived at Philippopolis on the 25th of July, where Mr. Walter Baring, one of the Secretaries of the British Legation at Constantinople, was already engaged in collecting information. The first of Mr. MacGahan's letters was dated July the 28th, and its publication in this country revived in a moment the half-extinct excitement of the people. It is unnecessary to

quote at length the sickening descriptions of deeds of lust and cruelty which the pen of this talented journalist recorded. Perhaps the passage which was most frequently in men's mouths at the time was that in which he described the appearance of the mountain village of Batak. "We entered the town. On every side were skulls and skeletons charred among the ruins, or lying entire where they fell in their clothing. There were skeletons of girls and women, with long brown hair hanging to their skulls. We approached the church. There these remains were more frequent, until the ground was literally covered by skeletons, skulls, and putrefying bodies in clothing. Between the church and school there were heaps. The stench was fearful. We entered the churchyard. The sight was more dreadful. The whole churchyard, for three feet deep, was festering with dead bodies, partly covered; hands, legs, arms, and heads projecting in ghastly confusion. . . . The town had 9,000 inhabitants. There now remain 1,200."

An exceeding bitter cry of horror and disgust arose throughout the country on the receipt of this terrible news. Mr. Anderson at once asked for information on the subject, and Mr. Bourke was entrusted with the difficult duty of replying. He could only read a letter from Mr. Baring, in which he said that, as far as he had been able to discover, the proportion of the numbers of the slain was about 12,000 Bulgarians to 500 Turks, and that 60 villages had been wholly or partially burnt. Some great horrors had come to his ears respecting the entry into Philippopolis of 400 prisoners coming from Tatar Bazardjik. On this occasion Mr. Bourke inclined to the opinion that the *Daily News* report was "stamped with a partisan character." When, however, the subject was brought up again, on the 11th of August, he completely changed his tone, and owned that "the Government really had no idea of the events which had occurred in Bulgaria until attention was called to them in the House, and he gladly took the opportunity of saying that the Government and the country were very much indebted to those newspaper correspondents through whom those events became known." This debate, which was raised on the motion of Mr. Evelyn Ashley, was the occasion of Mr. Disraeli's last speech in the House of Commons. It was not one of the most successful of his efforts. He advanced the argument that, though the slaughter of 12,000 individuals, whether Turks or Bulgarians, was a horrible event, yet, when the fact that the population of Bulgaria was 3,700,000 was taken into consideration, it was

absurd to call it the depopulation of a province; and declared that he did not see why the pro-Turkish statements in the *Levant Herald* should be disbelieved while the anti-Turkish statements in the *Daily News* should be believed; and then, with a mysterious remark about the duty of Government being to protect the interest of England, Mr. Disraeli departed from the House of Commons.

The excitement did not end with the close of the Session, and during August and September the columns of the daily papers were filled with angry and heated controversies on the pitiable topic. Mr. MacGahan's letters continued to arrive with a further supply of horrors, and whetted still further the public indignation. As yet no prominent politician had thoroughly identified himself with the movement, but public meetings were held all over England, and the friendship entertained by Government towards the "Unspeakable Turk" was denounced with much wrath. The beginning of September witnessed a still wider spread of the indignation movement. Mr. Gladstone could withhold his hand no longer, and accordingly published a pamphlet, "Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East." Much of it was a powerful indictment of the Government. They had refrained from giving official information, and thereby deprived the nation of its rightful and constitutional aids. Their policy towards Turkey, a country which had been constantly forgiven only to sin again, had been throughout mistaken. "They have not," he wrote, "understood the rights and duties in regard to the subjects, and particularly the Christian subjects, of Turkey which inseparably attach to this country in consequence of the Crimean War and of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. They have been remiss when they ought to have been active, namely, in efforts to compose the Eastern revolts by making provision against the terrible misgovernment which provoked them. They have been active where they ought to have been circumspect and guarded. It is a grave charge which cannot be withheld, that they have given to a maritime measure of humane precaution the character of a military demonstration in support of the Turkish Government." Another grave count against Government was that they had never attempted to dispel the idea that they were the protectors of Turkey until the 14th of July, and all the time the "sequels in detail to the wholesale massacres in Bulgaria were proceeding." How then was the work of reparation to be set about? Mr. Gladstone said that it was unnecessary to be scared by the standing

hobgoblin of Russia, and useless to accept Jonahs or scapegoats, either Turkish or English. "It is not a change of men we want, but a change of measures." He therefore set forth three great aims which he hoped would be engraven on the heart and demanded by the voice of Britain:—

"(1) To put a stop to the anarchical misrule (he hoped the phrase might be excused), the plundering, the murdering which, as we now seem to learn upon sufficient evidence, still desolate Bulgaria.

"(2) To make effectual provision against the recurrence of the outrages recently perpetrated, under the sanction of the Ottoman Government, by excluding its administrative action for the future, not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but also, above all, from Bulgaria, upon which, at best, there will remain for years and generations the traces of its foul and bloody hand.

"(3) To redeem by these measures the honour of the British name, which, in the deplorable events of the year, has been more gravely compromised than I have known it to be at any former period."

Mr. Gladstone pointed out that while it was necessary to maintain the "territorial integrity" of Turkey, as implied in a titular sovereignty, exclusive of any other sovereignty, this did not imply the "independence" of the Porte to rule, as it pleased, over its vast dominions. "As an old servant of the Crown and State," said Mr. Gladstone in an eloquent peroration, "I entreat my countrymen, upon whom far more perhaps than any other people of Europe depends, to require and insist that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in another, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned."

The same remedy was advocated by Mr. Gladstone in a great speech which he addressed to a huge meeting, some ten thousand in number, at Blackheath on the 9th of September. The "bag and baggage policy," as the Conservatives facetiously styled it, was on this occasion still further developed. Once more he recommended that the Turkish authorities should walk out of the place.

“If anyone asked me how I would distribute the spoils my answer would be—I would not distribute them at all. These provinces were not destined to be the property of Russia, or of Austria, or of England; they were destined for the inhabitants of the provinces themselves. . . . If this can be done by a foreign commission, which shall, without absolutely displacing the Turkish authorities, take the government of these places virtually into its own hands—let it be so done. I myself lean to the simpler method of saying to the Turk—which I believe to be very good terms for him—‘You shall receive a reasonable tribute, you shall retain your particular sovereignty, your empire shall not be invaded, but never again, while years roll on their course, so far as it is in our power to determine, never again shall the floodgates of lust be opened by you, never again shall the dire refinements of cruelty be devised by you, for the sake of making mankind miserable in Bulgaria.’”

Many politicians and others followed Mr. Gladstone's lead. Mr. Lowe at Croydon attacked Government in his bitterest vein; Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the diplomatist who had had so much to do with the Eastern Question twenty years or so before, advocated in the *Times* the union of the Powers to enforce demands on Turkey. There were forty-four meetings on the subject of the atrocities during the second week in September, and forty-two in the third, so that the popular emotion showed no signs of abatement. Meanwhile Government had been to a certain extent—Lord George Hamilton being an exception—chary of speech; and the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Daily Telegraph*, their chief supporters, had been somewhat at a loss how to reply to the assaults of voluble, and frequently inadequately-informed, orators. At length Lord Derby took up the gauntlet, and, in answer to a deputation of working men, stated his sentiments on the Eastern Question with considerable frankness. It was remarked that he carefully refrained from any allusion to Mr. Gladstone, though his influence was distinctly traceable in the admission that though Government desired to uphold the formal sovereignty of the Sultan throughout his dominions, yet they had no objection to the emancipation of the disturbed provinces of Turkey from the administrative control of the Porte. For the rest, he reminded his audience that other nations besides England possessed the right of interference in Turkish affairs, and assented vaguely to the “general principle of the idea of reparation.” Sir Stafford Northcote, at Glasgow, spoke in a

somewhat similar strain, and both expressed a desire for a peaceful termination of the difficulty. Nevertheless, Lord Derby's moderate utterance by no means came up to the expectations of Mr. Gladstone, who wrote another letter to the papers, saying that the hope he had entertained that Government had received the requisite impulse from the national movement had been dispelled, and demanding an autumn Session.

Lord Beaconsfield, meanwhile, had been studiously silent, and had left others to make the explanations which it was thought, considering his Parliamentary utterances about “coffee-house babble,” and so forth, would have come most appropriately from his lips. The Buckinghamshire election was, however, likely to be a close one, and accordingly it became incumbent upon the Prime Minister to make a political statement. He chose for his occasion the annual agricultural dinner at Aylesbury. Lord Beaconsfield adopted no apologetic tone. He said that it would be affectation to pretend that the Foreign Secretary, whose duty it was to secure permanent British interests, and at the same time to secure the maintenance of peace in Europe, was backed by the opinion of the country. The country was, in fact, in a state of great enthusiasm, impolitic, perhaps, and founded on erroneous data, but still aiming at generous and admirable objects. “The danger at such a moment is that designing politicians may take advantage of these sublime sentiments, and may apply them to the furtherance of their own sinister ends.” After this allusion to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Beaconsfield proceeded to denounce the Servians for their declarations of war, which he said had prevented the accomplishment of peace. “Servia declared war against Turkey. That is to say, the secret societies of Europe declared war against Turkey.” Never, continued the orator, was a war less justifiable than that waged by these ungrateful Servians; yet the English Government had done its utmost to extricate them from the consequences of their mistake, and to make peace possible. He emphatically declared that the institution of Slavonic Governments would lead to a great and general European war. So spake Lord Beaconsfield, and, wafted on his anti-Slavonic blasts, Mr. Fremantle, the Conservative candidate for Buckinghamshire, was returned to Parliament, although by a narrow and considerably reduced majority.

This attempt to explain away the wickedness of the Turkish Government—Lord Beaconsfield allowed that the Porte might have ten thousand faults but would not say ten thousand crimes—

was all the more inopportune because only a few days previously Mr. Baring's long-expected report had been made public. He estimated the number of Batak's original inhabitants at 6,500, and of those who remained at 1,500, and Sir Henry Elliot forwarded the report to Lord Derby with this

province from the hands of the Turks. Mr. Baring dwelt strongly on the fact that the Bulgarians had been egged on by foreign agitators, whose conduct he described as "infamous," and serving only the selfish ends of States whose sole aim is territorial aggrandisement, alluding, of course, to Russia.



LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS. (From a Photograph by J. H. Newman, Sydney.)

comment—that this case fully exceeded or equalled in horror any that had been alleged. Nevertheless, Mr. Baring laid stress on some facts that were either insufficiently known, or had been slurred over by Bulgarian enthusiasts. In the first place, he proved beyond all question that the insurrection was no sudden and harmless ebullition of popular feeling, but an organised conspiracy, "well-planned but miserably executed." Fourteen years previously a Bulgarian committee was established at Bucharest for the purpose of fomenting insurrection in Bulgaria, and of wresting that rich

There was undoubtedly a panic among the Mussulman population at first, under the influence of which the Bashi-Bazouks had been armed. When they found that their foes were despicable, they revenged themselves with the utmost cruelty for the panic into which they had been thrown. Nor was this panic altogether without foundation "It has been denied," he said, "that a single Mussulman village was burned, or a single mosque destroyed, when with my own eyes I have seen the ruins of both." Moreover, the insurgents had in several instances committed some barbarous crimes :

for instance, at Avrat-Alan, seventy Mussulmans were massacred in cold blood, namely, the mudir and his secretary, three zaptiehs, sixty-four gipsies, and one Turkish girl. On the whole he thought that some two hundred Mussulmans had been murdered, but no instances of torture or outrage on the part of Christians could be proved. On the other hand, Mr. Baring did not attempt to disguise his opinion that "the way in which the rising was suppressed was inhuman in the last degree—fifty innocent persons suffering for every guilty one." It was difficult to decide on the question of torturing prisoners for the sake of extracting money; at any rate they had died under the ill-treatment of their guards. The number of persons who perished in the sandjak of Philippopolis he estimated at 12,000, and this calculation he admitted to be subject to correction, as the difficulty of collecting evidence was so great; nevertheless, it could not be doubted that at several places, Batak for instance, the Bashi-Bazouks had set upon the people and slaughtered them like sheep. They had also carried off the cattle of the villagers, and looted large quantities of property; the horrible stories of the violation of women were established beyond possibility of doubt. The gravest charge made against the Porte was that those who had committed atrocities had been rewarded, while those who endeavoured to protect the Christians from the fury of the Bashi-Bazouks had been passed over with contempt.

Such was Mr. Baring's plain unvarnished tale, in which he had extenuated nothing and set down nothing in malice. Its effect was most unfavourable to the popularity of a Government whose chief could lightly pass these considerations by with the remark that they were "extraneous." Had an appeal been made to the country at that particular moment, there can hardly be any doubt that Government would have suffered an overwhelming defeat. A fresh deputation, headed by

the Lord Mayor, waited upon Lord Derby and requested to be informed how the Prime Minister's utterances at Aylesbury were to be reconciled with his own, but the Foreign Secretary was too prudent to allow himself to be enticed into such an awkward predicament. It was of more importance, he said, to know what were the views of her Majesty's Government than to wrangle over the accuracy or fitness of expressions that might have been used on a former occasion. What the views of Government were, however, was not very clear, except that the Porte was to be made to relieve the sufferings of the Bulgarians. Lord Derby threw cold water on the various propositions for the settlement—that of Mr. Lowe, to allow the Turkish Empire to drift where it pleased, and Mr. Gladstone's "bag and baggage" plan—but had nothing to propose as an alternative except that of local or administrative autonomy. How this was to be accomplished he was unable to explain. "Equal treatment to Mohammedan and Christian; better administration for both, security of life and property, effectual guarantees against the repetition of such outrages as those which Europe has seen with so much disgust; these are practical objects, and for these objects we shall labour." Lord Derby concluded by expressing a hope, which proved illusory, that the quarrel would be brought to an end without further effusion of blood. The deputation withdrew in a decidedly dissatisfied frame of mind. For a while it seemed as if the force of public opinion must have compelled Government to consent to an autumn session, but the rapidly changing combination of affairs in the East soon caused the tide to turn, and the Ministry swiftly became as popular as it had previously been the reverse. And first we must take a rapid glance at the course of events in the Turkish Empire, subsequent to the accession of Murad and the murder of the Ministers.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Eastern Question continued: War declared by the Servians and Montenegrins—Prince Milan becomes King—Prince Gortschakoff's Proposals and Lord Derby's Modification—Counter-Proposals of the Porte and the Russian Ultimatum—Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall Speech—Speech of the Czar at Moscow—Departure of Lord Salisbury for Constantinople—General Ignatieff's Proposals—Great Meeting at St. James's Hall—The Conference—Guarantees and Local Government—The New Constitution and Midhat Pasha—Resumption of the Conference—The Ambassadors—Defiant Attitude of Safvet Pasha—Interviews between the British Diplomats and the Turkish Authorities—Odlia Effendi's Mission—Subsequent Meeting of the Congress; the final Appeal—The Grand Council—Rejection of the final Appeal—Ignatieff's Speech—Termination of the Congress—Opening of 1877; extra-Parliamentary Speeches—The Porte's Despatch and Prince Gortschakoff's Circular—Changes at Constantinople—General Ignatieff's Mission and the Protocol—Russian Declaration of War—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address in the Lords—Debate in the Commons—Rumours of Lord Beaconsfield's Resignation—Mr. Layard's proposed Appeal to the Powers—Lord Derby's Letter to Count Schouvaloff—Prince Gortschakoff's Reply—Mr. Carlyle's Letter—Mr. Gladstone's Five Resolutions—Divisions in the Liberal Party—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Mr. Cross's Speech—The Division—The Russo-Turkish War—The Asian Campaign—Operations round Kars—The Kizil Tépe—European Campaign—Conduct of the Roumanians—The Russians on the Danube—Conquest of Bulgaria—Gourko in the Balkans—Mehemet Ali Pasha placed in command—Suleiman Pasha in the Shipka Pass—Osman Pasha at Plevna—Battles in the Shipka Pass—Mehemet Ali on the Lom—Investment of Plevna—Mukhtar Pasha's Defence—He is driven towards Kars—Battle in the Deve-Boyun Pass—Fall of Kars—Investment of Erzeroum—Plevna surrounded—Efforts of Suleiman and Mehemet Ali—Battle of Pravca—Failure of Mehemet Ali—Fall of Plevna.

As might have been expected, the change of sovereigns profited the Turkish Empire but little; the idiot was no improvement on the selfish voluptuary. Bulgaria fell into a state of complete anarchy—indeed, it is more than probable that individual outrages were of constant occurrence during the summer and autumn. As Lord Derby remarked, it was impossible to effect much with an imbecile monarch and a bankrupt treasury. One thing, at any rate, the Turks were strong enough to do, and that was to defeat the Servians, who declared war on Turkey on July 1st. Lord Beaconsfield, in his Aylesbury speech, afterwards described this venture of the "ungrateful" Servians as "unexpected," but it is difficult to see any appropriateness in the epithet, though their aims were selfish enough. Their intervention was mentioned as almost inevitable in the Andrassy Note, and certainly the character of the Porte had not in the interval so far altered for the better that they should be restrained by motives of affection, nor had it shown such martial ability as to impress them with motives of fear. As the spring went on Sir Henry Elliot reported to the Foreign Office that Prince Milan, the young ruler of Servia, had made several declarations in a bellicose tone; and it was evident that he would avail himself of any favourable opportunity for throwing off his allegiance to his suzerain. Again, at the end of May, after the failure of the Berlin Memorandum, the Russian General Tcherniaieff was sent to Belgrad, and entered the service of Prince Milan; it was reported that Russian officers were being

placed in command of all the Servian regiments, and these were being moved towards the frontier. Up to the last Prince Milan declared that his intentions were purely pacific; but the increasing troubles of the Porte enabled him, with some small chance of success, to avail himself of the anti-Turkish spirit of his people and to declare war. His example was followed by Prince Nikita of Montenegro, who set out with his brave little army from Cetinje on July 2nd.

At first it appeared as if the Principalities would have the better of the struggle. The Turkish generals showed their usual dilatoriness in attacking Servia, and Tcherniaieff, who was a man of considerable military talent, gave them the good-bye and cut them off from their base of operations. This success was, however, transitory; Abdul Kerim, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, drove back the enemy by mere force of numbers, and by the end of the month he was over the border. Meanwhile, the hardy Montenegrins had been considerably more fortunate; but their victories over Mukhtar Pasha were not sufficiently important to effect a diversion. The Servians fell back from all their positions of defence, and on September 1st received a most disastrous beating before the walls of Alexinat. On this very day Lord Derby intervened and proposed an armistice of a month's duration. This, however, the Sultan—not Murad, who had been deposed on account of his hopeless incapacity, but his brother and successor, Abdul Hamid—refused to accept, although he expressed himself willing to make peace on certain conditions

which were eventually declared inadmissible by the Powers. In the interval, however, Lord Derby had addressed to the Porte one of the strongest rebukes on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities that has, in all probability, ever been administered to a Government that professed to be independent. Sir Henry Elliot was requested to acquaint the Porte with the information that any sympathy which was previously felt in England towards Turkey had been completely destroyed by the recent lamentable occurrences in Bulgaria. "The accounts of outrages and excesses committed by the Turkish troops upon an unhappy and, for the most part, unresisting population have aroused a universal feeling of indignation in all classes of English society, and to such a pitch has this risen that in the extreme case of Russia declaring war against Turkey, her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere in defence of the Ottoman Empire. Such an event, by which the sympathies of the nation would be brought into direct opposition to its treaty engagements, would place England in a most humiliating position." In a subsequent despatch the Foreign Secretary, in a tone which savoured far more of command than persuasion, directed the Sultan to punish the authors of the atrocities and to make some amends to the unfortunate sufferers. At last the eyes of Turkish statesmen were opened to the fact that it was no longer expedient to trifle with the Powers, and on September 16th the Porte agreed to a suspension of hostilities until the 25th.

It must be acknowledged that the Servians used this period of grace exceedingly ill. Prince Milan was proclaimed by General Tcherniaeff, in his absence and against his will, King of Servia and Bosnia; and though, on the remonstrance of the Powers, he readily consented to waive the obnoxious title, the evil effect of the declaration remained. Lord Derby's proposals for peace, which were made on September 21st, were nevertheless accepted by the Sultan when he saw that unanimity prevailed among the Powers, and he offered in addition to prolong the formal suspension of hostilities to October 2nd. This offer the Servians, relying on the Russian volunteers who were flocking to join Tcherniaeff, rejected with some contempt and hostilities were resumed. They paid dearly for their temerity. Tcherniaeff's position before Alexinat was forced by the Turks after three days' severe fighting; position after position yielded to them; on October 31st Alexinat was taken, and Deligrad was occupied on November 1st. It

seemed as if the new kingdom of Servia must perish in the throes of its birth.

Prince Gortschakoff had evidently anticipated a conclusion of this nature to the struggle, for already on the 26th of September, as Servia was renewing the war, the Russian Ambassador, Count Schouvaloff, in consequence of instructions he had received, called on Lord Derby, and proposed that in the event of the Porte refusing the conditions of peace which had been offered it, aggressive measures should be taken—namely, the occupation of Bosnia by an Austrian force, and of Bulgaria by a Russian force, and the entrance of the united fleets of all nations into the Bosphorus; if, however, the British Government thought that the entry of the united fleets into the Bosphorus alone would suffice, the Russian Government would consent to that course. The plan, however, was not approved of by Lord Derby, and, on objections being raised by Austria as well, it was suffered to drop out of notice. Prince Gortschakoff then hatched another idea, that an armistice of not less than six weeks should be "imposed" on the Porte. Again Lord Derby rejected the plan, but suggested instead one of a month. This was the British ultimatum. In a brief despatch Lord Derby requested Sir Henry Elliot, in the event of the terms of peace proposed by the Powers being formally refused, to press on the Porte, as an alternative, to grant an armistice for not less than a month, stating that "you are instructed, in case of refusal, to leave Constantinople, as it will then be evident that all further exertion on the part of her Majesty's Government to save the Porte from ruin would have become useless." He was also to inform the Porte that on the conclusion of an armistice it was proposed that a conference should immediately follow.

The proposal was, however, accepted in no quarter with much enthusiasm. The Austrian Cabinet disliked the idea of a conference, and the Turks were by no means inclined to allow their affairs to be overhauled by Russia, a Power that was assisting their rebellious neighbours, the Servians, both with arms and men, in such an undisguised fashion as to call forth the remonstrances of Lord Derby. The advisers of the Sultan, moreover, were of opinion that they could extricate themselves from their difficulties by a little cleverness. They refused, indeed, to accede to Lord Derby's proposals for peace, which included the "autonomy" of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the Herzegovina, a word to which, according to Sir Henry Elliot, they had a strong objection; but they

determined instead upon a series of plausible reforms. A national council was to be created, to which Christians as well as Mohammedans should be admitted; there was to be a little House of Lords and a little House of Commons, an enlarged

Only Britain and Austria, however, could be persuaded to agree with them. Prince Bismarck said that he himself saw no objection to the plan, but he declined to put pressure on any other Power to induce acceptance. Italy, which played second



LORD BEACONSFIELD AT THE LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET IN GUILDHALL, LONDON. (See p. 239.)

franchise, the reconstruction of the financial arrangements, the amelioration of provincial government, everything in fact that the heart of man could desire. The Turks were great adepts in the art of making plausible promises. They refused also to agree to an armistice of a month—an inconveniently short period which would compel them to be precise in their statements—and proposed instead one of no less than six months, during which much might happen in their favour.

fiddle to Russia throughout the negotiations, declared that the proposal of the Porte was a practical joke. After several weeks of diplomacy, General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, was, on October 31st, instructed to present an ultimatum to the Porte of similar purport to that of Britain. He insisted on an unconditional armistice of six weeks without any stipulation as to renewal, and threatened that, unless these terms were accepted, he would break

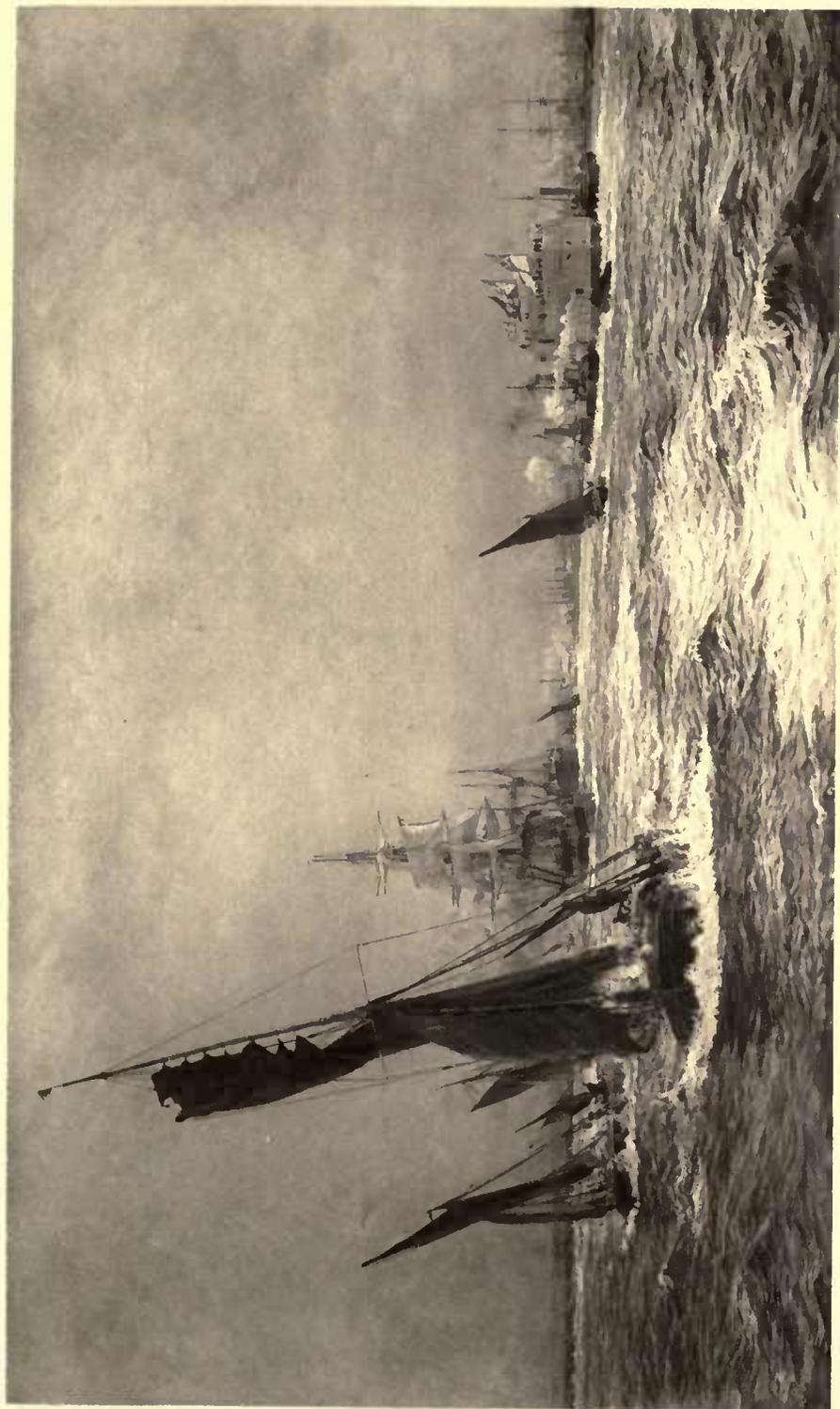
off the relations between the two countries, and leave Constantinople within four-and-twenty hours. In spite of their important successes in the field, the Sultan and his advisers swallowed the bitter pill.

Meanwhile, public opinion in England had distinctly veered round in the course of the month. Atrocity meetings were becoming fewer and fewer, for the instinctive dislike to Russia had been roused in the national breast. Moreover, there was a unanimity of opinion among prominent politicians on the subject of the Bulgarian outrages which almost prohibited controversy. Carnarvon expressed "his horror and abomination of the atrocities of which England had heard so much," with an eloquence rivalling that of Mr. Fawcett, who denounced Lord Beaconsfield for his seeming indifference. Mr. Forster also returned from the East at this time, whither he had started as soon as the session was over, and made known his opinions, which were of an extremely moderate nature, adverse to the autonomy of the Christian provinces on the grounds that if it were granted to one it would have to be granted to another, and would have, besides, to be enforced by foreign occupation, and in favour of extracting stringent promises of good government from the Porte. Their subsequently published biographies prove that both he and Lord Houghton disapproved of Mr. Gladstone's extreme attitude. About this time, also, the *Pall Mall Gazette* made a palpable hit by bringing into notice several passages in Mr. Schuyler's recently-published book on Turkestan, where cases were instanced in which the Russian troops had behaved with the utmost cruelty in Central Asia. Mr. Gladstone came forward as an apologist for the Russ in the *Contemporary Review*, and a bitter controversy was waged between the ex-Premier and his unknown antagonist. Nevertheless, the popular excitement in the country, taken as a whole, was steadily declining, and the Russian and Turkish parties were becoming far more evenly balanced in England. An important accession to the ranks of the supporters of the Ministerial policy took place towards the end of the month, when several of the "Old Whig" peers, of whom Earl Fitzwilliam was perhaps the most important, took occasion to make it known that they disapproved of Mr. Gladstone's conduct on the Eastern Question, and were of opinion that Russian aggression must be firmly opposed with a united front. Lord Hartington, who, like Mr. Forster, had been to the East, also created considerable surprise at this moment by giving qualified approval to the Govern-

ment policy. He made no secret, indeed, of the incompetence of the Turkish Government, and rebuked the evident desire of Lord Derby to prevent any European interference between the Porte and its Christian subjects; but he said that this interference to be effectual must be a joint affair, and was strongly opposed to the isolated intervention of a single Power.

However, the calm that prevailed during the last week of October was only that hush of Nature which precedes the storm. The Czar had determined that the Russian ultimatum should be no mere paper-balloon for the Pashas to prick at their pleasure. Accordingly, he communicated his opinions without reserve to the British Ambassador, Lord Augustus Loftus, and the latter at once telegraphed a summary of the conversation to Lord Derby. The Czar was anxious that a Conference should meet without delay, and requested that necessary instructions should be sent to the Ambassadors at Constantinople for the deliberation of preliminaries. His tone was full of cordiality towards Britain. "His Majesty," reported Lord Augustus Loftus, "expressed his anxious desire for an understanding and co-operation with England. He hoped that the unjust suspicions entertained in England of his policy would be discarded. He pledged his honour that he had no views of conquest or of Constantinople, and repeated this declaration several times and in the most solemn manner. All he required was the amelioration of the Christians, resting, however, not on Turkish promises—on which he placed no reliance—but on real, efficient guarantees. He wished to maintain the European concert; but if Europe remained passive he would be obliged to act alone. He could not understand why there should not be a complete understanding between England and Russia when they had a common aim, and when he gave the most emphatic assurances of his disinterested policy." This statement was received, as Lord Derby telegraphed in reply to Lord Augustus Loftus, with the greatest satisfaction by the British Government; and the negotiations for the Conference were hurried on with considerable alacrity, though there was some difference of opinion between the British and Russian Foreign Offices as to the best place at which it could be held, Constantinople, Lord Derby's proposal, meeting with small favour from Prince Gortschakoff.

Once again Lord Beaconsfield interposed, and gave what was to all appearance a totally new turn to events. On November 9th at the



COMMERCE AND SEA POWER.
FROM THE PAINTING BY W. L. WYLLIE, A.R.A., IN THE
CORPORATION OF LONDON ART GALLERY, GUILDHALL.



Guildhall Banquet, he favoured the country with a second edition of the Aylesbury speech. Lord Derby, it should be mentioned, was present, and characteristically remarked that he was glad to say that his duty did not require him to say anything on foreign affairs. Lord Beaconsfield, on the contrary, touched on foreign affairs to the exclusion of everything else. He gave a sketch of the diplomatic events of the past year, giving great prominence to British regard for treaty obligations which secured the independence and territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire. There was a good deal in the speech, too, about "British interests." Lord Beaconsfield declared, for instance, that sending the British fleet into the Mediterranean had shown that "the interests of this country were not to be trifled with." He then made the important announcement that Lord Salisbury was to be the British representative at the Conference, and expressed the confidence of Government that Lord Salisbury would aid in bringing about the peace of Europe by adhering to treaties that existed already; "knowing well that the independence and integrity of Turkey were not to be secured by mere pen-and-ink work." The conclusion of the speech was by far its most important part. With the Czar's assurances in his mind, and on the eve of a Conference, Lord Beaconsfield reminded his audience of the part which Britain was prepared to play in certain eventualities. "Although," he said, amidst loud and renewed cheers, "the policy of England is peace, there is no country so well prepared for war as our own, because there is no country whose resources are so great. In a righteous cause—and I trust that England will never embark in war except in a righteous cause: a cause which concerns her liberty, her independence, or her empire—England is not a country which will have to inquire whether she can enter into a second or third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end until right is done."

For the moment it seemed as if Lord Beaconsfield's manifesto had had its anticipated effect. On the following day the Czar addressed the nobles of the Communal Council at Moscow, and it was generally understood that his speech was a reply based on a telegraphic summary of the Prime Minister's Guildhall declaration. It was not until some time afterwards that Lord Augustus Loftus assured Lord Derby that the Czar had no cognisance of Lord Beaconsfield's speech when he addressed the deputation. The tone adopted by the

Russian Emperor was sufficient to account for the interpretation generally put upon it. He declared that in the "unequal struggle" the Montenegrins had shown themselves real heroes; but, he continued, "unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Servians, notwithstanding the presence of our volunteers in the Servian ranks." He still hoped that the representatives of the Great Powers at the Conference would arrive at a general agreement. "Should this, however, not be achieved, and should I see that we cannot obtain such guarantees as are necessary for carrying out what we have a right to demand of the Porte, I am firmly determined to act independently, and I am convinced that in this case the whole of Russia will respond to the summons should I think it necessary, and should the honour of Russia require it. . . . May God help us to carry out our sacred mission."

The impression produced by these remarks was naturally deepened when it was discovered that the southern divisions of the Russian army were being rapidly mobilised, and that a large fleet was being assembled in the Black Sea. Prince Gortchakoff, however, was ready with a plausible explanation, and followed up some remarks to Lord Augustus Loftus on the bad effect which he feared Lord Beaconsfield's speech would have at Constantinople, by transmitting a statement of his master's intentions to the British Cabinet through another channel, namely, the Russian Ambassador in London, Count Schouvaloff. He declared that, in face of the recent defeats of the Christian populations, and the perpetration of horrible massacres, which still remained unpunished, the Emperor had deemed it necessary to mobilise a portion of his army; "though," continued the despatch, "he is firmly resolved, for his part, to seek after, and to endeavour to obtain by all the means in his power, the purposes laid down by agreement amongst the Great Powers. His Imperial Majesty does not wish for war, and will do his utmost to avoid it. But he is determined not to halt until the principles which have been recognised by the whole of Europe as just, humane, and necessary, and which public opinion in Russia has taken up with the greatest energy, have been fully carried out, and secured by official guarantees." This communication seemed quite satisfactory, and the British Cabinet, as far at least as could be judged by the utterances of Mr. Cross, had ceased to dream of Oriental wars in which a second or third campaign might be necessary. On the contrary, the Home Secretary remarked that, with all

due respect to Turkey, he should say, that, of course, the time had come when all the "waste paper currency" of Turkish promises should be paid in sterling coin; but that, he thought, did not mean war, and did not mean the breach of the terms of the treaty on which the Conference had been formed. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet was of very divided mind, and Mr. Disraeli in private conversation gave a humorous account of its six parties. "The first party is that which is for immediate war with Russia; the second party is for war to save Constantinople; the third party is for peace at any price; the fourth party would let the Russians take Constantinople, and would then turn them out; the fifth party desires to plant the cross on the dome of St. Sophia; and then there are the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who desire to see something done, but don't exactly know what."

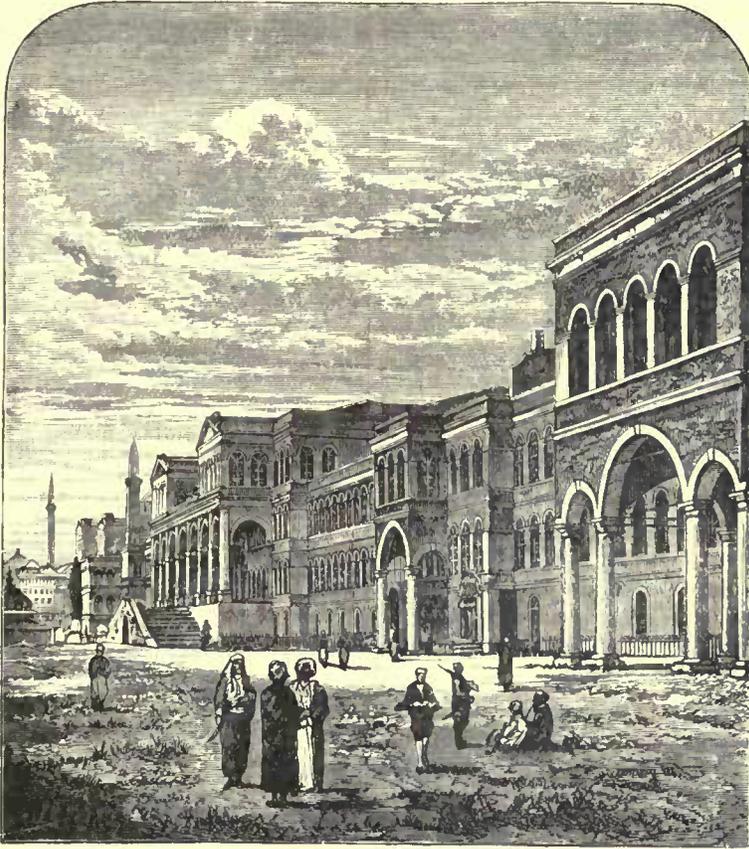
At length the Porte agreed to the Conference, and Lord Salisbury, on the 18th of November, started for Constantinople, *via* Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. His despatches from the capitals of the allied Powers throw a most interesting side-light on the policy of those who were shaping the course of events at the several great centres of European statecraft. The Duke Decazes declared that the interests of France demanded strict neutrality, and that she would not resist the intervention of Russia in arms. At Berlin Lord Salisbury had interviews both with the Emperor and Prince Bismarck. The former remarked that the course taken by the Emperor Alexander had been imposed on him by circumstances, and that it was impossible for Europe to accept the mere promises of the Porte any longer. What Prince Bismarck thought did not appear; but he shortly afterwards made a remarkable speech to the German Reichstag, in which he declared that he would not oppose Russia if she went to war. At Vienna the British Plenipotentiary met with a most cordial reception both from the Emperor Francis Joseph and from Count Andrassy. He reported to Lord Derby that the Emperor was of opinion that the interests of the two countries with regard to the present phase of the Eastern Question were identical, although he feared that the difficulties of arriving at a settlement which would be acceptable to all the Powers would be almost insuperable. The Austrian Minister was of similar mind, strongly opposed to the formation of the new tributary States, and very emphatic on the point that stringent guarantees for his proposed reforms should be exacted from the Sultan. The

Count also dwelt upon the evils caused by the tax-farming system, and earnestly advocated its effectual abolition. "His Excellency," wrote Lord Salisbury, "was also much opposed to the idea of a Russian occupation, and expressed a hope that England would not sanction it. . . . It was evident that he looked upon the present state of affairs with no little anxiety." Lord Salisbury must have arrived at Constantinople with the impression that the Powers which were bound by the Treaty of Paris had, for the most part, accepted the inevitable, and though they could not fail to dislike, yet would not actively oppose, a Russian attack on Turkey. Arrived at the Turkish capital, on December 5th, Lord Salisbury sought out General Ignatieff, and was in a few days in a position to lay the Russian proposals before Lord Derby. They were exceedingly drastic, and appear to have created something like a scare in Vienna, where it was considered, according to the British Ambassador, Sir Andrew Buchanan, that their adoption would be the first step towards the decomposition of Turkey, without even affording the probability of a short respite from the anxiety prevailing as to the future. However, as Lord Salisbury pointed out in a telegraphic dispatch to Lord Derby, which reached the Foreign Office on the 13th of December, the proposals of the Russian diplomatist were all within the instructions conveyed to him from her Majesty, except a scheme for enforcing the execution of reforms by a police force of 6,000 Belgians or Italians. This was not encouraged by Lord Salisbury.

In England, meanwhile, popular opinion, which a fortnight previously had been disposed to applaud Mr. Disraeli's Guildhall oration, had changed completely; martial strains were out of fashion, and the town would listen to nothing that was not decidedly and passionately anti-Turkish. In all probability Mr. Bright contributed not a little to this change of feeling by an eloquent speech at Llandudno, in which he dwelt on a subject very near his heart, the wickedness of war. "It is the old story now," said he, "just as it was in the days of the Crimea, that Russia is an aggressive Power. But I do hope and believe that there will be no war. If public opinion is right, the Government, I think, in this matter cannot go wrong." This opinion, anti-Turkish in fact if not in intention, was indirectly supported by a remarkable letter addressed to Mr. George Howard by Mr. Carlyle, a thinker whose opinions were as different as possible from those of Mr. Bright. After stating

his belief that the Russians were a good and even a noble element in Europe, because they possessed the talent of obedience, had been in steady progress of development since Peter the Great, and had done signal service to God and man in drilling into order and peace anarchic populations all over their side of the world, he continued—"To undertake a war against Russia on behalf of the Turk,

which dries up realms to deserts, a tyranny which, throughout all its wide range of influences, has blighted for centuries past, with its withering breath, all that is lovely and beautiful in nature, and all that is noble and exalted in man!" The utterances of the British Tribune did not attract as much attention as they perhaps deserved, because they immediately preceded a "National



THE SUBLIME PORTE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

it is evident to me would be nothing short of insanity; and has become, we may fondly hope, impossible for any Minister, or Prime Minister, that exists among us."

Soon after this declaration in favour of Russia from the biographer of the Great Frederick, the anti-Turkish agitation sprang up again with a vigour that was almost astounding. Mr. Bright spoke once again, and with a power that recalled the days of the Anti-Corn-Law League. "Shall England," he cried, "shall the might of England again be put forth to sustain so foul a tyranny as that which rules in Constantinople, a tyranny

Conference," which took place in St. James's Hall on the 8th of December. Properly speaking the title was a misnomer, inasmuch as there were two meetings, one presided over by the Duke of Westminster and the other by Lord Shaftesbury, and neither could be strictly called a conference, but rather a demonstration.

In the evening Lord Shaftesbury led off with some remarks of a most moderate kind. "We have not come together," he said, "to embarrass or oppose her Majesty's Government. On the contrary, we are come to support it; to give it all the moral influence we can command for the

attainment of this great purpose. . . . I have a high opinion of Lord Derby. He is a man of intelligence, a man of honour, a man with a strong sense of duty. We are deeply indebted to him. His despatch [that addressed to Sir Henry Elliot on the subject of the Bulgarian atrocities] has saved us a world of talk about principles, precedents, interventions and the like; his despatch is one sustained appeal to political logic, and intervention is treated in it as, beyond question, a thing of course, an irresistible obligation. . . . Well, if this be so, let us prepare to forget and forgive." Other speakers, however, indulged in somewhat heated rhetoric, particularly Mr. Freeman, the historian. "Why should they go to war? They were told that the treaty bound them to do so. He did not so read the treaty; but if that was the meaning, he would ask why a treaty which bound them to wrong should be the only treaty to be observed. To observe such a treaty would make them like Herod, who, for his oath's sake, sent a guiltless man to the slaughter. They were told that the interests of England in India required that the treaty should be observed. He answered, let duty come first and interest second. Perish the interests of England, and perish her dominion in India, rather than she should strike one blow on behalf of Turkey, on behalf of the wrong against the right!" The meeting was brought to a dignified conclusion by the appearance of Mr. Gladstone on the platform. The great orator spoke with his usual eloquence, but as his remarks were to all intents and purposes of similar import to those which he had delivered at Blackheath in September, it is unnecessary to quote them at any length. Mr. Gladstone denied that there had been any reaction in public opinion, or that the meeting could in any way hamper Government. With regard to Lord Salisbury's mission, Mr. Gladstone wished to know whether the Guildhall speech formed part of his instructions. "We want to cut him adrift from that Guildhall speech. We want to separate between it and him; we want him to go to Constantinople to represent the honour, and not the dishonour, of England; and we think that if, as we believe, we are speaking in conformity with the conviction of the great mass of the people, we have a perfect right to meet and denounce these evils, and to frustrate any transaction which would lead the country to nothing but disaster and disgrace." Mr. Gladstone declared the independence of the provinces, or, at all events, an autonomy which would secure them from further oppression, was a demand on which

the Ambassadors ought, in common justice, to insist.

The impression produced by this great meeting on the country at large was exceedingly powerful, and can hardly have failed to influence Lord Derby, in his action with regard to the Conference. It is true that numerous counter-demonstrations were held at which resolutions were passed in approval of the Government policy; but it could hardly be doubted that the feeling of the country, for the moment, was all in favour of that oppressed humanity which, to use Mr. Gladstone's fine expression, was lifting itself up from the ground and beginning again to contemplate the heavens. Lord Derby had also received very comfortable assurances from Russia a few days previously. Lord Augustus Loftus sent from St. Petersburg a leading article, from the *Agence Russe*, which he considered to be undoubtedly of official inspiration, and worthy of attention from the moderation of its tone. Russia, it said, while considering an occupation of Turkish territory as the most efficacious and most practical of guarantees, did not consider it the only possible means to obtain this aim, and did not intend to impose her view upon the other Powers. A periodical occupation of the Christian provinces of the Balkans would not be an advantage to Russia, but rather a heavy charge upon her. As for military glory, Russia did not require it. The British and Russian Governments, continued the writer of the article, were agreed on the necessity of reforms, but differed only as to the *modus operandi*. Lord Augustus Loftus believed that the article gave a correct idea of the views of the Imperial Government, and it appeared to him as intended to prepare the public mind of Russia for a renunciation of the idea of occupying Bulgaria.

Thus, with public opinion in the balance, now tending to Russia, and now to Turkey, Lord Derby watched the assembly of the Conference. The preliminary meeting of this important deliberative body was held on the 11th of December at the Russian Embassy, Turkish representatives being excluded. It was understood in England that the British and Russian Ambassadors were on terms of the utmost cordiality. Rumour had it that they might be seen walking arm-in-arm about Constantinople, and everyone was therefore prepared for a rapid despatch of business. The only question which caused much discussion was the question of guarantees; General Ignatieff insisted that the occupation of the country with an armed force, for police purposes, was unavoidable; if no

other troops were forthcoming, Russians must be sent. Sir Henry Elliot and Lord Salisbury said that Turkish regulars would be sufficient, but found themselves in a decided minority, since it was known that they had taken part in the massacres, while the German Ambassador objected to the employment of British soldiers. Finally, the proposition of an occupying force from some disinterested minor State was revived. Belgium, it seemed, would be willing to send from 3,000 to 5,000 men. This solution was referred by Lord Salisbury to Lord Derby, and after the question had been considered by the Cabinet he telegraphed his assent. The other arrangements were substantially those which had been set forth in Lord Salisbury's instructions. Two Bulgarian vilayets, or governments, were to be established, each to be administered by a Christian Vali, or Governor-General, who might be a foreigner or an Ottoman subject. Provision was made for the local government of the province so created, and for securing to the Powers a veto over the appointments of the Porte. The relief measures of the Andrassy Note were to be adopted; the regular army, as a rule, was to be concentrated in the fortresses and great towns; and a Christian militia, with officers of all creeds, was to be appointed by the Vali. The persons concerned in the atrocities of May were to be punished; and an amnesty was to be granted to the insurgents. Similar, though not identical, arrangements were to be made for Bosnia. The reforms were to be carried out under the direction of an International Commission, appointed for one year, with the assistance of the police force of Belgians. Lastly, the representatives of the six Powers proposed, in the event of the Turks refusing compliance, to apply to their Governments for permission to quit Constantinople in a body.

These extremely coercive proposals were accepted by the Powers, though with great reluctance by Austria, and with a good deal of hesitation by Britain. There was, indeed, considerable doubt as to their reception by the Porte. Count Schouvaloff informed Lord Derby that he did not think it would be favourable; and Sir Henry Elliot had previously warned the Foreign Secretary that to imagine that the Porte would accept, as a matter of course, any decision to which General Ignatieff and the Marquis of Salisbury might come, was a mere delusion. The Turks, he said, were convinced that Russia intended to attack them, and the Christian population, as well as the Mohammedan, was determined to resist her to the uttermost. Lord Salisbury also reported an

interview with the new Grand Vizier of Turkey, Midhat Pasha, and the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, Safvet and Edhem Pashas. Their language was described as "unsatisfactory;" they protested strongly against the appointment of an International Commission, and objected to any form of guarantee except the promise of the Sultan.

Thus the Plenary Conference, as the second and more important meeting of the deliberators was termed, met on the 23rd of December, with prophecies, nay, one might say promises, of failure. Scarcely had the Plenipotentiaries taken their seats when loud salvos of artillery were heard, and Safvet Pasha informed the assembled diplomatists that they were in honour of the new Constitution which the Sultan had just conferred on the Empire. The general impression was that this was a mere *coup-de-théâtre*, another of those huge practical jokes in the way of reform which the Porte was in the habit of palming off on Europe, though its author, the Grand Vizier, Midhat Pasha, was, as Sir Henry Elliot reported to Lord Derby, "beyond question the most energetic and liberal of the Turkish statesmen, and a man of action, though his decisions were somewhat hasty." The Constitution itself, which was formed partly on the French model, and partly on the British, was admirable as a paper scheme. The well-worn phrases, "constitutional monarchy," "liberty of the subject," "freedom of the press," "Ministerial responsibility," and "equal distribution of taxes," and the like, occurred in it again and again. All subjects, whether Mussulman or Christian, were to be equal in the eye of the law, and alike eligible for the public offices; Islamism was as before to be the predominant religion, but all other faiths professed in the Empire were to be freely exercised. The legislative body was to consist of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies—the latter were to be elected by ballot in the proportion of one member to every four thousand inhabitants; these general elections were to take place every four years. Provision was also made for the government of the provinces by administrative councils. Such were the chief features of a Constitution which bore upon it the impress of a cultured and experienced mind. It was, however, doubted if it would be carried out in the spirit in which it had been conceived, and it was even suggested that Midhat Pasha's colleagues might be using him as a lure to distract the attention of Europe. Again, there was much incongruity in devising for a nation which had been crushed for centuries beneath the weight of despotism, a social framework that vied in

liberality with that of nations which had required even more centuries to educate them up to the full capacity of exercising the privileges of constitutional government. In fact, the scheme seemed doomed from its very liberality, as well as the dishonesty of those to whom its execution would be entrusted.

As soon as the sound of the artillery had died away, the Conference resumed its occupation. There were present as representatives of Britain, Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot; of Turkey, Safvet Pasha, the Foreign Minister, and Edhem Pasha. The French Plenipotentiaries were Count F. de Bourgoing, the resident Ambassador, and the Count de Chaudordy. Austria was represented by Count Zichy and Baron Calice. The German and Russian Empires, on the other hand, considered that their dignity might be safely entrusted to single Ambassadors, namely Baron Werther, one of Prince Bismarck's most trustworthy subordinates, and General Ignatieff. Count Zichy represented Italy. The irony of diplomatic etiquette made Safvet Pasha, the senior Ambassador of the country in which the Conference was held, its President. The course of the secret intrigues which, as far as it is possible to judge from the hints that occurred from time to time in the official despatches, decided the fate of the Conference quite as much as the open debates, has yet to be thoroughly traced. One thing seems clear, that the Turks affected to imagine that the British Government was their firm friend, and was quietly playing their game. Lord Derby had carefully explained to the Powers that Britain would not hold out any hope of assistance to the Porte in the event of a refusal to obey the decision of the Conference, while, on the other hand, she would not be prepared to support coercive measures, military or naval, against the Ottoman Empire. This resolution of the British Cabinet was communicated to Lord Salisbury on December 22nd, but the substance of the determination was made known by Lord Derby to Musurus Pasha as early as the 19th. It hardly admitted any very favourable construction, but it is evident that it was so interpreted, either accidentally or designedly by the Porte. Otherwise it is difficult to attach any reasonable meaning to the mysterious telegram despatched by Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha: "Telegram received, No. 431, special.—I have read it to Grand Vizier. His Highness received this communication with deep gratitude, and begs you to express to his Excellency his acknowledgments. You will explain to his Lordship, in the

name of the Grand Vizier, that the Sublime Porte reckons more than ever on the kind support of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in the difficult circumstances we are passing through." Lord Derby was considerably astonished at the message, and at once informed the Turkish Ambassador that Turkey must not look to Great Britain for assistance or protection if her refusal to accept the proposals of the Powers resulted in a war with other countries.

This piece of finesse on the part of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries could have done no good to their cause in the eyes of the British Foreign Office, but rather must have damaged it. There is no trace from that time forward of any desire to lend a helping hand to the Sultan and his advisers during their stiff-necked opposition to the councillors of united Europe. Lord Salisbury also, when Admiral Drummond requested that the fleet might remove for the winter to safer anchorage than Besika Bay, directed him to go to Athens instead of Salonica, in order, as he telegraphed to Lord Derby, "to avoid misconception, and to support my assertion that no assistance is to be expected from her Majesty's Government." The Turks faced their isolated situation with the courage of despair. Their attitude was almost one of defiance; they cleverly assumed the position of the injured party, and at the first meeting of the Conference Safvet Pasha read a long paper on the subject of the war in the provinces, portions of which, as Lord Salisbury reported to Lord Derby, "referred in laudatory terms to the conduct of the Turkish authorities in regard to the suppression of the insurrection in Bulgaria." The report of the Powers, founded on the basis presented by Britain, was then laid before the Turkish Plenipotentiaries. At the second meeting, which took place on December 28th, the Turkish Plenipotentiaries proposed a prolongation of the armistice with Servia and Montenegro for six months, and it was accepted by General Ignatieff. The proposals of the six Powers were then considered, but the Turks raised objections to all of them, and were evidently simply attempting to gain time. The last meeting before the close of the year was held on December 30th; the Turkish Plenipotentiaries declared that they had some counter-proposals to present, but they were unfortunately not quite ready. General Ignatieff urged them to give a definite answer to the proposals of the Powers, and read a telegram from Prince Gortschakoff, which stated that Russia had accepted them, and that they were an "irreducible minimum." In the

evening the counter-project was communicated to the Ambassadors of the six Powers. It proved to be an elaborate scheme for the communal government of the provinces, which, as Lord Salisbury severely remarked, altogether omitted the essential principles of the proposals of the Powers,

taken place in Bulgaria. He also stated his conviction that the alienation of a large portion of the British people was due rather to the repudiation of the Turkish debt than to the atrocities in Bulgaria. For the rest, he said that any concession would arouse the utmost indignation among his people, and



LORD DERRY (FIFTEENTH EARL).

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry.)

and it was unanimously rejected at the fourth meeting of the Conference, held on New Year's Day.

Before the New Year had begun thus ominously the British Ambassadors made several desperate attempts to soften the hardened hearts of the Sultan and his Grand Vizier. At an interview with Abdul Hamid, on the 26th of December, Lord Salisbury pointed out the abhorrence excited in Britain by the Bulgarian atrocities, and by the neglect to punish crimes so heinous. The Sultan, however, contented himself with charging Russia with the responsibility for the calamities which had

spoken of his own life as being in danger. Later Sir Henry Elliot called on Midhat Pasha, and found him amenable to reason on some points, but firmly fixed on others. War, he said, might be nearly the ruin of the Empire; but the country was unanimous in preferring the chance of honourable ruin to the acceptance of conditions which it considered dishonourable, and, at the same time, fatal. Midhat returned a similar answer to Lord Salisbury on the 1st of January, 1877. The British Ambassador pointed out to the Grand Vizier that Turkey stood absolutely alone, and that several

other Powers would very probably take part in aggressive operations when the campaign had once begun. The Grand Vizier stated that he was resigned to the will of God if it was decreed that the Empire should fall.

Lord Salisbury had ere this informed Lord Derby that he thought it highly probable that the Conference would fail, and was furnished with instructions as to his conduct when that unpleasant result should occur. Still, the Sultan's advisers thought it inexpedient to break away from Britain altogether, and, on the last day of 1876, Odian Effendi, one of the Turkish Secretaries of State, was despatched on a special mission to England, to explain the posture of affairs. Odian Effendi, who was chosen as the bearer of this sad message—partly because he was a Christian and Armenian—went on his way, and in due course arrived in London, where he had interviews both with Lord Derby and with Lord Beaconsfield. Neither statesman could be said to utter language of encouragement. Odian Effendi declared that his Government found it impossible to accept the demands made of them in Conference; there might be concessions with regard to reforms, but the question of guarantees offered insuperable difficulties. He suggested instead, that the Constitution decreed by the Sultan should be placed under the guarantee of the Powers, who would have a right to watch over the manner in which it was carried out. Lord Derby, in reply, coldly urged upon him how important it was for the Porte to do what lay in its power to avert a war between Russia and Turkey, and advised the Sultan to accept conditions which he might think painful and disadvantageous rather than risk a rupture with Russia and its almost inevitable consequences. Lord Beaconsfield, despite unpleasant recollections of the Guildhall speech which must have obtruded themselves on his memory, spoke in exactly the same tone. He was, he said, a well-wisher of Turkey, and desirous that she should maintain her place in the European system. He pointed out that the struggle with Russia could have but one result. On the other hand, by accepting the conditions proposed to her, Turkey would gain a respite, probably of some years, during which the Sultan would have time to reform his administration, to conciliate his subjects, and to regain the sympathy of Britain and the rest of Europe, which had been alienated by recent deplorable events. Lord Beaconsfield believed that the proposals of the Conference had undergone considerable modifications, and that as now presented to the

Porte they contained nothing which might not be honourably accepted.

There could be no gainsaying that, granting the right of foreign interference to which the Porte throughout entertained the strongest objection, the Powers had been eminently conciliatory. At the fifth meeting of the Conference, the peremptory refusal of Safvet and Edhem Pashas to discuss even nine of the original thirteen points in the proposals of the Powers was taken into consideration, and the answer of the Plenipotentiaries to their arguments was read at the sixth meeting, on January 8th, after which the Conference adjourned in order to give the Turkish Ambassador time to consider the reply, and to allow the other Plenipotentiaries to communicate with their Governments. The Powers were willing to give the Porte one more chance, but it was the last. So grave was the situation that Lord Salisbury thought it necessary to send off a formal despatch, in which he dealt, at great length and with much sound logic, with the objections of the Porte to foreign interference, and the suggestion that the Conference was acting in the interests of Russia. In spite of his declaration that the former proposals were an "irreducible minimum," Prince Gortschakoff was willing to recede a step farther, and in conjunction with Russia and the other Powers the British Government, on January 13th, authorised its Ambassadors to put forth the proposals in a modified form. When, therefore, the Plenipotentiaries met for the eighth time on January 15th, Lord Salisbury read the text of the modified proposals, with a declaration that it should be the last communication it would receive from the Powers, and that if its principles were not accepted the representatives would consider the Conference at an end and leave Constantinople. It was certainly a reasonable demand; four obnoxious provisions were given up, namely, the appointment of foreign gendarmerie, the confinement of Turkish troops to fortresses, the re-arrangement of the frontiers of Bulgaria, and the provision that the Governors of Provinces should be Christians; and there remained only a scheme of which the chief points were the rectification of the frontiers of Montenegro, the *status quo ante bellum* for Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, the appointment of two Commissions of Control named by the Powers, and their approval for the first five years of the Governors-General of the Provinces appointed by the Porte. Lord Salisbury also read an impressive passage from Lord Derby's instructions, stating that "Great Britain is resolved not to

sanction misgovernment and oppression, and that, if the Porte by obstinacy or apathy opposes the efforts now made to place the Ottoman Empire on a more secure basis, the responsibility of the consequences which may ensue will rest solely with the Sultan and his advisers."

Though the rejection of the modified proposals was a foregone conclusion—indeed, the Sultan almost intimated the fact to Lord Salisbury in so many words, though he added that he must consult his Ministers, and Midhat was if possible, still more determined—the request of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries that time might be given to consult them at length was granted. In the interval, on January 18th, the Sultan and his Ministers thought it necessary to lay the proposals before a Grand Council of 237 persons, composed chiefly of State dignitaries and persons employed in the service of the Porte. By this little manœuvre it was made to appear as if the Ministry were forced on by an outburst of popular patriotism; for Midhat, overruling his master who, at the last moment was anxious to accept the terms of the Powers, brought them before the Council in such a form that their rejection could not well be avoided. Moreover, it should be remembered that palace functionaries were precisely the people who would profit by the continuance of the old and corrupt state of things. With one dissenting voice, that of the Armenian Protestant Bishop, the Assembly resolved that the European proposals should be rejected.

Fortified with this expression of opinion, Safvet Pasha faced the Plenipotentiaries on January 20th for the last time. As might be expected, he made a great deal out of the decision of the Grand Council, and announced that his Government refused definitely to agree to the proposals in regard to the appointment of the Governors-General, and the International Commission—the only two measures which were in any way a guarantee that the promises of the Porte would be performed. He then read a document which had received the approval of the Sultan, but it was contemptuously dismissed by General Ignatieff with the remark that it was simply an abstract of the counter-proposals already rejected by the Powers. Lord Salisbury announced that the mission of the Conference was completed, and that its existence could no more be prolonged, and then General Ignatieff, in a studied speech, proceeded to give the Porte a lecture. He expressed his profound regret that the moderate demands of the Powers should have been rejected. He warned the Turks that it hostilities against Serbia or Montenegro

recommenced, or the security of the Christians was seriously compromised, the Russian Government would consider such an eventuality as a defiance of Europe. He warned them also that the Christian populations in Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete were suffering from abuses of power, and that their claims must sooner or later be considered; that the rights of Christian communities must not be infringed; and that it would be inexpedient for the Porte to defer giving some satisfaction to the holders of Turkish bonds. "In conclusion," said the soldier diplomatist, "I have but to express a last wish. May the advisers of the Sultan, whose popularity and influence on public opinion have governed the decisions which put an end to the Conference, never find themselves in a position to regret them; may they never have to deplore the disastrous consequences for Turkey of a situation which might bring about a rupture in the regulated order of things which had governed the conditions of its existence among the European States and had guaranteed its territorial integrity." After a desultory conversation, the Plenipotentiaries of the six Powers said there was no reason to prolong the discussion.

The play was over. There was a final meeting of the Ambassadors of the six Powers for the dispatch of some purely formal business, from which the Turks absented themselves. There was no audience with the Sultan, who pleaded indisposition. Bad weather detained the Plenipotentiaries for a few days, during which time they were the unwilling witnesses of all kinds of joyful demonstration on the part of the infatuated population. Lord Salisbury sailed for Athens on the 23rd of January; but the tempestuous aspect of the Black Sea detained General Ignatieff—a parting guest whom the Turks would fain have speeded—for three days longer.

The opening of the year 1877 was heralded in England by a display of oratory more general than had been experienced for a considerable lapse of time. Members were eager to deliver themselves on the Eastern Question, for which each speaker had his own infallible cure, and the constituencies, which had also for the most part formed strong opinions on the subject, were equally anxious to hear them. Mr. Hall, the Conservative Member for Oxford, was first in the field, and delivered a sound lecture to the Liberals for not supporting the Government; he displayed the strongest antipathy to Russia, but insisted at the same time on the necessity of exacting guarantees from the Porte. Mr. Lowther, Under-Secretary for the

Colonies, followed him at a banquet of the Lord Mayor of York, in the course of which he ventured upon the quaint prophecy that "the Sick Man, if too much sat upon, was quite capable of the task of rising from his couch, and equal to the task of showing courage and low fields were won." Sir William Harcourt was not long in answering his colleague in the representation of Oxford city, whose assertion that the conference of St. James's Hall was composed of "all those whom nobody trusts," he completely rebutted. Sir William was very severe on the Government's change of attitude and its relations with Russia. "Up to August" he said, "the Government had done nothing but protest against any diplomatic interference in the affairs of Turkey; but in November it was determined to send a Cabinet Minister to Constantinople not to confer with the Turkish Government, but to settle with the guaranteeing Powers the conditions which should be imposed on the Porte. . . . So far as I know, there is no single proposal that Russia has ever made which the British Government has not, sooner or later approved. Indeed, the only real difference between the conduct of the two Governments has been that one insists on the adoption of its demands, and the other has hitherto been content to have them perpetually shelved." The news of the failure of the Conference towards the end of January gave a fresh turn to affairs; the situation had now become so grave that reticence was far more closely observed than before. Sir Stafford Northcote, in a speech at Liverpool, implored public men to be cautious in what they said, and to give the Powers credit for the best intentions of which their conduct was susceptible. He attempted to minimise the gravity of the refusal of the Porte to listen to the advice of the Powers; Turkey had done what she, in her true right, thought it best for her to do. "We regret exceedingly the conduct she has pursued. We think it ill-advised; we think that nothing has been proposed to her which she might not honourably, and without detriment to herself, have accepted. But she has chosen otherwise." Mr. Gladstone adopted a similar tone of moderation in a speech to the electors of Taunton. He owned that Lord Salisbury had done his best, and, declaring that the duties of Government were by no means exhausted by the sudden termination of the Conference, demanded from Government that they should make known what was to follow from "this great transaction and woeful failure." For himself, he was content to serve "in the rank and file of the great Liberal party under leaders who

will always do honour to it and to themselves." In a speech to a deputation of electors, made at the Taunton Railway Station, the ex-Premier enlarged on the topic with much eloquence. He held that Turkey had trampled on the treaty of 1856, and that it was the personal duty of every Englishman to see that justice was done to the Christian population. "Great efforts," he said, "will be made to induce you to relax your vigilance and to accept the half-hearted conclusion that the question is for the present at an end. We have been told, gentlemen, to do that which Englishmen I hope, are commonly inclined to do: we have been told to mind our own business. With a strong appreciation of that most sensible and practical phrase, we have to mind our own business, and the reason we are to mind the Eastern Question is that we have chosen to make it our business, and it is our own business at this moment, with such an amount of clearness and honourable obligation as, I think, no true-hearted Englishman will wish to disown."

Meanwhile Lord Salisbury had quietly returned to England, and Sir Henry Elliot, whose health had been seriously affected by the anxieties of his position, also quitted Constantinople, Mr. Jocelyn being left in charge. Immediately after the conclusion of the Conference, the Turkish Government sent a long explanatory despatch to the Foreign Office, in which they clung to their old line of defence: the Turks had been willing to give every satisfaction; the preliminary Conference had been the cause of the difficulties which followed; the Powers had departed from their original conditions and had put forward proposals which no independent Government could possibly accept, and so forth. Prince Gortschakoff's circular was shorter and more to the point. He showed that, after more than a year of diplomatic efforts, the fixed and unanimous wish of Europe was met with a unanimous refusal. The Cabinets were, therefore, in the same position as they were at the commencement of the crisis, which had, moreover, been aggravated by bloodshed, heated passions, accumulated ruin, and the prospect of an indefinite prolongation of the deplorable state of things that was hanging over Europe. Far from having advanced one step towards a satisfactory solution, the Eastern Question had become aggravated, and was at the present moment a standing menace to the peace of Europe, the sentiments of humanity, and the conscience of Christian nations. In these circumstances, before determining the steps which it may be proper to take, his Majesty

the Emperor was desirous of knowing the limits within which the Cabinets, with whom he had until now endeavoured, and still desired, so far as might be possible, to proceed in common, were willing to act. Lord Derby answered by informing the Russian Ambassador that the British Government had determined to defer their reply until events at Constantinople had developed themselves, and it was seen what was the effect of the recent

however, one ray of light appeared—Edhem was known to be of a pacific disposition, and there seemed to be a possibility that he would refrain from the almost aggressively defiant demeanour adopted by his predecessor. Indeed the Servian proposals for peace were now for the first time seriously entertained. In other respects observers were agreeably surprised by the new Vizier's policy; there seemed to be some real desire to



THE WINTER PALACE, ST. PETERSBURG.

change of Government at Constantinople, both with reference to peace negotiations with Servia and Montenegro and administrative reforms.

The change of Government to which Lord Derby referred pointed its own moral. The Turkish reformer, Midhat Pasha, was suddenly banished, and Edhem Pasha, the second Turkish Plenipotentiary at the Conference, a man of avowedly reactionary ideas, appointed in his stead. There were the usual rumours of plots, conspiracies, and snares: Midhat wished to overthrow Abdul Hamid and set up Murad again in his room, and so forth; but they were not believed. It seemed too plain that the promises of the Grand Turk had been throughout insincere. In the midst of the gloom,

amend abuses. Baker Pasha, formerly an officer in the British army, was commissioned to organise an efficient gendarmerie; an amnesty was issued for the insurgent Bulgarians, and the elections for the first Turkish Parliament began.

However, when Lord Derby, encouraged no doubt by these signs for the better, requested Mr. Jocelyn to ascertain the views of the new Grand Vizier on the reforms proposed by the Powers, he received an answer which he regarded as far from satisfactory. "Her Majesty's Government," he afterwards wrote to Mr. Jocelyn, "would have wished to hear, and to be enabled to repeat, that the Porte is now of its own accord proceeding to carry into execution the measures proposed by the

Powers in conference, at least in their substantial features. If an announcement to this effect could be made in reply to the circular of Prince Gortschakoff, it might go far to avert the possibility of hostilities on the part of Russia, which will otherwise become imminent as soon as the weather admits of military movements." At the same time Prince Gortschakoff sent constant intimations to Great Britain of his desire that peace should be concluded between Turkey and the Principalities, and that the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey should be improved; he demanded, however, "action, a beginning of something done, and not words only." If the other Powers determined on a policy of abstention, Russia would act by herself; if, on the other hand, they decided not to abandon the Christian populations, nothing need prevent the continuance of collective action. Count Schouvaloff also explained to Lord Derby the difficulties of the Russian position. The expense and inconvenience of keeping up their armaments on the present footing were very great and could not be continued indefinitely. On the other hand, unless public opinion could be satisfied by the announcement of some specific advantage that had been gained by the armament, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to proceed to demobilise the forces that had been placed on a war footing. Lord Derby's impression was that the object of the Russian Government was to secure an honourable retreat from its present position. There seemed every reason to believe that this was the real wish of the authorities at St. Petersburg, especially of the Czar, and confirmatory evidence was found in the fact that Servia had made peace with Turkey and that Montenegro showed some disposition to follow Prince Milan's example.

Early in March General Ignatieff set out on a mission to the capitals of Europe, his object being to sound the Governments on their disposition to act collectively in aid of the South Slavonians. At Berlin he communicated to the journals, through his secretary, his belief that Turkey would ultimately yield, but stated that if Russia were forced to draw the sword she would do so in the most energetic manner. He arrived in London on the 11th of March, and forthwith the air became full of rumours; from the expressions of Lord Derby and Sir Stafford Northcote, in reply to questions addressed to them in Parliament, it appeared there was considerable hope that some final settlement might be effected. The progress of the negotiations was somewhat slow. Count Schouvaloff placed in Lord Derby's hands a draft

protocol which the Russian Government proposed should be signed by the six Powers. There was some difficulty as to the language—Russia wishing to pledge the other Governments to "action" in case the Porte should again disappoint Europe, while Lord Derby was unwilling to insert a more precise word than "means." The protocol in its final form was nothing more than a declaration of the reforms which they considered necessary for the pacification of the East. These were that the Porte should concede a rectification of frontier, and the free navigation of the Boiana to Montenegro; that it should replace its armies on a peace footing, and should put in hand, with the least possible delay, the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the provinces. At the same time two important reservations were made: one, on the part of the British Government, that the protocol should be regarded as null and void if reciprocal disarmament on the part of Russia and Turkey, and peace between them, was not attained, and the second, in the form of a written declaration of the Russian Ambassador, provided that "if peace with Montenegro is concluded, and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing, and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the protocol, let it send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat of disarmament, to which his Majesty the Emperor would also, on his part, consent. If massacres similar to those which have stained Bulgaria with blood take place, this would necessarily put a stop to the measures of demobilisation."

There did not seem to be much hope in well-informed circles that Turkey would accept the proposal, and Prince Gortschakoff was determined to have no more shilly-shally. On the 6th of April he informed Lord Augustus Loftus that if the Porte should reply verbally, or in unsatisfactory or evasive language, the Imperial Government would consider the period of negotiations as closed and the time for military action as come. It was impossible for Russia to incur any longer the heavy pecuniary sacrifices she was now bearing. The mobilisation cost her 750,000 roubles daily, and it had continued for several months. Russia would not, therefore, consent to renew the thread of negotiations, which might be dragged on for months only to end in a profitless result. Prince Gortschakoff observed that the eleventh hour had come, that it was now a question of days, and that a decision one way or the other must be taken before the 13th of April.

It was taken on the 9th, when the Porte telegraphed to the Turkish representatives abroad its views on the protocol. As usual, the circular was extremely prolix; and it was not until nearly the end of the document that its author, Safvet Pasha, came to the point. "Turkey," he said, "as an independent State, cannot submit to be placed under any surveillance, whether collective or not. Although she maintains with other friendly Powers relations which are governed by international law and by treaty, she cannot agree to recognise the foreign agents or representatives, whose duties it is to protect the interests of their respective countries, as holding any mission of official surveillance." On the next day, the renewed armistice with Montenegro having expired, the Porte announced to that brave little Principality that hostilities would immediately recommence.

This was enough for Prince Gortschakoff. On the 23rd of April the staff of the Russian Embassy left Constantinople, whither Mr. Layard, the new British Ambassador, had, after some delay, betaken himself as successor to Sir Henry Elliot. The long-expected declaration was made on the 24th, when the Czar issued a manifesto to the army. "Profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause, and humbly committing ourselves to the grace and help of the Most High, we made known to our faithful subjects that the moment had arrived. We expressed the intention of acting independently when we deemed it necessary, and when Russia's honour should demand it. In now invoking the blessing of God upon our valiant armies, we give the order to cross the Turkish frontier." On the same day Prince Gortschakoff made a similar intimation to the Turkish Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and informed him that diplomatic relations had ceased between the two countries. A circular was also sent to the Russian Ambassadors at the capitals of the five Powers, in which the announcement of war was made, and its necessity explained. Prince Gortschakoff pointed out that the possibility of a rejection of the demands of Europe had not been contemplated in the protocol of London, though the Cabinets had foreseen the case of the Porte not fulfilling the promises it might have made. In these circumstances every avenue was closed for efforts of conciliation.

To this announcement Lord Derby replied on the 1st of May. He regretted extremely the resolution thus taken, and declined to accept the statements and conclusions with which Prince Gortschakoff had accompanied it. He declared

that the answer of the Porte had not removed all hope of deference on its part to the wishes and advice of Europe, and all security for the application of the suggested reforms. There were other and graver considerations: the course of the Russian Government was in contravention of the stipulation of the Treaty of 1856, and the Emperor had thereby separated himself from the European concert. "It is impossible," wrote the Foreign Secretary, "to foresee the consequences of such an act. Her Majesty's Government would willingly have refrained from making any observations in regard to it, but as Prince Gortschakoff seems to assume that Russia is acting in the interest of Great Britain, and that of the other Powers, they feel bound to state in a manner equally formal and public that the decision of the Russian Government is not one which can have their concurrence or approval."

At this point it may be expedient to give a brief review of the Parliamentary discussions of the Eastern Question, which to the exclusion of almost all other topics, had, before the Easter Recess, been constantly recurring in one form or another in the debates of both Houses. On February the 8th the Queen opened Parliament in person, and this circumstance alone would have sufficed to invest an imposing ceremony with more than usual interest. There were, however, other attractions of a still more unwonted kind; the Premier took his seat in the House of Lords, and thereby crowned his long and illustrious Parliamentary career; there were reports of dissension between what the papers called the "Beaconsfield and Salisbury faction" in the Cabinet, and of the coming secession of the Old Whigs from the Liberal party, the realisation of which was looked forward to with much expectation, and was to be speedily dashed. As had been foreshadowed in a leader in the *Times*, the Queen's Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, was chiefly concerned with the Eastern Question. It traced the course of affairs up to the termination of the Conference, the object of which was "to maintain the peace of Europe, and to bring about the better government of the disturbed provinces, without infringing upon the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The proposals recommended by myself and my allies have not, I regret to say, been accepted by the Porte; but the result of the Conference has been to show the existence of a general agreement among the European Powers which cannot fail to have a material effect upon the condition and government of Turkey. In the

meantime, the armistice between Turkey and the principalities had been prolonged, and is still unexpired, and may, I trust, yet lead to the conclusion of an honourable peace."

The expression of these illusory hopes was followed by the debate on the Address moved by Lord Grey de Wilton, the "dear Grey" of the famous Bath letter, in a very moderate and well-balanced speech. Lord Granville, who followed, twitted Government on their internal dissensions and, quoting extracts from the speeches of Mr. Cross and Sir Stafford Northcote, expressed a hope that the course which they recommended would be adopted by Government. This drew from Lord Derby a most important vindication of the Ministerial policy. He denied that, circumstances being the same, Government had pursued different policies; but said that circumstances being different, they had in some degree altered their course of action to meet those altered conditions. He pointed out, in answer to those who said that public opinion had driven the Ministry to change its front, that as early as the preceding April he had warned the Turkish Ambassador that times had changed since the Crimean War, and that the Porte would not act wisely in relying on more than the moral support of England in the case of war. He said that the Conference, even though it had failed, had gained time, had made clear what Russia was prepared to accept, and had put an end to the Servian War, which had become in fact, though not in form, a Russian War. After a magnificent defence by the Duke of Argyll of the autumn agitation, Lord Beaconsfield rose, and every one was on tiptoe to hear his expected attack on Lord Salisbury. It never came; in a brief series of remarks the Premier impugned the view advanced by the Duke of Argyll, that the only question at issue was that of the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and said that it was a question in which the existence of empires was involved. Lord Salisbury, who followed him, dwelt at hardly greater length on the folly of threatening measures of coercion which the country was not prepared to carry out. "It is very easy," he said, "to talk of threatening coercion against the Turkish Government; but have you picked the idea to pieces in your own mind of what you mean by coercion? I know it means that your fleet may sail up the Bosphorus and threaten Stamboul. But supposing Turkey refuses, you can do nothing more."

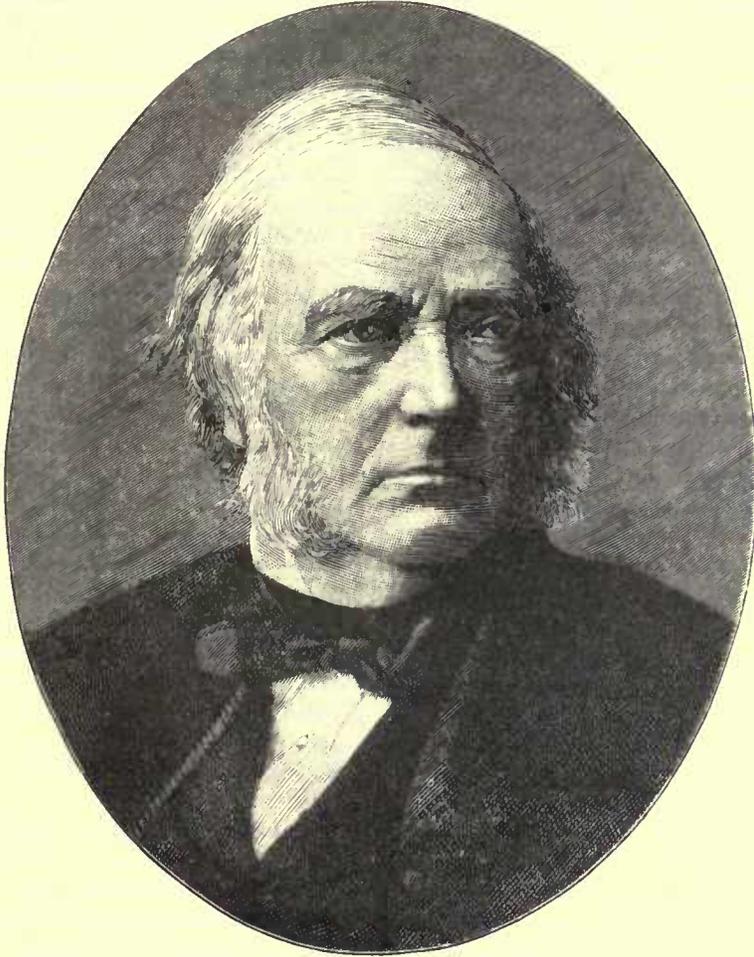
In the House of Commons there was a no less interesting debate. Lord Hartington, in a very

powerful speech, severely censured the Aylesbury and Guildhall orations of the Premier, and vindicated himself entirely from the charge of having been dissatisfied with the conduct of the more pronounced section of the Liberal party in the autumn, by praising Mr. Gladstone, and urging Government to strengthen in every possible way their concert with the European Powers, and not to declare that their responsibility and duty ceased with the Conference. Sir Stafford Northcote, in a long speech, followed much the same lines as Lord Derby had laid down in the Upper House. He denied absolutely that the Ministerial policy had shifted, and said that there are certain times and crises when it may be necessary to write a despatch of a different character from those which preceded it; Lord Derby's atrocity despatch could not have been written before authentic information had been supplied by the Ambassador. He recognised the duty of Britain to the Christian population of Turkey, but warned the House of the difficulties of intervention and the dangers of coercion, insisting that whatever could be done should be done by the common action of the Powers. In dealing with Turkey you were not dealing with a Power who refused reforms, so much as with a Power too weak to introduce reasonable principles of Government. Mr. Gladstone, who followed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, briefly defended the autumn agitation, and declared that if Government meant doing anything that was worth doing, it was perfectly idle to talk of the independence of Turkey in the revolted provinces. Turkey had put herself entirely outside the Treaty of 1856 by her entire disregard of the solemn stipulations she had entered into. He praised Lord Salisbury's conduct, especially his declaration that if the Porte refused to abide by the Conference the position of the Turks would be entirely changed in the face of Europe, and concluded by a playful suggestion that Government should test the opinion of the country by an appeal to the constituencies. Mr. Hardy, however, replied that Parliament might be held, as well as Government, to represent the country in the negotiations that had just taken place.

After a few days' lull the attack on the Government lines of defence was recommenced in both Houses. In the Commons the assault was led by Mr. Gladstone, who, in a somewhat disappointing speech, based on a despatch of Lord Derby's sent to the Turks in the autumn, entered, under the pretence of drawing from Government a declaration as to their treaty obligations, into an

elaborate apology for the conduct of his Government in 1871, when Russia had repudiated the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of 1856, in renewing that Treaty without inquiring minutely into the state of the Christian populations in Turkey. "Who but an idiot would have proposed to re-try

confirmed by the Treaty of 1871. We have proclaimed, and I proclaim again, in the strongest language, that we should be wrong if we were to endeavour to employ material coercion against Turkey. It is a serious thing to draw the sword; and I say most distinctly that I should feel as if



THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry, Baker Street, W.)

the whole of that great subject, and re-settle the affairs of the East of Europe, at a time when Germany and France were totally incapable of taking part in it, with Russia in opposition to it, when Turkey did not ask for it, and Italy did not wish to meddle?" This somewhat lame and impotent conclusion drew from Mr. Gathorne Hardy a most straightforward, and, to most minds, satisfactory declaration on the Ministerial side. "I hold," he said, "that to the end of the Conference we were bound by the Treaty under which we have been acting since 1856, and which has been

at this period, and after what we had said and done, we were to undertake to draw the sword against Turkey for the purpose of material coercion, we should be doing an act for which there would be no justification, an act which ought to bring shame to our faces, because we should have falsified our promises and been faithless to our engagements." From this point the debate was remarkable chiefly on account of its "incidents," as the French call them. Mr. P. J. Smyth made one of his most ornately eloquent displays of rhetoric on behalf of the subject races of the

Porte—not, it must be confessed, with any particular relevance—in the course of which he advocated earnestly the claims of the Greeks, who, he said, had “shown that the spirit of nationality, like the spirit of nature, is imperishable and survives—

‘What Goth, and Turk, and Time have spared not.’”

Then came a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous. Mr. Chaplin, Member for Mid-Lincolnshire, who followed Mr. Smyth, thought the occasion a favourable one for indulging in a bitter personal attack on Mr. Gladstone, who, said he, must do one of two things. Either he must make good or else withdraw the assertions contained in the speeches and writings with which he had flooded the country. “For I hold,” said Mr. Chaplin solemnly, “that when a Member of Parliament, in a position so eminent as the Member for Greenwich, traverses the country from north to south, and from east to west, levelling charges and accusations broadcast against his opponents, especially at times when he knows they cannot be there to repel them, there is no other course which is open for a man of honour to follow.” Expressions of indignation burst from the Opposition benches at this statement; and Mr. Gladstone rose, and asked the Speaker whether it was competent for Mr. Chaplin to instruct him in the course which it was open to him as a man of honour to follow, and the Speaker ruled that the expression could not be allowed. After challenging Mr. Gladstone to invite the expression of the opinion of the Imperial Parliament then and there on the momentous question of peace and war, Mr. Chaplin concluded, in response to cries from the Liberal benches, by moving the adjournment of the debate, whereby the ex-Premier was given an opportunity of answering his invective.

Mr. Gladstone instantly rose to second the motion. In his most animated style he asked why Mr. Chaplin had not come to some of the public meetings to which he alluded. “He says that I have been east and west, that I have been north and south. If that be true, there has been plenty of opportunity for him and his friends to attend those meetings.” Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to defend the St. James’s Hall Conference, and while he was addressing himself to this point, Lord George Hamilton unwisely interrupted him twice. “As to the St. James’s Hall Conference,” said the orator, turning upon him, “it was a national Conference, because it aimed at expressing, and believed it was expressing, the sentiments of the nation, just as in former times—I think about the

time when the noble lord was born—there was what was called a National Anti-Corn-Law League, which was derided on the same ground as the noble lord, in his mature experience, derides the St. James’s Hall Conference.” Mr. Chaplin, continued Mr. Gladstone, had accused him of writing a pamphlet and delivering a speech by which the whole country had been disturbed from end to end, and peace had been prevented from settling down on Europe; why had not Mr. Chaplin written another pamphlet and delivered another speech, and put the whole thing right? Mr. Gladstone declined to make known his opinions at that particular moment. “I am not about now,” he said, with crushing irony, “to reveal to the hon. gentleman the insignificant secrets of a mind so inferior to his own. I am not so young as to think that his obliging inquiries supply the opportunity most advantageous to the public interest for laying out the plan of a campaign. By the time the hon. member is as old as I am, if he comes in his turn to be accused of cowardice by a man of the generation next to himself, he probably may find it convenient to refer to the reply that I am now making, and to make it a model, or, at all events, to take from it hints and suggestions with which to dispose of the antagonist that may then arise against him.” Mr. Gladstone concluded by giving an impressive estimate of the importance of the Eastern Question. “To a great extent it continues to be the cardinal question, the question which is now brought before the mind of the country far more fully than at any period of our history, far more fully than at the time of the Crimean War. . . . It is incumbent upon us, one and all, that we do not allow any consideration, either of party or of personal convenience, to prevent us from endeavouring, to the best of our ability, to discharge this great duty; that now, when something like European concert has been established, when we learn the deep human interests that are involved in every stage of the question that, so far as England, at least, is concerned, every Englishman shall strive to the utmost of his might that justice shall be done.” After this fine display of unstudied oratory, the discussion languished; Sir Stafford Northcote repeated the challenge that the foreign policy of Government should be formally brought before the notice of Parliament, and Sir William Harcourt administered a second rebuke to Mr. Chaplin for the “torpedo which he had exploded among them.” Finally the debate was adjourned, and ultimately dropped.

A few days afterwards the Eastern Question was discussed in a considerably less acrimonious spirit in the calmer atmosphere of the House of Lords. There the Duke of Argyll, who from his intimate acquaintance with the intricacies of the Oriental problem, seemed to have been made, by common consent, the mouthpiece of the Opposition, selected for his attack the vulnerable point of the failure of the Conference, to which he led up by an argument which tended to show that the vacillation and weakness of Government had made its failure inevitable, and asked what Government were going to do in the face of that failure. Most of his speech was necessarily retrospective, for he said that he wished Government to keep their own councils and not to sacrifice the future by declaring what they would do, and what they would not do. All that he asked was this: "Whether they had under consideration any scheme for the fulfilment of the promises which they had made to the population of Turkey, or did they intend to abandon them altogether?" The Duke of Argyll in conclusion alluded to the prevalent, but unfounded, rumour that Lord Beaconsfield was about to retire. "The noble Earl will retire, when he desires to do so, with the affection of many around him, of young men whom he has encouraged on their entry into public life, of older men whom he has led against all hope to victory and success. But, my Lords, the noble Earl will not retire, if ever he does retire, with any better wish from any one of these than the wish I shall give him, and it is this: that when he looks back to this Government, of which he is the distinguished head, he may be able to say that he has wielded the great influence and power of England for the purpose and with the effort of procuring some measure of tolerable liberty for the Christian subjects of Turkey, and that in procuring that measure of tolerable liberty he has secured it on such conditions as will guarantee them for the future, not only against the odious barbarisms of the Turks, but also against the crushing autocracy of the Russians." Lord Derby, who followed the Duke, was, as usual, extremely reticent; he maintained that peace was still within the bounds of possibility, and that the Constitution might, after all, ameliorate the condition of the Christian provinces; in any case, it was impossible for Turkey to carry out reforms in the face of threatened war. "Time and peace may fairly be asked for by the Porte to work out its plans, but without peace there can be no hope of success." Later in the debate, Lord Salisbury delivered his opinions

with far less reserve. He owned that Russia was, in a sense, a moving power in the Conference, that is, the Government had partly gone into the Conference to stop a great and threatening danger—a war between Russia and Turkey. The infatuation which had in all probability prompted the Turk to reject the Conference, was the belief, which had been so sedulously fostered by irresponsible advisers, that the Russian power was rotten, that the armies of Russia were suffering from disease, that the mobilisation of the country had failed, and that consequently the fear of war was idle. They counted upon every possible contingency. Their traditional policy had been to maintain themselves by the division of the Powers, and they imagined that the Powers would still be divided and that a general war would save them. He declared that Government had been all candour, but that it was impossible to obtain from the Opposition any statement of their opinion and desires. Once more he reiterated his opinion that coercion was impossible. "What should we have done if Stamboul had been burnt? We should have destroyed the only Government which kept thirty millions of people in some kind of order."

Lord Granville soon afterwards extracted from Lord Beaconsfield the only great speech that he made during the Session on the Eastern Question, by alluding to the sneer against Russia contained in the Guildhall oration. The statements made in that speech, said the Prime Minister in reply, were no sneer, they contained no sarcasm, but were the simple expression of his own feelings and of those of his colleagues. The greater part of the Prime Minister's speech was historical. He entered into a long discussion of the meaning of the expression, "the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire," which he said was a principle which had always been accepted by statesmen, and among them by Mr. Gladstone. Lord Beaconsfield then went over the familiar ground of the negotiations which the Andrassy Note produced, and the Berlin Memorandum, until he arrived at the Bulgarian atrocities, on which subject he made the following explanation of Government's lack of information. "The truth," he said, "is this: We have heard in the course of these debates something about consular agents and the information that could be obtained by their means; but the truth is, that these hostilities were perpetrated in parts of Turkey which are unwisely denuded of consular supervision, there being no commercial demands for such agencies, and the Government of a past day having

considerably reduced the consular agencies in the Turkish Empire." This argument the Premier, when pressed by Lord Granville, qualified considerably; he was under the impression that several consulates in European Turkey had been abolished, but he was not aware what Government reduced them. The proposal of Government at the Conference he defined to be one of administrative autonomy for the Christian provinces, by which they would have some control over their local affairs, and some security against the excesses of arbitrary power. In a brief peroration Lord Beaconsfield claimed to have shown, with respect to the general conduct of Government, that they had pursued and upheld the traditional policy of England; and with regard to the secondary, though important, object—the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte—their course had been circumspect and consistent, as was proved by its having obtained the approbation of the Powers. This was Lord Beaconsfield's first and last great speech during this eventful Session on the Eastern Question or, indeed, on any other topic. From time to time the rumour that he was meditating retirement at an early date was circulated with industry; and men were not found wanting who asserted that Lord Beaconsfield had been "snuffed out" in the House of Lords. Lord Beaconsfield naturally did not condescend to gratify a somewhat unseemly curiosity, but placidly resigned the place of honour to Lord Derby.

The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, even after the failure of the protocol, did not seem to have quite given up the idea that war might be averted, though he could not have found much to comfort him in the attitude of Russia. Though Prince Gortschakoff declined to send any direct reply to Lord Derby's remonstrances, he contrived, in the columns of the *Agence Russe*, to promulgate to the world his rejoinder to the rebukes of the British Cabinet. Its upshot was that the attitude of the Eastern Question had entirely changed, that the Turks had been the first to break the Treaty of 1856, and that interventions had proved of no avail. It therefore remained for Russia to execute alone the duty which the other Cabinets, agreeing with her in principle, hesitated to assume in practice. "The English Cabinet cannot extricate itself from this dilemma, except by proclaiming that she is the first Mussulman Power in the world, and that, consequently, she wishes the maintenance of Turkish dominion over the Christians, even at the cost of their extermination."

While Lord Derby was being advertised of the

fact that Russia was indisposed to indulge any longer in the circuitous amenities of diplomatic correspondence, Mr. Layard reported the result of his first interview with Edhem Pasha, and it seemed to afford some slight ground for hope. The Grand Vizier declared that if Russia sincerely desired peace she could have it at once. Turkey, he said, was eager for it, and ready to disarm, if she could only obtain some security against Russian aggression. He even consented, after some pressure, to make one last effort in the interests of peace, and agreed to appeal to the mediation of the Powers under the 8th Article of the Treaty of Paris, which rendered it obligatory upon each and all of the signatory Powers, before having recourse to force, to enable the other contracting Powers to mediate in order to prevent that extremity. Lord Lyons speedily telegraphed to Lord Derby from Paris the result of an interview with the Duke Decazes. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs had remarked somewhat curtly that the question had two branches: first, the difference between the Porte and all the Powers produced by the protocol; and, in the second place, there was the special quarrel between Turkey and Russia. In order to put the other Powers into a position to mediate, the Porte must set herself right with them. In fact, the first step for the Porte to take was to signify its acceptance of the protocol. The Duke said, in conclusion, that he had little hope of the Turkish appeal arresting the war. Lord Derby himself, though he professed to look with approval on the new plan for avoiding an appeal to the sword which the zeal of Mr. Layard had projected, made no attempt to give it force. He said that the British Government entertained no hope that any such interference on their part would be effective. The present movement appeared inopportune, as it could not be supposed that a Government which had actually declared and commenced war would suspend its military operations before any result had been accomplished in order to enter into a fresh negotiation for peace. Soon afterwards a *London Gazette* appeared containing the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, and warning her subjects not to engage on either side in the war between Russia and Turkey; and on the 6th of May Lord Lyons enclosed an extract from the *Journal Officiel* of France in which a similar announcement was made.

On the same day Lord Derby wrote a most important letter to Count Schouvaloff, in which, profiting, perhaps, by Lord Granville's experiences at the time of the Khivan war, he laid down the



THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR: MAP OF THE SEAT OF WAR IN EUROPE.

policy of the British Government in language which no amount of Russian ingenuity could succeed in misconstruing or in explaining away. The British Government, he said, had warned the Porte that it must not look to them for assistance, and they were determined to carry out the policy thus announced, so long as merely Turkish interests were involved. But if the war should spread, interests might be imperilled which they were equally bound and determined to defend, and it was desirable that they should make it plain what the most prominent of these interests were. Foremost among them, said Lord Derby, was the necessity of keeping open, uninjured and uninterrupted, the communication between Europe and the East by the Suez Canal, any attempt to blockade which would be regarded as a menace to India and an injury to the commerce of the world. An attack on Egypt, or even the temporary occupation of that country, would not be regarded with unconcern by England; nor would her Majesty's Government be prepared to witness with indifference the passing into other hands than those of its existing possessors of a capital holding so peculiar and commanding a position as Constantinople. The fourth point was the existing arrangements regulating the navigation of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; these were described as wise and salutary, and there would be serious objections to their alterations in any material particular. "The course of events," continued Lord Derby, "might show that there were still other interests—as, for instance, on the Persian Gulf—which it would be the duty of the English Government to protect; but they do not doubt that they will have sufficiently pointed out to your Excellency the limits within which they hope that the war may be confined, or, at all events, those within which they themselves would be prepared, so far as present circumstances allow of an opinion being formed, to maintain a policy of abstention and neutrality."

It was not until the 30th of May, after he had seen Count Schouvaloff, who had gone to St. Petersburg on leave of absence, that Prince Gortschakoff replied to this communication. In his politest tones he communicated to Lord Derby the Emperor's appreciation of the frankness of his explanations, the object of which was to remove misunderstandings between the two countries. He promised that Russia would not in any way interfere with the Suez Canal; that though Egypt was a part of the Ottoman Empire it should not be brought within the radius of her military operations. As far as concerned Constantinople,

without being able to prejudge the course or the history of the war, his Imperial Cabinet repeated that the acquisition of that capital was excluded from the views of the Emperor; in any case, if the possession of that city were to be put in question, it could not be allowed to belong to any of the European Powers. So also with the question of the Straits, which should be settled by a common agreement upon equitable and efficiently guaranteed bases. "Lord Derby," said Prince Gortschakoff, "has alluded to other interests which might be affected by the gradual extension of the war, such as the Persian Gulf and the route to India. The Imperial Government declares that it will not extend the war beyond what is required for the loudly and clearly declared object for which His Majesty the Emperor was obliged to take up arms. It will respect the British interests mentioned by Lord Derby as long as England remains neutral. It has a right to expect that the English Government will, on their side, in like manner take into account the particular interests Russia has at stake in the war." A chronic state of disturbance had been produced by the deplorable condition of the Christians under Turkish rule, which had reacted on the external and internal situation of Russia, and affected her international relations, her commerce, her finances, and her credit. To put an end to these evils the Emperor had decided on war, and he would not lay down his arms until he had completely, surely, and effectually obtained a guarantee for the security of the Christian subjects of Turkey.

While this candid interchange of views was being effected, the national mind was discovered to be much exercised on the subject of Lord Derby's despatch of the 1st of May, in reply to Prince Gortschakoff's declaration of war, both of which documents, after a convenient interval, had been made public. The decidedly pro-Turkish tone of the former aroused considerable apprehensions in the great manufacturing towns; meetings were held all over the country protesting against any interference on behalf of the Porte, and there seemed to be something like a renewal of the autumn agitation, more especially as Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Gladstone were evidently ready to lend their powerful support to the movement. The great author of "Sartor Resartus" emerged once more from his retirement, and in a letter which appeared in the *Times* on the 5th of May gave powerful expression to the prevalent rumours and fears. He alluded to the report that the Prime Minister intended, under cover of "care for

British interests," to send the fleet at first to the Baltic, but now to the Eastern side of the scene, where a feat was contemplated that would force not only Russia, but all Europe, to declare war against England. These things, Mr. Carlyle said, he wrote not from hearsay, but from accurate knowledge, though he did not divulge the source of his information. "As to 'British interests,'" he continued, "there is none visible or conceivable to me, except taking strict charge of our route to India by Suez and Egypt, and for the rest, resolutely steering clear of any copartnery with the Turk in regard to this or any British interest whatever. It would be felt by England as a real ignominy to be connected with such a Turk at all."

While this powerful denunciation was being subjected to the comments—not always of a most favourable nature—of the newspapers which Mr. Carlyle treated so contemptuously, the announcement that Mr. Gladstone was about to move five resolutions in the House of Commons, directed chiefly towards the amelioration of the lot of the Christians in Turkey, prepared the political world for a great Parliamentary battle, the result of which was anticipated on all sides with the utmost interest. Mr. Gladstone gave notice that he would move these resolutions purely on his own responsibility, and not as the mouthpiece of the Liberal party or any section of that party. The leaders of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, however, were not in favour of any very decided expression of opinion, feeling no doubt that it might tend to hamper Government. Lord Hartington and Sir John Lubbock were most pronounced in their objection to the terms of the resolutions, inasmuch as the last appeared to pledge the country to a joint interference in Turkish affairs, and the latter gave notice that he would attempt to shelve them when they came on for discussion by moving "the previous question." However, at the request of Mr. Forster, Mr. Gladstone consented, after a long discussion, to accept an alteration of the second resolution, and to refrain from asking the House to vote on the third and fourth. "About the best day's work I ever did," wrote Mr. Forster in his diary. Thereupon Sir John Lubbock announced that he would withdraw his opposition, while the more thorough-going members of the party, such as Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Chamberlain, the recently-elected Member for Birmingham, expressed much disgust at the abandonment of the fourth resolution, which was to the effect that the House of Commons desired that the influence of the British

Crown might be addressed to promoting the concert of the European Powers, so as to exact from the Ottoman Porte by their united authority such changes in the government of Turkey as they might deem to be necessary for the purposes of humanity and justice, for effectual defence against intrigue, and for the peace of the world. Finally, Mr. Gladstone moved his first and second resolutions, which were—"That the House finds just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint in the conduct of the Ottoman Porte with regard to the despatch written by the Earl of Derby on September 21, 1876, and relating to the massacres in Bulgaria;" and secondly, "That this House is of opinion that the Porte, by its conduct towards its subject populations, and by its refusal to give guarantees for their better government, has forfeited all claim to receive either the material or the moral support of the British Crown."

The speech in which the unwearied orator supported these proposals was the first contribution towards a great debate which lasted for five nights, and resulted in one of the most important divisions that had taken place since the entry of the Conservative Administration into power. He began by alluding to the meetings that had been convened in all parts of the country in the last few days, and said that the declarations that had been made at those meetings were in favour not only of the first two of his five resolutions, but of the whole. He pointed out the inconsistencies of the Government policy, of the playing-off of Lord Salisbury against Sir Henry Elliot, of the assurance of the Porte that the views of the Conference would be words and words only, of the "delicate attention," as the Turks called it, of Mr. Layard's appointment as Ambassador to the Porte, and, finally, of the despatch in which it was stated that the English Government felt that Turkey was only to depend on their moral support. There was even more ambiguity in the declarations of individual members of the Government. There were, for instance, Lord Carnarvon's speeches on the atrocities, directly contradicted by that of Lord Derby, who spoke of the sentiment of the English nation, as expressed in the autumn agitation, as a "got-up" sentiment, and mischievous in its effect. Then he noticed the speeches of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Salisbury, the former of whom had declared that Turkey could not have moral pressure applied to her with a Russian army on her frontier, while Lord Salisbury had asserted that the Russian armament constituted the hope of the Conference.

He said that the policy of the Government had been one of remonstrance after remonstrance, and of protestation after protestation; that the last despatch to Prince Gortschakoff had been full of moral support to Turkey, while the Ministerial press, "which during the last eighteen months had been more directly in communication with the Government than he ever remembered," had a distinct and unconcealed purpose, namely, to prepare the public mind for war. Turning to the matter of the first resolution, Mr. Gladstone declared that all the worst evils were going on in the Turkish provinces just as before, and said that the blame must be fixed, not on inferior instruments, but on the Government of Turkey, which had caused and encouraged the massacres. He insisted on the responsibility England had incurred by tearing up the Treaty of Kainardji, and by the results of the Crimean War—a responsibility with regard to the Christian population which we were bound to make good. These depressed populations appealed to England for help. "The removal of their load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize worth competing for. It is not yet too late to try to win it. . . . It is not too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize; but be assured that whether you mean to claim for yourselves even a single leaf in that immortal chaplet of renown which will be the reward of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that cause and your own duty, I believe, for one, that the knell of Turkish tyranny in those provinces has sounded. So far as the human eye can judge, it is about to be destroyed. The destruction may not come in the way or by the means that we should choose; but come this boon from whatever hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon gladly to be accepted by Christendom and the world."

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff then rose to move a counter-resolution, to the effect that the "House declined to entertain any resolutions which might embarrass her Majesty's Government in the maintenance of peace and in the protection of British interests, without indicating any alternative line of policy." The Member for Christchurch, who was understood to have the support of the Government, made a weighty and well-informed speech, which fell rather flat after Mr. Gladstone's fine display of rhetoric. There was considerably more eloquence in Mr. Chamberlain's exposition of the views of the extreme Liberals. He had regretted, he said, that Mr. Gladstone intended only to propose the first two resolutions, but three-

fourths of his speech had been directed to a justification of the principles laid down in the concluding resolutions. Mr. Chamberlain supported the Premier with much fervour, and roundly demanded that the Ministry should state the events which would call for their active intervention in the Eastern struggle.

The defence of Government was entrusted to the Home Secretary, Mr. Cross, and he performed it well. He contended that Mr. Gladstone had utterly misrepresented the feeling of the Cabinet with regard to the Turkish rule. "As to the autumn meetings, I can only say that I, for one, should have been ashamed of my countrymen if public expression had not been given from end to end of the land of their utter detestation of the horrors which had been committed in Turkey. Do you suppose that because we happen to be Ministers we are not Englishmen? Do you think that because we, happening to be Ministers of the Crown, pursue a line of policy which you do not like, we have not the feelings of Englishmen? If you think that, or if you let the country think that, you are grievously mistaken." He declared with emphasis, that the attempt to separate Lord Salisbury from the other members of the Cabinet ought never to have been made; that the announcement to the Turks that no coercion would be employed by Great Britain, was justifiable on the grounds of honesty. "Even to-night," he said, "you dare not put the question to the country, and to this House, 'Are you prepared to go to war against Turkey, as an ally of Russia?'" Mr. Cross declined to follow the ex-Premier into a discussion on the Bulgarian atrocities, and went on to discuss British Treaty obligations, which, said he, by no means bound us to act in concert with Europe in the direction of coercion. He warmly supported Lord Derby's despatch on the declaration of war and said that the position of the British Government was one of strict neutrality; but England could not regard with indifference that Constantinople should be either attacked, approached, or occupied. If the Emperor kept his word, British interests would not be concerned. But a victorious army was a difficult thing to deal with, and a country once aroused was not easily quieted. If those interests were affected, of course it could not be expected that we would not interfere to protect them. As to the resolutions, they either meant war, or else barking and not biting—conduct which Mr. Cross declared, amid great cheering, was "utterly unworthy of us."

The interest of the second night's debate fell far

short of that of the first. Mr. Childers twitted the occupiers of the Ministerial benches for cheering vociferously when Mr. Cross spoke of "no coercion," but remaining perfectly voiceless, and even fanning their faces, when he spoke of his absolute detestation of the Bulgarian horrors and the absolute neutrality of England. Mr. Roebuck

useless concealment. Lord John Manners, who closed the night's discussion, defended the sending of the British fleet into Turkish waters, and repeated with much emphasis Mr. Cross's declaration on the necessity of maintaining "the essential interests, rights, honour, and integrity of this great Empire."



VIEW IN CONSTANTINOPLE: A MOSQUE ON THE BOSPHORUS.

(From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

made a characteristic defence of the Turks, whose conduct towards the Bulgarians he compared, somewhat favourably, with that of "our godly ancestors" towards the Red Man in America. Mr. Lowe went into the history of the Andrassy Note and the Guildhall Speech, and said that the failure of Government had not been a fortuitous failure; but it had been the result of a series of blunders and mistakes, of faults of temper and of judgment, of

As the debate went on, opinions more and more extreme began to display themselves. Mr. Leonard Courtney, the newly-elected Member for Liskeard in the place of Mr. Horsman, made an able speech, in which he advocated point-blank the gradual dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. Mr. Chaplin followed on the opposite side, and expressed a wish that the Porte should be freed from unscrupulous interference, and an opinion

that our duty was to watch and wait in readiness and armed preparation with this fixed steady purpose in our minds—that Russia should never set foot in Constantinople while we had a man or a gun to prevent it. Sir Robert Peel declared that Government had placed itself on a higher pedestal in the eyes of the world than it had occupied for many years. The most moderate speech was that of Mr. Forster, who lamented the failure of the European concert, and urged Government to use the first opportunity for mediation in order to make it effectual again. Colonel Loyd Lindsay found support in the excited House for his argument that the Turkish authorities could not be expected to punish Chefket Pasha, the miscreant who was chiefly responsible for the atrocities, because he “had saved the Ottoman Empire from a great calamity and almost certain destruction.”

The third night had practically exhausted the subject: but for two more nights there was no lack of orators. The best speech in defence of the resolutions was by Mr. Walter, who declared boldly that the Turkish position in Eastern Europe was the most miserable and disgraceful feature of the century; and said that he would not blame Government for not using coercion, though he would not have praised them had they used it. Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington spoke with far greater reserve; like Mr. Forster they clung to the concert of Europe, and while distinctly wishing that England should separate herself from the Turkish cause, declared themselves adverse to the dismemberment of the Empire. At length, on May 14th, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered a defence of Government which was second in importance only to that of Mr. Cross. He repeated the latter's arguments concerning the wickedness of coercion, and the necessity of patience in dealing with the Porte. For the future, he said, Government would observe a strict neutrality, but he declared at the same time that it was highly important that the road to India should be neither blocked nor stopped. “We desire to watch over the interests of England; and in the maintenance of these objects we desire to be vigilant, and at the same time not to be over-hasty. Care must be taken to keep everything in our eyes—to watch and see everything, so as not to rush suddenly or prematurely against danger which, after all, may prove to be only imaginary; to act so as not to provoke a contest by unwise or hasty conduct on our part.”

Mr. Gladstone summed up the great debate in a short and extremely telling speech. He proved

that England had frequently interfered between independent countries and their tributaries; there were the instances of the creation of the kingdoms of Belgium and of Greece. He maintained also that the threat of occupying the Turkish capital would have been immediately successful, and would undoubtedly have prevented war. In conclusion, he expressed his conviction that the debate had done something to establish healthier influences in the Cabinet. “I must offer the Home Secretary a compliment which I know that he will not, and that he cannot, accept—we look upon ourselves as his allies. But we are engaged in a continuous effort; we roll the stone of Sisyphus against the slope, and the moment the hand shall be withdrawn, down it will begin to run. However, the time is short, and the sands of the hour-glass are running out. The longer you delay, the less in all likelihood will you be able to save from the wreck of the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire. If Russia should fail, her failure would be a disaster to mankind; and the condition of the suffering races for whom we are supposed to have laboured will be worse than before. If she succeeds, and if her conduct be honourable, nay, even if it be tolerably prudent, the performance of the work she has in hand will, notwithstanding your jealousies, and all your reproaches, secure her an undying fame. When that work shall be accomplished, as an Englishman I shall hide my head, but as a man I shall rejoice. Nevertheless, to my latest day I will exclaim: Would God that, in this crisis, the voice of the nation had been suffered to prevail; would God that in this great, this holy deed, England had not been refused her share!”

The result of the division, which was taken on the first resolution only, was 223 for and 354 against it, so that the Ministry, which had pledged itself to neutrality, with important reservations, had won a great victory. On the other hand, it was evident that the debate had forced them to dissociate themselves for the present from the Turks, so that the extreme Conservative party had really been defeated quite as much as ardent Russophiles, like Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Courtney. For the rest of the session Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's advice, “that it was inexpedient to embarrass her Majesty's Government,” was followed in Parliament, and the Eastern Question, instead of being made the subject of long and heated debates, was relegated to “Question time,” when short Ministerial explanations proved sufficient to dispose of the rumours that arose from time to

time as to the safety of Constantinople, or as to the dangers menacing the Suez Canal.

It is not our intention to enter minutely into the military history of the Russo-Turkish War.* All that will be attempted in this place is to give an outline sketch of that great struggle, in order to illustrate its bearings upon Parliamentary history, and upon the tangled web of international diplomacy, as exemplified in the Parliamentary papers.

The Russians declared war and began consequent operations in Europe and in Asia on April 24th, and the first important movements took place in the latter continent, where Russian troops, consisting of about 95,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 300 guns, known as "the army of the Caucasus," under the Grand Duke Michael, opposed some 80,000 regulars, and a host of irregular Turkish troops under Mukhtar Pasha. The latter were centred round three points, Erzeroum, the headquarters of the army, Kars, and Ardahan. The Russians advanced from the Caucasus in three columns, on Batoum, Kars, Bayazid. They suffered a slight reverse before Batoum, but took Ardahan, on the road to Kars, without much difficulty (May 17th), and invested that important town, nor could the utmost efforts of Mukhtar Pasha dislodge them. Bayazid was taken on the 1st of May after little or no resistance, but an effective counter-blow was struck on the 14th, when the Turks, aided by a squadron of ships, under Hassan Pasha, captured Sukhum Kalé, and thereby threatened the enemy's rear.

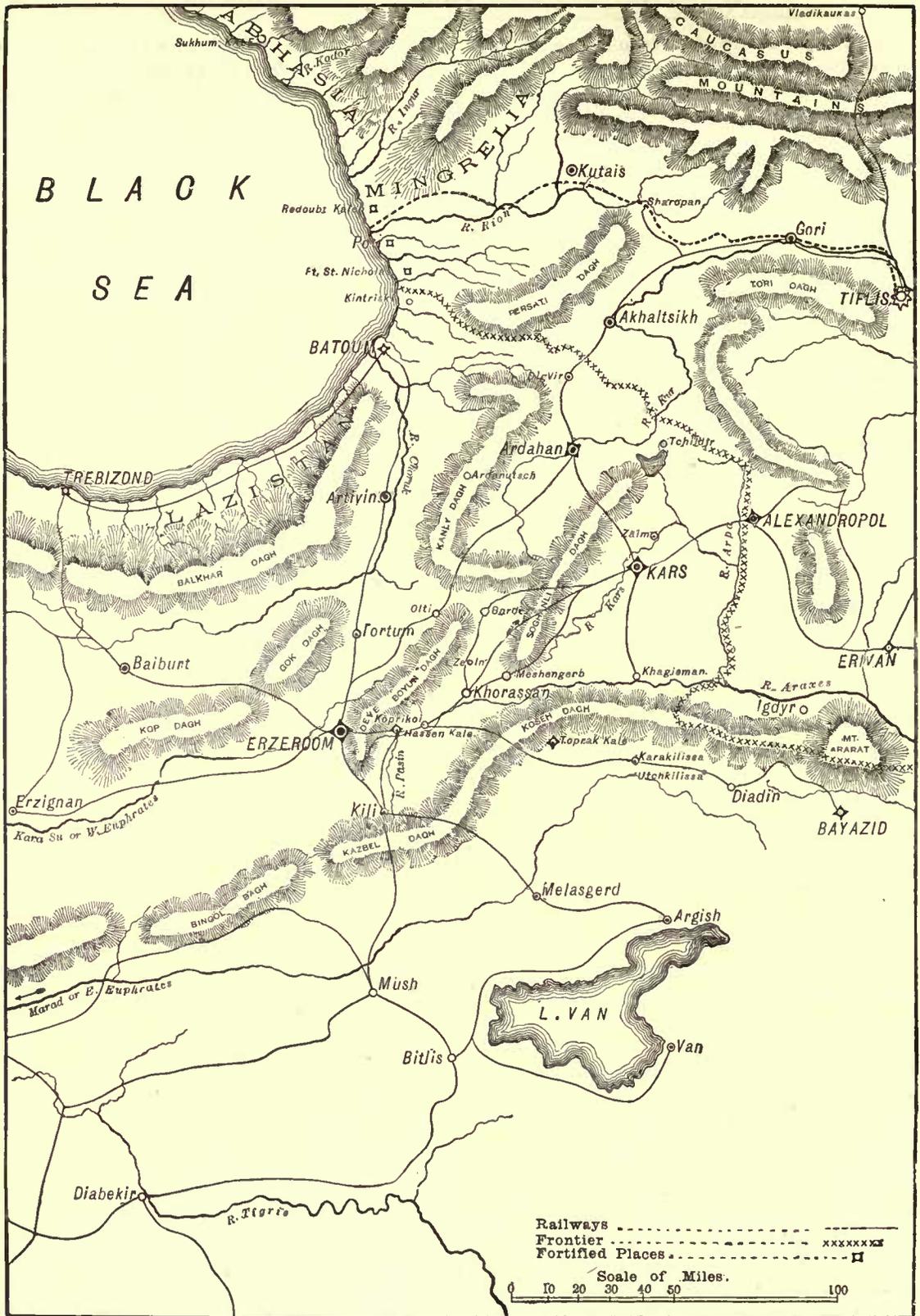
The Russian generals, owing to the capture of Bayazid and the investment of Batoum, were now able to concentrate their efforts on Kars, the task of capturing which important city was entrusted to General Loris Melikoff. The Turks fought with great resolution, but could barely hold their own, and Melikoff thought himself strong enough to send a considerable body of troops to threaten Erzeroum. Suddenly Mukhtar Pasha assumed the offensive, and, after several serious engagements, ultimately succeeded, towards the end of June, in inflicting so severe a defeat upon the enemy that he was compelled to retire for the time from Kars. A number of battles ensued during the next fortnight in which the scales of victory inclined about equally to either side, the siege of Kars being still continued by the Russians, though with but little spirit. Again Mukhtar Pasha advanced to the

relief of the city, and effected a junction with the garrison on the 9th of July; soon after which the siege was raised. Meanwhile General Tergukasoff, who commanded the left column, had driven a force of Turkish irregulars from before Bayazid, but had himself been defeated by Ismail Pasha, and driven in hot haste towards the frontier. So far the Russian plan of operations in Armenia had been a total failure; they had wasted the whole of the summer months, and it seemed not impossible that the campaign would have to be temporarily abandoned.

Both parties were now so exhausted that they were compelled to pause for awhile. Mukhtar Pasha was the first to recover breath; and he advanced against General Melikoff, who had entrenched himself in two camps to the east of Kars, on a line of hills known as the Arpa Chadi. The two armies were in position on the 18th of July; but until the end of that month there was no very important engagement, the advantages of the skirmishes resting chiefly with the Turks. On the 30th the Russians occupied the important position of Kizil Tépé, or the Red Hill, and, after a series of complicated manœuvres, made a grand attempt, on the 17th of August, to turn the main Turkish position, which signally failed. On the 19th, the Turks, by a well-combined night attack, took the Red Hill nor could the utmost efforts of the Russian infantry compel them to relinquish their prey. Mukhtar Pasha proceeded to entrench himself in a very strong position on the plain, one wing resting on Kizil Tépé, the other on an opposing height, known as the Great Yahni. Thus by the beginning of September Mukhtar Pasha had more than recovered his lost laurels; and his men were established in a well-chosen encampment, whence it seemed that they had but to issue and strike one effective blow in order to free the province of Armenia from the enemy. The next few weeks, however, were to prove that these expectations were totally illusory.

Meanwhile, attention had been distracted from these highly interesting manœuvres by the more colossal proportions of events in Europe. The crossing of the Pruth began on the evening of the 23rd of April, a few hours before the actual declaration of hostilities, a straining of the law of nations against which the Porte did not fail to issue an energetic protest. Leaving behind them the great boundary river, the Russian forces advanced into the principality of Roumania, a semi-independent province, which was formed in 1866 by the union of the two principalities of Wallachia

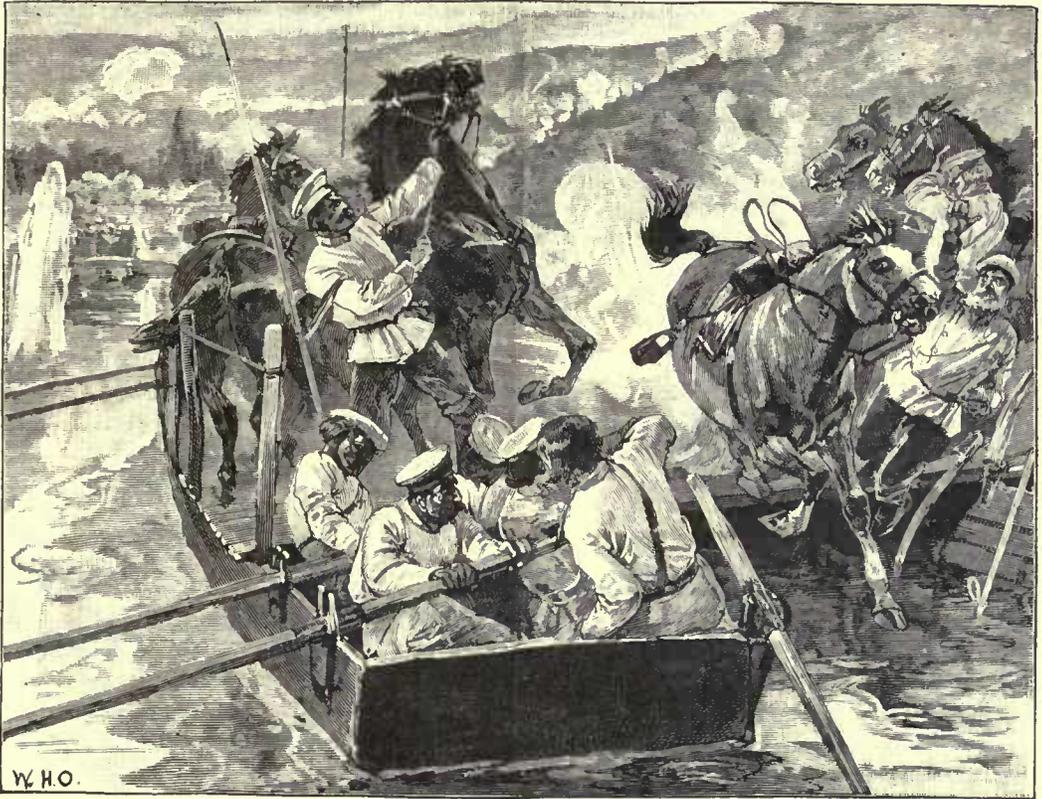
* For full details see Cassell's "History of the Russo-Turkish War," 2 vols.



THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR: MAP OF THE SEAT OF WAR IN ARMENIA.

and Moldavia, on which occasion Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was elected their ruler, under the title of Prince Charles I. Naturally enough, the Roumanians determined to conduct themselves during the coming crisis so as to be in the end on the winning side. To the command of the Grand Vizier that he should prepare to assist the Turkish generalissimo, Abdul Kerim Pasha, Prince Charles replied that he must at first consult his Chambers ;

Duke Nicholas, pressed forward in six main divisions for the Danube, marching through a country which was made difficult and heavy by an almost continuous downpour of rain. The Czar had determined to cross that river early in June ; but the floods postponed the attempt, so that the various divisions of the two armies for several weeks lay over against one other ; the Russians extending their line towards Servia, and the Turkish



THE RUSSIANS CROSSING THE DANUBE AT SIMNITZA. (See p. 266.)

and as soon as the first handful of Russian troops appeared, he threw open the gates of Bucharest, protesting that he yielded to force. Some days before, on April 16th, the Prince had signed a convention with Russia, by which he agreed to allow the invading army free passage through his territory, to give them assistance in the transport of baggage, arms, and ammunition, together with the permission to construct any necessary lines of railway. Soon afterwards the Roumanian Chambers sanctioned the declaration of war against the Porte very much against their will.

With this important advantage on their side, the Russian army, under the command of the Grand

gunboats endeavouring to prevent the junction of the enemy with the troops of that disaffected principality. In this they did not succeed ; a Turkish monitor was exploded by the Russian batteries at Braila, and another was sunk by two Russian lieutenants by means of torpedoes.

Meanwhile, there were disturbances in Constantinople ; the Softas had been troublesome, and it was necessary to proclaim a state of siege. The Turkish generalissimo, Abdul Kerim Pasha, displayed the while an apathy which was almost criminal ; there was no attempt to concentrate the troops, to send supplies to the front, or to fortify the great cities. Prince Milan of Servia, though

nominally at peace with the Porte, was known to have had an interview with the Czar. There were troubles in Bosnia, where atrocities of the most hideous kind had been committed by the Turkish troops, in the Herzegovina, and in Crete. Against the Montenegrins alone had the Turkish generals been successful; Suleiman Pasha had defeated them in the Duga Pass, and on one or two occasions had pressed them hard, but the brave mountaineers held out manfully, and by keeping a considerable body of Turkish troops occupied gave effectual aid to the main attack.

At length, on the 21st of June, the river had fallen sufficiently to render a passage feasible. It was accordingly effected with great skill, between the 21st and 30th, at four points; three of them, Galatz, Braila, and Hirsova, being close to the mouth of the Danube, and the fourth at Simnitza, many miles farther up. This last was the most important effort; the others being intended rather to distract the attention of Abdul Kerim should he contemplate any serious resistance. It was effected with great skill by General Radetsky, in the face of a straggling fire, and, on the 27th, Sistova was occupied. Next day the Emperor crossed the river and inspected the troops before that town. He was received with great enthusiasm by the army and by the Bulgarian inhabitants, and it seemed as if the war would be over in a few weeks. The Turks had abandoned their first line of defence without striking a blow. Abdul Kerim placidly telegraphed to the Sultan that 60,000 Russian troops had crossed the Danube on the 1st of July; and on the 7th he might have added that double that number were advancing through Bulgaria, and making straight for the Balkans, his second line of defence.

Other and more startling successes followed. The Russian army was now divided into three main divisions: of these, the first took Biela, a small town, with consummate ease, and went along the river towards Rustchuk; the second advanced due south on Tirnova, the capital of Bulgaria; and the third on Nicopolis. On the 7th of July General Gourko, with a handful of men, took possession of Tirnova, and it became the headquarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas. Rustchuk was reconnoitred, but for the present no serious attempt was made to take it. The first great battle took place before Nicopolis, which was taken, after a sturdy resistance on the part of the Turks, on the 16th of July. General Gourko was now sent on ahead from Tirnova to see how the Turkish forces were disposed along the Balkans. Sending the main body of his

detachment towards Elena, he himself took command of a body of cavalry, which had a brush with the enemy near Osman Bazar, and then, rejoining his infantry, he led them by a defile unknown to the enemy through the Balkans, and emerged at Kezanlik, to the south of the Shipka Pass. There a considerable body of Turks was strongly posted under Mehemet Pasha; and on the same day they were attacked from the north by Prince Mirsky, Gourko's troops being too exhausted to take part in the operation. A sanguinary conflict took place, resulting in the establishment of the Russians in the enemy's lines; and on the following day Mehemet, after agreeing with Gourko to an armistice, fled over the mountains. Once more a magnificent position, which the Turks had strengthened in addition by fortifications constructed with much skill, had been unaccountably abandoned. A considerable portion of the Balkans was in Russian hands, and they had a splendid basis of operations whence to approach Roumelia.

Great was the indignation in Constantinople against Abdul Kerim Pasha, who had made no attempt worthy the name to resist the unimpeded tide of Russian success. He was accordingly recalled and Mehemet Ali Pasha, a German renegade, was appointed generalissimo in his stead, while to Suleiman Pasha, who had fought so well against the Montenegrins, was entrusted the command of the army of the Balkans. The latter soon proved himself a highly competent general. On the 30th of July he caught Gourko, who had hastened up to aid the Bulgarian legion, in a dangerously-exposed position at Eski-Sagra, and, after several days of hard fighting, succeeded in driving him back to the mountains, where he entrenched himself in the Shipka Pass and awaited the reinforcements which a more prudent commander-in-chief would have sent him a fortnight previously.

This great success was by no means isolated; in fact, the Turks seemed in all quarters to be awakening from their lethargy, except in Montenegro, where, in the absence of Suleiman, they were badly handled, and suffered several reverses. These, however, were of minor importance compared with the great defeats inflicted on the Russians by Osman Pasha at Plevna, a small town to the south-west of Nicopolis, which he had occupied with troops originally destined for the relief of that city. On the 19th of July General Schildner-Schuldner was sent against him with a battalion of infantry, but so admirably posted was the enemy, and so well was his artillery served, that the Russians were never able to obtain permanent foothold in the

town; and though General Krüdener came up on the following day to his assistance, and again renewed the attack with great pertinacity, his troops were, on the 21st, finally driven from their positions, and retired with a loss of 8,000 killed and wounded. At this period it became evident to experienced strategists that the main battles of the war would be fought round two centres—Kars, in Asia, and Plevna, in Europe.

Osman Pasha proved himself capable of doing more than acting on the defensive. Suddenly issuing from his entrenchments, he marched on the important town of Lovatz (Lovcha), due south of Plevna, which had been occupied by the Russians, and took it from them after several hours' hard fighting. By holding these two positions he was able to threaten the Russian right, and also keep open the roads to Sofia, Nisch, and Shumla, which would probably be attacked at no distant date by the Russians should they succeed in establishing themselves securely on the southern slope of the Balkans. The Russian generals saw that the situation was a crucial one; the unwilling Roumanians were forced to send a considerable body of troops to their aid, and General Skobelev made a reconnaissance against Lovatz, where he discovered some 15,000 troops strongly posted. The Grand Duke Nicholas hurried to the front and prepared to direct aggressive operations behind the entrenched positions fronting Plevna. So stood affairs in the middle of August; and grave rumours were prevalent as to the dishonesty of the Russian commissariat officers, with the direct connivance, it was believed, of the Commander-in-Chief.

Meanwhile, Suleiman Pasha had moved into the Trundjoi valley, and was evidently about to attack the Russian position in the Shipka Pass. Reinforcements were accordingly sent to General Stoletoff, who was in command of a small force of 3,000 men, part of whom consisted of the sorry remnants of the Bulgarian legion. Before they could arrive, however, Suleiman on the 21st of August attacked the Russian position, and during several successive days a desperate struggle ensued. The Russians suffered fearfully in an attempt to take the Turkish redoubt, but on the 31st of the month Suleiman Pasha, finding that he had made no impression on the Russian encampment along the ridge, confessed that he was beaten by abandoning the position, leaving a few battalions of troops in the village of Shipka. In this week of carnage he had lost no less than 5,000 men. It was not until September 17th that the Turkish General felt

strong enough to try to recover his losses, when he made a final attack on the Russian advanced centre, resting on Mount St. Nicholas, but only to be thrust down the hill in great disorder.

The month of August concluded with some important operations on the river Lom, where the Commander-in-Chief, Mehemet Ali, was effectually blocked in his efforts to co-operate with Suleiman. On August 28th, however, General Leoroff, who was holding an advanced position at Karahassankoi, was attacked by the enemy in overwhelming numbers, and after a stubborn resistance of six hours was compelled to give way. Following after him, Mehemet Ali succeeded in recovering the whole of the Lom valley, and freeing Rustchuk from all danger of investment. He even threatened the town of Biela, which had recently been the Russian headquarters; but could not effect any permanent diversion in favour of Plevna, round which the Russian lines were being drawn closer and closer.

It is not to be supposed that Osman Pasha allowed himself to be surrounded without any attempt to break through the fatal circle. On the last day of the month he made a desperate sortie against the Russian left-centre, where was stationed a Russo-Roumanian force with Prince Charles in command. At first the enemy were taken by surprise, and a fortified redoubt in front of the village of Pelisat was carried, but they soon rallied, and Osman Pasha was finally driven back with the loss of some 3,000 men. Four days later the Turks sustained a far more serious reverse. By a well-planned series of operations Lovatz was surrounded and taken by Prince Mirsky, under whom was the dashing Skobelev, who led the principal attack on Mount Rous, the great Turkish redoubt. The fall of this important position cut off Osman Pasha's communications with the south, and enabled the Russians to complete the investment of the doomed town of Plevna.

During the whole of the month of September a series of furious attacks and counter-attacks was made, without any display of science and with a terrible effusion of blood. The Russians had now in front of Osman Pasha an army consisting of about 80,000 infantry (of whom two-thirds were Russian and one-third Roumanian), 10,000 cavalry, half Russian and half Roumanian, and 250 Russian siege-guns. The troops took up their positions on the evening of September 6th. The great duel was resumed on the 7th, when both sides fired vigorously during the whole day, but without much serious result, and a similar state of affairs

continued during the following day, when the Griviça redoubt began to show signs of damage, though they were comparatively slight. On the road between Lovatz and Plevna the fighting was of a more exciting order; the gallant Skobelev was endeavouring to carry the defences which had been thrown up by the Turks towards the south. The 11th witnessed even more startling proofs of the equality of the struggle; for the Russian right, commanded by Kriloff and Krüdener, were at first successful in penetrating to within a short distance of Plevna, having captured the Mamelon Redoubt, but were finally driven back pell-mell in the direction whence they came. At the same time the Roumanians made three gallant attempts to take the redoubt of Griviça, which they succeeded in holding permanently on the following day. Towards the south, the impetuous Skobelev operated with undiminished vigour against the redoubts on the Lovatz road, and the ridge of Radisoro. At one time he had succeeded in establishing himself within a most important redoubt close to Plevna, and held it all night under a scathing fire which destroyed more than half his men. Reinforcements, however, were refused him, and next morning he was driven back before the sixth assault of the Turks in total and disastrous failure. When it is considered that the Russians had lost in a few days' fighting about 20,000 men, such trifling successes as they had gained had been dearly bought indeed. For the present the Russian generals were content to withdraw to their original positions, leaving the Roumanians to reduce the second Griviça fort by siege operations, and sending General Kriloff with the cavalry to cut off the convoys which were arriving to the relief of Osman Pasha, in which attempt he was completely foiled by the advent of two columns of infantry from Plevna.

In other quarters, however, the warriors of the Crescent were not so successful. Suleiman Pasha's failure in the Shipka Pass was found to be utter and complete; his reputation was suddenly scattered to the winds, and the authorities found that he, no less than Abdul Kerim Pasha, was only a broken reed. The Montenegrins also were discovered to be so far superior to the Turks in the art of guerilla warfare that the latter abandoned the important fortresses of Nicsics, and Prince Nikita entered the town amidst demonstrations of triumph, which he amply deserved. Mehemet Ali, in the valley of the Lom, made a brilliant effort to retrieve these disasters. Acting under the orders of the Sultan, he attacked the Russians,

who were well posted at Karkir, on the 21st of September. He was repulsed on all sides, in spite of the gallantry of the Turkish infantry; and, recognising the decisiveness of the defeat, retired beyond the positions which he had managed to occupy before, having by the defeat of Karkir completely thrown away the fruits of the victory of Karahassankoi.

A fortnight later the whole of the Turkish system of defence in Armenia collapsed suddenly and hopelessly. There, it will be remembered, Mukhtar Pasha had entrenched himself in a strong position to the east of Kars, and sat there facing the enemy. For five weeks no movement of any importance was made on either side, but a cessation of hostilities gave the Russians, who were inferior in numbers, time to hurry reinforcements to the front and concentrate their scattered columns. On the 2nd of October the Russian Commander-in-Chief made a great effort to take Little Yahni, one of the keys of the Turkish position, which entirely commanded the road to Kars. In this operation he was completely foiled by the determination of the enemy; but the height of Great Yahni, which was almost denuded of men in order to strengthen the main points of defence, was adroitly taken by General Melikoff. Owing to want of water, however, it was abandoned on the 4th, and a five days' battle came to an end without either side being able to claim a permanent advantage. The whole movement had been premature.

About this time the Sultan conferred on Mukhtar Pasha the title of "Ghazi," or the Victorious, but the irony of events decreed that this honour should be followed almost immediately by a most disastrous defeat. It was evident that the Grand Duke's force was visibly increasing day by day, and, accordingly, Mukhtar resolved to withdraw from his advanced position on the plain to his old encampments on the Aladja Dagh, abandoning thereby the positions of Kizil Tépé and Great Yahni. The order was reluctantly received by the troops, it was indifferently carried out by the officers, and, above all, it came too late. General Lazareff, one of the most scientific of Russian officers, had already begun a series of complicated and masterly manœuvres on the right flank of the Ottomans, gradually working round to their rear, and threatening their communications with Kars. On the 14th and 15th of October a great battle, known as that of Aladja Dagh, took place. On the first day the Russians gained some distinct, though not

decisive, successes; but on the second the Grand Duke attacked Mukhtar's centre on the Olya Tépé with a superior force, and captured it after a furious struggle, while Lazareff opened fire on the rear of his right. Finally the Turks were cut in two, the greater part of the right wing was

Tergukasoff at his heels, towards Erzeroum, where the chief commander, Faizi Pasha, had taken considerable precautions against the dangers of a prolonged siege. On the march, or rather during the flight, Ismail Pasha, who had foolishly encamped in an open plain, was surprised at Hassan



GENERAL SKOBELLEFF. (From a Photograph by Charles Bergamosco, St. Petersburg.)

surrounded and compelled to capitulate; the left, with which was Mukhtar, fled in a completely disorganised condition towards Kars. It was only by degrees that the Turks were able to realise how utter their overthrow had been.

Once shut up within Kars, Mukhtar Pasha knew that the occupation of Erzeroum would follow speedily. Accordingly he resolved to leave Hussein Hami in the former stronghold with a garrison of 10,000, and effecting a junction with Ismail Pasha, who commanded a large body of irregulars, he retired, with Generals Heimann and

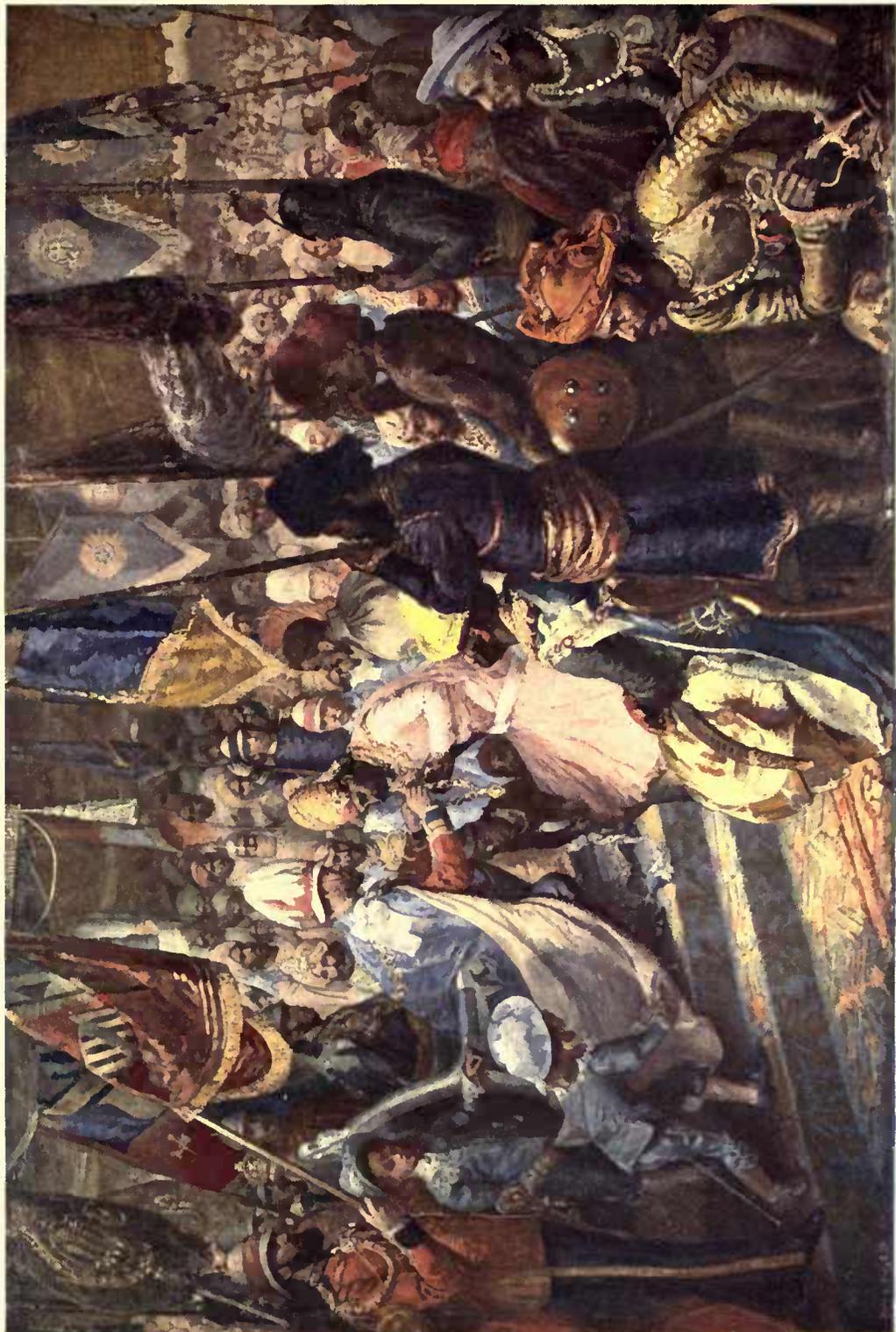
Kalé about midnight of the 28th by Heimann, and his undisciplined troops were scattered to the winds. Mukhtar, nevertheless, was able to establish himself in the Deve-Boyun Pass, east of Erzeroum, with 16,000 troops and sixty-two guns, whence he sent urgent messages to Batoum and Constantinople, requesting all available help, an appeal to which the authorities were, as usual, slow to respond. On the 3rd of November the Russian generals Heimann and Tergukasoff were stationed on the opposing heights, and another great battle began before dawn on the following

day. An attempt on the Turks' left, where a Prussian soldier of fortune was in command, was foiled; but the centre, a point at which Mukhtar, with his usual over-confidence, believed himself to be impregnable, was cut in two by the Russian general. The steadiness of the right and left wings, which united and covered the retreat, alone prevented the Russians from entering the city that night. There Mukhtar determined to hold out until the last, despite the pleas of the Governor, who said that the town was completely commanded by the surrounding heights, and that the troops were utterly demoralised. It is clear that his energies would soon be fully employed; on the 7th of November the enemy threw up a redoubt on the eastern side of the city, and on the 9th an attempt was made to carry the outworks by storm, which fell considerably short of success. After another similar effort had been made, with a similar result, Heimann sat down before the beleaguered city, waiting till the fall of Kars should allow the main body of the Russian army to come to his assistance.

He had not long to wait. Kars was summoned to surrender on the 25th of October, and on the refusal of Hussein Hami Pasha to obey the command it was invested, and on the 4th of November, the very day on which Mukhtar was driven into Erzeroum, a terrific bombardment began. After an incessant storm of shot had beaten against the city for about ten days, and silenced most of the forts, a general assault was ordered for the night of the 17th. In several quarters the resistance offered by the worn-out and dispirited regiments was feeble in the extreme. Fort Hafiz Pasha was abandoned before the approach of Lazareff, but in the centre General Grabbe fell mortally wounded before the Khauli Fort, where a body of Anatolians held out with the energy of despair. During the whole of the day the awful contest raged. The citadel was taken early in the morning, and in its fall, as well as that of Fort Hafiz Pasha, it was thought that treachery was at work; but even when the heart of the stronghold was taken, a sturdy resistance was kept up at the extremities until eight o'clock on the following day, when one band of defenders after another began to lay down their arms. The commandant, Hussein Hami Pasha, succeeded in escaping, together with some few horsemen, but by noon nearly the whole of the garrison, several Pashas, two hundred and fifty-seven siege-guns, and sixty field-guns were in the hands of the Russians, who, however, had suffered considerably in achieving their success.

Leaving the Grand Duke with a small body of men outside Kars, for the town itself was so pestilential that it was quite uninhabitable, General Melikoff, who of the two was by far the more competent soldier, hurried on, with the greater part of the troops, towards Erzeroum, which he attempted to reach by Grugu Boghaz, and thereby sever the communication with Trebizond. But the month of November proved more stubborn than Mukhtar Pasha, and barred the way with such heavy falls of snow that Melikoff was compelled to retrace his steps, and follow in the wake of Hussein, whom he found in position before the town, but unable to do much because of the prevalence of typhoid fever among the troops. Mukhtar, on his side, did not allow the days of grace thus granted him to pass idly by; he revictualled the city, hurried up reserves from Batoum and Constantinople by way of Trebizond, and made every preparation to withstand a prolonged siege. His best ally was the winter, which had set in with much severity, and subjected the Russians, in their imperfectly constructed tents, to the most terrible hardships. Erzeroum remained untaken at the end of the year. Heavy Russian ordnance came toiling up slowly through the snow, and the heights round the town were being strengthened by earthworks, but it was found impossible, until the middle of December, to complete the investment. As soon, however, as the siege guns arrived from Kars, and Melikoff appeared on the scene, considerably more activity was displayed. On the 17th of December the capture of Ardanutch by General Komoroff made the fatal circle round the great fortress very nearly complete, and Mukhtar thought it advisable to repeat his old manœuvre of leaving the place itself in the hands of a subordinate, Ismail Hakki, and himself threaten the enemy's rear with a large force. In the closing days of the year, however, he was recalled to Constantinople, and started for the capital, leaving Erzeroum to its fate.

The events of the war in Europe during the month of September taught the Russian generals two lessons: firstly, that it was fruitless to attempt to take Plevna by direct assault, and secondly, that the Ottoman generals either would not or could not execute combined movements, so that a force investing that town would enjoy immunity from attacks from outside. Accordingly they resolved to reduce the place by a regular siege. General Todleben, who had seen no active service since the defence of Sebastopol, was summoned to the front as Chief of the Staff to Prince Charles of Roumania, while



By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Northbrook, F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA.

FROM THE PAINTING BY SYDNEY P. HALL, M.V.O.

THIS PICTURE SHOWS A CHAPTER OF THE ORDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA HELD AT CALCUTTA ON THE 1ST JANUARY 1876. H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES ACTING THEREAT AS HIGH COMMISSIONER.

General Gourko was entrusted under him with the command of the entire force of cavalry. The Czar was at Gorny Studen, where his presence kept up the enthusiasm of the troops. Inspiring power of some sort was indeed sorely needed, for the transport service was miserably inefficient, and all the energy of Todleben hardly sufficed to overcome difficulties caused by the badness of the roads and the destructive force of the Danube current. However, with the arrival of three divisions of the Imperial Guards, 10,000 men in all, and the introduction of an improved contract service, matters began to mend a little. To Gourko, who was posted on the extreme left of the encircling army, was entrusted the task of stopping all communications along the road to Sofia. This feat he accomplished on the 17th of October, when the Imperial Guards scaled the heights of Gorny Dubnik and captured a strong fortification which commanded the main road for a considerable distance. For nearly three weeks no movement of importance was made on either side, until on the 9th of November the restless Skobelev dashed forwards and seized a hill which commanded the river Vid, while Gourko, not to be outdone, took, on the following day, the town of Vratza, west of Plevna, together with a considerable depôt of ammunition and provisions. So the noose was being drawn tighter and tighter round the neck of Osman Pasha, and though he might anxiously scan the horizon, he could see no hope of assistance from north, south, east, or west. On the 12th of November the Russian commander advised him to capitulate at once, but the intrepid Turk replied that he had not yet exhausted his entire means of defence, nor done all that his duty as military commander required him to do.

The only chance of aid lay, as before, on the banks of the River Lom, where Suleiman Pasha, who had superseded Mehemet Ali in the chief command of the Ottoman forces of Europe, ought to have done his utmost to manœuvre past the Czarewitch. Whereas, however, he had displayed extreme recklessness in the Balkans, he now displayed extreme caution, and kept studiously on the defensive. Thereby he was enabled to beat off an ill-conducted attack on Kadikoi, and about a month later (November 19th) drove the Russians out of Pyrgos and burned the town to ashes. But a few days afterwards, he was severely handled by General Zimmerman, and in any case he had signally failed to assist in any way his brother officer who was in such great straits in Plevna. Suddenly it occurred to the Ministers

of the Sultan that what Suleiman had failed to do might perhaps be effected by the disgraced Mehemet Ali.

Accordingly Mehemet was placed at the head of a relieving army, consisting chiefly of raw recruits, by no means of the best physique, which was to assail the forces of Todleben from a basis of operations at Sofia. Unfortunately that astute commander determined to anticipate these plans; as Mehemet Ali was moving northwards towards Orkhanieh, under the Etropol Balkans, he sent Gourko southwards at the head of a considerable force, and on the 18th of November the two armies were face to face near the village of Pravça, situated in a narrow defile at the mouth of the Orkhanieh Valley. On the 23rd the battle took place. The Moscow regiment debouched from the mountains and took the village of Pravça before dawn, and the enemy retreated hastily towards Sofia. Etropol was evacuated in the course of the day, having been disgracefully abandoned by its commander, Mustapha Pasha, and the whole of the Turkish army driven in great confusion over that range of hills. Gourko pressed after them with the main body, and his subordinates were sent out right and left to operate against isolated points that were still held by the Turks. One of them, General Dondeville, attempted to carry with a rush Mehemet Ali's headquarters among the hills at Kamarli, but the Commander-in-Chief had been reinforced during the night by a body of troops under Chakir Pasha, and gave the Russians such a warm reception that after five separate attacks they were compelled to retreat. By the 3rd of December, however, Dondeville had received considerable reinforcements, and the attack was recommenced. On the whole the Russians had the best of the struggle, but their victory was by no means decisive. For the present Sofia was safe, as Gourko, deeming it imprudent to advance farther south, entrenched himself where he stood and took every precaution against surprise. Mehemet Ali was deprived of his command on the 10th of December. In his place was appointed Chakir Pasha, who had recently been acting in conjunction with Raouf Pasha, Suleiman's successor, in the Shipka Pass.

In other quarters there was the same story of the rout of the battalions of the Crescent. Prince Nikita of Montenegro had succeeded in clearing his country of the enemy, and was engaged in vigorously bombarding Scutari. Raouf Pasha lay inactive in the Shipka Pass, though his want of enterprise was to a certain extent compensated for

by his regard for the welfare of his troops. Suleiman, who was situated between the army of the Czarewitsch and that of General Zimmerman in the Dobrudzsch, felt himself menaced by the latter in the rear, and as a precautionary step occupied Bazardjik with a considerable force.

It was not until after Mehemet Ali had been driven back by Gourko that Suleiman made an attempt to relieve Plevna, which, if it had been undertaken in conjunction with the southern movement, might have seriously embarrassed the Russians. Even as it was, the plan showed considerable knowledge of the art of war. It was proposed to advance on Tirnova from three points. The Russian positions at Mahren and the town of Elena, which impeded the advance of the left division, were taken by Fuad Pasha, the latter after a struggle of eight hours, and the road to Tirnova was thus in the hands of the enemy. This was, however, the only point at which Suleiman was successful, and even there no attempt was made to reach Tirnova. Prince Mirsky, who had been routed at Mahren, reorganised his shattered forces and pushed back the enemy all through the following day. On the 12th the right wing of the Turks came in contact with the Twelfth Corps under the Grand Duke Vladimir, and was driven across the Lom. The other divisions followed its example, Elena was abandoned, and so ended the last effort to relieve Plevna. The supreme hour, indeed, had already passed.

By the beginning of December the position of the garrison of Plevna was well-nigh desperate. The enemy, indeed, had not been able to make any serious impression on their lines, except by the capture of the Griviça redoubt; but if Plevna was impregnable, the meshes of the net which Todleben had woven round it were equally hard to break. Provisions were falling short, and it became far more necessary for the besieged to get out of their fortress than for the besiegers to get into it. The Turkish general could not tell that Mehemet Ali had failed to reach him, and that Suleiman in a few days would be in a similar plight, but he could neither see nor hear any signs of approaching friends, and the proceedings of Gourko's force could only be guessed at. On the 7th of December Osman Pasha, considering his position desperate, resolved to cut his way out. Still he delayed during the 8th and part of the 9th, on the second of which days snow fell heavily. In the evening, however, a spy announced to Skobelev that the Turks had abandoned all their positions from the Griviça redoubt to the Green Hill, and feeling his

way in the dark that general found this to be the fact and promptly occupied them. At two in the morning Osman crossed the Vid by five bridges, having with him 26,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. His aim was to break through the Russian lines near Opanesk, at a point where the grenadiers held a position north of the Sofia road. If successful he hoped to reach Widin, lying on the Danube in the north-western part of Bulgaria. Sheltering themselves behind a number of waggons, and keeping their flanks carefully protected by batteries, the Turks marched steadily forward, and at eight o'clock the battle began. With a wild shout the Turks dashed upon the line of trenches held by the Siberian regiment, overwhelmed them completely and broke through the first circle. The second was protected by a battery; this also was captured and the second circle partially carried. They were, however, to penetrate no farther. For an hour the Russian artillery played upon the captured works, and upon the reserves drawn up in the rear, which were much exposed. Osman's head column was driven sullenly backwards on its supports and their last hope of escape was destroyed. The Roumanians moved forward on his right flank, and the Russians, holding the Bestovec line of heights, advanced upon his left. The great siege guns played upon the bridges over the Vid, which was recrossed with difficulty, and having gained the shelter of the banks the Turks turned round again and fired away furiously. For nearly four hours longer the storm of lead swept on, but both sides being under cover little damage was done. The Turks saw the futility of venturing on a second advance, and at noon the firing began to diminish and then ceased entirely.

Suddenly a white flag was seen waving from the road leading around the cliffs beyond the ridge. It was a token that the siege of Plevna was at an end, and that the Turkish general, with all his men, was prepared to capitulate. After an interview with Tefvik Bey, Osman's chief of the staff, General Strukoff rode across the bridge towards the cottage where the Turkish general was lying wounded. Their conversation was short; for the position of the besieged was perfectly hopeless, and there was no choice but for an unconditional surrender. In the afternoon Osman Pasha met the Grand Duke Nicholas, who congratulated him on his defence of Plevna, and added, perhaps not altogether wrongly, "It is one of the most splendid military events in history." The legions of the Czar could now advance southwards without let or hindrance, and 100,000 men were set at liberty to operate against



the dispirited troops under Chakir and Suleiman Pashas. It was still possible for the Turks to hold isolated positions among the mountains; but there was no serious obstacle between the Russo-Roumanian army and Adrianople. That army had, according to the most authentic accounts, assumed the most formidable dimensions. It presented a grand total of 119,000 men, with 558 field guns. The forces in the Balkans counted 30,000 men, with 162 guns; the army of the Lom, commanded by the Czarewitch, consisted of 73,000 men, with 432 guns; and the forces in the Dobrudscha and Eastern Roumelia comprised 38,000 men, with 440 guns. To these the Sultan could only oppose in every case defeated troops, which were in every instance less than their adversaries by two or three

thousand; and, though the winter might postpone the final catastrophe for a time, it could not avert it. On the 12th of December Prince Milan of Servia, in a carefully prepared proclamation, repudiated his connection with a "Government deriving its power from devastation, incendiarism, bloodshed, and fanaticism," and proceeded to declare war. On the 15th his troops crossed the frontier, and, on the 23rd, the battalions, under Horvatovich, effected a junction with Skobelev near Belgradjik. So entirely did fortune seem to be favouring the allies that the Czar left the front, and returned in triumph to St. Petersburg. "God watches over us," he telegraphed to the Princess Elizabeth of Roumania, "and will soon permit us to sign an honourable and glorious peace."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Diplomacy and Public Opinion—Representations of Count Schouvaloff and Mr. Layard—Refusal of the Porte to listen to Terms—The Czar's Communications to Colonel Wellesley and the Replies of the British Government—Rumours in England—Panic in July—Mr. Forster's Declaration—Reported Atrocities on both sides—Efforts for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded—Mr. Gladstone and the *Daily Telegraph*—Explanations of Mr. Negroponte and Mr. Gladstone—Editorial Comments—Mr. Layard's Version—Mr. Gladstone's Expostulation—The Affair in Parliament—Speeches of Political Leaders—Lord Hartington in Scotland—Lord Beaconsfield at Guildhall—Lord Derby's Reply to a Deputation—Warlike Speeches and Increase of Public Excitement—Communications between the Powers.

MEANWHILE, the subsidiary streams of diplomacy and of public opinion had been flowing with fluctuating volume and uncertain course side by side with the torrent of war, without in any respect modifying its direction or throwing obstacles in the way of its onward rush. After the declaration of war there were desultory attempts made on the part of the British Cabinet to save the Turks from the consequences of their own rashness, and its attitude during the months of June and July was that of an unwilling defender of a scapegrace associate.

These fruitless efforts involved a considerable amount of correspondence between Lord Derby and Count Schouvaloff, on the one side, and Mr. Layard on the other, which was in parts of some moment. On the 8th of June the Russian Ambassador had an important conversation with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in which he stated, without the slightest reserve, on what conditions Russia might be induced to conclude a

peace. These were the autonomy of Bulgaria north of the Balkans, and the guarantee of good government in the other provinces, under securities to be agreed on by the Powers. Servia and Montenegro were to receive slight accessions of territory. This demand he afterwards increased; all Bulgaria must be autonomous; its separation into two provinces, of which one still should be under the Porte, was not enough. Besides, Russia would require the recovery of that part of Bessarabia of which she had been deprived by the Treaty of Paris, and in Asia Minor the cession of Batoum. Then followed a significant declaration. These bases of peace were to hold good only if the Russian army were not compelled to cross the Balkans; in the last event Russia could not bind herself against advancing on Constantinople. "It would be singular, and without precedent, if, at the outset of the war, one of the belligerents undertook beforehand not to pursue its military operations up to the walls of the capital. It is not impossible that

the obstinacy of the Turks, especially if they know themselves to be guaranteed against such an eventuality, may prolong the war, instead of bringing it to a speedy termination. When once the British Ministry is assured that we shall, under no circumstances, remain at Constantinople, it will depend on England and the other Powers to relieve us of the necessity of even approaching the town. It will be sufficient for them to use their influence with the Turks with a view to making peace possible before this extreme step is taken." The British Government, with considerable dexterity, instead of taking upon itself, as Prince Gortschakoff wished, the responsibility of declaring whether or no they would enter into negotiations on this basis, consulted Mr. Layard as to the probability of the Porte consenting to it. His reply was "that it would be even dangerous to suggest them to the Sultan or his Ministers at the present moment." On the 19th, having received the enlarged demands, including the autonomy of the whole of Bulgaria, the British Ambassador at Constantinople employed still more energetic language than he had hitherto adopted. "I would venture to urge most earnestly upon her Majesty's Government not to be the medium of communicating, or of suggesting, any such terms as those proposed by Prince Gortschakoff to the Sultan, or to the Porte. The Russian Chancellor's language does not admit the possibility of a mediation. It is simply that of dictation. The terms offered are to be accepted at once, or the consequences will be a further dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Let some other Power accept this task."

This answer seems to have been regarded by Government as conclusive. For two months they abandoned these indirect negotiations, which never had about them much reality, depending as they did on the results of each petty skirmish, and on the capture of each little town. It was not until the 28th of July that Lord Derby took up the question again, when he authorised Mr. Layard to sound the Sultan on the subject of possible terms of peace. "Should his Majesty be disposed to open negotiations, you may assure him that he may rely upon the friendly offices of her Majesty's Government, which will be exerted with a view to obtain for him the most favourable terms possible under the circumstances." Unfortunately, the Porte was at this moment unduly elated by the recent successes of Osman Pasha at Plevna, and of Mukhtar in Armenia. They felt confident, said Mr. Layard, that the enemy would be ultimately repulsed and driven out of Bulgaria and Roumelia,

as he had been out of Armenia. In the circumstances, Mr. Layard was able to state with some confidence, that the Sultan could not propose or listen to any conditions of peace.

A similar result followed some equally unreal negotiations initiated by the Czar. Just before crossing the Danube he authorised Colonel Wellesley, the British Military Attaché, to state to her Majesty's Government that, notwithstanding recent successes, he would be willing to treat for peace if the Sultan would make suitable propositions. To this Government replied, with some alacrity, that they would be ready to use their influence in concert with the other Powers to induce the Porte to terminate the disastrous war, by acceding to such terms of peace as should be at once honourable to Russia and yet such as the Sultan could accept. The British Government were fully determined not to depart from the line of neutrality which they had declared their intention to observe, but they did not consider that they would be departing from that neutrality, and they thought that Russia would not consider that they were so doing, if they should find themselves compelled to direct their fleet to proceed to Constantinople, and thus afford protection to the European population against internal disturbance. As yet, however, no decision had been taken in favour of such a proceeding.

Again, on taking leave of the Emperor on the 30th of July, Colonel Wellesley was authorised to communicate to the British Government a most important statement on the object of the war and the conditions of peace. The first was solely the amelioration of the Christian population of Turkey. The conditions of peace remained the same as those which had been lately communicated by Count Schouvaloff to Lord Derby; Russia had no ideas of annexation beyond, perhaps, the territory lost by the Treaty of 1856, and possibly a certain portion of Asia Minor. The Emperor would not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honour, but only if such a step had been rendered necessary by the march of events. He had not the slightest wish or intention in any way to menace the interest of Great Britain, either with regard to Constantinople, Egypt, the Suez Canal, or India. With respect to India, he considered it not only impossible to do so, but an act of folly if practicable. He feared that the present policy of Great Britain only tended to encourage the Turks, and consequently, to prolong the war, and considered that if British influence was brought to bear on the Porte, the Sultan would be ready to come to terms,

and thus a war, regretted and felt by the whole of Europe, would be brought to a conclusion.

To this emphatic declaration the British Government replied in general terms. "They had received with great satisfaction the statement of his Majesty as to the object of the war in which he is engaged, his disclaimer of any extensive ideas of annexation, and his readiness to enter into negotiations for peace. They are grateful for the assurance he has given of his intention to respect the interests of Britain." They went on to deprecate the Emperor's statement that their policy tended to prolong the war, and to deny that their influence over the Porte was as great as he seemed to imagine. Furthermore, they noticed that the recent Turkish successes would have necessarily indisposed the Turkish Government to entertain any proposals of peace.

Such had been the irregular course of the stream of diplomacy during the brief period after the declaration of war, during which fortune seemed for once to be fighting on the side of the smaller battalions; that of public opinion had been still more uneven. All sorts of scares, mostly emanating from the Stock Exchange, were current during the summer months, and the tendency of the national feeling under their influence was to run into extremes, now violently Russian, now violently Turkish. On the whole, it would appear that the "British interests" cry prevailed, and that the constituencies were disposed to go quite as far as Government in demonstrations of friendship towards the Turk. There seemed to be some vague notion that the attack on Turkey was only part of a huge scheme of aggression embracing British India. In the House of Peers Lord de Mauley formulated those fears, and received from Lord Salisbury a most judicious reply. "I can assure the noble lord," he said, "that any danger of a Russian inroad on the frontier of British India is not quite so far advanced as he seems to imagine. The nearest point on the Caspian to which supplies could be gathered by Russia is over a thousand miles from our Indian frontier. . . . There are between them deserts and mountainous chains measured by thousands of miles, and these are serious obstacles to any advance by Russia, however well planned such an advance might be."

This sedative was administered early in June, and it was not until the following month that a new panic arose, when the British fleet was sent once more to Bésika Bay, and, according to one account, originating to all appearances in Paris, the determination of the Premier to send 20,000

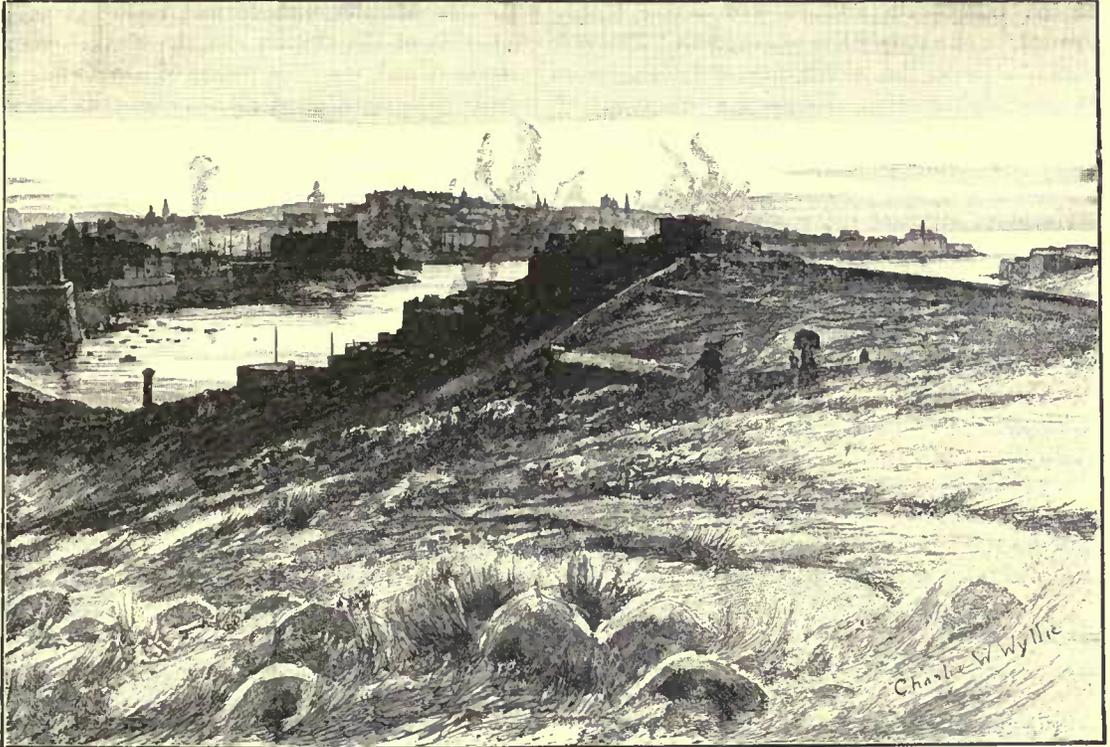
men as well was thwarted only by the threatened resignation of Lord Salisbury. This addition to the story was of course absurd; though later in the month the garrison of Malta was strengthened by two battalions, each numbering about nine hundred men. This second movement was magnified into preparations for war; Great Britain and Austria, it was said, were jointly to occupy Constantinople, and forty thousand troops were to be sent from India to Egypt. The Russian press professed to believe this and railed furiously against Great Britain. Their Government, it was stated, went so far as to sink torpedoes in the Baltic, in view of an attack on the empire from another quarter. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, effectually quelled these apprehensions. With regard to the despatch of the seven ironclads to Bésika Bay, he said that the reason they were sent there was, that the situation was a convenient one for the purpose of communicating between the British Ambassador at the Porte on the one hand, and the British Government on the other. There was nothing in it of the nature of a hint, a warning, or a threat to either of the parties to the war. Towards the end of the month he was questioned by Lord Hartington as to the reason for sending troops to Malta; to which he replied that Government thought it right, in the present unsettled state of the Mediterranean region, to raise the garrison of Malta to its full complement. Soon afterwards the prorogation of Parliament set Ministers free from the dilemma of answering or refusing to answer inopportune questions as to the actual state of diplomatic intercourse at any particular moment.

On the eve of the prorogation of Parliament Mr. Forster carefully defined the attitude of his colleagues on the front Opposition bench and himself towards Government. He denied, in the name of Lord Hartington, that there had been any secret understanding with Government with the view to prevent discussions on the war. At the same time he thought that it was quite reasonable to deprecate discussions. "I may, perhaps, be allowed to say," continued the Member for Bradford, "speaking for myself, and I believe for others also, that we should not have assented to that course had we had reason to fear that the Government were likely, between now and the re-opening of Parliament, to drag this country into war, or to involve us in any unheard-of neutrality. We have carefully considered everything that has been written and said by the Government in this matter, and, looking at the last despatches and

the declarations of the Government, we feel convinced that they mean to abide by a policy of strict neutrality; and that being the case, we do not feel that it is necessary to do more than remind them of the responsibility under which they lie."

The leaders of the Liberal rank and file having thus wisely determined to prevent the Eastern question from becoming the subject of a mere party wrangle, public speakers for the next two

country—in fact could do nothing more than make a raid—and having first compromised a large Bulgarian population, had then immediately to retreat and leave them to the vengeance of the Turks." On the other hand, Mr. Archibald Forbes, the war correspondent of the *Daily News*, recorded that, so far as his personal observations went, the Russian troops committed no acts of atrocity, and he was supported in his assertion by Colonel Wellesley, who certainly could not be



VALETTA, MALTA, FROM THE GRAND HARBOUR.

or three months refrained as much as possible from taunting their opponents on their proceedings previous to the Russian resort to arms, and, accepting the war as inevitable, addressed themselves to the question whether its miseries could not be alleviated. From correspondents with both armies came stories of needless and revolting cruelty. The Russian troops were accused of maltreating defenceless women and children—the Cossacks attached to Gourko's expedition having an evil notoriety for cruelty and lust in which it was said in certain quarters that they were rivalled by the Bulgarian peasants. That expedition was justly censured by the Duke of Argyll; it "was totally insufficient to hold the

accused of entertaining unduly strong sympathies towards Russian officers or men. The conduct of the Ottoman troops was, however, very revolting. "I am not here," said Mr. Forster to his constituents, "to defend the Russians. I believe that the charges made against them of cruelty have been immensely exaggerated. But I am quite sure that it is impossible for you in your own minds to exaggerate the atrocious cruelty with which the Turks are carrying on this war." The military correspondent of the *Times*, Lieutenant-Colonel Brackenbury, sent home the most horrible accounts of the mutilation of the yet living enemy practised by the Turkish irregulars, and of the almost universal practice of putting the wounded to

death; and other writers told of the sacking of villages, of women who had first been foully outraged, and then foully murdered, and of children lying by the roadside stone dead.

In both armies the medical arrangements were exceedingly deficient, but those of the Turks were by far the more disgracefully inadequate of the two. Osman Pasha professed to regard them with the utmost indifference, and the other commanders were not one whit less callous. Herded together in miserable and filthy huts, the wounds of the unfortunate soldiers were either hastily dressed, or else simply left to gangrene. The sick died like flies in the winter time, and their bodies lay unburied, creating epidemics which swept off impartially the feeble and the strong. What it could do, English charity organisation did. At Adrianople, the British Consul, Mr. Blunt, attempted to alleviate the misery of the wounded and of the refugees who poured into the city; of the former there were about 2,000, and of the latter some 20,000, of whom three-fourths were Bulgarians. The Sisters of the Assumption took part in the good work of nursing, and the Red Crescent Society took charge of a hospital which was designed to contain two hundred and sixty patients. On the field of battle efforts of a similar character were not wanting. The Stafford House Committee, under the Presidency of the Duke of Sutherland, sent out trained English surgeons, who went straight to the front and did their beneficent work fearlessly and well in the thickest of the fight. Acting in generous rivalry with them were the emissaries of the National Ottoman Society, and of the British National Society for the Aid of the Sick and Wounded. There were also ladies' committees in Constantinople and along the Bosphorus, which prepared bandages, lint, and other necessaries. Relief funds were established by Lady Strangford, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and others, for those who had suddenly, and not of their own fault, been deprived of all means of subsistence.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gladstone was by no means so busy with tongue and pen as he had been during the early autumn of the previous year. A few contributions to periodical literature, a speech or two extracted from him by eager bands of excursionists to Hawarden, formed the sum total of his public sayings and doings, until in the early autumn he was involved in a controversy of a half-ludicrous and half-painful character. On August 28th, the *Daily Telegraph*, a paper which had suddenly come forward as an out-and-out supporter

of the Government, published a telegram from its correspondent at Pera to the effect that papers had been discovered showing that Mr. Gladstone had been trying to stir up the Greeks against Turkey, in defiance of the neutrality of England and of his own professions for the desire of peace. About two months previously—that is in June, according to the correspondent, Mr. Gladstone had written a letter to Mr. Negroponte, a Greek merchant in Constantinople, urging that his countrymen should unite with the Slavs in an attack upon the Turks. To this Mr. Negroponte had replied that the interests of the Greeks and the Slavs were not identical, and that the policy of the former was really more opposed to the Russians than to the Turks. Upon this Mr. Gladstone wrote, what the correspondent called a “curt letter,” saying, that he had expressed his views, and was sorry to find the Christians of the East so disinclined to make common cause against the Mussulmans. Mr. Negroponte had thereupon brought the interchange of opinions to a close by stating it as his conviction that Mr. Gladstone had not given good advice. These letters had, according to the telegram, been seen by the diplomatic body at Constantinople, and Mr. Gladstone's interference in such a matter was greatly deprecated by them.

A statement made thus circumstantially naturally attracted very much attention. Mr. Negroponte and Mr. Gladstone both wrote to the *Times*, the former emphatically denying that any such letters as had been described had been written to him, and insinuating a breach of good faith on the part of a person of consequence. “Out of delicacy,” said he, “I will not mention the name of the person from whom undoubtedly proceeded the information which gave rise to the despatch to your contemporary, and the perversion of the contents of the letters in question. I leave it, however, to public opinion in England how far this may be considered honourable conduct on the part of persons of consequence.” Mr. Gladstone's communication enclosed a copy of his first letter to Mr. Negroponte, which had been written not two months previously, but in January, while the Conference was sitting, and before the commencement of the war. Of the second, the “curt letter,” which merely repeated the opinions of the first, he had failed to keep a copy. There was really nothing in either letter which could be construed into stirring up the Greeks to attack the Turks. Mr. Gladstone simply recommended the former to give their moral support to the Slavs, and to work with them so as to put a stop to the bad Government of Turkey,

leaving their difference with the Slavs to be settled when the primary object of both the Greek and the Slav subjects had been obtained. Some months afterwards Mr. Gladstone was enabled to publish the second epistle. It was written on July 21st, 1877, and remarked guardedly, that Mr. Gladstone could only repeat his former advice, that "the Christian cause should be treated as one in the face of the Ottoman power and influence;" but he found that the Greek subjects of the Porte had determined not to act on this principle, but upon the opposite one. Such conduct had not raised up, in England at least, one solitary friend to the Hellenic cause. Such was the perfectly innocent tenure of the correspondence which the *Daily Telegraph* reproduced in a sensational and distorted form. Mr. Gladstone gave a new turn to the controversy, by saying that the correspondent was only a dupe in the matter. "There is some Polonius behind the curtain," said he, "and I call upon him to come forth." After this the *Daily Telegraph* published a somewhat grudging apology, based upon "the unfortunately imperfect condition of the facts."

Ultimately Polonius did, though apparently with much reluctance, come forth from behind the curtain. He proved, as everyone had anticipated, to be Mr. Layard. On the 29th of October he wrote a despatch to Lord Derby, giving his own version of the story. He said that Mr. Negroponte had called upon him in August last, and endeavoured to persuade him that the time was come for a general rising of the Greek population against the Turkish rule. This opinion Mr. Layard earnestly endeavoured to refute, and was met by the argument that Mr. Gladstone was of opinion that the time had come for the Greeks to unite with the Slavs and throw off the Turkish yoke. Mr. Negroponte did not show a copy of the letter, or mention its date, but his statement was believed, and great indignation was aroused thereby against the ex-Premier in Constantinople. Later in the month, on the 20th, the *Times* correspondent was present at an embassy reception, and handed to Mr. Layard a copy of Mr. Gladstone's July letter. Mr. Layard hastily perused it, and remarked to the correspondent that although there was not much in the letter, it might be very mischievous in the hands of Mr. Negroponte, and that it appeared that Mr. Gladstone did not understand the feelings of the two races, which would rather fight than unite. The communication was shown under no pledge of secrecy; on the contrary, it seemed to be common property; in fact, the letter

of Mr. Negroponte to the *Times* alleging a breach of faith on the part of a person of some consequence, was nothing less than "a tissue of lies." Mr. Layard mentioned the contents of the letter to a gentleman connected with the embassy, adding that if he saw the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* he could mention it to him. The correspondent took time to inquire into the matter, and having satisfied himself that a correspondence was going on between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Negroponte, and that the Greeks were under the impression that Mr. Gladstone had been stirring them up with the Slavs to attack the Turks, he telegraphed to that effect on Monday, the 27th of August, and his telegram was published on the following day. Mr. Layard concluded by accusing Mr. Gladstone of withholding his second letter, although copies of all the correspondence had been sent him by Mr. Negroponte, and of neglecting to make use of a letter sent him by the *Times* correspondent, which would have disproved the statements of Mr. Negroponte. Mr. Gladstone replied that he had received from Mr. Negroponte no communication whatever, that only two letters had been written by him to Mr. Negroponte, and that he was not aware of having received any letter from the *Times* correspondent. To this Mr. Layard made no rejoinder, and Mr. Gladstone therefore, after some delay, wrote to Lord Tenterden, Lord Derby's secretary, to inquire if any communication on the subject of his suppression or withholding of documents had been received. Lord Derby then telegraphed to Mr. Layard, and received a reply that he had not thought it necessary to continue the controversy.

Finally, on the 28th of January, 1878, Mr. Gladstone wrote a second time to Lord Tenterden, recapitulating the facts, declaring that the highly injurious charges of which he caused the publication and wide circulation continued to be repeated against him, even by persons of exalted rank, and asking that the Ambassador's despatch, together with the subsequent correspondence, should be laid before Parliament as soon as possible. This was done; and on the 12th of March, Mr. Evelyn Ashley moved that the House, having had laid before it the correspondence between her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople and the Foreign Office, relating to certain charges which had been made against the right hon. the Member for Greenwich, viewed with regret the part taken in the matter by her Majesty's Ambassador. A long and rather acrimonious debate followed, in which some of Mr. Gladstone's personal following

spoke very bitterly against Mr. Layard; but the greater part seemed to agree with Sir Stafford Northcote, that though it was not the most discreet thing in the world to send messages to newspaper correspondents, yet to make a charge against Mr. Layard of having intended by that proceeding to do anything of an unfair or under-hand character, or anything that could be construed into an attempt to injure the character and reputation of an English statesman, was to pass a gross libel on Mr. Layard. On a division, Mr. Ashley's motion was defeated by 206 votes against 132.

As the autumn days grew shorter the Opposition leaders began to lay aside that policy of reserve by which their public conduct had for a time been regulated, and to bring forth from the storehouses of their political information things new and old concerning the belligerents. For a period, however, Lord Granville's and Mr. Forster's speeches at Bradford, on the 25th of August, were isolated efforts, and perhaps attracted on that account more attention than they deserved. For in truth they said nothing that had not been said before, and perhaps said better; though Lord Granville made some valuable remarks on the ephemeral nature of the Turkish successes. In October Mr. Gladstone paid a short visit to Ireland, after having delivered at Nottingham a brief vindication of his conduct during the previous autumn. He proposed to maintain the integrity of the Turkish Empire; he had not proposed to go to war. "I will tell you my recommendation, and I abide by it. I proposed that the Powers of Europe should unite, and send their fleets, or a combined portion of their fleets, into the Black Sea, and the Sea of Marmora, and the Archipelago, and say to the Turk, 'Not a man, not a horse, not a gun, not a shilling shall pass from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia, for the purpose of carrying on your wars.' I said then, and I say now, that if that announcement had been made, as it might have been made, to Turkey, not one drop of human blood might have been shed." The next important speech was that of Lord Salisbury, who boldly took up his stand in Bradford, Mr. Forster's especial domain, and proceeded to banter that statesman in a very easy and amusing manner. Incidentally he overthrew the too confident anticipations of his colleague, Sir Stafford Northcote, who had ventured a few days previously to talk of "a patch of blue sky in the East," and to hint "that the war was a war of surprises," and as such might have a most unexpected termination. Lord Salisbury declared

that there was "no indication of exhaustion on either side. . . . You must always remember that this is a war, not of sovereigns, but of peoples. There is an intense feeling on both sides, it may be of fanatical, it may be of natural, hostility; and it is not one of those wars which sovereigns can begin, continue, and end according to the views of the policy they form in the Cabinet." Mr. Forster was held up to good-natured ridicule in a second speech before a meeting of the Bradford Conservative Association. The noble lord complimented Bradford on its Conservatism, and said that for the first time he understood the Conservative vein in Mr. Forster, and why he was allowed to give vent to his Conservative tendencies. With regard to the Eastern Question, he said that Government had adhered to their policy of strict neutrality, and would always follow Liberal advice whenever it agreed with the drift of that advice. He declared that England could have done nothing to prevent war, because she could never have found allies willing to support Russia if Turkey had refused the terms offered at the Conference. "I never heard at the time," he said, "and I never heard since, that any single Power, except only Russia, was ever prepared to draw the sword to enforce these suggestions on the Turks." British interests had not been sufficiently implicated to justify Government in risking English lives and blood. "There is nothing easier than to be brave with other people's blood, and generous with other people's money." The country was, however, in a singularly phlegmatic state, and declined to be aroused even by the brilliant remarks of Lord Salisbury.

To a certain extent this lethargy passed away in November. Lord Hartington started on a political campaign in Scotland, beginning at Glasgow on the 5th, and by the excellent common sense and sturdy honesty of his remarks, extorted, even from his enemies, the acknowledgment that the Liberal party had done well in their choice of a successor to Mr. Gladstone. For the most part he confined himself to social topics; some of them of a difficult nature to deal with so as to avoid offence. Such, for instance, was the Scottish Establishment question, in which he declared himself prepared to support a reasonable measure for securing a fairer division of revenue between the churches, as soon as Scottish opinion should be fully formed on the subject. He was able to handle the subject of County Franchise with less delicacy. Mr. Lowe, said Lord Hartington, had described acts for extending the franchise as jumps down a series of

precipices, but they were more like quiet steps down moderately low stairs; and the question now was, when you had one foot on one stair and the other on that below it, whether a firmer equilibrium would not be secured by placing the former on the same stair as the latter? The policy of

afterwards Mr. Gladstone returned from Ireland, where he had carefully refrained from touching on the great subject that was uppermost in everyone's mind, and addressed himself to an even more difficult labyrinth, the Irish Land Question. As soon, however, as he set foot on the soil of Great



MR. RICHIBALD FORBES. (From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Lord Beaconsfield's Government, he remarked, neatly enough, on one occasion, was to enlist on his side the special interests rather than to consult the general interests of the nation. With regard to the Eastern question, Lord Hartington, as he had done throughout, carefully separated himself from those politicians who were in favour of active co-operation with Russia, while he asserted that the policy of Government, which had invariably ended in nothing, had been found out, and that the influence of England in the counsels of Europe was consequently reduced to a cipher. Shortly

Britain, the vivacious people of Holyhead besieged him and obtained a speech in return. He steadily went over the old ground, however, and his remarks, which were addressed to rather a limited audience, were not received with very great enthusiasm.

One very good reason for this was that the eventful 9th of November, with its Guildhall banquet, had just passed away, and people were still discussing the utterances of the Prime Minister, whose habitual reticence during the recess caused perhaps more attention to be paid to him, on the

few occasions when he did break silence, than to any one extra-parliamentary utterance of Mr. Gladstone. On this occasion, also, public expectation was more than usually excited with the memory of the oration of the previous year fresh in their minds; people thought that they might be entertained by another defiance of Russia, another reference to a second, and even a third campaign. In this they were egregiously disappointed; Lord Beaconsfield was restrained, almost dull, and made only a very qualified declaration in favour of the Turks. Their Government and their people, he said, had shown vigour and resource, which proved that they had a right to be recognised among the sovereign Powers. "The independence of Turkey was a subject of ridicule a year ago. The independence of Turkey, whatever may be the fortunes of war—and war changes like the moon—is not doubted now." He then proceeded to reckon up the chances of peace, and declared that they were more favourable than many people imagined. "I cannot forget that the Emperor of Russia, with a magnanimity characteristic of his elevated character, announced, on the eve of the commencement of this war, that his only object was to secure the safety and happiness of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and that he pledged his Imperial word of honour that he sought no increase of territory. I cannot forget that his Highness the Sultan has declared in the most formal manner that he is prepared to secure all those changes which will give to the Christian subjects of the Porte that safety and that welfare which the Emperor of Russia desires; and therefore I think I have a right to say that peace ought not to be an impossible achievement and conclusion." He denied that the military prestige of Russia had not been satisfied; deeds of valour had been performed by the Russian soldier which had rarely been excelled, such, for example, as were exhibited before the fortifications of Plevna. "And, therefore, I cannot conceive, totally irrespective of the news of the hour, which may bring military prestige to either of the contending parties, if it is to be defined by a single victory—I cannot understand that under any circumstances the military prestige of Russia will have been injured."

Still the fortunes of Turkey, despite the eulogy passed upon the fighting qualities of that nation by Lord Beaconsfield, continued to decline, and a considerable number of her sympathisers, taking their cue from one extreme section of the London Press, began to clamour for active intervention on her behalf. On the 28th of November a deputa-

tion waited on Lord Derby, and prayed him to use diplomatic efforts on behalf of the sublime Porte, which was "bleeding, spending, hazarding a national existence for the interest of Europe, which, in spite of engagements the most solemn, withholds co-operation from her." Lord Derby's reply was in every sense admirable. He laid down one step that England would not brook, namely, the occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, and at the same time did not commit himself to the slightest deviation from the policy of strict neutrality. He pointed out that in the American War, and in the Franco-German War, a certain section of the country had been anxious that England should interfere on one side or the other, and he asked his audience to consider what unnecessary calamities would have ensued had that counsel been followed. "For my own part," said Lord Derby, "believing that unless war is necessary, war is a crime, I think we ought to be most careful to do and say nothing that may tend unnecessarily to bring it about." The attitude of menace assumed by placing the Mediterranean garrisons on a war footing, as some advised, was hardly justified by the circumstances of the case, and to send up a fleet to Constantinople could not be done without the consent of the Porte, who might impose conditions at variance with neutrality. "I do not think Constantinople is in that immediate danger in which some seem to consider it. I think they have very much underrated the difficulties which the Russian armies have, and will have, before them. But upon that point I can only again refer you to the language held by us as to the conditions of our neutrality at the beginning of the war."

Such were the reasonable warnings of Lord Derby, and they were re-echoed by the most pacific members of the Ministry. Lord Carnarvon, in a speech at Dulverton, remarked that it had been written a long time ago, "in quietness shall be thy strength," and that might be the best and wisest course to pursue. Sir Stafford Northcote, at Bournemouth, took up a similar line. On the other hand, there were not wanting those among the Conservatives who assumed a very warlike tone. Lord Eustace Cecil talked of Turkey as having been "stabbed in the dark" by Russia, and boasted that Great Britain was more ready for war than she had been at any period of her history. The fall of Plevna, and the unconditional surrender of Osman Pasha, naturally increased the tendency to talk in this style. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, as Secretary of War, was quite in his element at

Edinburgh, while denouncing the Russians for declaring war, and praising the brave defenders of Plevna. After severely rebuking Russia, he proceeded to speak of the rapid organisation of the army. "Gentlemen," said he, "if it comes to the question of defending British interests, if it comes to the question of standing up for that great fabric, the British Empire, which has been reared up by our forefathers through many a struggle and many a trial, then, even at the risk of shedding the blood of my countrymen, even at the risk of all we hold dear, our country shall put forward all her strength to prevent that glorious fabric being detached or impaired. . . . It is ours to see that no rude hand of the spoiler touches it; it is ours to see that no military monarch, however vast his resources, should be allowed to tear asunder from us, against their will, any of those dependencies which have their reliance upon us." Lord John Manners, at Grantham, though more poetical, was not less emphatic. "The sword once unsheathed," said he, "in the vindication of Imperial interests and national honour, that sword must never return to its scabbard until entwined with the laurels of unquestioned victory and the lily of lasting peace." By one comparing these blasts of the war trumpet with the peaceful strains of Lord Derby and Sir Stafford Northcote, the conclusion drawn was that the divisions in the Cabinet were wider than ever, and that the moderate section was with difficulty holding back the bellicose party from a headlong rush towards the East. On the 19th of December an official announcement was made to the effect that Parliament was to be summoned on the 17th of January, at least three weeks earlier than usual, and public excitement increased tenfold. The friends of the Turks were jubilant in the extreme. War, they said, would be declared immediately, or at least a vote for the increase of the army and navy would be taken. There was almost a panic in the City of London, and the wildest rumours were current everywhere. Anti-Turkish and pro-Turkish meetings were held everywhere; of the latter the most important was summoned to Trafalgar Square on the 29th of December, when the opposite party interfered and some disgraceful rioting ensued. At this time the Queen paid a private visit to Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden, and this unusual, though perfectly natural, circumstance at once had the strangest constructions put upon it. Her Majesty, it was said, had associated herself with the anti-Russian party in the Cabinet, and wished to make this known to the world by conferring special honour upon the man who was

most thoroughly identified with that side. There was, of course, no foundation for such idle stories. The Queen, with the highest theory of her duties as a constitutional Sovereign, was extremely unlikely to push forward her personal views upon any great party question, and the visit to Hughenden was nothing more than an expression of gratitude to an old servant who had laboured long, earnestly, and unselfishly for Queen and country.

The Turks themselves at this time were far more disposed, to use Lord John Manners' image, to entwine their sword with the lily of lasting peace than to keep it unsheathed in view of a later decoration with the laurels of unquestioned victory. After the capture of Plevna the Porte addressed an appeal to the Powers for mediation. It declared that if the object of Russia was to secure the development of institutions and reforms calculated to improve the lot of certain populations in which she took interest, that object had been more than accomplished by the reorganisation of the judicial system and the Constitution granted by his Imperial Majesty the Sultan. "If any doubt still exists," proceeded the Note, "on the subject of the strict application of our Constitution and of the reforms which we promised at the Constantinople Conference, this doubt ought to disappear in view of the formal and solemn declaration which we make of the sincerity of our resolutions." The only cause which impeded the Turkish efforts of reform was the continuance of the war; and for continuing the war no reason seemed to exist. Server Pasha proceeded to remark, perhaps with reminiscences of Lord Beaconsfield's Guildhall speech in his mind, that the Czar had repudiated all idea of conquest, and that the military honour of Russia was "unimpaired by the events of the campaign." The Porte was ready to ask for peace, "although the country did not feel that it had exhausted all its resources. There were no sacrifices to which the whole nation would not submit with a view to maintain the independence and integrity of their country. But it is the duty of the Imperial Government to put a stop, if possible, to all further bloodshed. In the name, then, of humanity, we appeal to the Great Powers and to their feelings of justice, and we trust that they will receive our request favourably."

Lord Derby delayed his reply until he had communicated with the other Powers. From Italy he received an ambiguous reply that "the Italian Government did not wish to separate itself from the line of conduct adopted by the other

Powers in order to bring about the peaceful results which all alike certainly desired." From Germany he received a curt intimation that "the Emperor declined to accede to the Sultan's request for mediation." Accordingly, Lord Derby, having a few days previously solemnly warned Musurus Pasha that there was not the slightest possibility of English intervention in the war, telegraphed to Mr. Layard that the refusal of the German Govern-

on his people. Lord Augustus Loftus was accordingly directed to inquire whether the Russian Government would entertain overtures of peace. Prince Gortschakoff, reported the British Ambassador, received this communication in a courteous and friendly spirit, and charged him to reply that Russia desired nothing better than to arrive at peace, but that for this purpose the Porte must address itself to the Imperial Commanders-in-Chief



HUGHENDEN MANOR, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. (From a Photograph by Taunt and Co.)

ment had rendered any prospect of joint mediation impracticable. However, after the urgent representations of the Porte, and the willingness of the Sultan to ask for peace, he would not be justified in making no effort to sustain the negotiations for peace. Accordingly, Mr. Layard was authorised to ask the Porte whether the Sultan was willing that the English Government should inquire of the Russian Government if the Emperor would entertain overtures of peace. A reply was received that a request to that effect had already been addressed to the English Government through Musurus Pasha, and that the Sultan was most anxious to put an end, as soon as possible, to a war which was bringing such terrible calamities

in Europe and Asia, who would state the conditions on which an armistice would be granted. This guarded reply was received on the 27th of December, and had not been communicated to the Porte when this year of bloodshed and intrigue came to a little-to-be-regretted end. It was clear that the Russian Chancellor had simply to play a waiting game, and to leave the issue to his Sovereign's generals. So completely were Englishmen's eyes blinded by the gallant defence of Plevna, that few even among military experts understood how absolutely the Sultan had come to the end of his resources. Accordingly, they allowed themselves to write and talk in a strain of decidedly shortsighted optimism.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Parliamentary History of 1877—Character of the Session—Army and Navy Estimates—Death of Mr. Ward Hunt—Indecision of Government—The Duke of Richmond's Burials Bill—Its Timidity and its Withdrawal—The Prisons Bill—The Universities Bill of 1876 and its Abandonment—The Consolidated Bill of 1877—The Debate—The Bill in Committee—In the Upper House—The Pigott Scandal—Accusations against Lord Salisbury—Independent Attitude of the Home Rule Party—Its Tactics—Prolonged Debates—The South Africa Bill—Lord Carnarvon's Speech—Annexation of the Transvaal—Obstruction in the Commons—Sir S. Northcote's Resolutions—Twenty-six Hours' Sitting—End of the Session—Divisions among the Home Rulers—Mr. Butt *versus* Mr. Parnell—Conference of the Party—Ecclesiastical Commotions—Case of Mr. Tooth—Proceedings in Convocation with regard to "The Priest in Absolution"—The Ridsdale Judgment and its Effect—Shipping Disasters—Depression of Trade and Mining Accidents—Obituary of the Year—Proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India—Distribution of Honours—Place of Proclamation—The Ceremony—Lord Lytton's Speech—The Official Gazette—Departure of Lord Lytton for Puttiala—Feeling throughout the East—Effect of the Proclamation—News of the approach of Famine—Official Correspondence—Lord Carnarvon's Despatch—Sir R. Temple in Bengal—In Madras and Mysore—Official Controversies—Gloominess of the Prospect—The Duke of Buckinghamshire's Appeal—Reply of the British People—The Famine Loan—Irrigation Schemes—Improvement of the Situation—Colonial Affairs.

THE domestic and Parliamentary history of the year 1877 was of inferior interest to that of the relations of Britain with the Great Powers. This was foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne, more than half of which referred to the Eastern Question. The session was remarkable for the scantiness of its legislation; there were enough measures proposed in the Queen's Speech to occupy the most business-like of Parliaments, but few of them came to maturity. They were nipped in the bud by the furious and persistent blasts of Parliamentary obstruction, which from this date and onwards, instead of raging as before at rare intervals, perhaps once or twice during a session, were to blow almost unceasingly, threatening to reduce all law-making to a standstill, and to make Parliamentary institutions a laughing-stock instead of a theme for universal admiration. The Bills proposed in the Royal Speech related to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to the amending of the law as to Bankruptcy and Letters Patent for Inventions. There were also to be measures relating to economy and efficiency in the management of the prisons of the United Kingdom; for amending the laws relating to the valuation of property in England, to factories and workshops, and to the summary jurisdiction of magistrates. Legislation was to be proposed with reference to roads and bridges in Scotland, and the Scottish Poor Law. A Supreme Court of Judicature was to be constituted in Ireland, and an equitable jurisdiction conferred on the county courts of that country. Once more the Conservative administration had put forward an unambitious programme, but one which, if successfully carried out, would have effectually absolved the

party from the oft-made charge of only pretending to legislate.

With praiseworthy zeal Mr. Cross introduced his Prisons Bill on the first night at Government's disposal and it passed its second reading on the 15th of February. Several other Government measures passed through one or more important stages in the first fortnight of the session, together with other Bills, such as Sir John Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Bill, and Mr. R. Smyth's Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which were undertaken at the instance of private Members. Mr. Hardy's Army Estimates were carried with an almost universal chorus of approval from an exceedingly empty House—Colonel Mure, who in former years had been an earnest opponent of the abolition of purchase, now formally withdrawing his opposition—but the Navy Estimates of Mr. Ward Hunt were again subjected to the most searching criticism. A few days before their formal introduction, Mr. Seeley, Member for Lincoln, went so far as to propose that a Secretary of State should be substituted for the First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Hunt was prompt to reply to what was little short of a personal attack. "Looking at his speech," he said, "rather than his motion, my view is that his motion ought to have been one of want of confidence in the First Lord of the Admiralty. I have a very old English prejudice in favour of coming up to the scratch; and I cannot help saying that if the honourable Member intended to have made an attack upon me, I should have preferred he had made it in the shape of the motion I have suggested."

Mr. Hunt's speech on the Navy Estimates proved to be the last occasion on which he was to

address the House of Commons at any length on the affairs of the department of which he was the head. For some time he had been suffering from a complication of diseases, and had found the burden of his official duties almost too heavy to bear. Nevertheless, he continued to stick manfully to his post, until a bad attack of gout forced him to go to Homburg—towards the end of June. His resignation was spoken of as possible, but it was generally expected that he would speedily recover, and render any rearrangement of the Cabinet unnecessary. The news of his sudden death on the 28th of July was received with unfeigned regret in the House of Commons, where he was deservedly a great favourite. Mr. Hunt entered the Lower Chamber in 1857, and soon distinguished himself by the earnestness and depth of his speeches on agricultural questions. From February to December, 1868, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Derby, and won considerable reputation as a painstaking and courteous official. This reputation he sadly marred on his appointment, in 1874, as First Lord of the Admiralty. Partly from want of tact, partly from inability to grasp details, and partly from failing health, he was more than once the author of several serious blunders; the "phantom fleet" speech was followed by the Slave Circular, and then came the proceedings with regard to the *Vanguard* court-martial. These mistakes, however, were soon forgiven, and political friends and opponents combined to render due honour to the sterling merits of the deceased statesman. Sir Stafford Northcote well said that he was a "beloved Member of the House, who never had an enemy, and who had many friends." Lord Hartington described him as "a generous and worthy political opponent. We have all," said the leader of the Opposition, "been witnesses of the zeal which he brought to bear upon the discharge of the official duties which fell upon him during the present Parliament. I am sure it will only intensify our feeling of regret for his loss to think that the end of the right honourable gentleman has been hastened by the pertinacity with which, in his failing health, and with his physical infirmity, he resolved to remain at his post and do his duty." Mr. Disraeli's choice of Mr. Hunt's successor was universally popular. Mr. W. H. Smith, who was summoned from the Secretaryship of the Treasury to the Admiralty and a seat in the Cabinet, had a high reputation for business capacity and, as a representative of Westminster, established a much-needed connection between the Conservative party and the borough constituencies.

Few sessions of Parliament had ever begun their work with more promptitude than this one, and in none did the events of the summer more completely belie those of the spring. The storm was gradually gathering, but before it burst the Budget had been safely debated, and it must be admitted that one or two mistakes committed by Government chiefs in the House of Commons encouraged disorder. They seldom seemed to know their own minds. Sir John Lubbock's Bill was forced upon them by the union of the unofficial Conservatives with the Liberal party, and a very crooked course was adopted with regard to Mr. Clare Read's resolution on county boards. With the proposed Valuation Bill in his mind's eye, Mr. Read moved that "no readjustment of local administration would be satisfactory or complete which did not refer county business, other than that relating to the administration of justice and the administration of order, to a representative county board." This resolution, of course, cut at the root of the authority of the squirearchy, and was accordingly adopted by the Opposition with much zeal, while Government sent out a whip against it. However, at the last moment, they shrank from a division, and put up Mr. Sclater-Booth to say that as Government understood that the resolution was not to be immediately pressed, they were willing to agree to it. Mr. Richard Smyth's Bill for closing public-houses on Sunday all over Ireland was treated with similar indecision. The second reading, upon which occasion Sir Michael Hicks-Beach declared, in the name of Government, that they would accept the Bill on certain conditions, was taken on the 12th of February. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee and reported by the beginning of May. Farther than this, however, it never proceeded; after much pressure, Sir Stafford Northcote, who at first declined to name a day, fixed the 27th of June for its discussion. It was then "talked out" by those of the Irish Members who were hostile to it and Government refused to name another day for the resumption of the debate. Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright were by no means unduly severe when they blamed the Ministers for adopting the Bill and then deserting it.

A similar spirit of hesitation seemed to have spread to the House of Lords. Year after year Mr. Osborne Morgan had brought forward either a Bill or a motion in favour of allowing to Dissenters the right of burial with their own services in parish churchyards, and the divisions became narrower and narrower. In some form or other a Burials Bill was inevitable; and accordingly

the clergy became anxious that it should pass while the Conservatives were still in office. It was at the suggestion of the Bishops that the Duke of Richmond introduced his Bill early in March in what the *Spectator* termed a "dismal" speech. The proposed measure was a compromise, and one of a very unsatisfactory nature, the subject being approached from the sanitary point of view. Burial authorities were to be established in country districts, to whom was assigned the duty of providing new burial grounds, both consecrated and unconsecrated, where there were not enough for the purpose. Thus the main difficulty, the concession to Dissenters of the right to use their own services in parish churchyards was altogether evaded; and as a loophole of escape in cases where the authorities should decide that there was already sufficient burial accommodation, it was provided that if the friends of the deceased objected to the services of the clergyman there might be a silent funeral. As soon as the Bill was printed it met with the most determined opposition from the Dissenters; there was an important meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel, presided over by Mr. Osborne Morgan, at which the proposal of silent funerals was stigmatised as an attempt to place the burial of Nonconformists and of suicides on the same footing.

In the House of Lords there was a most animated debate on the second reading, when Lord Granville proposed a resolution that no amendment of the Burial Laws would be satisfactory which did not enable the relatives or friends of the deceased to conduct the funeral "with such Christian and orderly religious observances as may seem fit." He was defeated, and the second reading was carried by a majority of thirty-nine, but not before the two Archbishops had declared themselves, though with some reserve, in his favour, and the Bishop of Oxford had voted for him. Indeed, of the most able debaters in the Upper House, hardly one spoke on the Duke's side, and the usual Ministerial majority was much reduced.

In committee Lord Harrowby proposed an amendment for allowing Nonconformist services in churchyards, which was of similar aim to Lord Granville's resolution. It was rejected only by the casting vote of the Chairman; and when proposed again at a later stage, was carried by a majority of sixteen. This gave Government an opportunity of which they gladly availed themselves. The Duke of Richmond rose a few days afterwards and said that he and his colleagues were of opinion that Lord Harrowby's amendment was so contrary to

Government's scheme that they must withdraw the measure. At the same time he acknowledged the importance of the question and promised that it should be considered during the recess. This promise was not made good, and the conciliatory moderation adopted by the House of Lords towards the Nonconformists was thus brought into forcible contrast with the irresolution and timidity of Government.

Of the successful measures of the year, perhaps the most important was Mr. Cross's Prisons Bill, which was on the lines of the dropped legislation of the previous year. Its object was to transfer the control of local prisons in England, Scotland, and Ireland from the Justices to the Home Office, and make their cost chargeable on the public funds instead of on the rates. The Home Secretary might, if necessary, close any prisons, and for every prison there was to be annually appointed a managing committee. From an economical point of view, the change was much to be desired, but it was met with some resistance from members like Mr. Newdegate and Sir Walter Barttelot, who represented the views of the county families, and from others like Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Rylands, who looked on the Bill as an infringement of local liberties. On the whole, however, it had the approval of the House, and passed its second reading by 279 to 69. In Committee the Irish Members proceeded to discuss the measure at wearisome length, proposing amendments, most of which had no particular force, some no force at all and making numerous speeches on Fenian convicts, and other extraneous topics. The patience of Mr. Cross, however, at length overcame them. He accepted several of their amendments, notably one or two proposed by Mr. Parnell, whose knowledge of the subject, as an Irish magistrate, proved to be very thorough. The Upper House received the Bill with cold approbation, but did not divide upon it. Lord Kimberley deprecated placing the whole of prison management in the hands of a central authority, and he was supported by Viscount Middleton.

The Irish Judicature Bill, the second of the four measures which, out of the many promised in the Queen's Speech, were eventually to become law, had long been in contemplation. It was, in fact, a necessary corollary of Lord Selborne's great Act, and ought to have proceeded *pari passu* with it. The circumstances of the Irish Bar were, however, to a certain extent peculiar. They had comparatively little practice; but, on the other hand, there were a great many smaller appointments which

held out to a hard-working man the prospects of a reasonable income. Accordingly, they opposed might and main the contemplated abolition of several minor judgeships, and Government, with their hands fairly full, had allowed the matter to drift. Early in February, however, the Attorney-General for Ireland introduced the Bill. It was for the most part a duplicate of the English Judicature Act, effecting the fusion of law and equity, the consolidation of the Higher Courts into a Supreme Court of Judicature for Ireland, with a Court of Original Jurisdiction and a Court of Appeal. A staff of eighteen judges was established, at a cost of over seventy thousand pounds. Owing to bad management, the Bill, though read a second time in February, did not go into committee until June, and then it was further delayed by one or two lengthy discussions raised by the Irish Members. Finally it was hurried through the House of Lords during the last days of the session, with a precipitancy which, owing to the fact that the question had been thoroughly well aired, fortunately escaped the usual penalty of the subsequent detection of a blunder or two.

The Universities Bill had, like the Prisons Bill, been introduced in separate forms for Oxford and Cambridge in the previous year, and had expired in that "massacre of the innocents" which occurs towards the end of most Parliamentary Sessions. It was now wisely consolidated into a single measure. The main objects of the two Bills, as introduced in 1876, were to increase the endowments for teaching and to afford means for the admission of the sons of poor parents to the advantage of a university education, and in order to effect this it was proposed to diminish the number of idle Fellowships. It was computed that at least £50,000 a year could be saved by this in Oxford alone, and the money thus gained was to be employed in making provision for affording further or better instruction in art or science; for providing endowments for professorships or lectureships on arts or sciences not already taught in the University; for providing new or improving existing buildings, libraries, and museums, and collections and apparatus. College revenues were to be dealt with in the same way as university revenues. In order to carry out the necessary reforms, Commissions were appointed; that for Oxford University consisted of Lord Selborne, Lord Redesdale, Dr. Burgon (Dean of Chichester), Mr. Justice Grove, Sir Henry Maine, Mr. Montague Bernard, and Mr. Ridley; that for Cambridge was composed of the Bishop of Worcester, Lord Rayleigh, Sir A.

Cockburn, Mr. Hemming, Mr. Bouverie, and Professor Stokes. They were to have very considerable powers, and were to hold office until 1883. The Bills were criticised by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the ground that cheapness of education was more necessary than endowment of research; and in the Lower House by Mr. Lowe, who bitterly resented the transference of any money whatever from the colleges to the university. The question of clerical Fellowships was also raised, and a considerable divergence of opinion manifested itself on this very prickly point of controversy. The general sense of the House of Commons was, however, decidedly in favour of the proposed changes, and there were numerous expressions of dissatisfaction when Mr. Disraeli announced that both Bills would have to be abandoned soon after their second reading.

Mr. Hardy, on the second reading of the consolidated Bill, on the 19th of February, 1877, declared that he had thought it best to introduce it in pretty nearly the same form as that in which it had come before the House in the previous year, inasmuch as no opportunity had been afforded for discussing the amendments then put on the paper. There were, however, to be one or two changes; inasmuch as complaints were made that Oxford residents were not sufficiently represented on the Commission, Dr. Bellamy (Master of St. John's College), and Professor Henry Smith (the Savilian Professor of Geometry), took the places of Sir H. S. Maine and Dean Burgon. The labours of the Commission were to be shortened, the year 1881 being fixed as their limit, instead of 1883, in order that the Universities might be relieved of a state of uncertainty as soon as possible.

The debate was, perhaps, hardly worthy of its subject; short speeches were the order of the day, and there was not very much energy displayed in the discussion, though most of the educational authorities in the House took part in it. Mr. Lowe renewed his attack on the Bill, which he said was framed after an examination that was merely pecuniary; he was very scornful of universities as distinct from colleges, and sneered at the value of an Oxford or Cambridge degree of Bachelor of Arts. "The standard," he said, "was unjustifiably low, and in that way it had been the means of keeping down the education of the country. So low indeed was the standard that a young man going up to Oxford might live there all his time in idleness, and yet be able to satisfy the standard required for a degree." Dr. Lyon Playfair and Sir John Lubbock both regretted that in the

composition of the Commissions it had been forgotten that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were national institutions, not close corporations, with mere local habits and peculiarities.

This point was taken up by the Opposition when the Bill went into Committee. Mr. Goschen proposed to add the name of Professor Bartholomew

Commissioners should provide that "the entering into, or being in holy orders, shall not be a condition of holding any headship or Fellowship." This he supported in a very able speech, in which he maintained that the system bribed a man to take orders at a time when most of all his judgment ought to be entirely unfettered, when it



THE ENTRANCE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.



Price to the Oxford Commission, and was beaten by only eleven votes, but the majorities against the names that were afterwards proposed gradually grew larger and larger, much to the indignation of Sir William Harcourt. Sir Charles Dilke brought forward an amendment, the object of which was to limit the power of non-resident members in the Convocation at Oxford, and of the Senate at Cambridge, and was defeated by a majority of only thirty-two. The great struggle, however, as had generally been anticipated, was over an amendment of Mr. Goschen's that the

might be premature to determine the choice of a profession, and when it was especially undesirable that the profession of a clergyman should be hastily chosen. A petition to that effect had, said he, been signed by nearly two-thirds of the resident Fellows of Oxford. Sir Charles Dilke, who seconded the amendment, said that on the whole at Cambridge there were 115 Fellowships not subject to clerical restrictions, and 235 Fellowships subject to clerical restrictions. Mr. Gladstone, who gave his vote for Mr. Goschen, pointed out the necessity of the continuance of the clerical element in the

teaching governing bodies of the universities, not merely for scholastic instruction, but for the great business of discipline. Mr. Hardy, in reply, assumed an apologetic tone; he made little attempt to defend clerical Fellowships, but said that the Bill was an academical bill, and not one dealing with religious tests. He pointed out, as Mr. Mowbray had done before him, that these questions had better be left to the decision of the Commissioners, who had ample powers. In spite of these representations, the amendment was defeated by only nine (Ayes, 138; Noes, 147), a result which the Liberals greeted with much cheering.

In the House of Lords the subject had been ably discussed during the previous Session, and the Bill was accordingly allowed to escape without much manipulation. Encouraged, perhaps, by the result of the division in the Lower House, Lord Granville ventured to propose another amendment, directed against clerical Fellowships, but was defeated by 103 to 60. On the whole, perhaps, it was not much to be regretted that such a final decision had been made. It left the hands of the Commission free, while the drift of the debates in both Houses served to show them that a too rigid clericalism was contrary to the spirit of the age, even in places where the memories of bygone days were apt to linger longer than elsewhere.

Before passing to the exciting topic of Parliamentary Obstruction, it may be well to allude briefly to two official scandals, which created much dissatisfaction at the time, but were found to have little or no foundation. The first of these, known as the "Pigott scandal," affected no less a person than the Prime Minister. The post of Controller of the Stationery Office, usually held by some celebrity in the world of letters, vacated by the retirement of Mr. W. R. Greg, was conferred on Mr. Pigott, a War-Office clerk, who had no special knowledge of stationery and printing, and who had not in any way distinguished himself as a literary man. It was at once suspected that jobbery was at work; and Mr. Holms put a question to Mr. W. H. Smith why the appointment of an unskilled man had been made, although Mr. Smith himself had recommended to a Select Committee in 1874 that someone technically trained should be placed at the head of the office. Mr. Smith, in reply, intimated that the responsibility rested with Lord Beaconsfield. Soon afterwards it was asserted that Mr. Pigott was the son of a former rector of Hughenden, who had been an intimate friend of Lord Beaconsfield's, and one of his most active electioneering agents. Mr. Holms thereupon got

up again, and moved a resolution, to the effect that the appointment was calculated to diminish the influence of Select Committees, and to discourage the zeal of officials employed in public departments of the State. He was seconded by a Conservative, Mr. Mellor. Sir Stafford Northcote, to whom Lord Beaconsfield had neglected to communicate the real facts, made a most feeble defence; and Mr. Holms's motion, which amounted to a direct vote of censure on the Prime Minister, was carried, in an angry House, by a majority of four (156 to 152). It was thought that a serious blow had been struck at Lord Beaconsfield's reputation. Three days afterwards he made an explanation in the House of Lords. It appeared that the whole story was an invention. Lord Beaconsfield had no knowledge of Mr. Pigott, and had never been asked to promote him. The father had left Hughenden nearly thirty years ago, and instead of electioneering on the Conservative side had given his vote against him. The appointment had been conferred on Mr. Pigott only after his seniors in office had declined it, and because no expert of sufficient standing could be obtained for the money allowed. In the face of this complete explanation, the vote was unanimously rescinded by the House of Commons. Mr. Holms proved, indeed, that Lord Beaconsfield was mistaken in saying that the Rector of Hughenden had voted against him; but as he had made the statement on the authority of a member of the Pigott family it could not be laid at his door. It was thought, however, by many that another explanation was needed—namely, why Lord Beaconsfield had neglected to put his colleagues in the House of Commons in possession of sufficient information to enable them to strangle the evil rumour at its birth.

The second official scandal, which also had reference to an accusation of jobbery, was directed against Lord Salisbury. A Bill had been introduced authorising several metropolitan improvements; in particular, a new street, running from Charing Cross to Tottenham Court Road. The Board of Works wished, in order to recoup themselves, to acquire the frontages on each side of the new roadway; but the House of Lords, contrary to the usual practice, inserted a clause preventing them from securing this advantage. Thus Lord Salisbury, through whose land the proposed street was to run, would be paid twice over—by the purchase of land for the roadway, and by the frontages erected at the expense of the ratepayer. Mr. Fawcett, whose attention was drawn to this

arrangement, arose towards the end of the session, and moved that the Commons should disagree with the Lords' amendment, and carried his point without a division. The Lords wisely determined not to insist on their amendment, and it was accordingly left out of the Bill. At the same time it was pointed out that the charge of jobbery was absurd. Lord Salisbury remarked that his much-maligned agents had only done their duty in urging his claims to the Committee, and Viscount Hardinge, as chairman of the Committee, explained that they had thought the case exceptional; the property was very valuable, and it was a question if its owner would be sufficiently compensated if he were not allowed the frontage.

In the first month of the year the Home Rule party gave decided indications that they were by no means disposed to sit as idle spectators during the approaching Parliamentary campaign. Major O'Gorman, for instance, on receiving Lord Hartington's circular, announcing the impending meeting of Parliament, sent a reply to the effect that he considered the Liberal leader's communication "impertinent," inasmuch as he was a follower of Mr. Butt alone. In April Mr. O'Donnell improved on this policy of independence by announcing, in a letter to the *Times*, that the Liberal party might wait until the "crack of doom," but "until they had accepted Home Rule for Ireland they would be allowed, whether most worthy or unworthy, to have no part in the government of the British Empire."

Thus the Irish Home Rulers became in name, what they had long been in fact, a third party in the State. It was soon seen in what direction their newly-completed organisation was to be employed. They strained to the utmost the forms of the House, putting down endless verbal amendments to Bills, moving adjournments, forcing on divisions, and dragging out "Question time" to thrice its usual length. The chief actors in this new departure were the aforesaid Mr. O'Donnell, a journalist; Mr. Parnell, a Wicklow landowner; and Mr. Biggar, a Belfast provision merchant. Their object was to extort an Irish Parliament from the Imperial Government; and their means, which were entirely subordinate to their ends, were threats of bringing the House of Commons to a standstill. This minatory warning was uttered without the slightest reserve, and naturally did not make them popular in the Lower House. When Mr. Shaw brought forward the annual motion in favour of an inquiry into the Home Rule question, several advanced Liberals, Mr. Fawcett in

particular, were very outspoken in their opposition, showing a natural objection to be dictated to by a small body of men. Mr. Butt, from the first, refused to be a party to obstruction; but his moderation was treated with contempt by the more advanced members of the party, who aspired to lead and scorned to follow.

As the session went on the Obstructionist tactics were more fully developed, and in the months of July and August, when every day and every hour was of importance, the trial of strength was fought out in several pitched battles. On Monday, July 2nd, the Irish Members raised a storm on the Army Estimates, when Mr. O'Connor Power moved to report progress soon after twelve, on the ground that he objected to voting away public money at such a late hour of the night. He was defeated by 128 to 8, and then the sitting was prolonged by alternate motions, that progress be reported and that the Chairman leave the chair. On one occasion the Chancellor of the Exchequer intimated that it might be necessary to make a change in the rules of debate; and certainly a long and irrelevant speech of Mr. O'Donnell's, in which he illustrated the impropriety of voting large sums of money after midnight, by the examples of the Senates of Greece and Rome, and the German Reichstag, tried the patience of the House to the uttermost. Reinforced by Mr. Whalley, Member for Peterborough, the little band of six Irishmen—Captain Nolan, Major O'Gorman, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. R. Power, and Mr. O'Donnell—carried on the struggle gaily, their attempts to count out the House being defeated by the united efforts of Government and the Opposition to keep forty Members together. Mr. Cross and Sir Stafford Northcote at length left the House, about six in the morning, handing over the leadership to Sir Henry Selwin Ibbetson, who, at a quarter past seven, said that Government had persevered long enough, and the House was counted out. There was another outbreak on the 5th, when Mr. Parnell moved that the proposed salary of future Irish judges should be reduced, and Major O'Gorman asserted that there were judges on the Irish Bench who incited the people to go about by night and commit murder.

In the course of another wrangle which ensued later in the month, upon Mr. Chaplin's severely censuring the Irish Members, whom he described as stubborn, and insensible to the feelings by which, generally speaking, honourable gentlemen in the House were actuated, Mr. O'Donnell condemned Government for sacrificing several useful

Bills in favour of such a scandalous measure as the South Africa Bill. The scheme of Federation had been for many years a favourite plan of the Colonial Office, and Lord Carnarvon in particular had adopted it with great enthusiasm. Accordingly, on the 23rd of April, he moved the second reading of the Bill in a speech full of sound historical knowledge and a keen appreciation of difficulties. Ten years previously, he said, he had moved the second reading of the Bill for the confederation of the Dominion of Canada, a measure which had been brought into shape by his predecessor, Mr. Cardwell, and since the passing of that Act not only had there been a great development of population, of revenue, of exports and imports, but at the same time the relations between the Canadian Colonies and England had been drawn still closer. The Colonial Secretary pointed out that there was a difference between the two plans: the first had been thoroughly discussed both in England and Canada before it was brought before the Imperial Parliament, and almost every point of difficulty and controversy had been brought into the way of settlement by personal explanation and preliminary discussion. The South Africa Bill, on the contrary, was in many respects still a matter of controversy. It was accordingly only produced in outline and principle, and was essentially permissive. Lord Carnarvon then went with much fulness of detail into the political circumstances of South Africa, regarding it as divided into three groups, the English Colonies, the native tribes, and the Dutch States. He said that the different systems of government which existed at present were the cause of much difficulty, and if there were a united government by means of a Confederation, there would be better, more uniform, and more even arrangements. His plan was that the English Colonies and the two Dutch Republics—the Orange Free State and Transvaal—should unite themselves voluntarily into a Confederation, that legislative authority should rest with a double Chamber, the constitution of which was left to the decision of the colonists, while each province should be presided over by a chief executive officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Crown might determine. The legislative power was to be distributed on the Canadian model. "The principle is," said Lord Carnarvon, "that there shall be certain powers reserved exclusively for the central Government, certain others reserved exclusively for the provincial, and certain which are concurrent between the two. Whilst, however, is assigned to the central authority the consideration

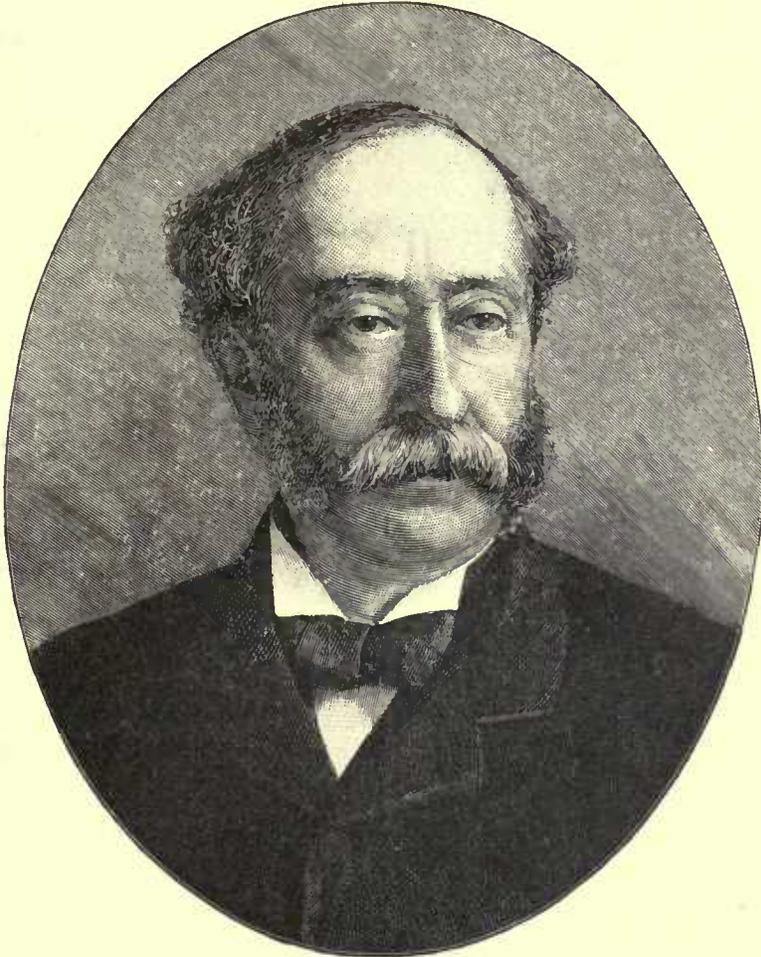
of native questions, every law on such subjects will be reserved for the sanction of her Majesty at home, and that control over native affairs which must, under present circumstances, still be preserved to this country, will be upheld." This Bill passed through the House with only one expression of dissentient opinion, that of Earl Grey, who said the South African Colonies were utterly unfitted for such a scheme, as the population consisted for the most part of savages, to whom the franchise could not be granted, while their exclusion would simply place political power in the hands of a caste.

Before the Bill had reached its second reading in the House of Commons a most important event occurred: the annexation of the Transvaal Republic to British territory. It was a somewhat hasty act on the part of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, for which he had little authority from the Colonial Office, but Mr. James Lowther, the Under-Secretary of State, defended him, and said that he had the complete confidence of Lord Carnarvon, and, within certain defined limits, had power to act practically on his own responsibility. Mr. Courtney, aided by Sir Charles Dilke, spoke with much fervour against the annexation, which he stigmatised as unjust, and against the confederation scheme, which he declared to be foredoomed to failure, but he obtained only nineteen supporters against eighty-one.

When Mr. Lowther moved that the House go into Committee on the Bill, Sir George Campbell raised a debate by moving, that no measure establishing a self-governing federation for Africa was satisfactory which did not make direct provision for the settlement of the relations of the black and the white races. Then it was that the determination of the Irish Members to obstruct the Bill was discovered. Mr. Parnell spoke at some length against it, but was far exceeded by Mr. O'Donnell, who spoke for an hour and twenty-five minutes, amid constant rebukes from the Speaker for wandering from the point, cries of "Order!" and "Question!" and one or two friendly attempts to count out the House by Mr. Biggar and Major O'Gorman. It was determined eventually to proceed with the Bill by 221 to 22. On the 25th of July a most unseemly dispute took place which resulted in some words of Mr. Parnell's, to the effect that "he had special satisfaction in preventing and thwarting the intentions of the Government with respect to the Bill," being taken down. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved that he should be suspended until Friday, and after a furious altercation he was ordered to

withdraw. From this extreme measure Sir Stafford Northcote was dissuaded by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Gathorne Hardy, at whose suggestion the debate was adjourned, and Mr. Parnell was brought in to continue his speech, which he did amidst frequent cautions from the Chairman for wandering

or the Chairman of Committees, to be disregarding the authority of the Chair, the debate shall be at once suspended; and on a motion being made in the House that the Member be not heard during the remainder of the debate, or during the sitting of Committee, such motion, after the



LORD CARNARVON.

(From a Photograph by Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

from the subject of debate. He was succeeded by Mr. O'Donnell, who made confusion worse confounded.

As a remedy for these scandalous scenes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 27th proposed two resolutions for the modification of the rules of procedure, which, as he afterwards informed his followers, had been framed with the concurrence of the leaders of the Opposition. They provided (1) that when a Member, having been twice moved out of order, shall be pronounced by Mr. Speaker,

Member complained of has been heard in explanation, shall be put without further debate; and (2) that in Committee of the whole House no Member have power to move more than once during the debate on the same question, either that the Chairman do report progress, or that the Chairman do leave the Chair, or to speak more than once to such motion; and that no Member who has made one of these motions has power to make the other on the same motion. These proposals were adopted by large majorities of the House, Sir William

Harcourt and the Marquis of Hartington both expressing their approval, and despite an indignant protest from Mr. Sullivan, who said that he should always feel as if he held his seat on the sufferance of the majority.

When put to the test, these modifications of the rules of procedure failed altogether to cure the malady from which the House was suffering. After one or two preliminary skirmishes during the 30th of July, the Obstructionists prepared for a great final battle on the 31st. Government and the Opposition arranged to meet them; it was determined that the sitting should continue until the Bill had either passed or was defeated; the Whips undertook to keep up a sufficient supply of Members, and Liberals of experience, like Mr. Childers and Mr. Forster, volunteered for the Chair. The House went into Committee at a quarter past five p.m., and Mr. O'Donnell immediately moved to report progress. From the first a mistake was made: instead of voting in silence, and allowing the Irish Members to make their long speeches, with the authority of the Chair to check them when they wandered from the point, or made unparliamentary remarks, the Liberal and Conservative Members, with Sir William Harcourt at their head, began to accuse them of wilful obstruction, and thereby gave them a means by which to obstruct the more. To a certain extent they availed themselves of the assistance of Mr. Courtney, who was utterly opposed to the Bill, and strongly averse from encountering what he termed rowdiness by rowdiness. Amid the utmost confusion (a terrific storm being raised by the refusal of Mr. O'Connor Power to withdraw the expression "conspiracy" as applied to Government), the sitting continued until twenty minutes past four, when Mr. Raikes resigned the Chair to Mr. Childers. The latter at once proved himself to be endowed with all the essential qualities of a president; an amendment of Mr. Parnell's, which was not consistent with sense, was at once set aside, and other authoritative rulings for the time restored order to the turbulent assembly. At half-past six the Chair was taken by Mr. W. H. Smith, whose reign continued until half-past eight, when he was succeeded by Sir H. Selwin Ibbetson, whose powers of control were severely taxed. About nine o'clock the Irish Members, who had for some time been reduced to a party of five, namely, Messrs. Biggar, Kirk, O'Donnell, Gray, and Captain Nolan, began to show signs of exhaustion, and Mr. O'Donnell suggested that Government should meet them

half-way. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, who had returned to the House after a few hours' rest, taken by the advice of Mr. Forster, declined to accede to the request, and intimated that unless the Obstructionists changed their tactics, it might be necessary to report the circumstances to the House, and leave it to the House to say what was to be done. Mr. O'Donnell thereupon intimated that the question having changed from one of physical endurance to one of directing the power of the House against himself and his friends, he did not feel bound to continue the contest. Shortly after twelve Mr. Raikes returned to the Chair, and Mr. Parnell, who also put in a fresh appearance, said that Mr. O'Donnell was physically unable to proceed with the numerous amendments which stood in his name on the paper, but it appeared that he had not calculated the staying powers of his colleague, who continued to persevere for another hour and a half. Mr. Gathorne Hardy in reply, said that the Committee, not Government, had come to the conclusion that the Bill should be carried at that sitting. From that time the Opposition ceased to become formidable; the remaining clauses were run through with some rapidity, in spite of the renewed protests of Mr. Courtney, and at ten minutes past two the Bill passed through Committee. The House then proceeded to discuss the Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar taking considerable part in the debate. It rose at a quarter past six p.m., having sat for twenty-six consecutive hours.

Warned by this severe lesson, the Irish Members ceased for the next fortnight to strain the rules of debate, and on the 14th of August, "the dullest, least useful, and in some respects most melancholy session of our time," as it was severely termed, came to an end. The royal messages were short, the attitude of the Ministry with regard to the Russo-Turkish war, was described as being one of humanity, and it was hoped that the four measures of the session, the Prisons Bill, the Universities Act, the Irish Judicature Act, and the Sheriffs' Court Act, would work successfully.

One result of the riotous proceedings of the Obstructionists was the outbreak of a quarrel which threatened to be permanent between them and the recognised leader of their party, Mr. Butt. During the memorable sitting of July 31st and August 1st, the latter, with considerable warmth, denied that Mr. O'Donnell had any right to speak on behalf of the Irish party. "I know," he said, "that the Irish party repudiate the Member for

Dungarvan. I would be false to myself, I would be false to my country, if I did not repudiate him. If I thought that he represented the Irish party and the Irish party represented my country—but it does not—I would retire from Irish politics as a vulgar brawl, in which no man could take part with advantage or honour to himself." To this Mr. O'Donnell retaliated by alluding, in a speech to the North London Home Rule Association, to the more moderate of his colleagues as "frothy leaders, parliamentary trimmers, and masked political impostors." Mr. Butt thereupon summoned a meeting of the party, and informed them in plain terms that they must either cease to obstruct or he would tender his resignation. The gossip of the hour had it that there was some thought among them of accepting it and of electing in his stead Mr. Parnell or Mr. Biggar.

The election for Clare, however, where The O'Gorman Mahon, an avowed supporter of Mr. Parnell in opposition to Mr. Butt, was defeated by Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, though the latter was absent at the time, seems to have convinced them that such action was premature. This, at all events, was the upshot of a conference of Home Rule Members of Parliament held at Dublin on the 9th of October. Nevertheless, the proceedings were enlivened by several personal altercations between the leaders of the two sections—Mr. Butt accusing Mr. Parnell of calling him an informer, and roundly denouncing a policy of wholesale obstruction, though he admitted that it was advisable within certain limits. Finally, three resolutions were moved by Mr. Shaw, and carried unanimously : (1) that they should maintain the unity and authority of the Home Rule Parliamentary party, being more than ever convinced of the wisdom and efficiency of a policy of united and energetic action, under the leadership of Mr. Butt ; (2) that on all matters affecting the interest of Ireland on Imperial questions of importance, the Home Rule party should, as far as possible, consult together, and carry out a definite, earnest, and united line of policy and action ; (3) that the Members should meet the Home Rule League in a national conference. At a meeting of the League, held a few days afterwards, it was decided that the proposed conference should be held between the 16th of December and the 20th of January, and that admission should be given to Members of Parliament, priests of all denominations, magistrates, town councillors and other functionaries, together with fifty representatives from England and Scotland. It was eventually held on the 14th of January, 1878.

The divisions amongst those who aspired to be the political leaders of Ireland were hardly more deep-rooted, or calculated to do greater harm, than the dissensions which broke out during the year between the different sections of the English Church, threatening to strain to the utmost the relations between Church and State. At the beginning of 1877 there occurred some commotions in connection with the Church of St. James at Hatcham. Early in the previous December the Rev. Arthur Tooth had received a monition from the Court of Arches enjoining him to discontinue his ritualistic practices. This warning he disregarded, and was in consequence suspended for three months, but he ignored the sentence and continued to hold service as before. Scenes of the most disgraceful riot occurred every Sunday, when large mobs arrived by train and, despite the exertions of the police, besieged the church for some hours. On the 14th of January the building was closed by order of the bishop of the diocese, and on the 22nd Mr. Tooth was arrested and imprisoned in Horsemonger Lane Gaol. This seemed to make matters worse. Mr. Tooth's nominee and the curate licensed by the bishop contended for the possession of the church, which had in consequence to remain closed on the following Sunday. Members of the Protestant League, and of the Church of England Working Men's Society, assembled in large numbers, and joined an uproarious and ill-conditioned mob in clamouring round the church. On the 17th of February Mr. Tooth was released from prison on the application of the parties concerned in the suit against him, and it was expected that he would immediately make use of his liberty in order to assert his right to conduct the services of St. James's. This, however, he did not do until May, having in the meantime taken a trip to Italy, when, on the 13th, assisted by one of his curates, whose licence had likewise been suspended by the bishop, he entered the church by a window, and celebrated early service. An attempt to stop these illegal proceedings was checked by his supporters, and the police declined to arrest him on account of the grave breach of the peace that would in all probability result. During the summer proceedings were of a less sensational order, but in the autumn members of the Protestant League frequently created disturbances in the church, and interrupted Mr. Tooth and his assistant, Mr. McColl. In November a rule which Mr. Tooth had obtained against Lord Penzance for the prohibition of further legal proceedings was made absolute, on the technical ground that the

Court of Arches had been held at Lambeth, a place outside "London or Westminster, or the diocese of Rochester," where the Archbishop of Canterbury had directed that the matter should be decided. The regret which the Lord Chief Justice expressed in making this rule was probably shared by many. It was indirectly an encouragement to insubordination prompted by motives which it was not always easy to distinguish from those of personal vanity, and tended to stultify the well-intentioned Public Worship Regulation Act before it had been given a fair chance of success. This spirit of defiance Mr. Tooth plainly betrayed in a letter written to the Archbishop in November, in which he resigned his living on the ground of broken health.

Other ritualistic irregularities followed. Early in July a meeting of the Church League to Promote the Disestablishment of the Church of England was held at the Freemasons' Tavern, with the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie in the chair. There Archdeacon Denison moved a resolution that "the idea of the Christian Church was opposed to its union with the State," and this was undoubtedly the direction in which, whether consciously or unconsciously, the High Church party were drifting. On the very same day there was a discussion in the Upper House of Convocation with regard to "The Priest in Absolution," a book containing expressions highly repugnant to the main body of the English clergy, which was circulated by a ritualistic society known as the Society of the Holy Cross, of a voluntary and secret nature, of which Mr. Mackonochie was understood to be Master. Before the Bishop of London moved a resolution, of which he had given notice, the Archbishop of Canterbury read a communication from the society, of which the substance was that out of deference to their lordships no further copies should be supplied, but "distinctly repudiating the unfair criticism which had been passed" upon the book, and "without implying any condemnation of it." He mentioned that the names of members of the society had not been made public, and seemed to imply that many of them were not aware of the lengths to which they had been committed by the action of others. While appreciating the goodness of the men with whom they had to deal, the Archbishop said that their lordships ought not to hesitate in the endeavour to counteract a conspiracy against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of the Reformed Church.

The Bishop of London bore out the high character of the clergy connected with the society, and

said of one of them, Mr. Lowder, that he supposed that there was no man who, in so very poor a district (London Docks), was so thoroughly beloved by the people around him. Nevertheless, he asked the House to agree to several resolutions which held the Society of the Holy Cross responsible for the preparation and dissemination of the book called "The Priest in Absolution;" that the society had neither repudiated nor effectually withdrawn the book from circulation; and that the House expressed its strong condemnation of any doctrine or practice of confession which could be thought to render such a book necessary or expedient. These resolutions were carried without a dissentient voice, and the Archbishop in summing up the debate said that he wished to call their lordships' attention to the wonderful unanimity among them on this question; the only difference of opinion had been as to a peculiar word, whether "confederacy" ought not to have been substituted for "conspiracy." However, as he held the definition of a conspiracy to be a confederacy with a wrong object, he preferred to adhere to his statement.

This rebuke on the action of the extreme ritualists was delivered against them concurrently with an earnest discussion in the Lower House on the Ridsdale case, which involved the question of eucharistic vestments, and of the eastward position in the prayer of the consecration. It was tried in compliance with the directions of the Public Worship Act before ten judges, with Archbishop Tait and three Bishops acting as theological assessors, who decided, after a long forensic battle, directly against vestments, and, with more reserve, against the Eastward Position, provided that there was evidence that such a position prevented the communicants from seeing the minister break the bread and take the cup. This was another blow at ritualism, and argued ill for its success in future legal contests; Dr. Pusey wrote indignantly against the judgment, and Mr. McColl combated it point by point in a series of letters to the *Times*. In July a most important declaration was signed by over 40,000 persons, clergymen and laymen, declaring that they could not "in conscience accept such an arbitrary reversal of the plain directions of the Prayer-book, any more than they could recognise *in fero conscientie* the authority in spiritual matters of the court from which the decisions proceeded." They further said that such questions must be settled apart from all secular intervention. That is to say, the declarators threatened nothing less than that disestablishment

from within against which Dr. Harold Browne, the Bishop of Winchester, had recently protested with much eloquence. The malcontents received a strong reinforcement later in the person of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, who, as one of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, published his dissent, in spite of Lord Cairns's opinion that the minority ought not to make known their decision, with the additional statement that he considered

irretrievable ruin had not been predicted for the Establishment, and added that "he saw every reason to hope that if there were clouds threatening now they would all disappear, and the atmosphere would only be brighter and clearer, and men would apply themselves more heartily to the good work they had in hand when the present difficulties rolled away, as so many difficulties had done before."



RIOT AT ST. JAMES'S, HATCHAM. (See p. 295.)

the Ridsdale judgment to be based, more or less, not on law but on policy. Thus the clergy were on all sides encouraged to bid defiance to ecclesiastical law, and the multiplication of ritualistic prosecutions made the outlook appear dark indeed. Disestablishment seemed, during the autumn of 1877, to be very near the English Church, and more was to be feared from her recalcitrant sons than from Nonconformists like Mr. John Bright, who argued out the question as open and generous foes. Even Archbishop Tait himself felt the depressing influences of the situation, and showed it plainly in his annual address to the Canterbury Church Building Society. He pointed out, however, that there never had been a period when

The year, indeed, had been one of general depression. It was the painful duty of the Lord Mayor to announce in March an amount of distress and loss of life, perhaps unparalleled in the shipping annals of the country. During the recent gales in the North Sea he said that thirty-six ships, belonging to Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Grimsby, Hull, and Ramsgate, had gone down. No fewer than 215 men and boys had been drowned, leaving 88 widows and 164 little children entirely destitute.

The revenue had ceased to be elastic, the harvest failed, and trade was dull, partly, no doubt, owing to the outbreak of the war, partly to the Indian famine, and partly to disputes between employers and employed. The mining interests continued to

suffer greatly, and the gloomy condition of affairs in South Wales remained without any apparent prospect of relief. The coal trade, on the other hand, was fairly brisk, but against this had to be set fearful accidents, the result, as a rule, of culpable carelessness. Such, at any rate, was the supposed cause of the colliery explosion near Wigan, at the King's Pit, on the 11th of October, where the general arrangements had been made with the utmost precaution. Out of forty-three persons who were working below at the time only six were rescued, and three of those who ventured down the shaft in hopes of rendering assistance fell victims to the deadly after-damp. Hardly had the sensation caused by this terrible catastrophe passed away, when, as if to illustrate the adage that misfortunes never come singly, an explosion of a still more fatal character took place at the Blantyre coal-pits near Glasgow on the 22nd. In this case, again, the excellent ventilation of the pit appears to have encouraged the disuse of safety-lamps. There were three pits within a distance of a quarter of a mile, connected underground, and it was in the one farthest east (No. 3) that the explosion occurred, spreading to the other shafts. It was some time before the choke-damp would allow explorations of any extent, though such was the eagerness of the miners above ground to risk their lives for their comrades that they clamoured furiously against the management for not allowing them to descend. The number of the victims was at first estimated at about 220, there being some doubt as to how many men were in the pit at the time, but several were eventually saved, and the slain were finally reckoned at something under two hundred. In the inquiry held by order of the Board of Trade, instances of the most culpable negligence were extracted from unwilling witnesses. It appeared not only that the regulations with regard to the use of blasting powder were frequently violated, but that it was the common custom of the men to work with naked lights. In fact, the habitual dislike of the working classes to submit to regulations framed solely for their own good was never more amply illustrated than on this occasion.

The obituary of the year failed again to contain the names of any century-making men. The navy had to regret the loss of Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, one of the foremost among the Arctic explorers of the last generation. This fine old sailor was no mere daredevil; that he had the qualities of dash and perseverance he proved in the Franklin search expedition, and in the China

War, but he also had a great deal of technical knowledge, and effected some valuable surveys of the East Indian Ocean. The Earl of St. Germans, who died on the 7th of October, was a man of a widely different nature. He distinguished himself as a diplomatist, and in 1835, when Lord Eliot, he concluded the famous Eliot convention with Spain, but he had no literary side to his character. Before his elevation to the Upper House he sat for many years in the Commons, and it was his kindly nature and gentlemanly bearing rather than any special oratorical gifts which elevated him to the position of a Lord of the Treasury, and, in 1852, to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland. He proved something more than a merely popular Viceroy, and conducted the administration of that island with much firmness and justice. The death of Justice Sir George Mellish was unfeignedly mourned. His career had been a long and uneventful climb up the ladder of fame, terminating in his appointment, in 1870, to a judgeship in the Court of Appeal in Chancery. Nor should we omit mention of Mr. George Odger, the Radical shoemaker of Bloomsbury, who died on the 4th of March. Throughout his life he was a very favourable representative of the working-class politician, and, though his views were at one time much misunderstood, he was always held by those who knew him to have been an honest, straightforward, and singularly unselfish man. The death of Sir Jung Bahadur, the able administrator of Nepaul, was greatly regretted by all Anglo-Indians, who admired him as one of the most capable of native statesmen.

The history of the great Indian dependency during the year was a very sad one. It is true that it opened with the proclamation of the Queen's title of Empress of India amidst one of the most striking ceremonials that was ever witnessed in the East, but that was the only event of a cheerful character during a sombre period of twelve months. An outline of the debates in Parliament on the Royal Titles Bill has already been given, and it will be remembered that the measure was bitterly attacked by the Opposition, and failed to arouse much enthusiasm in the nation at large. In the autumn it became a serious question whether, in the face of an impending famine, the ceremony would not have to be abandoned altogether, but it was determined not to risk a serious disappointment of the great chiefs, and still to hold the assemblage, though on a less ambitious scale than that originally contemplated.

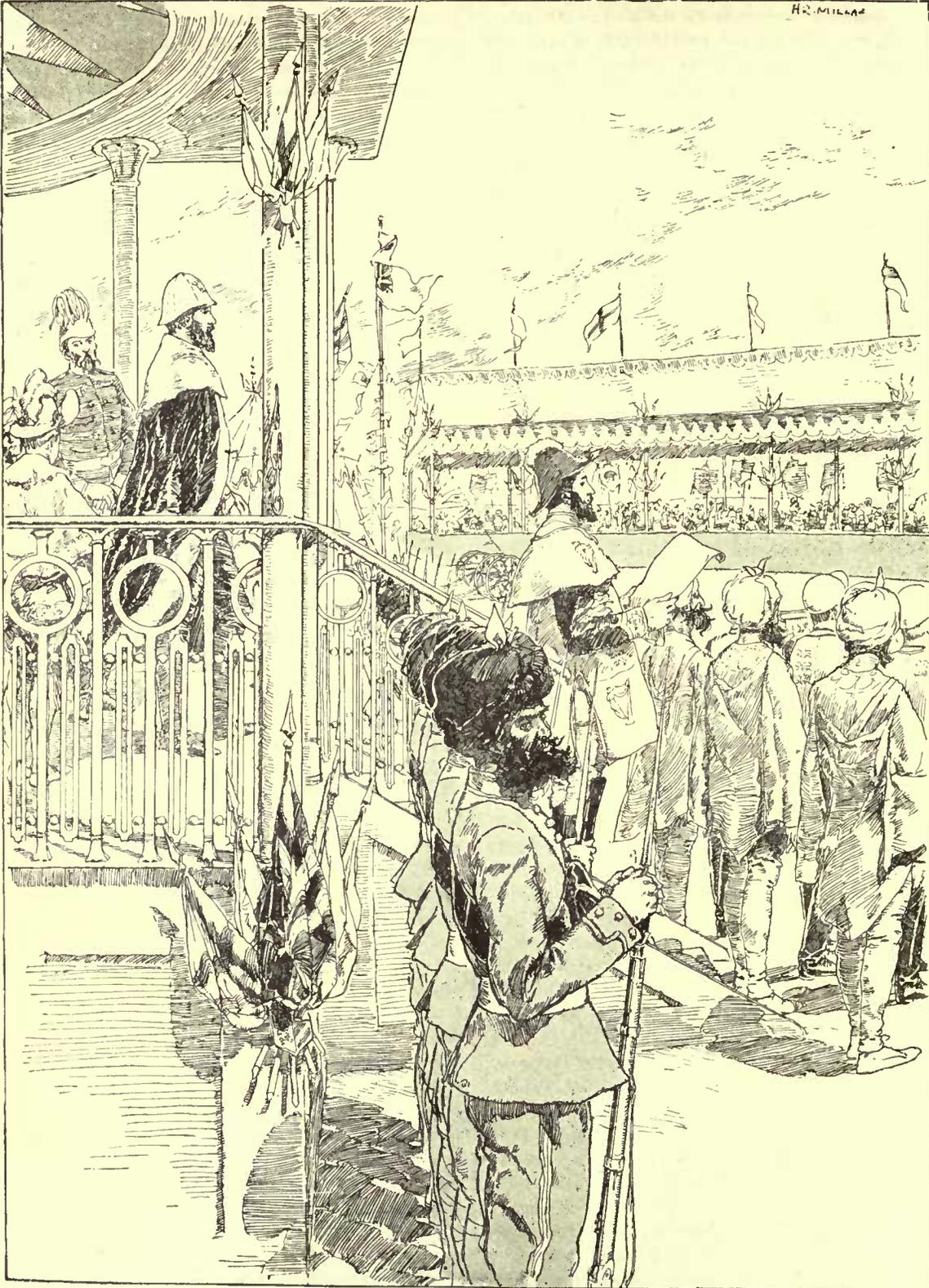
Lord Lytton arrived at Delhi, the seat of the

old Mohammedan power, on the 23rd of December, 1876, and was greeted by the leading civil and military functionaries of the empire, together with a number of the native chiefs, Scindia, Holkar, the Maharajah of Mysore, and others, who had been specially invited to the reception. On the 26th the serious business of the Assemblage began. The mornings were occupied by the Viceroy in receiving official visits, of which more than seventy were made and forty returned within five days. Meanwhile honours were freely bestowed on several of the chiefs of the highest rank. On Scindia, Holkar, and the Maharajahs of Cashmere, Banda, Jeypore, Jheend, Rampore, and Travancore was conferred the honorary title of Counsellor of the Empress. The Maharajah of Cashmere and Scindia were also appointed generals of the British army; but the latter was understood to be not particularly well pleased, because he expected in addition the restoration of the Gwalior fort. Perhaps what gratified the chiefs most was the addition made in several instances to the number of guns in their salutes. Hitherto the Nizam, the Guicowar, and the rulers of Mysore alone had been entitled to twenty-one guns in British territory, to which list the Maharajah of Cashmere had been added about a month previously. These honours were now confirmed, and extended to the Maharajahs of Holkar and Scindia, and the Maharajahs of Oodeypore and Travancore. Banners and commemorative medals were further presented to each of these grandees, and at the same time Lord Lytton expressed a hope on behalf of the Queen that the banner "might never be unfurled without reminding you, not only of the close union between the throne of England and your loyal and princely house, but also of the earnest desire of the paramount power to see your dynasty strong, prosperous, and permanent. I further," he continued, "decorate you, by command of the Queen and Empress, with this medal. May it be long worn by yourself, and long kept as an heirloom by your family, in remembrance of the auspicious date it bears!" On the 29th banners were also presented to the Governor of Madras, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, and to the Commander-in-Chief. The consular body were decorated, together with a large number of minor native nobles and gentry.

The place selected for the proclamation, according to the description given by the *Times* correspondent, was an extensive plain about three miles north of the Viceregal camp. There a dais and amphitheatre had been erected; the latter a circular

platform about eight feet from the ground, and approached by two flights of steps opposite to each other. "Soon after eleven," he wrote, "most of the officials and chiefs had taken their places. . . . Each could be identified by the banner presented to him last week, and now displayed above his chair. These banners were of satin, and were shaped like those in the pictures of Roman triumphs. At one point shone Oodeypore's golden sun on a red disc; at another appeared the Guicowar's blue elephant, supporting a shield which displayed a lancer charging. The Nizam showed a full moon on a green standard; the Begum of Bhopal the fish, the historic cognisance of her house. Behind the chiefs' seats some hundred elephants, arranged in unwieldy rows, made not the least striking picture in the pageant.

"Soon after half-past twelve the Viceroy arrived. He advanced to the throne on the dais, preceded by the chief herald and trumpeters. Lord Lytton wore the robes of the Grand Master of the Star of India, and two pages bore his train. A brilliant staff followed. As he ascended the steps the bands played a grand march and then the National Anthem. Taking his seat, the Viceroy opened the proceedings by commanding the chief herald to read the proclamation. After a flourish of trumpets, Major Barnes in a loud voice read her Majesty's announcement of her assumption of the title of Empress of India. The herald falling back, Mr. Thornton, Foreign Secretary, advanced, and read an Urdu translation of the proclamation. There was again a flourish of trumpets, and the royal standard was hoisted at the entrance of the amphitheatre. The artillery saluted it, firing thirty-four salvoes of three guns each; after which two long lines of infantry fired a *feu de joie*. This was twice repeated. The infantry, running up one line and down another in perfect time, massed; the military bands played the National Anthem, all spectators standing up, and Lord Lytton came forward to read the speech so long talked of, which was expected to contain such startling disclosures of policy." It contained, however, nothing of the sort. His Excellency referred to the promises contained in the Queen's proclamation of November, 1858, and fully confirmed them. The princes and the peoples, he said, had found full security under her Majesty's rule. The Viceroy proceeded to explain the reasons for the assumption of the title of Empress, which was intended to be to the princes and peoples of India a symbol of the union of their interests and a claim upon their loyal allegiance, the Imperial Power giving them a



THE VICEROY PROCLAIMING QUEEN VICTORIA EMPRESS OF INDIA. (See p. 299.)

guarantee of impartial protection. The Viceroy then severally addressed the civil and military services, and the officers and soldiers of the army and volunteers, conveying to them her Majesty's cordial sentiments of esteem and honour. He announced, also, that her Majesty, with the object of noting public services and private worth, had sanctioned an increase in the number of members of the Order of the Star of India, and had instituted a new order, entitled the Order of the Indian Empire. Addressing the Princes and Chiefs, the Viceroy bade them welcome, and said that he regarded their presence as evidence of their attachment to the Imperial rule. His Excellency, proceeding to address the natives generally, recognised their claim to participate largely in the administration of the country, and counselled the adoption of the only system of education that would enable them to comprehend and practise the principles of the Queen's Government. Referring to the possibility of invasion, the Viceroy said that no enemy could attack the empire in India without assailing the whole empire, and pointed out that the fidelity of her Majesty's allies provided ample power to repel and punish assailants. At the conclusion of the speech there was much cheering, and several of the great chiefs rose and tried to speak, but could with difficulty obtain a hearing, owing to the noise and confusion.

In the evening the Viceroy gave a state banquet to the Governors, Lieut.-Governors, and high officials, at which her Majesty's health was proposed for the first time as Empress of India. In the course of his speech Lord Lytton alluded to the opposition in England to the assumption of the Imperial title, and said that it was doubtless an innovation, but an innovation which was a consequence of all that series of innovations represented by the British power in India. Late at night, a *Gazette* extraordinary was published containing the list of honours awarded, of which the chief have been given above. Perhaps the most popular of all these rewards were the hereditary titles conferred on some of the ruling chiefs: thus the Guicowar was to be styled "Child of the English Government," Scindia, "The Sword of the Empire," and the Maharajah of Cashmere, "The Shield of the Indian Empire." The *Gazette* concluded with an announcement of a truly Oriental way of celebrating the occasion—namely, the release of prisoners. Of general offenders, 10 per cent. were released, and partial remissions of sentence were granted to those in confinement for short terms. The boon was

restricted to those who had not been habitual offenders, and to those whose conduct in prison had been good. All civil prisoners whose debts were not over a hundred rupees were released and their debts paid by the State. Altogether, including convicts in the Andamans, nearly 16,000 prisoners were set free, and it was reported that but few of them relapsed into crime. The terms of the Mutiny Amnesty of 1859 were also enlarged by extending its provisions to actors in the revolt, who were to be pardoned if they returned home, and reported their return to the district authorities, and behaved well. The Punjab College was raised to the status of a University, and empowered to grant degrees. The Native army received several advantages in the shape of increased bounty and pay, and the Military Order of British India, for native officers, was increased to 175 members of all classes. It will be seen that the royal bounty on this occasion embraced all sorts and conditions of men.

For three days longer the Viceroy remained at Delhi, and his time was fully occupied in paying farewell visits to the chiefs and nobles, and in transacting official business. He gladly availed himself of the occasion to consult them with regard to impending fiscal and territorial changes and especially with regard to the means to be employed in checking the ravages of the approaching famine. There were, of course, the usual attractions of races and fireworks, which the special correspondents of the daily papers did not fail to chronicle. On the 5th of January proceedings terminated with a grand review, after which 14,000 of the troops of the three Presidencies marched past the Viceroy, and with them were mingled the multi-coloured retinues of the native princes. The festival was officially closed in the evening by a salute of 101 guns, and Lord Lytton departed for Puttiala.

The enthusiasm displayed at Delhi was by no means singular, but it was only part of a general outburst of loyalty which manifested itself over the whole of the great empire. This sentiment was all the more gratifying because it seemed to a certain extent spontaneous; the native populations were inspired to lay aside their timidity, and led the way without waiting for official guidance. Thus, at Rangoon, the Burmese assembled in large crowds, and received the proclamation with great demonstrations of pleasure. Throughout the Presidencies largesses of food and clothing were distributed among the poor by the English officials, who distinguished themselves by their zeal and discrimination, and were afterwards thanked by

the Viceroy. Nor were the great chiefs behindhand in works of charity; for instance, Maharajah Holkar, who was unable to be present, gave a large donation to the famine relief fund, and others resolved to celebrate the occasion by executing some work of public improvement. Durbars were held at all the principal stations throughout the country, and at the capitals of all the princes who were absent from Delhi. Even the distant cities of Zanzibar and Muscat held high festival. Indeed, it is not easy to see how the new year could have opened more auspiciously, had not the announcement of "The Delhi Ceremonial" in the papers been immediately succeeded by that of "The Famine."

It was naturally impossible to satisfy everyone, and after the ceremony was over, and the bill had been paid, it was discovered that there was a good deal of grumbling. Some complained that the distribution of honours had been too indiscriminate, and even the much-coveted increase of guns in the salutes of the chiefs was regarded as spoiled by the fact that the Viceroy had received a like distinction. The Army were reported to be discontented because they had played an inferior part in the performance, and declared that the policy of flattering the pride of the Indian potentates might be carried too far. On the whole, however, it may be said that the proclamation which aroused so much animosity in England was a success in India.

Meanwhile, the British officials were glad to hustle the appurtenances of the show out of sight as quickly as possible, and betake themselves to the heavy task of supplying food for eighteen millions of people. The news of another impending famine in India had come upon the public only a little while before the arrival of the pest itself, for the authorities were wise in their generation, and, while secretly making preparations, forebore to spread the alarm before there was any necessity for so doing. In the second week of January, however, the officially informed correspondent of the *Times* made known the full facts, and it must be confessed that the outcry of the uninformed quite justified official silence. Nevertheless, the state of affairs was sufficiently grave. It appeared that the rainfall of 1876 had been very small; the summer monsoon had failed altogether, and when October passed and the autumn downpour, the main hope of Madras, had been lamentably slight, people who knew what this meant prepared themselves for the worst. The consequence was, said the *Times* correspondent, that "there is an entire failure of the crops in one Bombay district, Shola-

pore. Two others, Kaladgi and Dharwar, are nearly as ill off. A partial failure involves severe distress in Candesh, Nassick, Ahmednuggur, Poona, Sattara, and Belgaum. Large relief works have been sanctioned. About 287,000 people are on the relief works in Bombay. The Government is not interfering with private trade, which is pouring in large supplies of grain. The total cost from loss of revenue and from expenditure on relief works in Bombay will probably be over two millions sterling. Matters are still worse in Madras. Both the south-east and north-east monsoons have failed, thus causing famine in twelve districts. Large relief works have been commenced, which employ over one million persons. Besides these, many are receiving charitable relief. Probably the cost to the State in the Madras Presidency alone will be over four millions sterling. There is also considerable distress in Mysore and in the southern portion of the Nizam's dominions."

This information was supplemented by the publication of a despatch from Lord Carnarvon (who was doing Lord Salisbury's work during the absence of the latter at Constantinople) to Lord Lytton, which exhibited a full sense of the gravity of the situation. This was not surprising, considering the nature of the correspondence between the India Office and Simla since the end of the previous July. Then the intimation of Lord Lytton was to the effect that agricultural prospects had suddenly changed, though it was impossible to make any certain prediction with regard to the future. Lord Salisbury's impression was that in the districts of Bellary, Cuddapah, North Arcot, and South Arcot there had been a large diminution of the area of cultivation, and that in consequence the necessity had arisen for the grant of considerable remissions. He considered that the report of the condition of the people in the first three districts was favourable, while in South Arcot the markets were stated to be well supplied and the prospects of the districts to be, in a great measure, dependent on the effect of the expected rains on the *kamber*, the staple dry crop on which a large part of the population subsist. In October, 1876, Lord Lytton sent word that there was scarcity in certain parts of the Bombay Presidency, and that he had sanctioned local relief works, but was anxious to avoid being committed to large schemes of expenditure which might involve an unnecessary outlay. The next despatch, however, showed that pecuniary considerations must be thrown, as far as possible, to the winds. On

October 26th, the Indian Government intimated that the area of distress was more extended than had been at first supposed. Nine districts were more or less affected, comprising about eight millions of population, and 53,000 square miles. It was evident that provincial resources must be supplemented by Imperial expenditure. He mentioned that the Government of Bombay and its officers were dealing with the emergency with promptitude and care; in particular they were inviting tenders for the supply of grain for relief purposes, and abstaining from making purchases in the general market on their own behalf. By November 2nd, however, the Government of India seemed to have unfavourably modified this opinion. The scheme of relief works which the Bombay Government had sanctioned as a whole, to be undertaken as necessity arose, involved a very heavy expenditure, amounting to little less than sixty-two lakhs of rupees, and it was feared that the works undertaken were of such a nature as to involve the continuance of outlay after the necessity had ceased. On the 17th another despatch was sent off to the India Office, stating that the aspect of affairs had not improved, and continued to be extremely serious. The Bombay Government had remonstrated against a modified programme of relief works. "The situation," wrote Lord Lytton, on the 1st of December, "is such as to cause very serious anxiety from a financial point of view." A week afterwards he sent home a rough estimate, in which it was calculated that the loss of revenue and relief expenditure in the two Presidencies together would be about £4,380,000. "The prospect," he said, "is very alarming, but we are not without hopes that the anticipations of both local Governments may prove to have been exaggerated. The only data for forming an opinion regarding Bombay are those furnished by that Government in their letter of the 30th instant, which appear to be based on so excessive an estimate of the proportion of the population likely to be dependent on the State for relief as to give us a hope that, if due care and economy be exercised, the actual expenditure will fall considerably short of the estimate given. In the case of Madras, we have even less upon which to form our judgment."

From this outline of the correspondence it may be gathered that Lord Carnarvon had, as he said in his despatch of the 12th of January, 1877, been enabled to form a fairly adequate estimate of the present and probable future extent of the calamity with which it was necessary to deal. He was

struck by the vast area in the Presidency of Madras which had been more or less affected by the prevailing drought, and the magnitude of the operations which it had become necessary to undertake in order to preserve the population from extreme distress. It appeared that nine districts were, more or less, affected by scarcity. Distress had also made itself felt in Mysore, and in some parts of the Nizam's country. The area of the distressed districts in Madras amounted approximately to 80,000 square miles, and the total population was 18,000,000. The drought in Bombay extended to nine districts in the Deccan and southern Mahratta country; some of the adjoining native States also had been affected. The extent of this territory, exclusive of native States, comprised about 54,000 square miles, and the total population amounted to 8,000,000, of which 5,000,000 were included in the tracts immediately affected. The number of men employed on the relief works of Madras had reached the very large total of 840,000, and 250,000 were employed on those of Bombay.* From the latter Presidency more particulars had been received than from the former, and it appeared that distress would, in all probability, increase until April, when relief by public employment would have to be provided for 1,000,000 persons, and from that date would gradually diminish, as the crops raised in the monsoon of the year were matured, until its cessation might be expected about the month of September. Lord Carnarvon mentioned with satisfaction that though the price of grain had in the affected districts advanced in some cases to three times the ordinary rate, the supply of food imported from other districts, not affected by the drought, had hitherto been apparently sufficient to support the populations. The Governments of Madras and Bombay did not appear to entertain any apprehension of an inability to carry the necessary supplies to the affected localities.

At the same time Lord Carnarvon sanctioned a mission of Sir Richard Temple, who had done such good work in the former Bengal famine, to the districts of Madras and Bengal, for the purpose of conferring with the local Governments. Soon afterwards the Indian Government informed that of Bombay that the general objection to the

* These figures were given more exactly by the Indian Government on the 12th of January, 1877. "Entire area of British territory affected, 138,291 square miles. Population, 26,898,571. Estimated relief charge, 481 lakhs. Total loss probably not less than £6,500,000. Number of persons in receipt of relief, 1,531,480."

commencement of large relief works was withdrawn on the understanding that any excess expenditure beyond the actual requirements would be met from provincial resources. On the 12th of January Sir Richard Temple sent in a report of the condition of affairs in Bombay. In this statesmanlike document he noticed three striking features in the Presidency: an utter failure of crop in the most affected districts, the extraordinary activity of private trade, and the comparative cheapness of prices in these districts. He estimated the sum total of expected expenditure at £1,500,000 as compared with £1,300,000, the original estimate furnished by the Government of Bombay. If kept within the limit, or even within £1,750,000, the result might be regarded as satisfactory. He pointed out, however, that if this was to be done, task-work must be exacted on all lesser works under district officers, where the present work was not hard enough. In some instances those on the works were not in absolute want, and it would be necessary to confine relief to the really destitute. Thirdly, it would be advisable to concentrate, until the first of April, relief labourers, under the civil as well as under the engineering authorities, upon works of larger description which admitted of professional supervision. There must be special caution in the admission to relief works of ryots and others whose names were registered as possessing tenures or under-tenures of land, as it might be presumed that they had some little store of grain or some means of raising money wherewith to buy food. Besides, great care must be exercised in admitting to charitable assistance from State funds those who might be unable to work. At the same time, if severe economy were exercised it would be necessary to organise a system of inspection from village to village and from house to house, in order to prevent those who, from one cause or another, failed to answer the labour tests, from falling into severe distress.

From Bombay Sir Richard Temple proceeded to Madras, and found that a considerable amount of waste was prevalent there also, except in North Arcot, where operations were being cheaply and efficiently conducted. On several railways he noticed a block of grain—the Madras line in particular being unequal to the demand for carriage—and he suggested that instead of sending grain to work-people it would be better to bring work-people to the grain, by employing them on large and fully supervised works near to well supplied markets. In consequence of his representations

the wages of those at the relief works were reduced from two annas to one anna, and recipients not in absolute need were discharged. From Mysore Sir Richard Temple wrote, on the 14th of February, saying that the relief operations had been much more economically conducted than in the neighbouring districts of Madras. This carefulness he considered to be highly creditable to the local authorities, and at the same time he urged that a house-to-house visitation throughout the more severely affected districts was most desirable, in order that cases of severe distress might be found out, and receive timely succour. On the 23rd of February the Government of India forwarded their Commissioner's minutes, together with some valuable comments of their own to the Secretary of State. They dwelt with considerable satisfaction on the improvement which had taken place in Madras, owing to the carrying out of a more economical system of relief, and other causes; in the district of Cuddapah the number of those receiving wages had fallen from 108,000 to 90,000, and in the district of Bellary, where cash payment and task-work had been introduced, the number was now 30,000 instead of 88,000. The number nominally receiving gratuitous relief had fallen from 33,000 in the first week of January to 8,000 in the first week of February. This reduction was effected to a great extent by the detection and punishment of speculation, it having been discovered that some thousands of names on the charitable returns were fictitious. With regard to Bombay they noticed that the estimates of people likely to be employed on the relief works, and in consequence of the loss of revenue, varied considerably; the differences in some cases were startling, and showed at once the extreme difficulty in dealing with the subject, and the necessity of being prepared, by a reserve of works to be started when indispensable, for any sudden access of distressed persons whom the exhaustion of private stocks or the failure of employment abroad might throw suddenly upon the hands of the Government.

Still the tone of the Indian Government was on the whole cheerful, and that not without reason. The critical month of April arrived, and a telegram of a fairly satisfactory nature was received from Sir Richard Temple. He reported that the relief labourers in the Madras Presidency were not increasing, though the numbers on the charitable relief were slowly rising; task-work was still imperfectly exacted, and professional agency not sufficiently employed. Dr. Townsend, the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India, had

examined 29,000 relief labourers on reduced wages in the Madras districts, and found their condition good on the whole. The impression, continued the Commissioner, was increasing that the people showed more power of sustaining themselves, and that stocks and stores of grain were more

diseases which stalk in the train of famine. That there were two sides to the story is shown by the report of Dr. Cornish, the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, who said that the mortality in the December and January in the famine districts had been "appalling," and that he saw no reason to



SIR RICHARD TEMPLE.

(From a Photograph by Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

adequate than was originally anticipated. "Favourable rain, nearly two inches, has fallen over Mysore province, doing great good for water supply, fodder, and agriculture. Prices at Bangalore cheaper in consequence, and population inspired. Grain supply in Mysore abundant. Relief works appear adequate in Mysore, and village relief generally sufficient." From Bombay about the same time came the satisfactory news that only one death was believed to have occurred from starvation; but this was probably without taking into account those who succumbed to cholera and the other

suppose that this state of things had much improved in February and March. "The famine so far has already fallen very heavily on the old, the weakly constituted, and the young children. It is still 'weeding out' from our labouring classes a large number of victims; and, in consideration of the fact that diseased conditions dependent on insufficient food follow many months after the cause has passed away, I apprehend that a heavy and unusual mortality will continue even after the period of drought and dearth of food has ended." He declined to subscribe "to the pleasing and

hopeful telegrams" in which Sir Richard Temple summarised the weekly progress of events. A somewhat bitter controversy thereupon arose, turning, as Lord Salisbury afterwards remarked, upon the number of grains of nitrogen and carbon necessary to enable an Indian labourer to work, which terminated in the Madras Government raising its rate of wages. As the months rolled on, the views inculcated by the persistent optimism of Sir Richard Temple tended to give place to others of a pessimist nature. The strain became very terrible when the spring showers, which it was hoped might push on the June crop, failed almost entirely. In that month the number of those who were in receipt of relief in Bombay, Madras, and Mysore, amounted to 1,916,288, and by the beginning of July it had reached 2,000,000. The summer monsoon was by no means general; on the 29th of June the Indian Government sent home the significant news that "more rain was to be desired." Things were at their worst in August, at the end of which month there were nearly three millions in receipt of relief. There had been a good downpour in the last week of July, but it was doubtful if it was not too late. Meanwhile, terrible stories were being circulated in England, which caused the Indian Government to come in for much unmerited obloquy from those who failed to understand that a certain amount of misery was inevitable. A peculiarly bad sign was that the cattle were dying fast, and though it is known that a Hindoo will part with his cow only in the last extremity, they were being sold in the market for two shillings apiece. A letter from Mr. W. E. James, a British resident in Mysore, appeared in the London papers in the middle of the month. "Famine," he wrote, "is staring us in the face; the country is like a vast desert. . . . The railway is taxed to its utmost limit, and is bringing 4,000 tons of grain a week into the province, but as this will only feed a million and a-half of people, the other three million and a-half in Mysore must starve, as all the stores of grain in the country are exhausted. Already the sufferings of the people are awful."

In Madras, on which district the pressure had throughout been most severe, the situation was even worse. A public meeting was held at the capital, at which the Duke of Buckinghamshire presided, and it was resolved to appeal to England for help. He said that the affected area contained 18,000,000 people, and that their condition was very bad indeed. The people were without clothes, and the houses being roofless there

was great difficulty in keeping the cattle alive. He could not but think that, when it was known that districts considerably larger than the whole area of England were subject to a crisis such as had never been known in the worst times of distress, when it was remembered that the whole of these districts had 18,000,000 people suffering from direct want, and that two-thirds of the Presidency were exposed to a crisis greater than that which had been experienced in Bengal or elsewhere, with prices nearly double those ever before reached, it must bring home to the people of India and of England the fact that a large portion of the Indian Empire was in a condition requiring the utmost aid and the readiest assistance from England. The Duke of Buckinghamshire's appeal to English aid was endorsed by Lord Lytton, who started on August 16th from Simla to visit the distressed districts. He said that he had no objection to the benefits of private charity being directed towards those necessities which the action of the Government could not reach, provided that it was not distributed through the already overworked machinery of the Government, and he added that it was most essential in the interests of the public that the objects of the subscription should be distinctly defined and intelligibly announced. The general tone of his report on the districts he had passed through in his journey from Simla to Madras was hopeful, though he admitted that in some parts the people were evidently suffering from hunger, and that the death-rate was very high. The document was dated September 5th, and concluded thus:—"Our prospects are almost everywhere much better than they were when I left Simla, yet everything in the Madras Presidency depends mainly on the October rains (north-east monsoon). The condition of Mysore is still a matter of much anxiety; and our hope for the future can only be fulfilled by a continuance of the present favourable change in the weather." The result of Lord Lytton's visit was that the famine management was virtually taken out of the hands of the Indian Government, and vested in those of the Duke of Buckinghamshire, aided by General Kennedy, who had gained great credit during the famine of Bombay. This step, which invested the Duke with dictatorial power, was much criticised as an unconstitutional act, but though exceptional it worked well, and was cordially sanctioned by Lord Salisbury.

The English people responded readily to the Duke of Buckinghamshire's appeal. An important meeting was summoned at the Mansion House,

London, in August, and a subscription list opened. It filled rapidly; by the end of September the amount exceeded a quarter of a million, and by the end of December, after the colonial contributions had been received, the sum amounted to £493,000—little short of half a million. The money was forwarded to India as fast as it could be collected, and proved of the utmost assistance to the strained resources of Madras. In addition to this a Famine Loan was issued in September. It was for £3,000,000 sterling, redeemable in seven years, and, considering the reluctance of financial speculators to invest in Indian securities, it filled fairly rapidly. As might be expected, the relief policy of Government provoked much criticism, partly favourable and partly unfavourable. Lord Salisbury had throughout been most open and unreserved in his communication of facts. In making a Ministerial statement on August 9th on the Indian Loan Bill, which also was necessitated by the famine, he did not hesitate to say that the situation was gloomy in the extreme; and that it was to be feared that a considerable and aggravated amount of distress must continue from that time. Even later in the year, after the tide had turned, he addressed the people at Bradford, and warned them in his gravest tones that they must prepare themselves for the worst. The cost of the famine he estimated at £11,000,000 sterling, and the only real remedy against occasional famines and scarcity (he was very hopeful that they would not prove a normal state of affairs) was the prudence of the Hindoos in times of plenty, and their delivery from the oppression of the money-lenders. Mr. Bright had severely blamed Government for not instituting a complete system of irrigation. The fallacy of this remedy was completely exposed by Lord Salisbury and Sir James Stephen. The latter pointed out, in a letter to the *Times*, that it was useless to expect that English capital would be forthcoming for Indian irrigation, inasmuch as it never paid. He instanced the failure of the efforts of the Madras Irrigation Company, and the loss of a million and a quarter in the Orissa Canal. As a matter of fact Government had already spent huge sums in works of this kind, but the natives declined to buy water, and to force them to do so would be a most dangerous expedient. Lord Salisbury disposed of Mr. Bright in an even more summary manner. "I am the last person," said he, "to speak against a judicious, circumspect, and liberal expenditure on public works; but there is a great difference between that and rushing hastily

into an expenditure of £30,000,000, a sum which I am sorry to say fell from the mouth of one of the most distinguished authorities in this country. Irrigation is a very good thing indeed; but it won't prevent famine—for water will not flow uphill." Mr. Fawcett put forward his proposals in a somewhat modified form. He was opposed to all grants from the British Exchequer to meet the distress, on the ground that it was highly necessary to impress on Indian officials the virtues of economy, and the necessity of providing for the future by cheap railways and judicious irrigation. It was pointed out, however, that the circumstances were entirely exceptional, and that it was possible to make the gift in such a way as to impress on the Indian Government that it should not be construed into a precedent. With the loan there was no danger of the money being misapplied, the Governor of Madras and the Relief Committee having guaranteed that the alms should be so administered as not to demoralise the deserving or encourage the idle.

From the end of August affairs in the great Peninsula began rapidly to mend. On the 16th of September the Viceroy telegraphed that there were 3,000,000 persons receiving relief, and on the 3rd of October this number had fallen to 1,800,000. Rain had then fallen everywhere except in Gujerat, where it was most sorely needed; from the North-West Provinces, also, and Oudh distress was reported; it was estimated that want had increased so much since the end of September that it would be necessary to open relief works in every district. A crisis had also occurred in Mysore, where the Viceroy came to the conclusion that gratuitous relief had been given on too large a scale, and therefore took the famine administration into his own hands. With these exceptions, however, the prospect had sensibly improved. Fortunately the October rains came to the rescue; there was a heavy downpour everywhere, the crops were saved, and the land became fit for cultivation. The Madras Government promptly made arrangements for facilitating the return of the people to their homes, and showed the most laudable resolve to lessen, as soon as might be, the drain on the finances. Similar reductions of expenditure were made in the other affected districts. "There is some satisfaction," wrote the *Times* correspondent on December 18th, "in being able to say that after many months of weary struggle against a great national calamity we are beginning to see the end of the Madras famine. In the month of August the distress and mortality culminated, and since

then there has been a somewhat rapid decline in the prices of food, and a more gradual cessation of excessive mortality. During the past fortnight the weather has been generally favourable, and the numbers of the poor receiving relief have been daily decreasing. The latest reports show about 600,000 all told. The relief camps in many parts of the country are almost deserted, and some have already been closed, while others will cease operations as soon as the local authorities are satisfied that the people have ceased to wander about in search of food." Carefully compiled statistics enabled the correspondent to compute the births and deaths in the Madras Presidency for the nine months at 362,719 and 1,111,980—the former 68,445 below, and the latter 68,445 above, the average. In all the affected districts put together the total of deaths caused by the famine amounted, according to one authority, to about half a million. Another estimate, however, put it, during the two years 1876-8, at five and a quarter millions—that is, a rise of about 40 per cent. on the normal death-rate. The difference in reckoning probably turned on the difficulty of deciding what proportion of deaths were to be ascribed to famine and what to epidemics. "The low birth-rate," said the *Times* correspondent, "will of course disappear as food becomes plentiful and people improve in vigour; but taken in conjunction with the actual mortality resulting from famine, it serves to explain how in past times depopulation of Indian provinces has been produced, and what very serious calamities Indian famines are." A further fall of rain in

December removed all fear of an immediate recurrence of the danger, and early in the following year the sad chapter closed.

There were at this time some troubles on the north-west frontier of India itself, caused, it would appear, by Lord Lytton's abandonment of the non-aggressive policy. They were at first, however, but imperfectly understood, and, the nation being in an anti-Russian frame of mind, a forward movement was regarded with tacit approval. There was far more divided feeling as to the necessity of the annexation of the Transvaal, which has been already mentioned in connection with the South African Bill, but the only men who opposed it actively in the House of Commons on its real merits were Sir George Campbell and Mr. Leonard Courtney. From Canada Lord Dufferin returned at the expiration of his tenure of office, having achieved for himself a reputation as high as most, if not all, of the many able administrators who have swayed the destinies of the Far West. His successor was the Queen's son-in-law, the Marquis of Lorne, who on his arrival found the Dominion in a condition of great prosperity, and ready to co-operate with the mother-country in the furtherance of Imperial interests. From Australia and New Zealand came no news of any particular moment; Queensland was much exercised by the threatened immigration of the surplus population of China, and the result of a general election in Victoria was the accession to power of a Ministry, under Mr. James Berry, pledged to Protectionist doctrines.



THE RUSSIANS UNDER GOURKO CROSSING THE BALKANS. (See p. 310.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Russo-Turkish War continued; advance of Gourko—The crossing of the Balkans—Fall of Sofia—Recapture of the Shipka Pass and Abandonment of the Balkans—Occupation of Philippopolis—Success of the Servians and Montenegrens—Occupation of Adrianople—Collapse of the Defence in Asia Minor—Desperate Position of Constantinople—Progress of Negotiations—Mission of Scriver and Namyk Pashas—Divisions of Opinion in England—Lord Carnarvon's Speech—Criticisms and Proceedings of the Cabinet—Meeting of Parliament; the Queen's Speech—Lord Granville's Comments—Speeches of the Duke of Argyll and Lord Salisbury—Debate in the Commons; Lord Hartington, Sir S. Northcote, and Mr. Gladstone—Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Derby—The Message to Admiral Hornby—Temporary Resignation of Lord Derby—Resignation of Lord Carnarvon and his Explanation—The Vote for the Six Millions—The Reported Bases of Peace—Mr. Layard's Telegram—Count Schonvaloff's Statement—Sir S. Northcote's Declaration—The First and Second Nights of the Debate—Speeches of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Hardy—Excitement in the Country, and the Jingoes—The *Daily News* Telegram—The Seventh of February—Withdrawal of Mr. Forster's Amendment, and Victory of the Government—Dangers from Greece—Movement of the British Fleet—Communications between Prince Gortschakoff and Lord Derby—The British Fleet in the Dardanelles—Understanding with regard to Gallipoli—Movements of Admiral Hornby—Attitude of Austria—Count Beust's Proposals—Speeches of Prince Bismarck and Prince Auersperg—Signature of the Treaty of San Stefano—Its Terms—Fears of a Secret Understanding—"Liberty of Appreciation and Action"—Tumultuous Meetings—Resignation of Lord Derby—Lord Beaconsfield's Explanation—Changes in the Cabinet and Lord Salisbury's Circular—Prince Gortschakoff's Reply—Debates in both Houses—Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Derby, and Lord Salisbury—Military and Naval Preparations—Despatch of Indian Troops to Malta—State of Affairs in the East—Bye-elections and Hopes of the Liberal Party.

THE tedious negotiations between Russia and Turkey, which had been initiated by the British Government during the expiring days of 1877, received a decided impetus from the military

operations during the early days of January. The Porte could not longer afford even to pretend that it had not come to the end of its resources. For General Gourko was once more moving southwards,

and was evidently bent on startling the world by a little more of the sensational in mountain warfare. The dawn of the new year found him and his men emerging from the Etropol Balkans and struggling on through the snow towards Sofia. About the middle of December Mehemet Ali, resolute in defence but timid in attack, had been superseded by Chakir Pasha. The disgraced general was sent to Constantinople, and there tried by court-martial, but he succeeded in exonerating himself and transferring most of the blame to the shoulders of Suleiman Pasha. At any rate, he shone by contrast with his successor. Chakir Pasha made at first one or two feeble efforts to advance, but soon abandoned them and allowed the forces of his antagonist to accumulate. Gourko's column formed part of the plan of what might be called the new campaign which had become possible after the capture of Plevna. There were to be two main lines of advance across the Balkans, one by way of Sofia, the other by the Shipka and Trajan Passes. The army of the Jantra and the corps of Zimmermann were simultaneously to operate against the Quadrilateral, and the siege of Rustchuk was to be firmly prosecuted.

On December 25th Gourko felt himself strong enough to advance from Orkhanieh. It was bitterly cold, and the obstacles in the way were calculated to daunt the most determined of adventurous bands. At night the soldiers lay in the snow like dead men, so exhausted were they by the toil of scaling the mountain-side, and dragging after them the heavy guns. The summit of the Balkans was reached on the evening of the 26th, and the descent was effected through a ravine down which the troops slid rapidly. The forces to the left and right did not advance with equal precision; General Wilhelminof, in particular, encountered the most terrific snowstorms, and was so short of provisions that he was compelled to march for the last thirty-six hours almost without a halt, while the left under Dondeville was completely checkmated and had to return to Etropol. However, the crossing of the Balkans was at length successfully accomplished, though at the cost of 1,200 men, and once more Gourko became the theme of general admiration for his pluck and versatility. The Turkish Pashas were taken completely by surprise and their outposts forced in everywhere. On the last day of the year they were driven from a strong position on a hill near the village of Taskosen, and their communications with Sofia were in great danger of being cut off. This was effected by Wilhelminof on the following

day, when, after holding the position of Gorny Bugaroff for many hours against superior numbers, he beat off the enemy, and chased them before him towards the south. It was evident that the Turks had no intention of defending Sofia, though it was of the most vital importance for them to do so. Gourko speedily discovered, by means of a reconnaissance, that the town was altogether unfortified towards the north, and that some hastily constructed earthworks were the only impediment on the eastern side. Accordingly, General Rauch, in command of the advance guard, passed rapidly on, and on the 6th of January Sofia was occupied. The Turks fled in two divisions, one towards the defile of Kapudchik, and the other in the direction of Samakov. Gourko, however, was not the sort of man to allow them a leisurely retreat. He separated his army into four divisions, and at once prepared to start in pursuit through the mountains. A most ingenious plan of operations was devised, whereby the Turks were to be crushed by a series of concerted manœuvres, after which the victorious forces were to unite before Tatar Bazardjik. Despite the difficulty of calculating the practicable rate of advance in a rocky country, the plan met with the approval of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who told his trusty officer to hasten on, and to pay no attention to the rumours that an armistice was about to be concluded.

While Gourko was pursuing the scattered bands which had once formed part of the army of Chakir Pasha, he came across the line of retreat of Suleiman Pasha as well. This had been foreseen by the Russians; for Tatar Bazardjik was the apex of several adjacent triangles formed by the roads to the mountains, and by their range as a base. The Turkish commander had been committing blunder after blunder since his attempt to relieve Plevna. He had been forced back to the mountains, into the pass called Trajan's Gate, where it would have been possible to make a very effective defence, but the works had been evacuated without a blow, and he was now in full retreat on Tatar Bazardjik and Philippopolis. The result of this retrograde movement was that the Turkish troops in the Shipka Pass were completely isolated and promptly marked down for destruction by General Radetzky. He divided his force into three columns, the right being commanded by Skobelev, and the left by Prince Mirsky. Working their way by desperate exertions through the Trajan Pass, now completely devoid of the enemy, these distinguished soldiers soon succeeded in completely encircling the Ottoman camp, which was

inefficiently protected on both sides and in the rear. The falling snow which hindered the Russian advance served also to hide them from the Turks, and on the night of the 8th of January the concentric movement of their two wings on Vesoul Pasha's rear was completed. The battle took place on the following day. The Turks made one desperate effort to cut their way through and then, with true Oriental phlegm, laid down their arms. The number of those who took part in this somewhat disgraceful surrender was 32,000, and ninety-two guns also fell into the hands of the Russians. The latter had lost altogether 5,464 men, but considering the advantage they had gained, they could not be said to have paid a heavy price for their success. For Prince Mirsky on the same day had captured the little town of Kezanlik, to which Suleiman Pasha, according to his usual practice, had set fire in his retreat, and in that town and Sofia they held the keys of two good roads over the Balkans, which were now almost completely abandoned by the enemy. The defence of the Shipka Pass by the Turks had latterly been almost as heroic as that of Plevna, but the sterling qualities of the soldiery could not compensate for the miserable generalship of their commanders.

Radetzky promptly pushed southwards, in aid of Gourko's movement, and found that his advance was almost unimpeded. Sending on a detachment of Moscow dragoons to break up the railway between Philippopolis and Tatar Bazardjik, he himself occupied Eski-Sagra and Yeni-Sagra on the 18th of January, and then hurried along the Adrianople road towards Yamboli. To the west of this advance, Gourko was hunting down the army of Suleiman, who in vain attempted to gain time, by sending news from time to time that an armistice had been concluded. The rear division of the Turkish army, under Fuad Pasha, was in imminent danger of being cut off; but the determination of that intelligent officer extricated it from its difficulties. It had originally been intended to make a stand at Tatar Bazardjik, but Suleiman's heart failed him, and after setting fire to the town he marched in a south-easterly direction along the banks of the river Maritza towards Philippopolis. On the 14th of January, the Russians, who started in pursuit, found that the bridges across the stream had been destroyed; Count Schouvaloff's division therefore waded through the icy current and engaged the enemy, while Schilder-Schuldner attempted to ford the river lower down and turn his flank. However, the

attempt was made too late, and after an animated engagement the enemy retreated in fairly good order. No attempt was made to hold Philippopolis, the northern suburb of which was occupied by Krudener in the course of the 14th, and on the following night a squadron of eighty dragoons of the Guards, who had already placed themselves on the south side of the Maritza, dashed boldly into the town and, driving its disorganised garrison before them, were able to seize the looted and half-ruinous place without any difficulty. Philippopolis was occupied on the 16th, and on the following day Suleiman was driven up into the Rhodope mountains, his retreat being ably covered by Fuad Pasha, who died the death of a hero, in a desperate charge by which he hoped to inspire some of the courage which burned in his own breast into his weary and disheartened troops. The miserable remnants of what had once been the army of the Lom took refuge among the snow-capped hills, safe, indeed, from further pursuit, but powerless to make any active movement in behalf of the waning national cause.

In other quarters, the fortunes of the Crescent were equally obscured. Even the Servians, who, on January 7th, suffered severely for their ungenerous declaration of war, and were forced to evacuate Kurshumlia, were speedily able to resume the offensive, and surrounding the fortress of Nisch, compelled it to capitulate on the 11th, thus freeing Bulgaria of the enemy. The Montenegrins were even more successful. Antivari fell before them on the 10th, and then these hardy mountaineers pressed on to Dulcigno and took it, despite the well-directed fire of a Turkish ironclad in the roads. They were thus in possession of what they had long coveted—access to the sea; and at last a chance was given them, which it was hoped would be confirmed at the conclusion of the war, of abandoning their old haphazard mode of life and becoming an industrious people. Elated by this great acquisition, they pushed on towards Scutari, and, as a preliminary of investment, planted some batteries which commanded the river Boïana, and cut the fortress off from the sea.

The Turkish defence had now broken down everywhere, but still the authorities at Constantinople could not make up their minds to acknowledge themselves defeated. The usual change of Commander-in-Chief was made, Suleiman Pasha being cashiered, and Raouf Pasha appointed in his place, while Mukhtar Pasha and Mehemet Ali were summoned to the military council of the Sultan. It is probable, however, that this last

effort was hardly sincere, and that its real object was merely to keep up the struggle in order that the Porte might not be compelled to negotiate in the humble position of a suppliant. The Russians, on the other hand, were naturally by no means anxious to hurry on the preliminaries of peace, more especially as Adrianople, the second city in the European Empire, was almost in their grasp. The crushing defeat of Suleiman had forced the Turks to abandon their original design of defending that city. On the 19th, the Governor Djemil Pasha blew up his store of ammunition, set fire to some of the public buildings, and marched off with his garrison along the road to Constantinople. The example had been set him a few days before by Ahmed Eyoub Pasha, who was in command of a numerous body of troops, but he, too, had considered the position hopeless, and joined the mournful crowd of inhabitants who, leaving nearly all they had in the world to the mercy of the enemy, were flying for dear life towards the capital, where at least they hoped to find someone willing to strike a blow in their behalf. The Russian advance-guard occupied the city at night, and Skobelev at once set to work to restore order, and to prevent any outbreak between the Mahometan and Christian populations. Gourko arrived on the 26th of January, and was followed next day by the Grand Duke Nicholas, with whom were the Turkish plenipotentiaries, Server and Namyk Pashas. Then the negotiations for peace, which had begun at Kezanlik, were resumed again and dragged slowly on.

Nowhere was a break in the heavy clouds to be seen. Hobart Pasha, who had formerly been an officer in the British navy, attempted a diversion in the direction of the Crimea, but he succeeded only in shelling some unfortified towns, his ships being for the most part unseaworthy and badly manned. These paltry advantages were completely wiped out on the 23rd of December, when the *Russia* captured the Turkish steamer *Mercene*, that had been employed in maintaining the blockade of the Black Sea; and on the 26th, when the Russian steamer *Constantine*, which was cruising off Batoum, sank a Turkish vessel by means of Whitehead torpedoes. In other parts of Asia Minor despair stared the Turks in the face. A large army was completely surrounded in Erzeroum and in some danger of starvation. Ismail Hakki, however, who was Mukhtar's successor, was resolved to hold out, despite the fact that the soldiers had little confidence in him, and that typhus had carried off his only competent officer, Mehemet

Pasha. The sanitary condition of the town was, indeed, most deplorable, and fever was fast reducing the effective strength of the garrison. Attempts were made to convey the invalids across the mountains to Trebizond, but with no shelter and little food they suffered terribly, and few reached that haven alive. The scenes during the flight of the soldiers of Edhem Pasha over the Kop Hills were even more heartrending. That officer had been stationed at Pernacaban to the south-east of Erzeroum, where his mission was to keep open the road to Trebizond; but on the appearance of the Russian vedettes, he fled basely towards Baibout, which he reached with a miserable remnant of an army quite inadequate to hold that town in case of attack. A force of five hundred horsemen and three infantry battalions protected his retreat, but in obedience to a telegram from Constantinople they removed to Erzengan, a town to the south-west of Erzeroum, where they took no further part in active movements. Baibout, Erzeroum, and Batoum were now the only places which held out for the Sultan, and from their isolated positions they could offer but little check to the invading armies, which found the severity of the winter a far more serious obstacle. Movements of any great extent were continued before Batoum alone, where the Russians, on January 30th, 1878, imagining that the greater part of the enemy's garrison had been transferred to Constantinople, made a vigorous attack on his right flank and centre; but the reception they encountered was still more determined, and, with the recapture of a redoubt which the Russians had taken two days before, the active operations of the war in Armenia came to a close.

In Europe military events were hurrying towards their inevitable end. Suleiman Pasha and his men had scrambled over the Rhodope Mountains, their rear being ably defended by Baker Pasha, and struggled to the shores of the Ægean Sea, where they lay until the arrival of some ships under Manthorpe Bey, an Englishman, which conveyed them partly to Gallipoli and partly to Constantinople. The soldiers were completely disorganised, and had lost most of their guns and nearly all their baggage. They were highly indignant against their general, whom, according to the correspondent of the *Times*, they charged with "cruelty, neglect, and criminal waste of opportunities." Nevertheless, such was the dearth of good generals that, with these terrible reproaches unrefuted, he was appointed to the command of Gallipoli, a point of the utmost importance at the

entrance of the Dardanelles, the possession of which would enable a hostile army to close the Sea of Marmora against any fleet going to the assistance of the Turks at Constantinople. To the

Roumanians, who had come to an arrangement with the Servians, were steadily bombarding Widin, while the latter, who showed far better fighting spirit than during the war of 1876, drove



CAPTURE OF THE "MERCENE" BY THE "RUSSIA." (See p. 312.)

capital also had Mehemet Ali and Ahmed Eyoub Pashas betaken themselves with the remnants of the force that had been intended for the defence of Adrianople, and, using that city as a basis of operations, the Grand Duke sent out troops in all directions which penetrated up the valleys running towards the capital, and menaced the Government of the Sultan at his very gate. North of the Balkans there was the same complete defeat. The

back the enemy to the south-west, and, after a desperate struggle for the town and Pass of Vrana, gained possession of the whole of Old Servia. The Montenegrins were equally zealous in their siege operations; in fact, every single Turkish force was now more or less shut in, and without British intervention a second capture of Constantinople was inevitable.

This, however, was not to be. The course of

diplomacy during this month of sensations had been unusually slow, but it may have saved Europe from an event that would have necessitated a collision of the Powers such as had not been witnessed since the Crimean War. During the last days of the year 1877 the British Government had hinted to Prince Gortschakoff that the Porte was ready to accept an armistice, and had wished to know what conditions Russia would be prepared to offer; to which the Muscovite Chancellor had replied that the Porte must address itself to the Imperial Commanders-in-Chief in Europe and in Asia, who would state the conditions on which an armistice would be granted. This proposal was not altogether acceptable to Lord Derby, who replied that a projected armistice to be successful must include operations in Asia as well as in Europe, and would not be complete without the concurrence of Servia and Montenegro. It was, therefore, clearly necessary that the terms should be discussed between the two Governments, not merely between generals commanding a portion of the contending forces. On the same day, in an important despatch, Lord Derby communicated this reply to Mr. Layard, and instructed him to inform the Porte that the British Government would suggest the expediency of their sending delegates to the Russian headquarters similarly commissioned to negotiate an armistice. To this Server Pasha answered by telegram to Musurus Pasha that the Sublime Porte "accepted in principle" the armistice proposed by Russia, and, pending the drawing up of the basis of the armistice, they requested the Queen's Government to ask the Government of Russia to put a stop to all military operations. Lord Derby was somewhat indignant at this, and pointed out, what the Porte had throughout refused to acknowledge, that Great Britain had not assumed the position of a mediator in the quarrel, but had simply offered to inquire whether Russia would consider overtures of peace, and he cautioned Turkey against entertaining false hopes.

The Russians, on their side, were by no means anxious to press on the negotiations. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who, if he did not shine as a military commander, had in him much of that stolid patience which is the essence of a good diplomatist, informed the Turkish Minister of War that "there could not be any question of an armistice at this moment without bases of peace." When this decision was communicated to Lord Derby, he said that he was unable to reconcile the terms in which the reply was couched with the

message that had previously been communicated to the Porte, namely, that the Russian military commanders were instructed to state the conditions of an armistice, and certainly it was difficult to harmonise the two declarations. However, the Foreign Secretary resolved to act upon the intimation, and on the 12th of January he told Musurus Pasha that as an armistice seemed to be of vital importance to Turkey, he could see no harm in the Porte ascertaining what was the nature of the conditions which the Russian Government was likely to demand. Accordingly, when the Grand Duke Nicholas telegraphed to the Porte that he would communicate the bases of peace to a person sent to him furnished with full powers to accept them, and to conclude thereupon the principles of an armistice which would afterwards be carried out, a prolonged council of Ministers was held, and the result of its deliberations was that Server Pasha and Namyk Pasha were sent to Kezanlik to meet the Grand Duke.

These suppliants arrived at the headquarters of the Russian Commander-in-Chief on the 19th of January, and the whole of Europe, especially the Powers who were concerned in the Treaty of Paris, promptly became filled with the most profound anxiety. Throughout England, indeed, there had been from the beginning of the year demonstrations of warlike feeling such as had not been witnessed since that brief month of midsummer madness in 1870, during which the more sentimental of Englishmen did their utmost to plunge the nation into war on behalf of France. In the beginning of January, however, the divergence of opinion was rendered all the wider by the fact that both sides felt acutely on the subject, and that the divisions harmonised with those of the political world.

The Liberal meetings, because time and place were assiduously advertised, were generally well attended. Lord Carnarvon gave them an admirable text on which to base their discussions. On the 2nd of January the Colonial Secretary received a deputation of South African merchants who wished to obtain some information with regard to the troubles at the Cape. In the course of the interview some questions were asked with regard to the latest phases of the Eastern Question, and the Colonial Secretary made a short speech in reply. He said that there had been no material change in the situation since the fall of Plevna; Government were still watchful over British interests, friendly as regarded other nations, and neutral as regarded belligerents. They were not prepared to

bolster up Turkish interests as such ; but, on the other hand, they were resolved to have a voice in the settlement of the question. Lord Carnarvon disposed of the idea that Russia had refused the proffered mediation of Great Britain in an insolent manner, by saying that Government had not offered to mediate, still less to intervene in the ordinary sense of intervention ; they had simply conveyed overtures of peace from one belligerent to another. "I think," he continued, "there is at this moment a serious risk on each side. On the one hand, I hope that in this country we shall not lash ourselves up into a nervous apprehension of so-called British honour and British interests. I have never heard throughout these transactions, and nobody else has heard, a whisper against British honour ; and, as regards British interests, we must be very careful always, as men of the world dealing with undoubtedly very large interests, to discriminate between those that are real and those that are secondary. On the other hand, also, I sincerely hope that the Russian Government and people will remember that many of the questions arising at this moment are questions which are not for the settlement of the two belligerents alone. They involve European interests—they are European questions, and we, as a member of the European family, have not only a right to be heard upon them, but it is very important that we should have a distinct voice in the final decision of them. I do not myself feel any difficulty in reconciling these two views, provided only there is reasonable management and moderation on each side."

Such a speech, at such a time, produced a perfect avalanche of criticism. One of the most powerful, though it was voiceless, was that of the Money Market ; the funds rose $\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. The Liberal leaders were naturally jubilant. Mr. Gladstone in a letter to Mr. Chamberlain expressed his opinion that Lord Carnarvon had "manhood as well as integrity and ability," and Mr. Forster, in a very strong and earnest speech at Bradford, took up the note of praise. "It fell," said he, "to the lot of the Opposition to support the Foreign and Colonial Secretaries against the attacks of their own friends, and it was possible that, when Parliament met, the Opposition might have to support them against their own colleagues." On the other hand, the *Daily Telegraph* severely reprimanded Lord Carnarvon, and in a mysterious article hinted that he had been sent for to Osborne to be reprimanded by the Queen. It was not known until some months afterwards that the Prime Minister,

at a Cabinet Council held on the following day, strongly rebuked his subordinate for the expressions in his speech. The authority for this was Lord Carnarvon himself, in a personal explanation made in the House of Lords. "The noble Earl, the Prime Minister," he said, "thought himself at liberty to condemn very severely the language that I had used. My Lords, I need not re-state the terms of that controversy on either side ; I took time to consider the course which it was my duty to take, and then in a memorandum which I had drawn up, but with which I think it unnecessary to trouble the House, I recapitulated what had passed, and having vindicated the position I had taken, I reaffirmed in the hearing of my colleagues, and without any contradiction, the propositions I had then laid down. The noble Earl, the Prime Minister, was good enough to ask me for a copy of it, and so this matter ended ; but no public or private disavowal was uttered, or even hinted at, with regard to what I then said. I have therefore felt myself justified, and I still feel myself justified, in believing that where no such disapproval was uttered, I had not misrepresented the opinion of her Majesty's Government at that time."

A general chorus in favour of neutrality was uttered by Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry James, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Mundella, and other prominent politicians during the following week, and served to keep public attention alive until the opening of Parliament. The royal message was anticipated with eager curiosity, as it was hoped that it would contain some specific assurance as to the policy of Government, and so remove the impression of uncertain counsel produced by the declarations of different members of the Cabinet. There was little, however, in the Queen's Speech that could be seized by either side as a weapon of offence or defence. The reason for assembling Parliament before the usual period of its meeting was that it might become acquainted with the efforts made to terminate a war which was devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia, and that the Queen might have the advice and assistance of her Parliament in the present state of public affairs. The Speech then described the unsuccessful efforts of Great Britain to avert the war, her declaration of neutrality, "so long as the interests of my empire, as defined by my Government, were not threatened ;" and her earnest desire to avail herself of any opportunity for promoting a peaceful settlement of the questions at issue. The next topics were the

effort of the Porte, in consequence of the success of the Russian armies, to bring the war to a close, the appeal to the neutral Powers that had been rejected by them, and the separate appeal to the British Government, which had resulted in its making an inquiry of the Emperor of Russia whether His Imperial Majesty would entertain overtures of peace; upon this subject communications had taken place between the Governments of Russia and Turkey, and it was hoped that they might lead to a pacific solution of the points at issue and to a termination of the war. The significant paragraph ran thus:—"Hitherto, so far as the war has proceeded, neither of the belligerents has infringed the conditions on which my neutrality is founded, and I willingly believe that both parties are desirous to respect them as far as may be in their power. So long as these conditions are not infringed my attitude will continue the same. But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent upon me to adopt measures of precaution. Such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and I trust to the liberality of my Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose."

There certainly was a threat in this paragraph, but it was a threat carefully toned down, representing the "irreducible minimum" of Lord Beaconsfield's policy, and the tenor of the subsequent debate in both Houses was on the whole extremely pacific. After the proposer and seconder of the address, Lord Wharcliffe and the Earl of Loudoun, had given vent to their opinions, Lord Granville, after sketching in a light and amusing way the progress of the Eastern Question, proceeded to comment on the early summoning of Parliament. He said that of the two reasons given in the Queen's Speech, the second—that it was necessary that Parliament should be consulted—was reasonable and just; but that as to the first it seemed impossible that, on the 18th of December, the Cabinet should have decided to assemble Parliament in order to inform them of their efforts to terminate the war, when it would appear from the speech that the only transaction had been a general appeal from Turkey, upon which we did not act; and, as to the separate appeal which came from Turkey, on which we did act, it came ten days after the resolution to assemble Parliament had been taken. He then asked several important questions—whether the assurances given by Prince Gortschakoff in answer

to Lord Derby's celebrated despatch defining British interests, which were considered satisfactory at the time they were made, had lately lost their force, and if so, why Parliament was informed of them on that particular day? "If on the 18th of December they appeared urgent, why did you delay asking for the necessary means for a whole month? If they were not urgent, why could you not let things take their course, and by the further prorogation to the end of the month avoid all the necessary alarm that has been excited, the further depression that trade has suffered, and the damage that has been inflicted on the revenue?" He wished to know also whether it was true that since the beginning of the war there had been an understanding between Russia and Germany and Austria, as to the limits beyond which the Russians would not try to carry their demands? If this was the case, it seemed hardly possible that our diplomacy had been so helpless that we had not been able to obtain confidential communications from one or both of those Powers what those terms were. He wished the Queen's Government to tell him whether they had this knowledge or not; and whether the demands of Russia were such as really affected British interests or not. If they were not, the Government ought certainly not to have met Parliament with a flourish of that sort, "that they were bound to summon Parliament to obtain additional assistance."

Lord Beaconsfield in reply explained that Parliament had been called together on account of the great change in the diplomatic position of affairs, and remarked appositely enough that it had not been called together sooner because there was not a fair chance of an adequate attendance in both Houses. When he came to Lord Granville's criticisms on the consistency of the Government policy he grew very animated. Lord Granville had quoted an expression of Lord Derby's to the effect that the greatest of British interests is peace; and the Prime Minister in commenting on this said that though it was a felicitous expression it was an expression of rhetoric, but the noble Earl took it to be a statistical fact, as if he found it in a Blue-book. "The noble Earl thereupon says, 'that if peace is a British interest, it is also a European interest, it is an Austrian interest, it is an Italian interest, in short it is a universal interest.' But the noble Earl rode off upon a mere trick of rhetoric, because we know very well when we talk of 'British interests' we mean material British interests—interests of that character which

are sources of wealth or securities for the strength of the country. We do not want to be informed that the cardinal virtues are British interests. We possess and endeavour to exercise them, but they have not that peculiar character which the British interests that we refer to possess." He eloquently

It was a great cause which your forefathers then maintained; and however depressed trade may be and whatever the circumstances brought forward to enervate the national mind, whatever may be the considerations introduced to prevent you from acting as your forefathers did, it may be your duty



LORD GRANVILLE.

(From a Photograph by Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

defended Government from the charge of having placed Great Britain in an isolated position; he said that this was not her position; and in the attack Lord Granville had made he echoed the attacks that had been made from elsewhere, partly no doubt from ignorance, partly no doubt from thoughtlessness, but in a great degree by means of mechanical agitation. In a short peroration the Premier alluded to the conduct of Great Britain at the beginning of the century, when "among the craven communities of Europe it alone asserted and vindicated the cause of national independence.

to follow in their footsteps. If that cause were again at stake—if there were a Power that threatened the peace of the world with a predominance fatal to public liberty and national independence—I feel confident that your lordships will not be afraid of the charge of being isolated, if you stood alone in maintaining such a cause, and in fighting for such precious interests."

The Duke of Argyll followed with a very able speech, in which he began by making a good point against Lord Beaconsfield, whose remarks were, said he, nothing to the purpose. They seemed to

have been intended as a reply to some anticipated bitter, narrow-minded, and personal attack on Government from Lord Granville, and he could not change the programme of his speech to suit the observations which were really made. He urged that Lord Beaconsfield's language would be interpreted by the Turks as giving a hope of assistance, and that Russia would certainly find the Pashas more difficult to deal with in the negotiations for peace. The Duke pointed out that the interests of Great Britain were not involved in keeping Turkey at Constantinople when she was so weakened by war as to become practically a vassal State, and in conclusion begged that Government would use all their influence that the war might never be repeated, and that could be done only by putting an end to the misgovernment of the ruling classes in Turkey.

Lord Salisbury summed up the debate in a brief series of remarks. He declined to furnish the Duke of Argyll with a neat *précis* of the negotiations that might have passed between the Court of London and all the other Courts in the world, and disavowed any connection between Government and any particular newspaper or newspapers. He had little fault to find with the expressions that had been used against the Turkish Government, but he maintained that the war had cumulated in nine short months more misery than would result from generations of Turkish misgovernment. He testified to the "almost tormenting" desire for peace entertained by the Czar, but said that the most powerful will had not always been able to control the caprice of armies in the flush of victory. "I do not wish to examine what exactly are the circumstances under which the interests that have been defined will be threatened, but I know that the wave of war is approaching closely to localities with which those interests are connected. Before the Parliament of England, therefore, lies this alternative: if it does not trust the present Government, let it provide itself with a Government which it can trust; but if it does trust the present Government, let it confide to it the proper means for efficiently performing those great duties which its confidence has imposed."

In the Lower House the debate on the Address extended over two evenings, but only a small part of the time was occupied by the Eastern Question, the rest being consumed by the Home Rule party, who thought the occasion a good one for airing their grievances. The only important speeches were those of Lord Hartington, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Gladstone.

The titular leader of the Opposition, in the course of some very temperate remarks, said that he felt no surprise, and that it was far from his intention to make any complaint, at the summoning of Parliament at an earlier period than usual. It had, he said, been the misfortune of Government to have their policy misrepresented and misunderstood, and that not by their professed opponents, but by some who called themselves their supporters. Still the fact that Parliament had been called together three weeks before the usual time did undoubtedly create considerable uneasiness and anxiety; and during the period that had intervened between the announcement and the meeting, the trade and industrial interests of the country had suffered from the anxiety perhaps inevitable from that delay. He declared that everything depended on what Government would say; they might clear up much that still remained of anxiety and uneasiness, hasten the progress of negotiations and perhaps the restoration of peace. On the other hand, they might convert what was now merely fear into something like alarm, convert what was now suspicion into active hostility, divide the people of the country as they had never yet been divided, and check every hope of the revival of trade and industry in England. He said that the declaration of Government about unexpected occurrences, and preparation for measures of precaution—which must mean military preparations if it meant anything at all—might be interpreted by the Turks as a signal for one more desperate effort to put off the signature of a disastrous peace, an effort which would prolong the suspense and indecision of England, and might bring about the "unexpected occurrence" which was to be the cause of England's taking part in the affair.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied in language equally controlled. He complained, however, that though certain indiscreet supporters of Government might sometimes have misconstrued its acts and words, the construction that had been put upon them by Lord Hartington's associates and colleagues had done ten times more mischief. Their aim had been to cause it to be believed that the secret desire and fixed intention of the Cabinet had been to carry the country into a war to support Turkey. After this digression he proceeded to show that the position of affairs had altered since the prorogation of Parliament, and why the step of calling Parliament together had been taken. He said that the change in the posture of affairs consisted in the defeat of Turkey,

in her wish for peace, and in the possibility that Russia might have increased her terms. Parliament had therefore been summoned that Government might have the means of making its statement in the most formal and constitutional manner, and, in any steps they might think it necessary to take, that they might be supported by the authority and assistance of Parliament. They trusted and were ready to believe that the Russian proposals would be in accordance with declarations made before the outbreak of the war; but it was impossible to say what might be the effect which a long struggle might have had on the position and views of the Russians. It was therefore necessary that the Ministry should maintain an attitude of watchfulness and reserve, until they knew what it was that the Emperor desired. For the present they would make no proposals; but they thought it right to warn the House that it might become their duty to take measures of precaution, and to put themselves in a position to do this effectually.

These assurances were regarded by Mr. Gladstone as most satisfactory. "I must say that I hardly know how to express my thankfulness for the debate we have had to-night." He reserved any comment on the necessity of coming to Parliament to ask for any additional means until the case occurred. He confessed, however, that he had the very strongest opinion that the circumstances of England's position would not justify the increase of military strength, which would be in the highest degree dangerous and injurious, and in glaring contradiction to the expressed wishes of the country. He admitted that Government had naturally and justly reserved to itself liberty of action, but he sincerely hoped that the contingency to which they pointed while making that reservation was a contingency that might never arise.

Sir Stafford Northcote had said that the Turkish envoys were still on their way, and that it was not probable in the circumstances mentioned that they would reach headquarters for a day or two. As we have seen, they arrived on the 19th. There was still a double stream of negotiations: on the one hand between Russia and Turkey, and on the other between Russia and Great Britain. The latter aimed at settling the all-important question of the occupation of Constantinople, that had been raised on December 16th, when Prince Gortschakoff, in a memorandum of some decision, reiterated the determination of Russia not to keep Constantinople; but asserting at the same time that the Czar considered

that it was his right and his duty to oblige Turkey to conclude a solid and real peace, which should offer effectual guarantees against the return of the incessant crises which disturbed the peace of Russia and of Europe. In the despatch enclosing the memorandum, Prince Gortschakoff pointed out that if the Turks once acquired the idea that a menace or an attack directed against Constantinople would cause Great Britain to depart from her neutrality, their policy would naturally be to prolong their resistance, in spite of its evident uselessness, in such a way as to force Russia to pursue her operations as far as the capital. For some reason, probably in view of the improvement in the military position of Russia that was taking place day by day, Count Schouvaloff did not present this memorandum to Lord Derby until January 2nd. On the 12th, Lord Derby replied by instructing Lord Augustus Loftus to inform Prince Gortschakoff that the British Government were of opinion that any operation tending to place the passage of the Dardanelles under the control of Russia would be an impediment to the proper consideration of the terms of the final settlement between Russia and Turkey. He was to ask the Prince whether he was willing to give assurance to the British Government that no forces should be sent to the Peninsula of Gallipoli. To this Prince Gortschakoff replied explicitly, that "the Imperial Cabinet had no intention of directing military operations against Gallipoli unless the Turkish regular troops should be concentrated there. They supposed, on their part, that in addressing to them this question the British Government had no intention of occupying that peninsula, a step which would not be in accordance with their neutrality, and might give rise in Constantinople to illusions that would not favour the conclusion of peace." On the 21st, the Foreign Secretary gave the counter assurance that the British Government did not, in present circumstances, contemplate any occupation of the position in question. It will be observed that the subject of the occupation of Constantinople had been dropped.

Nevertheless, the matter was getting more and more critical. Mr. Layard zealously kept Government informed of the Russian advance, and on the same day he sent an alarming telegram containing information from the Vice-Consul at Gallipoli that the Russians were marching on the Dardanelles, which news he supplemented on the 23rd of January by telegraphing that communications between Gallipoli and the capital were in danger of being cut. Accordingly, Lord Beaconsfield

determined to seize the Dardanelles. A telegraphic message was therefore sent at once to Admiral Hornby, to the following effect. "Most Secret. Sail at once to the Dardanelles, and proceed with the fleet now with you to Constantinople. Abstain from taking part in the contest between Russia and Turkey; but the waterway of the Straits is to be kept open, and, in the event of tumult at Constantinople, you are to protect life and property of British subjects. Use your judgment in detaching such vessels as you may think necessary to preserve the waterway of the Dardanelles, but do not go above Constantinople. Report your departure and communicate with Besika Bay for possible further orders, but do not wait if none are there. Keep your destination absolutely secret." At the Cabinet Council which authorised the despatch of this momentous missive, it was resolved to ask Parliament on the following day for an additional vote of six millions sterling for naval and military services.

Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon thereupon announced their intention of retiring from the Cabinet. The former, indeed, withdrew his resignation as soon as the fleet was countermanded, which it was on the following day (the command being that it should anchor at Besika Bay and await further orders), and consented to remain with colleagues whose opinions he could not accept, though they had not yet been put into action. Lord Beaconsfield, however, expressly asserted that the fleet had been ordered to turn back to Besika Bay—not because of Lord Derby's resignation but because, having the conditions of the peace before them, Government were of opinion that they "furnished a basis for an armistice."

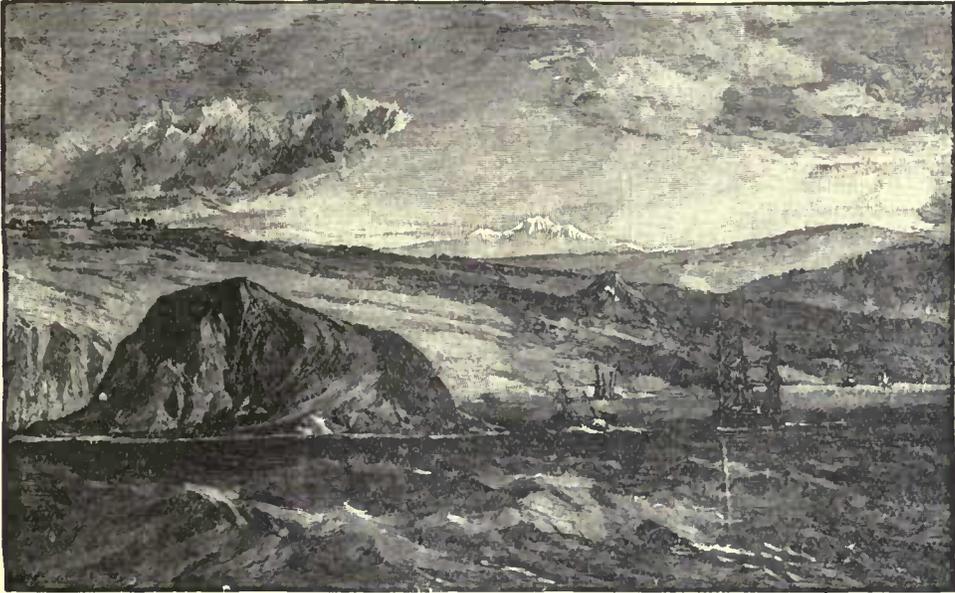
The breach between Lord Carnarvon and the rest of the Cabinet was, however, too wide to be bridged over by any such temporary reversal of policy. He persisted in retiring from office, despite the fact that this, his second secession—the first was in 1867—would probably finally debar him from exchanging the already high position he had gained in the Conservative ranks for the still higher one to which his ability and strength of purpose undoubtedly entitled him. His personal explanation was made on the 25th in the House of Lords, and disclosed a certain amount of indecision on the part of Ministers. The Colonial Secretary's speech in reply to the South African deputation on the 2nd of January will be remembered, also the remonstrance that was made on that account by Lord Beaconsfield on the following day. The next episode was on the 12th of January,

when the question was discussed in the Cabinet as to whether it was desirable to send the fleet to the Dardanelles, and Lord Carnarvon expressed a very decided opinion against it. The discussion was renewed on the 15th, and it was agreed that the fleet should be sent. Thereupon Lord Carnarvon sent in his resignation, but on the following day, hearing that the order to the fleet had been cancelled, he withdrew it. This, it should be observed, was on the 18th of January—the day after Parliament met. The reason for this change of plan was a telegram from Mr. Layard to the effect that the question of the Straits was to be settled between "the Congress and the Emperor of Russia." "This," wrote Sir Stafford Northcote in his memorandum, "fell amongst us like a bombshell. Our justification for sending up the fleet was that we feared that a private arrangement would be made about the Straits between the Turks and Russians to the detriment of the other Powers, and here were the Russian terms of peace by which the question was reserved to be settled by a Congress! How could we justify ourselves? And how much would not the difficulty of the situation be increased by the resignation of Lord Derby? After a little hasty consultation with those of our colleagues who were in the House of Commons, I went up to Downing Street, taking Smith with me. We found Lord Beaconsfield in bed, but quite able to talk the matter over with us. The result was that we agreed to stop Admiral Hornby before he entered the Dardanelles, where he had been led to expect that he might find orders. Smith despatched an Admiralty telegram at once. It was not in time to stop the fleet, but it brought it back again to the entrance of the Straits. Looking back, I think this was the greatest mistake we made in the whole business; but at the moment we were all agreed upon it."

The Colonial Secretary wrote on this occasion a letter to his chief in which he said that he had considered the divergences of opinion that had unfortunately developed themselves among the members of the Cabinet; and that he could not conceal from himself that those differences had very great influence on a question on which it was of the utmost importance to the country that Government should be one and undivided. "Taking, therefore, all this into account, I avail myself of this opportunity to place clearly on paper the opinion—though you and my colleagues are already familiar with it—that I am not prepared, in present circumstances, or in

circumstances similar to them, to agree to any armed intervention, or any course of a similar nature." To this the Prime Minister replied "in a courteous and friendly letter," announcing that he would not submit Lord Carnarvon's resignation to the Queen. For a while the harmony of the Cabinet was restored, and Lord Carnarvon imagined that the proposal to send the fleet into Turkish waters was abandoned. On the 23rd of January, however, the proposal was made in the Cabinet to send the fleet not only within the Dardanelles, but

Salisbury—that the policy of Government had never changed from the beginning, and that there had never been the slightest division amongst members of Government respecting it. The first thesis might be a matter of opinion, but the second could hardly be maintained in the face of facts. Nevertheless, Lord Beaconsfield, in the course of a well-considered reply, repeated it, and as to Lord Carnarvon, declared himself unable to comprehend the sufficient reason for his quitting the councils of her Majesty's Government.



BESIKA BAY.

to Constantinople, and after discussion it was agreed that the fleet should be sent there. Lord Carnarvon thereupon sent in his resignation a second time, and it was accepted. "I rejoice," he said in the course of his explanation, "at the soundness of the decision not to send the fleet into Turkish waters: I am also glad that if I have the misfortune to separate myself from my colleagues, it will be from a difference of feeling, and even of principle, rather than in consequence of any direct act which they have taken, and which I must have condemned; but what I have stated to your lordships shows that there have been for a considerable time wide divergences of opinion as to the principles upon which our policy should be conducted." Certainly Lord Carnarvon's explanation did not seem to agree with the statements made on the first night of the session by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord

Three days after these memorable events had been transacted in the House of Lords, Sir Stafford Northcote arose in the Commons, according to the notice he had given in the middle of the previous week, and moved an additional vote of £6,000,000 for the army and navy services. In accordance with his announced intention he did not indulge in "general or exciting oratory," but endeavoured calmly to look the facts in the face, and in so doing gave an admirable *précis* of the progress of negotiations which, if supplemented by a few quotations from the Blue-book, will give a clear idea of the actual state of the case. Going back to the early days of the year, he told the House that Russia had made a demand that the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey should agree, before an armistice was granted, to certain terms which should be the basis of an ultimate treaty of peace

between the two countries. Government were aware that certain bases had been proposed, that they had been taken into consideration by the Plenipotentiaries, and that they had been communicated by them to their Government. It had also been stated with more or less authority, though it had not yet been officially communicated to Government by either of the Powers, that the Government of the Porte were prepared to accept, or had accepted, the bases of peace that had been submitted to it. Still day after day passed, the treaty remained unsigned, and news was received of further advances of the Russian troops both in Europe and in Asia, now in this direction and now in that. Besides, the British Government were not exactly aware what the proposed terms were, because they had received more than one statement of the terms that were said to have been made; some were in detail but were not authentic, and others that were authentic did not go into detail.

In fact, Mr. Layard, who occasionally got hold—to use a homely expression—of the burnt end of the stick, had forwarded to the Foreign Office several very highly-coloured reports of the proposed terms of peace, which might have seriously discomposed the mind of Lord Derby. “The Russian conditions,” he telegraphed on the 24th of January, “are, I have heard, as follows:—(1) Serbia to become a kingdom with augmentation of territory; (2) additional territory to be given to Montenegro; (3) Roumania to be declared independent; (4) Bulgaria to be formed into a state similar to Serbia before the war; (5) the question of Bosphorus and Dardanelles to be settled between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia; (6) a pecuniary indemnity to be determined, and east of Armenia, including Bayazid, Kars, Ardahan, and Batoum, to be held by Russia as a guarantee for payment; the fortifications of Erzeroum to be destroyed.” This of course was most alarming, inasmuch as the 5th condition seemed to imply that the belligerents regarded the question of the Dardanelles as one which concerned them only, and would settle it by private arrangement. On the 25th, however, it was discovered that the telegraph clerk had transmitted the word “Sultan” instead of “Congress,” so that this special alarm was unnecessary. Mr. Layard on the same day sent a more enlarged sketch of the Russian basis of peace, with the remark that “it was scarcely necessary to say that they amounted to the destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, did not pay much attention to the telegrams of the

Ambassador, inasmuch as Count Schouvaloff had on the same day laid before Lord Derby, in a form which though unofficial was authoritative, a statement of the bases of peace, which bore a strong family resemblance to that of Mr. Layard, but on one or two points was a good deal more moderate. The terms were—“(1) Bulgaria within the limits of the Bulgarian nationality, not less than that of the Conference, to be an autonomous tributary principality, with a national Christian Government, a native militia, and no Turkish troops, except at some points to be determined; (2) independence of Montenegro, with increase of territory, equivalent to military *status quo*, the frontier to be decided hereafter; (3) independence of Roumania, with a sufficient territorial indemnity; (4) independence of Serbia, with rectification of frontiers; (5) autonomous administration, sufficiently guaranteed, to Bosnia and Herzegovina; (6) similar reforms for the other Christian provinces of Turkey in Europe; (7) indemnity to Russia for the expenses of the war, in a pecuniary, territorial, or other form, to be decided hereafter; (8) ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits; (9) these bases being accepted, a convention, an armistice, and the despatch of Plenipotentiaries to develop them into preliminaries of peace.” At the same time Count Schouvaloff read an extract from a telegram from Prince Gortschakoff which repeated the assurance that “we do not wish to settle by ourselves European questions having reference to the peace which is to be made.”

In spite of these soothing declarations, Sir Stafford Northcote declared the terms to be of the most sweeping character. He dwelt on the uncertainty of the designs of Russia, and the menace of the Russian troops against Gallipoli, which had necessitated the sending of the fleet into the Dardanelles. “We are asked,” he said, “why we are seeking for this vote? to what object is it to be applied? We ask for this money not necessarily that it should be expended at all, or even the greater part of it. We ask you to give us authority to spend it if we should think such a course necessary. You must bear in mind that the strength of England can only be measured by the power of using it.” A somewhat purposeless conversation followed, in the course of which Mr. Bright expressed a doubt as to the desirableness of entering the conference “with shotted cannon and revolvers.” At the suggestion of Lord Hartington the debate was adjourned until Thursday, the 31st, when Mr. Forster, in the name of the

leaders of the Liberal party, moved a resolution to the effect that as the conditions on which Government had founded their neutrality had not been infringed by either belligerent, and as no information had been received sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, the House sees no reason for adding to the burdens of the people by voting unnecessary supplies. This he supported by a vigorous speech, full of telling hits, of which the main drift was to prove that the vote was unprecedented and unconstitutional. He pointed out that the vote of credit for two millions asked for by Mr. Gladstone in 1870 was not a case in point, inasmuch as its object was distinctly specified—namely, 20,000 men, and because it was taken at the close of a lengthened session. What was the occurrence, either expected or unexpected, which had come to pass in the last ten days, and rendered the vote necessary? Taking the Queen's Speech and the explanation given by Government together, Mr. Forster concluded that Government asked for the money because they considered Russia's terms unsatisfactory. He then briefly ran over them, declared his approval of the first six, which he said did not concern British interests at all; elicited groans from the Conservative benches by alluding to the independence of Servia, and proved that a pledge had been distinctly given that the question of the Straits was reserved for Europe. Mr. Forster said that the resignation of Lord Carnarvon had greatly diminished the confidence in Government, and that the temporary withdrawal of Lord Derby had had a very bad effect. He concluded by entreating Government to abandon their sham vote of confidence, and to declare in favour of the real British interest, the good government, or better government, of the people of Turkey.

Mr. Cross replied, and throughout a careful speech, in which he abstained as far as possible from adding fuel to the already blazing fire of Parliamentary passion, set himself chiefly to show that the vote was absolutely necessary. There was "a lying spirit abroad" as to the warlike intentions of Government; still, as he pointed out, there was every reason for mistrusting the Russians; the slower the progress of the negotiations, the more rapid the advance, and it was probable that they were considerably less than sixty miles from Constantinople. He concluded by saying that England had no selfish objects to gain and no cause to fear. She had no ambition on this matter. Her sole object was to secure the peace of England on a permanent and satisfactory

basis. After this the debate waned, though Sir Wilfrid Lawson made a rather amusing speech, in which he described himself as having been so pleased with Lord Carnarvon's manifesto of the 2nd of January that he found himself stumping the country and moving resolutions in favour of the Government, and shouting for "Salisbury and common sense," and "Northcote and neutrality." The Chancellor of the Exchequer thought that he could go into the conference with greater weight if he went with the six millions in his pocket, but such an idea was vulgar. "If a man shakes a naked sword in my face, I call him a barbarian; if he shakes his fist in my face, I call him a bully; but if he shakes his purse in my face, I call him a snob; and we shall be called the snobs of Europe if we do as the Government ask us." Mr. Beresford Hope made a very able and very moderate speech on behalf of Government, speaking, he said, as an independent member, who, though he had sat for many years in the House, had never yet taken part in a foreign debate.

Mr. Bright made a fine speech in which he commented on the divisions of the Cabinet, and congratulated Lord Derby and Sir Stafford Northcote for not having been involved in "the raving lunacy of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and the delirium tremens of the *Daily Telegraph*." However, on the whole, he was remarkably forbearing to Government, whom he entreated to consider what was the condition, the growing and saddening condition, of not a little of the home population to which Ministers had done—he was sure, unintentionally—a great injustice by not being with the public clear enough, resolute enough, consistent enough. Lord Sandon replied in a long speech which showed equal consideration for his political adversaries.

Mr. Trevelyan's vigorous speech on the second night, however, reinspired the subject with the spirit of polemics, inasmuch as he contrived to introduce a pointed allusion to Lord Beaconsfield's declaration that there was unity in the Cabinet immediately before severely condemning an eminent Minister, and they all knew by painful experience what a severe condemnation by the Prime Minister was. Sir Robert Peel retorted by a reckless attack on Mr. Forster's amendment, which he described as "an ungenerous attempt to embarrass the country, and to discredit and to throw dirt upon the Government of the Queen in the eyes of Europe." Mr. Lowe was in his wittiest vein; he taunted Government on their "confidence trick," and laughed at the idea that the period

during which the expenses might be incurred was fixed. "By March 31st," said he, "the spell will be spent. Only think of the miserable position of the Minister at the Conference at midnight on the 31st of March or the 1st of April. The position of Samson when his last locks were falling off under the shears of Delilah would be nothing to it. He will say :—

'But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world,'

but now 'tis twelve o'clock!" He suggested that Lord Beaconsfield should be muzzled, or that it should be at once understood that in his frisky hours he did not represent the feelings of Government. Mr. P. J. Smyth delivered an eloquent panegyric on Russia, which was enthusiastically cheered by members below the opposite gangway. The debate was wound up by a trenchant oration from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had succeeded Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Gladstone resumed the debate on Monday, and in a speech of much beauty disclaimed any intention of entering upon controversial matters, and expressed a desire to arrive, if possible, at a solution of all difficulties and differences. In some respects he declared his agreement with the probable intentions of Government. He remarked that one subject of the greatest importance which must come before the Conference was the perfect freedom of the navigation of the Danube. Russia had no natural interest over the Danube, and he hoped she would not be permitted to obtain a power over that river. With respect to the Straits also, the Opposition had some common ground with Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken with alarm of the extension to be given to Bulgaria; and Mr. Gladstone agreed with him, but thought that the danger was to be counteracted by favouring the development of Roumania, between which country and Russia there was now little sympathy. He would rejoice if the vote could be postponed until Ministers had obtained clearer evidence of the necessity for it. They could in that case present an address to the Crown, setting forth that they were desirous of supporting the action of her Majesty's Government in the councils of Europe, and this would do something towards burying past controversies.

This olive branch was rejected by Mr. Hardy with more than his usual impetuosity. The Minister at War was in a very heated frame of mind, and roundly denounced Mr. Gladstone and his followers for speaking within the House "with

bated breath and whispering humbleness" about the vote, while outside they had taken upon themselves to address the very strongest language with respect to it to excited audiences. He challenged Mr. Trevelyan to prove a statement made in a recent speech at Selkirk—that Lord Beaconsfield had never concealed his desire to plunge the country into war—"or let it go into some category which it is not Parliamentary to mention." Mr. Forster, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Goschen were all visited with the wrath of the irate Minister. "We have hitherto preserved peace," he said in conclusion, "we mean to keep peace, and we believe that we are going the right way to keep it when we ask you to assist amid the confusion which we see around us. The nations of Europe are armed to the teeth; a single spark may kindle Europe into a flame which may involve every interest we hold dear, to an extent of which we have no conception at this moment. It is because we feel all this, and are deeply anxious, in the face of Parliament and of the country, not only to protect British interests, but to do our part in the European concert for the benefit of subject nations, that we ask you for this vote."

It is unnecessary to linger over the remainder of this night and the fourth night of the debate. Mr. Chamberlain rejoiced that Mr. Gladstone's olive branch had been rejected, and Mr. Chaplin, amid the cheers of the Conservatives, vigorously attacked the ex-Premier. Mr. Childers opposed the vote from the financier's point of view. On the following day Colonel Stanley attempted to calm the angry passions that had been aroused by the painful altercation between Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Hardy, and explained the policy of Government with much fairness, alluding, as Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice afterwards said, to the wider and broader issues of the question with much grace and vigour. Sir William Harcourt, towards the end of the evening, was very funny about Mr. Hardy, to whose eruptive eloquence, he said, Chimborazo and Cotopaxi together were as nothing. He declared that Government's position was this—"if they came down and asked for money without saying what it was for, anybody who refused to vote that money did an unpatriotic thing. You might make that a Tory doctrine; but you could not make it a Whig doctrine as long as you lived."

Out of doors the excitement became intensified as the debate went on. Mr. Gladstone considerably alarmed the commercial interests of the country by a speech to the Palmerston Club at Oxford, made

while the debate on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion was in progress, in which he described the vote of credit as a vote of discredit, talked of himself as having done everything in his power to counter-work the policy of the Prime Minister on the Eastern Question, and called upon the country to agitate on the subject. An important declaration in favour of the Liberal policy was made at an influential meeting of London

taken to Lord John Manners, who received it with the remark that the City of London had—not for the first time—done its duty. Lord Beaconsfield also wrote to the Lord Mayor, expressing his satisfaction at the decided and spontaneous expression in favour of the foreign policy of Government by so important an assemblage. It was about this time that these enthusiasts, more warlike than the Minister at War himself, received the name of



MEETING OF JINGOS IN GUILDHALL, LONDON. (See p. 325.)

Nonconformists; but as a rule the advocates of peace did not fare particularly well. For in many cases the war zealots were assembled in overwhelming numbers and drove them from the field. Such was the case at Sheffield, where motions in condemnation of Government were hooted down, their supporters driven from the platform, and uproarious cheers raised for Lord Beaconsfield. At the Cannon Street Hotel a meeting of Liberals was dispersed by a riotous mob, who severely hustled Mr. S. Morley, M.P. After this feat, they adjourned to Guildhall, voted the Lord Mayor into the chair, and passed a resolution expressing perfect confidence in Government. This was

Jingos.* The title came from the music-halls, where a popular vocalist was then singing a ditty which denounced the occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, and had this burden:—

“We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the
money too.”

This modern “Ça-ira” was chorussed by bands of young patriots, who stormed Cannon Street Hotel, and other hiding-places of an effete Liberalism. Possibly sincere according to their light, their zeal

* First applied to them by Mr. George Jacob Holyoake. See his letter to the *Daily News*, March 13th, 1878.

was manifested in a way which could not fail to bring discredit on their cause. Hence their battlesong soon became the subject of jocular and contempt.

On February 7th, the tide of popular apprehension was at the flood, and it seemed exceedingly doubtful whether it would not overflow its bounds, and commit irreparable mischief. This was the more unexpected as previous intelligence had been of a reassuring character. News had been received that the armistice had been signed on January 31st, and that the delay had been caused not by the artifices of the Grand Duke Nicholas, but by the obstinacy with which Server Pasha refused to accept the article with regard to Bulgaria. Indeed, the cup of bitterness of the Turkish Plenipotentiary had overflowed. On the 28th he granted an interview to the *Daily News* correspondent, whose telegram was published in that paper on the memorable 7th of February. He was charged by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to inform the English public that he had abandoned the British alliance and had become more Russian than the Russians. "We have been encouraged," he cried, "and deceived. And I have documents here which will prove it." Another member of the Embassy was still more specific in his declarations, and accused Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Layard of having led Turkey on and deceived her in their private conversations with Musurus Pasha and the Sultan. Mr. Layard had said, "Do you think that I, as a friend of Turkey, was sent here for nothing? Do you not see that it was to encourage you, and offend Russia? Believe me. Have courage. Make no peace. Fight to the end." Lord Beaconsfield, he added, had used language almost as strong to Musurus Pasha, though far more cautiously worded. This telegram naturally produced much unfavourable criticism. However, when Sir Stafford Northcote was questioned about it in the Lower House, he replied by reading a note from Lord Beaconsfield, stating that Server Pasha's allegations were "a base fabrication." This was received with cheers from both sides of the House, the matter at once dropped, and the indiscreet Server was dismissed by the Sultan.

Indeed, topics of an even more exciting nature were engrossing the attention of the House. All day there had been a panic in that remarkably sensitive quarter the Money Market. There were rumours that in spite of the armistice the Russians were advancing on Constantinople, that a separate peace had been made without the knowledge of the

British Cabinet, that Constantinople had been surrendered, and that war had been declared. The funds fell 1 per cent. and Russian bonds 3. Sir Stafford Northcote, when questioned by Lord Hartington, could read only two telegrams from Mr. Layard, one dated February 5th, saying, that in spite of the signature of the armistice, the Russians were pushing on towards Constantinople, that the Turkish troops had been compelled to evacuate Silivri, a port on the Sea of Marmora, notwithstanding the protests of their commander; and the second, dated the 6th, stating that the Russians had insisted, as one of the conditions of armistice, that the northern lines should be abandoned, leaving Constantinople wholly undefended, and that Tchataldja, which was less than thirty miles from the capital, had already been occupied by the enemy. A telegram, he added, had been sent that day asking the Government of Russia to give some explanations on the subject. This announcement naturally caused something like a general consternation. Mr. Forster, with the approval of Lord Hartington, promptly withdrew his amendment to the proposal to go into Committee on the vote of credit, and the House plunged into an excited conversation. Mr. Bright, after some time, got up and questioned the accuracy of Mr. Layard's information, and said that he should like to know whether there was any positive intelligence that what had occurred had not occurred with the connivance of the Porte. At last Sir Stafford Northcote acknowledged that the panic was groundless, and that he had just received from Lord Derby a telegram of that day from St. Petersburg to Count Schouvaloff, saying that the order had been given to the Russian military commanders to stop hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia, and that there was not a word of truth in the rumours which had reached him. "I must express," he said, "my regret to the House that the circumstances should have been of so dramatic a character as they have been."

After Sir William Harcourt had relieved his feelings by some expressions derogatory to Mr. Layard, the question was raised whether Mr. Forster was willing to proceed with his amendment. The opposition of the Liberal leaders, however, had entirely collapsed; they acknowledged that the situation was extremely grave, and Mr. Forster withdrew his motion. Then there was a division on the main question, in which none of the Moderates took part, leaving younger and extremer Members like Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Fawcett, and Mr.

Trevelyan to form part of a minority of 95 who went into the lobby against 295 of the supporters of Government. On the following night the Opposition proceeded to the discussion of the vote in Committee with a little more vigour, it having been discovered in the meantime that the evacuation of the Tchataldja lines by the Turks was one of the conditions of the armistice, and that Russia was acting within her rights. Mr. Fawcett was very wroth against the leaders of the Opposition for the part they had played, and found a supporter in Mr. Gladstone, who said, however, that he would be a party to no further resistance, having recorded his vote against the proposal, and his reason for it. Lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, and most of the members of the former Cabinet, walked out of the House amid the jeers of the Opposition—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Stansfeld alone remaining to vote against Government. The figures were 328 votes against 124, or a majority for the Conservatives of 204. On bringing up the report, they received unexpected support from Mr. Joseph Cowen, the Radical Member for Newcastle, who delivered a fine speech against the ambition of Russia, and in praise of the virtues of the Turkish peasantry. Altogether, Government had gained a great victory and seemed to have driven the Opposition forces to the four winds.

For a few days the air was a little clearer. Some danger, however, was apprehended from Greece, where the Government, unable any longer to restrain the ardour of the populace, allowed the troops to cross the frontier, without any declaration of war and with the professed object of preventing massacres by the Turkish troops in Thessaly of the insurgents there. Fortunately, however, the movement came to nothing. Greece met with little sympathy from the rest of Europe; the Turkish troops and the fleet under Hobart Pasha were moved quickly to the spot, and—it having been undertaken that her claims should be considered at the Congress—directions were issued by the Hellenic Government to her soldiers to re-cross the frontier. This pacific result was mainly due to Mr. Layard, who saw that any further complication of the Eastern Question was by no means to be desired. Nevertheless, the insurrection smouldered for some time and great excesses were committed by the Turkish irregulars.

It was feared also that there might be an outbreak between the Roumanian and Russian troops, who, though they had fought side by side before Plevna, were very jealous of one another, while

the Roumanian Government shrewdly suspected that Russia was aiming at securing that portion of Bessarabia which she ceded in 1856. Nor was the situation absolutely free from alarm in Constantinople itself. Despite the congratulatory telegrams from Sultan to Czar and from Czar to Sultan, the conditions of the armistice were felt to be terribly severe. They placed in the grip of the Russians the entire line of the Danube from Servia to the outfall, the greater part of the Black Sea coast, the whole of the Sea of Marmora (excepting the immediate vicinity of Constantinople), and important positions on the Ægean. The communications of the Russian army in the south with its base of operations in the north were rendered completely independent of the mountain routes; concentration at every point was facilitated, and the best positions were occupied for resisting attack by Britain, should that be menaced. The headquarters of General Skobelev were at Tchataldja, while Mukhtar Pasha was stationed east of the neutral ground with a Turkish force equal to that of the Russian advanced guard. The main body of the Russian army was at Adrianople, but detachments were also encamped at Silivri and Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora. The distance from Tchataldja to Constantinople is about thirty miles, and it was computed in the Russian camp that the Turkish capital could be occupied in from thirty-six to forty-eight hours. Hence it was hardly to be wondered at that the Christian population of the capital should be very seriously alarmed. The fighting spirit in the Turks was not so utterly crushed that there was not a man to be found to kick against the chains that were encircling his country; the Softas were said to be very excited, and to be contemplating the deposition of the Sultan and the massacre of their opponents in faith. The Chamber of Deputies was fretful. It hated the Minister of the Interior, Ahmed Vefyk Effendi, who filled a post corresponding to that of the recently abolished Grand Vizier, and clamoured for reform with more honesty than discretion. The Sultan prorogued Parliament in the beginning of February. Everywhere there was unrest, and the wildest rumours were current, of which the most authentic was that Russia claimed for herself a fortress on the Bosphorus, and hence the practical possession of the Dardanelles.

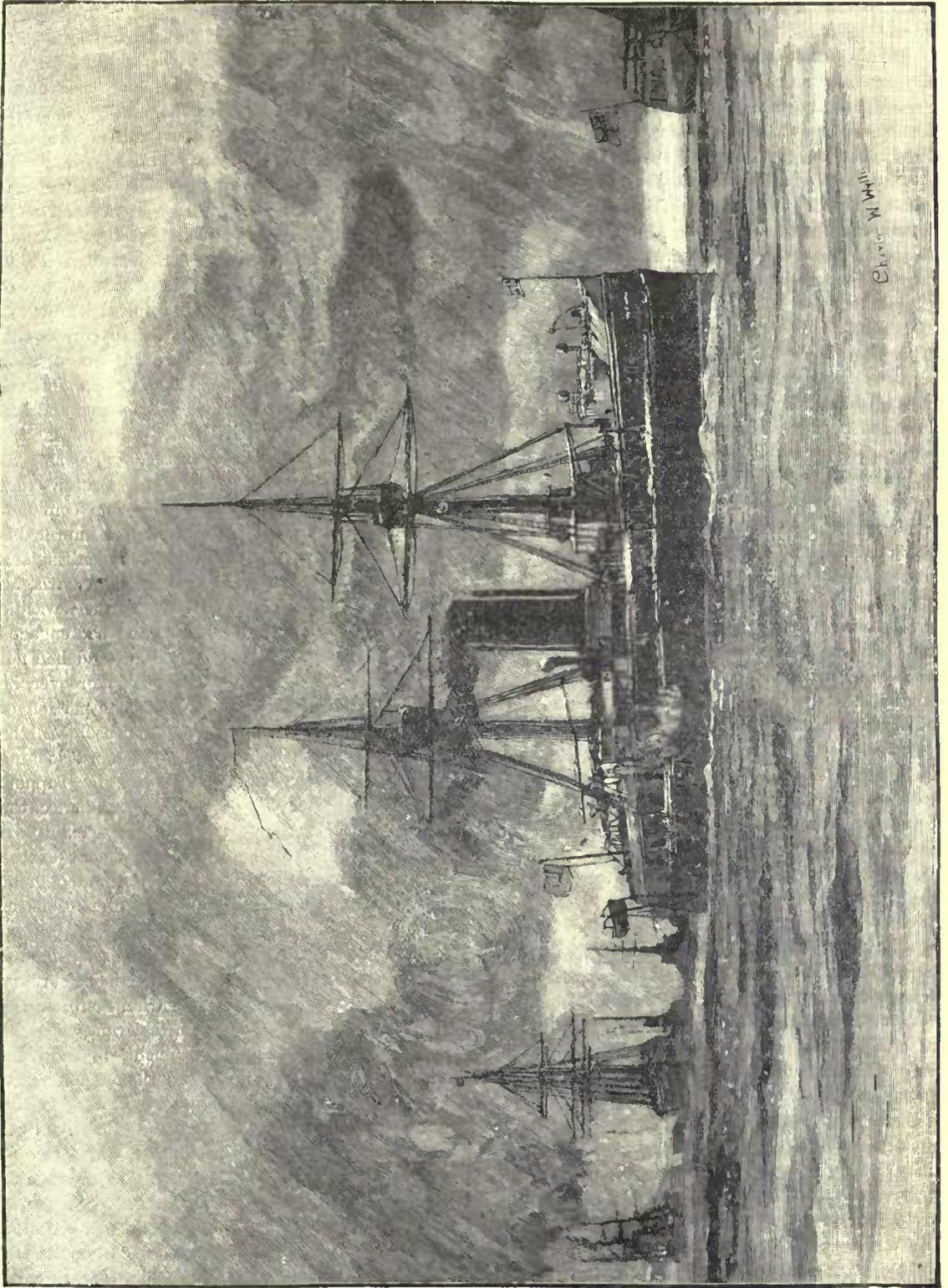
The British Government, in face of the extreme gravity of the situation, at last made up their mind to send the fleet to Constantinople. An announcement to that effect was made in both Houses of Parliament on the 8th of February.

Sir Stafford Northcote informed the House of Commons that the state of affairs disclosed by the terms of the armistice—that is, the practical abandonment of the defence of the capital to Russia—gave rise to the danger of disorder, bloodshed, and even anarchy. Accordingly, a telegram had been sent to Admiral Hornby, ordering a portion of the fleet—namely, the *Alexandria*, *Téméraire*, *Swiftsure*, *Achilles*, *Ruby* and *Salamis*—to proceed at once to Constantinople. They had, at the same time, given notice of this order to the other Governments of Europe, and had invited such Governments as might be disposed to do so to join with them in that action. A communication had been made to the Russian Government also. That was the position of affairs, and, without a menace of any kind, that was a step they had taken, and felt themselves bound to take. Shortly afterwards other preparations were made. Two ironclads that were being built for the Turkish Government were added to the British Navy, four vessels belonging to the Channel Squadron were despatched to Gibraltar, and orders were given to the Chatham and Portsmouth dockyards to hurry on the men-of-war in hand with all possible speed.

It remained to be seen how the Powers would receive this determined action on the part of the British Government. France, Italy, and Austria viewed the step with approval, and orders were given to their fleets to proceed at once to Constantinople, their ambassadors having applied to the Porte for the necessary firmans to pass the Straits. However, a few days afterwards, France and Italy affected to consider that all danger of an outbreak was at an end and countermanded their ships; the Emperor of Austria contented himself with saying that he would send vessels, and not sending them. Prince Gortschakoff seized the opportunity with great adroitness. He at once telegraphed to Count Schouvaloff, that in view of the measures adopted by the British Government and the other Powers, the Russian Government, being obliged on their side to consider the means of protecting the Christians whose lives and property were menaced, contemplated the entry of a portion of their troops into Constantinople. This step completely took the wind out of the sails of Lord Derby, despite the sardonic assurance of Prince Gortschakoff, made on the 13th of February, that the two Governments would be fulfilling a common duty of humanity. He at once informed the Russian diplomatist through Lord Augustus Loftus that he did not consider the circumstances in any way

parallel, or that the despatch of British vessels justified the entry of the Russian troops into Constantinople. In the one case the ships of a friendly Power were sent into the proximity of the city in order that they might afford the protection which British subjects were entitled to require of their Government in case of need; in the other, the troops of a hostile army were to be marched into the town, in violation of the existing armistice, and at the risk of provoking disorders and causing the very danger to the Christian population which the Christian Government deprecated.

On the other side the Porte was very indignant at what was decidedly a reflection on its powers of maintaining discipline. Musurus Pasha was at once instructed to represent to Lord Derby that the lives and property of British subjects were not in danger, and to urge on the Cabinet of St. James's to give up a step which from its nature and character might provoke grave complications. It went further, and when Mr. Layard, on the 9th of February, applied for a firman to enter the Straits it was refused him, in spite of the remonstrances of the Turkish Parliament then on the eve of its prorogation. This placed the British Government in a dilemma; to order the ships to pass the Straits in defiance of the Sultan would be almost equal to a declaration of war, while to give way would be decidedly ludicrous. For the present, however, Admiral Hornby returned to Besika Bay and there awaited further orders. Negotiations were tried and in vain; the Sultan (though so completely under the influence of terror as to write both to the Queen and the Czar, imploring them "in the name of humanity" not to pursue their contemplated measures) stolidly refused to grant the necessary permission. The British Government thereupon fell back upon a previous firman that had not been abrogated, but the validity of the document was denied, and it was even hinted that resistance would be offered to a fleet entering the Dardanelles. At last Government determined to cut the knot, and on the 12th of February orders were sent to Admiral Hornby, through Mr. Layard, to steam at once into the Dardanelles, and use force if necessary. With his guns ready for action, which precaution, however, was fortunately unnecessary, he effected the passage on the 13th in the midst of a heavy snowstorm, which rendered steering so difficult that one of the vessels was aground for some hours. Ten vessels in all ran the gauntlet of the Straits, two of them stopped at Gallipoli, while the remaining eight passed on into the Sea of Marmora, and



THE BRITISH FLEET PASSING THE DARDANELLES. (See p. 328.)

anchored off Prince's Islands, about an hour's sail from Constantinople.

Shortly afterwards the British and Russian diplomatists managed to come to an important understanding with regard to Gallipoli. Lord Derby, on the 11th of February, warned Count Schouvaloff that if the Russian troops moved towards that place, or in such a way as to compromise the safety of the fleet, he would not answer for the consequences, which might be most serious. Nevertheless, General Skobelev concentrated his troops before Constantinople, and even threatened the lines of Boulair, which defended Gallipoli. This produced an earnest remonstrance from Lord Derby in the form of a memorandum. On the 18th the Russian Government replied that it maintained its promise of not occupying Gallipoli or entering the lines of Boulair, but that it expected in return that no British troops should be landed on the Asiatic or European coast. Lord Derby replied on the 19th that the British Government received this assurance with satisfaction, that they would engage not to land troops on the European side, and were prepared to extend the engagement to the Asiatic side, on receiving an assurance that Russian troops were not to be landed there. This assurance was promptly given, and the correspondence was thus brought to a highly satisfactory termination, except that Russia reserved her liberty of action with regard to Constantinople.

Meanwhile Admiral Hornby, to whom free permission had been given to anchor where he pleased, discovered that his huge charges were in by no means a happy position off Prince's Islands. From the Porte he received earnest requests to move farther off, and urged by these two reasons, he proceeded on the 16th to change his quarters to the Bay of Mundania on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora, which, though sixty miles distant from Constantinople, had telegraphic communication with that city, which Prince's Islands had not. Here, however, the anchorage was worse still, and the Admiral, on the 18th, left for Touzla, near the entrance of the Gulf of Ismid, within seventeen miles of the Turkish capital. There he lay for the present, watching the progress of events; at once affording a guarantee for the maintenance of order, and a valuable nucleus in case active operations were finally rendered necessary.

At this point Austria and Germany, whose attitude since the episode of the still-born Protocol had been one of masterly inactivity, began to assert themselves once more. There had been

considerable speculation in England as to the probable intentions of the former Government. Its part was avowedly a difficult one to play, for the Emperor Francis Joseph ruled over a confused and composite empire, whose population was profoundly interested in the contest that was being waged at its side, and of whom the Magyars were eager to plunge into the struggle on behalf of the Porte. As a whole, the interests of Austria were decidedly anti-Muscovite. There was great danger in the formation of a large and Russianised Bulgaria, which might in certain combinations of affairs form a basis of operations for the attack of the legions of the Czar. In order to correct this it might be necessary to effect a counter-occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with this view the Emperor was quietly mobilising his army, and had already thrice moved his troops towards the frontier, and thrice withdrawn them. It was even imagined by the war party in Britain that he would proceed to greater lengths, and confident assertions were made that, in the not improbable event of a declaration of hostilities between England and Russia, the former would find Austria an active and willing ally. In reality there was no ground for these hopes; the Emperor had engaged in more than one war in his time, and had not come out of them with much profit; moreover, he was by no means sure that the German portion of his Empire would fight in such a cause. All he did therefore was to stand on the alert, looking coldly towards the Czar, and leaning for support on the other member of the Holy Alliance, the Emperor of Germany, who was reported to be strongly averse from any re-arrangement of the Slav provinces that would involve the too great aggrandisement of the already vast dimensions of European Russia.

But the Austrian Emperor, while preparing for war, was wishing for peace. On the 4th of February Count Beust, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, communicated to Lord Derby a telegram which he had received from his Government, inviting the British Government to an International Conference at Vienna, in which the signatory Powers to the international acts that regulated the political system in the East should participate, with a view to establish a European agreement as to the modifications it might become necessary to introduce into existing treaties. This proposal was accepted by Lord Derby; but a month afterwards, on the 8th of March, Count Beust informed him that, in view of the grave questions to be decided, the Austrian Government preferred a congress to a conference,

and Berlin as the place of meeting. It was hoped that the Prime Ministers of the Great Powers would take part. This also was accepted by the British Government; Lord Derby, however, adding the important condition that he wished it to be understood, in the first place, that all questions dealt with in the treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey should be considered as subject to be discussed in the Congress, and that no alteration in the condition of things previously established by treaty should be acknowledged as valid until it had received the assent of the Powers. The last stipulation was regarded by Count Andrassy as unnecessarily stringent. He replied that Prince Gortschakoff having declared that all the articles of the preliminaries of peace that affected the interests of Europe, and that all the points that were found to be of European interest would be submitted to its deliberations, and could not be considered as valid until they obtained the consent of all the Powers, it appeared to Austria that the object of the British declaration, that is to say, the reservation of her full liberty of action—a point of view which Austria entirely shared—was thereby attained, and he thought that, in these circumstances, it was neither the interest of Great Britain nor of Austria to raise difficulties in regard to the question.

While these negotiations were in progress, the outside world had been furnished with plenty of food for curiosity. In the first place, there had been the declarations of the German Chancellor and of the Austrian Prime Minister on the 19th of February, which, in view of the renewed activity of the Governments they represented, were read with great avidity. Prince Bismarck's speech was made in answer to an interpellation by Herr von Bennigsen, and was throughout couched in language of extreme reserve. This much was evident, that he was disinclined to draw the sword, and hence that his leaning was rather towards Russia than towards Austria. He went over the provinces one by one, and argued that Germany had no interest in their re-arrangement. With regard to the Dardanelles, he said that the regulations concerning ships of war were of less importance than those in regard to commerce. Herein lay Germany's chief interest in the East—that the Straits and waterways, like the Danube from the Black Sea upwards, should be as free as they had been before. He warned any Power that would go to war with the Czar rather than sanction the Russian proposal, that upon it would devolve the responsibility of determining what was to become of the Christian

populations of European Turkey, and that, he added significantly, was more than Austria could undertake. The Prince almost went out of his way to praise Russia, declaring that she had neither wilfully delayed to make known the conditions of the armistice, nor advanced on Constantinople contrary to written stipulations. In fact, so Russian did he become that in the course of some subsequent remarks he thought it necessary to praise the other side as well. Their relations, he said, were excellent, and the two Emperors, with the two Ministers, had real confidence in each other.

While these nebulous remarks were being made the Austrian Premier, Prince Auersperg, was speaking in considerably firmer tones. It was announced that a large vote of credit was to be demanded for military purposes, and the voice of Prince Auersperg sounded loudly; while in the Hungarian Diet the President of the Council of Ministers, M. Tisza, positively shouted for war. The utterances of the former and more important orator amounted to this: that the Government of Austria declared that it could not consider as binding any relations between the belligerents, in so far as they might appear to affect the interests of the empire, or the rights of the Powers which had signed the Treaty of Paris, so long as such arrangements had not been sanctioned by those Powers. The Government was bound to declare generally that it could not regard some of the stipulations as consonant with the interests of the empire; and these reservations referred especially to such provisions as might involve such a shifting of the balance of power in the East as would be to the detriment of Austria. The fact, however, that the Austrian Government was all the while negotiating for the establishment of peace must have taken most of the edge off these warlike remarks, as far as Prince Gortschakoff was concerned.

The great danger, in the opinion of many observers during this anxious period, was that the Turks, indignant at what they called their desertion by Great Britain, might conclude a private agreement with Russia which the British Government could not accept. Their temper towards England was very bitter; thoughts of firing on the British fleet as it passed up the Dardanelles had been entertained; while, on the other hand, the unconquered fortresses of Rustchuk and Erzeroum were surrendered without a murmur on the 20th and 22nd of February, and the soldiers of the belligerent nations were on exceedingly friendly terms. Indeed, Russia's most violent

enemies at this period were the little Principalities, who discovered that Russian troops were holding the towns they had taken, and that it was not improbable that the liberties dealt out to them at the Congress would not come up to their expectations. On the 23rd, the entrance of the British fleet into the Dardanelles was replied to by a general advance of the Russian troops, the headquarters being moved to San Stefano, whereby the capital was rendered even more helpless than before. General Ignatieff arrived once more on the scene, and there settled the terms of the treaty with Safvet Pasha, who is said to have resorted to the usual Turkish tricks of procrastination, prevarication, and feigned illness. The treaty was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March—on which day the Grand Duke Nicholas announced it to the Russian troops at San Stefano—and ratified at St. Petersburg on the 17th, and the text was officially published on the 21st, though its drift was known soon after the signature.

The first articles of the treaty concerned Montenegro, which was declared independent, and received an accession of territory, chiefly to the south, together with the much-coveted port of Antivari; (2) the independence of Servia was also recognised, with an addition of territory, including Little Zbornik and Novibazar, together with a large portion of Old Servia; (3) Roumania was recognised as a free State, and received the Dobruzscha in exchange for a portion of Bessarabia, which was ceded to Russia; (4) then came some important provisions with regard to Bulgaria. It was constituted an autonomous tributary Principality, with a Christian Government and a national militia. The Prince was to be elected by the people, and confirmed by the Porte, with the consent of the Powers; he was not to belong to any of the greater dynasties. The new province extended from the Danube on the north to the Ægean on the south, and from Albania in the west to the Black Sea in the east; thus cutting off Turkey proper from Thessaly and Albania. The tribute to be paid to the Porte was afterwards to be fixed by an agreement between Russia, the Ottoman Government, and the other Cabinets. Pending the formation of a native militia, the country would be occupied by 50,000 Russian troops; this period, however, was not to exceed two years, and, at the expiration of one, other Powers might join in the occupation. The Porte was to have a right of way through Bulgaria to the provinces beyond the Principalities by fixed routes, the right being limited to regular Ottoman

troops. All the Danubian fortresses were to be razed, and no more strongholds built there. (5) Reforms were to be introduced into Bosnia and Herzegovina under arrangements with Austria. (6) The organic law was to be better applied in Crete, and legislation of a similar nature was to be introduced into Epirus, Thessaly, and other parts of Turkey in Europe. (7) The war indemnity was fixed in all at 1,410,000,000 roubles; but, in consideration of the Sultan's financial embarrassments, the Czar consented to receive territorial cessions instead of the greater part—namely, the Sanjak of Tulcha and the Delta islands on the Danube, which he was at liberty to exchange for that part of Bessarabia surrendered in 1856. In Asia he was to receive Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid, and the territory extending as far as the Soghanli Dagh. (8) Then followed some general stipulations, such as a complete amnesty to all Ottomans compromised by the recent events, the security of Russian subjects, and especially the monks of Mount Athos. Turkish territory in Europe, with the exception of Bulgaria, was to be evacuated by the Russian armies within three months of the conclusion of a definite peace, and in Asia within six months. Lastly, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles should remain open to merchant vessels of neutral States both in time of war and in time of peace, thus leaving the question pretty much as it was before.

Such were the conditions of the treaty, upon the submission of which in its entirety to the Congress Lord Derby so strongly insisted. On the whole it could not be denied that it was as moderate as Turkey had any right to expect, two points excepted. The dimensions of the new Bulgaria were deemed dangerously large, and it was thought that Russia had taken too many of the great cities of Armenia. The only question was whether or no there was a secret arrangement, and the proceedings of the diplomatists as made known from time to time certainly did not convey the idea that either party was acting in perfectly good faith. On the 18th the Foreign Office received a despatch from Lord Augustus Loftus, dated March 12th, in which he reported the result of a conversation with Prince Gortschakoff, in which the Russian Chancellor had expressly stated that the treaty was binding as between Russia and Turkey, and that if any modifications were introduced by the Congress, they would be the subject of further arrangements between Russia and Turkey. Of course, he added, Russia could not impose silence on any member of the Congress, but he could only accept

discussion upon those portions of the treaty which affected European interests. On the following day, however, Count Schouvaloff was instructed to soften down this declaration by informing Lord Derby that the treaty of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey—"the only one that exists, for

was, moreover, defined to mean that Russia left to other Powers the liberty of raising at the Congress such questions as they might think fit to discuss, and reserved to itself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of those questions. Among these questions, according to Mr. Layard,



GALLIPOLI.

we have no secret engagement"—would be communicated to the Government of the Queen in its entirety, and long before the assembling of the Congress. Prince Gortschakoff did not dispute the right of the British Government to reserve to itself at the Congress its "full liberty of appreciation and action," but he claimed for Russia the same right.

Still Lord Derby declined to recede from his position, and the Prince was equally emphatic, adhering to his declaration of the 19th. On his side the phrase "liberty of appreciation and action"

was the cession of Bessarabian Moldavia, but this was afterwards denied by Prince Gortschakoff. At any rate, in the face of the uncompromising attitude of Russia, Britain felt bound to decline the Congress, and an announcement to that effect was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 28th of March.

At this period a collision between Russia and Great Britain appeared inevitable, and, indeed, immediate. Ever since the despatch of the fleet to the Bosphorus, men had prepared themselves for the worst. Not that there was much to

countenance such extreme apprehension in the debates of either House of Parliament. In the House of Lords, curiously enough, question time alone excepted, Members appeared to have developed a taste for antiquarian research. The Duke of Argyll raised the somewhat musty question of the treaty obligations of Great Britain, and Lord Stratheden and Campbell made two discursive attacks on the Foreign Secretary with the same weapon. Outside the House, however, there was no leisure for looking back into the past during these anxious days. An official announcement made early in the month to the effect that Lord Napier would command any military force that might be sent out, and Sir Garnet Wolseley be chief of the staff, created the most profound impression, though it was afterwards explained that no actual appointment had been made, but that these officers had only been selected. The news that peace had at length been signed, and a decidedly temperate speech from Mr. Gathorne Hardy in introducing the Army Estimates, might have calmed popular excitement, but Jingo demonstrations fed, and even increased it. These meetings had assumed an almost formidable character. The Cannon Street Hotel riot had been followed by a procession of medical students, who marched from Trafalgar Square to Downing Street, and afterwards to the Houses of Parliament in search of the Premier, whom they wished to fortify by their moral support. The way, however, was barred by police, and it was some time before permission was given to a small deputation to approach Mr. Cross, who addressed them in a few hurried words, which apparently caused unbounded satisfaction, and, after singing patriotic songs, they dispersed quietly. A peace meeting held in Hyde Park on the last Sunday in February was the cause of even more unseemly proceedings. A huge crowd assembled at the appointed hour, but they consisted chiefly of idlers, who took little interest in the affair, and for some time matters went on smoothly enough. A counter-demonstration, however, was unfortunately advancing towards the same spot, of which the more boisterous members speedily formed a party of attack, who carried the platform, maltreated Mr. Bradlaugh, and threatened to throw Mr. Auberon Herbert into the Serpentine, the latter being rescued at some personal risk. Then they marched to Harley Street, yelled at Mr. Gladstone, hurled stones at his windows, and finally made a rush at the door, which the police stopped with difficulty. These outrageous proceedings, however, effectually disgusted

all moderate men, and brought considerable discredit on Government, who refrained from that time to encourage war demonstrations either by autograph letters or the reception of deputations. Nevertheless, these carnivals continued all over the country; heads were broken, and a good deal of violent language was used.

As March drew to a close it seemed as if the hopes of the Jingoës were approaching nearer and nearer their realisation. The most extravagant rumours were current as to the intentions of Russia, and nothing was too incredible for the multitude; yet, curiously enough, the danger lay not, as was generally supposed, in the Russian occupation of Constantinople, contrary to their express promises, but in a hitch in the negotiations. This, as we have seen, did happen; and on the same day that Sir Stafford Northcote announced that all hopes of a conference were at an end, the world was startled with the news that Lord Derby had resigned. That event had so often been prophesied that, like the death of Queen Anne, it came at last as a great surprise. Yet, though Ministerial dissensions might be minimised, they could not be wholly concealed; it had been evident for many months that Lord Derby and his chief were drifting asunder. But it was not the resignation so much as the moment of its occurrence which caused so much consternation, for only a week previously Lord Derby had denied that there were dissensions between him and the Premier, and protested against the common habit of saying that one Minister recommended this and another that policy, on the strength of stories floating vaguely about, as neither dignified nor desirable. At present the Foreign Secretary, with admirable reserve, declined to state the reasons for his resignation. The Cabinet had arrived at certain conclusions of a grave and important character with which he had not been able to concur. "My lords, to prevent needless alarm from any words of mine, let me say at once that I do not consider that those measures necessarily or inevitably tend to bring about a state of war." He gave those with whom he had acted entire credit for desiring as much as he desired to maintain the peace of Europe. But while they agreed as to the end, they differed as to the means, and he could not in the exercise of his deliberate judgment regard as required for the safety of the country the measures upon which his colleagues had decided as prudent in the interests of Europe. He had not dissented with his colleagues on the question of the Congress, but on this other question.

The explanation withheld by Lord Derby was given by Lord Beaconsfield, who said that he had learnt that so much public mischief might occur from unnecessary reservations that he felt it his duty to say, that in consequence of his belief that the Congress would not meet, it became a matter of consideration for Government, at a period like the present, when the balance of power in the Mediterranean was so disturbed, and when the hopes of rectifying the balance by the meeting of the Congress seemed altogether to cease, to decide what steps should be taken in order to countervail or resist the mischiefs that were impending. It was therefore in the interests of peace, and for the due protection of the rights of the Empire, that they had thought it their duty to advise the Queen to avail herself of the powers which she had of calling out the Reserve forces. With that view a message would be laid before Parliament according to the provisions of the statutes in the case. As he spoke of his personal feelings, Lord Beaconsfield was deeply moved. "Those only who have served with my noble friend can sufficiently appreciate his capacity for affairs, the penetrating power of his intellect, and the judicial impartiality of his general conduct. My lords, I have served with my noble friend in public life for more than a quarter of a century, and during that long period the cares of public life have been mitigated by the consolation of private friendship. A quarter of a century is a long period in the history of any man, and I can truly say that, so far as the relations between myself and my noble friend are concerned, those years have passed without a cloud. . . . My lords, I have felt of late that the political ties between myself and my noble friend must soon terminate, but I believed they would terminate in a different and more natural manner—that I should disappear from the scene and he would remain, in the maturity of manhood, with his great talents and experience, to take that leading part in public affairs for which he is so well qualified. We have lost his services. I, personally, of all his colleagues, suffer most severely in that respect; but I am sustained by the feeling at the present moment, that I am conscious and confident that the policy which we have recommended her Majesty to pursue is one which will tend to the maintenance of her empire, to the freedom of Europe, and to the greatness and security of this country."

The changes necessitated by Lord Derby's retirement were soon effected. Lord Salisbury succeeded the retired Minister at the Foreign Office; Mr. Hardy was transferred to the Chief Secretaryship

for India, and afterwards received the title of Viscount Cranbrook; Colonel Stanley, Lord Derby's brother, was appointed to the War Office. It was not long before the new Foreign Secretary signalled his advent to a new and important post of responsibility by a most brilliant circular to the foreign representatives, on the sentiments of the British Government with regard to the Treaty of San Stefano. This able document—the "happy despatch" as it was called—of which only the briefest summary can be given here, was dated April 1st. It commenced by describing the recent course of diplomacy terminating in Prince Gortschakoff's declaration that Russia reserved for herself "full liberty of appreciation and action," and a consequent deadlock. On this point he said that even if a considerable portion of the stipulations of the Treaty of San Stefano were such as were likely to be approved by the Powers, the reservation of a right, at discretion, to refuse to accept a discussion of them in a Congress of the Powers, would not on that account be the less open to the most serious objection. "An inspection of the treaty," he continued, "will sufficiently show that her Majesty's Government could not in a European Congress accept any partial or fragmentary examination of its provisions. Every material stipulation which it contains involves a departure from the treaty of 1856." Going into the articles of the treaty *seriatim*, Lord Salisbury commented on the creation of a new Bulgaria, "a strong Slav State under the auspices and control of Russia, possessing important harbours on the shores of the Black Sea and Archipelago, and conferring on that Power a predominating influence over both political and commercial relations in those seas." The Russian power, he declared, would be increased on the shores where a Greek population predominated, not only to the prejudice of that nation, but also of every country having interests in the east of the Mediterranean Sea. He commented on the dangers of the territorial severance from Constantinople of the Greek, Albanian and Slavonic provinces, which were still left under the government of the Porte. "By the other portions of the treaty analogous results are arrived at upon other frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. The compulsory alienation of Bessarabia from Roumania, the extension of Bulgaria to the shores of the Black Sea—which are principally inhabited by Mussulmans and Greeks—and the acquisition of the important harbour of Batoum, will make the will of the Russian Government dominant over all the vicinity of the Black Sea."

The acquisition of the strongholds of Armenia will place the population of that province under the immediate influence of the Power which holds them; while the extensive European trade which now passes from Trebizond to Persia will, in consequence of the cessions in Kurdistan, be liable to be arrested at the pleasure of the Russian Government by the prohibitory barriers of their commercial system." After reflecting on the indemnity as an excuse for further territorial cessions by way of liquidation, he proceeded to show that the "depression, almost to the point of the entire subjection, of the political independence of the Government of Constantinople," was of the greatest importance to Great Britain. "It is in the power of the Ottoman Government to close or open the straits which form the natural highway of nations between the Ægean Sea and the Euxine. Its dominion is recognised at the head of the Persian Gulf, on the shores of the Levant, and in the extreme neighbourhood of the Suez Canal. It cannot be otherwise than a matter of extreme solicitude to this country that the Government to which this jurisdiction belongs should be so closely pressed by the outposts of a greatly superior Power, that its independent action, and even existence, is almost impossible. These results arise not so much from the language of any single article in the treaty as from the operation of the instrument as a whole. A discussion limited to articles selected by one Power in the Congress would be an illusory remedy for the dangers to English interests, and to the permanent peace of Europe, which would result from the state of things which the Treaty proposes to establish."

Prince Gortschakoff's reply to this very emphatic declaration was extremely conciliatory, and showed that the imperturbable serenity of the Russian diplomatist was not to be disturbed by the most determined of attacks. In a short circular he repeated the statement that his Government had submitted the whole Treaty of San Stefano to the Powers, and while it claimed for itself it conceded to them entire liberty of appreciation and action. Then, in an *annexe*, he dealt one by one with Lord Salisbury's criticisms on the Treaty of San Stefano. He began by saying that it was not accurate to say that the Treaty of San Stefano created a new Bulgaria, or a very strong Slav state under the control of Russia. Bulgaria existed, though in a state of oppression. Europe perceived this and was desirous of providing a remedy. The Treaty of San Stefano had not placed the new State under the control of Russia; the Imperial Cabinet has

done only what it accomplished in 1830 for Moldo-Wallachia. If Moldo-Wallachia, which owed its existence to and bordered upon Russia, had been able to make itself independent of her, with yet stronger reason could one count upon the same result for Bulgaria, the territory of which would be separated from Russia in the foreseen event of the cession of the Dobruzscha to Roumania. The delimitation of the country had been laid down in general terms, and Bulgaria had in no way been put under a chief chosen by Russia, inasmuch as the assent of Europe was necessary; nor had Bulgaria been made a part of the Russian political system, its own laws had merely been put in force. As to the accusation that by stipulating for ameliorated institutions for Epirus and Thessaly Russia had extended her limits beyond Bulgaria, Prince Gortschakoff retorted neatly enough that if nothing had been done for those provinces Russia would have been accused of sacrificing the Greeks to the Slavs; if they had been made autonomous, she would have been accused of entirely destroying the Ottoman Empire and implanting Russian influence in its place. As to the retrocession of Roumanian Bessarabia, Prince Gortschakoff dismissed it—by far the weakest point in his argument—with the remark that it "would only be a return to an order of things, modified twenty-two years ago for reasons which had no longer a *raison d'être*, nor title, nor even pretext."

Turning to the Asiatic side of the question, Prince Gortschakoff, being here again on very slippery ground, passed rapidly from point to point. Batoum was the only good port in the district available for commerce; as to the acquisitions in Armenia, they possessed only a defensive value, nor was it easy to see how the freedom of the European commerce of Trebizond *via* Persia could be affected by the rectification of frontier. As to the indemnity, it was far under the cost of the war, and its method of payment had purposely been left undefined, in order not to press too hardly on Turkey. Prince Gortschakoff rejoiced to see that Lord Salisbury desired liberty and peace for the Christian populations. He recognised that great changes must and ought to be made. "In the present circumstances, it remains for us to learn how his lordship means to reconcile practically those treaties and the recognised rights of Great Britain and other Powers, with the benevolent wishes towards a realisation of which the united action of Europe has always been directed for a good government, peace, and assured liberty to the populations to whom these benefits had been



Reproduced by André & Sleigh, Ltd., Bushey, Herts.

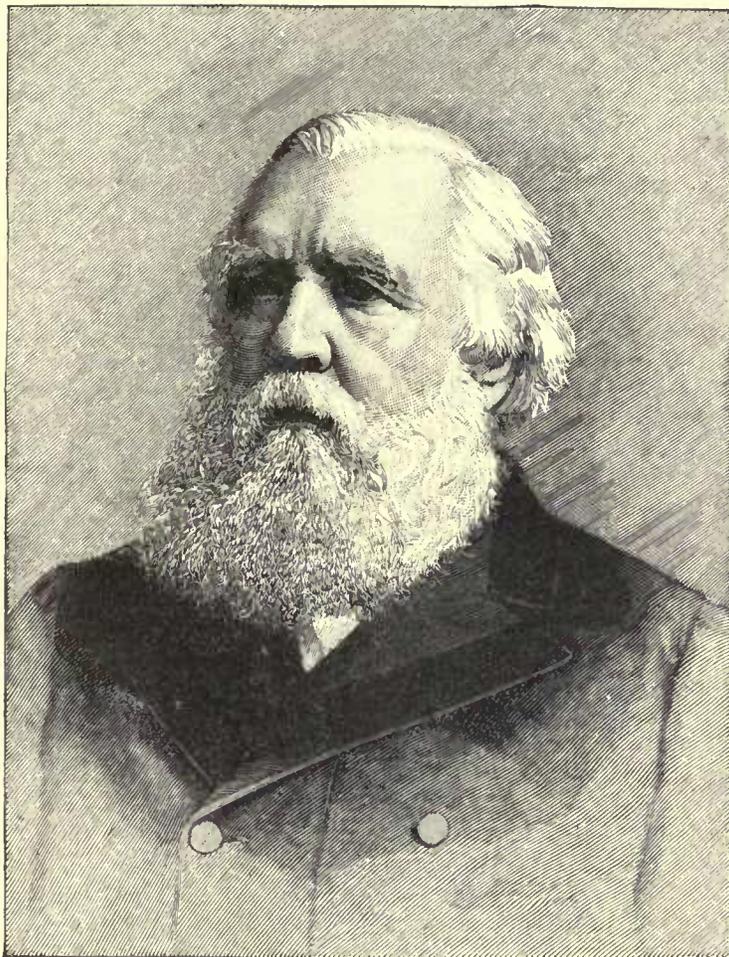
ENTRANCE TO PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR.

FROM THE PAINTING BY EDWIN HAYES.



strange. It remains also to be learnt how, beyond the preliminary bases laid down by the Treaty of San Stefano, he means to reach the desired goal while bearing in mind the right acquired by Russia for the sacrifices she has borne, and borne alone, to render the realisation possible. The despatch of

Stafford Northcote moved the Address in an extremely pacific speech, and was followed by Mr. Gladstone, who, while severely criticising the proposal, declined to move any amendment; after whom, as usual, came Mr. Hardy, who, amid the cheers of the younger Conservatives, declared that,



SIR AUSTEN H. LAYARD. (From a Photograph by Fradelle & Young, Regent Street, W.)

the Marquis of Salisbury contains no response to these questions."

While this reply was being eagerly perused in the columns of the *Times*, a debate was proceeding in both Houses of Parliament on the Address to the Queen, thanking her for the message, which, in pursuance of the Reserve Force Act of 1867 and the Army Enlistment Act of 1870, directed that the Reserve forces should be called out. As was the case throughout this year, the interest of the debate in the Commons was quite inferior to that in the Lords, and it is enough to say that Sir

though no English Minister could wish for war, there were far worse evils. On the second night Lord Hartington made a very temperate and firm speech, and then Sir Wilfrid Lawson, against the wish of his leader, divided the House, and succeeded in getting 64 supporters, two of whom were Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, against 319, only about half the House voting on the question. In the House of Lords, on the other hand, the debate, as might be imagined when both Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon took a prominent part in it, was of a far more exciting character. The Prime

Minister led off with a speech which, beginning with a minute account of the events that necessitated the breaking-off of the Congress, and continuing, after the manner of Lord Salisbury's despatch, with a criticism of the dangerous provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, became, towards its close, earnest, and almost impassioned. "What," he asked, "was the state of affairs? No Congress was to meet, and a most important portion of Eastern Europe, and a considerable portion of Western Asia, were in a state of anarchy—either occupied by an invading army or in a state of rebellion. It was wholly impossible to foresee what might not occur in such circumstances of difficulty and disaster. My lords, the country in which such events were occurring is a country which has always been subject to strange and startling vicissitudes. In the East, there is only one step between collapse and convulsion. It was impossible not to foresee what might occur. Had not the English fleet been ordered into those waters, the chief highway between Europe and Asia might have been seized, and the commercial road from Trebizond to Persia might have been stopped. We know that—if not in the memory of the present generation, certainly in the memory of members now sitting in your lordships' House—armies marched through Syria and through Asia without firing a shot, and held Constantinople in a state of trepidation. Why not march armies in the same way, and hold Egypt and the Suez Canal in the same state of trepidation? In these circumstances, there was, in our opinion, only one course to take." The force placed at the Queen's disposal would be 70,000, double the force of Englishmen that Wellington or Marlborough ever commanded, but not enough to carry on a great war, surely no unreasonable demand. He could not imagine that anyone, versed in the conduct of affairs, could for a moment pretend that, when all men were armed, England alone should be unarmed. He could not think such things of Lord Derby, for to such a one he should say, "Naviget Anticyram; only I trust for Heaven's sake that his lunacy might not imperil the British Empire." Lord Beaconsfield concluded with a description of the glories and responsibilities of that Empire.

Lord Granville's able speech, of which the chief point was that England had unnecessarily isolated herself by not leaving the negotiations for a Congress in the hands of Austria, who had obtained assurances from Russia which he regarded as perfectly satisfactory, was hardly listened to with as much attention as it deserved, on account of the

anxiety to hear the next speaker. And the House was not disappointed. Never were Lord Derby's sterling qualities more fully displayed than when he calmly stood up in his place and replied to the charges of "indecision, vacillation, and even of cowardice," which he said had been brought against him. Taking the House entirely into his confidence, he informed them that the calling out of the Reserves was not the sole, nor even the principal, reason for his resignation; what the other reasons were he could not divulge until the propositions of the Government were made known. He informed them, moreover, that he had differed with his colleagues as to the early summoning of Parliament, and had managed to obtain a delay; and that he had had grave doubts with respect to the vote of credit, and had, as indeed they knew, retired from the Cabinet on the question of sending the fleet to the Dardanelles. He failed to see the emergency, or that there was much cause to regret the failure of the Congress; no Power, except Austria, had ever wished for it, and his own opinion was that a congress was useful only for putting on record, in the most formal manner, international decisions which had already been come to in substance, but that it was as easy to conduct negotiations outside a congress as inside it. "If I had to deal with the matter, I should endeavour to keep the Congress alive, saying and doing nothing to prevent its ultimate meeting, but letting it stand over until the way was smoothed by private and separate negotiations between the Powers concerned." Government, on the contrary, had put forward a series of the most comprehensive objections to the Treaty of San Stefano, and had, moreover, armed in such a manner as to indicate an expectation of war, thereby creating an impression that they demanded that the Treaty of San Stefano should be torn up, and were prepared to support that demand by force. Thereby they had used a threat which made it almost impossible for Russia to yield. In any case, England would have been the gainer by patience and delay; Russia had a huge army to keep up, and England was able by her command of the sea to choose her own time. It was inevitable that a war with Russia would be very prolonged, very costly, and likely to be ultimately indecisive. Who, then, were to be our allies? He calmly surveyed Europe, and said that we had none, except Austria, a divided country, which might effect a compromise with Russia at any moment, and so we should be left alone. Such was the state of things, and he was compelled to ask, if we

were not drifting but rushing into war, what were we going to fight for? No power could restore the Turkish Empire, such as it was before the late war, and to fight simply for our influence and for the restoration of our credit would be unworthy of us.

Following these impressive remarks came an effective duel between two great legal luminaries, Lord Cairns and Lord Selborne, in which the latter gained a decided advantage. Lord Carnarvon, who carried on the debate, was deterred from travelling over the same ground as Lord Derby because their opinions were for the most part identical, and he confined himself to such minor points as that Lord Salisbury's Circular left neither party any way of retreat, that it was useless to go to the Conference with our hand upon our sword, that we had no clear reason for going to war, and that opinions and feelings in the country were broadly divided. The Duke of Argyll spoke at some length, but without the brilliancy which marked some of his earlier speeches on the Eastern Question. Upon Lord Salisbury, as had been expected, fell the task of criticising the speech of his predecessor in office. After commenting on the Duke of Argyll's skill in interpreting treaties, with a wealth of sarcasm that reminded his hearers of the days when, as Lord Robert Cecil, he was a speaker whom few cared immediately to precede, he turned upon the Earl of Derby. After remarking on the latter's activity of recollection, he accused him of violating a great constitutional principle by not accepting absolute and ir retrievable responsibility for all that passed in the Cabinet; he had no right to say afterwards that he agreed in one case to a compromise, and in another that he was persuaded by one of his colleagues. He had no right to mention such things in public. Moreover, he had no right to say that the arguments employed in the Circular were such as were intended at one time by the Cabinet to be instructions to the British representative at the Conference. He knew nothing whatever about it, inasmuch as it had not been drawn up until after he left the Cabinet. Lord Salisbury roundly denied that the Circular tore up the Treaty of San Stefano, or that there was anything necessarily warlike in calling out the Reserves. It was simply a measure of precaution. On the whole, Lord Salisbury's reply to Lord Derby was not as powerful as had been expected, and when compared with the decidedly pacific tone of the debate in the House of Commons, conveyed the impression that Government were still prepared to draw back, though it was hard to see where the way of escape lay.

Nevertheless, there was no relaxation of military preparations. One army corps had already been nearly completed, and a second was being rapidly organised, so that, if necessary, a force of 100,000 men would have been ready, efficient and equipped for active service in any quarter of the globe. The first-class army Reserve assembled on the 20th, and it was found that on all sides the number of absentees was remarkably small. In the Liverpool district, for instance, out of 408 men only twenty-one were absent; in the Plymouth district every man came up, and all succeeded in passing the medical examination. In no case did the proportion of those who failed to attend reach 10 per cent. A similar expression of warlike feeling was elicited from the Volunteers, who unanimously professed their willingness to go on active service in the United Kingdom; nay, the idea of a special corps which should be ready, if necessary, to augment the army in time of war was hailed with enthusiasm, and 2,000 men immediately signified their willingness to join. Offers of aid came across the sea from Canada and from the Colonies, and though declined they were not forgotten. At the War Office official machinery was working at the highest possible pressure. Horses, the great want of the army, were being purchased both at home and abroad, the Army Service Corps was increased, and military plans were rapidly prepared. The Admiralty worked side by side with the War Office, and by putting a large number of vessels into immediate commission was soon able to guarantee the transport of an entire army corps to any quarter of the globe. The Woolwich Arsenal, meanwhile, was turning out a large number of projectiles for heavy ordnance.

So affairs drifted on, while diplomatists were busily at work behind the scene, and there were rumours now of interrupted, now of resumed, negotiations. On the 16th of May, Sir Stafford Northcote, on the eve of the Easter recess, announced that nothing had occurred which could give occasion for any increased anxiety or diminish the hope of a satisfactory arrangement. Soon afterwards, however, came two startling announcements, one being a notice in the *London Gazette*, forbidding the exportation of all torpedoes and torpedo-boats. When the second mine was sprung upon them, people remembered the "principal reason" for his resignation at which Lord Derby had hinted in his explanation to the House of Lords. A telegram from Calcutta was received in London, dated April 17th—the day after the adjournment of Parliament—announcing that

orders had been received by the Indian Government to despatch 7,000 native troops to Malta; the regiments chosen from Bengal being the 9th Light Cavalry, the 13th and 31st Infantry and the 2nd Goorkhas; from Bombay, the 1st Light Cavalry, and two regiments of Native Infantry; and from Madras, the 25th Infantry. There were also four companies of Sappers and Miners, and two field batteries of British Artillery. This decidedly dramatic *coup* was generally thought to be rather hard to reconcile with Sir Stafford Northcote's assurances that there was no occasion for any increased anxiety, although from the point of view of one who throughout had been acquainted with the secret workings of affairs, there was no inconsistency. At any rate, the troops themselves had no misgivings, and embarked on the journey across the mysterious ocean, which many of them saw for the first time, with the utmost enthusiasm, and by the end of the month all the regiments, except the Bengal Lancers and the 26th Bombay Infantry, had arrived at their destination. The Cavalry, Artillery, and Bombay Infantry were encamped at San Antonio, the remainder near Fort Manuel. An inspection of troops took place, shortly after the disembarkation, before the Governor. There were 8,400 men under arms, the Indian troops forming the right of the line, and justifying the compliment by their appearance and steadiness.

The deadlock in diplomacy, the warlike preparations in England and Russia, and the state of affairs within and without Constantinople, where the Grand Duke Nicholas, a man of indifferent firmness of character, was replaced by the uncompromising Todleben, probably in view of events entering again upon a warlike stage, gave little hope that that city would be spared the horrors of assault. Mehemet Ali, despite the complaints of the Russians, threw up earthworks and determined to make a last stand there in defence of the country of his adoption. In other quarters there was much uneasiness. Greece was a thorn in the side of Turkey; for insurrection still smouldered in the mountains of Thessaly and claimed many victims, among them being Mr. Ogle, the *Times* correspondent, who appears—though the evidence is exceedingly conflicting—to have identified himself more closely than prudence justified with the cause of the Hellenes. A few weeks previously, the position of the Government of Athens had been materially improved by the fact that Lord Derby had given instructions to the British Ambassadors to urge the claims of Greece to

representation at the now problematical Congress. But if Turkey had her Greece, Russia had her Roumania. Prince Gortschakoff had more than once taken the agent of that Government very severely to task for its persistence in resisting the exchange of Bessarabia for the Dobrudscha, and concluded by informing him that the Russian Government did not choose to have anything to do with them on account of their conduct. "It is important," he continued, "that you should know that we insist upon free passage throughout your country, and that you should inform your Government of the declaration of the Emperor." Whereupon much indignation was expressed by Prince Charles and by his Senate; and the Minister of War, M. Bratiano, was sent on a fruitless mission of protest to Vienna. Servia was reported to be almost as discontented. In these circumstances Russia, unable in case of outbreak to keep up her long line of communication, was in a most awkward predicament. There was a rising of the inhabitants of Lazestan as a protest against the proposed annexation of Batoum, and in the Rhodope Mountains the Mussulman peasantry took up arms and taught the Russians that no foe is to be despised among his own fastnesses.

With these and kindred topics, politicians found abundant employment during the recess. There were several bye-elections at this time, of which the most important was that for South Northumberland. The seat had not been contested since 1852, but on this occasion the Conservative, Mr. Ridley, was opposed by Mr. Grey. On the declaration of the poll, Mr. Grey was found to be two ahead, the numbers being 2,914 and 2,912. A subsequent investigation, however, showed that two of Mr. Grey's votes were formally incorrect, so that the numbers were now exactly equal. The High Sheriff would have given his casting vote for Mr. Ridley, but the latter, with much good feeling, declined to avail himself of it, and a double return was sent to the House of Commons, the Conservatives, however, ultimately securing the seat. In the circumstances the Liberals gained a distinct triumph, and at Hereford and Worcester also their polls were considerably increased. At North Staffordshire their success was more pronounced. This seat was vacated by Sir Charles Adderley, who was raised to the peerage, and it was expected that Mr. Bridgman, a son of Lord Bradford, would be returned by a large majority. Mr. Hamar Bass, however, entered the lists against him, and after a vigorous contest defeated him by over 550 votes in a constituency of 2,090.

These cheering signs were not lost sight of by the Liberal leaders, who vied with one another in urging on their followers to renewed efforts. Mr. Gladstone addressed a conference of Nonconformist ministers in the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street, London, on the evils of war, and in a powerful speech dilated on the divisions in English opinion, and the impolicy of an Austrian alliance. Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain held

call the Ottoman Government," and asked, in somewhat unmeasured language, "the Christian men and women of England that they would not accept from Lord Beaconsfield and carry into effect, without such solemn consideration as the question demanded, a suspension for an indefinite period not only of the Ten Commandments, but also of the Sermon on the Mount." Mr. Chamberlain was almost as outspoken, and made a good



THE GOVERNOR OF MALTA REVIEWING THE INDIAN TROOPS. (See p. 340.)

forth to a larger audience consisting of 1,500 delegates from the great manufacturing towns, who met to protest against a declaration of war. The resolutions passed were of a very sweeping character, condemning Government for their past policy, and for the introduction of the Sepoys into Europe, declaring that Lord Beaconsfield's administration "was a fatal obstacle to the peace and international unity, the freedom and the independence of the oppressed nationalities, and a standing menace to the honour, liberties, and interests of the British people." Mr. Bright, who spoke with all his old fervour, delivered a powerful indictment against the Cabinet which supported "that terrible oppression, that multitudinous crime, which we

point by saying that in bringing native troops to fight against Russia Lord Beaconsfield was proving that England was in no danger from Russia, seeing that he could spare troops from India, where, if assailed at all, the British Empire would certainly be attacked. Supported by these stimulating utterances, the newspapers published a protest against war which was at first signed at the rate of a thousand names a day, then of three or four thousand, until one morning 14,750 names were received. More than 200,000 persons signed this declaration in the month of May; and addresses to the Queen of a similar nature were supported with almost equal unanimity.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Debates on the Indian Troops—Count Schouvaloff's Mission—Possibilities of a Congress—Invitation of the German Government—The Secret Agreement published in the *Globe*—Departure of Lord Salisbury and Lord Beaconsfield—Publication of the Text of the Secret Agreement—First Meeting of the Congress—Lord Salisbury on Greece and on the new Bulgaria—Eastern Roumelia—Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Servia—Roumania and Montenegro—The Danube and the Indemnity—The Asian Question and Reforms in Armenia—Boundaries and Guarantees—M. Waddington's Compromise—Final Deliberations and Prince Bismarck's Speech—Lord Salisbury's Despatch—The Anglo-Turkish Agreement—Terms of the Alliance—Opinions in England and Abroad—Occupation of Cyprus—Return of the Plenipotentiaries—Their Triumphal Reception—Invested with the Garter—Lord Beaconsfield in the House of Lords—Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury—Lord Beaconsfield's Attack on Mr. Gladstone and subsequent Correspondence—Lord Hartington's Resolutions—Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury in the City—The Supplementary Estimates and Close of the Session—Settlement of the East; the Greeks—Occupation of Bosnia—The Dobrudscha, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia—Revolt of Albania—Misery in the Rhodope Mountains—The European Commission—Evacuation of Turkish Territory—Change of Ministry at Constantinople—Marshal MacMahon's Retrograde Policy—Death of Thiers—Defeat of the Marshal—The Paris Exhibition—Socialism in Germany—The Emperor fired at—Austrian Affairs—Nihilism in Russia—Marriage of King Alfonso—Death of Victor Emmanuel—A New Pope—Trouble in the United States.

WHEN Parliament met on May 6th the burning question before it was that of the bringing of Indian troops to Europe. It was not until the 20th, however, that a free night could be found for the debate, on which day two Opposition leaders, Lord Selborne and the Marquis of Hartington, assaulted the Government position with much vigour and precision. It was long since there had been so important a debate on an abstract constitutional point, and the discussion was in every way worthy of the occasion. The issue before the two Houses was somewhat differently worded. Lord Selborne put before the Lords the question, "Whether the Indian troops, excepted from the vote decided in the preamble of the Mutiny Act, can consistently with constitutional law be employed during time of peace elsewhere than in her Majesty's Indian possessions without the previous consent of Parliament?" Lord Hartington, whose moderation at this time excited much wrath among the extreme Liberals of the type of Mr. Fawcett and Mr. Chamberlain, proposed a formal resolution that—"By the constitution of this realm, no forces can be raised or kept by the Crown—in time of peace—without the consent of Parliament, excepting only such forces as shall be serving within her Majesty's Indian possessions."

In the Upper House Lord Selborne and Lord Cairns once more stood up against one another and argued out the legal question in speeches of much cogency, weight, and acumen; while Lord Beaconsfield, who followed them, insisted, much to the indignation of the Liberal press, on refusing to disclose his reasons. "My lips," said he, "are shut." In the Commons, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach

made an elaborate reply to Lord Hartington's sensible remarks; Mr. Fawcett displayed his usual vigour; Mr. Gladstone successfully overthrew some rather far-fetched arguments advanced by Sir John Holker in favour of the royal prerogative, and Mr. Childers made one of his most notable speeches, setting forth the vast interests involved in this new departure. On the third night Mr. Cross resumed the debate in a mysterious speech modelled on that of the Prime Minister. Mr. Roebuck changed sides, and attacked the Opposition much in the same way as that staunch Conservative, Mr. Newdegate, had denounced the Government on the previous night. Mr. Forster spoke earnestly and well on the change which this one step had produced in the position of Britain towards Europe and towards India, and Sir Stafford Northcote, who wound up the debate on the Government side with one of his tranquillising speeches, was vigorously upbraided by Lord Hartington for maintaining that there was no real necessity for consulting Parliament on so momentous a step. In the end, however, the Opposition, with their one ally, Mr. Newdegate, received a crushing defeat, the numbers being—for Government 347, for Lord Hartington 226; in the former body were several Whigs and Moderate Home Rulers, and others absented themselves from the division.

The great question had its two sides, one constitutional and the other practical. As to the first, it was never questioned, as the *Spectator* pointed out, that the Crown had the power of distributing as it chose the troops granted to it, under such limitation as Parliament had annexed to the grant, or that when the Crown gave the

order to go to Malta, the troops were bound to obey. "But what," it continued, "is traversed is, first, the constitutional right of the Crown to give such an order at all without asking the assent of Parliament, inasmuch as it increases the forces at its disposal within a dependency for which Parliament, and not the Government of India, provides a means of defence; next, the constitutional right to provide even temporarily, without Parliamentary assent, for the payment of those forces out of the Indian revenue without a very great emergency; and lastly, the political right to initiate a most important policy, teeming with large consequences, on which the most eminent statesmen were known to be profoundly divided, without giving Parliament the opportunity of pronouncing its opinion on that policy." The first point was combated by Lord Cairns and the Attorney-General, Sir John Holker, who maintained that the Bill of Rights instead of being, as Mr. Gladstone asserted, merely declaratory of the existing law, made the law which it laid down, and that when that Bill forbade the maintaining "within the kingdom" of an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament, "the kingdom" was understood to mean England only, not Scotland or Ireland, which were not included until their union with the English Crown, and certainly not Malta. The second point was successfully dealt with by the Solicitor-General, who succeeded in showing that it was perfectly legal, according to the 55th section of the India Government Act, to use the revenues of India provisionally for the payment of troops beyond the frontier "for preventing or repelling actual invasion of her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity;" and that it was not proposed to charge the expenditure permanently upon India. As to the third objection, however, they were less explicit; Sir Stafford Northcote seemed inclined to deny that there was any reason for apprehension, while Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Cross said that they could not have consulted Parliament even if they would. When Government came to their decision, there was, according to the Home Secretary, considerable doubt whether some practical difficulties could be got over or not, and "it would have been the height of folly if we had told the world of our intentions, and had then found it impossible to carry them out."

The other and larger issue was raised by Mr. Forster, his main contention being that if, as his supporters claimed for him, the Prime Minister had raised our army to a match with the greatest

armies on the Continent without conscription, the prospect had, nevertheless, its dark as well as its bright side. For with an increased power of offence would come an increased disposition to offend; and if India was to help us in carrying out our foreign policy, we should have to consult her in forming that policy, and treat her not as a dependency, but as an ally. Mr. Fawcett asserted that it was a mean and ungenerous thing to ask India to shed her blood in defence of British interests.

However, the real defence of the Government lay in the extreme delicacy of the situation. As Mr. Roebuck argued on their behalf, the imminent danger of war furnishes as good a reason as actual hostilities for a deviation from constitutional rules applicable only to a time of peace. In fact, the indignation of the extremer members of the Opposition seemed to him to be quite uncalled for; the number of troops employed could not be said to constitute a threat to Russia, but only a hint; and in any case Parliament had the remedy in its own hands against any further acts of questionable legality through its power of voting supplies and, in an emergency, of overthrowing the Ministry.

While the Indian troops question was being thus threshed out, the prospect had sensibly brightened. Though both parties stood armed to the teeth, neither was really willing to risk the terrible chances of a protracted and desperate war. Germany, whose interests were distinctly on the side of peace, was not unwilling to mediate. It was proposed in the latter part of April that the British fleet and the Russian army should simultaneously withdraw from Constantinople, but neither party seemed disposed to be the first to recede, and the negotiations came to nothing. Shortly afterwards Prince Bismarck and Prince Gortschakoff were both attacked with illness, an event which the age of the latter (he was born in 1798) made doubly serious, and European diplomacy came to an absolute standstill. It was in this juncture of affairs that Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, was seized with the brilliant idea that by a few words of explanation he might be able to smooth away the difficulties that prevented an amicable settlement between Great Britain and his master the Czar. After an interview with Lord Beaconsfield and several closetings with Lord Salisbury, during which the informal proposals of the British Government were communicated to him, he started for St. Petersburg, visiting Berlin on his way, and on the 12th of May he arrived at the Russian capital.

There he found everything working for his own ends. The illness of the Chancellor had placed Alexander more directly in contact with the foreign administration, and he had now full opportunity of giving expression to the impulses of his pacific and benevolent disposition. Before the arrival of Count Schouvaloff, a Ministerial Council had been held, at which Prince Gortschakoff was represented by his secretary, Baron Jomini, a moderate man, under whose guidance the assembled Ministers, influenced, no doubt, to a great extent by the gloomy reports on the financial condition of the Empire, expressed a strong desire for conciliation. The interviews between Count Schouvaloff and the Czar were many and long, but nothing whatever transpired, for in Russia the virtue of keeping official secrets is appreciated and uniformly practised: nevertheless, the general impression was that the crisis was over, and that peace, if not assured, was yet within attainable distance of accomplishment. Count Schouvaloff left St. Petersburg on his return journey on the 18th, and again halted at Berlin, where he had interviews with Herr von Bülow, the Foreign Secretary, the Emperor, and the British Ambassador, Lord Odo Russell. On the 22nd he arrived in London, and two days afterwards Lord Salisbury was able to inform the House of Lords that the prospects of a Congress had within the last few days materially improved. Another week of doubt and obscurity followed, during which rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet were circulated, causing a panic upon 'Change, and then on the 3rd of June a definite announcement was made in both Houses, amid the cheers of both parties, that the German Government had issued an invitation to a Congress and that the British Government had accepted the invitation.

The communication of the Imperial Ambassador, Count Münster, to Lord Salisbury was dated that very day. It was to the effect that, in conformity with the initiative taken by the Austro-Hungarian Cabinet, the Emperor of Germany had the honour to propose to the Powers, signatories of the treaties of 1856 and 1871, to meet in Congress at Berlin to discuss there the stipulations of the preliminary Treaty of San Stefano. It was understood that the Russian Government in accepting the invitation consented to admit free discussion of the whole of the contents of the Treaty, and that it was ready to participate in it. In the event of the acceptance of all the Powers invited, the German Government proposed to fix the meeting of the Congress for the 13th of June. Lord Salisbury replied on

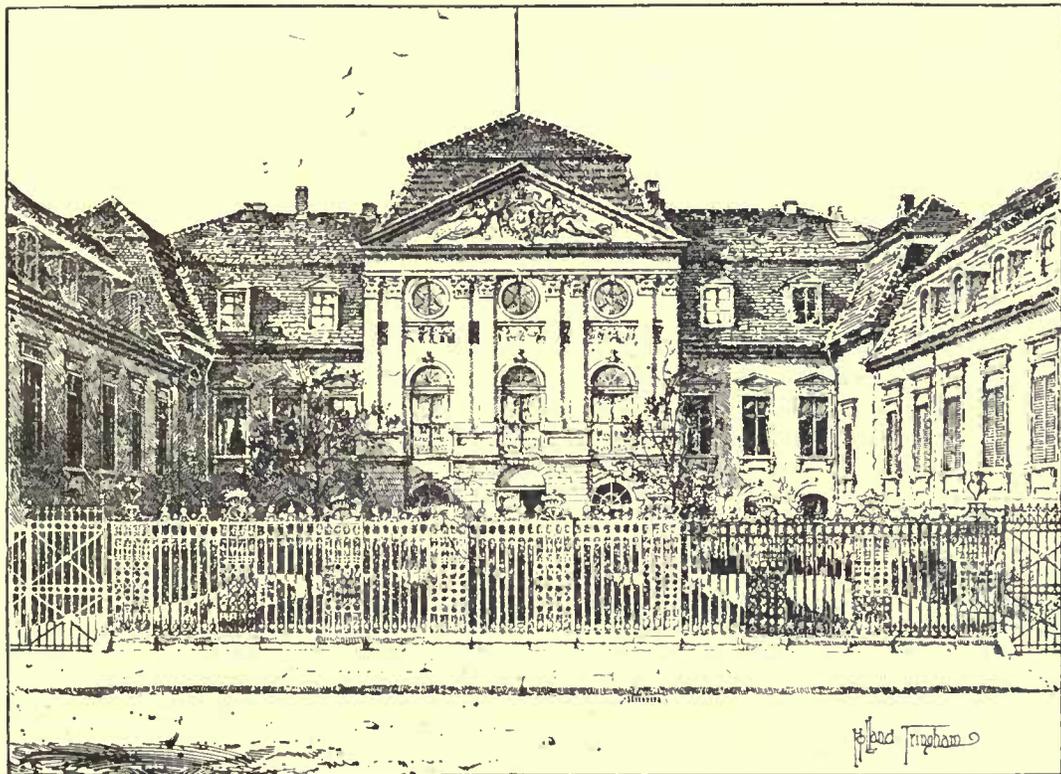
the same day, in a communication in which the Congress was accepted, on the understanding that the invitation had been sent in the same terms to the other Powers, signatories of the Treaty of Paris, and that those Powers, in accepting this invitation, assented to the terms set forth by Count Münster.

There was considerable speculation on all sides as to the price for which the British Cabinet had gained the great concession that the whole of the Treaty of San Stefano should be submitted to discussion. It was evident that there was an understanding of some sort between England and Russia: and on the 30th of May the *Globe* published a summary of the terms of a secret agreement which was to serve as a mutual engagement for the Russian and British Plenipotentiaries at the Congress. The accuracy of the information, however, was generally received with incredulity, although shortly afterwards news arrived from Constantinople that the Porte was informed that Britain and Russia had agreed to terms which would practically reduce its sovereignty to a nullity. Thereupon Lord Salisbury was questioned on the point by Lord Grey, and promptly replied that "the statement to which the noble Earl refers, and other statements that I have seen, are wholly unauthentic, and are not deserving of the confidence of your lordships' House." To which Lord Grey replied that he did not suppose that what was stated in regard to the retrocession of Bessarabia was true; it appeared to be too monstrous to be believed that her Majesty's Government could have made such a stipulation as was alleged. Lord Salisbury's silence after this reply, and a remark of Sir Stafford Northcote's that the views of Government could be "sufficiently ascertained" in the circular of the 1st of April, completely deceived the public, and all apprehensions as to a secret agreement were for the moment laid aside.

There was, indeed, considerable food for discussion on the question of the propriety of sending as Plenipotentiaries to the Congress the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, whose appointment had been made public a few days previously. Lord Granville made himself the mouthpiece of the malcontents, and asked if there was any precedent for such an arrangement. He pointed out further that either the main points were settled, and there remained only the details, which could be fixed far better by trained diplomatists of great experience than by two of the ablest men in England who had not the slightest experience in matters of the kind; or they were unsettled, in which case the rest of

the Cabinet were reduced to the position of mere ciphers in dealing with a very important question. To this Lord Beaconsfield replied that there was no precedent for the course taken, but that it was the result of long deliberation. He failed to see how the absence of Lord Salisbury and himself from the Cabinet would reduce their colleagues to the position of ciphers, when it seemed to him that the consequence would be rather to increase their

be confessed that it wore the appearance of something like a surrender, though on one or two points distinct advantages were gained over the Treaty of San Stefano. In the first place, Bulgaria was to be kept from the Ægean, and the southern part below the Balkans was to remain in the hands of Turkey, though with "a large measure of administrative self-government; for instance, like that which existed in the English colonies." Turkish troops



RADZIWILL PALACE, BERLIN, WHERE THE CONGRESS MET.

importance. This was supplemented in the Lower House by Sir Stafford Northcote, who said that there had been so complete a discussion on all the circumstances that were likely to arise that he anticipated no disadvantages from the course that had been adopted. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury soon afterwards departed for Berlin, amidst the wildest demonstrations of approval from a densely-packed crowd, and their colleagues were for a few days relieved from responsibility.

Shortly after the British Plenipotentiaries had seen the white cliffs of Dover disappear beneath the horizon, the *Globe* vigorously returned to the charge, and published the full text of the secret agreement between Great Britain and Russia. It must

would be allowed to enter the southern provinces in order to resist insurrection or invasion. Russia was deprived of the sole right of settling the organisation of the Greek and other Christian provinces of the Porte, which was to be shared by Europe. By the ninth article Russia surrendered her right to convert the war indemnity into cessions of territory, and agreed that the British Government should not be deprived of its rights as creditor. Bayazid was to be restored to the Turks; but Batoum and Kars might become Russian, though the British Government were unable to hide from themselves the dangers of such an extension of the Russian frontier. The British Government engaged themselves not to dispute the

articles of the Treaty of San Stefano which were not modified by these ten points. "It may be," continued the agreement, "that during the discussions in Congress the two Governments may find it preferable to introduce, of common accord, fresh modifications which it would be impossible to foresee; but if the understanding respecting these new modifications be not established between the Russian and English Plenipotentiaries, the present memorandum is destined to serve as a mutual agreement for the Plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain."

The publication of the Anglo-Russian agreement whereby the interest in the Congress was considerably discounted, caused much agitation in the breasts of the most extreme Turcophiles, who saw that all chance of war had passed away, and that the Sultan would be compelled to give up much of the territory which he had formerly ruled. The leaders of the Government were of course eagerly questioned in both Houses; but they could not deny that the document was genuine. The Duke of Richmond said that the publication of the document was unauthorised, and probably surreptitious, and, as an explanation of the policy of Government, it was incomplete and, consequently, inaccurate; and Sir Stafford Northcote, who repeated the same formula, added that the paper had evidently been obtained by some person who had had access to confidential communications. Suspicion promptly fell upon the Russian Embassy, which came in for a good deal of hearty abuse. Soon afterwards, however, a Treasury prosecution was instituted against Mr. C. Marvin, a copying clerk at the Foreign Office, for stealing the memorandum and sending it to the *Globe*. The prosecution signally failed to establish their case. It was proved that Mr. Marvin, who did not attempt to deny his connection with the *Globe*, had made the first *précis* from memory, and had afterwards copied the whole document. This, however, had nothing to do with stealing, and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted. Shortly afterwards Mr. Marvin wrote a letter to the *Daily News*, justifying his disclosure of May 31st, on the ground that he expected the agreement to be made public on the next day, and declaring that a still more secret and important document was in existence, the nature of which he declined to divulge. By this time, however, there had been a decided surfeit of mysterious conventions; and after a question or two had been put in the House, all curiosity as to this still buried enigma ceased. Sir Stafford Northcote acknowledges in his

memorandum that it was "extremely embarrassing, both the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister having left England."

The Marvin episode ran in a parallel course to that of the great Berlin Congress, and came to an end shortly after Lord Beaconsfield had returned in triumph to England. The publication of the full text of the Anglo-Russian agreement was, as we have seen, on the 14th of June, on the day after the first meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of the Powers. The path of Lord Beaconsfield to Berlin had been literally strewn with roses; he was the hero of the hour, and stories, which had some foundation in fact, were told of the honours paid him by the crowned personages of Europe. At the Prussian capital he speedily became an immense favourite, and popular sympathy declared itself unmistakably on his side and against Prince Gortschakoff. On these two great antagonists all eyes were fixed. Prince Bismarck occupied the more dignified, but less exciting, position of umpire, and Count Andrassy, the chief representative of Austria, was supposed to have received promises from the German Chancellor, which rendered him for the time being the latter's obedient henchman. M. Waddington, the chief French diplomatist, and Count Corti, in whose hands were the interests of Italy, played even more subordinate parts, but their influence was superior to that of Karatheodori Pasha and Mehemet Ali, to whom had been committed the disheartening task of obtaining some mitigation of the hard terms that had been imposed upon the Turkish Empire. The instructions given to the British Ambassadors contained nothing of importance, except a passage in which the claims of Greece, Roumania, and Servia to direct admission at the Congress were brought forward, and another in the despatch addressed to the third British representative, Lord Odo Russell, in which it was pointed out to him that it was important that any proposals tending to benefit and strengthen the Austro-Hungarian monarchy should be supported.

On June 13th the Plenipotentiaries assembled for the first time in the Radziwill Palace and set to work, to use Ripperda's metaphor, to cut up nations as they would Dutch cheeses, for such is the wont of Congresses. The first proceeding was, of course, to elect a President, and, as had been anticipated, the choice of the Assembly fell upon Prince Bismarck. Count Andrassy proposed him in a few graceful words, in which he characterised the selection as approved by precedents, and at the same time a mark of homage to the sovereign

whose hospitality they were enjoying at that moment. He had no doubt that the proposal would meet with unanimous consent. The personal qualities of the Prince, and his great wisdom, were a guarantee that the proceedings of the Congress were under the best direction. A little formal business over, Lord Beaconsfield proceeded to raise the extremely delicate question of the position of the Russian troops before Constantinople: he considered that they had advanced beyond the line fixed by the armistice, and were a danger to the two parties concerned as well as to the interests of Europe. This was rebutted rather successfully by Count Schouvaloff, who remarked, that if the Imperial troops quitted their positions, they would be followed by the Christian population of Constantinople, which would be in apprehension of the greatest perils. Thereupon Prince Bismarck sagely interposed, and suggested that in the first instance the representatives of Britain and Russia should discuss the matter in private, when a satisfactory result would probably be attained. After a short session, the Plenipotentiaries separated, and for a brief while surrendered themselves to the abundant festivities held in their honour by the German Princes.

The second meeting of the Congress was held on the 17th of June, when Lord Salisbury, in compliance with his instructions, read a paper in which he brought forward the claims of Greece. In an extremely interesting argument, he asserted that the religious bond which had formerly united the Greek and Slav subjects of the Porte had been broken, that the former were, in consequence of Russia's championship of the latter, left without a defender, and that decisions taken in such circumstances would not content the Greek race, and consequently would not promote either the tranquillity of the Ottoman Empire or the peace of Europe. "It is to be feared," he added significantly, "that fresh agitations may arise among that people, so profoundly devoted to its faith and nationality, which will have acquired the conviction that Europe has abandoned it, and has left it under the dominion of a race from which its sympathies are entirely estranged." The French thereupon brought forward an amendment that a Greek representative should be appointed to give expression to the observations of Greece, when the question of determining the future of the provinces bordering on the kingdom should come up for discussion; and the question, according to the arrangement previously agreed upon, was adjourned until the next meeting of the Congress,

after a protest from Prince Gortschakoff against Russia being regarded as protector of the Slavs alone, and not of all the Christian populations of Turkey.

Then Lord Salisbury, whose position was throughout far more important than that of any other second representative, made some striking observations on the articles of the Treaty of San Stefano relating to the new Bulgaria, which he said would have the effect of reducing Turkey to the level of absolute dependency upon the Power which had imposed the treaty. He proposed to the Congress on the part of Britain to examine the two following proposals: (1) "That the tributary autonomous principality of Bulgaria shall be restricted to the part of European Turkey which is situated to the north of the Balkans; (2) that the province of Roumelia, and all other territory south of the Balkans, shall be under the direct political and military authority of the Sultan, all necessary precaution being taken that the welfare of the populations shall be protected by sufficient guarantees of administrative autonomy, or in some other manner." That is to say, Southern Bulgaria was to become Eastern Roumelia. Count Schouvaloff urged that the limits of the new nationality were as yet unsettled, and Prince Bismarck that there was no information as to the kind of government and institutions that might be granted to it. Ultimately it was agreed that the question should be discussed in private by the Plenipotentiaries of Austro-Hungary, Great Britain, and Russia, and that they should communicate to the Congress the result of their interviews.

The admission of delegates of Greece was debated at length at the third meeting of the Congress on the 19th of June. The Turkish Ambassador, Karatheodori Pasha, gravely attempted to prove that he was the fitting representative of the interest of the Greeks. Prince Gortschakoff, on the other hand, asserted that Russia had in view in Turkey the interests of the Christians without regard to race. Finally, the French proposition that a Greek representative should be admitted when the frontier question was under discussion was adopted, and an amendment of Lord Salisbury's to the effect that Greece should be present whenever any Greek provinces were in question besides the frontier provinces was rejected, the votes, owing to the withdrawal of the Turkish representative, being equal. "Thus," he remarked in a despatch to Mr. Cross, "with respect to the provinces not bordering on Greece, such as Macedonia and Crete, it will remain to be discussed in

each individual case whether Greece is to be admitted or not."

Prince Gortschakoff, whose health at this time was exceedingly frail, was unable to be present at the fourth meeting of the Congress, when Lord Salisbury read a document containing a development of the British proposals with regard to Eastern Roumelia. He proposed that the Sandjak of Sofia should be incorporated, Varna being accepted by Turkey as a recompense; that the Sultan should appoint the officers of the militia, who were to maintain internal order; that in case of a rising the Governor-General should have a right to summon the Ottoman troops, and that the Western frontier (whose limits were vaguely sketched) should be arranged by a European commission. To these suggestions Count Schouvaloff declared, though with some reluctance, that Russia was ready to give her consent with two reservations affecting the military arrangements, which were, if necessary, to be brought forward at the next meeting in the form of amendments. Lord Salisbury's document was then virtually adopted, and to M. Waddington was assigned the delicate task of reducing the Russian amendments so as to bring them into a form which should be acceptable to Britain. It should be mentioned that Prince Bismarck made no secret of his approval of their purport. The French modifications not being ready at the fifth meeting of the Congress on the 24th of June, the discussion was deferred, and the Assembly fell to the settlements of the limitation of the Russian occupation of Bulgaria. This, at the earnest request of Count Schouvaloff, was reduced from a period of two years, as fixed by the Treaty of San Stefano, to nine months, with a further delay of three months for the evacuation of Roumelia. On June the 26th Lord Salisbury was able to telegraph home that "the question relating to Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia had been settled in principle. (1) The arrangement as to the military occupation by Turkey of the frontiers of Eastern Roumelia was passed in a satisfactory form, it being agreed that the Turks should occupy the frontiers with their regular military force; that they should not remain in the interior unless formally summoned by the Governor, and that billeting should be forbidden. (2) The proposed Russian Commissary in Eastern Roumelia was to be superseded by an International Commission, while in Bulgaria he was to be controlled by a commission of Consuls, who, in the event of any difference of opinion, would have power to appeal to the Ambassadors at Constantinople. (3)

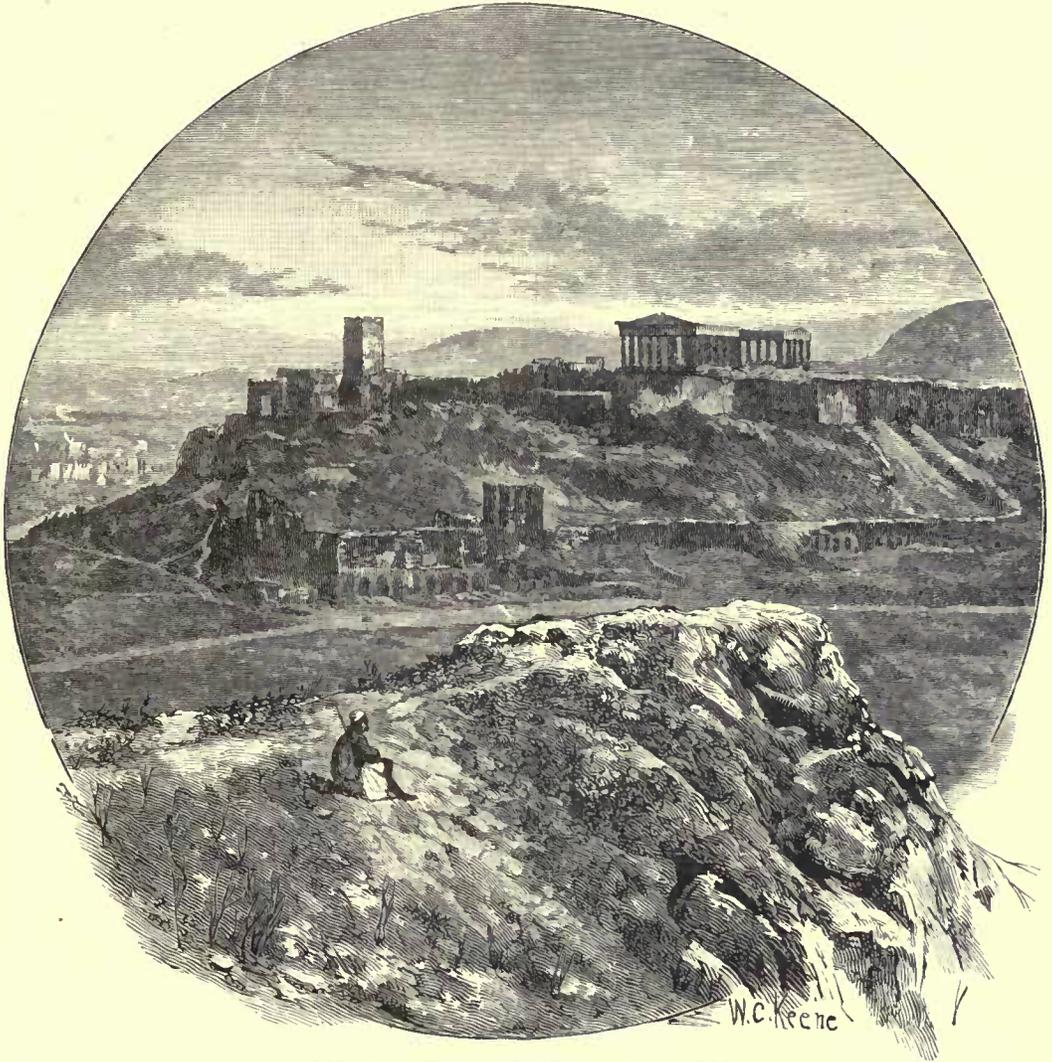
Resolutions were passed securing religious liberty, the maintenance of commercial treaties, and a consideration of the Turkish debt in fixing the amount of tribute to be paid by Bulgaria. (4) The fortresses in Bulgaria, including Varna, were to be razed, and were not to be re-erected. (5) Transit dues were prohibited in Bulgaria, which would have the effect of making Varna a free port with respect to all goods destined for Roumania."

These arrangements occupied the sixth and seventh sittings of the Congress, and when they were settled all the real difficulties had been successfully overcome. Then Austria's turn came. On the 28th of June Lord Salisbury proposed that she should occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. This, of course, was opposed by the Turks, who were firmly informed by Prince Bismarck that unless the Porte yielded, it would have to submit to the Treaty of San Stefano pure and simple; but besides Prince Bismarck it was also supported by the Plenipotentiaries of Russia, France, and Italy, the last expressing their opinion in its favour with some apparent reluctance. Servia occupied the rest of the sitting, and that principality had a full if not a superabundant measure of justice meted out to her. This meeting witnessed the return of Prince Gortschakoff, very ill and quite unable to walk; he had been absent during much of the most critical part of the deliberations, and proceeded at once to cross swords with Lord Beaconsfield, an expression of whose, that it was desirable that the Sultan should be master in his own dominions, he took up and proceeded to comment upon with great vivacity. "Russia," said he, "brings hither laurels, and I hope that Europe will convert them into olive branches."

Then the claims of Greece and Roumania were considered; their representatives were admitted and made addresses to the Congress, in which they related their grievances and their hopes. The independence of Roumania was declared subject to these conditions—(1) that Roumania should accept the islands of the Delta, the Isle of Serpents, and the Dobrudscha, as far as a line traced from Mangalia to a point just below Silistria, in exchange for Bessarabia; (2) that religious liberty should be secured to the inhabitants of all creeds; and (3) commercial equality. Montenegro was also declared independent, but the line of frontier granted her, at the Treaty of San Stefano was reduced to the south and east. Antivari was to be incorporated with Montenegro, but Dulcigno was to be restored to Turkey, and Austria was to take possession of

Spizza. Other limitations were afterwards established by which all possibility of Montenegro becoming a naval Power was carefully guarded against. This somewhat niggardly policy, of which Austria was the promoter, was bitterly resented by the inhabitants of the Black Mountain.

would not affect the interests of the creditors of the Porte. The Danube question was raised by Austria, who proposed the most elaborate arrangements for securing the free navigation of that stream, but the scheme was considered to deal too much with detail for immediate treatment by the



ATHENS. (From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

On the 2nd of July, at the eleventh meeting of the Congress, the questions of the Danube and of the indemnity formed the subjects of discussion. As to the latter, the British representatives tried to induce the Russians to abandon a demand which they would never be able to realise, and obtained a formal declaration that they would not attempt to pay themselves by the annexation of further territory, and that the indemnity of war

Congress, and ultimately the only change that was made in established regulations consisted in the extension of the jurisdiction of the European commission to Galatz.

Then the claims of Greece came up, after a most edifying memorandum from the Turkish Government on the subject of religious toleration had been read by Karatheodori Pasha; and once more M. Waddington, whose part during these

negotiations was highly creditable both to him and to the nation he represented, came forward with a moderate resolution by which the Congress invited the Porte to arrange with Greece for a rectification of the frontiers of Thessaly and Epirus, and expressed an opinion that this rectification should follow the valley of the Peneus on the side of the Ægean Sea, and that of the Kalamas on the side of the Ionian Sea. This was considerably less than the ambitious Hellenes had expected, inasmuch as their hopes had soared to the recovery of Epirus, Thessaly, and Crete. Lord Beaconsfield, however, in a very remarkable speech, pointed out that the Greeks had entertained illusory ideas and that these ideas were due to false notions that had been formed after the conclusion of the Treaty of San Stefano as to the principles that should guide the Congress. "An erroneous opinion," he said, "attributes to the Congress the intention to proceed to the partition of a worn-out State, and not to strengthen, as the high Assembly has done, an ancient empire which it considers essential to the maintenance of peace. It is true that often after a great war territorial rearrangements are brought about; Turkey is not the only State that has sustained territorial losses. England herself has lost provinces to which she attached great value, and which she regrets to this day; the word 'partition' cannot be applied to such arrangements and retrocessions, and the Greek Government is entirely mistaken as to the views of Europe." "His Excellency," continues the official Protocol, "took this occasion to repel the insinuations of a part of the press which described as a partition the decision of the Congress upon the subject of Bosnia and the Herzegovina. . . . No one could doubt the future of Greece. States, like individuals, which have a future, are in a position to be able to wait. But at the same time his Excellency is convinced that Greece and Turkey will proceed to a rectification of their frontiers; that a cause of trouble and disaster will thus be got rid of, and a lasting peace secured." The Powers cordially agreed to accept the French proposition except Turkey, which, through Karatheodori Pasha, expressed several objections and asked for time for consideration. Eventually the Porte decided that it would consult with the signatory Powers on the real state of the Hellenic question.

At the fourteenth meeting, on the 6th of July, Asia was the order of the day, and the Anglo-Russian agreement had fortunately obviated all difficulties on that side of the question. The position of Britain was admirably defined in the

instructions to Lord Odo Russell. It was anticipated that Russia would decline to give up Batoum, Kars, or Ardahan, and it was thought possible that the arguments of Britain would receive little assistance from the other Powers, and would not be able to shake her resolution in that respect. "You will not on that account abstain from earnestly pressing upon them and upon Russia the justice of abstaining from annexations which are unconnected with the professed objects of the war, and profoundly distrustful of the populations concerned." That is to say, the terms had already been in the main agreed upon, and subsequent discussion was to be regarded as more or less formal. Accordingly, the obstacles that were raised by either party were found to be by no means insuperable. Prince Gortschakoff at once conceded Erzeroum, Bayazid, and the valley of Alashgerd, forming the passage for the caravans and the principal commercial route to Persia. Further, Batoum was declared a free port, a concession which Lord Beaconsfield, in a most conciliatory speech, described as a "happy idea," and Prince Bismarck termed a "result of high value." There were one or two points that it was not so easy to settle: for instance, the protection of the interests of the large population of Lazestan who obstinately declined the Russian dominion, but they were as usual referred to private discussion. In return for the retrocession of Bayazid and the valley of Alashgerd, the district of Khotour, on the Persian Gulf, was restored to the Shah. Another question that taxed the ingenuity of the Plenipotentiaries was how to secure the administration of reforms in Armenia. An attempt was made to disconnect the engagements taken by the Sultan with regard to Armenia from any promises given specially to Russia, and to place their supervision under the control of the Powers. At the instance of Lord Salisbury, the article was finally worded as follows:—"The Sublime Porte engages to realise, without further delay, the ameliorations and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and the Circassians. She will periodically render account of the measures taken with this intent to the Powers who will supervise them." Turkey was as usual prodigal of promises, but as usual they were made under compulsion and without the remotest intention of performance. Protest after protest was launched against the Sultan for his neglect of his Asiatic provinces, but he turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of the Potentates of Europe.

The Congress then passed to the question of boundaries. There was some discussion as to those of Bulgaria which was ultimately settled by a compromise, while Lord Salisbury protested in vain against the cession of Vrania to Servia. A considerable slice was cut off from the territory claimed by Russia, south of Batoum, and an intermediate line of Asiatic frontier adopted between that demanded of Russia and that demanded of Turkey. At the conclusion of the sitting Prince Gortschakoff read a communication, which may be called frank almost to brutality. The sting lay in its concluding sentence, which asserted that "inasmuch as the Plenipotentiaries of Russia were persuaded that the high Assembly did not intend to raise an ephemeral structure which would expose Europe to fresh dangers, they had orders to ask the Congress before it concludes its labours by what principle, and in what manner, it proposes to ensure the execution of its high decisions." Karatheodori Pasha was of course unable to understand what this meant; all the necessary guarantees, said he, had been decided, and the signing of the treaty of peace would have the most solemn and binding form. Prince Gortschakoff thereupon retorted that the question touched the dignity of the Assembly, and being asked by the president to present a formal proposition, replied that he would be ready to ask that the Powers parties to the Congress should guarantee collectively the execution of the resolutions of the high Assembly. Prince Bismarck, though inclining to support the Russian proposal, thought that it was unnecessary that each State separately should be compelled to use force for the execution of the arrangements of the Congress; if, however, the Russian Government insisted on the insertion in the treaty of a special article, establishing the fact that the Powers might reserve to themselves the right to control by their agents the execution of the resolutions of the high Assembly, Prince Bismarck had no objection to it.

The discussion was adjourned until the eighteenth sitting on July 11th, when Prince Gortschakoff brought forward a declaration that "Europe having given her most solemn and binding sanction to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, the high contracting parties regard the totality of the articles of the present Act as forming a combination of stipulations, the execution of which they engage to control and superintend, while insisting on their being carried out in conformity with their intentions. They reserve to themselves the right to come to an understanding in case of need as to the

requisite means to ensure a result which neither the general interests of Europe nor the dignity of the great Powers permit them to leave invalid." A discussion of some length ensued, in the course of which Count Schouvaloff proposed an amended form of wording to the effect that "the high contracting Powers, having given their solemn and binding sanction to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, look upon the totality of the articles of the present Act as forming a collection of stipulations, of which they undertake to control and superintend the execution." Karatheodori Pasha, however, continued to urge the specious objection that the Porte considered its signature as binding, and remarked that the wording of the Russian document imposed on all the contracting parties the mutual duty of controlling the execution of the stipulations of the treaty, and the Porte would thus be compelled to admit within its own limits the control of other States, and in its turn to exercise a control in other States having the same engagements.

After a somewhat heated discussion, Count Schouvaloff's text was submitted to the Congress and rejected, as was another wording of which Count Andrassy was the author. Thereupon M. Waddington, as the representative of the neutral Powers, came to the rescue with a proposal that the Congress should confine itself to the declaration of Karatheodori Pasha. The formulas of Prince Gortschakoff and Count Andrassy seemed, as he sensibly remarked, to be couched in terms of too vague a nature. Either they added nothing to the authority of the treaty, or else they had too extended a bearing. In his idea, the Congress, in asking Turkey to consent to important sacrifices, had in view the preservation of the Sultan from all assault in the reduced but compact cohesion of provinces that would henceforth constitute his empire. Now, the wording proposed to the Assembly appeared to constitute a species of permanent tutorage over the Ottoman Government. These views found favour with the Congress, and after an ineffectual protest on the part of the Russian Plenipotentiaries, Prince Bismarck recorded that the Russian proposal and the Austrian amendment had not been accepted by the Congress, and that the results of the discussion were, consequently, the proposal itself, the answer of the Porte, and the decision of the Congress to take note of the declarations of the first Ottoman Plenipotentiary.

The labours of the Congress were now almost at an end. It was decided, against Lord Salisbury's

wish, that the Servians and Montenegrins were no longer under any tributal obligations to Turkey, and that a European commission—that never-failing panacea—should be appointed to examine the financial state of the Ottoman Empire, with a view to finding means of giving some satisfaction to the creditors of Turkey. The last meeting of the Congress was on the 13th of July, and was made an occasion of some solemnity. Count Andrassy made a short and happy speech, in which he eulogised the conduct of Prince Bismarck and the hospitality of the German Emperor. Prince Bismarck replied with great feeling, and complimented the Plenipotentiaries on the spirit of conciliation that had facilitated for him a task which, in the then state of his health, he had hardly expected to bring to a termination. Then when the seven copies of the treaty had been signed he spoke again. “I announce that the labours of the Congress are at an end. Gentlemen, at the moment of separating, I do not hesitate to affirm that the Congress has deserved well of Europe. If it has been found impossible to realise all the aspirations of public opinion, history will nevertheless do justice to our intentions and to our work, and the Plenipotentiaries will have the consciousness of having, as far as was possible, given and secured to Europe the great benefit of peace which was so gravely menaced. This result cannot be diminished by any criticism which the spirit of party may be able to publish. I have the firm hope that the European understanding will, with the help of God, be lasting, and that the personal and cordial relations which during our labours have been established between us will strengthen and consolidate good relations between our Governments. I once more thank my colleagues for their kindness towards myself, and it is with this feeling of great gratitude that I close the last sitting of the Congress.” Then, after a banquet in the White Hall of the Palace, at which, on the invitation of the Crown Prince, “the health of the Sovereigns and Governments whose representatives had signed the Treaty of Berlin” was solemnly drunk, the distinguished assemblage of European statesmen separated.

After a detailed description of the proceedings of the Congress, it is unnecessary to discuss the several points in which the Treaty of Berlin differed from its predecessor, the Treaty of San Stefano. Lord Salisbury was careful that the former should be placed before the nation in its most favourable light, and accordingly drew up a despatch nominally addressed to Mr. Cross, but

really to the public at large, in which its merits were dwelt on with the dignified approval of an artist contemplating a favourite offspring of his brain. The alterations, he said, had the effect of restoring, with due security for good government, a very large territory to the Government of the Sultan, and tended powerfully to secure from external assault the stability and independence of the Empire. This was true, no doubt; but he set himself to prove too much when he tried to show that the treaty was consistent in essential conditions with his famous circular of the 1st of April. “Nearly two-thirds of Bulgaria,” said he, “have been replaced under the direct political and military rule of the Sultan. . . . The new Slav State is no longer strong—no longer merges in a Slav majority any considerable mass of the Greek population, and will certainly not confer upon Russia any preponderating influence over either the political or commercial relations of those States.” To say that a province with a Christian Governor, a native militia, and other devices for reducing the obnoxious power of the Porte to a minimum, had been replaced under the direct political and military rule of the Sultan, was a considerable stretch of language. Lord Salisbury proceeded to allude in terms of equal satisfaction to the war indemnity, his peculiar reason being that “Turkey is not immediately bound, and cannot be compelled, to pay any portion of the indemnity until the claims of all the creditors of loans anterior to the war have been paid in full.” Finally, he summed up the situation by saying that “the Sultan’s dominions have been provided with a defensible frontier far removed from his capital. The interposition of the Austrian Power between two independent Slav states, while it withdraws from him no territory of strategical or financial value, offers him a security against renewed aggression on their part, which no other possible arrangement could have furnished. Rich and extensive provinces have been restored to his rule; at the same time that careful provision against future misgovernment has been made which will, it may be hoped, assure their loyalty, and prevent the recurrence of the calamities which have brought the Ottoman Power to the verge of ruin. Arrangements of a different kind, but having the same end in view, have provided for the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan security for the present, and the hope of prosperity and stability in the future.”

This last paragraph had reference to the Anglo-Turkish agreement, the last of the great surprises

which Lord Beaconsfield at this time devised—to the delight of some, and to the bewilderment of many more. It was universally acknowledged to be even more adroit a stroke than the arrangement between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff by which the Congress was rendered practicable. In order to realise its opportuneness it is necessary to look at dates. On the 30th of May, the very day on which the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed,

the stability of the Ottoman rule in Asiatic Turkey would be an engagement on the part of England to prevent any encroachments by Russia, even at the cost of military operations. This obligation they would perform on two conditions: one, that the Porte should give an assurance of its intention to introduce reforms into the government of those regions; and the other, that Britain should occupy a position near the coast of Asia Minor and Syria,



THE MARINA, LARNACA, CYPRUS.

Lord Salisbury sent a despatch to Mr. Layard, in which it was stated that although the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano affecting European Turkey might be sufficiently modified to bring them into harmony with the interests of Britain, there was no such prospect with reference to that portion of the treaty which referred to Turkey in Asia. The possession by Russia of Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan was regarded by England as a very serious matter, inasmuch as the populations of Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, seeing the inability of the Porte to resist the strength of Russia, would begin to calculate on the speedy fall of the Ottoman dominion, and to turn their eyes towards its successor. The British Government considered that the only substantial security for

the Island of Cyprus for choice. The island was to be simply occupied and administered, and, if Russia restored to the Porte her recent acquisitions in Asia, was to be immediately evacuated by the British troops.

Accordingly, on the 4th of June, a few days after the prospective congress had been announced, a defensive alliance was concluded at Constantinople between Britain and Turkey of a simple and straightforward character. "If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them," ran the first and only important article of this brief convention, "shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the

definitive treaty of peace, England engages to join his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms. In return, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan promises to England to introduce necessary reforms, to be agreed upon later by the two Powers, into the government and for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte in these territories; and, in order to enable England to make necessary provision for executing her engagement, his Imperial Majesty the Sultan further consents to assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England." Soon afterwards it occurred to the Sultan's advisers that their surrender had been too unconditional. An *annexe* was accordingly signed on the 1st of July, which arranged that England should pay to the Porte whatever was the excess of the income over the expenditure, and that the Convention should end in the event of Russia restoring the conquests taken during the last war.

This arrangement was made public in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* on the 8th of July, and on the same evening Government admitted the fact in both Houses. It was received, on the whole, with enthusiasm, though there were many who objected to the greatness of the responsibility incurred, and still more to the Prime Minister's method of acting first, and then asking the advice of Parliament. The Anglo-Turkish Treaty naturally distracted all attention from the later sittings of the Congress; and that Assembly, whose importance had been considerably discounted by the publication of the Anglo-Russian agreement, separated with the uncomfortable impression that its efforts had been disregarded by two of the Powers concerned in favour of what Lord Salisbury called "arrangements external to its action." Continental opinion was, as usual, much divided. Russia was furious at what she declared was a piece of trickery; and, according to the *Times* correspondent, the Russian Plenipotentiaries at Berlin were so angry that they would have declared war immediately, had not Lord Odo Russell pacified them by arranging that all question as to the destiny of Batoum should be immediately abandoned. Nor were the Greeks, who regarded themselves as betrayed, and Cyprus as the price of their betrayal, any the more disposed to approve of the new *coup*. On the other hand, the neutral Powers were inclined to greet the step with approval; the French carped a little at an arrangement in which they had no share, but the Germans were highly pleased at anything that could check the aggressiveness of their too-powerful neighbour.

The British occupation of Cyprus was effected with great speed. On the 11th of July Mr. Baring, carrying a firman from the Sultan, landed on the island as the representative of Great Britain; and four days later Lord John Hay, commander of the Mediterranean Squadron, who had been appointed temporary governor pending the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley, sailed into the port of Larnaca, and hoisted the British flag, saying, "I take possession of this island in the name of Queen Victoria." It was determined that 10,000 troops should be sent there, of whom 7,000 were to be natives of India, and the remainder to consist of three English battalions. Accordingly, in the second week of July, a transport bearing a detachment of the Indian troops was despatched from Malta, and the 25th Madras regiment followed shortly afterwards. On the 22nd Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived with the 42nd Highlanders, and proceeded to organise the new Government. A proclamation was issued setting forth the benefits of British rule, promising a new era of prosperity, justice, and liberty. Next day Sir Garnet was installed as Lord High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the island of Cyprus, and took the oaths in the presence of the Duke of Edinburgh, Admiral Lord John Hay, and the staff. It was announced that he was to act, not under the Colonial Office but under the Foreign Office, inasmuch as the territory was still nominally Turkish. From the first it was evident that his position was no sinecure. It was exceedingly difficult to obtain anything except at the most exorbitant price, for speculators had anticipated the soldiers, and bought every negotiable article they could lay hands on in the hopes of selling it at quadrupled value. They were, however, to a certain extent foiled by the excellence of the commissariat management. The sanitary arrangements of the town were abominable; before the island had been occupied many days fever broke out, and played havoc both with the 42nd and 101st regiments, the Indians suffering comparatively little. There were, besides, frequent collisions with the Turkish officials, who objected to any interference with their usual system of bribery and injustice. In the circumstances there was a distinct change of public opinion, and the island was regarded as a useless and cumbersome possession. Sir Garnet, however, was able by timely application of remedies to prove that such severe condemnation was premature. Additional comforts, a change of encampments, and plenty of medical attendance restored the health of the

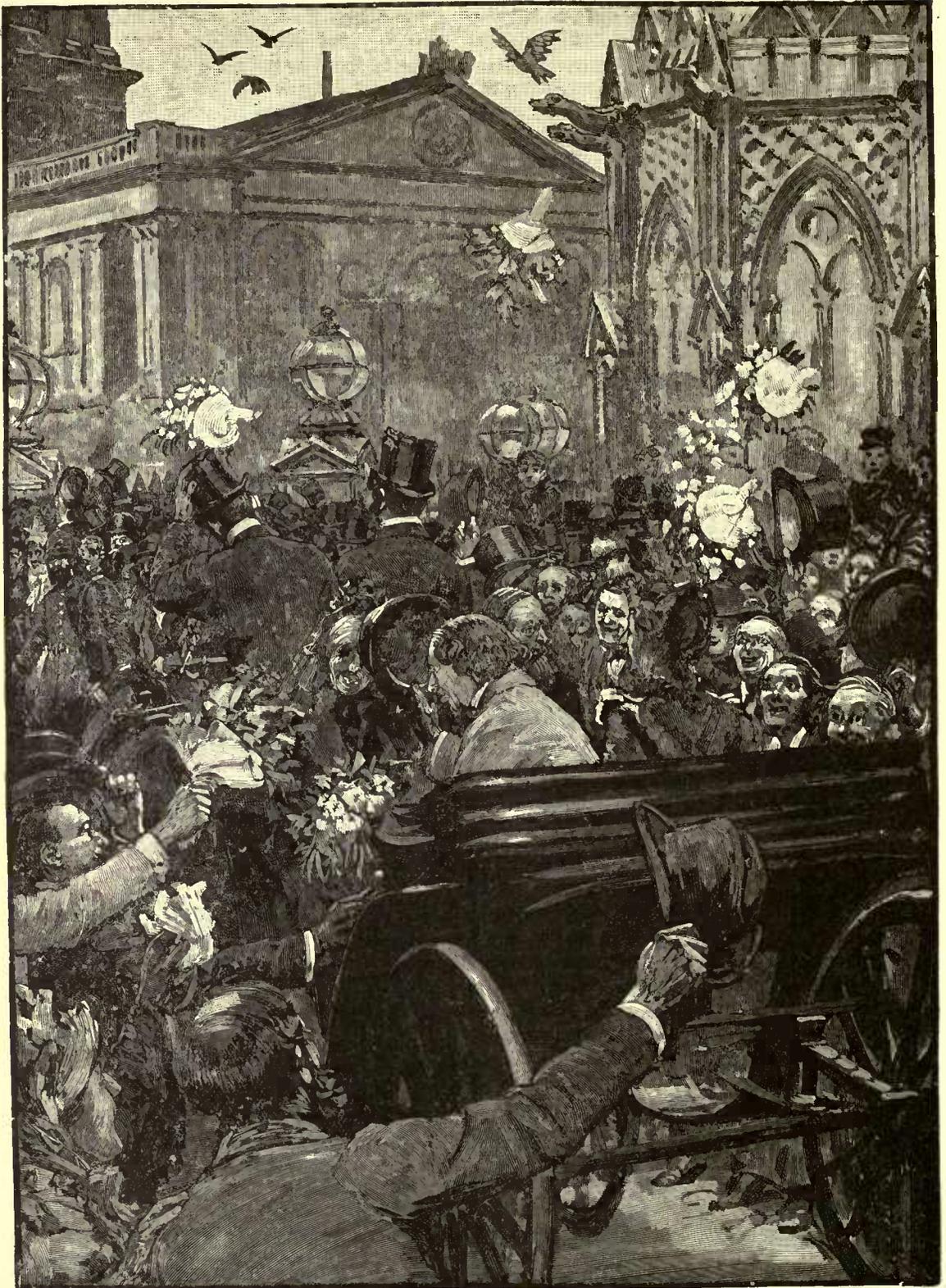
troops. Reprimands and punishments checked the irregularities of the zaptichs, and attempts were made to improve and purify the towns. Late in the autumn, Colonel Stanley and Mr. W. H. Smith visited the island, and soon after their return the latter Minister, in a speech to his constituents, gave an optimistic account of the capabilities of Cyprus, and estimated that, so far from its being the case that its shores were havenless, a good harbour could be constructed at Famagusta at very little expense.

If Lord Beaconsfield's journey to Berlin had been something of the nature of a triumphal procession, his return was celebrated almost as a national festival. The Plenipotentiaries landed at Dover on the 16th of July, and found a huge multitude assembled ready to do them honour. The Prime Minister, in a few remarks to a most enthusiastic audience, who strewed his path with roses, claimed with characteristic generosity equal recognition for Lord Salisbury, and informed them that "he hoped he had returned bringing not only peace but honour, and not only honour but renewed prosperity to the people." At Charing Cross Station they were greeted by a large concourse of Conservatives, foremost among whom was Lord Henry Lennox, who brought with him the venerable Sir Moses Montefiore, and they drove off thence amidst a shower of bouquets to Downing Street. The Premier was received by General Ponsonby, who brought with him a bouquet of exotics from the Queen. From his official residence at Whitehall, where the Duke and Duchess of Teck appeared, much to the delight of the crowd, in the character of ardent supporters, Lord Beaconsfield repeated the "peace with honour" formula. "I assure you," he said, "that no recognition of our labours could be more grateful to my feelings than this expression of the sentiments of those among whom I see many of my eldest and most cherished friends. Lord Salisbury and I have brought you back peace, I hope with honour; and such a peace as will satisfy our sovereign, and add to the fame of our country. I can do no more than express my gratitude and pride for the sympathy which you have shown us at this trying moment." The crowd, who had frequently interrupted this address with bursts of cheering, now shouted for Lord Salisbury, who at length appeared: "I thank you heartily," said he, "and gather from this great assembly that you will always support a Government which supports the honour of England;" continuous applause drowned the remainder of his remarks. In an audience with the Queen Lord Beaconsfield was

invested with the Order of the Garter, an honour which he had previously declined, but it was understood that he did not wish to avail himself of the offer of a higher title of nobility. The remaining Garter, vacant by the death of Earl Russell, was bestowed on his colleague.

Two days afterwards Lord Beaconsfield stood forth in the House of Lords to explain the features of the Treaty of Berlin. The galleries were crowded with the most brilliant company, including the Princess of Wales, the Princess Louise, the Duke of Connaught, and the Duke of Cambridge. It is unnecessary to follow the Prime Minister through his elaborate arguments in support of the part played by the British Plenipotentiaries at the Prussian capital, inasmuch as they had for the most part been anticipated by Lord Salisbury's despatch. His chief point was that Turkey had not been partitioned, but that, though the Sultan had lost provinces, he was still master of his own dominions; an argument which Lord Granville afterwards criticised by saying that it was founded on the principle of the spendthrift who, having got rid of the greater portion of his paternal acres, was at last able to boast that he had placed his property within a ring fence. He repeated his gentle reproof to the Greeks, that they had a future before them and could afford to wait. The cession of Batoum he treated as a matter of small importance; the harbour could, he said, hold three ships, and might, if closely packed, hold six. The accuracy of this statement was closely questioned by Lord Granville at a subsequent sitting of the House, but Lord Beaconsfield adhered to it, although apparently conclusive evidence from Hobart Pasha was produced to the contrary.

Lord Beaconsfield's speech was by no means the chief incident of the evening. Lord Granville followed the Premier with some light and amusing criticism, and was in turn followed by Lord Derby. In the course of his speech Lord Derby had occasion to refer to the acquisition of Cyprus. "I must admit," he said, "that there is the widest possible difference between the plan finally adopted and what was originally agreed upon three months ago. When I quitted the Cabinet at the end of March, I did so mainly because it was said it was necessary to secure a naval station in the eastern part of the Mediterranean; that for that purpose it was necessary to seize and occupy the island of Cyprus, together with a point on the Syrian coast. That was to be done by means of a Syrian expedition sent out from India with or without the consent of the Sultan, although undoubtedly part



"PEACE WITH HONOUR": RECEPTION OF LORD BEACONSFIELD AND LORD SALISBURY AT CHARING CROSS. (See p. 355.)

of the arrangement was that full compensation should be made to the Sultan for any loss he might incur. Now, I will not waste your lordships' time by arguing in detail against the arrangements which have been come to. I will now only say that I cannot reconcile it to my conscience, either as a matter of justice or policy, to land troops in time of peace, and without the consent of the Sovereign, upon the territory of a friendly ruler. . . . I need hardly say that my lips were closed on this subject as long as the negotiations were going on. I have heard the most improbable reasons assigned for my silence, but now that the matter is settled, no harm can be done by stating what has become historical fact, and by availing myself of the discretion which is allowed to outgoing Ministers, to state what has really happened." Lord Salisbury in reply taunted his former colleague with being always ready with a stock of revelations from the dark interior of the Cabinet. "This is the third time my noble friend has spoken since he left the Cabinet, and on each of these occasions we have had an instalment of the fatal tale. The same objection occurs to me in regard to my noble friend as was made to Dr. Oates when he brought forward successive fragments of his disclosure. When taunted with the fact, his answer was, that he did not know how much the public would endure." Lord Salisbury went on to say that Lord Derby's statement was, as far as his memory went, not true. Here he was loudly called to order, and condescended, with the remark that he did not necessarily impugn the veracity of the speaker, to substitute the epithet "not correct." He proceeded to declare on behalf of the Prime Minister and of his colleagues that the statement was not correct, but added that it was obvious that revelations as to conversations of which no record was made were in the nature of things exposed to error. Lord Derby, however, stated that, foreseeing the possibility of having to give an explanation, he had made a memorandum at the Cabinet Council of what he understood to be the effect of what had been said. Upon which statement Sir Stafford Northcote remarks somewhat irrelevantly in his memorandum that Lord Derby having made up his mind to resign failed to distinguish between a *conversation* on certain undecided points and a *decision* on another point, the Reserves.

Pending the discussion of Lord Hartington's announced resolutions in the House of Commons, the Opposition views had been expounded by Mr. Forster and by Mr. Gladstone. The latter, while expressing his thankfulness for the benefits

conferred on the Christian provinces by the Treaty of Berlin, was highly contemptuous of the Anglo-Turkish convention, which he pronounced an "insane covenant." On the 27th of July, a banquet, at which the Duke of Buccleuch presided, was given by the Conservative Peers to the two Plenipotentiaries. In returning thanks Lord Beaconsfield went over the whole ground until he came to the subject of the Anglo-Turkish agreement, when he suddenly delivered a heated invective against an adversary at any rate worthy of respect. "I do not," he said, "myself, pretend to be as competent a judge of insanity as my right honourable opponent. I will not say to the right hon. gentlemen 'Naviget Anticyram;' but I would put this question to an English jury—which do you believe most ready to enter into an insane convention: a body of English gentlemen, honoured by the favour of their Sovereign and the confidence of their fellow-subjects, managing your affairs for four years, I hope with prudence, and not altogether without success; or a sophistical rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity and gifted with an egotistical imagination which can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and glorify himself?" The volleys of applause with which these personalities were greeted at Knightsbridge were allowed to die silently away when the report of the speech was studied next day in the unflattering medium of the morning papers. It was felt that Lord Beaconsfield had gone too far, and Lord Granville had the general feeling of the House of Lords with him when he took Lord Beaconsfield to task for what he called "abuse with innuendo or something worse in it." The Prime Minister, however, declined to apologise, but declared that Mr. Gladstone had, on several occasions during the two previous years, taken occasion to make personal allusions to him—"allusions intended to be very offensive, though I must say I was undisturbed by them. I may allude to the speech at Oxford, which was not an after-dinner speech, but one made in cold blood, and in which the right honourable gentleman singled me out from the Cabinet, charged me with all the offences of the Cabinet, and described me as 'a dangerous and even devilish character.'" Thereupon Mr. Gladstone wrote a courteous letter beginning "Dear Lord Beaconsfield," and asking for a list or selection of these offensive epithets; to which the Premier replied in the third person "presenting his compliments to Mr. Gladstone," and while declining for the

present to undertake a research over two years and a half, produced a list of expressions which were certainly strong, but which applied solely to his opponent's political life, and admitted that Mr. Gladstone had not called him "devilish," though a friend had kindly inquired of him how they were "to get rid of this Mephistopheles." And this was the only satisfaction Mr. Gladstone ever obtained.

With the rival leaders thus in active collision, it is hardly to be wondered that the debate in the House of Commons on Lord Hartington's very moderate resolutions—"a string of congratulatory regrets" as Lord Beaconsfield not inaptly termed them—assumed an exceedingly embittered form. The great speech was of course Mr. Gladstone's, who argued with all his usual force against the desertion of the Greeks and Lord Beaconsfield's abuse of the treaty-making power. For the Ministerialists Lord Sandon, who spoke for the first time as a member of the Cabinet, was perhaps the most effective, though his criticism of the Turkish Empire as "concentrated" provoked much Opposition laughter, and his sketch of the benefits to be conferred by England on the Valley of the Nile and the plain of Syria had in it too much of rose-colour. Mr. Lowe raised a great storm by a characteristic remark, that the Schouvaloff-Salisbury agreement seemed to be made for no other reason than to see how many falsehoods could be put down on a single page; and made a good point by contrasting the conduct of Great Britain towards the Sultan with that of the Good Samaritan: instead of taking out two pence and giving them to the sick man's host, she asked him severely, 'Have you such a thing as half-a-crown about you?—if so, hand it over.'" The best speeches on the last night of the debate were those of Mr. Forster and Sir William Harcourt, of whom the latter accused the British Plenipotentiaries of having opposed the French and Italian proposals for Greece, an accusation the truth of which was admitted by Sir Stafford Northcote, who said that he did not dispute the fact, but that, holding the views the British Government and representatives did, it was perfectly right. The division list proved a grand triumph for Government, their majority being 143—338 to 195. The unanimity of the Conservatives, who voted or paired to a man against the leader of the Opposition's resolutions, was confronted on the Liberal side with much faintheartedness. No less than eighteen of Lord Hartington's followers stayed away, while five went into the lobby against him. Of the Irish Members

thirty-one were absent, and sixteen voted for Government.

This success was won on the morning of the 3rd of August, and in the afternoon the Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury went to Guildhall to receive the freedom of the City of London. The route thither was adorned with a considerable display of bunting. Fleet Street was gay with flags and triumphal arches, and the court-yard of Guildhall, covered with an awning, contained rows of spectators eager to see the show. The illustrious visitors were received by the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Owden, in the City Library, and were conducted thence into the Great Hall, where the ceremony took place. After their lordships had made the necessary declarations of allegiance, loyalty, and fidelity they were addressed by the City Chamberlain, who alluded to their late achievements, while they made replies expressing their satisfaction at the honour that had been conferred upon them. In the evening there was a great banquet, with the customary political speeches. Lord Beaconsfield, however, did not succeed in infusing much vigour into the now stale topic of the Treaty of Berlin, and his colleague even ventured to express his weariness of the subject, and hoped that "for good or for evil they had done with the Eastern Question in English politics." The main argument of the Prime Minister was that whereas the Treaty of San Stefano had left the Sultan "scarcely a square mile in Europe," the Treaty of Berlin had restored to him a large district of territory and had besides benefited all parties concerned. England had acquired Cyprus, and obtained a right to control the destinies of Asia Minor. He retailed a conversation he had held recently with a distinguished Armenian: "There is only one thing to be done; one word is sufficient to describe the great experiment England is about to undertake. Let your motto be justice. If justice be exercised and maintained you will find such a change in the character and conduct of the people that at the end of a very few years you will scarcely believe they are the same race." Lord Beaconsfield hoped that people would cease to talk of war and rumours of wars. "I trust that time has now passed, and that in the future it will be on the revival of trade and the development of industry and the arts of civilisation that I shall have to address—periodically—the chief magistrate of the greatest city in the world." The same tone of thankfulness that a period of great anxiety was at an end was evident in the speech of the two diplomatists to a huge deputation

some fifteen hundred strong, from the Conservative Associations of England and Wales, which they addressed on the duties of party organisation.

The long and harassing session was fast drawing to a close. Sir Stafford Northcote, while his colleagues were being fêted, was left to draw up the Bill, and on July 6th he brought forward some large supplementary estimates. The expenditure, he said, had proved heavier than he had anticipated. In addition to £748,000 for the transport of the Indian troops to Malta he had to ask for £2,618,900, namely, £1,845,000 for the army, £678,000 for the navy, £75,000 for the Civil Service, and a balance of nearly £20,000 for winding up the old Abyssinian accounts. A further vote for the Kaffir War would, in all probability, be necessary. This expenditure was to be met by the issue of £2,000,000 of Exchequer bonds, and by renewing the £2,750,000 which would fall due in the following March. This policy of what the Americans call "letting things slide" was sharply criticised by Mr. Childers and Mr. Gladstone, the former of whom appositely quoted a dictum of Mr. Disraeli's at the time of the French and Austrian war—"to raising the sum [to cover a deficit of five millions] by taxes not by loan I give my unqualified support." Strong in their majority, however, Ministers defied criticism, and the Opposition thought it inexpedient to try the issues of a division. The session ended on the 16th of August. In the Queen's Speech the two Houses were congratulated on the conclusion of a peace which was satisfactory and likely to be durable. "The Ottoman Empire has not emerged from a disastrous war without a severe loss; but the arrangements which have been made, while favourable to the subjects of the Porte, have secured to it a position of independence which can be upheld against aggression. I have concluded a defensive covenant with the Sultan, which has been laid before you. It gives, as regards his Asiatic empire, a more distinct expression to the engagements which, in principle, I, together with the other Powers, accepted in 1856, but of which the form has not been found practically effectual. The Sultan has, on the other hand, bound himself to adopt and carry out the measures necessary for securing the good government of those provinces. In order to promote the objects of this agreement, I have undertaken the occupation and administration of the island of Cyprus."

It remains to gather up the remaining fragments of the Eastern Question. First, as to the Greeks, whom Lord Beaconsfield was in so many quarters

accused of having betrayed, they, in any case, were left in a somewhat sorry plight. For to the natural demand of the King of the Hellenes that a commission should be appointed for the rectification of the frontier, the Porte turned a deaf ear, and sent out a long argumentative despatch to the Powers with the object of proving that the claim on Crete was absurd, and that Epirus and Thessaly had always been perfectly happy under Turkish rule. Thereupon the Greek Government proceeded to arm, and sent a formal circular to the Powers demanding mediation. "The evasive reply of the Porte," ran the document, "is calculated to prejudice any understanding between the two Governments as regards the execution of the decision formed by the Congress, and tends to drive the Hellenic Government into a vicious circle, by placing insurmountable difficulties in its path." For some time none of the Powers seemed disposed to act, but at length France took the initiative, and M. Waddington made proposals for joint action on the part of the signatory Powers, with a view of obtaining from the Porte a recognition of the principle that the Greek frontiers should be rectified. The British Cabinet, through Sir Henry Layard, also put pressure on the Sultan, and on the 15th of November, when a Cabinet Council was held, Safvet Pasha recommended that an understanding should be effected with Greece before the necessity of European intervention arrived. During the last days of December a joint commission was appointed, but nothing was done before the close of the year. The Porte was also disposed to be conciliatory towards Crete, whither Mukhtar Pasha was sent in September to treat with the disaffected inhabitants. Ten delegates from the General Assembly held conference with him, and in the end obtained a considerable measure of autonomy and of religious freedom.

The territorial changes necessitated by the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were not effected without much confusion and loss of blood. Particularly was this the case with the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, where the inhabitants seemed as disinclined to accept the mild Hapsburg rule as they had previously been to bear the heavy yoke of the Sultan. The Austrian Government, however, appears to have resolutely shut its eyes to the signals of the coming storm. On the 28th of July a proclamation was issued to the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina announcing that the Austrian troops were about to cross the frontier, and on the 29th a division of the army under General Philippovitch was stationed on Bosnian

soil. As might be expected, the rebellion was begun by the Mahometan inhabitants, but it was not confined to them, and included much of the Slav population as well. The Herzegovinese were speedily subdued, but the Bosnians offered a stout resistance. An Austrian Hussar regiment, which had been sent forward to occupy the town of Maglai, was severely mauled on the 3rd of August. Hastily sending back for reinforcements, the Austrian generals pressed forward through tangled ravines and miry roads. There was several days' severe fighting near Serajevo on the 8th of August and the three following days, but at length the insurgent positions were forced. Still the insurrection smouldered, until on the 19th Serajevo was occupied after a terrible street battle, and Hadji Jamarkovic, one of the leaders of the insurgents, was taken prisoner and condemned to death. This broke the heart of the resistance. By the beginning of September the number of the army of occupation was 208,000 men, with 36,000 horses and 480 guns, and the futility of further opposition was recognised. The Porte issued a circular to its consular representatives, repudiating all responsibility for the recent occurrences, but whether its innocence was as complete as it tried to represent was very doubtful. It was a singular fact that a large number of Turkish soldiers were found fighting for the insurgents. As soon as peace was assured, the Austrians set themselves to work to organise and develop the resources of the province.

Another redistribution of territory, that affecting the Dobrudscha and Bessarabia, was accomplished with much less misery to the persons chiefly concerned. Prince Charles saw the wisdom of yielding to the inevitable, and in his message to the Roumanian Chambers, on the 27th of September, he recommended them to wait, having an abiding faith that what was denied them to-day would be given them to-morrow by the better-informed justice of Europe. It was determined to establish throughout Roumania a system of religious toleration. Similar privileges were granted to the inhabitants of the Dobrudscha, but they being Bulgarians were deadly enemies of the Roumanians, and seemed by no means disposed to accept their change of government with kindness. In fact, race hatreds had not been, as they never can be, extinguished by the mere process of transferring territory from one Power to another. Bulgaria itself, after protesting vainly against the divisions imposed upon it by the Treaty of Berlin, sank immediately into obscurity, and emerged only in

the following year, when some comment was raised by the news that it had chosen for its sovereign the Russian candidate, Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

A less happy lot was that of the sister-province of Eastern Roumelia. Its inhabitants wished to be reunited to Bulgaria, but found that all hope of an autonomous rule had faded away. They endured the military occupation by Russia with equanimity, regarding the soldiers of the Czar as their friends, and looked forward with terror to the day when they should depart and leave them to the mercy of the Turk. Towards the European Commission, which had been sent out in compliance with the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, with Sir Henry Wolff and Lord Donoughmore as representatives of Britain, their feelings were of a far less friendly character, and several of its members were insulted in the streets. In other respects the labours of the Commission were not very productive; disputes arose between the British Commissioners and the Russian military commander, Prince Dondoukoff Korsakoff, whose conduct seems to have been arrogant, and by the end of the year they had not accomplished much of the task allotted to them. In the month of November the prospect was very dark indeed. The Roumelians, determined not to be separated from their brethren north of the Balkans, intrigued vigorously and successfully with the Macedonians in order to induce them to take part in a joint insurrection against the Porte, and enrolled themselves in large numbers in militia regiments, which Russian officers were ready to drill and organise. The Sultan protested vigorously against this infringement of the Treaty of Berlin. The Czar replied by a note to the Powers, denying the truth of the report, but at the same time he sent Count Schouvaloff on a mysterious mission to Vienna, which was understood to be undertaken with the view of arranging a new partition. No such result, however, ensued; and when, after a visit to the Czar at Livadia, Prince Dondoukoff began to discourage the Pan-Bulgarian movement, it was understood that a very great danger had been averted.

The condition of many parts of the Turkish Empire itself was miserable and deplorable in the extreme. There were troubles in Albania, where the Mussulman population revolted and murdered Mehemet Ali Pasha who, soon after his return from the Congress, had been sent into the disturbed district to inquire into the grievances of the inhabitants. With their appetite thus whetted, they proceeded to throw off the authority of the

Sultan, and to establish a communal Government on a basis of universal suffrage. The Sultan was now bankrupt, and unable to chastise his rebellious vassals. There was a still more terrible state of affairs in the Rhodope mountains, where the Mussulman population had, in the days immediately preceding the Congress, risen in arms against the Russians, and continued to wage war on their own account long after the treaty had

trying to hinder the inquiry; on the other, that stories of outrages were being freely manufactured and that the whole affair was moonshine. There seemed to be a certain amount of truth in both allegations. On July 29th Sir Henry Layard telegraphed that the Russian commissioner, M. Basily, was trying to stop the inquiry, and had threatened to break up the commission by withdrawing from it. This threat he made good on



STREET BATTLE AT SERAJEVO. (See p. 360.)

been concluded. Neither the Russian nor the Turkish Government cared to undertake the task of their reduction, and they still fired at the Russian outposts and made raids on Bulgarian villages. At the same time it appeared that the inhabitants of the latter were in turn cruelly maltreating the unarmed Mussulmans, and the report of Mr. Consul-General Fawcett was so hideous in its record of atrocity, that the British Government joined the other Powers in sending an international commission into the Rhodope district. It produced the usual amount of conflicting evidence. On the one side it was asserted that the Russians, whose soldiers were supposed to have co-operated with the Bulgarian peasantry, were

the day that the British Ambassador's telegram was sent to England, and M. Leschine, a dragoman of the Russian Embassy, was appointed in his place. The labours of the Commission were largely directed towards the repatriation of the refugees, chiefly Mahometans, who during the late troubles had taken refuge in the mountains, and were now in a condition of extreme indigence. These people were naturally by no means inclined to make light of their misfortunes, and appeared to have imposed somewhat upon the credulity of the Commission. Their report, drawn up at the close of their labours, towards the end of August, gave a highly sensational picture of the suffering of some 150,000 refugees, who declared that they

had been driven into the mountains by the Russian troops at the point of the bayonet, that their houses had been set on fire, their old men, women, and children maltreated and even massacred, and their country made desolate. It was asserted that at Hermanli, where the atrocities had been most frightful, some two thousand children had been massacred by the Bulgarians, and in truth the latter seem to have returned cruelty for cruelty. The Commissioners received these tales with divided minds. Their report was signed by the representatives of Britain, France, Italy, and Turkey, but the Russian and German delegates declined to subscribe to the conclusions of their colleagues, and the Austrian, Colonel Raob, withdrew on the pretext of ill-health. The British Government apparently believed in the trustworthiness of the report, and on December 13th Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a vote for the assistance of the sufferings of the Rhodope refugees. Mr. George Anderson, M.P. for Glasgow, gave notice that in consideration of the distress prevalent in England, it was inexpedient to devote the money of taxpayers to the purpose. Partly for this reason, partly because the veracity of the report was distrusted, such a feeling of opposition was expressed on both sides of the House, that three days later the Chancellor announced that Government thought it advisable to abandon their proposal. Meanwhile the Rhodope insurrection went on intermittently, until one day the insurgents suddenly rose against their leader and compelled him to fly to Constantinople. After which the movement speedily came to an end.

In other quarters the aspect of affairs was somewhat more reassuring. Considerable difficulty was at first anticipated in effecting the surrender of Batoum to Russia, owing to the determined patriotism of the Laze population. Fortunately, the Turkish commander, Dervish Pasha, was a man of honour. Not only did he refuse to connive at an insurrection, but he gave Prince Mirsky every assistance in his power towards effecting a change of *régime* unstained by bloodshed. In other quarters the Russian army of occupation was slowly withdrawing from its recent acquisitions. Erzeroum was evacuated on September 13th, and by that time the lines before Constantinople had been abandoned by General Todleben, and large bodies of troops had been sent off by sea from San Stefano. Suddenly came the news that the Russians had again occupied the lines of Tchataldja and were menacing the capital. There was, of course, a panic on the European bourses, but it

was soon seen that the movement was only a blind, and that the relations between the Porte and the Czar were of a pacific and almost cordial description. Abdul Hamid had completely changed his attitude. He had quarrelled with Austria, with whom he refused to conclude a convention for the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, his reason being that the Austrian troops had committed needless and revolting cruelties. Besides, his relations with England were no longer very friendly, Sir Henry Layard having insisted on the prosecution of reforms in Armenia with inconvenient persistency. In these circumstances, not being able to stand alone, he was compelled to have recourse to Russia for support. It was reported that negotiations were on foot for settling by treaty the points left undetermined by the Congress, and the Russian *Golos* was, in turn, full of praises of the Osmanlis, whom it described as "far from being savages, but willing and industrious, though not very expert at work."

Within the capital itself there were several Ministerial changes, which might have been of significance, had not public expectation ceased to anticipate any fruitful results from a corrupt and bankrupt Government. They were heralded by the return of Midhat Pasha into Turkish territory; but the reformer was still looked upon with suspicion and, after a short stay in Crete, was sent into honourable exile as Governor of Syria. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the names of the new Ministers. Early in December Safvet Pasha was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate, and Khaireddin Pasha appointed in his room. This man was a Circassian by birth and was understood to be upright and energetic. At the same time, Karatheodori Pasha, the First Commissioner at the Congress, became Foreign Minister, and Osman Pasha Minister of War. The *personnel* of this Cabinet was certainly stronger than that of many previous administrations, but it was significantly remarked that it contained a strong element of retrograde Conservatism.

The lull in the tempest of foreign politics that followed the publication of the Treaty of Berlin affords a convenient opportunity for a retrospective glance at the condition of Europe during the terrible reopening and settlement of the Eastern Question. These were stirring times for many countries, and particularly for France, whose interests, as we have seen, were so well represented by M. Waddington at the Conference of Berlin. The existence of the Assembly with its reactionary majority was, as every bye-election showed, in

direct contradiction to the wishes of the country, and before the summer of 1877 came to an end an ill-considered manœuvre on the part of the President, Marshal MacMahon, produced a change that had been too long postponed. The beginning of the year found him supported by a Cabinet, chiefly of a Conservative-Republican colour, under the cautious guidance of M. Jules Simon. The session promised to be one of ordinary importance; the Gambettists, or "Opportunists," as they were now called, though aware of their power, resolved not to precipitate events, but waited for the moment of attack. A critical dispute between the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate on their respective rights with regard to financial legislation was decided against their wishes, but for this defeat they were amply compensated by the election of their leader as president of the Budget Committee. The Marshal, feeling that his strength was rapidly on the decline, resolved to strike the first blow. Availing himself of an adverse vote, he abruptly dismissed M. Jules Simon and his colleagues, and formed instead a Cabinet under M. de Fourton and the Duke Decazes, which, because it was composed entirely of anti-Republicans, was promptly dubbed the "Ministère de Combat."

This high-handed act of personal power was met by the Republicans with a dignified remonstrance; but the Marshal, declining to accept either of M. Gambetta's proposed alternatives—submission or resignation—first adjourned the Chamber for a month, and then dissolved it on June 25th, 1877. The four weeks' prorogation was occupied by the Government in dismissing all Republican functionaries from their posts, gagging the press and suppressing political meetings—repressive measures for which the Duke de Broglie was responsible as Minister of Justice—and it was evidently upon these precautions, and upon the general dread of what Marshal MacMahon called "the disfigurement of institutions by the action of Radicalism," that the Government intended to rely. In order to obtain that result, no effort was spared to procure the election of Government candidates: the prefects exerted themselves with an ardour that was unrestrained by scruples of morality, the clergy agitated with the wildest enthusiasm. An eye-witness declared that "Marshal, Ministers, prefects, magistrates, schoolmasters, policemen, bishops, and priests, have all been made electioneering agents."

The death of Thiers on September 3rd, 1877, occurred at a moment when he could ill be spared, and was for the moment thought to be a fatal blow

to Conservative-Republicanism. It was not long, however, before the firm attitude of his former henchmen, M. Grévy and M. Dufaure, when opposed to the shameless intrigues of the Ministerialists, convinced them that they would not want for leaders. Indeed, it seemed not impossible that his loss might be a positive gain. It gave the Republic an air of antiquity and transformed into a saint a statesman who, when alive, was by no means free from the common foibles of humanity. The manifesto which he was to have issued in view of the elections bequeathed, as it were, a Republican form of Government to the French nation.

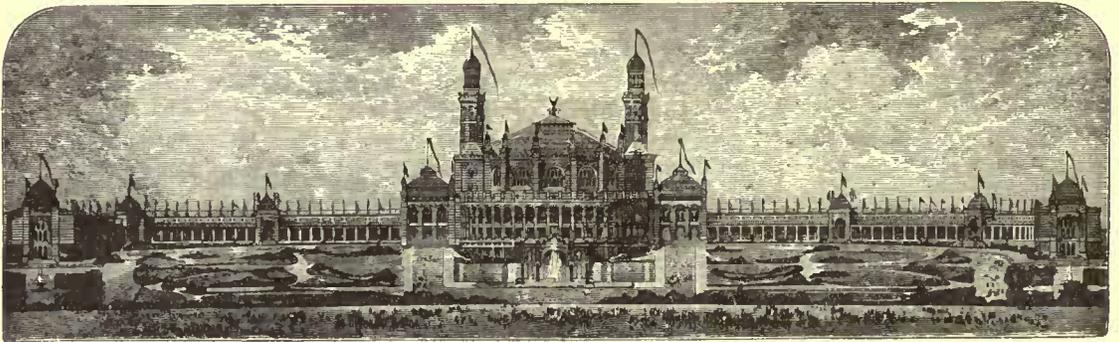
The confidence entertained by M. Gambetta in the determination of the French nation to give its vote according to the promptings of its own heart, and not to the whispers of the diseased imagination of the retrograde party, proved well founded. Republicanism was triumphant everywhere, and 307 out of 506 official candidates failed to obtain election. The local details of the struggle had little bearing on its general results, and though M. Gambetta failed to obtain, as he had hoped, 400 supporters, yet it was found that he commanded a majority of quite 120. The Chambers met on the 7th of November, 1877, by which time an attempt to form a Cabinet under Pouyer-Quertier had been abandoned, and the Opposition had to decide how best to oust the Ministry from the position which they held so tenaciously. The attack was committed to M. Albert Grévy, brother of the great jurist, who proposed a commission of inquiry into the acts which, since the 16th of May, had exercised an illegal pressure on the elections. The Chamber assented to this by a majority of 116, and their sentence thus decisively pronounced, the Ministry hastily tendered their resignation. Still the Marshal did not abandon the hopeless attempt to keep a monarchical Ministry, of one sort or another, in power; and, relying on the support of the Senate, he ventured to appoint a Ministry under General Rochebouet, which had the curious qualification of being composed of men not one of whom had a seat in either Chamber. The Senate, however, with only a majority of 20, hardly dared to push matters to extremes, the Orleanists, in particular, being emphatically in favour of acting within the constitution; and the Chamber of Deputies contemptuously refused to hold any communication with a Cabinet which by its very existence denied the rights of the nation and of Parliament. After this egregious blunder, the Marshal had recourse to the veteran Republican, M. Dufaure, but the latter declined to accept office

unless he was allowed to have the nomination to all the portfolios. An application was thereupon made to M. Batbie, on December 8th, but he failed to form a Ministry. There was nothing left for the Marshal but to carry out one of the two unpleasant alternatives suggested by M. Gambetta—submission or resignation. He wisely chose the former. A "Ministry of Reconciliation" was formed by M. Dufaure; and the monarchical snare being thus utterly broken there seemed no reason why, in the words of the President, the end of the crisis should not be the starting-point of a new era of prosperity.

The Republican idea progressed rapidly and quietly during 1878, and the Marshal-President, warned by the blunders of the previous year, no

concentrated upon the approaching elections to the Senate.

Paris was herself again; and, light-hearted as ever, held numerous *fêtes* and celebrations. The Universal Exhibition was opened on the 1st of May, and proved a genuine success, the building on the Trocadéro being especially admired. The appeal of the French Republic was responded to with much cordiality by Europe, British arts and manufactures being especially well represented. Once more, as in the time of Napoleon III., royalty flocked to Paris; and that brilliant city was given over to crowds of foreign visitors until, towards the end of October, the Exhibition closed. Soon after the adjournment of the Chamber the President held a grand review of the army round Paris,



THE PARIS EXHIBITION OF 1878: THE TROCADÉRO.

longer attempted to overleap the pale of the Constitution. Throughout the country the municipal elections went decidedly against the Conservatives; but M. Gambetta continued to implore the Republicans to act with caution, although the victory had been gained. His hands were further strengthened by the results of the elections held to fill up the seats that had been invalidated in consequence of official influence, and by the disclosures of the committee appointed to inquire into that scandal generally. Ministers were now able to relax the precautions against reaction in several directions. A Bill was passed allowing the free sale of newspapers; the State of Siege Bill, directed against a sudden Napoleonist or Orleanist attempt, was made as mild as possible; and a Press Amnesty Bill became law. Besides, strict instructions were given to the *gendarmerie* to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the civil authorities; and, by another circular, prefects were forbidden to take any part in elections. A busy and productive session was brought to a close by an adjournment in June, and then political attention was

and spectators came away with the impression that much had been done to remedy the defective military organisation since its disastrous failure in 1870. Moreover, it was felt that, as M. Gambetta afterwards said, the army represented the nation, and could no longer be relied upon as the passive instrument of a *coup d'état*. Successful also were the ceremony of inaugurating the Statue of the Republic in the Champ de Mars on the 30th of June, and the grand festival in which the remainder of the day was occupied. A national demonstration of another sort was the funeral service celebrated in Notre Dame on the anniversary of the death of M. Thiers, "liberator of the territory, and founder of the French Republic."

The religious difficulty was a less prominent feature of German politics during the years of the Russo-Turkish war than it had been during the period which had followed the previous European convulsion, but Prince Bismarck nevertheless had his hands full. His position and predilections had admirably qualified him to act as mediator between the belligerent parties, and even before the

outbreak of hostilities he had attempted to smooth away the causes of dissension by the issue of the Berlin memorandum. It is now possible to do justice to Prince Bismarck, but during the course

course unfettered by the possibility of a rising in his rear.

As a matter of fact, the German Chancellor had plenty to do at home. The fabric of the huge



M. DUFAURE.

of the struggle he was regarded by the English nation, and by the British Government, with a considerable amount of distrust. His sympathies with Russia were imagined to be far deeper than they really were, and all sorts of rumours were flying about. It was thought at one time that Germany was actually contemplating armed intervention as an ally of Russia; and when that story was found to be false another was circulated to the effect that it was her intention to garrison Poland for the Czar, so that the latter might proceed on his victorious

Empire had been somewhat hastily constructed under pressure from outside, and cracks were already beginning to appear. Besides, times were very bad, and both the agricultural and commercial interests were in an exceedingly depressed condition. The central authority was by far too weak, and when efforts were made to strengthen it the prince found that, the first blush of enthusiasm over, Unionist ideas had lost much of their popularity. There was still great hatred of Prussia in the newly-annexed provinces of Alsace-Lorraine; their delegates implored to be restored to France,

and the Emperor was received with little or no enthusiasm during a visit he paid to Metz and Strasburg. Lastly, the Socialist societies were rapidly increasing in numbers and audacity, and would soon have to be repressed with a strong hand, or else conciliated by legislation on progressive lines. In face of these discontents it would have been well if there had been any possibility of reducing the military expenditure; but in consequence of what Count von Moltke termed the state of universal suspicion, he was compelled to ask the German Parliament for more money so as to be able to add a considerable number of officers to the peace footing of the army.

In 1878 the Socialist question was brought to an issue by the determined Chancellor, and his struggle against its disruptive tendencies was precipitated by a mad attack on the person of the Emperor. On May 11th, as the aged Kaiser was driving in Unter den Linden, he was fired at four times, but fortunately the shots went wide. The would-be assassin, who was called Hödel, proved to be a miserable half-starved creature with a crazy desire for notoriety. Prince Bismarck found his opportunity in the fact that the culprit belonged to a Socialist society, and promptly introduced into the Reichstag an anti-Socialist Bill of the most uncompromising character. Von Moltke supported it with all the weight of his great authority. The Reichstag, however, met the Bill with cold hostility, hardly a single voice being raised in its favour; and having suffered a crushing defeat on the first clause, the Government brought the session to an abrupt close.

It was not long before the Chancellor was enabled to renew the contest with the forces of disorder, and with considerably better success. A second time, on June 2nd, the Kaiser's life was in serious danger. As he was passing Unter den Linden, he was fired at from a second storey, and severely wounded in several places, but fortunately without fatal effects. The author of the crime was one Nobiling, a doctor of philology, and an agriculturist of good social position and some private means. For several years he had belonged to one of the extremer sections of the Socialists, and such was the desperate nature of his plans, that on being arrested he inflicted upon himself several wounds in the head, which enabled him to cheat the executioner. There was an immense outburst of excitement throughout the vast empire, and great was the joy when it was known that the robust constitution of the Emperor had survived the acute shock. Prince Bismarck immediately

availed himself of the dastardly attempt on his master's life to obtain a unanimous vote from the Federal Council for the dissolution of the Reichstag, the unworkable majority of which had so frequently vexed his soul. He stated his views with considerable plainness. The Federal Government had proposed a Bill for the repression of Social Democratic excesses, it had been rejected by the Reichstag, and "it could not be expected that the proposal of this or any other Bill resting on the same basis so short a time after the previous rejection would have any better success in the Reichstag, which was the same as it was then."

The elections, which took place amidst a sort of upper-class panic, that found vent in the trials of whole batches of prisoners, charged in some cases with only a few hasty words against the Emperor, and in the infliction of brutally severe sentences, resulted in the strengthening of the Conservative party at the expense of the Liberals, while the Social Democrats could claim only two seats instead of twelve. At the second ballot, however, they regained eight of the seats they had lost. The new anti-Socialist Bill proved to be a most stringent measure of repression prohibiting all Socialist associations, meetings and publications, and leaving the central authorities of the different states to deal with the various cases as they arose.

The Chancellor found supporters not among the Ultramontanes, but among the Liberals, who, however, insisted on introducing radical modifications in committee, so that the operation of the Bill in its final form was limited to less than three years, libraries and booksellers' shops were exempt from suppression, and the right to proclaim a district under a state of siege was limited to times of grave danger. The Bill finally passed by 221 votes against 149, and was immediately put in force throughout Berlin, clubs and obnoxious publications being ruthlessly suppressed by the police. Previous to the return of the Emperor to Berlin, all suspected persons were summarily expelled from the capital, and the carrying of arms by the civil population was strictly prohibited. So the year closed with iron oppression and commercial distress, for the tide of depression was rushing with great swiftness over Germany.

The internal history of the Russian and Austrian Empires during these two years does not present any very salient points of importance, inasmuch as their energies were absorbed almost entirely in the Eastern Question. It would seem as if the position of the Emperor Francis Joseph could

hardly have been very enjoyable at this time, with the Magyars clamouring for intervention on behalf of Turkey, and the Slav population equally eager to plunge into the struggle on the side of the Servian and Roumanian. Nevertheless, by patient moderation he managed not only to keep peace within his borders but to gain a very solid slice of territory, though not without fighting for it, in the final settlement of affairs. For the rest, it may be noticed that in 1878 the acquisition of the occupied territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina caused the gravest dissension between the Magyars and the Austrians — already at variance on questions of banking and of tariffs. The former complained that the victories over the insurgents had been won chiefly at the cost of Hungarian lives, and were furious that the blood of their brave soldiers should have been spilt at the closing stage of a most unsatisfactory quarrel; they were indignant that the Slav influence had been considerably increased at their expense, that the new province had not been made Hungarian, and that they should have to pay heavily for the benefit of others. The usual Ministerial confusion followed, and the relations between the two nations, at the best unsatisfactory, became exceedingly strained.

In Russia the war appeared to be viewed by the nation as a whole with almost absolute indifference, the enthusiasm with which the news of the surrender of Plevna, and the triumphal return of the Czar to St. Petersburg, was received being confined to the privileged classes who monopolised the appointments in the army and in the offices of state. The peasantry, meanwhile, remained stolidly unmoved, their thoughts occupied solely with the fields and the harvest, save when they remembered for a few moments the brother or kinsman who was struggling for dear life and country among the Balkan peaks. Among the commercial stratum of the population a feeling of discontent was widely prevalent, all the more dangerous because liberty of opinion was rigidly suppressed, for the empire was marching on her way with a calm disregard of all monetary considerations, heaping taxes on those who were already crippled by commercial losses, and meeting financial difficulties with a large increase of paper money. Gradually the feeling of displeasure against the grinding severity of the centralised government grew to a head, and Nihilism stalked abroad in the large towns. It took the form of murderous attacks upon officialism; first, General Trepoff, chief of the police, was wounded

by a new Charlotte Corday called Vera Sasulitch, who was acquitted by the jury to the great delight of the populace; and later in the year his successor General de Mesentzoff was felled by a blow from an unknown hand. The Government in vain attempted to overawe conspiracy by taking crimes against the State and attacks on Government officials from the cognisance of the ordinary tribunals, and causing them to be dealt with by martial law.

Of the two smaller Latin nations, Italy and Spain, the latter taking no part in the conferences on the Eastern Question, and her civil wars at an end, sank into the quiet obscurity of a second-rate Power. The only events of much importance during the period under consideration were the collapse of the Cuban rebellion, and the marriage of King Alfonso to the young Princess Mercedes, a daughter of the distrusted Montpensier, which was followed in a few short months by her death. In Italy, on the other hand, affairs were on a much larger scale, and moved with some rapidity, especially during 1878. Already the new monarchy, observant of the dissensions in Austria, was casting longing eyes at the southern Tyrol, and expressing a desire to restore the old connection between Venice and Dalmatia. A mysterious mission was undertaken by Signor Crispi, the President of the Chamber, to Germany, and it was understood that he had obtained from Prince Bismarck a promise of conditional support. It was clear, however, that before the Italians could adopt a forward policy they must place their internal economy upon a more secure basis; for the Liberal and Clerical parties still continued their deadly struggle; there was a deficit in the Exchequer; and it was impossible to form a Ministry strong enough to resist a combination of hostile factions.

This became more evident than ever at the commencement of 1878, when Victor Emmanuel, among the great creators of *Italia rinnovata* second only to Cavour, died on the 9th of January. His was a fine though by no means a spotless character. Coarse and brutal in his tastes he might be, yet no man ever possessed in greater measure the virtues of honesty, of courage, and of unflinching determination. He died in the plenitude of success, having made the dream of his great Minister, "a free Church in a free State," a reality. True to the promptings of his generous nature, the Pope sent his benediction to his dying enemy, and expressed his regret that he was unable through his infirmities to come himself to the Quirinal.

Victor Emmanuel was succeeded by his son Humbert IV. On February 8th Pius IX. followed his great rival to the grave, having reigned for a longer period than any Pope before him, and having passed through almost as many vicissitudes as any individual in that long line. This amiable old man must have been conscious that he had greatly extended the moral influence of the Papacy, though its temporal power was utterly dissipated.

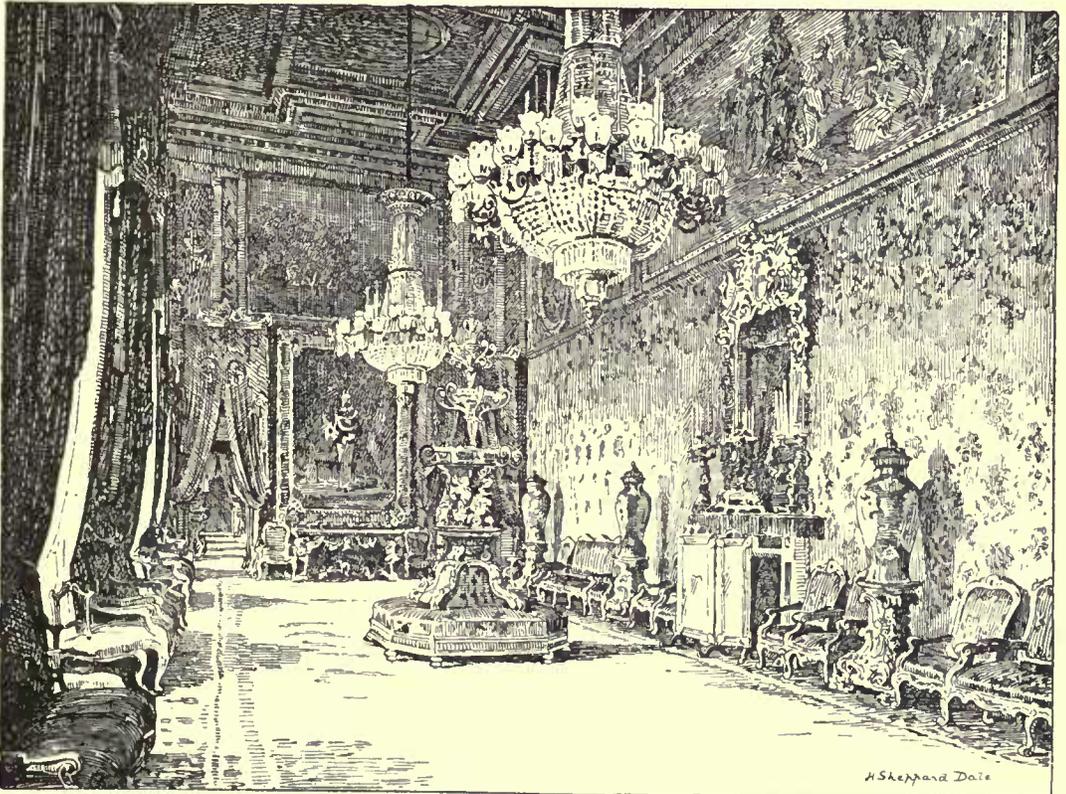
The election of a new Pope, which would formerly have compelled the courts of Europe to have recourse to much diplomatic strategy and perhaps to the movement of armed forces, was now transacted without notice or comment. The conclave speedily met, and having voted once without the requisite two-thirds majority being secured, the choice of the assembled Cardinals fell upon Cardinal Pecci, who took the title of Leo XIII. He was known as a man of spotless integrity of life, and of some experience in governing. For many years he had been obliged, by the hatred of Antonelli, to keep away from Rome, but since that Minister's death he had as Chamberlain been responsible for the internal affairs of the Papacy. Leo XIII. adopted a less antagonistic attitude than that of his predecessor towards the kingdom of Italy, seeing in all probability that direct resistance was no longer possible. For a desperate attempt to assassinate King Humbert, which was fortunately frustrated, succeeded only in evoking a manifestation of good will towards the monarchy throughout Italy that removed all fears lest the work of Victor Emmanuel should fall to pieces in his successor's hands. At the same time there was considerable reason for apprehension. It was impossible by any combination to form a stable Ministry, and when the Treaty of Berlin was published and Italy was found to have gained nothing, there arose a clamour for the recovery of "unredeemed Italy," Trieste and the Trentino, which was clearly Republican in its tendency, and aimed secretly, if not avowedly, against the house of Savoy.

The United States of America had succeeded in determining the election of their President about a year before Leo XIII. had been chosen to succeed Pius IX. At the close of the year 1876 the result was still undecided, owing to the fact that in three of the Southern States the votes were said to have been falsified by the returning boards. In order to avoid a civil war, which some thought the only possible termination of the dispute, the Senate and the Lower House hastily agreed to

appoint an electoral commission, which settled the question in a peremptory and not wholly satisfactory manner in favour of Mr. Hayes, the Republican, and against the Democrat, Mr. Tilden, by allowing the validity of the disputed votes. The new President was inaugurated according to custom on the 4th of March, 1877. Mr. Hayes set out with an unusually profuse amount of good intentions, and encountered in consequence an unusual number of disappointments. At first all seemed prosperous; his choice of a Moderate Cabinet was viewed with general approval, and when he tried the virtues of conciliation on the Southern States by withdrawing the Federal troops from South Carolina and Louisiana, he had the satisfaction of seeing the local government pass quietly into Democratic hands. Here his troubles began, for his former supporters were disgusted at the indifference to party ties which induced him to govern in the interests of the State rather than of a party, and to grapple with the great mass of difficulties that had so signally prevented his predecessor, General Grant, from accomplishing the much desired Civil Service reforms. They denounced him as almost a traitor to their cause. Commercial depression tended to foster discontent, and a strike of railway stokers in July at Martinsburg, in Virginia, speedily developed into a series of organised risings of the poor and unemployed in several of the great cities, which were not subdued without some hard street fighting. From this moment there arose a Labour party, with a violently Democratic and Socialistic programme, which decided the result of more than one State election, and terrified not a little the more timid supporters of law and order. The currency difficulty alienated the unfortunate President still further from his Republican friends. Instead of the old division between the north and south, there was a split between the eastern and western States, the former wishing for financial security, the latter for the increase at any cost of the medium of exchange. The President, it was an open secret, was determined to veto any Bill in favour of the resumption of specie payments and the use of silver in the discharge of national obligations. The Legislature, on the other hand, was not slow in letting him know that it was determined to have its own way. From the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives it was absurd to look for support, and the Republicans in the Senate, under the guidance of Mr. Conkling, showed their displeasure at Mr. Hayes' policy by refusing to confirm his nominations, which were of a non-political

character, to revenue appointments in New York. Early in 1878 the Silver Bill was passed by the Senate by more than the two-thirds majority necessary to override the President's veto, which was accordingly launched in vain. At the same time they softened down the objectionable principles of the Bill, and, though it still continued to

defeat of the Labour party, which had been joined by the Greenback Inflationists. The leaders of the combined movement tried to gain the ear of the mob by means of the absurd old fallacy that labour was plentiful where money was plentiful, and that dearth of money was easily remedied by a profuse issue of paper currency. At first they



AUDIENCE CHAMBER IN THE ROYAL PALACE, ROME.
(From a Photograph by Alinari, Florence.)

violate the elementary laws of political economy, it was found to be practically harmless. Shortly afterwards the Senate, at the instance of the President, agreed to pay the Halifax Fishery award of £110,000 which had been made public in the previous year, and thus brought to a close a most unsatisfactory dispute, which had long troubled the relations between Canada and the United States. The Americans appeared to be on the whole dissatisfied with the decision of their Government, and pointed to the fact that, although the President of the Commission, Mr. Delafosse, and Sir Alexander Galt had concurred, their representative, Mr. Kellogg, had been a strong dissident.

The "fall" elections were remarkable for the

seemed to be popular with the constituencies, and some alarm was felt by Moderates of all parties when the shrewd and unscrupulous General Butler announced his intention of deserting the Republicans and joining the Greenback-Labour party. There was a prompt combination against him of serious politicians of both sides, the moderate Democrats having throughout held aloof from an agitation which traded on ignorance and rapacity; and not only were Greenback-Labour candidates defeated everywhere, but General Butler himself equally failed to gain the Governorship of Massachusetts. With the bursting of this bubble, confidence was restored and the President in his autumn message was able to hold out a good hope of the speedy revival of profitable industry.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Home Politics of 1878—the Queen's Speech—The Home Rule Party—The Irish Sunday Closing Bill—Murder of Lord Leitrim—Mr. O'Donnell's Charges against him—The Factory and Workshops Bill—The Animals Contagious Diseases Bill—The Irish Intermediate Education Bill—Barrenness of the Session and Development of Obstructionist Tactics—Distress in South Wales—Strikes in Lancashire—Outbreak of Riots—Offers of Mediation—Termination of the Strike—Loss of the *Eurydice*—Account of the Disaster—Results of the Inquiry—Loss of the *Princess Alice*—Evidence and Report on the Accident—Colliery Accidents—The Abercarne Explosion—Obituary of the Year: Historians—Mr. Russell Gurney—Earl Russell; Account of his Career—Lord Chelmsford—The Princess Alice—Depression of all Classes—Opening of 1879; Gloominess of the Outlook—Extra-Parliamentary Speeches—Bye-Elections—Meeting of Parliament; Ministerial Statements—Resolution for the Reform of Procedure—The Army Bill—Its Object—Its rapid Progress—Prolonged Debates on the Flogging Clauses—The O'Connor Don's Irish University Bill—The Government Bill—Its Progress in the Lower House—Timid Character of Legislation—The Public Works Loans Bill—Legislation of Private Members—Debates on General and Financial Topics—Foreign Questions—Position of the Ministry—Mr. Forster on Reciprocity—Lord Bateman's Resolution and Lord Beaconsfield's Criticism—The Farmers' Alliance—Mr. Chaplin's Proposal of an Agricultural Commission—Speeches of Mr. Bright and Lord Hartington—Appointment of the Commission—Lord Beaconsfield on Land Tenure—Opinions of the Liberal Leaders.

THE home politics of the year suffered considerably by comparison with the spirited foreign policy of the Beaconsfield Administration. The Queen's Speech announced an extremely modest and confined programme. Bills were to be laid before the Houses on the subjects of County Government, the Consolidation of the Factory Law, the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates, and Cattle Disease in England. The questions of Scottish Roads and Bridges, and of Endowed Schools and Hospitals in Scotland, were also to be brought before them. Their attention was invited to the subject of Intermediate Education in Ireland, and to the Grand Jury Law in that country. A Bill was also to be introduced to simplify and express in one Act the whole law and procedure relating to Indictable Offences.

Considerable interest was naturally aroused as to the probable attitude of the Home Rule party, whose tactics during the previous session had been so successfully directed towards the obstruction of all useful legislation. Unfortunately, the omens were by no means propitious. On the 14th of January, just before the meeting of Parliament, the promised conference of the party was held in Dublin. There was a general anticipation that the smouldering discontent of the more extreme section would burst out into active rebellion against Mr. Butt's leadership; but the prophecies of the London press were signally disappointed. On the contrary, the utmost harmony prevailed in a very poorly-attended meeting. The remarks of the President on the necessity of toleration and avoidance of recrimination fell on good ground. Mr. O'Donnell complained that he had been

misunderstood by Mr. Butt, and not only tendered him his "amplest allegiance," but withdrew several hostile resolutions that stood in his name; and Mr. O'Connor Power followed his example. In fact, as Sir Michael Hicks-Beach afterwards told them, they agreed with great unanimity on nothing at all. One result of the conference was a Home Rule amendment to the Address, which, in the indisposition of Mr. Butt, was moved by Mr. Mitchell Henry. The House, however, felt, with Mr. Plunket, that the motion was inopportune; and, after a vigorous speech from Mr. A. M. Sullivan on the text, "England's weakness is Ireland's opportunity," and a very optimistic sketch by the Irish Secretary of the prosperous condition of the sister isle, the amendment was defeated by a majority of 253, only 48 members following Mr. Henry into the minority lobby.

This crushing defeat was, however, followed by many guerilla victories. The obstinate opposition to the Irish Sunday Closing Bill was, indeed, ultimately thwarted; but, considering that the measure passed its second reading on the 21st of January, and did not escape from the House of Commons until the 10th of August, the Home Rulers may fairly be said to have done their worst with it, though obstruction was by no means confined to them only. The O'Connor Don, who had charge of the Bill, stuck manfully to his task, unsupported by the Government, which, through the Chancellor of the Exchequer, informed the House that "the Bill was not its child, and that duty to other people's children was always a matter of delicacy." During April and May the first clause was struggling through committee,

Mr. Murphy and Mr. O'Sullivan meeting it with speeches nearly three hours in length, and the House being compelled more than once to submit to an all-night sitting. Concessions, limiting the operations of the Bill to five years, and excluding the towns of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick from its operation, failed to satisfy its opponents, and it was met again by obstructive manœuvres in July. At length patience won the day; and the Bill passed the House of Lords without a division. It proved, on the whole, popular in Ireland, and it is difficult to see what reasonable pretext Mr. Murphy and his associates could have had for their uncompromising resistance.

In the month of April a great agrarian crime was made the occasion of a highly discreditable scene. The victims were Lord Leitrim—a considerable landowner in Donegal—a clerk named Mackins, and a carman named Buchanan. It appeared that the crime was committed from motives of revenge. His lordship was an exceedingly stern and exacting landlord—not illiberal, but unable to bear the slightest opposition to his will, or the slightest infringement of the eccentric rules of his estate. He was, in particular, a hearty enemy of the Irish Land Act of 1870, and set himself to thwart its provisions in every way. Many of the tenants who refused to obey his behests were evicted, and it was said that at the time of his death eighty more were doomed. The processes he fearlessly executed himself, though his life was constantly in danger, and turned the lands into pasturage if no one could be induced to take them. On the 2nd of April this hard and obstinate man was driving through a lonely part of his property, near Milford, to meet his solicitor. By the side of the road was a plantation, in which the assassins, apparently two in number, concealed themselves; and, as the car drove up, they shot the driver dead, wounded the clerk, so that he survived for only a few hours, and then, with a second volley, wounded Lord Leitrim. The latter part of the struggle was witnessed by a valet named Kincaird, and a carman, who were driving behind about 250 yards off. Kincaird, in his evidence, stated that Lord Leitrim got off the car, and after that two shots were fired. "I could see," he said, "his white hair as he stood on the road." Lord Leitrim's revolver was taken from him and finally used against him. Then the murderers set on him with bludgeons, and, after a vigorous resistance on the part of their victim, who was an old soldier, beat him to death. They escaped in a boat across Mulroy Bay. The police were at once

set to work, and several arrests made; but no evidence could be produced against the accused and they were set free. The funeral, at St. Michan's Cemetery, was the scene of a disgusting demonstration on the part of a low Dublin mob, who attempted to get possession of the remains and prevent their interment. Failing in this barbarous endeavour, they beat and assaulted the followers of the hearse and drowned the voice of the clergyman with howls and execrations.

Even this loathsome incident did not deter Mr. O'Donnell—who, as he afterwards explained, was highly indignant at the denunciations against the Irish peasantry indulged in by a certain section of the English press—from attacking the memory of the dead man. He began by moving that the action of the Government—which had surrounded the district with police, and offered, with the usually extended terms of pardon, the large reward of £1,000 for information—was unconstitutional and unsuited to promote the ends of justice. The Member for Dungarvan then proceeded, under a parable about a "bad Earl of Cumberland," to charge Lord Leitrim with the vilest debauchery, with having "placed the alternative of eviction or dishonour before the peasant girls on his property, and, when his infamous advances had been slighted, with having carried out the threat of eviction." At this point Mr. King Harman "saw strangers," and on a division the House was cleared by 57 votes to 12. In the minority were Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Whitbread, who saw that by excluding reporters at this stage the House took away the power of reply from the murdered Earl's friends, but the Conservatives did not accept this view of the case and hooted them for voting for publicity. After the doors had been shut a three-hours' strife arose, the excitement culminating when Mr. O'Donnell characterised a statement of Dr. Ward to the effect that he and Mr. Parnell, who had acted as his second throughout, were founding their reputation on apologies for assassination, as "an infamous lie." They found a supporter in Dr. Kenealy, but he was the only sympathiser in a justly indignant House. Ultimately the motion was withdrawn, Mr. O'Donnell having promised to move for a commission of inquiry. Afterwards he raised a question of privilege against the *Globe* newspaper, which had commented severely on his conduct, but though he succeeded in exciting a stormy altercation, in which Mr. Parnell was chiefly conspicuous, the House refused to agree with him.

The first of the Government measures was the

Factory and Workshops Bill, which was entrusted to the care of Mr. Cross. The object of this measure, which was received with cordiality by both sides of the House, was to consolidate previous legislation. "As the Acts now stand," he said, "I defy any person who is not a lawyer—and I defy most lawyers—to say as to any particular point what is absolutely the state of the law." There were about forty-five Acts to deal with. On the third reading Mr. Fawcett made a protest against the limitations placed on female labour, declaring that it was especially hard on the hundreds of thousands of single women in the country who had to earn their own livelihood in the best way they could. Mr. Cross, however, declared that the state of the manufacturing populations since the introduction of the Factory Acts had considerably changed for the better, whereas if the Acts had not been passed it would have considerably deteriorated. The House concurred with him in supporting the conclusions of doctors against those of economists, and the Bill passed the Commons. Mr. Cross also steered two Ecclesiastical Bills through the Commons, which were sent down from the Lords. The Truro Chapter Bill provided for the foundation of a Dean and Chapter for the bishopric of Truro, while the Bishoprics Bill provided for the establishment of four additional bishoprics — namely, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Liverpool, Wakefield, and Southwell.

The remaining legislation was of the same unpretending character. The Animals Contagious Diseases Bill was introduced in the Upper House by the Duke of Richmond. It proved a very severe measure for the stamping out of cattle disease both in England and in imported beasts. As far as home-bred animals were concerned its regulations met with general praise; their aim was to render the preventive operations more thorough by transferring their superintendence from local authorities to the Privy Council, and to include pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease as well as cattle plague among the ailments to be dealt with. Less could be said in favour of the provisions with regard to imported animals; the Government proposed to enact that all foreign cattle coming into Great Britain should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation, while animals intended for dairy and breeding purposes, and for exhibition, were to be kept for a certain period in quarantine. The Duke of Richmond argued that his measure drew no distinction between the interest of consumer and the interest of producer, but these restrictions on foreign importation might

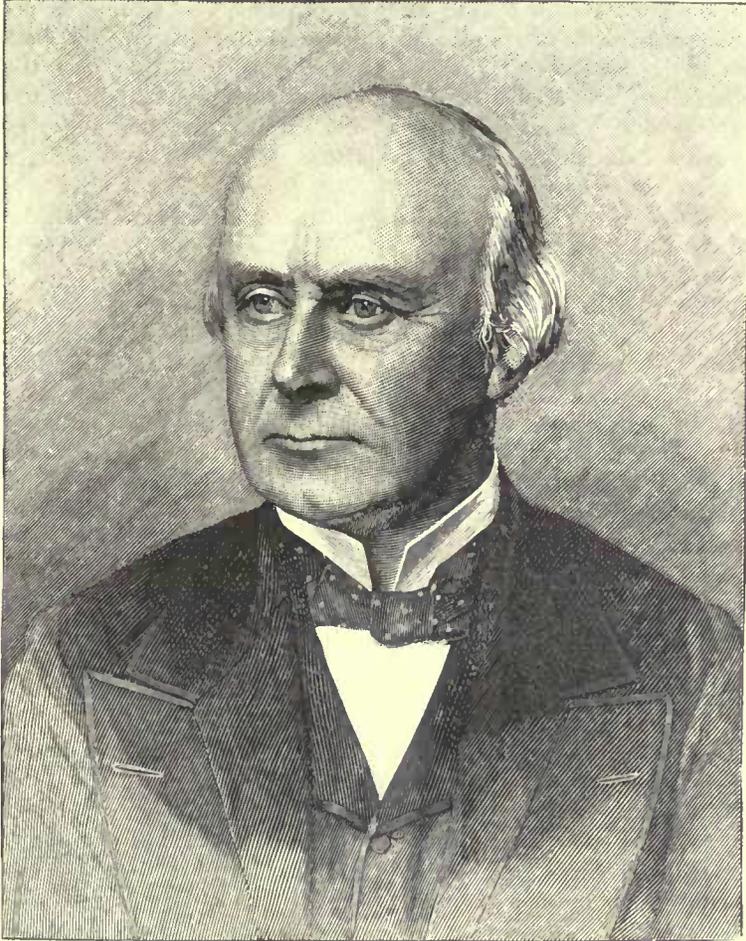
fairly be said to impose an indirect tax upon the buyers of meat. An objection of this nature was raised by Lord Ripon, but he did not divide the House, and the Bill went down to the Commons with the obnoxious clause intact. There the hostility against this provision grew and grew. Mr. Forster raised a four nights' debate by moving an amendment against compulsory slaughter at ports, but he was defeated by a very considerable majority. In Committee Mr. Torrens was more successful, and gained the important concession that beasts from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, and America should be exempted from the condition of compulsory slaughter, unless the Privy Council saw good reason to the contrary. Even this did not satisfy the Liberals, who at length, through the efforts of Sir Henry James, compelled Government to place all cattle-producing States on the same footing, and to allow the Privy Council to relax the objectionable rule at their discretion, on condition that they assigned in writing their reasons to Parliament for thinking it safe to receive live cattle from any particular country. Thus a very expurgated edition of the "Dear Meat" Bill, as the enemies called it, was finally passed.

The Government Bill for the Promotion of Intermediate Education in Ireland was introduced by Lord Cairns on the 21st of June. Its object was to create a fund for the encouragement of secondary education by the devotion to that purpose of £1,000,000 of the Irish Church surplus. This money was to be vested in trustees, who were to apply the revenue in the form of scholarships tenable during the term of education, and of result fees to the school managers, on boys who passed the yearly examination in two or more subjects. These subjects had a wide range, including the classics, English literature and history, French, German, and Italian literature and languages, mathematical and natural science. A secondary school was defined to be one "which, not being a national or primary school, affords classical or scientific education to pupils under eighteen years of age, of whom not less than ten shall have made 100 attendances at least in the period between the 15th October and the last day of the month preceding the examination"—that is, June or July. The Bill went through the House of Lords without a division, and was received with almost equal cordiality in the Commons. Mr. Charles Lewis, Member for Londonderry, who had moved its rejection chiefly for the far-fetched reason that it tended to put money

into the pockets of secretaries, did not venture to insist on his amendment. In committee Mr. Lowther carried a proposal that the benefit of the Act should be extended to girls, a provision which excited the wrath of Mr. Butt. The commissioners named by Mr. Lowther were—Lord Chancellor

by Professor Mahaffy commented very severely upon the scheme as tending to encourage “cram,” through the number of subjects offered for examination.

For the rest, the important Bills of the session were not introduced by members of the Govern-



MR. SPEAKER BRAND (AFTERWARDS LORD HAMPDEN).
(From a Photograph by Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

Ball, Lord Belmore, Professor Molloy, The O'Connor Don, the Right Hon. C. Palles, Professor Porter, and Professor Salmon. The scheme was soon seen to be most successful; in 1880 the report stated that out of 4,114 boys and 1,447 girls who were examined, 2,899 boys passed, and 1,111 girls. It was thought that Mr. Gladstone's prophecy—that this “new boon conferred on the people of Ireland, in conformity with justice and right, would tend more and more to attach them to the laws and institutions of the realm,” had every chance of accomplishment. Nevertheless, a report published

ment, whose efforts were constantly thwarted. Mr. Sclater-Booth, for instance, was unable to pass two out of his three measures. He dropped the County Government Bill and the Valuation of Property Bill, and was successful only with an unimportant Highways Bill, which was not passed without some grumbling from county Members. The Criminal Code Bill, a huge work simplifying the law and procedure as to indictable offences, did not reach its second reading until the 17th of June, and was thereupon, from want of time, referred to a Royal Commission. The Scottish

Roads and Bridges Bill was passed, as well as the Endowed Schools Bill for that country, but of the nine measures promised in the Queen's Speech, four were unsuccessful. The session would have been even more barren than it was, had not Sir Charles Dilke succeeded in passing an Act extending the hours of polling in London boroughs from four o'clock until eight p.m., and in forcing the Government to take up in a modified form his plan for the simplification of the method of registering the voters at Parliamentary and Municipal elections. The cause of the meagre result was partly owing to the large share that had been allotted to foreign affairs, but it was chiefly due to the impediments thrown in the way of business by the Irish Members. Besides the Leitrim incident, there was another fracas with serious possibilities among the Home Rulers, of which Major O'Gorman was the cause. Incensed, it appeared, by the refusal of the War Office to give to a relative of his the promotion which the Major conceived to be due, that gallant officer took his revenge by continually interrupting Colonel Stanley in a speech on the Army Reserves. When called to order by the Speaker, the Major protested that he had a right to cry "hear, hear," at the end of every period, every comma, every semi-colon, in any speech he might be listening to, and that he intended to do it. The Speaker then proceeded to "name" the major for disorderly conduct and for refusing, when called upon, to submit himself to the judgment of the House. He was directed to appear in his place on the following day, and being fortunately in a penitent frame of mind, made an ample apology, and the proceedings terminated. The Chancellor of the Exchequer attempted to check the growing evil by procuring the nomination of a Select Committee to consider the possibility of devising new rules for the despatch of public business. Meanwhile he could do little to check the practice of obstruction, nor could the authority of the Speaker, or of Mr. Raikes, the Chairman of Committees, do more than render him occasional assistance.

The opening days of 1878 were darkened by stories of distress in South Wales, some of which fortunately proved to be of a somewhat highly coloured nature; but in all there was a black enough foundation of reality. As usual the coal trade was affected by the depression of the iron trade, the result being a falling-off in demand of about 10,000 tons per month. The situation was further complicated by disputes about wages, but they had been adjusted when the distress broke

out in all its severity. Two or three days' work was the utmost that could be given to any, many were without work altogether, and in consequence of the improvident habits of the miners the destitution was frightful. Of five hundred collieries in Monmouth and Glamorganshire, not twenty were working full time. It was said that in some places people were feeding on potato-peelings, raw cabbage leaves, and brewers' grains. According to a correspondent of the *Times*, there were hundreds in the streets of Merthyr in a state of semi-starvation turning over the refuse for food, but this statement seems to have been a great exaggeration. To such a pass had a class of people come, who two years before had enjoyed abundant wages, and who seemed, by their attitude towards their employers, to have practically taken the destinies of trade into their own hands. Lord Aberdare, as on previous occasions, was untiring in his labours for the relief of the afflicted, distributing soup in hundreds of quarts a day, while Lady Aberdare started a clothing establishment at Duffryn, at which ladies cut out work, while sixty or seventy colliers' wives were employed in sewing. At the same time he wisely wrote to the *Times* to explain the real facts of the case. "We are still," he said, "very far from the condition of the Madrasees and Mysoreans with whom we have been compared. . . . We have no natives dying by scores by the roadside, or by hundreds in their huts, of absolute starvation. The bulk of our colliery population is able to maintain itself, although with difficulty and many privations, without receiving aid from the poor rates or from private charity. The struggle in some parts, especially in the neighbourhood of the deserted ironworks at Merthyr and Aberdare, has been long and sore, but is still carried on with unabated courage." In these circumstances the Lord Mayor declined to open a public fund in aid of the distress, saying that the work of relief had already been undertaken by Lord Aberdare, the local clergy, and others, in whom the public had full confidence. Subscriptions were accordingly placed in their hands, and being skilfully applied succeeded in alleviating the worst instances of want. Indeed, before the end of January many indignant letters were written by local authorities and magistrates protesting against the sensational reports that continued to appear in the London papers.

Want in South Wales was succeeded, in the very teeth of the Eastern crisis, after it had been decided to call out the Reserves, by strikes and riots in Lancashire. There the masters were

compelled by the sudden reduction of their profits to give notice of 10 per cent. reduction in wages. The men declined to accept such a strong demand on their resources, and urged that the masters ought to meet the case by running the mills half-time. This the masters refused, urging, reasonably enough, that it meant for them absence of profits and for the workmen destitution. A compromise of 5 per cent. reduction was suggested, and as there seemed some chance of its adoption it was hoped that as soon as the Easter holidays were over the men would return to work on these terms. As a matter of fact, they had no intention of doing so; for some time the hands had been throwing up their work by twos and threes, so as not to embarrass the benefit funds, and by the end of the third week in April some thousands of cotton operatives in the district round Blackburn were on strike. A manifesto was issued by Messrs. Whalley and Birtwistle, the respective secretaries of the Blackburn and East Lancashire Weavers' Unions, in which, while admitting that the cotton trade had suffered severely during the last few years, they urged that the evil was caused by over-production, and that the true remedy was not the alternative of 10 per cent. reduction or no work, but less wages and short time. "We are ready," they concluded, "to bow to the decision of a court of arbitration, and, although we fear that we are unable to cope with the force and power of the masters' unions, we shall peacefully and quietly resist until starvation forces submission, believing thereby that we shall hasten the dawn of the good time coming alike to masters and men." The central committee of the North and North-east Lancashire Cotton-spinners' Association published a reply in which they argued that as the circumstances of firms differed widely it was impossible to organise a system of short time, and that the existing glut must be left to the gradual but certain operation of natural causes, such as the failure of the worse-appointed houses and the voluntary resort to short time or temporary stoppage. But by no artificial process could a remedy be found for the increasing competition of the foreigner, and we could not expect to supply the world with cotton goods, or other manufactures, if we demanded higher wages and worked shorter hours than other people. Finally, arbitration was useless in a case where, if the arbitrator decides against you, he does not provide the means by which you are to carry out his views. To which last objection Messrs. Whalley and Birtwistle retorted—"Surely, when two nations like Great

Britain and the United States can agree to settle by arbitration such claims as those arising from the depredations committed by the *Alabama*, our employers need not stand upon their dignity and think it beneath them to go into such a court. We shall do our best to keep the vast numbers now unemployed, amounting with their families to more than 200,000 people, in a proper frame of mind to accept any reasonable terms. We shall do our best to conduct this struggle with order, peace, and good feeling to its bitter end."

In spite of these determined expressions there was searching of heart for the divisions among the workmen. Several mills opened again at 10 per cent. reduction, on the understanding that as soon as surplus stock was disposed of they should return to full time and the old rate of wages. In other parts it was reported that there were dissensions among the masters, and that the makers of shirtings and longcloths were disposed to adopt short time. The strike appeared to have ceased entirely at Preston and Oldham. Suddenly the disaffection broke out again. At Preston 500 weavers, employed chiefly at the Park Lanes Mills, unexpectedly threw up their work, alleging that the reduction of their wages amounted to 15 per cent. instead of the 10 per cent. agreed upon, and their example was followed all over the county. The worst features of a dispute between labour and capital speedily developed themselves. Bitten by the example of the miners of Glasgow, who had beaten the police and burnt the house of an unpopular manager, the malcontents of Darwen began to riot, alleging that the lock-out which the masters after much hesitation had decided to adopt was most cruel and unjust. For a night and a day the disturbances continued practically unchecked, windows were broken, and many constables seriously injured. At Manchester, on May 14th, there was a conference between delegates from the operatives and the committee of the Masters' Association. On behalf of the operatives various schemes were submitted: arbitration, a reduction of 10 per cent. with four days' work per week, or 5 per cent. with five days' work, lastly an unconditional reduction of 5 per cent. All these proposals were refused by the masters on their previous grounds. Directly the news was received, an organised band of about three thousand persons collected. They marched to Blackburn, wrecked Mr. Hornby's house, and burned that of Colonel R. Jackson, the chairman of the Masters' Association, to the ground. They were then dispersed by the military. Next day they assembled in front of the

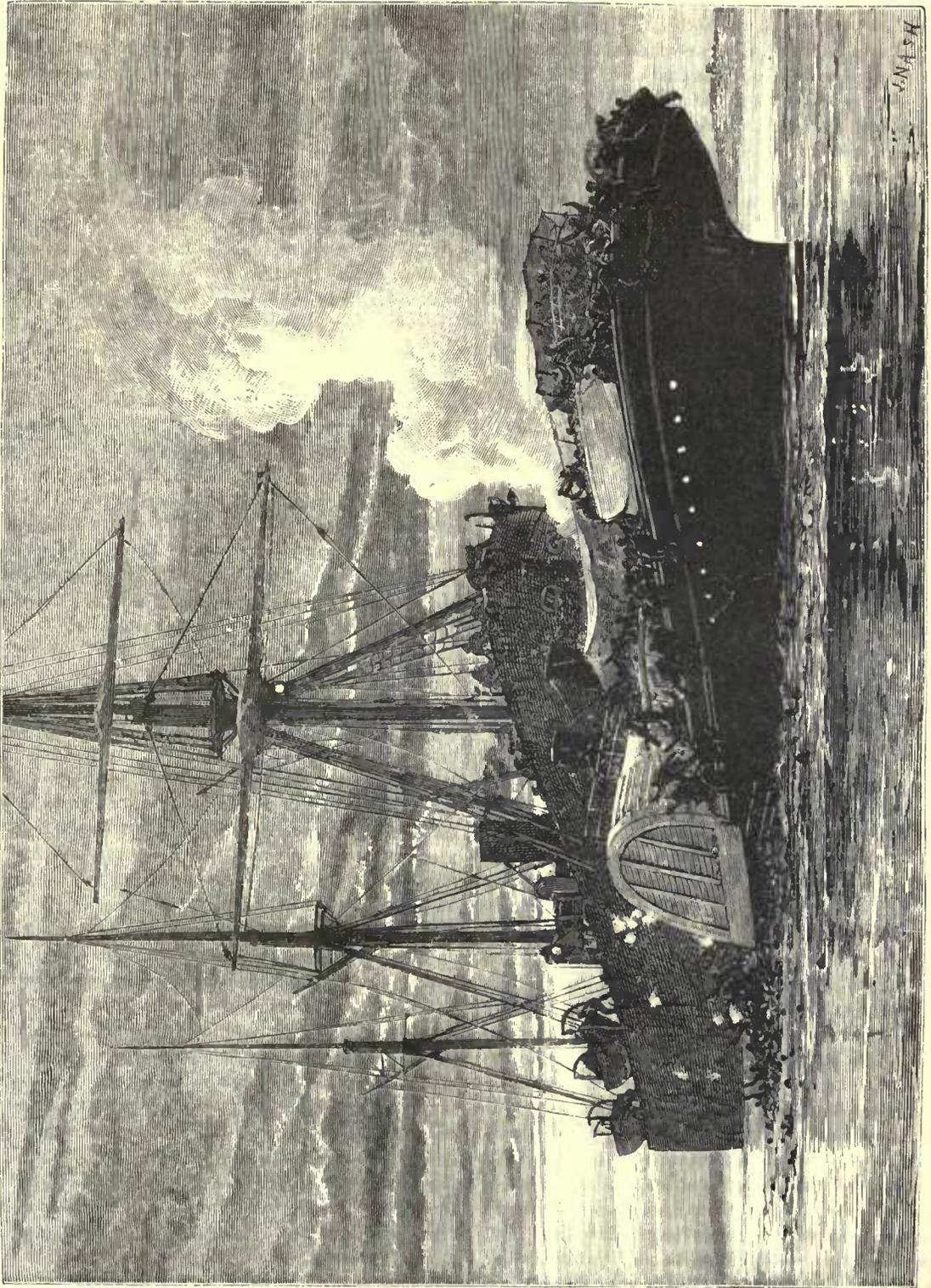
Town Hall, smashed the windows, and arming themselves with sticks from a timber yard, proceeded up the Preston New Road breaking everything in their way. The damage done in Blackburn was estimated at £10,000. In Burnley a mob of six or seven thousand assembled and burned a warehouse belonging to Mr. Kay, the police being utterly powerless; but at Accrington, where a large crowd attacked Mr. Howarth's house, they imprudently fired on the mob, thereby exasperating them to a most dangerous extent, and necessitating the calling out of large bodies of soldiers. Thence the riot fire spread to Preston, where a serious disturbance was with difficulty kept under. The police, however, behaved with firmness and discretion, and were admirably seconded by the military.

A lull followed this wild outburst of unreasoning rage, and it was utilised by various mediators in vain attempts to arrive at terms that might prove satisfactory to both sides. Alderman Pickop's proposal of a temporary reduction of 10 per cent. on wages was submitted to a ballot at Blackburn and a few other towns, but it was approved by only 880 workmen against 12,972. The Bishop of Manchester also tried to smooth away difficulties, but he, too, gave up in despair. Lord Bateman wrote to Colonel Jackson offering to act as arbitrator between employers and workmen, but he received a reply that the state of the cotton trade was such as to preclude the possibility of working unless the mills were reduced at least the 10 per cent. asked for. By the end of May news of the outbreak of strikes was reported from all parts of the country; no sooner had the miners returned to work than the cotton-spinners left it. Meanwhile, lawlessness was spreading southwards. At Northampton there was a week's conflict between the militia and the police, owing to the alleged ill-treatment of a militiaman who was apprehended on a charge of theft. And so the mad fit raged.

At the same time it was evident that the dispute could have but one end. Distress was extending everywhere; in Blackburn alone 3,481 persons were relieved in a week, against 1,864 in the corresponding week of the previous year. Moreover, the guardians had determined that they would not give outdoor relief to operatives out of work, but would compel them to come into the workhouse. It was in vain to turn to the societies for aid. Their resources were rapidly becoming exhausted, and there was little or no assistance from outside. It was calculated that a thousand households out of work required at least

£100 a day to keep them alive and pay rent, even with the miserable allowance of fourpence a day for food. According to the Mayor of Accrington, "one family consisting of eleven persons received in money last week 4½d., and it is no uncommon thing for a large family to receive 10d.; many receive as little as 5d. for their share of the union relief." At this juncture the Bishop of Manchester wrote a most eloquent and well-timed letter on the strike, urging the operatives to consider the very serious extent to which they were imperilling the very existence of British manufactures by insisting on wages which, in the face of foreign competition, their employers could not possibly pay, and instancing South Wales as a district where such a policy had resulted most disastrously. His advice hit the temper of the men. The operatives of Preston held a meeting, at which it was resolved to repudiate all connection with the committee at Blackburn appointed to receive contributions for the benefit of those on strike and those locked out, and this was the overture to a more general surrender. Everywhere by the 20th of June the men agreed to accept the 10 per cent. reduction and the masters to open their mills. It remained for the Weavers' Committee to issue an address explaining with much dignity the causes of their surrender. These were the exhaustion of the benefit societies, and the feeling created by the riots. The violence committed was due indeed to the dregs of society, but it was most unlikely that the masters, with their houses sacked and their property destroyed, would become more reasonable, and the maintenance of men on strike would require £3,500 per week. They hoped that over-production, the cause of the distress, had been lessened by the stoppage, and that masters would never again, after this crisis, ignore the just claims of their workmen.

On water no less than on land misfortune was everywhere prevalent. As the year opened the papers were full of accounts of vessels abandoned or wrecked, and as the days grew long the list of losses of life and property assumed unusual and dark significance. On the 31st of January the steamer *Metropolis*, carrying materials for a Brazilian railway, ran ashore on the coast of North Carolina and was knocked to pieces, ninety souls going down with her. A collision in the English Channel followed, in which the passenger steamer *C. M. Palmer*, from Newcastle, was run into and sunk by the *Ludworth* from London, during a thick fog, and fourteen perished. These catastrophes were, however, soon forgotten, when,



COLLISION OF THE "BYWELL CASTLE" WITH THE "PRINCESS ALICE." See p. 376.

during a snowstorm on March 24th, H.M.S. *Eurydice* went down, a disaster of greater magnitude than any that had occurred since the foundering of the *Captain* in the summer of 1870. The *Eurydice*, a twenty-six gun frigate of 921 tons, had lately, in obedience to regulations from the Admiralty, been converted into a training-ship for young seamen. In February, 1877, she was commissioned by Captain Hare, who had previously been in command of the *Boscawen*, the training-ship for boys at Portland. With him were officers specially selected for their promising characters, and a crew, chiefly consisting of young seamen whom it was thought necessary to inure to the sea by a long cruise, making about 300 all told. In November the *Eurydice* left Portsmouth for a winter's trip round the West Indies in company with the training-brig *Martin*. She was detained at Bermuda after her consort had started homewards, but left that town on the 6th of March, and was eventually sighted off the Isle of Wight at 3.30 on the afternoon of the 24th bearing for Spithead under full sail, the object being to arrive at anchorage before nightfall.

With the harbour in sight it is probable that little else was thought of but the return to home once more. There was an ominous stillness prevailing at this time. A heavy bank of clouds was coming down from the north-west, and the glass was falling rapidly. Such wind as there was came from the westward, and blew upon the port quarter of the ship. The vessel was in comparatively smooth water sheltered by the downs, which reach 500 feet above the sea. At ten minutes to four the wind suddenly veered round from the west to the eastward, and a gale, accompanied by a heavy fall of snow, came rushing from the high lands down Luccombe Chine, striking the *Eurydice* just a little before the beam, driving her out of her course, which was heading towards the north-east, and turning her bows to the east. Captain Hare at once gave orders to shorten sail, but it was too late. The port-holes in the starboard side were open, the water rushed in, and the ship speedily filled and foundered. The word was given that everyone should shift for himself, but the suddenness of the disaster caused many to be drowned between decks, and the boats could not put off in time. When Captain Hare was last seen, he was standing at the vessel's side near the quarter boat, while Lieutenant Gifford had rushed to the wheel in order to save the ship. Those who jumped into the sea were soon overwhelmed. The *Eurydice* went down almost intact, so that there were no

fragments to support them, and after struggling for a brief period against the icy waters they sank one by one. The captain of the schooner *Emma* was able to rescue three of the survivors, two seamen, Cuddiford and Fletcher, and the first lieutenant, Mr. Tabor, but the latter was utterly exhausted and died shortly afterwards. The storm ceased as suddenly as it had begun, and the spectators on shore, seeing nothing more of the *Eurydice*, thought only that she had been driven out of her course, and accordingly no boats were put out from Shanklin or Ventnor. It was not until an hour later that the two survivors reached land and the terrible truth became known.

The Queen immediately telegraphed to Mr. W. H. Smith asking him to make known her grief at the awful calamity, and her heartfelt sympathy with the afflicted parents and relatives. It was, perhaps, a relief to find that subsequent evidence appeared to show that the mishap was due to circumstances, and not to the mismanagement of anyone in authority. Mr. Smith gave notice that the Admiralty would institute an inquiry forthwith, with the object of discovering whether any of the causes of the foundering of the *Eurydice* had been preventable, and a court-martial was promptly held on the survivors. The evidence showed that the squall was so sudden that it upset all calculations; the treacherous smoothness of the water accounted for the open port-holes, and though the vessel was carrying a great quantity of sail it was proved that she had been especially constructed to bear an enormous spread of canvas, and had sailed safely under it for five-and-thirty years. That the thought of reaching home might slightly have distracted the attention of the officers on board from the signs of the approaching storm was possible, but there was nothing to show that anything more dangerous than an ordinary gale was imminent, which the ship would have weathered with ease. All reasonable precautions had been taken, and there was nothing left to be done but to alleviate the sufferings of the afflicted relatives of those who had perished in the execution of their duty. The finding of the court-martial, entirely exonerating both the dead and the living from blame, was made public on the 2nd of September, and on the previous day the hull of the ill-fated vessel was towed into Portsmouth harbour and there broken up.

A still more awful tragedy, and one almost without a parallel in the history of Great Britain, both from the number of its victims and the suddenness of its development in the midst of a

scene of innocent merrymaking, occurred on September 3rd. The *Princess Alice*, a large saloon steamer belonging to the London Steamboat Company, left London at eleven in the morning for a trip to Gravesend, having a large number of passengers, probably more than 800, perhaps nearly 900, on board. Soon after six o'clock she left Gravesend, on the return journey, and arrived in sight of the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, about eight o'clock. As she was slowly coming up Barking Reach, a large screw steamer, the *Bywell Castle*, built for the coal trade, was approaching in the opposite direction. According to the log of Captain Harrison of the *Bywell Castle*, "as the vessels neared he observed that the other steamer had ported, and immediately afterwards that she had starboarded and was trying to cross his bows, showing a green light under the port bow. Seeing a collision inevitable, he stopped his engines, and reversed full speed, when the two vessels collided, the bow of the *Bywell Castle* cutting into the other steamer, which was crowded with passengers, with an awful crash." The *Princess Alice*, which was of weak build, was cut almost in two, the stern rose aloft into the air, and within two minutes the vessel and most of those on board went down. The captain of the *Bywell Castle* did his utmost to rescue the struggling passengers, and with his crew of twenty-two saved thirty-five. In this work of mercy he was ably seconded by some watermen who were rowing at hand, and by the crew of the *Duke of Teck*, another excursion steamer, which was coming up the river. But few among the vast number, who were described as "floating round like bees, making the water almost black with their hats and coats," ever reached land. Mr. R. Alister, the manager of Messrs. Lawes' Chemical Works, as soon as he had news of the disaster sent all the boats belonging to his firm to the rescue, and was thereby able to save some of the stronger swimmers. The conduct of his men is said to have been in every way admirable. When the tale of the dead came to be reckoned, it was found to be not, as was first rumoured, 400, but quite 650, and every element of horror was included. As usual, it was extremely difficult to say exactly where the blame lay. The evidence at the inquest appeared to throw the blame on the *Bywell Castle*, which had suddenly ported her helm before she ran into the other vessel, but at the same time it was admitted that the helmsman of the *Princess Alice* was a volunteer who had never steered a passenger steamer before, and did not know the Thames

well. On the other hand, the official report of the commissioners appointed by the Board of Trade ascribed the loss of the *Princess Alice* to a breach of Rule 29 of the Thames Conservancy Regulations, by her not porting her helm when she came end-on on the *Bywell Castle*, a vessel coming in the opposite direction. Her first mate was severely censured for irregularities connected with the lookout, and it was declared that traffic on the Thames was habitually conducted without regard to the existing regulations. Various suggestions were made, of which the most pertinent seemed to be one that vessels licensed to carry passengers on the river should not be allowed to run beyond an hour after sunset. A Mansion House subscription list was immediately started by the Lord Mayor, and by the commencement of November the sum collected was something over £37,000, which was carefully distributed among the afflicted relatives and bereft survivors. No less than 240 orphans were dealt with, and it was proposed to purchase the admission into orphanages of nearly a hundred more. What charity could do to lessen grief, it did. The collision which destroyed the *Princess Alice* was followed by other accidents of similar nature, though less widely destructive, and by the end of the year the victims claimed by the waters were said to have exceeded in numbers the record of any previous twelvemonth.

Mining casualties were hardly less numerous during this terrible year than naval collisions. There were two dreadful explosions during the month of March; the first at Kilsyth not far from Blantyre, a district of evil notoriety for accidents of this nature, by which sixteen lives were lost, and the second at Keesley near Bolton, in which forty-four men were slain by the pitiless choke-damp. The Haydock explosion, on June 7th, was, however, even more appalling, and with the exception of that at the Oaks Colliery, Barnsley, in 1866, was the most life-destroying that had ever occurred in Britain. The Wood Pits, as they are called, belonged to Messrs. Evans and Co., and are scattered over the village of Haydock. Previous to 1868 the collieries were remarkably free from accident, but in that and the following year they suffered a fearful visitation. The terrible series of colliery accidents in East Lancashire, which commenced with that of Hindley Green in 1868, and did not close until that at the Moss Pits in 1871, were not yet forgotten in the district, and two of these disasters were at the works of Messrs. Evans. Both occurred in the Queen Pits, close to the Wood Pits, the first in the month of

December, 1868, when twenty-seven lives were lost, and the second in July, 1869, when fifty-seven lives were lost. Since that period, and up to the time of the Pemberton accident, in December, 1877, the dwellers near the coalfield which centres in the borough of Wigan had been remarkably free from anxiety. On the morning of the 7th, however, the manager, Mr. Turton, was just leaving the mouth of the pit after inspecting the workings, when he saw clouds of dust ascending from the downcast and upcast shafts. He at once sent messengers for assistance, and had himself lowered into the pit, where he set to work to put the ventilating doors at the bottom in order, and helped out into the fresh air those who were at the entrance of the workings, thereby saving several lives. With the arrival of Mr. Chadwick, who had the mines of the district under his charge, an exploration party was promptly organised, the men volunteering eagerly for the work in spite of its extreme danger. It was too late, however, to save life, for, owing to the terrible force of the blast, the roadway was greatly damaged, and very slow progress was made. At length the bodies of the dead were found, sadly disfigured. There were 250 men and boys below at the time; and about 200 of them perished. One of the few who escaped, a man who had been three times in colliery accidents, described the after-damp as stronger than he had ever experienced during five-and-twenty years' labour in mines. The distress was, as is invariably the case in mining calamities, all the more widespread from the number of married men who were among the victims. Besides, the colliery was not in connection with any friendly society, and nearly all the funds of the local club were absorbed in funeral allowances. Lord Derby, however, summoned a meeting at Liverpool, where a large sum was collected for purposes of relief. It was supposed that a naked light—the persistent carelessness of workers in mines being apparently ineradicable—was the cause of the explosion.

Horrors upon horrors had accumulated when the Haydock disaster was followed by another at the Prince of Wales colliery, at Abercarne, on the 11th of September. This absolutely unparalleled disaster was a fitting sequel to the destitution which had blighted the unfortunate South Wales district at the beginning of the year. The mine, which belonged to the Ebbw Vale Coal and Iron Company, is situated within sight of the Crumlin Viaduct. The pit is 330 yards deep, and had always been considered safe, every precaution being taken to

prevent accident, and the use of safety-lamps being enjoined with the greatest strictness. On the morning of the 11th, 377 men and boys went down, including most of the bread-winners of the village, and all went well until a little past mid-day, when the loud booming sound of an explosion was heard, and dense volumes of smoke were seen to issue from the mouth of the principal shaft. An agonised crowd at once collected from every quarter round the edge of the pit, and three brave men named Harris, Herbert, and Moseley at once descended at the risk of their lives, and attempted to make their way towards the workings. They were speedily joined by the manager of the mine and Mr. Cadman, the Government inspector, who were at the head of an exploring party. They first came across eighty-two men and boys, all alive and but little hurt. These were speedily brought to the upper air; but when further search discovered the bodies of fourteen dead horses it was seen that there was little chance of rescuing the remainder of the men. The pit was on fire, and the danger of after-damp so great, that all further exploration had to be abandoned, though a party effected an entrance into a shaft two miles off, only to discover eight bodies. It was some time before the authorities ventured to flood the mine, and so cut off all hopes of the survival of any who might have escaped the fire, but at length the violence of the subterranean flames rendered that act of merciful severity absolutely necessary. The stern resolve was taken on the 12th, after a consultation with the Government officials, and in a few days water was pouring into the shaft at the rate of 7,000 gallons per minute. It was not until the middle of October that a sufficient quantity was pumped out again, to permit a renewed attempt for the recovery of the bodies. Relief funds were opened for those who were left destitute by the destructive elements, and at the Mansion House the two lists for the sufferers by the Abercarne colliery explosion and the sinking of the *Princess Alice* filled with almost equal rapidity. The Queen sent her usual kindly message of sympathy for the afflicted, but in reply to an injudicious proposal that she should inaugurate a permanent fund for the relief of those suddenly rendered destitute, she sent a wise refusal.

Coming to the obituary of the year, in January died two historians who filled in their time with much credit subordinate niches in the temple of fame—Sir Edward Creasy and Sir William Stirling Maxwell. The former is well known to many

readers as the author of the "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," and the "History of the Ottoman Turks," laborious compilations which, though admirable in many respects, by no means came up to the true ideal of the way in which history should be written. He was, besides, a

Russell Gurney and Earl Russell. The first of these never attained the front rank in politics, but he was a very hard-working official, and displayed as a rule a good deal of tact, notably in his conduct of the Public Worship Regulation Bill through the House of Commons. He was elected to the



THE PRINCESS ALICE. (From a Photograph by Maul and Co.)

successful lawyer, and, as Chief Justice of Ceylon, performed his duties with a zeal and conscientiousness which were highly appreciated by the Conservative Government. Sir W. Stirling Maxwell was a man of much culture and literary activity; his work on the Spanish painters is the classic on the subject with which it deals, and his book on the "Cloister Life of Charles V." throws much valuable light on a somewhat obscure episode in continental history. He was, besides, an assiduous Member of Parliament from 1852 until the year of his death. In May two statesmen died, Mr.

Recordership of London in 1856, and that he was chosen by a Liberal Government as one of the commissioners under the Treaty of Washington was a well-deserved proof of the consideration in which he was held by members on both sides of the House. The death of Earl Russell, or to use his more familiar title, Lord John Russell, on the 28th of May, removed from this earth one who had once played a very great part in the affairs of Europe, but who had lately withdrawn so completely from public life that his existence had become almost forgotten. His early advocacy of

the reform of Parliament caused him to be chosen as one of the committee of three who framed the Reform Bill, and to be selected to introduce it in the House of Commons. His reputation having been established, a series of fortunate accidents soon made him leader of the party in the Lower House, and placed him under Lord Melbourne, a chief whose easy-going good-nature allowed the direction of home affairs to lapse into the hands of his lieutenant. When at length, in 1846, he secured a long tenure of office, Lord John Russell by no means added to his reputation. His character, which was coldly unsympathetic, failed to secure the affections of his colleagues, and his dismissal of Lord Palmerston after the *coup d'état* of 1851 for not consulting the Queen before sending off his despatches was unjustly censured as an act of gross ingratitude. His unworthy denunciation of his colleagues during the Crimean War was followed by the series of blunders during the Vienna mission, by which he played blindly and recklessly into the hands of Russia. To a certain extent he retrieved himself by his conduct of affairs at the Foreign Office during Lord Palmerston's last Ministry, whereby he was able to preserve the neutrality of Great Britain during the American civil war, and, by a sturdy opposition to the designs of Louis Napoleon, to lay the foundations of a new Italy—public services for which he received the well-deserved reward of an earldom. During his short Administration from October, 1865, down to June, 1866, he was only a nominal leader, the real influence being with Mr. Gladstone, and after his wise refusal of office in 1868 he lived chiefly in the past. Earl Russell was not a very great man, or a very clever man; his range was limited, and he failed to rouse enthusiasm. Still, he was totally free from the meaner vices, he knew no fear, and he felt strongly that it was his duty to use his influence as a member of the aristocracy solely for patriotic ends. "I have made mistakes," he said to Lord Granville shortly before his death, "but in all I did my object was the public good;" and this, as Lord Granville said, was the best epitaph that could be written on his relative's public life.

On October 5th Lord Chelmsford died, a singularly successful advocate, who became Lord Chancellor under Lord Derby's two Administrations, but failed to leave any particular mark on the bar.

On the 14th of December, the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death, a void was created in the Royal household, and the nation lost one of

the most beloved of its daughters. The death of the Princess Alice, the second daughter of the Queen, struck all with a sense of personal affliction; for the facts known about her were so thoroughly calculated to impress upon the nation a belief in the sincerity and devotion of her nature, that she had, perhaps of all the princesses, gained the deepest hold on the country's affection. Her ceaseless ministering during the last illness of her father was followed by a no less tender solicitude for her mother during the months which followed that bereavement. Though her life, after her marriage with the Grand Duke of Hesse, in 1862, passed for the most part outside the ordinary range of an Englishman's personal observation, she was not forgotten in Britain. During the terrible scenes of the Franco-German war, when crowds of wounded soldiers filled every hospital throughout the empire, her skill as a nurse won the gratitude of both the belligerent countries. This same skill caused her to be summoned from Germany during the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales, and to her care he owed to a great extent his recovery. Her life must have been very happy in the little Duchy; she had a large family of children, five daughters and two sons, and was able by frequent visits to England to renew the impressions of her childhood, until the day when the little Prince Frederick slipped out of window and was killed by the fall. This proved a foretaste of a far more terrible blow for the Grand Duke. Diphtheria attacked the eldest daughter. One by one the children and then the father caught it, and the Princess Mary, about five years old, died. The rest of the story was told to the House of Lords by the Earl of Beaconsfield. "My Lords," he said, "there is something wonderfully piteous in the immediate cause of the Princess's death. The physicians who permitted her to watch over her suffering family enjoined her under no circumstances whatever to be tempted into an embrace. Her admirable self-restraint guarded her through the crisis of this terrible complaint in safety. She remembered and observed the injunctions of her physicians. But it became her lot to break to her son, quite a youth, the death of his youngest sister, to whom he was devotedly attached. The boy was overcome with misery, and the agitated mother clasped him in her arms, and thus received the kiss of death." The funeral of the lamented Grand Duchess was attended by the Prince of Wales and Prince Leopold; and unfavourable comments were passed when the Emperor of Germany, through

fear of infection, forbade the Crown Prince and Princess to attend the ceremony.

Depression of all classes of industry followed the year to its close, and the autumn session of Parliament, summoned to consider the additional expenditure caused by the Afghan war, was more unpopular than any other fact during the Beaconsfield Administration. It was all the more unfortunate because Ministers had been prophesying smooth things about economy and prosperity. "Great distress," said a London journal, "surrounds us on all sides, and affords no prospect of a speedy alleviation. The long-continued depression of trade, from whatever cause it arises—whether it be from over speculation in more prosperous times, or from the perversity of trades unions steadily crushing by ill-timed strikes whatever opportunities may emerge of doing a little business at reduced rates, or from the disturbances which have now for so long a time kept the political atmosphere in a state of perpetual turmoil (and probably each of these circumstances has had its share in producing the result which we deplore)—is now manifesting its results in various ways in many homes. One result of it is seen in the great bank failures, which have brought ruin in so many families, annihilating at a blow the savings of a whole life, and suddenly reducing crowds of helpless and friendless women from a condition of comparative opulence and fancied security to absolute and hopeless destitution. These are perhaps the most to be pitied of all the sufferers, for it is difficult to see what form of relief can reach their case; but the wage-earning classes—whether by their own fault or misfortune—are enduring more conspicuous privations. Every large town gives in its tale of want and starvation, and calls upon those who are able to assist in its alleviation. And these evils are rendered the more difficult to be borne by the pinching cold of a winter of unusual severity, such as we have not now experienced for many years."

The most widespread misery was caused by the sudden failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, by which thousands in the west of Scotland and elsewhere were ruined. From the first it was suspected that gross mismanagement had occurred, if not something worse; and directly after the publication of the official report, in which it was proved that the accounts had been consistently falsified ever since 1873, and that bad debts to the amount of £7,345,000 had been treated as available assets, the managers were arrested. The total loss was then estimated at £6,200,000.

The outlook during the early days of 1879 showed very little prospect of improvement. The rigour of the weather, which had softened during the closing days of the old year, returned with increased severity, causing the distress of the poorer classes to assume an aspect of portentous significance. Want was also accompanied by her usual attendants, commercial depression and agricultural discontent. There was a strike among the labourers of Kent and Sussex, which terminated, not as the farmers had anticipated, in an unconditional surrender, but in the emigration of some eight hundred of the most adventurous spirits to the more generous shores of New Zealand. Commercial depression was of course multiplied exceedingly by the Glasgow disaster, the failures of great firms were announced in rapid succession, and the wild proposals to promote lotteries for the benefit of the sufferers showed how unsettled was the monetary mind. These shocks were as widespread as they were intense; within a few weeks of the closing of the doors of the Scottish bank came the announcement of the stoppage of the Cornish Bank, Messrs. Tweedy, Williams and Co., with liabilities estimated at £658,000, the cause being the hopeless condition of the mining industry in that district. The only redeeming feature in this gloomy state of affairs was that all danger of a European war had passed away. The Treaty of Berlin had failed to satisfy the parties concerned, but it had at least allayed any necessity for actual hostilities. Nevertheless, though there was no fear of trouble on the Continent, there was the prospect of it in the British colonies. The Afghan war had indeed been brought to all appearance to a victorious conclusion, but a collision with the Zulu tribes on the borders of the African colonies of Great Britain had been rendered imminent by the demand of Lord Chelmsford, who was in command of the Queen's troops, for reinforcements. Not much notice was taken in England of this new "little war," but public indifference was destined ere long to receive a rude and painful awakening.

The political atmosphere also was disturbed by rumours of a coming dissolution, and Members were accordingly less sparing of their oratory than is usually the case before the assembling of Parliament. Sir William Harcourt, in his annual speech to the Druids at Oxford, seemed oppressed by the distress, and could only suggest as a cure for it "patience and prudence, self-denial and courage." Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, however, denied "that it was of that exceptional character which, for party purposes, it had been represented to be." Besides.

he rejoiced in the disorganisation of the Liberal party, "a fortuitous combination of atoms," which, finding itself at a discount, generally took to a series of fabrications of all sorts, even against the personal characters of the leading men among its opponents. Lord Derby, on the contrary, in a speech at Oldham, took a wider and more subdued

dominant over Asia Minor and Central Asia. One object of his speech was to decline to accept his seat as the nominee of the Liberal Three Hundred of Bradford. He refused to abdicate his responsibility for the constituency as a whole, and offered to retire, provided that his retirement would tend to secure the election of two hearty antagonists



THE TOWN HALL, BRADFORD.

(From a Photograph by Appleton and Co., Bradford.)

view of the dangers ahead. He warned his hearers against over-production, and against investments in foreign loans of dubious character, and assured them that he did not greatly fear foreign competition, inasmuch as in regard to coal, capital, and effective labour Britain could hold her own against any country. It was idle to suppose that trade would revive until there was evidence that peace would be kept in Europe. A similar view was taken by Mr. Forster, who attacked the foreign policy of the Government, which was that England should do Europe's work, and make her rule

of Lord Beaconsfield's policy. The Liberals of Bradford, however, with a just appreciation of the courage and conscientiousness of their Member, declined to avail themselves of his proposal. On January 16th Sir William Harcourt made a brilliant and well-sustained attack against the Beaconsfield Administration, "which had lowered the standard of English public life, had given to the people a peace that was no peace, and an honour that was not worthy of the name." He said that the present disturbances had their origin in one great cause—war and the constant

apprehension of war. He derided the part played by England in the recent troubles; the reforms in Asia Minor were already dead, and the Anglo-Turkish convention was a dissolving view. As to Cyprus, he quoted the opinion of Mr. Brassey—that it was unsuited for conversion into a naval

was then too late to discuss or to control. The remedy, however, was in the hands of the people.

Nevertheless, whenever the people had a chance of making known their opinion, they did not appear to be imbued with the spirit so earnestly advocated by Sir William Harcourt. It is true



SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH (AFTERWARDS VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN).

(From a Photograph by Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

arsenal, and could only be made into a coaling station; besides, the British administrators held the unenviable office of tax-gatherers for an unworthy Government. Ministers had failed in everything they had attempted. It might be said of them as M. Thiers said of the third Napoleon, "there does not remain a single fault for them to commit." The crowning error of their offences was that they had deliberately and on system sought to conceal from Parliament and the country what they were about, until the nation was committed to acts and to a policy which it

that the elections in December had gone decidedly against the Government. That at Bristol, where a seat was vacant by the death of Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, resulted in the return of Mr. Fry, who polled 9,342 votes, Sir Ivor Guest receiving only 7,795. A similar result attended the struggle for Argyllshire, where Lord Colin Campbell defeated Mr. Malcolm, who had resigned his seat for Boston, hoping to snatch a success for the Conservatives. After this, however, the tide turned in the most decided manner. Considerable interest was attached to the North Norfolk election, for which

the Liberals ran a formidable candidate in Sir T. Powell Buxton, who had unsuccessfully contested the seat in 1876. Though supported by the earnest oratory of Mr. Forster, the cause of the Opposition received a heavy blow; at the previous election Sir T. F. Buxton had been beaten by only ten votes, but on this occasion Mr. Birkbeck, the Conservative candidate, was returned by a largely increased majority of 490, a number which Mr. Bourke, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, opined would be "ever dear to the memory of those who desired that the interests of England would be maintained." This emphatic declaration in favour of the powers that were appeared to paralyse the energies of the Liberals, Cambridgeshire and South Warwickshire were uncontested, and the voices of the leaders of the party were dumb. Mr. Chamberlain, however, kept up his spirits, and in addressing the National Liberal Federation put forward an exceedingly advanced programme, in which a very considerable extension of the franchise and equal electoral districts were advocated in no obscure language.

Fortified by the result of the North Norfolk election, but with their ardour considerably damped by the news of the terrible disaster that had befallen the British troops at the battle of Isandhlana, the Conservative Ministry met Parliament on February 13th. Rumours had been afloat that Lord Beaconsfield had at last determined to attempt something great in the way of legislation; there was to be a Bill for extending household suffrage to the counties, and a Bill dealing with the difficult question of Irish University Education. Neither of these topics, however, appeared in the Ministerial statements that were made in the two Houses instead of the Queen's Speech. Lord Beaconsfield began by commenting on the terrible news from South Africa, and did not attempt to deny that it was a military disaster. He was proud of the progress in the accomplishment of the provisions of the Berlin Treaty, which he described as regular, certain, and considerable. As to Cyprus, he regarded it as a valuable acquisition, and thought it highly probable that a surplus not only in that year, but in later years, would furnish the means by which valuable public works might be carried out. He was even more satisfied with regard to Afghanistan. "Her Majesty's Government," he said, "have the satisfaction of feeling that the object of their interference in that country has been completely accomplished. We are now in possession of the three great highways which

connect Afghanistan with India, and I hope that this country will remain in possession of the three great highways. We have secured the object for which the expedition was undertaken; we have secured that frontier which will, I hope and believe, render our Indian Empire invulnerable; and we have attained that object in a way which will trench as little as possible upon the independence and self-government of Afghanistan." Several interesting measures were proposed. There was to be an Army Discipline and Regulation Bill, with the object of consolidating and amending the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. The consolidation of the Criminal Law was promised, also a Bankruptcy Bill and a Bill for amending the law relating to the summary jurisdiction of magistrates. A Bill was to be introduced dealing with the expiration of the railway commission, and others relating to County Boards in England, and the reform of the Jury laws in Ireland. There would also be a Valuation Bill introduced, and a Poor Law Amendment Bill for Scotland. To these proposals the Chancellor of the Exchequer added in the Lower House those of a Corrupt Practices Bill, a measure with regard to banks, and others on the relations of employers and workmen, and on Public Works Loans. It was definitely decided not to deal with Irish University Education.

As soon as business was in full swing, Sir Stafford Northcote attempted to remedy the waste of time which had been caused in previous sessions by the development of Parliamentary obstruction. The question had been considered by a committee during the past session, and the result of its labours was the framing of several recommendations for the purpose of suppressing deliberate and systematic hindrance of public business. Of these Sir Stafford Northcote adopted the less severe, and gave notice of a series of resolutions modifying the rules of the House, the first of which was to prevent any amendment from being made to the motion that the Speaker leave the chair on going into Committee of Supply, or Committee of Ways and Means on Monday nights. Thus, by forbidding the discussion of grievances more or less connected with the object for which money was required, it was hoped that the necessary amount would be more speedily forthcoming. Private Members, however, vigorously resented the very suspicion of encroachment on their liberties. Mr. Dillwyn obtained the omission of the Committee of Ways and Means from the resolution, and Lord Hartington procured the limitation of Supply to the army, navy, and civil service estimates;

finally, on the motion of Sir Walter Barttelot, preliminary amendments were permitted relating to the estimates proposed to be taken in Supply, on first going into committee on the army, navy, and civil service estimates respectively. In this form the resolution was carried after occupying a week of Government time, and in face of a warning from Mr. Parnell that it would prove perfectly ineffectual against obstruction. The remaining five resolutions were quietly dropped.

The chief Government measure of the session, the Army Bill, was destined to establish the truth of Mr. Parnell's assertion, and to show that neither one nor ten resolutions were competent to quash determined opposition to the progress of debate. It was read for the first time on February 27th, when Colonel Stanley gave the House a sketch of its history. It had been felt for many years that the military law was in a hopelessly confused state; in fact, as the Secretary of War remarked, the wonder was, not that officers in the army were able to administer the law as they found it in the Mutiny Act with so little complaint, but that they were able to administer it at all. Parliamentary counsel had accordingly been instructed in 1869 to prepare a Bill to consolidate the law relating to the army, and in 1871 an Army Discipline Bill was introduced which unfortunately fell through, on the untimely death of Mr. Davidson, the Judge Advocate-General. The subject was taken up by Lord Cardwell in 1872, only to be dropped again; but when Mr. Ayrton became Judge Advocate-General he undertook to conduct the Bill through Parliament; and even after Mr. Gladstone's Administration went out of office, he did not relax his labours until he had thoroughly completed his revision of the Bill and forwarded it to the Parliamentary counsel. Mr. Gathorne Hardy had ordered the Bill to be re-drafted in 1877, and in the following year, when Colonel Stanley succeeded him at the War Office, the Bill in an incomplete form was laid before a Parliamentary Committee, of which Sir William Harcourt was chairman. Their report proving favourable, a new Bill was drawn up on the lines of the old one.

The object of the Bill was, as has been said, to consolidate and amend the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War. It did not, as the *Times* asserted before the opening of the session, increase the power of the Crown over the army, but rather, by bringing the Articles of War into the Mutiny Act, brought the whole thing under Parliamentary control, the Crown still retaining the power of

making Articles of War in unforeseen cases. The Bill was divided into five parts—enlistment, billeting, impressment of carriages, certain miscellaneous provisions, and the application of the Act—together with certain saving clauses and definitions. The first part, again, was subdivided under the heads of crimes and punishments, courts-martial and the execution of sentences.

Aided by the front Opposition bench, who saw the justice of Sir William Harcourt's protest that this was no question of party, Colonel Stanley at first made rapid progress. The second reading was taken on April 7th, and the Bill got into Committee on May 1st. A discussion was raised by Mr. Edward Jenkins and Sir Henry Havelock on courts of inquiry, but opposition was disarmed by a promise of Colonel Stanley that regulations should be issued for their guidance, directing them to report facts and not opinions, and enabling the officer accused to be present and put questions. Several objections were raised by military critics to the supposed harshness with which the Bill dealt with such offences as drunkenness and "conduct unworthy of a gentleman," but Government adhered to their determination that officers could be punished for the former when off as well as when on duty, though they accepted an amendment substituting cashiering instead of imprisonment for the latter. On May 15th the Chancellor of the Exchequer congratulated the House on the rapidity of its progress.

As soon, however, as the House became engaged with the question of punishments, difference of opinion was displayed, the question being whether, if the punishment of flogging were retained, a great many recruits would not be kept out of the army. This view was warmly advocated by Mr. Holms and Mr. Jenkins, and was as warmly opposed by Sir William Harcourt, whereby considerable schism arose among the various sections of the Liberal party. Mr. Hopwood roundly proposed the total abolition of the punishment on the ground that its tendency was degrading. Colonel Stanley, however, pointed out that it was the only possible alternative to death for graver offences in the field, and he was supported by 241 to 58. Gradually the Opposition grew in numbers. Mr. Chamberlain obtained the important concession that a schedule should be prepared enumerating floggable offences, and the number of lashes was reduced, chiefly on account of the sensation produced by the powerful speech of Mr. John Bright, from fifty to twenty-five. So far the Irish Members had not taken much part in the debates, but as

the wrangle on flogging dragged on through the month of June, they began to put forth their strength and discussion became more and more uncontrolled. There was some excitement as to the kind of "cat" in use. Mr. Callan went on a visit of discovery to the Admiralty and returned with a story that there were no less than three kinds of "cat" to be seen there, but it appeared he had been misinformed. Then followed a wild scene of confusion on July 5th, when Mr. Parnell and his followers were much irritated by the discovery that Government had arranged relays of Members in order to pass through the Bill at that sitting. On the 7th Mr. Chamberlain fell foul of Lord Hartington for his lukewarm opposition to the Bill, but the leader of the Opposition found a generous defender in Mr. Fawcett. A still more violent storm was raised by a discovery of Mr. Sullivan's that a gentleman in a side gallery was engaged in taking notes. He proved to be one of the officials of the House whom the Speaker had sent there for the purpose of collecting information as to the Members who spoke in Committee, and the length of their speeches. This was resented by Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Connor Power as a breach of privilege, and next day the former brought forward a motion disapproving the action of the Speaker in ordering notes to be taken of the proceedings of Committees without any communication with the House. He was, however, defeated by a large majority—421 to 29; and an amendment of Sir Stafford Northcote's, seconded by Lord Hartington, expressing perfect confidence in the Speaker was carried. At length, on July 17th, when the Bill came up for consideration on report, Lord Hartington, with a sudden change of attitude that caused great indignation among the Whigs, moved a resolution condemning the permanent retention of corporal punishment for military offences. He justified himself for having taken such an unusual course by commenting on the vacillation of Government, but his angry followers absented themselves in large numbers from the division, and flogging was retained by 291 to 183. The Bill was read a third time and then hurried through the House of Lords almost without debate.

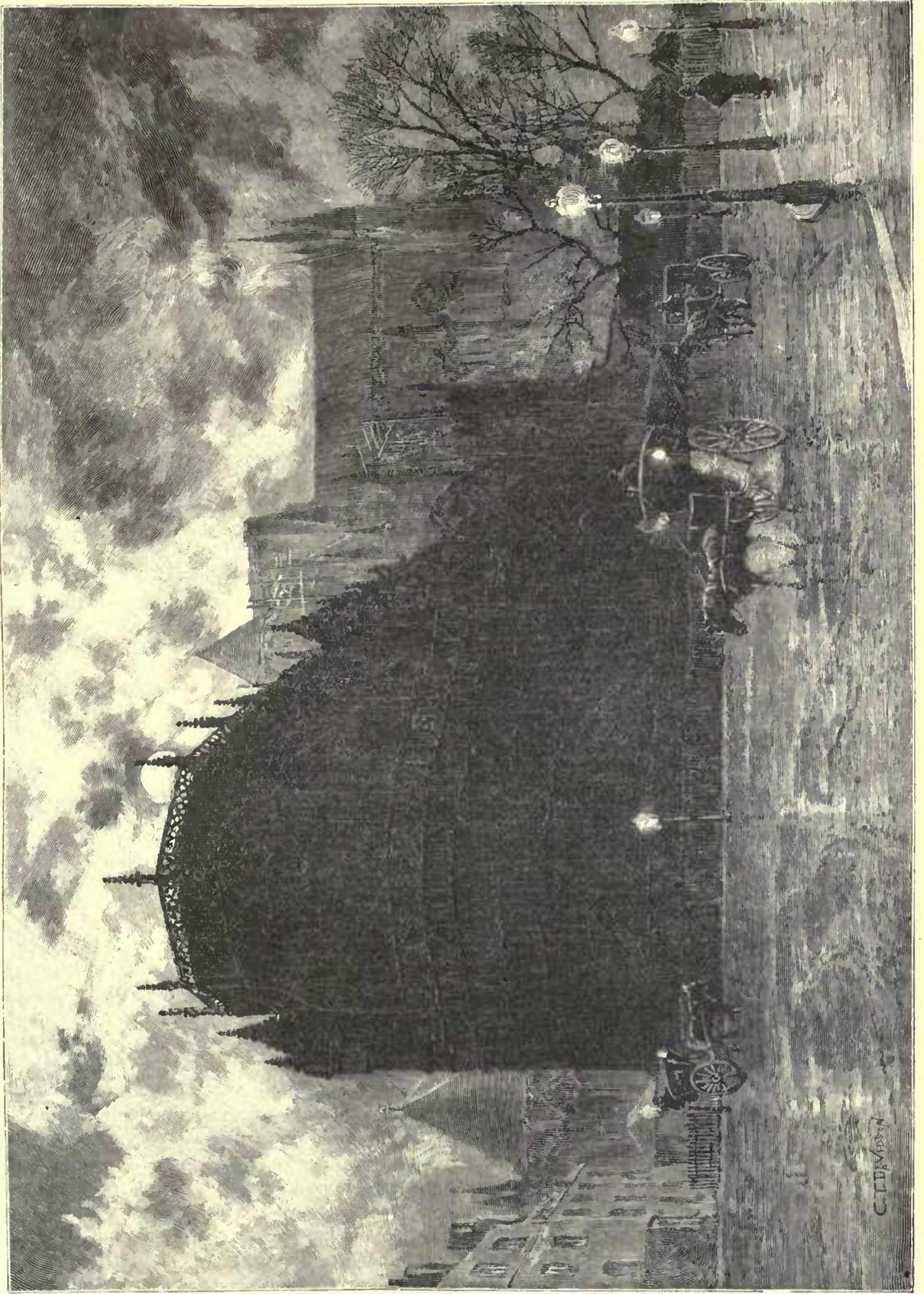
The conduct of Government with regard to the Irish Education Bill did not redeem their waning reputation. The resolve to abandon the subject announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the beginning of the session caused general disappointment, and this feeling encouraged The O'Connor Don, one of the most earnest advocates

of the educational cause, to introduce a Bill of his own. It was avowedly modelled on the principle of the Irish Intermediate Education Act, and proposed to establish a University of St. Patrick, to which were to be affiliated a certain number of colleges, none of which should be colleges now affiliated to any Irish university, and none of which should be intermediate schools. The University was to be endowed with a million and a-half taken from the Disestablishment fund, and was to be directed to secular purposes. What chiefly aroused opposition was the fact that sectarian colleges would avail themselves of the new institution, and that it would thus become an instrument for denominational education. On the other hand, as Mr. Lowe pointed out in a capital speech, it was almost impossible to obtain united education in Ireland, and it was most important that the Catholics should get a just and fair proportion of the money thus spent.

So far Government had refrained from declaring their intentions. Suddenly, on the 25th of June, after a long debate, in the course of which the Attorney-General for Ireland spoke strongly against the Bill, Mr. Cross got up and said that though Government must oppose the measure of The O'Connor Don on the ground that it would result in the endowment of religious teaching, they had come to the conclusion that it would be right at all events to put in form their views of what might be done on the question of Irish University Education, and that the Lord Chancellor would on the morrow ask leave in another place to bring in a Bill on the subject.

The House was at first utterly taken by surprise; indeed, the resolution of Government had been taken so suddenly that Lord Cairns was not ready with his measure, but was compelled to ask for a few days' grace. When it was introduced it proved a short and simple scheme. The Queen's University was to be abolished and a new University established in its place. This University was to be simply an examining board empowered, like London University, to confer degrees on everyone that was properly qualified. That was all; there were to be no endowments, or result fees, so that the Catholic demands were for the most part unanswered. Lord Cairns declined to say that this tentative measure was only the beginning of legislation, but Lord Beaconsfield intimated that if amendments were proposed offering further endowments, they would receive attention from Government.

Accordingly, in moving the second reading of



HENRY VII'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, BY MOONLIGHT.

the Bill in the Commons, Mr. Lowther promised that the Senate of the new University should be authorised to prepare a scheme for the establishment of endowments out of money provided by Parliament for proficiency in secular knowledge. Mr. Shaw, who had been chosen leader of the Home Rule party on the death of Mr. Butt, proposed an amendment that no measure of university education could be considered as satisfactory to the people of Ireland which did not provide increased facilities for collegiate education, as well as for the attainment of university degrees, but he had only 90 supporters. The Bill received the Royal Assent on the 15th of August. It met with a lukewarm reception in Ireland. Such favour as it had was caused, according to Mr. O'Donnell, by the fact that it upset the unpopular Queen's University, rather than from any positive merits of its own.

Of the measures promised in the Queen's Speech a considerable majority came to an untimely end. Mr. Sclater-Booth was again unsuccessful with his County Boards Bill, and it expired after the first reading, and his fourth Valuation Bill was also sacrificed after a somewhat more prolonged struggle for existence. Of measures that succeeded, the most popular was a Bill amending the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates, which considerably added to the powers of those functionaries. Other Bills were pared down in order to pass through the Houses without exciting resistance. Of such a character was the Corrupt Practices Bill, which simply continued former Acts, a proviso being added at the last moment, according to the recommendation of the Committee of 1875, that election petitions should be tried by two judges instead of one. Sir Charles Dilke attempted to introduce a clause prohibiting the conveyance of voters to the poll, but the Attorney-General declined to accept it, declaring that he had not made up his mind on the subject. The Joint-Stock Banks Bill was equally simple, and consisted in a permissive enactment empowering unlimited banks to register themselves as limited. Sir Stafford Northcote's Public Works Loans Bill was hurried through during the last days of the session. In moving its second reading he disclosed a most alarming state of affairs. It appeared that Government were sustaining a heavy and continuous loss by lending money to local bodies for the improvement of towns, amounting since the commencement of the century to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Since the establishment of the Public Works Loans Commission in 1817, the sum issued from the

Exchequer had been £41,694,000, for the whole of which $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. had been paid, and only $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. received in return. For this deficit bad debts were responsible, inasmuch as no money had been lent at a lower rate than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in many cases at 4 and even 5 per cent. In order to remedy this evil Sir Stafford Northcote proposed three expedients—(1) to raise the rate of interest, fixing the scale as follows: $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. if the loan was for a short period not exceeding 20 years, $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if not exceeding 30 years, 4 per cent. for 40, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for any period over 40 years; (2) that no one body should be able to borrow more than £100,000 in one year; and (3) to prohibit the repayment by means of annuities of loans that had been incurred for more than thirty years. Mr. Chamberlain opposed the Bill on the ground that it was too important a subject to be hastily discussed at the end of a long session, and attempted to defeat it for the technical reason that a discarded draft had been circulated instead of the revised and corrected one. He was for the moment successful and the Bill had to be withdrawn. The Chancellor, however, was not to be daunted; he reintroduced his Bill and kept the House together until a quarter past six in the morning in order to pass it. More than once he was compelled to lighten the ship. The rate of interest was to be left to the discretion of the Treasury, and the question of repayment by annuities was allowed to drop. A clause was added empowering the commissioners to lend on easier terms to the Peabody trustees and benevolent building societies, but the provision that the sum borrowed by any one body should not exceed £100,000 was wisely retained, and proved a most wholesome, though somewhat temporary, check to a very serious evil.

The other Bills were of inferior importance, except that for the prosecution of offences, which directed the Home Secretary to make the long-promised appointment of a Public Prosecutor, whose duty it should be to watch over the helpless. One or two measures were passed for the benefit of Ireland. £1,300,000 was handed over from the Irish Church surplus in order to establish a pension fund for teachers in elementary schools, and the Conventicle Act of 1793 was repealed. Private Members were the authors of one or two useful pieces of legislation. Mr. Anderson passed an Act prohibiting suburban race meetings, and Dr. Cameron was the father of a Bill permitting habitual drunkards to be put under restraint for a period not exceeding twelve months with their

own consent. Mr. Martin's Public Health Bill was the innocent cause of a good deal of turmoil. It passed safely through the Commons and had reached the House of Lords, when it was accused of being a Burials Bill in disguise—a back-door attempt to settle the differences between Churchmen and Dissenters to the detriment of the latter. This was stoutly denied by the Ministers, and though a circular issued by Mr. Sclater-Booth to local authorities pointing out the increased powers they had acquired under the Act appeared to countenance the view, there was really no foundation for the scare.

This much was clear, that the burials question could not remain unsettled much longer. No less than six private Members attempted to cut the knot, and the fact that Mr. Balfour, a Conservative, could propound a solution which Mr. Osborne Morgan declared himself willing to accept with reservations, showed there was every prospect of putting a speedy end to the difficulty. As yet, however, no one had succeeded in hitting on the exact modicum of necessary concession. There were very instructive debates on several of the prominent questions of the day. Mr. Trevelyan brought forward his usual motion in favour of the extension of Household Suffrage to the counties, and a very interesting discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Lowe expressed his well-known objections to the idea, and Lord Hartington spoke in its favour in outspoken words that greatly delighted his followers. Mr. Courtney raised the question of Female Suffrage, but without throwing nearly as much vitality into the well-worn theme, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson had unexpectedly large numbers in support of his resolution in favour of local option. The financial debates taken as a whole could hardly be said to be encouraging to the Government. It is true that the army and navy estimates were favourably received, and reflected great credit upon Colonel Stanley and Mr. W. H. Smith, but Sir Stafford Northcote's budget was the theme of severe criticism. He had to acknowledge a deficit of £2,292,000, and hence an inability to repay the Exchequer bonds that had been issued during the previous year. There was, however, to be but little additional taxation, the approaching election being doubtless in his mind's eye. For this he was vigorously taken to task by Mr. Rylands, but by a majority of 73 he was held to be justified in not imposing more burdens on the strained resources of the country.

Foreign affairs attracted a considerable amount

of notice at the beginning of the session, despite the absorbing interest of the Afghan and Zulu wars. Sir Charles Dilke raised an important debate on the claims of Greece, and the unfulfilled arrangements of the Berlin Treaty, in the course of which Sir H. D. Wolff, "a converted Jingo" as Sir Charles Dilke called him, having returned from Eastern Roumelia, was able to speak with some authority on the horrors of Turkish misgovernment. In the House of Lords the Duke of Argyll made one of his finest speeches on the Eastern policy of Government, dwelling especially on their failure to produce reforms in Asiatic Turkey, and on their tortuous policy with regard to Afghanistan. At the conclusion of an animated burst of declamatory eloquence he informed Ministers that they were being slowly found out. "The people of this country," said he, "or at least that portion of the country on which you have relied, are beginning to see that you have not obtained for them what they expected. It is not we, the members of the Opposition, who are accusing you. Time is your great accuser; the course of events is summing up the case against you. What have you to say why you should not receive an adverse verdict at the hands of your country, as you certainly will be called up for judgment at the bar of history?"

Indeed, the consciousness that an appeal to the country was not very far off must have weighed on the minds of Ministers. They had, so said their opponents, no cry calculated to catch the ear of the constituencies, they could point to no important piece of domestic legislation, and it could not be denied that their foreign policy, whether justifiable or not, had imposed grievous burdens on the community. The successful termination of the Afghan and Zulu wars could hardly be reckoned as triumphs of the first importance, for there was considerable doubt whether those wars were necessary or even just, and the struggle with Cetewayo had not been brought to a close without a severe and humiliating reverse. The Opposition said, in the words of Sir William Harcourt, "that Ministers were doing nothing whatever that was useful at home, and everything you could imagine that was mischievous abroad." It was, nevertheless, their misfortune in many instances to be compelled to sit idly by and to be accused of want of sympathy because they declined to adopt quack remedies. Such was the case with the agricultural interest, which was, perhaps more than any other, crippled and depressed by the hard times. The lock-out among the agricultural labourers of Kent and

Sussex proved the prelude to a season of great unrest among both farmers and workmen, during which the more adventurous sought, as did the Kentish malcontents, the drastic remedy of emigration; the steamer *Helvetia*, for instance, conveyed across the Atlantic eighty emigrant farmers who sought to repair their fortunes by cultivating the less niggardly soil of Texas.

Emigration was, of course, a true and feasible remedy for agricultural distress, but many of the sufferers wandered after false fires. They ventured to look to a return of Protection as a panacea for the ills that assailed them, but knowing the unpopularity of the word they preferred to talk of "Reciprocity," or more generally still to use the euphemism, "Free and Fair Trade." Their argument was that Free Trade in the abstract was a very admirable thing, supposing it to be universally adopted. As it was, however, Great Britain had adopted it while other nations had not, the result being that the consumer was robbed. It was urged, therefore, that duties ought to be imposed in return on the products of other nations. Mr. Forster clearly exposed the fallacy underlying this argument in a speech to his Bradford constituents. He pointed out that a war of tariffs would only be to Great Britain's injury. Of the very large imports from America at least 90 per cent., he said, were raw material. We could reduce them, but it would only be to our own great misery and harm by not taking their corn or by putting an import duty on their cotton. The first step was impossible; for at least 90 per cent. of our important breadstuffs came from foreign countries, so that we could not grow enough corn ourselves or import enough from the colonies. The second step would arrest our manufactures. Besides, the adoption of Reciprocity would only strengthen the hands of foreign Protectionists, who would imagine that England was giving up Free Trade. Again, it was said that they might tax luxuries, but it would be very difficult to find a luxury the prospect of having a duty laid on which would alarm the Americans. Great Britain was pledged by its circumstances to a policy of free trade. A large producing people, we could only sell our exports by producing them cheaply, and we could only produce them cheaply by laying no duty on the import of the raw material.

These arguments, perhaps, did not come home to the agriculturist with the same force as they conveyed to the manufacturing audience which Mr. Forster was addressing. Reciprocity rapidly gained converts, notably in the House of Lords, where it

was advocated with more zeal than discretion by Lord Bateman, who early in April moved a resolution that the House, "while fully recognising the benefits that would result to the community if a system of real free trade were universally adopted, is of opinion that it is expedient in all future commercial negotiations with other countries to advocate a policy of reciprocity between all inter-trading nations." He found an unexpected opposer of his somewhat rambling arguments in Lord Beaconsfield, who said that as far as he understood the noble lord, Reciprocity was a barter. "I have always understood," he continued, "that a barter was the first evidence of civilisation, that it was exactly that state of human exchange which separated civilisation from savagery; and if Reciprocity is only Barter, I fear it would hardly help us out of our difficulty." Lord Beaconsfield then proceeded to allude to the extracts given by Lord Bateman from his speeches during the great Corn Law struggle. "When the noble Earl," he said, "taunts me with a quotation of some musty phrases of mine forty years ago, I must remind him that we had elements then on which treaties of Reciprocity could be negotiated. At that time, though the great changes of Sir Robert Peel had taken place, there were 168 articles on the tariff which were materials by which you could have negotiated, if that were a wise or desirable policy, commercial treaties of Reciprocity. What is the number you now have on the tariff? Twenty-two. Those who talk of negotiating treaties of Reciprocity, have they the materials for negotiating treaties of Reciprocity? The fact is, practically speaking, Reciprocity, whatever its merits, is dead." At the same time, even Lord Beaconsfield seemed to have some leaning towards a certain degree of protection to agriculture, and there was a hint of a very significant nature in the statement that he was unable to shut his eyes to the conviction that the termination of protection to the landed interest had materially tended to the condition in which it found itself.

The real remedy, however, as many who thought deeply on the subject were beginning to see, was no revival of Protection in any shape or form, but the repeal of the vexatious and hampering restrictions of the land laws. Such, however, was not the expressed view of the Farmers' Alliance, which was formed in the spring of the year through the exertions of Mr. James Howard, Mr. James Barclay, and Mr. Bear. The preliminary programmes issued by the Provincial Committee stated the

reforms which the Association was to endeavour to obtain, namely—security for the capital of tenants invested in the improvement of their holdings, the abolition of class privileges involved in the law of distress and hypothec, the reform of the game laws, the alterations of all legal presumptions that operated unfairly against tenant-farmers, the concession to ratepayers of their legitimate share in county government, and the fair apportionment

arrangements had been made for holding meetings at most of the great market towns, and it was even in contemplation to extend the Association to Scotland and Ireland.

The moral which the Farmers' Alliance refrained from pointing was courageously handled by Lord Hartington, with a calm disregard of personal consequences which was highly commendable in the heir of an old Whig family, who would in due



ROYAL AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, CIRENCENTER.
(From a Photograph by J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.)

of local burdens between landlord and tenant. The reform of the land laws was omitted from this manifesto, unwisely, as many thought, for while the Association failed thereby to gain support from the more thoroughgoing members of the Liberal party, its very existence was objectionable to the Conservatives, who accused it of setting class against class. Nevertheless, the Alliance soon proved that it was capable of thriving without the smiles of the party leaders. At its first meeting, held in St. James's Hall on July 2nd, under the presidency of Mr. Howard, a most promising future was seen to be in store for this new league of defence. Pledges of support had been received from many of the large farmers,

course own one of the largest properties in the United Kingdom. The occasion for his declaration was taken on the 4th of July, when Mr. Chaplin brought forward a proposal for a Royal Commission to inquire into the causes of the agricultural distress. The debate was one of very high interest. Mr. Chaplin's speech was careful and thorough; he did not hesitate to say that agriculture was in danger of becoming extinct, and that it was impossible to compete in bad seasons against the Americans—who undersold the British farmer not only in corn, but also in meat. Mr. Chaplin declared that he himself was not prepared to indicate a remedy, all he wished was to procure an inquiry; nevertheless, he contrived to show pretty clearly

that the bent of his own mind was in favour of a qualified return to Protection.

Mr. T. Brassey sought, on the other hand, a remedy for the depression that prevailed, not in the readjustment of local burdens and a return to a modified Protection, but in the reform of the land laws. His speech was followed later by a vigorous onslaught on the landed interest from Mr. Bright, who took the Member for Mid-Lincolnshire severely to task for looking at Protection "as something he greatly admired and desired and supposed to be possible, and which he hoped might come." The speaker proceeded to say that four hundred Members out of the 658 being landowners, or sons of landowners, the House was a fair tribunal for deciding on questions of land as regards landowners, but not as regards tenants. "If 400 tenant-farmers were Members of Parliament they would ask for security of expenditure in their improvements. . . . I believe it would increase the price of land all over the country if you were to abolish all the ancient, stupid and mischievous legislation by which you are embarrassed in every step you take in dealing with it. Let us have the inquiry wide and honest. Let us look this great spectre which you are afraid of fairly in the face. You cannot escape from it, and if you meet it boldly, it may prove, perhaps, to be no spectre. At least, let us break down the monopoly which has banished so much of your labour from your farms, and which has pauperised so much of the labour that has remained. On the ruins of that monopoly, when you have broken it down, there will arise a fairer fabric; and although it is not possible that I should live to see it, yet the time will come when you will have a million homes of comfort and independence throughout the land of England, which will attest for ever the wisdom and blessedness of the new policy that you have adopted."

Lord Hartington was hardly less outspoken than Mr. Bright, and his declaration caused something like consternation in the minds of the older Conservatives, who accused him of being a convert to revolutionary ideas. He said that if Mr. Chaplin could prove his case, it was nothing more or less than that the land system of the country under existing conditions had broken down. It was ridiculous to suppose that the land should go permanently out of cultivation. The present land system was not one ordained by natural law, nor was it one that existed in any other country in the world. The land was divided into large estates, and the proprietors, though wealthy men, were

often not complete masters of their own property, and not able to deal with it as they might desire. The cultivation of the soil was carried on by a class of men who were not the owners of the soil; and the actual cultivators of the soil were never and would never hope to become its owners. The land was cultivated by men who had this one claim upon it, that in case of old age or absolute destitution they should be supported without expense and almost without labour. He was not saying that this was a system which it was necessary to abolish. He was not contending that it was not a system which might be best suited to the circumstances of the country, but he did say it was a system which was so remarkable that when its results were impeached, as they had been that night, they were deserving of investigation. He believed that the system was overlaid by conditions, and that there were blots which were not intentional on the system that were capable of being amended, and that ought to be amended if the system was to be continued with advantage to the community. Lord Hartington proceeded to enumerate these blots—the system of entail and settlement of land, the expensiveness of land transfer, the absence of security for compensation for improvements, and the laws of distress and hypothec.

Though opinions differed thus considerably as to the particular objects to which the commission of inquiry should be directed, there was a very general feeling that its operation could not fail to be beneficial, and Government at once agreed to its appointment. It was gazetted on August 15th, and was found to contain the names of the Duke of Richmond (President), the Duke of Buccleuch, Earl Spencer, Lord Vernon, Mr. Goschen, M.P., Mr. Chaplin, M.P., Colonel Kingscote, M.P., Mr. Hunter Rodwell, M.P., Mr. Cowen, M.P., Captain Ritchie, M.P., Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P., Mr. Jacob Wilson of Morpeth, Mr. Robert Paterson of Biggar (N.B.), Mr. Charles Howard of Bedford, Sir W. Stephenson, K.C.B., Professor Bonamy Price, Mr. W. Stratton of Warminster, Mr. John Clay of Kelso, and Mr. John Bryce of Charleville, co. Cork. The scheme of inquiry was made public shortly afterwards, and was seen to regard the question not only from the landlord's but also from the tenant's point of view. It embraced the condition of farms, the condition of farmers and labourers, the land laws, land tenancy, agricultural education, the condition of estates, agricultural statistics to be furnished by the Board of Trade, returns of imports and exports of

agricultural produce to be furnished by the Customs, and importations of agricultural produce from foreign countries. The inquiry was in every respect to be most minute and efficient. England was to be mapped out into districts, each of which was to be placed under an Assistant Commissioner, and deputations were to be sent to the United States and to several European countries to inquire into the methods of agriculture pursued there.

With the land system thus brought prominently forward as one of the pressing topics of the day, almost every political speaker made it either directly or indirectly the subject of his autumnal discourses. Even before the session was over the leader of the Government found occasion at the Mansion House to read the leader of the Opposition a lecture for his bold utterances. The speech, he said, "was a very remarkable one, and, with a social position which Lord Hartington occupies as the eldest son of one of the great proprietors of the soil, must exercise a great influence on public opinion." Lord Beaconsfield was, indeed, so much affected by it that he plunged boldly into political economy, and delivered to his audience a dissertation on the complex and confusing subject of land tenures. "No system of land," said he, "can be devised except on the condition that it shall furnish three incomes from the soil." He instanced the peasant proprietor, and pointed out that if he bought a farm he relied on earning from the soil, first, interest on his outlay, which represents rent; then, profit on his floating capital, which represents the farmer's return; next, remuneration for his labour, which is the equivalent of wages. "I wish it then," he continued, "to be impressed on the sense of this country that the three incomes which land must, under any circumstances, produce are in England distributed amongst three classes, and on the land where peasant proprietorship prevails

they are devoted only to one class. The number and variety of classes among which the land is divided are sources of our strength."

The obvious criticism was that this classification was hardly to the point, since what Lord Hartington protested against was the proportion of the yield consumed by the landlord as compared with that taken by the real cultivators of the soil. And this Lord Hartington pointed out clearly enough in a speech to the Radnorshire Agricultural Society, in the course of which he bade farewell to the Radnor Burghs. He said that he had never been so presumptuous as to propose that the existing land tenure in the country should be altered, or any other system forcibly encouraged. "All I want to be done, and all I want to be inquired into even, is, that if there are any laws which produce among us a condition of things which is not natural, which tend to produce among us an artificial state of things, which tend artificially to aggregate vast properties in the hands of a few persons, who, perhaps, have not capital enough to manage them—I say, that if laws exist among us which have this effect, they are at all events as well worthy to be inquired into as any subject which this commission can undertake." This, indeed, was a lesson which Liberals of all shades sought earnestly to enforce. Mr. Grant Duff made it the subject of an address to his constituents at Elgin. Mr. Shaw Lefevre read a paper on the land laws to the British Association at Sheffield, and Lord Carrington, who was just beginning to make his mark in politics, waxed eloquent at Wycombe in favour of the enfranchisement of the soil. Later, Mr. Gladstone took up the torch, and in a speech at Dalkeith during his famous Midlothian campaign he attacked the laws of settlement and entail, and passed a sweeping condemnation of the law of hypothec.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Ireland: Depressed Condition of the Farmers and Peasantry—Appeals for Assistance—Mr. Parnell and the Tenant-Farmers' Agitation—The Autumn Campaign—Mr. Parnell at Limerick and Navan—Proposed National Convention—The Land League—Arrest of Messrs. Davitt, Killen, and Daly—Meeting at Balla and its Result—Depression among English Artisans—Riots at Liverpool—Lord Derby at Southport—Lord Beaconsfield at Guildhall—Mr. Turnerelli's Wreath—Marriage of the Duke of Connaught—The Ceremony—Obituary of the Year—Sir John Shaw Lefevre—Isaac Butt—J. A. Roebuck—Sir Rowland Hill—Lord Lawrence—The Tay Bridge—Account of the Disaster—Evidence before the Court of Inquiry—The Political Campaign—Mr. Gladstone at Chester—The Cabul Massacre and its Effect upon Politics—Lord Hartington at Newcastle—Sir W. Harcourt on Armenian Reforms—Mr. Cross and Mr. Childers—Lord Salisbury at Manchester—Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright—Other Speakers—Mr. Gladstone's Departure for Midlothian—His Speech at Carlisle—Speech in the Edinburgh Music Hall—At Dalkeith—At West Calder—Remainder of the Tour—Bye-Elections—Condition of India—Famine in Cashmere—Sir John Strachey's Financial Proposals—Natives and the Indian Civil Service—Rising of the Naga Hill-tribes—King Theebaw's Butchery—General Lazareff's March to Merv—Russian Retreat from Denghil Tepe—The Nihilists in Russia—Attempts upon the Czar—Occupation of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Novi-Bazar by Austria—Affairs in the Enfranchised Principalities—The Austro-German Alliance—Bismarck and the Socialists—His Reactionary Policy—Crushing Defeat of the German Liberals—Austria and Italy—Affairs in France—Resignation of Marshal MacMahon—Election of M. Grévy to the Presidency—Gambetta President of the Chamber—M. Ferry's Education Bill—Affairs in the United States and in Canada.

"ENGLAND'S weakness," it has been said, "is Ireland's opportunity," and it was perhaps the fact that England was in 1879 in a very sorry plight, that made the anti-rent agitation in Ireland so dangerous and productive of such grave and unexpected consequences. The murder of Lord Leitrim in the previous year proved the warning shot of a war against landlordism, waged by methods such as the generation had not witnessed. Not that the condition of Irish farmers was not highly to be deplored. The agricultural depression had come upon them as upon the farmers of England and Scotland, and it had found them even less prepared to meet it. In the first place, the season was more severe in Ireland than in the sister isles. Rain fell continuously; the potato crop failed—being, according to a report from Dublin Castle, only half an average crop; there were no hopes of an abundant harvest to supplement the deficiency, and Sir Stafford Northcote's prophecy of a turf famine was unfortunately fulfilled. The sufferings of a race never too remarkable for thrift rapidly became very acute, the blow falling on the peasants several weeks before it reached the farmers. There was soon an increase of 10 per cent. in the number of persons receiving poor law relief. The distress was worst in the west of Ireland, especially in Kerry, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Donegal. A letter issued by the Duchess of Marlborough, the wife of the Lord-Lieutenant, gave a gloomy description of the position of affairs in December. It stated, however, that the distress, actual or probable, was not

like that of 1847, when famine raged and there was a complete break-down of all machinery for relief. The suffering districts were now, on the contrary, few and circumscribed, yet there were districts in the west and south where—owing to want of employment, loss of turf, loss of cattle and failure of potatoes, in spite of all the efforts of the landlords, and of the remedial measures promised by Government—there was and would be extreme misery and starvation which the poor-laws could not meet. It was determined, therefore, to establish a central committee to consider the case of the distressed districts fully and impartially, and to distribute relief in the shape of food, fuel, and clothing through small local committees. The fund filled rapidly, one of the earliest subscribers being the Queen. From all sides came appeals for public assistance. Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P., wrote that the distress was entirely beyond the reach of private charity, and at an important meeting held under the Lord Mayor of Dublin a resolution was passed to the same effect. Government circulars were accordingly issued offering pecuniary aid towards drainage and other relief works, and soon 250 heads of families were busily constructing roads on the estates of Lord Kenmare in Kerry, while other landlords, like Mr. Blennerhassett and Lord Headley, applied for loans to effect improvements. By these well-considered measures the sufferings of the unfortunate peasantry were in some degree mitigated.

The farmers, however, had a sense of injustice to contend against in addition to a sense of

privation, and their hostility to the landlords became dangerously inflamed. They argued that their position was much worse than that of their fellows on the other side of the water. Not only was their rent higher, but the owners of the soil, instead of meeting the tenant half-way by a reduction of rent, were too often inclined to reap where they had not sown, and to punish unavoidable arrears by summary evictions. So it came to

which were attended by the farmers in thousands. At these assemblies strong language was used. Resolutions were passed that "a landlord who evicted a tenant for the payment of unfair rent was an enemy to the human race, and that victims of such oppression should be protected in every possible way." Mr. Parnell, though he advocated compensation to the landlords by Government, used expressions which implied resistance to the



MR. PARNELL ADDRESSING AN ANTI-RENT MEETING AT LIMERICK. (See p. 398.)

pass that it was whispered abroad that should the forthcoming harvest not be plentiful, there would be a general refusal throughout Ireland to pay any rent. Already cases of isolated violence were reported. In June the anti-rent agitation received a more definite impulse. Mr. Parnell, M.P., who had acquired the position of actual, though not as yet nominal, leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, saw that the Home Rule cry might with advantage be supplemented by that of "Down with Landlordism!" and he repaired to Ireland in order to give strength and direction to the movement already on foot. Meetings were held at Milltown and at Westport, county Mayo,

law. "Now, what must we do," he said on one occasion, "in order to induce the landowners to see the position? You must show the landowners that you intend to hold a firm grip on your homesteads and lands. You must not allow yourselves to be dispossessed as you were dispossessed in 1847. You must not allow your small holdings to be turned into large ones. I am supposing that the landowners will remain deaf to the voice of reason, but I hope that they may not, and that on those properties on which the rents are out of all proportion to the times a reduction may be made and that immediately; if not, you must help yourselves, and the public opinion of the world will

stand by you, and support you in the struggle to defend your homesteads."

The torrent rapidly acquired volume, and when the end of the session allowed Mr. Parnell and his friends to return again to Ireland, meetings were held all over the country. Meanwhile, it was clear that the sceptre of the Home Rule party was fast departing from Mr. Shaw. A vote of thanks was indeed passed to him at a tumultuous meeting of the League, held in the Rotunda at Dublin, but Mr. Parnell was received with far more cordial demonstrations, and was escorted to his house by a crowd of shouting admirers. He assumed the entire direction of the autumn campaign, Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., rendering him highly efficient assistance by a triumphal progress through Mayo in a car, with a banner displayed on it in front, on which was a representation of Erin, surrounded by all the national emblems. Mr. Power was accompanied by Mr. Biggar, and Mr. Parnell by Mr. O'Sullivan. Mr. Parnell's tour began at Limerick on the 31st of August. There the proceedings were extremely disorderly, the excited passions of the audience finding vent in cries of "We will try physical force!" "Shoot the landlords!" "More lead!" "Give them an ounce of lead!" and the speaker, though studiously advocating peaceful and constitutional means, allowed these expressions to pass unrebuked. Throughout the autumn months this agitation continued, even the more moderate members of the Home Rule party being forced to take part in the crusade. Of the oratory indulged in at these meetings the following extract from Mr. Parnell's speech at Navan, Meath—where, on the 12th of October, he addressed a large audience, some 20,000 in number—will give a fair and moderate idea. "They did not," he said, "find fault with the landlords so much as with the system. If Lord Leitrim had been in any other position of life he would probably have been a very good man, but as a landlord he was a scourge to the human race. They believed that the times offered them an unexampled opportunity—an opportunity that might never occur again—of putting an end to the system, and with the assistance of the Irish people they felt that the system was doomed, and that the doom would be very speedily announced. They did not ask Sir Stafford Northcote for any heroic legislation, and were not so stupid as to expect that they would get it. They simply wished to rely upon themselves for a little bit to see how they could get on without the assistance of Sir Stafford Northcote and the English Parliament."

In this language there was little that could be construed into open defiance of the law. Nevertheless, the effect of this and similar harangues on the tenant-farmers was to encourage them to resist the demands of their landlords, and to suffer in consequence the terrible penalty of eviction. There were the usual signs of a commencing war between the payers and receivers of rent. Threatening letters were frequently received, and outrages on unpopular agents were not uncommon; tenants who paid their rent were fired upon, and their cattle maimed. A desperate attempt was made on the 1st of October to assassinate Mr. Sydney Smith, the Marquis of Sligo's agent, but it fortunately failed, and one of the assailants was shot.

Meanwhile the fertile brain of Mr. Parnell was revolving other schemes. The first of these, for the summoning of a National Convention, was important chiefly in its indirect results. The idea of this informal Parliament seems to have been suddenly conceived, and considerable difficulties were found to lie in the way of its organisation. It was determined at a meeting of the Home Rule League that three hundred representatives should assemble in Dublin before the meeting of the next Parliament; but their method of election was peculiar. Every Irishman residing in Ireland who contributed towards the expenses of holding the convention was entitled to nominate ten persons for election, and to vote for three hundred of the total number nominated; that is to say, it was to be a national convention in which that part of the nation which was opposed to the Home Rule programme was not represented at all. The difficulties of organising at a short notice so vast a project, the departure of its originator to America, and the indifference of the public, eventually proved fatal to this proposal; but it was not without result. Mr. Shaw and Mr. Mitchell Henry, two of the most respected of the Home Rule party, both declined to attend the preliminary meeting, thereby definitely separating themselves from Mr. Parnell, and leaving him without a rival for the position previously held by Mr. Butt.

Mr. Parnell's second scheme, an Irish Land League, was far more successful, though it was some little time before it took hold on the popular mind. Its original aim, which was at first misunderstood, was to secure the land for the people, apparently by compulsory sale, and at a price fixed by law, a design that occurred to Mr. Michael Davitt, a former Fenian, who had been condemned to penal servitude in 1870, and who was now at large on ticket of leave. Thus, it was hoped, a

peasant proprietary system might be established, though the means were at first left to the imagination of the audience, and the demands of the apostles of the League at one time included the total abolition of landlordism, and at another the formula known as "the three F's"—fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure. The objects of the League were left undefined, though Messrs. Davitt and Parnell were busy during the month of October with the details of a scheme. One result of their deliberations was an appeal, which was issued towards the end of the month, to all Irishmen living beyond seas to contribute to a fund which was to be established for the object of purchasing the land for the people, and Mr. Parnell was deputed to proceed to America in order to collect subscriptions, an errand on which he started in December. In a speech at Glasgow, before his departure, he unfolded his plan, which consisted in making use of the general depression of landed property, in order to buy up for small prices estates in the Landed Estates Court.

Thus far Government had done nothing to check the widespread disaffection, but at length they saw an opportunity for proving that they had not been practically superseded in the management of affairs. The out-door agitation had by no means languished, but it had passed into the direction of less responsible agents who used language far more violent and rebellious than that employed by Mr. Parnell. About the middle of November Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. J. B. Killen (an Irish barrister), and Mr. J. W. Daly addressed a meeting at Gurteen, county Sligo. Mr. Davitt declaimed against landlordism as an open conspiracy against the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of the people; Mr. Daly called on the people to assemble in their thousands and reinstate evicted tenants; and Mr. Killen, more furibund still, recommended that every one should carry about a rifle, and know how to use it. In the circumstances the sudden arrest of the trio at their homes by the police was generally thought to be a prudent stroke, though doubts were freely expressed if it would not have been better to attack the arch-agitator himself, notwithstanding that the result of a State prosecution would probably have been his acquittal, before laying his subordinates by the heels. After turbulent proceedings before the magistrates at Sligo the three were committed for trial, but being afterwards admitted to bail, they paraded the country with unimpaired vigour, receiving everywhere the welcome of those who believed them to be the martyrs of a just cause.

Nevertheless, the arrests had on the whole a damaging effect on the anti-rent agitation for the time. A meeting of sympathy was promptly held at Dublin, with Mr. Gray, M.P., in the chair, which was addressed by Mr. P. J. Smyth and Mr. Parnell; but the advice of the latter, that Irishmen should not be frightened by the "idle and impotent menaces of the present Government," was not generally accepted. It was proposed by the speaker that the right of Irishmen to meet in public meeting should be tested on the following Saturday at Balla, county Mayo, where a great demonstration was to be held in connection with an intended eviction; "the first," said one inflammatory placard, "since the formation of our National Land League." Thither, however, only some seven or eight hundred repaired, and the proceedings, which promised to be accompanied by bloodshed, were harmless, owing to the presence of a large body of police, and the determination of the sheriff not to proceed with the eviction. Mr. Parnell, who was present, implored his audience to keep themselves under control; but Mr. T. Brennan, the secretary of the Land League, indulged in some highly impassioned language, addressing in particular the constabulary, whom he implored not to destroy their own kith and kin. "Let them look," said he, "at the possible picture—the dear brother lying in yonder ditch, dead and naked, the last garment sold to buy a measure of milk for the poor child, in whose body the teeth of the lean dog were now fastened." The result of this high-flown oratory was that he too was committed on charge of sedition, but being let out on bail made use of his liberty in order to make wild harangues denouncing the "hireling soldiery" and the "Parliament of land thieves." On the whole, however, the arrest of these four men had a restraining effect on exuberant rhetoricians, who for some time contrived to convey their opinions in language of a less immoderate and inflammatory kind.

Beside these Irish troubles the restless movements of the artisans at home attracted but little attention, although it was known that their condition was hardly less depressed than that of the Irish tenant-farmer. Every trade was suffering, and strikes were frequent. The refusal of 2,500 men in the London engineering trade to work at reduced pay was followed by a similar resolve on the part of the Durham pitmen, who, after a prolonged struggle through the summer, were forced to accede to their employers' demands. In fact, there was hardly an industry in which the

operatives did not attempt that desperate remedy against fallen wages. There were strikes among colliers, strikes among railway *employés*, and strikes among iron-workers.

One agreeable feature prevailed amidst this general state of discontent—that the riotous instinct which had been so rife in the previous year was conspicuous by its absence. The one exception was at Liverpool, where, during the month of February, there were grave breaches of the peace. The dock-labourers, who had struck, reinforced by a large body of sailors and a considerable body of roughs, marched on the 7th to the Waterloo Dock and maltreated the non-strike hands. They rushed to the ship *Eulomene* and threatened to throw the labourers into the dock if they resumed work, and then attacked the steamer *Victoria*, on board of which were some Bristol men, who prudently retired below and secured themselves from violence. Finally, the mob was driven into the roadway by the police and the dock gates were closed. Demonstrations of an equally formidable nature were made during the day at the other docks, and there was some danger of a night attack, which was fortunately averted by the excellent arrangements of the police, who could be massed to the number of five or six hundred at any one point on very short notice. On the 8th the military were called out. A detachment of the 5th Dragoon Guards patrolled the roads outside the docks, whilst a company of the 11th regiment was stationed at the Collingwood Dock. Additional troops arrived in the course of the afternoon, until Liverpool assumed the appearance of a city occupied by an invading force. These prompt measures had the effect of checking disorder; in fact, at the various mass meetings held by the men their leaders urged them to refrain from violence and to behave as became good citizens. On the 10th there was no renewal of the disturbances, but the total number of men who were idle was estimated at from fifty to sixty thousand, including clockmakers, sailors, firemen, coalheavers, boiler-makers, and engineers.

Gradually the air cleared: the steamship owners, whose vessels were unable to leave port, offered arbitration, which was at first refused and then referred to delegates. They recommended to the men the acceptance of the owners' ultimatum, which offered a conscientious examination of the whole question of labour and time. By the end of the month the strike was over; nevertheless, the temper manifested on this occasion caused Lord Derby's advice to come most seasonably. In a

speech at Southport in September he implored his audience not to despair. Things were not as bad as they looked: the returns of the savings' banks showed no diminution but rather an increase, and it was the same with the income-tax. He urged the workmen not to meet the depressions of the labour market by strikes but by emigration and economy, both of which remedies were far more likely to produce the desired ends.

Towards autumn trade manifested a disposition to revive. There was some demand for iron during September; prosperity showed symptoms of returning to the Black Country, and the cotton mills were reopened. Lord Beaconsfield, in his annual speech at the banquet of the Lord Mayor of London in November, naturally made the most of these signs of returning prosperity. "At the present moment," said he, "I am glad to say that our works are full and busy, and our exchanges are carrying on a traffic which even three months ago we should have supposed impossible; and the only question now is whether this revival of trade is temporary or permanent. That is a question which is interesting to all Englishmen, and especially to the City of London. I hope, therefore, that you will pardon me if I venture to offer you the opinion of her Majesty's Government that that revival is of a permanent character. I am happy to say that the miscellaneous demand for our domestic industries is equally active—especially in the ship-building trade. If you take another instance—namely, our great commerce with the East—it is a fact that there is at this moment a great demand for every article of tropical produce, and that every article of tropical produce has risen in value. This, so far as England is concerned, has had a most beneficial effect on the price of silver, which has greatly risen. In my opinion it will rise more, and thus one of the great perplexities of statesmen has been removed, showing the 'magic of patience.' I would not on this occasion dwell too much on the subject, although the state and prospect of our commerce must always be of first-rate interest to Englishmen. But I will take one trade and one trade only, the state of which is usually recognised as significant of the general prosperity of our commerce, that is, our manufacture of chemicals. That is a branch of our industry which at this moment is so active that the orders which pour in cannot easily be executed. If again we look at our textile trades, we find nothing that is not in harmony with all these circumstances, whether in wool or in cotton; and when we consider the increase of traffic on our



MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT. (See p. 402.)
(After the Illustration by Sadwin Hall.)

railways, the increase of business in the clearing-house of the bankers, and the general hardening of money, I do not think her Majesty's Ministers can be accused of rashness if they have arrived at an opinion that the revival of trade is of a permanent character."

Lord Beaconsfield's method of prophecy, which deduced a permanent revival of trade from the increased demand for chemicals, was severely criticised by the Liberal papers. Nevertheless, few men were as a rule more conscious of the dignity of statesmanship, from whatever side it was regarded. True dignity, for instance, though of a different kind, was displayed in his refusal to accept a gold laurel wreath which Mr. Tracy Turnerelli had procured by collecting pence from upwards of 50,000 of the English people with "never-yet-examined efforts," to use his own expression. "His lordship," was the reply of Lord Beaconsfield's secretary, "has before him the correspondence which during the last five years you have addressed to him, and he notes especially your complaints that your services have met with no recognition at the hands of the leaders of the Conservative party, and an expression of your hope that 'sooner or later they will meet with reward.' Although Lord Beaconsfield would fully appreciate and value a spontaneous gift from his fellow-subjects belonging to a class in which he has ever taken the warmest interest, he cannot but feel that being himself intimately connected with honours and rewards, he is precluded by the spirit in which you have previously addressed him from accepting a gift thus originated and proffered in a manner which he cannot deem satisfactory." To the Oldham People's Tribute Committee it was further pointed out that the idea of the wreath originated "with a single individual, not a member of the working-class himself nor deputed by any body of the working-men to represent them, and these circumstances alone deprived the affair of the spontaneous and representative character that had been claimed for it. The acceptance of the gift now would be open to misconception."

Festivities of an unusual character were by no means especially numerous during this sad year, and that was, perhaps, one reason why the occasion of a Royal wedding should have been so popular with the public as a pleasant variation of the somewhat monotonous spectacles of daily life. Moreover, the marriage of the Duke of Connaught to the Princess Louise Marguerite of Prussia at Windsor, on the 13th of March, had peculiar claims to popular consideration. This was the first

wedding in the Royal Family that had taken place in England for several years—that of the Duke of Edinburgh, in 1874, having been celebrated at St. Petersburg—and it was solemnised with more state and ceremony than any other, except perhaps that of the Princess Royal. Besides, the Duke of Connaught was himself popular. Early in his life he had identified himself with the army, and the zeal and conscientiousness with which he had discharged duties frequently of an arduous and monotonous kind had won for him the admiration of the service, and the applause of his countrymen. The Queen had resolved to mark with especial honour the marriage of her soldier-son, and took a personal part in the ceremony, instead of being present, as on former occasions, only as a spectator. At noon the four processions—those of the Queen, the Princess of Wales, and the bride and bridegroom quitted the quadrangle of the castle. Her Majesty drove in her own carriage, which was drawn by four ponies, the remainder of the Royal Family occupying the gilded state coaches driven by the royal coachmen in their liveries of scarlet and gold. On leaving the square the processions passed under Henry VIII.'s gateway into the Lower Ward, and thence under the archway of the Horseshoe Cloisters to the Chapel. The guests, who had begun to arrive soon after eleven, were already in their places. Presently the National Anthem was heard from without, and the Royal procession advanced slowly up the nave, headed by the heralds. Immediately behind them came the chief officers of the Royal Household; then the striking figures of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the Maharanee. Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar followed, walking abreast with the Prince of Leiningen. Then came the Duke and Duchess of Teck. The last figures in the long line of royalties were the young Prince William of Prussia and his mother, the Crown Princess, the Princess of Wales and her younger children, and, lastly, the King and Queen of the Belgians, who, as the only actual reigning sovereigns present, were treated with marked honour. A few minutes afterwards the state trumpeters announced the arrival of a second procession, that of the Queen. Her Majesty was accompanied by the Princess Beatrice and Prince Albert Victor of Wales, and at once took up her position to the right of the altar rails. They had not long to wait before the bridegroom appeared, supported by his brothers the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. Scarcely had they in turn taken their places when the procession of the bride, supported by her father, Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia,

and by the Crown Prince of Germany, advanced up the nave towards the choir. Her train was borne by eight bridesmaids. Amid perfect silence the Archbishop of Canterbury commenced the solemn rite which this brilliant throng had gathered to witness. During the ceremony the chapel presented a magnificent spectacle. Solemn and impressive in its gorgeousness, the scene was of brief duration, and there was little space for the eye to dwell upon its details between the moment when the Red Prince gave his daughter away, and the Prince of Wales produced the ring. The Archbishop of Canterbury having pronounced the Benediction, the bride and bridegroom remained for a few moments still kneeling, while the grand tones of the "Hallelujah Chorus" filled the air with melody. At the close of the ceremony the Queen and Royal Family returned to the palace, the "A" battery of the Royal Horse Artillery, stationed in the Long Walk, firing a salute of twenty-one guns as the *cortège* passed from the chapel. In the afternoon the Duke and Duchess of Connaught drove to Claremont House, there to spend the first week of their honeymoon.

It is not incongruous with the sharp contrasts of life to turn from the splendid festivities of Royalty to the consideration of the names of those illustrious men who dropped during the year from the ranks. No English politicians of the first rank followed Earl Russell to the grave; but still Sir John Shaw Lefevre, J. A. Roebuck, and Isaac Butt were men of mark in their time. The first of these was one of those unassuming men whose worth is apt to be underrated until the whole of their life is passed under review. Though he never rose higher than permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, he did an enormous amount of valuable departmental work for the Board of Trade, and transacted some of the most delicate business of the Ecclesiastical Commission. From 1848 to 1875 he held the important office of Clerk of the Parliaments, a post where his conciliatory tact was often called into active service. Of Isaac Butt it may be said that his was a career of failure. To abilities that qualified him to become a great power for good in the land were joined a want of moral force and an habitual listlessness that rendered his efforts of no avail. His political life was curiously inconsistent; at first an ardent Protestant, the enemy of the Roman Catholics, and the denouncer of O'Connell, he was at its close an advocate of federation, and the firm ally of the priests. As chief of the Home Rule party, he failed conspicuously in a position where to succeed

was hardly possible. John Arthur Roebuck was almost as eccentric a politician as Mr. Butt, and it was his fate to leave even less result. He, too, was called to the bar, but failed to make much figure there. In the House of Commons his marked personality was far better known. A political Ishmael, he was liable at any moment to turn against his nominal allies. In his earlier days he was an extreme Radical, and constituted himself John Bull's watch-dog, "Tear 'em." His greatest triumph was in 1855, when, by his motion of inquiry into the condition of the army before Sebastopol, he overthrew Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry. As time went on, however, the increasing and glaring changes of his opinion tended to alienate his supporters. That the "Tear 'em" of 1832 should have been made a Privy Councillor in 1879 at the instigation of a Tory Premier was a strange comment on the shifting combinations of the times. Whether either of these two men was conscious how far he had missed his aim it is impossible to say, but a gratification that must have been wanting to them was granted in full degree to Sir Rowland Hill, who died in August. How the genius for organisation which Nature had implanted in the brain of the son of a poor schoolmaster would not let him rest, but drove him from the teacher's bench to works of political and social usefulness, such as the establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and the Association for the Colonisation of South Australia, and thence to the conception of the Penny Post is now a thrice-told tale, and we are perhaps inclined to undervalue public services when the benefits bestowed by them have become so familiar. It is true that the idea was a comparatively simple one, but it was carefully verified at the expense of much time and patience, and it was carried out in the face of much official obloquy.

It is necessary to dismiss with more brevity than they deserve the remaining names on the bead-roll of 1879, in order to bestow adequate space on Lord Lawrence, the greatest of them all. The army lost two soldiers of some renown. Colonel Howe, who died all too young, was perhaps the most brilliant military engineer of his time, and if his "*Précis of Modern Tactics*" showed his efficiency in theory, his services during the Ashantee war proved his sterling worth in practice. General Peel, on the other hand, lived to the advanced age of eighty; he had much of the ability of his elder brother, Robert, and during brief tenures of office as Secretary at War under Lord Derby he gained considerable reputation as an able and honest

administrator. Another man who was missed was John Delane, for more than thirty-five years editor of the *Times*, who, by his wonderful power of reading English public opinion and his skill in the choice of his instruments, caused the journal he conducted to become a power in the State of gigantic and almost invariably of beneficent strength.

John Lawrence was born in 1811, and was thus five years younger than his celebrated brother Henry. It was at Delhi that he gained his first experience of administration; and during the peaceful period that followed his arrival in India he applied himself with zeal to his work, acquired great experience, and learnt how to govern. It was during the first Sikh war that Lord Hardinge recognised his abilities and made him Commissioner of the Jullunder Doab, the tract between the Sutlej and the Beas, a selection that was immediately justified by Lawrence's extraordinary success in dealing with the wild and warlike tribes. During the second Sikh war he was acting with his brother Henry as a member of the Board of Lahore, and the value of their great work in the Punjab—where by a wise system of introducing the better features of British administration without offending native prejudices, they succeeded in enforcing obedience and in gaining conciliation—can hardly be overrated. The unfortunate differences on points of policy that broke out between the brothers terminated this rule of joint beneficence, but Lord Dalhousie's opinion that John was right and Henry wrong is amply supported by the evidence adduced by the former's biographer, Mr. Bosworth Smith. Of the conduct of Lawrence during the Mutiny, when his courage and fertility of resource saved India for Great Britain, a real idea will be found in the narrative of the events of that dark hour that has appeared in an earlier volume of this work. Its chief feature was that he recognised at a glance that the possession of Delhi was the crucial point of the insurrection, and that having seen this point he dared to trust the scarcely subdued Sikhs, to place arms in their hands, and send them on a mission in which failure meant the loss of an empire, success the recovery of Oudh and the North-West Provinces. A period of five years of quiet at home, spent nevertheless by Sir John Lawrence in hard work at the India Office, where his services were held by Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State, at the very highest value, was rendered imperative by the strain that had been put upon him by thirty-eight years of almost

incessant labour. Then in 1864 came his unexpected appointment as Governor-General of India, a lease of power which he made use of, despite considerable opposition from some members of the Council, in making good the position of the peasantry throughout India, even at the risk, on more than one occasion, of alienating the aristocracy.

If the total number of victims from accidents during the year was not large, the one gigantic catastrophe, the destruction of the Tay Bridge, was without parallel in the annals of railway traffic, for the elements of horror accompanying it, which, rather than the actual loss of life it involved, caused it to be regarded as one of the most appalling disasters of modern times. The bridge across the Frith of Tay was opened in 1878 by the North British Railway. It was regarded as one of the boldest efforts of engineering science, not only because of its great length, 3,459 yards, but also because of its great height above the river, 88 feet, of the nature of the river bed supporting it, which varies considerably in depth, and of the violence of the tide, which at times runs as much as five knots an hour. It was hoped, however, that Sir Thomas Bouch, to whom the designing of the bridge had been entrusted, had overcome the difficulties of the conditions under which he laboured. The bridge, which was of lattice-girder construction with a single line of rails, was subjected to very severe tests by the Government Inspector before the road was passed for traffic, and the results were declared to be "highly satisfactory." The lateral oscillations as observed by the theodolite were very slight, and the structure altogether showed great stiffness. By the direction of the Inspector, however, the working speed over the bridge was limited to twenty-five miles an hour, and the single line was to be worked by train-staff and block system. During the whole time that the new bridge had been opened not a single hitch had occurred, and the shortening of the route between Edinburgh and Aberdeen by twenty-six miles was generally held to have fully justified the company for incurring the enormous expense of £350,000 in the construction of the new bridge.

On the last Sunday of 1879 (December 28) a more terrible strain than any to which the hand of man could have subjected it caused the structure to give way in a moment. About a quarter past seven in the evening the train from Edinburgh to Dundee drew near the bridge. It consisted of one first-class carriage (which was empty), one second-class carriage, three third-class carriages, and the guard's van, as well as the engine and tender. It

contained about twenty-five adult persons, and from ten to fifteen children—a smaller number than usual, the threatening aspect of the weather having fortunately deterred a considerable number of people who would otherwise have undertaken the journey. The account of the catastrophe given by Thomas Barclay, the signalman in the cabin at the south side of the bridge, was as follows:—

“The gale was very severe. I have been at the cabin since the bridge opened, and I don't recollect so stormy a night. The wind sometimes came in terrible gusts. A train from Newport had crossed the bridge at ten minutes past six. It was blowing

heard, only the wild shrieks of the storm. I myself immediately became apprised otherwise that a terrible catastrophe had occurred. My signal communication had been cut.” It appeared that the hurricane, sweeping down the river with peculiar violence, had caught the bridge just as the train passing through the girders of the central portion opposed a great surface to its blast, and had hurled the train into the river, at the same time carrying away some 3,000 feet of the bridge.

Little or nothing was disclosed by the evidence taken by the Court of Inquiry as to the nature of the accident. It was opened on the following



THE FIRST TAY BRIDGE, LOOKING NORTH.

very heavy at the time, but the wind afterwards increased in fury. At eight minutes past seven I received word from Newport that the Edinburgh train had left their station, and I immediately transmitted the intelligence to the signalman at the north end of the bridge. Signals were then in perfect working order, and the signal was received from the north end ‘all right.’ My signal cabin is about thirty yards from the bridge, just at the junction of the Edinburgh and Newport line. The train passed my cabin at thirteen minutes past seven o'clock and went upon the bridge. I could not tell how many carriages there were. It appeared to be an ordinary-sized train, and seemed to consist of eight or nine carriages. With me in the cabin was a surface-man, named John Watt, who continued to gaze at the train through the window of the box. Suddenly he exclaimed, ‘There's something wrong. Either the train is over the bridge or the girders are down.’ Watt, on reflection, is thoroughly positive he saw the tail lights going down into the water, and he also speaks of having seen a shower of sparks, probably the burning coals from the engine fire. No sound was

Saturday, when Mr. Trayner, who appeared for the Board of Trade, said that the investigation was to be of a very exhaustive and exact character, in order to obviate, as far as human skill could go, the recurrence of a disaster of so dreadful a kind. Their labours would fall under two heads—first an inquiry into those facts which were peculiarly local and might be more or less easily ascertained; and secondly, the collation of scientific opinion as to the nature of the structure that had given way. The most important information was that supplied by the surface-man, who asserted that he noticed sparks issuing from the train during its course over the bridge, and this was corroborated by the fact that the rails at the point were torn away on the eastern side—the force of the wind having ground the train against them. Witnesses of great experience declared that the storm was more violent than they had ever known before, and in particular as regards the pressure concentrated at one point. All this seemed to prove that the accident was due simply to the elements, and not to the shortcomings of man. A new turn, however, was given to general opinion by the

publication of the official report of the Court of Inquiry as to the structure of the bridge. Mr. Rothery, Wreck Commissioner and President, did not hesitate to say that the bridge was badly designed, badly constructed, and badly maintained; that its downfall was due to inherent defects that sooner or later must have proved fatal. For the faults of the design, as well as for remissness in supervision during its construction, he held Sir Thomas Bouch responsible, and the contractors for the defective castings used in the bridge. Two of his colleagues, however, Mr. Barlow, President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and Colonel Yolland, took a less pronounced view of the disaster, and declined to fix any responsibility on Sir Thomas Bouch. In any case it was hard to reconcile the decision with the satisfactory report of the Government Inspector before the bridge was opened, and considerable surprise was expressed in many quarters when it was found that it was Mr. Barlow to whom the railway company entrusted the task of reconstructing the bridge.

The news of the destruction of the Tay Bridge reached the south of England at a time when the nation was in a state of much political ferment. For several months there had been a battle raging between the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition, of an animation and intensity almost superior to that which had been fought out within the walls of Parliament. For the Opposition, encouraged by the proximity of a general election, were now on their mettle, and determined to attack at all points the position of a Government which, they said, could boast of no legislative triumphs and but small success in its foreign policy, except the bringing of two little wars to a more or less successful termination. Mr. Gladstone, with the instinct of an old campaigner, was one of the first in the field, and on August 19th he delivered an important address at Chester on behalf of the Hon. Beilby Lawley, who was to contest Mr. Raikes's seat at the next election. With consummate skill he sounded the war note which Liberal after Liberal took up during the autumn months. The ex-Premier said that though he had sat in eleven Parliaments and been elected some seventeen or eighteen times, yet he felt that at no period of his public life had the issues inviting the judgment of the nation been of such profound importance—the management of finance, the scale of expenditure, and the constantly growing arrears of legislation. "I hold before you," he continued, "as I have held in the House of Commons, that the faith and honour of the country have been gravely

compromised by the Ministry; that by the disturbance of confidence, and lately even of peace, which they have brought about they have prolonged and aggravated public distress; that they have augmented the power and interest of the Russian Empire even while estranging the feelings of its population; that they have embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war—full of mischief, if not of positive danger to India; that by their use of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown they have abridged the just rights of Parliament, and have presented prerogative to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect which tends to make it insecure." Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Mundella took up the parable; the former assured his Chelsea constituents that Government now needed no denouncing—it had come to be laughed at; and the latter, in a very weighty speech, criticised the moral weakness of the Tories, who were afraid to do anything for the rural constituencies that sent them to power. Mr. Goschen followed them at Ripon by describing the home policy of Government as one of "dead letters," and their foreign policy as catering to the deep-seated cravings of national vanity. The reply to these powerful arguments was somewhat tame. Mr. Raikes was very wroth with Mr. Gladstone for menacing his seat, and went so far as to imply that as Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons he ought to be safe from opposition; and Lord George Hamilton and Mr. E. Stanhope, at Sheffield, took refuge in assurances that all was well, and that with durable peace, increased influence, and revived prosperity the country would think not unkindly of its Government.

They were destined to be contradicted by the stern logic of facts. On September 6th came the news that, three days before, the envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, and his escort had been murdered at Cabul, that the whole of the British work in Afghanistan had in consequence to be recommenced, and could not be relinquished until satisfaction had been exacted for the outrage. This terrible repetition of former disasters was most damaging in its results to a Ministry that had persistently closed its ears to the warnings of experienced Anglo-Indians, such as Lord Lawrence and Lord Northbrook. The Conservative leaders were reserved. Sir Stafford Northcote attempted to minimise the untoward event by describing it as an "unpremeditated outbreak," while Lord Beaconsfield, in a speech at Aylesbury, declined to say a single word on a subject of which all men's

minds were full. The Opposition was by no means equally reticent. "It is on Lord Salisbury," cried Mr. Grant Duff, "above any man in the world, that the responsibility rests for all that has happened. The blood that has been shed has been as really shed by him as if he had slain with his own hand the unhappy men who had been massacred. His obstinate, wicked folly has been their death-warrant."

The next important event in the political history of the autumn months was a Liberal demonstration at Newcastle, on which occasion Lord Hartington made two vigorous speeches, of which the first dealt principally with the land laws, and the second with the foreign policy of Government. Upon this second topic his argument was that Government came into power with a policy of quiet, unassuming, unostentatious reform, and it was not until it had discovered its unfitness for the task that it adopted a showier policy more suited to the genius of the Prime Minister. "During the existence of the present Administration," he continued, "we have had various enterprises of a more or less showy character. We have had the Imperial Titles Bill; we have had the purchased shares of the Suez Canal; and before and during the war between Russia and Turkey we had constant and restless movements between the Mediterranean fleet and preparations for war. The Indian troops were summoned from India to Malta; then we had the Anglo-Turkish convention; the triumphant return from the Congress of Berlin; the annexation of Cyprus; and lastly, the expedition into Afghanistan. I say nothing as to the unhappy war in South Africa—a war of which I believe the Government are heartily ashamed, and which, together with the author, they would have disowned if they had been able to do so."

Hardly less effective in their way were Mr. Baxter's denunciations of the "policy of Imperialism" at Arbroath, Mr. Childers's defence of Mr. Gladstone's Administration at Midlothian, and Mr. Grant Duff's outpourings against the authors of the Afghan war at Newtown. It remained, however, for Sir William Harcourt on the 2nd and 6th of October to top all these efforts by speeches which, not only for their wit, but also for their reasoning, were perfect gems of their kind. Perhaps the best among the many good things in his first speech was his stricture on Lord Sandon's "pathetic and eloquent" prophecies concerning Asia Minor. Lord Sandon had said in his first speech as a Cabinet Minister, "Not seldom, during the last twenty-five years, have I wandered during

the spring time over the flowery plains of Syria, or traced the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris, those noble rivers so worthy of their ancient fame. I have wandered, too, among the Armenian mountains, and the one same ringing cry has always reached me—'When are you English coming?' The deed is done, and England is coming at last to those people. Yes, we are coming, to bring in our train the railroad, the steam-plough, and all the varied blessings of commerce. Let us not shrink from that glorious enterprise. Let us gird up our loins for the noble task. Let us thank God and take courage." "This," said Sir William Harcourt, "is magnificent. It is even sublime. But what has become of it all? Just read the article in the *Times* of yesterday on the present state of Asia Minor, and I think you will agree with me that the unfortunate people who inhabit the flowery plains of Syria, and frequent the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the mountains of Armenia must be just now very much in the condition of the unfortunate wife of Blue Beard, crying, 'Sister Sandon, Sister Sandon, do you see anybody coming?' I regret to say that Lord Sandon and his colleagues have altogether shrunk from their 'glorious enterprise.' They have not 'girded up their loins' at all. They may have thanked God. They have certainly not taken courage—and the steam-plough, the railway, and the varied blessings of commerce are just as distant from the mountains of Armenia as they were when the Turkish convention was signed." In his speech to the Reform Club at Liverpool the orator gave vent to more serious considerations. He criticised his critics, and replied to the accusation that the speeches of the Opposition were monotonous by saying, "The logic of facts and the obstinacy of events impose upon us a consistent monotony." He declined to desert his principles for the sake of securing the adherence of the "arm-chair politicians," or moderate Liberals. Another piece of advice that was frequently given him was, "You must not be so unpatriotic. You may do what you like in domestic questions, but in foreign affairs you are bound to support the Government;" and there was that admirable maxim of Noodledom, "In foreign questions I am an Englishman first and a party man afterwards." To which Sir William replied, "We are party men first and last on all questions, because we believe the principles of our party to be most to the advantage of England."

Meanwhile the Ministerial leaders were silent, with the exception of Mr. Cross, who, during the

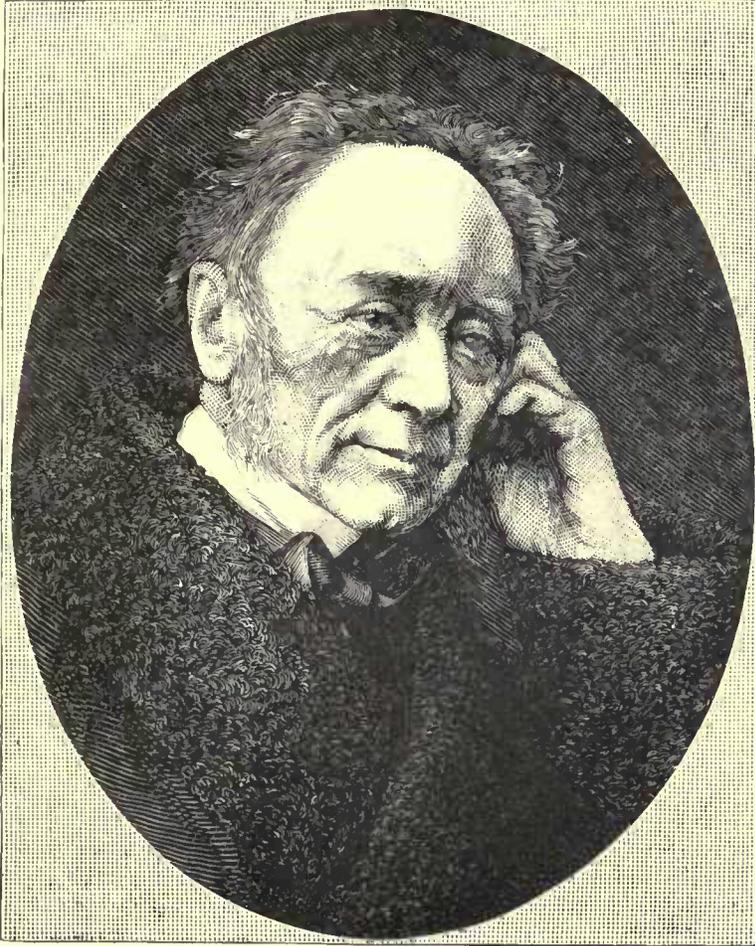
second week in October, went on a small electioneering tour in Lancashire, during which he spoke several times in defence of Government. The Home Secretary declared that the Treaty of Berlin had been a perfect success, explained that Government desired "a strong, friendly, and independent Afghanistan," and urged that the Conservative Administration had claims to the confidence of the country because it had handed over £2,000,000 of taxes to meet the burden of rates, because it preferred to deal with increased expenditure by temporary loan rather than increased taxation, and that their intentions were really pacific. In conclusion Mr. Cross twitted the Liberals for nourishing dissensions in their ranks, and urged them to state before the elections what their party intended to do. Mr. Childers replied by sketching out a very complete programme for a Liberal Administration, which had obviously the sanction of high authority. "Let me," said he, "sum up in a few words what to my mind should be the first objects of a Liberal Parliament—to maintain inviolate the integrity of the empire both in the face of those who want to weaken the union at home or our connection with India and our colonies; with this view to retain beyond question our supremacy at sea, and the access to the greatest of our possessions—our Indian Empire; largely to relieve Parliament and the central administration by a system of county government based on popular representation; to amend our land laws by simplifying tenure and rendering compulsory registration of title; to remove the last grievances of Dissenters, and at the same time the admitted and growing abuses in the Church, and to restore our finances to the sound system in which Mr. Gladstone left them, and which recent budgets have so seriously impaired."

A categorical answer of Government to the vigorous attacks of Lord Hartington and Sir William Harcourt was delivered by Lord Salisbury at a Conservative demonstration held at Manchester on the 17th and 18th of October. He was accompanied by the Home Secretary and Colonel Stanley, but though the latter made a very effective speech they played throughout subordinate parts to the noble marquis, who, feeling that something great was expected from him, resolved not to disappoint his audience, and certainly succeeded in reanimating for the time the shattered legions of the Conservatives. The chief topics of his speech were the Eastern Question and Afghanistan. As to the first, he taxed the Opposition with having changed their ground. At the beginning of the

previous year their keynote was to defend all that Russia did, and to denounce every measure that her Majesty's Government took to restrain anticipated aggression; but now the time had changed, and they were blamed for not resisting Russia enough. He then passed to the Armenian Question, and said that the occupation of Cyprus was dictated by the traditional policy of England, as exemplified in the occupations of Gibraltar and Malta, to show our intention of maintaining our hold on those parts. He did not attempt to disguise that the internal condition of Turkey was deplorable, but the question of a reformed or an unreformed Turkey did not affect the necessity of keeping Russia from Constantinople and from the Ægean. This could not be done by the homogeneous nationalities of the Balkans, for no such nationalities existed. The duty had therefore been delegated to Austria. "If the Turk fails, remember that Austria is now at Novi-Bazar, and has advanced to the latitude of the Balkans, and that no advance of Russia beyond the Balkans or beyond the Danube can now be made unless the resistance of Austria is conquered. I believe that in the strength and independence of Austria lies the best hope of European stability and peace. What has happened within the last three weeks justifies us in hoping that Austria, if attacked, would not be alone. The newspapers say—I know not whether they say rightly—that a defensive alliance has been established between Germany and Austria. I will not pronounce my opinion as to the accuracy of that information; but I will only say this to you, and to all who value the peace of Europe and the independence of nations—I may say without profanity—that is good tidings of great joy." It is unnecessary to describe here at length Lord Salisbury's defence of the Afghan policy of the Government; he urged that the war had been forced upon England by the treacherous conduct of the Ameer, and that our object was defence, not dominion. Coming to home politics, Lord Salisbury discoursed in a lighter vein on the diffidence of the Opposition in putting forward positive statements. Lord Hartington's theories of Land Reform would, he said, result in the farmer paying his rent to two squireens instead of one squire. He alluded also to the fogginess of Liberal opinions on the subject of the Church of Scotland. "There is no more curious literature in the world than the various speeches in which Liberal Members addressing Scottish constituencies have contrived to evade the question of Scottish disestablishment." As to Ireland, he had no doubt that the Liberal

leaders would decline to grant the demands of the agitators; but what Liberal leaders might not do Liberal followers might very expediently do, and which of the two would prevail? If the Liberals came into power there would be masterly inactivity

Hartington carefully and unostentatiously followed Lord Salisbury over his defence of the foreign policy of Government, and exposed the financial collapse of the Conservatives, whose enthusiasm for economy broke out in relation to one department



THE FIFTH DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. W. and D. Downey.)

all over the world, except only if there should be some ancient institution to overthrow at home.

Nevertheless, the guns of the Opposition were more in number than those of Government. Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright promptly repaired to Manchester and held a counter-demonstration, which was generally thought to have been a greater success than its predecessor, both in point of numbers and the amount of enthusiasm evoked. The occasion was made unusually significant by the fact that Lord Derby, by inviting the leader of the Opposition to be his guest, announced his formal accession to the Liberal ranks. Lord

only, that of education. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, was in his fiercest humour; and his denunciations of Government as "a set of criminals," of Sir Stafford Northcote as a "financial thimble-rigger," and of Lord Salisbury as "the man who had prostrated his intellect to the Premier in the hope of purchasing a succession that might never come," were felt to exceed the limits of fair criticism.

As November drew near the battle became general, and in the dust and confusion the figures of the combatants stood out less distinctly than during the months immediately following the end

of the session. The talk at this time was bitter in the extreme. As Mr. Bright and Lord Hartington had replied to Lord Salisbury, so Mr. Chaplin and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach replied to them, and rendered railing for railing. Mr. Leatham denounced Government at Huddersfield as the "flogger of the soldier, the surrenderer of the slave, and the accomplice of the Turk;" and Mr. Lowe at Grantham, excited by the unruliness of his audience, was even more acid and severe. Meanwhile, rumours of an impending dissolution were industriously circulated, though Parliament was further prorogued until December 19th without the expected announcement being made. Already sanguine Liberals were forecasting the result, and speculating who should be the leader of their victorious party. Lord Hartington's services met on all sides with generous recognition, but it was usually agreed that there was nothing to be gained, but rather the reverse, by placing the real chief in a subordinate position to him who had only before held a vicarious command. It was in the midst of these eager speculations that Lord Beaconsfield delivered that Guildhall speech of which we have already quoted the curious phrases that referred to the return of prosperity. Taken as a whole the Premier's speech was not one of his masterpieces, and it produced additional disappointment because no hint was given as to the dissolution of which everyone's mind was so full. He rebuked "our brilliant brethren in Ireland" for encountering economical distress by social agitation; he spoke of the operations in Afghanistan with triumph, and of Lord Lytton with enthusiasm, and said that "though Europe was covered with millions of armed men we might venture to hope, and even to believe, that peace would be maintained."

About a fortnight after Lord Beaconsfield had delivered himself of these opinions, Mr. Gladstone started northwards on his first electoral tour in Midlothian. In the previous January he had announced his willingness to contest the seat against the heir to the house of Buccleuch at the next dissolution, and his visit to his constituents was made in pursuance of a promise given at that time. It proved an event of supreme importance in the fortunes of the Liberal party. The insecure foundations of the Conservative Administration were rapidly giving way, and a final push was all that was necessary to dissolve it in headlong ruin. With that wonderful political instinct which was one of Mr. Gladstone's most distinctive qualities, he saw that the moment had arrived and nerved himself for a very great effort. The success that

attended his campaign was more complete than could have been hoped for by his wildest partisans. For over a fortnight the people of England hung on his lips, for his speeches were, as he himself said, addressed not merely to the people of Midlothian, but to the nation at large. Mr. Gladstone left Liverpool on the 24th of November. All through Lancashire, wherever the train stopped, he was received by cheering multitudes, and at Carlisle, where he met a deputation of the Carlisle Liberal Association, introduced by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., he struck the keynote of his subsequent addresses. "It is," he said, "a crisis of an extraordinary character which brings you together, necessarily at much inconvenience, many of you coming from a considerable distance, to greet me for a moment on my way northwards. It is, I may say, a crisis of an extraordinary character, and no other than that would have induced me at my time of life, when every sentiment would dictate a desire for rest, to undertake what may be called an arduous contest. Every circumstance marks this occasion that is now approaching—whether it be a little nearer, or whether it be a little farther we do not know—as one of unequalled interest and importance; I say, gentlemen, of unequalled interest and importance, because already in eleven former dissolutions and elections it has been my fortune to take an active part; but in no one of these eleven, although they have extended very nearly over half a century, have I known the interests of the country to be so deeply and so vitally at stake as they are upon the dissolution which is now approaching."

At Newcastle Mr. Gladstone received, if possible, a more pronounced ovation, and the excitement reached fever heat at Galashiels, where he favoured the crowd with another address of the same tenor as the preceding. It was late when Edinburgh was reached, and Mr. Gladstone drove in Lord Rosebery's carriage slowly along Princes Street, amid enthusiastic cheers. Crowds continued to follow the carriage as far as the bounds of the city, when, going at a more rapid pace, it proceeded to Dalmeny House, which was reached about seven o'clock. On the 25th Mr. Gladstone addressed the Midlothian electors for the first time, in the Edinburgh Music Hall, Sir David Wedderburn being in the chair. After a warm personal tribute to the Duke of Buccleuch and his son, Lord Dalkeith, the sitting Member for Midlothian, he proceeded to denounce the manufacture of faggot votes to which his opponents resorted, an extraordinary manœuvre which he hoped would

utterly, certainly, and miserably fail of its purpose. He then referred to the question of a dissolution and said that although the law allowed a duration of seven years to a Parliament, the invariable practice was not to transact the business of more than six sessions. It was because her Majesty's Government were afraid to meet the country that they did not dissolve, and it was probable that they intended to go on some twelve months longer, in order to have a chance of striking a new theatrical stroke, of sending up some more rockets into the sky. Surprises had been the daily ailment of the present Government; their business was to stir up pride and passion, to appeal from Philip sober to Philip drunk. He repeated his indictment against Government, and then proceeded to dispose, on the evidence of Lords Beaconsfield, Derby, and Cranbrook, of the charges that the Liberals had embarrassed Government by a factious criticism of its foreign policy, and that on their defeat in 1874 they had left the country discredited and isolated in Europe. Finally, he asked the people of Great Britain whether the nation, like the majority in Parliament, was prepared to be responsible for the guilty acts of the Conservative Administration.

On the following day Mr. Gladstone proceeded to Dalkeith, and there took up again the thread of his story. He argued that home affairs were now swallowed up in general and foreign questions, and since 1874 the shoulders of the nation had been loaded with a multitude of gratuitous, mischievous, and dangerous engagements; we had no business to go into South Africa, into Turkey in Asia, into Cyprus, into Egypt. He then turned to subjects especially interesting to Scottish people. Upon the question of disestablishment he declined to pronounce an opinion, but said that it was for the Scots themselves to decide the question. He approved of doing away with the law of hypothec, and urged strongly the necessity of a revision of the law of settlement and entail both on social and moral grounds, pointing out that it threw the necessity of providing for a child not on the father, but on the grandfather, thereby creating an unnatural relation in the family. On the Home Rule question he made the following observations, which attracted then and since very considerable attention: "If you ask me what I think of Home Rule, I must tell you that I will only answer you when you tell me how Home Rule is related to local government. I am friendly to local government. I am friendly to large local prerogatives. I intensely desire to see Parliament relieved of some

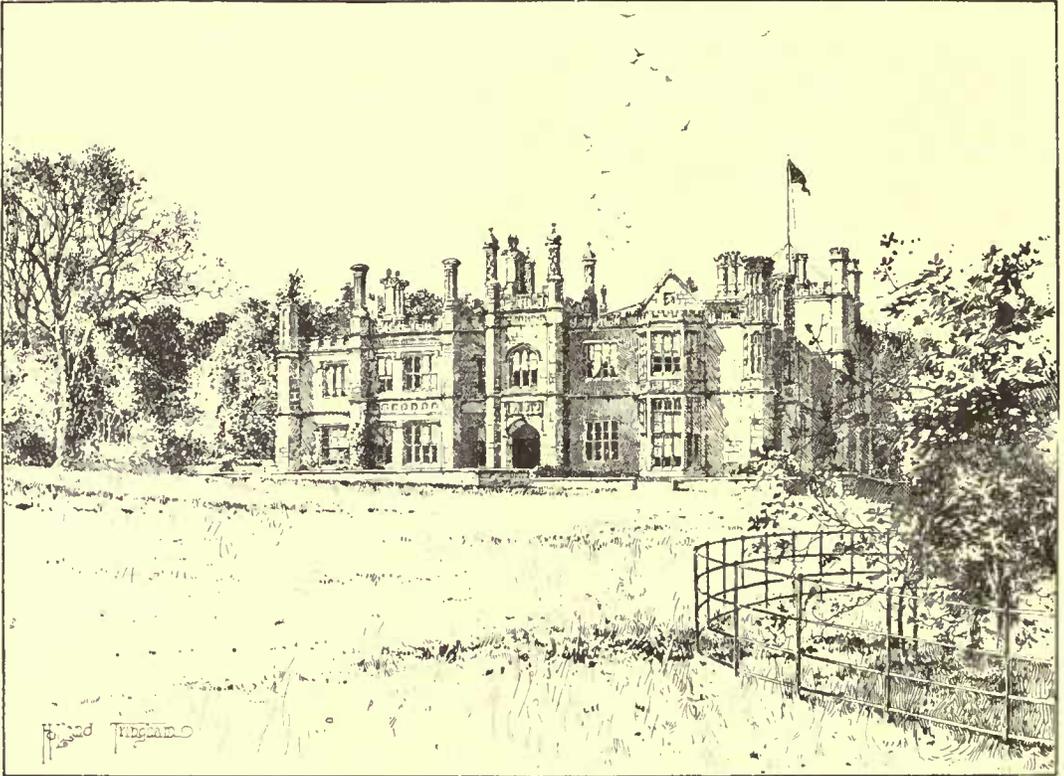
portion of its duties. I see the efficiency of Parliament interfered with, not only by obstruction from Irish Members, but by the enormous weight that is placed on the time, and shoulders, and minds of those who now represent you. We have got an overweighted Parliament, and if Ireland or any other portion of the country is desirous and able so to arrange its affairs as to take the local portion of some part of its transactions off Parliament, it would liberate and strengthen Parliament for Imperial concerns. The Imperial Parliament must be supreme in these three kingdoms, and nothing that creates a doubt on that supremacy can be tolerated by any intelligent or patriotic mind. But subject to that limitation, if we can make arrangements under which Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and portions of England can deal with questions of local and special interest to themselves more efficiently than Parliament now can, that, I say, will be the attainment of great national good."

Minor but not less impressive speeches occupied every available hour of these eventful days; but the veteran orator showed no diminution of energy when, on the 27th, he delivered his third great address at West Calder. He dwelt chiefly on agricultural topics, and gave an impressive description of the way in which the wave of agricultural depression had reached the United States, in consequence of the competition between the worn-out land of the east and the virgin land of the west. He ridiculed Protection and Reciprocity as only a quack remedy, and proceeded to expatiate on the blessings of Free Trade. Thence he passed to consideration of an ideal foreign policy, and argued that it should be based on six principles: that it should develop to the utmost a nation's resources as a basis of its power abroad, that it should aim at peace, that it should make great sacrifices to secure the concern of Europe in the settlement of all European questions, that it should avoid the weakening effect of entangling engagements wherever possible, that it should acknowledge the equal right of all nations, and that it should lean towards the encouragement of freedom and self-government. He concluded with a denunciation of Lord Beaconsfield's pale and despicable miniature of Imperialism.

The topic chosen by Mr. Gladstone for the first of two speeches delivered on the 29th was Tory finance, which he exposed to the most scathing criticism. Its effect, said he, was during the first three years to work down the surplus by three millions annually, and after the spirited foreign policy had been developed to create an aggregate

deficiency of six millions. In the evening a shorter address was delivered to the working men in the Waverley Market, on the subject of the Balkan principalities. This was the last speech at Edinburgh, for on the morning of December 1st Mr. Gladstone left Dalmeny House, and proceeded to Taymouth Castle on a visit to Lord Breadalbane. All along the route he was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm, and at Dunfermline, Perth, and

impossible to tire out this knight-errant of nearly threescore years and ten. In the evening he spoke with no visible diminution of strength to a vast audience in St. Andrew's Hall, and dealt at considerable length with the well-worn topics of the Anglo-Turkish convention, of Afghanistan, and the war in Zululand. "Will the people," he asked in conclusion, "ratify the deeds that have been done, and assume upon themselves that tremendous



DALMENY HOUSE.

(From a Photograph by Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

Aberfeldy he made short and telling speeches to his delighted audiences. The grand tour was nearly at an end, but before returning on his homeward journey he paid a visit to Glasgow, where he delivered his inaugural address as Lord Rector of the University, an honorary office to which he had been elected some two years previously. The students received his fine remarks on the value of education as a preparation for the various professions with great appreciation, and it was evident that the concluding words of a noble peroration—"be you, like men, strong, and the exercise of your strength to-day will give you more strength to-morrow"—sank deep into their hearts. It seemed

responsibility?" At Motherwell, on December 6th, he announced that the business for which he came to Scotland was substantially at an end for the time. He declared that the liberation of the country from the present Government was the main and capital object of his pilgrimage. "I came amongst you with the firm determination not to fall short in any effort that my humble energies could afford to be a sharer in your labours, and to assist you towards gaining their triumphant end." With these words on his lips Mr. Gladstone left the

"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood"

behind him, and returned homewards. At various

points of the route he was received by large crowds of admirers, who welcomed him with deserved acclamation, and to whom in a few well-chosen words he set forth his sense of the importance of the crisis into which the nation had entered. Lord Rosebery said, while presiding at the meeting in the Waverley Market, Mr. Gladstone had passed through one long series of well-ordered triumphs. "There has been no Scottish village too small to afford a crowd to greet him, there has been no cottager so humble that could not find a light to put in his window; as he passed, mothers have brought their babies to lisp a hurrah, old men have crept forth from their homes to see him before they died. These have been no prepared ebullitions of sympathy; these have been no calculated demonstrations. The heart of the nation has been touched."

It remained to be seen what had been the effect of the campaign on those who had not been able to catch enthusiasm from the personal influence of the speaker. An election at Sheffield, where a seat had been rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Roebuck, gave this opportunity. In 1874 Mr. Roebuck had headed the poll with 14,192 votes, Mr. Mundella coming second with 12,858. On the present occasion a strongly-qualified candidate was found in Mr. Waddy, Q.C.; but his chance was weakened by the fact that it was known that Mr. Roebuck's personal friends would give their vote for the Conservative candidate, and because Mr. Waddy had pronounced himself in favour of the Permissive Bill. Nevertheless, the Liberals won, though by a narrow margin, the result of the poll being Mr. Waddy 14,062, Mr. Stuart Wortley 13,584. The meagre character of this triumph was, however, atoned for by the return of Mr. Lea in Donegal by a large majority, thereby giving an extra seat in the House of Commons to the Liberal party. These two victories were held by some political observers to foreshadow the event of the coming election.

The condition of India during a year that witnessed much bloodshed and confusion on its north-western frontier was far from satisfactory. It is true that the Afghan war was, on the whole, popular, both with whites and natives. The princes were profuse in their offers of assistance, and the press of the country appeared to sanction an active foreign policy. It was rather in the commercial depression that prevailed everywhere, especially in Bombay, and in the miserable condition of the peasantry, who were in some parts ruined by cattle disease, and in other parts decimated by

cholera, that causes for anxiety were to be found. Beyond the boundaries a terrible famine had been raging in Cashmere for the last eighteen months, aggravated by the supineness of the Maharajah, who paid no attention to the entreaties of the British Resident, or to the threats of the Indian Government. There was, besides, a loud outcry against the financial policy of Sir John Strachey, whose Budget was received with a storm of disapproval, second only in intensity to that which greeted Government at home when it was known that India would have to pay two millions towards the expenses of the Afghan war. It was proposed to make up for the loss on exchange caused by the depreciation of silver by appropriating the so-called famine fund, which was supposed to have been set aside as a "sacred trust;" but the British Government wisely refused to have aught to do with a scheme that wore the appearance of want of honesty. Sir John Strachey's other measures were by no means well received; his licence tax was regarded as calculated to press severely upon the very poor, and had in consequence to be largely modified; the reduction of the import duties on cotton was considered by the native press as likely to ruin Hindoo manufacturers, and it was urged with considerable force that the export duties on rice should first have been repealed. In one or two respects, however, Lord Lytton's Government won deserved popularity. The complaint that the natives were not allowed sufficient share in the administration, which had been taken up by Mr. Bright and several other prominent Liberals, was at length answered by the issue of some new regulations, by which one-fifth of the appointments in the Civil Service were to be open to natives, who were to be nominated by the local Governments, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General, and were to receive salaries equal to two-thirds of those paid to Europeans. An admirable law was also passed by the Legislative Council for relieving the ryots of the Deccan from the thralldom of the money-lenders, by cancelling claims that could not possibly be paid, and giving the debtors opportunities for testing the validity of the documents by means of which they were kept in a state of the most utter misery.

Lord Lytton and his advisers were troubled elsewhere besides Afghanistan and Cashmere. In Assam the Naga hill-tribes appeared in arms, shot the British agent, Mr. Damant, and surrounded the garrison at Kohima, which resisted heroically, and was not relieved without desperate fighting. Bad news, too, came from Burmah. There a new

king, Theebaw by name, ascended the throne, and promptly celebrated the event by the massacre of some eighty of his relations. The British Resident, of course, protested, and as communications between the two Governments had for some time been strained, there were some apprehensions that the young king, who was an incorrigible drunkard, would declare war and invade British Burmah. Lord Lytton promptly sent reinforcements into the district; and Theebaw, in return, began organising and drilling his troops, using numerous threats meanwhile against the British community in Mandalay, and boasting that he would annex the Karen country to the Burmese throne. His subjects, however, were uneasy, and fears of deposition, if not of death, caused Theebaw to change his tone. He requested the Viceroy to receive an embassy, but was curtly told that unless he reformed it would be impossible to hold any communications with him or his Government.

The fears which Lord Lytton expressed so freely in his despatches about the advance of Russia towards the Indian frontier would in all probability have been toned down considerably had he been aware of the real facts of the case. The schemes of the Czar in Asia might be far-reaching and even have suggested, in consequence of the retrocession of the northern portion of the fertile province of Kuldja to China, the idea of an alliance with the Court of Peking, which might be powerful for good or for evil; but they were not always successful. It will be seen later that although the Court of St. Petersburg, after much encouragement of the miserable Shere Ali, finally left him in the lurch to suffer the effects of his intrigues, yet it showed no lack of a disposition to annoy and harass Great Britain in other ways. It was probably with this intent that an expedition against Merv was being organised at Chikislar all through the spring of 1879. Owing to the difficulties of the country, and the lack of transport, it was not in a condition to advance until the summer, when, after a march attended with terrible hardships, under which the commander, General Lazareff, and numbers of the troops sank from exhaustion, the advance guard arrived at Denghil Tepe, the stronghold of the Tekke Turkomans, on the 8th of September. Here they found the enemy well posted behind earthworks. Their attack was successful, but the cost was terrible; the Russians were compelled to retreat, leaving some 700 men on the field, and were pursued on the road to Chikislar by the lightly-armed foemen, who were strongly reinforced by some cavalry sent

by the Khan of Merv. Once more European generals had underrated a savage enemy. General Kauffmann promptly returned from Russia to Tashkend, and preparations were made on a large scale for a grand advance in the direction of Merv. It was, however, postponed until the following year, and the Russian authorities occupied themselves in the meantime in sending commissions to examine the possible routes across the steppes for railways and canals. Meanwhile the unfortunate kingdom of Persia, which formed a "buffer" territory between Russia and India, was treated with scant ceremony. Her territory was freely crossed by the armies of the Czar, her troops were officered by Russians, and violent pressure was put upon her to come to the aid of the Turkoman expedition with troops, or at least with supplies. The Shah, however, turned a deaf ear to these demands, and was disposed rather to court the friendship of Great Britain, hoping, no doubt, to be recompensed with the valuable prize of Herat.

If unsuccessful in Asia, Russia could by no means find cause for congratulation upon the condition of her affairs in Europe. Within the empire Nihilism, encouraged by the few successes of the previous year, became even still more daring, and startling attempts against the recognised authorities followed one another in rapid succession. On the 14th of April a man named Schorieff made a desperate attempt against the life of the Czar; but though he fired four times, none of the shots took effect. The Russian Government promptly retaliated by establishing a state of siege in the great towns, but no regulations, however stringent, could check the revolutionary propaganda. On the 19th of November a most elaborately devised plan, invented by a Nihilist called Hartmann, for the assassination of the Czar by undermining the Moscow railway, and connecting the explosives with a battery in a neighbouring house, was foiled only by what was apparently the merest chance. Contrary to the usual arrangement, the Emperor travelled in the first of two trains, leaving his luggage to follow in the second, a considerable portion of which was wrecked by the explosion. The revolutionary committee promptly published a proclamation, which, so far from expressing repentance, gloried in the crime and expressed regret that it had not succeeded.

With his empire to all outward seeming upon the point of dissolving in hideous ruin, the Czar was in no condition, even had Europe favoured his views, to interpose efficacious delays in the way of the execution of the Treaty of Berlin. The map

of Europe accordingly was rapidly modified in accordance with the directions laid down by the diplomatists in Congress, Greece alone, having no powerful friend at court, being compelled to endure the sickness of heart caused by hope deferred. Austria, as we have seen, after some serious fighting, succeeded in establishing her sway over the allotted provinces of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and further occupied without striking a blow the important sandjak of Novi-Bazar, whereby a standing outpost of great strength was established to bar the way to any attempt on the part of Russia to upset the newly-constituted arrangements.

It was also evident that the Czar could expect but little assistance in such a contingency from the enfranchised populations. The Servians, who were much alarmed by the progress of the Austrians towards the south, were nevertheless inclined to rest satisfied with their very substantial gains. The hardy Montenegrins, who had no one to help them in their hard struggle with the Albanians for the territory which, with supreme disregard to the wishes of the inhabitants, had been ceded to them in Albania, were less disposed to rest and be thankful, but they were isolated and insignificant in numbers. Nor could vigorous co-operation in any direction be expected from the new principality of Bulgaria, where Prince Alexander of Battenberg soon found that the task of ruling a people quite unused to self-government, and supplied with a wholly democratic Constitution, was no light one, and neither from the national nor the Conservative party could he form a Ministry of any consistency. With Roumania, as indeed the events of the previous year had foreshadowed, the relations of the Czar were not the most cordial. Though Prince Charles had acquiesced in the decision of the Congress concerning the Dobrudscha and Bessarabia, he was very tenacious of his rights in the matter of boundaries, and when the Commission of Delimitation included within his dominions the valuable fort of Arab Tabia he promptly directed his troops to occupy the position, and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Ultimately, after several rounds of mutual recrimination, the matter was referred to the Powers, and they shelved it for the time being by appointing a conference of Ambassadors to determine its merits. In another quarter the wish of the Czar to prevent the separation of the autonomous province of Bulgaria, and the Turkish province of Eastern Roumelia, was destined to be signally frustrated. In vain did Russian agents fan the Pan-Bulgarian movement, and organise a militia; the vigorous protests of

Lord Salisbury eventually produced the desired effect, and Count Schouvaloff, after a round of diplomatic visits to the courts of Europe, was compelled to report to his master that the Powers would recognise no considerable departure from the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. Accordingly, the Russian troops were suddenly withdrawn in the month of May. As it was feared that the departure of the soldiers would be the signal for an insurrection, it was determined to continue the powers of the European commission for another year, and to place the new governor, Prince Vogorides, a Bulgarian, who received on his appointment the designation of Aleko Pasha, under its control. On his arrival he at once set himself to gratify the people of Philippopolis by wearing the Bulgarian head-dress, and the Porte at the same time wisely refrained from exasperation of Russian susceptibilities, which might have followed immediate occupation of the frontier line of the Balkans. Indeed, there was in more than one direction a curious *rapprochement* between the Sultan and the Czar. The latter evinced a desire to be conciliatory by signing the treaty between Abdul Hamid and himself on the 8th of February, and the former, who was embarrassed by inability to raise a loan, and annoyed at the constant remonstrances of Sir Henry Layard against the neglect to put in execution the promised reforms in Asia Minor, abruptly dismissed his Ministry, re-established the Grand Vizierate, and bestowed it on Said Pasha, who was known to be under the control of Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, a statesman who made no secret of his sympathies with Russia and of his hatred of all reform.

The Czar, however, was in considerable danger of being completely isolated in Europe. The great fact of the year, the Austro-German alliance, was a most serious blow to his position among the leading rulers of the earth. One of the chief reasons for that combination was the violent language used against Prince Bismarck by the Russian semi-official press, because he aided and abetted the Emperor of Austria in taking possession of the additional territory assigned to the latter under the Treaty of Berlin. It was not long before these improvident menaces produced their result—a union of the threatened Powers. In June the Emperor of Austria visited the Emperor of Germany, and an interview followed shortly afterwards between their two great Ministers, Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy, at Gastein. Gradually Europe became aware that some new combination of the political Powers was

in contemplation; the Russian press redoubled its denunciations, and hinted in unmistakable terms that an alliance between Germany and Austria would be answered by the establishment of an understanding between Russia and France. To this Prince Bismarck replied by paying a visit to Vienna on September the 21st, where he was received with many demonstrations of joy, no less by the Court than by the populace. In a few days the German press announced that a defensive alliance, with stipulations especially directed against Russian aggression, had been signed by the two Great Powers. The news was received in England with expressions of approval. Lord Salisbury, as the representative of a policy that aimed at diminishing the influence of Russia, was among the first, as we have seen, to recognise the importance of the new combination.

The policy of Prince Bismarck within the limits of the German Empire excited almost as much attention as his manipulations of Imperial interests abroad. It was in every respect most alarmingly reactionary, and the Chancellor carried out with iron determination the course of repression which he had inaugurated in the previous year in regard to the Socialist agitation. The defeat in the Reichstag of an attempt to imprison a Socialist Deputy, who had boldly disregarded the Government orders for his expulsion from Berlin, was followed by the rejection, at the instance of the Liberal party, of a new Bill, the object of which was the more effectual gagging of debate. After this there could be no doubt that the days of the alliance between the German Chancellor and the National Liberal party were numbered, and those who knew the Prince prophesied that he would have no hesitation in pursuing his traditional policy of subordinating the interests of faction to those of State. The quarrel came to an issue in July, when the Prince formally announced his separation from the party which Dr. Lasker led with so much ability. The occasion was the Tariff Bill, which the Prince, in order to replenish his empty exchequer, and to still the clamours raised by impoverished farmers and manufacturers throughout the kingdom, had introduced early in the Session. In spite of its unblushing return to Protectionist ideas, the Tariff Bill received the support of the Ultramontane party, headed by Dr. Windthorst, and supported by these new friends, the Government succeeded in carrying their corn duties in May and the protective tariff in July. The elections to the Prussian Assembly, which followed the prorogation of the Reichstag, were a

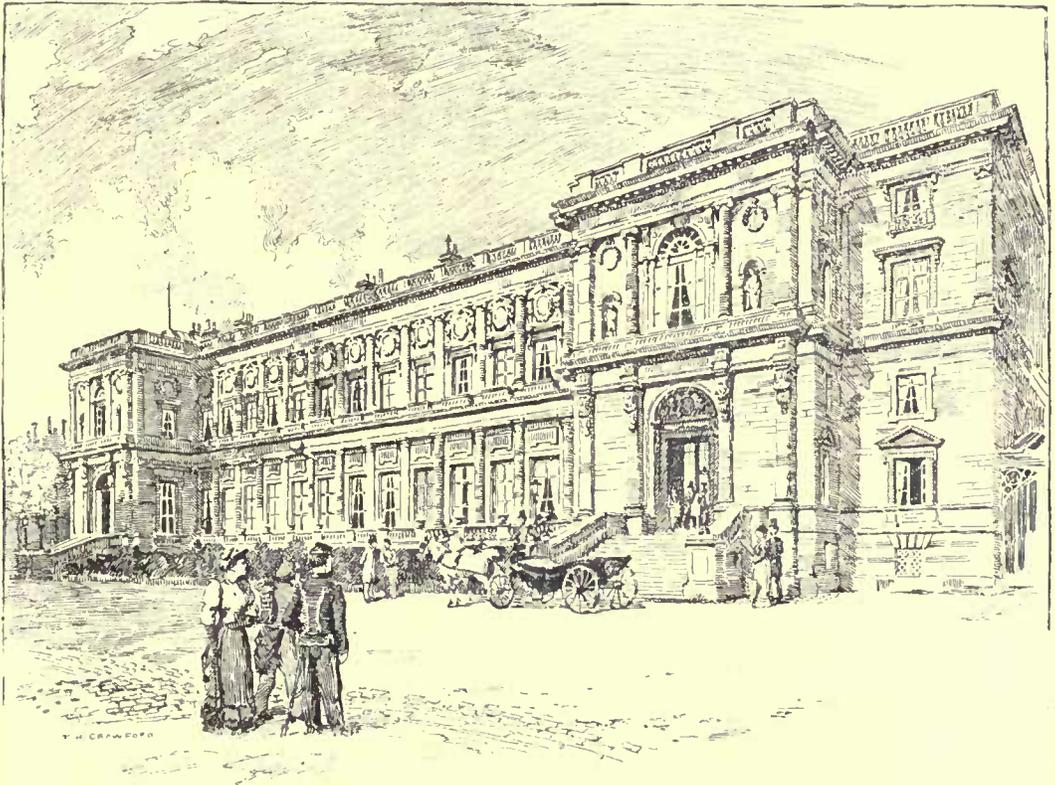
wonderful illustration of the personal influence of the great Chancellor; he needed no longer, as it was remarked, dispense with Parliamentary majorities, as he could now create them. The Ultramontane and Conservative parties, working hand in hand, were victorious everywhere, and the Liberals lost no less than 112 seats, including that of Herr Lasker, their numbers being reduced to 148, whereby they were rendered practically powerless. This was equivalent to a national endorsement of the newly-patented system of the Chancellor—alliance with Austria abroad, Protection at home, and last, but not least, reconciliation with the Papacy.

Though the complicated state of her politics was by no means simplified by the retirement of her greatest statesman, Count Andrassy, on the plea of exhausted energies, Austria could now, secure in the friendship of Germany, afford to disregard both the vapourings of the Russian press on the one side, and the threats of the Irridentists in Italy on the other. That cry, to which Garibaldi lent his sanction and support, had become so alarmingly loud that at last Austrian diplomacy lost its patience, and Baron Haymerle, her Ambassador at Rome, issued a pamphlet, "*Italica Res*," which was almost a direct challenge to Italy to disclaim all intention of offensive action. With his finances in the wildest disorder, and one Ministry falling on the ruins of its predecessor, King Humbert was in no position to accept the gage of battle, and every effort was made to repress the agitation. The wild vapourings of the Italianissimi, as they were called, found no echo in the breast of the new Pope, Leo XIII., who not only propitiated the Great Powers by a well-timed Encyclical against the growth of Socialism, Communism, and Nihilism, but by the bestowal of a Cardinal's hat upon Dr. Newman indirectly informed the Roman Catholics of Europe that rigid Ultramontanism was no longer to prevail at the Vatican, but that honour would again be paid to those who declined to surrender altogether the right of private judgment.

Passing over Spain and the other minor States of Europe, we come to France, where the effort to make a faint-hearted Legislature march *pari passu* with an ardently Republican populace was still engaging the energies of M. Gambetta. The Senatorial elections held on the 5th of January gave the Republicans a good working majority in the Upper House, and at last brought the two Chambers into harmony with one another. Elated by this victory, the Left pressed vigorously upon

the Ministry of M. Dufaure the execution of its promise to purge the departments of State and the army of those who were known to be in favour of reaction. The idea of interfering with the high military commands, in pursuance of which five generals commanding corps were to be removed from their posts, was so utterly repugnant to Marshal MacMahon that on the 28th of January he resigned, a step which it might have been well

and that M. Gambetta and the more determined sections of the Left would push them aside in favour of men of stronger nerve. "Our Republic," said the new President of the Chamber, "having at length issued from the strife of parties, must enter upon the organic and creative period." Unfortunately M. Waddington and his colleagues did not brace themselves to the task with much enthusiasm. At length M. Jules Ferry introduced



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PARIS.

for his reputation if he had taken some months before. The two Chambers, sitting as an Assembly, received his intimation in silence, and promptly proceeded to elect his successor. After a ballot it was announced that M. Jules Grévy had been elected by 563 votes, his only rival, General Chanzy, receiving 99 votes. M. Gambetta, who preferred for the present to keep himself aloof from parties, and who always declined to be nominated for the Presidency, was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. The Cabinet, which had resigned with the Marshal, was slightly modified, and the guidance of its counsels entrusted to M. Waddington. It was soon seen that so colourless a Ministry existed only on sufferance,

his Education Bill, the object of which was to take the instruction of youth from the hands of clericalism, especially of the Jesuits, and to vest it in the State.

In spite of the violent opposition of the Gallican Church, and of a large section of the upper and upper-middle classes, the measure became law by considerable majorities, and a most powerful engine for the destruction of ecclesiastical authority was thus placed at the disposal of M. Gambetta. The consent of the Government to the return of the Legislature to Paris was manifestly wrung from them by the importunities of the Left. When the session came to an end, it was evident that the Waddington Cabinet could not endure much longer, and it failed to make any political capital out of

the death of the ex-Prince Imperial, or the latest imprudences of the Comte de Chambord. At length they were brought to bay by the ever-waxing clamour for a plenary amnesty, and finally collapsed on the 26th of December, when M. de Freycinet was entrusted with the difficult task of forming a Cabinet sufficiently adventurous to satisfy the Left, and sufficiently Conservative not to terrify the Right.

The politicians of the sister Republic of the United States paid little attention to the deadly struggle which had broken out far away to the south between the Republic of Chili on the one hand, and the allied states of Peru and Bolivia on the other ; but there was some excitement over the project of a Panama canal, which M. de Lesseps had submitted to the judgment of the nations, and the powerful influence of General Grant was called upon to support those who professed to regard the idea as a piece of European interference. In other respects the tenor of American affairs was on the whole fairly satisfactory. The resumption of specie payments, after seventeen years of an enforced paper currency, did not, as it was feared, produce financial disturbance, but was found to give a distinct stimulus, not only to American industries, but to the British iron trade as well, the American manufacturers not being able to meet for the moment the extraordinary demand. In some quarters there was want of confidence in the existing order of things. The Californians were struck, like another branch of the great English race in Queensland, by a panic at the invasion of Chinese labour, and were furious with President Hayes

because, having due regard to treaty obligations, he vetoed a measure for checking immigration from the Celestial Empire. Whatever might be said of American politics at this time, no one could accuse them of being dull. The scandals connected with the last Presidential election were not forgotten in face of the impending contest of 1880, and the various trials of strength during the year, both in Congress and at the hustings, between the two nearly equally balanced parties were watched with the utmost interest, the general impression being that the Republicans would gain the upper hand.

In the adjacent Dominion of Canada, the Protectionist sympathies, which had come like a wave over the colonies in the previous year, driving Free Trade to the wall, both in Australia and at the Cape, found expression also ; and a "National" Cabinet, under Sir John Macdonald, was chosen to replace Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues. A tariff was promptly issued by Sir Samuel Tilley, the Minister of Finance, which, though it professed to be directed more against the United States than against the mother country, caused some dissatisfaction in England. A cause of ill-feeling between British Columbia and the rest of the Dominion was, however, removed by the energy with which the new Premier applied himself to hurrying on the construction of the Pacific Railway. Another excellent arrangement was the appointment of Sir Alexander Galt as Agent-General in London, whereby the colonists gained a far more efficient mouthpiece for the expression of their grievances than they could secure through any system of deputations.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Relations with Afghanistan since 1838—Reign of Dost Mohammed—Shere Ali's Struggle for the Throne—His Interview with Lord Mayo—Frontier Negotiations with Russia—Noor Mohammed at Simla—The Ameer's Relations with Lord Northbrook and General Kauffmann—The Frere Note and its Consequences—Lord Lytton's Instructions—The Vakcel at Simla—Sir Lewis Pelly at Peshawur—Statements in Parliament—Strained Relations—The Russian Mission to Cabul—Determination to send a British Mission—Its Postponement—The Ameer's Distress—The British Mission stopped—The Ultimatum and Declaration of War—Lord Beaconsfield on the "Scientific Frontier"—Liberal Expressions of Opinion—December Session—Debates on the Queen's Speech—Lord Cranbrook's Motion—Debate on the First Night—Its Conclusion—Mr. Whitbread's Resolution—Speeches of Lord John Manners and Mr. Chamberlain—Conclusion of the Debate and the Division—The Afghan War—Disposition of the British Forces—Capture of Fort Ali Musjid—Biddulph's and Stewart's Columns—General Roberts in the Peiwar Pass—Capture of the Kotal—He retires to Kurum—Browne at Jelalabad—Flight and Death of Shere Ali—Stewart and Biddulph converge upon Candahar—Occupation of the Town—Operations of Sir S. Browne—Roberts in the Khost Valley—Yakoob Khan's Negotiations—Treaty of Gundamuk—Opinion in England—Cavagnari's Position at Cabul—Attack on the Embassy—Massacre of the Mission—Advance on Cabul—Flight of Yakoob Khan to Kushi—Battle of Charasiah—Occupation of Cabul—Abdication of Yakoob Khan.

The frequent mention of the Afghan war in the extra-Parliamentary oratory of the Opposition showed that, whether rightly or wrongly, they regarded it as a very great blunder, and were unsparing in their criticisms accordingly. It had certainly been brought on by a startling change of policy, a change which had been made in defiance of the traditions of the frontier system of India, and in opposition to the representations of Indian officials of great experience.

For years, in fact ever since the disastrous termination of the war of 1838 had proved the folly of occupying Afghanistan, relations with that Power had been on the whole of a most friendly character. Dost Mohammed, who had been deposed, was restored to the throne, and though he at first maintained a suspicious attitude towards the British, and even went so far as to send reinforcements to the Sikhs during the revolt of 1848, he ended by throwing himself into the arms of Great Britain, and in 1855 a treaty was concluded at Peshawur by which the East India Company agreed to respect the independence of Afghanistan, while the Ameer on his side promised to be the friend of the friends, and the enemy of the enemies, of the Company. Two years later, during the Persian war, a further arrangement was made by which the Ameer was to receive a subsidy of a lakh of rupees (£10,000) per month for military purposes, the application of which was to be supervised by British officers. When this subsidy should cease the British officers were to be withdrawn from the Ameer's country, "but at the pleasure of the British Government a vakeel (agent), not a European officer, shall remain at Cabul on the part of the Government." This

was a wise concession to the independent spirit of the Afghans. Dost Mohammed during the remainder of his life—he died in 1863—remained faithful to Great Britain, even the terrible crisis of the Mutiny failing to shake his friendship.

Shere Ali, whom Dost Mohammed had nominated as his successor, was not destined to gain possession of his throne without a prolonged and varied struggle with his rival brothers. During this period the British Government never diverged from a policy of strict neutrality, much to the indignation of Shere Ali, whose fortunes were at one time at such a low ebb that he was compelled to give up Candahar and Cabul. However, in the course of 1868 he completely re-established his supremacy, whereupon Sir John Lawrence sent him a warm letter of congratulation. Thus the Afghans had been left to settle their own disputes, while the Indian Government consistently acknowledged the *de facto* ruler of Cabul, whether it was Shere Ali or his brother Mohammed Afzul.

Shere Ali once established on the throne, the British Government attempted to strengthen in every way its relations with him. Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lord Lawrence as Governor-General of India, gladly accepted his proposal of a personal meeting, and a conference was accordingly held at Umballa in March, 1869. The result was fairly successful, in spite of the misconceptions that afterwards arose. The Ameer was, however, disappointed in one respect. Sir John Lawrence had given him, according to his well-known policy, a donation of £60,000, which, as it enabled him to pay his army, contributed more than anything else to his establishment on the throne, and had promised him £60,000 more. This Shere Ali

apparently expected to be converted into an annual subsidy, but Lord Mayo refused to comply with such a demand, though he handed over the balance and made him a large present of arms and artillery. The Viceroy also declined to guarantee in any way to support Shere Ali and his dynasty as *de jure* rulers of Afghanistan. It was agreed, however, that the British Government would view with displeasure any attempt to disturb his position as ruler of Cabul, and would from time to time strengthen his Government "to enable him to exercise with equity and justice his rightful rule, and to transmit to his descendants all the dignities and honours of which he was the lawful possessor." An engagement was also made that no European agent should be forced upon him. A feeling of irritation seems to have rankled in the Ameer's mind, and this was increased by the Seistan award, made in the summer of 1872, just after Lord Northbrook's accession to power. It decided a boundary question between Persia and Afghanistan, but by giving to each party a portion of the disputed territory it dissatisfied both. Shere Ali on his side represented it as a deliberate injustice done to him in order to avoid disputes.

Soon afterwards the British Government took an important step which appears to have completely removed this misconception, and to have reconfirmed all the good results of the conference of Umballa. Shere Ali, who at that interview had expressed himself as perfectly at ease with regard to the designs of Russia in Central Asia, suddenly became alarmed at the advance of the legions of the Czar towards his northern frontier. The cause of his uneasiness was a letter he received from General Kauffmann, the Governor of Turkestan, in July, 1872, disputing his claim to the districts of Wakhan and Badakhshan. He applied for aid to England, and the result was an important correspondence between the British Government and that of St. Petersburg. Lord Granville claimed as territories belonging to the Ameer of Cabul, both Badakhshan, and Wakhan, also Afghan Turkestan, including Kunduz, Khulum, and Balkh, and the regions north-west as far as Andkoh. To this Prince Gortschakoff at first demurred, but eventually agreed to accept the boundary line laid down by Great Britain. During the discussion, which as regarded the two Powers chiefly concerned was only a resumption of negotiations initiated by Lord Clarendon in 1869, Prince Gortschakoff once more defined in the clearest terms the understanding between the two Governments with regard to Afghanistan. "They had come," he wrote, "to

an agreement that it was expedient to have a certain 'intermediary zone' for the purpose of preserving their respective possessions from immediate contact. Afghanistan seemed well fitted to supply what was needed, and it was consequently agreed that the two Governments should use all their influence with their neighbouring States towards preventing any collision on one side or other of this 'intermediary zone.'" In the year following this excellent understanding the conduct of Russia with regard to the Khanate of Khiva produced a feeling of deep-rooted distrust against Russia in Great Britain, which subsequent events did not tend to remove.

It was probably with the idea of availing himself of a moment when Shere Ali seemed to have abandoned his habitually suspicious demeanour, that Lord Northbrook initiated negotiations for a new Conference. It was eventually settled that Shere Ali's Prime Minister, Noor Mohammed, should wait upon the Viceroy at Simla. This statesman expressed himself as very uneasy as to the Russian progress, wishing apparently to work on the Viceroy's fears, and Lord Northbrook, after communicating with the Government at home, and receiving a reply that they "would maintain their settled policy," declared that "if in the event of any aggression from without, British influence was invoked and failed by negotiation to effect a satisfactory settlement, it was probable that the British Government would afford the Ameer material assistance in repelling an invader; but that such assistance would be conditional on the Ameer following the advice of the British Government, and having himself abstained from aggression."

This promise does not seem to have satisfied the Ameer. He appears to have wished for something more specific, and was deeply hurt at not obtaining a reversal of the Seistan award. His discontent showed itself in one or two acts of discourtesy. Two Englishmen, Colonel Baker and Sir D. Forsyth, the latter an envoy to Yarkand, were refused a passage through his dominions, but in each case he sent explanations that were fairly satisfactory. On his side he experienced fresh mortification from the actions of Government: the first, the bestowal of a handsome present on his vassal, the chief of Wakhan, in return for his courtesy to the Yarkand mission; the second, a grave rebuke addressed to him by Lord Northbrook on account of his treachery towards his turbulent son, Yakoob Khan, whom he had invited to Cabul under promise of safe-conduct, and then thrown

into prison. Notwithstanding, however, differences that arose from time to time, the relations between the Viceroy and Afghanistan were on the whole of a friendly character. All the while—until the summer of 1876—there was free

and so forth. These letters, and the answers to them, were shown to the British vakeel, Atta Mohammed Khan, and by him reported to the home Government.

The commencement of a new policy towards



SHERE ALI, AMEER OF CABUL.

communication between General Kauffmann and the Ameer. In August, 1873, the Russian Governor sent a letter to Cabul containing information as to the conquest of Khiva. Another communication dated February, 1874, congratulated Shere Ali on the choice of Abdullah Jan as his heir,

Afghanistan may be dated approximately September, 1876, but before that time there were indications that Government had in view the initiation of a fresh course of action which would necessitate the abandonment of the old attitude of "masterly inactivity" on the north-west frontier.

During the autumn of 1874 a controversy arose between two distinguished members of the Indian Council, Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Lawrence, owing to a letter written by the former to Sir John Kaye, the Secretary of the Foreign Department of the India Office, recommending the occupation of Quetta and the establishment of British officers at Herat, Balkh, and Candahar. It terminated in a note dated January 11th, 1875, in which Sir Bartle Frere set forth an elaborate and categorical exposition of his views on the subject. This Frere "note," which was published by the Government in the *Times* in November, 1878, is an important landmark in the Afghan question. For Lord Salisbury, without mentioning the authority on which he was acting, wrote straightway to Lord Northbrook, instructing him to take measures, with as much expedition as the circumstances of the case permitted, for procuring the assent of the Ameer to the establishment of a British agency at Herat. The Indian Government were much perplexed by the receipt of this peremptory order, and, after gaining delay, they proceeded to take the opinion of their most experienced officers. It was unanimously unfavourable to the imposition of British agents upon the Ameer. This view Lord Northbrook urged with much earnestness upon the Secretary of State for India in more than one powerfully-written despatch, but without the smallest effect. In the month of April, 1876, Lord Northbrook left India, and was succeeded by Lord Lytton, an appointment that was much criticised at the time.

The new Viceroy was sent out as an avowed agent of the new policy. In his instructions, which were dated February 20th, he was directed immediately on his arrival to despatch a temporary mission to Cabul with the view of establishing a permanent European mission. British agents were to have undisputed access to the frontier positions of the kingdom. They were to have adequate means of conferring with the Ameer on matters of common interest, and they were to expect "becoming attention to their friendly counsels." "If," ran article 11 of the instructions, "the language and demeanour of the Ameer be such as to promise no satisfactory result of the negotiations thus opened, his Highness should be distinctly reminded that he is isolating himself at his own peril from the friendship and protection it is his interest to seek and deserve."

The return for this great demand fell very far short of the well-known wishes of Shere Ali. The question of an annual salary was left to Lord

Lytton's discretion, with the remark that he "would probably deem it inexpedient to commit his government to any permanent pecuniary obligation." A vague promise of the recognition of Abdullah Jan as successor was held out to the Ameer, with the reservation that this "did not imply or necessitate any intervention in the internal affairs of the State." With regard to a guarantee against foreign aggression, Lord Salisbury declared that "her Majesty's Government were prepared to sanction and support any more definite declaration which may, in your judgment, secure to their unaltered policy the advantages of which it has been hitherto deprived by an apparent doubt of its sincerity. But they must reserve to themselves entire freedom of judgment as to the character of circumstances involving the obligation of material support to the Ameer, and it must be distinctly understood that only in case of unprovoked aggression would such an obligation arise."

As soon as Lord Lytton arrived in India, Sir Lewis Pelly, already famous in connection with the *cause célèbre* of the Guicowar of Baroda, was chosen as special envoy to Cabul. His mission was ostensibly to inform the Ameer of the accession of a new Viceroy to office, and of the assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India. The Afghan statesmen, however, suspected that there was something behind, and Shere Ali replied to the intimation that the envoys were coming, by an exceedingly polite note in which he said that he saw no object in the despatch of envoys, as excellent relations had been established at the conference at Simla. Thereupon the Indian Government adopted another tone, and about a month afterwards (the delay having been, it is said, caused by objections raised by three members of the Council), on the 8th of July, the Commissioner of Peshawur despatched two letters, one directly to the Ameer and the other to the British vakeel, in which Shere Ali was taken to task, and a hint given that if he persisted in his refusal the Viceroy would be compelled to regard Afghanistan as a state that had "voluntarily isolated itself from the alliance and support of the British Government." Shere Ali, in alarm, offered to send the vakeel at Cabul to Simla with full explanations, and to Simla accordingly he came. There, after a statement of the Ameer's grievances had been laid before Lord Lytton, the latter delivered an address to the vakeel, Atta Mohammed, in which he had recourse to warnings, among them being one to the effect that the moment Great Britain ceased to regard Afghanistan as a

friendly state there was nothing to prevent her from providing for the security of her frontier by coming to an understanding with Russia, which might have the effect of wiping Afghanistan out of the map altogether. If the Ameer did not wish to come to an understanding with Great Britain, Russia did, and she desired it at his expense. The agent was dismissed after an *aide-mémoire* had been given him, containing, indeed, a list of the concessions which the British Government was prepared to make, but insisting in return on the conditions that Afghanistan was to be entirely open to Englishmen, whether official or unofficial. Further, a meeting was proposed between Sir Lewis Pelly and Noor Mohammed, the Ameer's Prime Minister.

Sir Lewis Pelly repaired to Peshawur with a paper of instructions, dated October 17th, 1876, and a draft treaty, in which the only really solid benefit derived by the Ameer was a gift of £200,000 on the ratification of the treaty, and an annual subsidy of £120,000. The conference began in the month of January, 1877. Meanwhile, events had occurred which rendered it highly improbable that it would have any satisfactory result. The Ameer was thrown into a panic by the permanent occupation of Quetta on the 2nd of November, a step which, occurring as it did simultaneously with the construction of a bridge of boats across the Indus at Khoshalgarh, and the movement of troops towards the south and east of his dominions, had all the appearance of being the first move in an organised invasion. On the other hand, Lord Lytton received intelligence that Shere Ali was conducting underhand negotiations with General Kauffmann, and at the same time consulting the priests as to the possibility of exciting a jihad, or religious war, against England. Thus the breach was becoming wider hour by hour.

The Peshawur Conference, it must be confessed, began under the most unfavourable auspices, when Sir Lewis Pelly laid it down in the first interview that the acceptance of the principle that British officers might reside in Afghanistan was absolutely necessary as a preliminary to the commencement of negotiations. For several days Noor Mohammed, who was labouring under a painful disease, parried the question with considerable skill, but on the 12th of February, in the course of a long statement of his master's views, he took up the point, and urged that the promises of Lord Mayo were directly contrary to it, and that the Afghan people had a dread of the proposal. To this Sir Lewis Pelly replied that it was an indispensable provision

in a revised treaty. If the Ameer rejected these offers the Viceroy would decline to support him and his dynasty in any troubles internal or external, and would continue to strengthen the frontier of British India, without further reference to the Ameer, in order to provide against probable contingencies. The controversy dragged on, until at last the British envoy said plainly that if the demand as to British officers was rejected, there was no basis left for negotiations. On the 15th of March Sir Lewis Pelly, in obedience to instructions from Lord Lytton, drew up a reply in the form of a letter from himself to Noor Mohammed. It went over the whole case, and concluded by remarking that as it appeared the Ameer no longer desired the British alliance and protection, and as the British Government did not wish to press its alliance and protection on those who neither sought nor appreciated them, it only remained for the Viceroy to withdraw the offers made to him in the previous October. This letter was placed in the hands of a dying man; Noor Mohammed, who had served his master so eloquently and faithfully, succumbed to the disease of which he had long been a victim on the 26th of March. It was reported that Shere Ali was preparing to send a fresh envoy to Cabul, empowered to make every concession. Lord Lytton, however, telegraphed on March 30th to Sir Lewis Pelly, instructing him to close the conference immediately, on the ground that there was no basis for negotiation. It was reported that the Ameer had despatched a confidential envoy to Tashkend, and this was not improbable.

Such was the posture of affairs at the conclusion of the conference. Meanwhile, in answer to inquiries at home, Lord George Hamilton in the Lower House, and Lord Salisbury in the Upper were assuring the people that, with respect to Afghanistan, we stood exactly in the same position as in former years. "I only wish," said the Secretary of State for India, "emphatically to repeat that none of these suspicions of aggression on the part of the English Government have any true foundation; that our desire in the future, as it has been in the past, is to respect the Afghan ruler, and to maintain, as far as we can, the integrity of his Empire. . . . We have not," he had said a few minutes previously, "tried to force an envoy on the Ameer at Cabul," a statement which was literally true, but it was evident that his hearers understood him to mean not "at Cabul," but "of Cabul," and that misconception was not removed.

It was a curious comment on the statement that relations towards the Ameer had undergone no material change, that the British vakeel, Atta Mohammed, should have been withdrawn from Cabul immediately after the Peshawur conference. This decisive step was never once alluded to by Lord Lytton in his official despatches, yet in its effect, from the sense of insecurity it must have produced in the Ameer's mind, it was tantamount to forcing upon him a direct declaration of war. In fact, we find Lord Salisbury at this very time writing to the Viceroy and talking of the "isolation and scarcely-veiled hostility of the Ameer," and informing him that if that attitude were maintained the British Government "would be at liberty to adopt such measures for the protection and permanent tranquillity of the North-West frontier of her Majesty's Indian dominions, as the circumstances of the moment may render expedient, without regard to the wishes of the Ameer, Shere Ali, or the interests of his dynasty." It was evident that the slightest touch would precipitate the conflict, and the Russian mission to Cabul may be called the occasion rather than the cause of the Afghan war.

The mission to Cabul was resolved upon by the authorities at St. Petersburg in the spring of 1878. The narrative of events in previous chapters has shown how strained were the relations between England and Russia at this period, and how loudly the war note was sounded by the Ministerial organs in Great Britain. Hence it is hardly to be wondered that the Russians should have determined to annoy the British in turn. They chose, of course, the point where the latter were most sensitive to attack. There was a general movement of troops in contemplation, converging on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and at the same time General Kauffmann informed the Ameer that a Russian envoy, sent by the order of the Emperor, and armed with powers equal to those of the Governor of Tashkend, would shortly arrive at Cabul. The expedition of troops was countermanded on the signature of the Treaty of Berlin, but the mission, a slower but not less sure weapon of offence, was allowed to proceed on its way, and arrived at Cabul on the 11th of August. Shere Ali expressed, and possibly with perfect sincerity, great annoyance on hearing that the embassy was to be despatched, but he resigned himself to the inevitable, and received the envoy, General Stoletoff and his suite, with every mark of cordiality and respect.

Rumours of the impending arrival of the mission

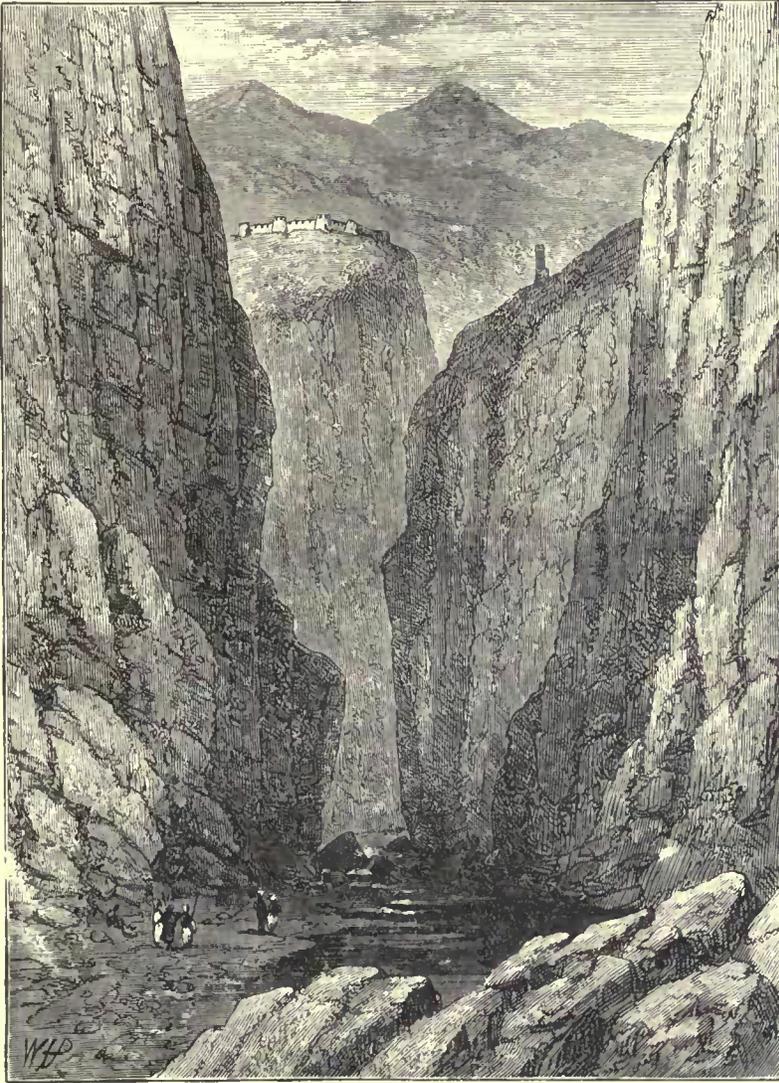
were sent by Lord Lytton to England as early as the 7th of July. The Russian Government was promptly interrogated on the subject, and their Minister, M. de Giers, replied deliberately that no such mission had been, or was intended to be, sent to Cabul either by the Imperial Government or by General Kauffmann. This astounding lie was speedily contradicted by facts. Lord Lytton, who appears, despite the withdrawal of the British vakeel, to have kept himself well informed as to the Ameer's movements, telegraphed again on the 30th that the mission was undoubtedly coming, and asking for instructions. He suggested that if the matter was left to the Indian Government the best course would be to insist on the Ameer's receiving a British mission at Cabul. Lord Cranbrook signified his acceptance of this plan on the 3rd of August, and on the 19th Lord Lytton wrote from Simla to the effect that he had offered the appointment of envoy to Sir Neville Chamberlain, and that he had accepted it. He was to be accompanied by Major Cavnari, C.S.I., the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, Major St. John, R.E., Captain Hammick, and an escort of two hundred and fifty men.

On the 14th of August the Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan, who had formerly been the British vakeel at Cabul, and was a soldier held in high esteem by the authorities, was despatched with a letter from the Viceroy to the Ameer, containing the intimation of the coming mission. He had, however, only reached Peshawur when he was stopped by news that Abdullah Jan, the Ameer's favourite son, whose nomination to the throne had been the cause of much of the internal misery of the country, had died at an early age. Lord Lytton thereupon sent a message of condolence to the Ameer, and made arrangements for the postponement of Sir Neville Chamberlain's departure so that he should not reach Cabul until the customary period of forty days' mourning had elapsed. Meanwhile he sent an intimation to the Ameer, informing him that the object of the mission was amicable, and that "the refusal of a free passage to it, or interruption, or injury to its friendly progress would be regarded as acts of hostility." Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan at the same time was ordered to make haste to the Afghan capital, where on his arrival he was granted an interview with Shere Ali on the 18th.

That unfortunate potentate was evidently in great perplexity of mind, and implored for more time. The Nawab, impressed by his remarks, advised the postponement of the mission, otherwise resistance might be expected; and on the

following day, after an interview with the Minister, Shah Mohammed, he wrote again, saying "that he thought the Russian mission would soon be dismissed, and that the Ameer would then send for

unchanged, and that the movements of Sir Neville Chamberlain must not be delayed. That officer, on his side, was also of the opinion that the Ameer was trifling with him. "It has been said," he wrote,



FORT ALI MUSJID AND THE KHYBER PASS.

the English mission." He reported that the Ameer had intimated that he would send for the mission in order to clear up misunderstandings, provided there was no attempt to force the mission without his consent being first granted according to the usual custom, otherwise he would resist it, as coming in such a manner it would be a slight to him.

Lord Lytton, however, replied by telegraph on the 19th of September that the situation remained

"in the clearest language by the Ameer himself by his Minister, and by the officers in command of his outposts, that they will, if necessary, stop the advance of the mission by force." This was precisely what occurred. On the 21st the mission started from Peshawur and reached Jumrood. Thence Major Cavagnari went forward with a small escort to fort Ali Musjid, which guards the entrance of the Khyber Pass. There, by the order of the Ameer, he was stopped, not "insolently" as

the London papers at first reported, but, to use his own expression, "in a very courteous manner." The Ameer's officer, Faiz Mohammed, favourably impressed Major Jenkins and himself. There was a long discussion, at the close of which Major Cavagnari asked the officer, for the last time, if he correctly understood him to say that if the British mission advanced as intended on the following day, he would oppose it by force, and he replied that such would be the case. "I then got up and snook Faiz Mohammed Khan by the hand, and assured him that I had no unfriendly feelings against him personally, and that I hoped to meet him again on some future occasion."

Forthwith military preparations were hurried on apace. A letter from the Ameer complaining of the "harsh and rough words and expressions, which are inconsistent with the forms of courtesy and civility, and contrary to the mode of friendship and sympathy" with which he had been addressed; and reflecting on the want of patience of the British Government at a time when he was in great distress of mind, as inconsistent with "the sublime way of friendship and alliance," only added fuel to the flame. Lord Lytton telegraphed to the Home Government on October 19th, proposing an immediate declaration of war, to which they replied on the 25th, recommending that an apology and the acceptance of a permanent British mission should first be demanded in temperate language. On the 30th an ultimatum was sent to Shere Ali, containing a long account of the circumstances attending the despatch of the mission, and laying these conditions before him. No reply was received, and finally on November 21st war was declared in a proclamation issued by the Viceroy in English, Persian, and Urdu.

At first the news was received in England with enthusiasm. Lord Beaconsfield meanwhile had thrown on the subject a fresh side-light by a declaration at the Mansion House, that the movements in the North-West were caused not by fear of invasion but by the desire of acquiring a new frontier. "We have long arrived at an opinion that the invasion of our Empire by passing the mountains which form our north-west frontier is one we need not dread. But it is a fact that that frontier is a haphazard and not a scientific one, and it is possible that it is in the power of any foe so to embarrass and disturb our dominion that we should under the circumstances be obliged to maintain a great military force in that quarter, and consequently entail upon India a greatly increased expenditure. With these views we have

taken such measures as we think will effect the object we require. When these arrangements are made—and I cannot suppose that any considerable time will elapse before they are consummated—our north-west frontier will no longer be a source of anxiety to the English people."

Such was the enunciation of the famous "scientific frontier" theory. Its very vagueness at once attracted popular attention, although, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out in a letter to the Bedford Liberal Association, it was not easy to see how a foe could embarrass and put us to great expense on a frontier which it was impossible to invade. There was, however, no little revulsion of feeling when it was discovered that the leading Indian authorities were with almost one accord adverse to the declaration of war. Lord Northbrook denounced the decision in a speech of much power at Winchester. Lord Lawrence accepted the post of chairman of an Afghan Committee which met at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and there drew up a memorial to the Prime Minister, protesting against the taking of further steps until all the papers had been published and the consent of Parliament had been obtained. To this Lord Beaconsfield replied by refusing to receive a deputation to present this memorial, but he promised the papers by the end of the month, and said that if war was declared Parliament should be consulted. In due course it was summoned for a December session. On the last day of November, Mr. Gladstone, who had come to bid farewell to his Greenwich constituents, addressed a vast meeting in Plumstead Skating Rink, when he expressed his fear that the war was grossly and totally unjust, and said that if so, we should "come under the stroke of the everlasting law—that suffering shall follow sin; and the day will come—come it soon or come it late—when the people of England will discover sooner or later that national injustice is the road to national downfall."

Amid these gloomy prognostications from distinguished Liberals, Parliament met on December 9th, 1878. The Queen's Speech alluded in an apologetic tone to the necessity of calling them at such an inconvenient time, owing to the despatch of an expedition into Afghanistan, and made besides a brief allusion to the satisfactory working of the Treaty of Berlin. Their hands strengthened by the announcement that General Roberts had just gained a decisive victory, Government met their opponents with great confidence of heart. There were preliminary discussions in both Houses. Lord Granville pointed out with effective

moderation the inaccuracies of the recently published despatch from Lord Cranbrook to Lord Lytton, and the untrue impression given to the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury's explanations in June, 1877. Lord Cranbrook warmly retorted, and attempted in turn to lay the blame on Lord Northbrook, who defended himself with much conclusiveness. Finally, Lord Salisbury rose to explain away his former utterances, and Lord Beaconsfield passed some well-deserved eulogies on the conduct of the troops. In the House of Commons Lord Hartington severely condemned the policy that had produced the war, though he carefully explained that, it having once begun he did not intend to oppose the grant of money, and Sir Stafford Northcote made a peaceful speech in which he represented the war, not as one of aggrandisement, but as necessitated by the insecurity of Britain's position in Central Asia.

The great debate in the Upper House commenced on the motion of Lord Cranbrook that the House consent that the revenue of India should be applied to defray the expenses of military operations that might be carried on beyond the frontiers of the Queen's Indian dominions. The Secretary of State favoured the House with a long historical disquisition, the drift of which was that it was highly important that we should have a strong Afghanistan on friendly terms with England on our north-west frontier; but that the Russians had discovered that if they could turn our watch-dog, the Ameer, into a bloodhound against us they would gain an advantage, and that it was necessary to remove the faithless porter and take the charge of the door from him. There might be room for England and Russia in Central Asia, but there was not room in Afghanistan. The war was forced upon us. Lord Halifax, who moved a hostile amendment, followed with a calm and closely reasoned speech, which upheld the old frontier policy at the expense of the new. He concluded by imploring Government to use the pause in military operations necessitated by the winter to revert once more to the policy of conciliation. Lord Lawrence, who spoke next, criticised very severely the recent policy adopted with regard to Russia, which consisted in questioning her intentions and movements and then accepting her answers. He defended very ably his consistent recognition of the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, and asserted that the inhabitants of India would universally consider the war to be one of aggression. "I would take," he said, "no territory from the Afghans; neither would I extend our

north-west frontier over what are called the independent border tribes; in every respect we are much better without them than with them. If we annex any of them—more especially those of the Pathan race—we shall be forced sooner or later to subjugate them, disarm them, and keep them down. This would necessitate a considerable addition to our native army, and, for political reasons, to our European force also; the consequent increase of expenditure would be a great drain on our resources." The ex-Cabinet Ministers, Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon, concurred in severely condemning the Government, and the Duke of Somerset and Lord Napier and Ettrick in defending it.

On the following night Earl Grey resumed the debate with what he called some rather desultory remarks, the object of which was to prove that the war was morally wrong, that we should gain nothing by it but rather play into the hands of Russia, and to employ the revenues of India in carrying on an unrighteous war would be not to the advantage but to the detriment of that empire. Lord Cairns defended the war in a very elaborate speech, saying that it was a war that could not have been avoided, for the honour, the dignity, and the safety of India; Lord Selborne, on the contrary, described the policy as one of bullying and blundering, a policy of injustice and peril. The next important speech was that of Lord Northbrook, who defended his own relations with Shere Ali, and pointed out that on his resignation of office the Ameer was loyal to the British Government. Lord Salisbury, after a sneer at "the study of that interesting question how the Ameer came to be angry," drew an impressive picture of the Russian mode of dealing with neighbouring tribes. "Whether by orders or without orders, Russian commanders and diplomatists go forth into any country which borders on any Russian territory and devote themselves to the task of organising it in Russian interests; they command its armies, they erect its forts, they guide its diplomacy, they shape its councils, and this unauthorised diplomatic invasion is the danger we have to fear in Afghanistan." Lord Beaconsfield wound up the debate in one of the best speeches he ever made in the House of Lords. He began by describing the inconvenience of the north-west frontier, a branch of the Himalayas, not a single portion of which was under our control. It had, he said, been in our possession for twenty-eight years, and had been the cause of numerous expeditions and the employment of between fifty and sixty thousand men. Now, rectification was not spoliation; on the

contrary, the peace of the world largely depended on treaties for the rectification of frontiers. He then went on to explain his Mansion House utterances. He had never said that the substitution of a scientific for a haphazard frontier was the object of the war; he had treated it as a possible consequence of the war, which was a very different thing. The difference between a scientific and a haphazard frontier was this: that the former could be defended with a garrison of 5,000 men, while the latter would require for its defence a garrison of 100,000 men, and even then would not be quite safe from attack. The sudden appearance of Russia in the vicinity of Afghanistan had necessitated sudden activity on our part. He did not blame the preparations of Russia at a time when war seemed inevitable; on the contrary, he had no doubt that we should have undertaken some enterprise of a similar kind. But it was impossible after all that had occurred that things should go on as they were. So far from Government having ill-used the Ameer, he had been treated like a spoiled child; nothing more could be done with him. "What I wish to impress upon your lordships before you divide is, that you should not misapprehend the issue on which you have to decide. It is a very grave one. It is not a mere question of the Khyber Pass, or of some small cantonment at Dakka or at Jelalabad. It is a question which concerns the character and the influence of England in Europe, and your conduct to-day will animate this country and encourage Europe if it be such as I would fain believe you are determined to adopt." The division list showed that the House of Lords was prepared to follow Lord Beaconsfield's advice, the contents being 201 and the non-contents 65, leaving a good round majority of 136.

In the House of Commons there was a longer but on the whole less interesting debate. The moving of the resolution was entrusted to Mr. Whitbread, who asked the House to disapprove the conduct of her Majesty's Government, which had resulted in a war with Afghanistan. A debate followed that lasted for four nights. Mr. E. Stanhope, who spoke amid some interruption, contended that the war had been produced by the acts of the previous Government. The discussion was continued by Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Ridley, all of whom quoted copiously from despatches. Mr. Forster made a very earnest speech, in which he urged that the war should be concluded as soon as possible; and Mr. Chamberlain, after exposing the policy of deception practised

by Government, quoted with great effect an extract from one of Mr. Disraeli's speeches in 1857, in which he accused Lord Palmerston of diverting popular attention from his want of domestic policy by the turbulence and aggressiveness of his external system. On the second night Lord John Manners resumed the debate with a trenchant speech, which argued that no quarter should be granted to the Ameer until he had made due submission. This point was taken up by Mr. Gladstone, who wished to know if the Ameer, instead of making submission, simply disappeared, how long we were to keep an army of occupation there. Mr. Gladstone concluded with a prophecy that was to be terribly fulfilled. "We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable. But we have erred a second time upon the same ground, and with no better justification. That may also be human, and if as such it be pardonable, it is certainly, to say the least, lamentable, and repeated error is a grief. This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable and imaginable, and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities. It is proverbially said that history repeats itself, and there has rarely been an occasion in which there has been a nearer approach to identity than in the case of the present and the former wars. We have plunged into war upon the same ground, to act against the same people, and to fight against the son of the same man whom we previously fought against. There is still many a living being in Afghanistan whose memory bleeds at the recollection of the horrors which we carried into their country, and which we ourselves endured not forty years ago, and yet all this is to be done over again. May heaven avert the omen! May heaven avert a repetition of the calamity which befell our army in 1841!"

On the third night the chief speeches were those of Mr. Grant Duff, who, while ridiculing the idea that Afghanistan was dangerous, maintained that we ought strictly to prevent Russian interference there. Mr. Bourke laid great stress on the influence of General Kauffmann over Shere Ali, and maintained that had not the latter been so insignificant, war would have been declared against him long previously; and Mr. Goschen expressed far more firmly than any of his party his dislike to the presence of a Russian mission at Cabul, and the necessity of its withdrawal. Lord Hartington, late in the evening, made a very exhaustive and animated attack on the Indian policy of Government, and urged the recall of Lord Lytton, who



ATTACK ON ALI MUSJID. (See p. 430.)

was the incarnation of an Indian policy that was everything which an Indian policy ought not to be; at the same time his fault had been that he was too faithful an embodiment of the Government he represented. Sir Stafford Northcote was very indignant at the attack upon Lord Lytton, and proceeded, to the best of his ability, to defend Lord Salisbury from the charge of casuistry. He warmly denied that Government desired annexation. "Nothing can be more contrary to our feelings, nothing to our principles, than such a policy. On the other hand, charged as we are, and still may be for some little time longer, in spite of the noble lord, with the fortunes and the destinies of this great empire, we intend to do our duty by it, and not to be deterred by any misrepresentations which may be made of us." The division followed this spirited declaration, and gave the Government a good majority—ayes, 328; noes, 237. One or two Whigs voted for the Government, and many more stayed away. The debate, raised by Mr. Fawcett, on the question of defraying the expenses of the war from the Indian revenues was fairly well sustained, Government having a slightly increased majority of 110.

By the time that Members had once more dispersed to their homes, the Afghan war was to all appearance at an end. The invading force had been exceedingly well organised. In the Peshawur valley were 16,000 men with sixty-one guns under Sir Samuel Browne, while the Kurum column, commanded by General Roberts, was 6,000 strong with twenty-four guns, and the Quetta army, under General Biddulph, 12,000 strong with sixty guns. The war was undoubtedly popular in India. Numerous independent princes offered to place their troops at the disposal of Government, and a feudatory contingent of 3,000 men was eventually formed. Meanwhile, reports were received through spies that a large portion of his turbulent subjects were dissatisfied with Shere Ali, and the costly sword given by General Kauffmann to the chief of the Afghan legation at Tashkend for transmission to the Ameer did not seem to encourage any sure belief that he would receive assistance from Russia.

As usual the operations of the British troops were prompt. At daybreak on the 21st of November, 1878, the Peshawur column entered the Khyber district, and advanced without much opposition until the Shagai range was reached, whence fort Ali Musjid was visible. Sending General Macpherson and General Tytler with his first and second brigades, to make their way by a circuitous route to the

rear of the Afghans, and so cut off their retreat, Sir Samuel Browne advanced to the brow of the ridge. At noon the enemy opened fire with some effect, whereupon the Sikhs were sent forward on the right, and the horse artillery brought up to reply to the Afghan guns. This they did with such good result that about two o'clock the central bastion of the fort was struck by two forty-pounder shells and fell with a crash.

A general advance ensued. Covered by the artillery the skirmishers began to mount the steep slopes of the Rhotas. They were followed on the right of the valley by the third brigade composed of the 81st and the 24th Native Infantry, and the 45th Sikhs made their way to the left. The skirmishers pushed on, firing briskly almost up to the fort, but in the absence of any evidence that Macpherson and Tytler had effected the flanking movement with which they had been charged, it was considered too great a risk to allow the third and fourth brigades to attempt an attack in front. The troops, therefore, bivouacked for the night on the ground they had won. The day had not been without its reverses. Manderson's battery, moving along the bed of the stream, had encountered unexpected and vigorous resistance, and Colonel Appleyard's advanced guard of the third brigade had dashed against four successive lines of entrenchment occupied by the enemy, and while falling back in the dusk had been severely handled. In this disaster Major Birch was killed, and Lieutenant Fitzgerald met a similar fate while gallantly attempting to rescue the body of his superior officer.

During the night Major Cavagnari received intelligence that the garrison of Ali Musjid, hearing that General Tytler's brigade was approaching in their rear, had been seized with a panic and had evacuated the fort. As soon as dawn appeared, a young officer of the 9th Lancers was sent forward to see how matters stood, and discovered that the place was actually in possession of some of the Sepoys. Twenty-one guns were taken, and it was found that the lines were formidably constructed, and capable of offering a fairly stubborn resistance. Sir Samuel Browne halted only for the night, and then pushed on towards Dakka and Jelalabad, being joined on the march by Macpherson and Tytler's brigades. Dakka was occupied on the 23rd without resistance, and the neighbouring chiefs of the Khoord Khyber district came in to offer submission. A reconnoitring force was then pushed forward, which returned with a report that Jelalabad was being strengthened, and

that a large body of troops was being concentrated at Cabul.

The other columns were advancing in the meantime with almost equal rapidity. General Biddulph, in command of the Quetta column, which formed the extreme left of the expeditionary force, reached Pishin without opposition, though his troops suffered excessively from the cold. Pushing rapidly on he reached the fort of the Khojuk Pass on the 9th of December, and sent on a reconnoissance to Chuman on the east side of the pass, the whole of which he afterwards occupied. In conjunction with this force a subsidiary column under General Stewart was marching through the sands that border on Beluchistan with slow and painful progress, which contrasted forcibly with the advance of his more fortunate colleague. Penetrating through the Bolan Pass, they reached the Afghan territory and made for Candahar.

The hardest work of the campaign, however, was accomplished by the Kurum force under General Roberts. Starting from Thal in the Kohat district, about seventy miles from the town of Kohat, he entered the Afghan borders almost immediately. Two forts just within the territory of the Ameer were fortunately found to have been evacuated, and halting at Ahmed-i-shama, the second of them, he convoked an assembly of the hill tribes, and arranged for a supply of forage and fuel. The road beyond Ahmed-i-shama was terribly bad. Enormous boulders of rock blocked up the way, and the Royal Horse Artillery were unable to advance until the pioneers had created a path for them by blasting. On the 23rd of November the division had reached Hazir Pir, about twenty miles from Kapyang, and on the 28th it arrived at Habib Kila, a village close to Peiwar. The fighting was now to begin.

On the following day General Roberts encamped at the entrance of the pass, and on the 30th he began to march up the defile. He had proceeded some distance that day, and the troops were preparing their camp for the night when the Afghans suddenly opened fire from the Peiwar Kotal, a ridge commanding the road. They occupied a very strong position, with a front of several miles, on which some 4,000 men were drawn up behind breastworks of felled trees. About four o'clock in the afternoon a battery of the Royal Artillery got into position, and began to shell the enemy in return, doing much execution and dismounting a gun. The position, however, was dangerous; it was not very capable of defence, and could be easily surrounded in the night. General Roberts,

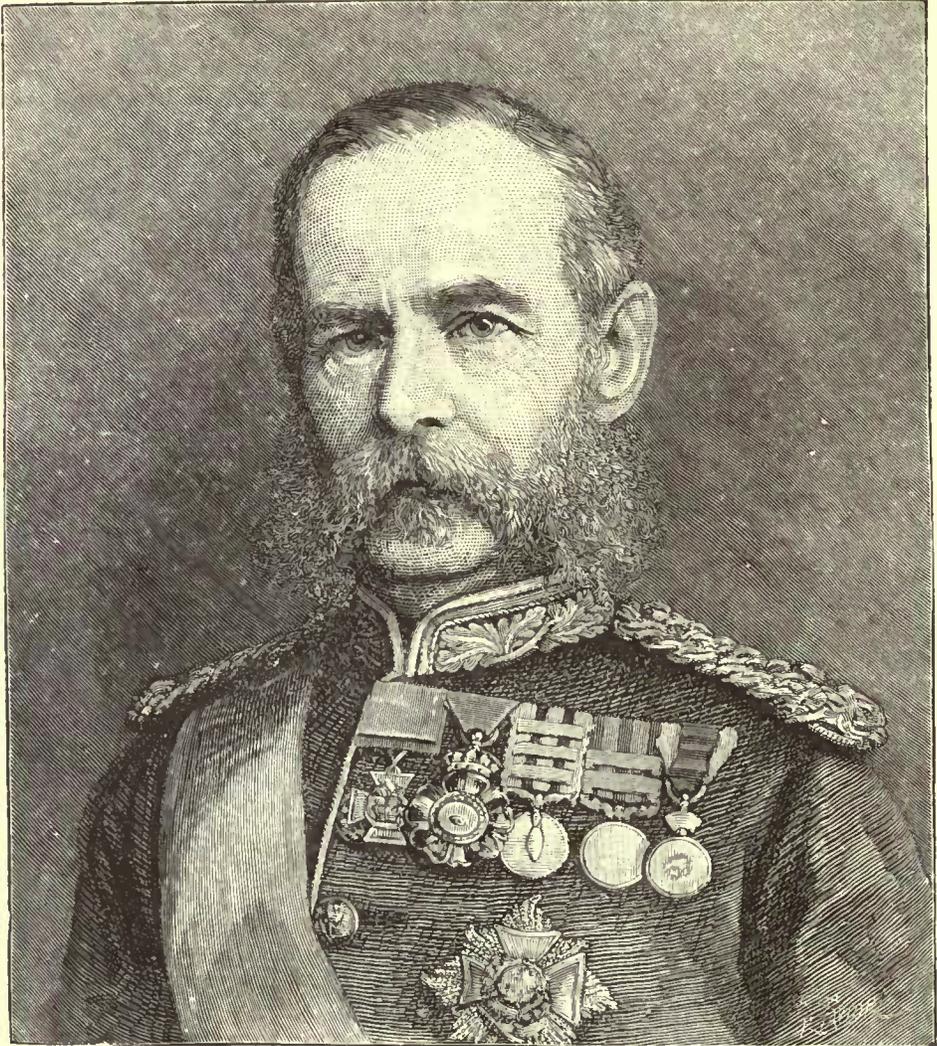
therefore, prudently ordered an immediate retreat, and his troops, exhausted though they were by a march of twenty-four miles without food, moved rapidly from the untenable ground.

The bad impression produced by this intelligence in England was soon to be removed. On the night of the 1st of December General Roberts advanced again, and prepared to attack the formidable Peiwar Kotal. A direct attack being considered impracticable, it was determined on reconnoissance to turn the position. The force detached for this operation consisted of the 29th Punjab Infantry, the 5th Ghoorkas, and the 72nd Highlanders. Commanded by General Roberts in person, it started at 10 p.m., and after three hours' march the leading brigade reached the first Afghan barricade just before dawn. This was carried with a rush by the Ghoorkas and a company of the 72nd. By ten o'clock all points were taken except one, and against this General Roberts ordered a front attack. The Afghans were in a very strong position, and fought with great resolution. Two attempts were repulsed, despite the splendid service of the Punjab Mountain Battery under Captain Kelso, who was unfortunately shot towards the end of the day. In an obstinate struggle for the possession of a pine wood Major Anderson of the 23rd Pioneers was also killed. General Roberts then led a second turning movement in the direction of the enemy's line of retreat behind their centre. This, combined with the admirably-directed fire of Major Parry's three field-guns from below the heights, together with the hot fire kept up by the regiments who had captured the woods in the heart of the enemy's position, caused a sudden panic among the Afghans. They retreated in haste, leaving eighteen guns behind them, together with a large quantity of stores.

General Roberts was by no means inclined to rest on his laurels. Having secured his conquests in the Peiwar Pass, where the village of Ali Kheyil formed a very suitable base of operations, and having availed himself of the goodwill of the villagers in the discovery of numerous stores of provisions and ammunition, he pushed on to the Shutargardan Pass, where he hoped to overtake the enemy, but found that they had two days' start of him and had fled leaving the position undefended. Had the British force been stronger it would have been easy to march straight to Cabul down the Logar Valley—a distance of about fifty miles. As it was, however, the attempt would have been madness, so General Roberts, leaving a force to protect the Peiwar Kotal, returned by

another route to Kurum. On the way his baggage was attacked by the Mangals, a mountain tribe, who were driven off only after a sharp fight with the Ghorkas under Captain Goad, who was mortally wounded. Roberts's position, in fact, was

who obstructed the Khyber Pass, cut communications and threatened convoys. On one occasion Colonel Tytler's force, while returning from the Bazar Valley, was attacked with great vehemence by these vexatious brigands, who killed two of his



GENERAL SIR FREDERICK (AFTERWARDS EARL) ROBERTS.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Lock and Whitfeld.)

one of some anxiety, for the hillmen around were constantly making attempts to cut his communications, and one or two instances of treachery during the battle of Peiwar Kotal proved that the spirit of his native troops was not altogether to be depended upon. The remainder of the year was occupied in securing the district round Kurum.

Meanwhile, Sir Samuel Browne had on his side suffered great annoyance from the Afridi tribes,

men and wounded eight more. In order to avoid their annoying assaults an alternative route was sometimes adopted through Dakka, along the Cabul river to the Peshawur frontier. The example of the Afridis was speedily followed by the Zukkur Kheyls, who made descents on Ali Musjid, and carried off cattle and camels. General Maude, with 1,400 men and three days' provisions, was sent, on December 20th, to chastise them.

Unfortunately his plans, though well laid, failed of success. It had been hoped that the Zukkurs might be surprised and surrounded, but they were forewarned of the British approach and fled carrying their flocks with them. Nevertheless, things had on the whole gone well with General Browne. Without waiting for Maude's supporting column he started for Jelalabad as soon as he found that the way was fairly clear, and entered that town on

dissatisfied with Shere Ali, and refused to fight for him. In vain did he resort to the expedient of proclaiming a jihad, or religious war; it was known that the Sultan, the religious head of his race, disapproved of his conduct, and counselled submission. A still more bitter blow was in store for him when he found that Russia, on whose help he had so confidently relied, was unwilling to draw the sword on his behalf. Interviews during the



BRITISH FORCES CROSSING THE BOLAN PASS. (See p. 434.)

December 20th, with drums beating and colours flying. He then encamped to the south of the place. This important acquisition terminated the operations for the year. The troops went into cantonments, and strong connecting forces were posted at various points in the rear as far as Ali Musjid, where General Maude kept open communications with the frontier. Overtures were speedily made by many of the tribes dwelling to the north of Jelalabad and the Khyber Pass.

From Jelalabad General Browne was able to inform Lord Lytton of the real reason why the defence offered by the Afghans had been of so feeble a description. His subjects were heartily

autumn between the British Ambassador, Lord Augustus Loftus, and the Russian Chancellor had terminated in the latter promising to withdraw the obnoxious mission. On December 10th the last Russian left Cabul. This seems to have thrown the Ameer into complete despair and, as Mr. Gladstone had prophesied, he followed precedents by disappearing. Having held a meeting of his chiefs, and received from them an opinion that further resistance was hopeless, he released his rebellious son Yakoob Khan from prison, placed the regency in his hands, and then departed in the train of the embassy towards Tashkend, where he wished to see General Kauffmann. That

officer, however, was compelled by the authorities of St. Petersburg to forbid him to cross the frontier. In despair he wrote to the Viceroy, hoping to frighten him by threatening to go to the Russian capital and lay his case before the Powers. Slowly and painfully he struggled on to Mazar-i-Sherif, near Balkh, whence he sent an embassy to General Kauffmann, who informed him in reply that he must expect no help from the Czar. There, on February 21st, 1879, he died, after an illness that caused him great agony.

During the first days of 1879 the forces of General Stewart and General Biddulph were still struggling through the rugged mountains that separated them from the plain of Candahar. Their march had been attended by immense difficulty and severe privations. The acute cold of the Bolan Pass killed many of the camels, the baggage-oxen suffered painfully from the sharpness of the rocks, and in many instances the soldiers were compelled to drag the guns themselves, often working until past midnight. As usual, reproaches were freely cast upon the commissariat, but without any solid reason. On the last day of 1878 General Stewart had penetrated through the Gharvaja Pass, while General Biddulph was climbing that of the Khojuk. This was a most hazardous performance, the extreme abruptness of the descent being hardly less alarming than the steepness of the ascent. Fortunately, the enemy did not appear, and the passage was effected without any casualties. The two forces now converged upon Candahar, and, when united, General Stewart took command.

Very little resistance was offered to them as they advanced across the fruitful plain. A body of some seven hundred horsemen encountered the advance-guard of Stewart's cavalry, under Colonel Palliser, but were defeated after a smart encounter, and all day he was exposed to a dropping fire. On the night of January 6th, however, the Governor and the officials of Candahar fled to Herat, disarming the infantry, and taking the remnant of the cavalry with them. The deputy Governor then made his submission, and after a long march along a narrow causeway over a most detestably bad road, the first brigades of General Stewart and General Biddulph entered the town in triumph at four o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th. They were received with considerable cordiality by the inhabitants, who were favourably impressed with the martial appearance of General Stewart, and especially by the Hindoo colony, who pressed forward and welcomed them with delight. It was not found necessary to occupy the town with any large force, and the

greater part of the column, accordingly, including General Stewart and his staff, remained outside. The Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan, who will be remembered as the special envoy sent to Cabul before the outbreak of the war, was appointed Governor of the city, and with him was associated a British officer. Nevertheless, General Stewart experienced some difficulty in obtaining supplies and especially forage for so large a force, and he accordingly despatched General Biddulph to occupy Girishk on the road to Herat, while he himself marched on the 20th to Khelat-i-Ghilzai, about eighty-eight miles north-east of Candahar on the road to Cabul, leaving a garrison at Candahar, under General Nuttall.

The columns of Sir Samuel Browne and General Roberts were in the meantime securing themselves at Jelalabad and Kurum. The former had by far the easier task, as the tribes dwelling around were completely cowed. Part of the force advanced to Gundamuk in the beginning of April, whence it was intended to march upon the Afghan capital as soon as the passes were practicable. As the winter disappeared some detachment expeditions were necessary in order to punish disobedient villages. To Futtehabad General Gough was despatched with a reconnoitring party on April 2nd. They were attacked in the most spirited manner by the Afghans, who were finally dispersed by a charge of the Guides in which the commanding officer, Major Wigram Battye, was killed, together with Lieutenant Wiseman of the 17th foot. A still more lamentable disaster occurred two days earlier, on the night of March 31st, when a squadron of the 10th Hussars, while crossing the Cabul river near Jelalabad, was swept down by the stream, with the loss of Lieutenant Harford and forty-five men. Soon after this there was an encounter with the Mohmunds near Little Dakka, where a Hindoo regiment, sent to protect the village from an expected assault, was completely surrounded and suffered some loss.

The position of General Roberts was far from comfortable. Barely had the country round Kurum been secured when he found it necessary to invade the Khost Valley in order to inflict a severe lesson on the turbulent hillmen of that district. He was well received by the Afghan governor, but first appearances proved deceptive, and on the 7th of January he was compelled to attack the enemy and inflicted a complete defeat, after which he seized the principal fort of the district and fired several Mangal villages. So far his operations had been most successful. It was soon seen, however, that

he was in some danger of being caught in a trap. The Mangals appeared in arms on the neighbouring mountains, while the Waziris suddenly rose, and though defeated with loss by a body of the frontier force under Major Shepherd, it was possible for them at any moment to cut Roberts's communications. Accordingly, having appointed a new chief, and garrisoned the fort for two months, he began to retire on Kurum. Within a very little time news was brought him that the Khost fort was being besieged by a large band of Mangals. He was obliged therefore to send back a detachment to rescue the besieged, and then to abandon the valley, being convinced that similar disturbances would be incessant. The whole operation was very severely criticised by the newspapers at home as rash and unnecessary, and some of the strictures passed on the gallant officer were unfair. General Roberts appeared seriously hurt at them, and went so far as to expel Mr. Macpherson, the special correspondent of the *Standard*, from camp. For the present General Roberts remained at Kurum, where his small force was strengthened by the timely arrival of some native levies from the Punjab. A road was constructed along the northern bank of the river Kurum. On the 18th of March, however, Sir Frederick Haines, the Commander-in-Chief in India, arrived at Thal close to the borders, and the result of an interview with General Roberts was that the Kurum Valley column made a rapid advance towards Cabul. General Roberts arrived at Ali Kheyl on the 13th of April, and there reviewed his troops, numbering 5,000 infantry and eighteen guns. At a durbar held in the afternoon he made an important speech, in which he informed his audience that the Government did not intend to station troops at Candahar, Cabul, Herat, Balkh, or Jelalabad. Its only desire was to secure a frontier by which it might have the power of entering Afghanistan whenever it was necessary.

During these eventful months there had been much discussion as to the probable proceedings of Yakoob Khan. It was known that he had obtained the support of the powerful Ghilzai tribe, and that it was by their aid that he had acquired the mastery of Cabul. Rumour, however, asserted that his seat was insecure and that his authority barely extended beyond the walls of the capital. This was supported by the fact that the most influential of the Afghan chiefs were crowding into the British camp. It must have been clear to Yakoob Khan's confidential advisers that further resistance was folly. Accordingly, towards the

end of February, he opened negotiations with Lord Lytton, but no definite proposal could be extracted from him, and as he was evidently only trying to gain time, they speedily languished. In April, however, being thoroughly frightened by the advance of the columns of General Roberts and Sir Samuel Browne, he made new overtures, and on the 23rd of April Major Cavagnari, who had been despatched to Cabul, returned to Gundamuk with an intimation that Yakoob Khan would be willing to receive a mission. The rapid desertion of his followers persuaded him that he had nothing to gain by delay. Accordingly, on the 2nd of May, he quitted Cabul with the intention of negotiating personally with Major Cavagnari at Gundamuk.

Yakoob Khan arrived at the British camp on May 8th, accompanied by his Finance Minister, the Mustaufi Habbibullah, and General Daoud Shah. He was received with a royal salute and considerable attention was paid to him by Major Cavagnari and Sir Samuel Browne. It was some time before satisfactory bases could be agreed upon, owing to what was generally considered the stupidity, but what was in all probability the cunning, of the Ameer, but at length on May 26th a treaty of peace was signed. It is commonly known as the Treaty of Gundamuk, and comprised ten articles. Of these the most important were the third, which stipulated that the foreign affairs of the Ameer should be conducted under British advice, in return for which he was to be supported against foreign aggression with money, arms, or troops, according as the British Government might think best; and the fifth, by which Yakoob Khan guaranteed the safety and honourable treatment of British agents in his dominions, and the British Government, on its part, undertook that its agents should never in any way interfere with the internal administration of his highness's dominions. The territory then in British occupation was to be restored to the Ameer, with the exception of the Kurum, Pishin, and Sibi Valleys. These were to remain attached to the British Government, but the Ameer was to receive the surplus revenue, after payment of the administrative expenses, and the districts in question were not to be considered as permanently severed from the limits of the Afghan kingdom. The British authorities were to have entire control over the Khyber and Midini Passes, as well as over the frontier tribes in the mountainous districts where those passes were situated. Finally, it was stipulated that the Ameer should receive an annual subsidy of six

lakhs of rupees (£60,000), contingent on his strict execution of the foregoing articles.

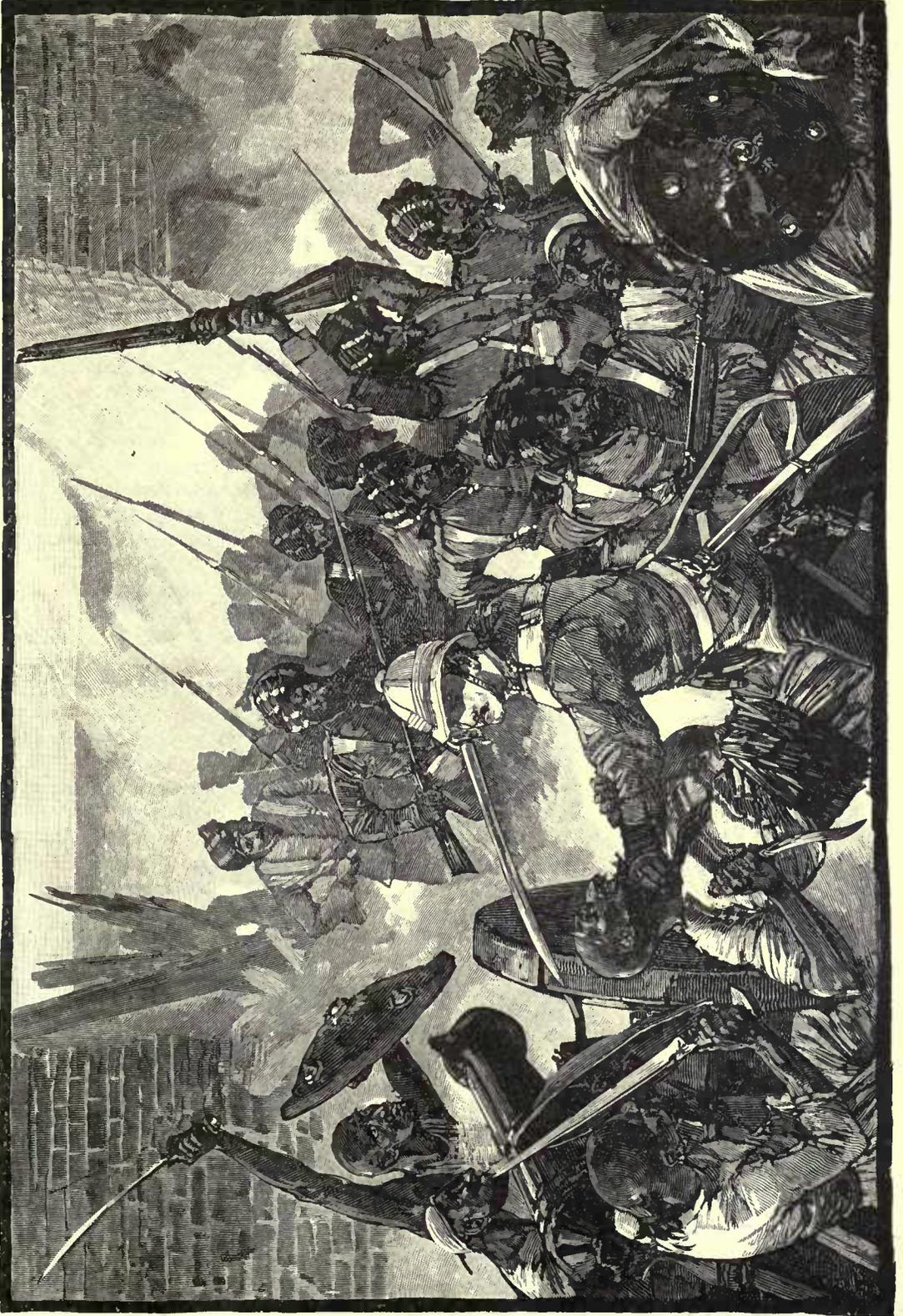
It seemed as if the Russian and Afghan spectres had been laid to rest. The dominions of the Ameer were under the control of the British, he was practically their vassal, and through the possession of the passes British troops could at any moment be poured into Cabul, Candahar, and Jelalabad. Votes of thanks were passed in both Houses to the Viceroy and the gallant troops, who were rapidly withdrawing within the new frontier. On the last day of the session Mr. Grant Duff asked for some explanation of the Treaty of Gundamuk. He was informed by Mr. E. Stanhope in reply, that the Ameer had accepted an agent and had fixed his residence at Cabul, contrary to the expectations expressed at the time. He had experienced every demonstration of cordiality, and was able to go about the city with perfect freedom, and found that he was well received both by the Ameer and by the people. It was denied that the Ameer was a puppet; on the contrary, the position of Major Cavagnari was that of an envoy to an independent prince. "The policy lately pursued has gained for this country a friendly, an independent, and a strong Afghanistan."

The Resident to whom Mr. Stanhope alluded in this very sanguine statement was Sir Louis Cavagnari, the negotiator of the Treaty of Gundamuk. He arrived at Cabul on the 24th of July, accompanied by Mr. Jenkins of the Indian Civil Service as secretary, Dr. Kelly as surgeon, and an escort of twenty-five Sowars and fifty infantry of the Guides, commanded by Lieutenant Hamilton, V.C. Every confidence being placed in the goodwill of the Ameer, a small force was thought amply sufficient for the protection of the mission. From time to time the envoy sent word to Lord Lytton that all was well. From other sources, however, principally from Persian news-writers, came stories of a different nature. On August 5th the troops from Herat, where the commander, Ayooob Khan, Yakoob's brother, was known to be filled with deadly hatred against the British, reached the Sherpur cantonment, and not having suffered defeat they taunted their companions in arms with cowardice; and on more than one occasion had collisions with the escort of the embassy. Still Sir Louis trusted in the good intentions of Yakoob Khan, and almost the last words he wrote were, "Notwithstanding all people say of him, I personally believe Yakoob Khan will turn out a very good ally, and that we shall be able to keep him to his engagements." Even if this were so, the

aspect of the town, where cholera was raging furiously, and religious fanaticism was at its height, was so dangerous that an old Hindoo soldier, Nakshband Khan, warned the envoy. "Keep up your heart," said Sir Louis. "Dogs that bark don't bite." The veteran replied, "These dogs do bite, and there is danger." "Well," said Cavagnari, "they can only kill three or four of us here, and our death will be avenged."

The awful news of the massacre of the Cabul mission reached London on September 6th, the tragedy itself having occurred on the 3rd of that month. Early in the morning some mutinous regiments assembled round the Ameer's palace to receive their pay. They were given one month's pay and demanded more. It was refused them and someone appears to have suggested that if they wanted more they had better go to Cavagnari. Arming themselves with stones, the regiments, three in number, proceeded to the Residency, two houses within the Bala Hissar, or citadel, connected by a walled courtyard, incapable of any prolonged defence. The people of the embassy seem to have at once apprehended the true nature of the attack and fired upon the Afghans, who at once returned to fetch arms either from their camp or from the Ameer's arsenal, which they looted. About 7.30 or 8 a.m. they returned with their guns and a regular fight began. The Afghans had good cover, and surrounded the Residency on all sides, their fire being directed by their officers, chief of whom was Kharim Khan. Meanwhile, Yakoob Khan sat miserable and helpless in his palace. From time to time urgent messages were sent him by Lieutenant Hamilton, to which he replied, "As God wills. I am making preparations." The only preparations, however, were for his own safety: his treasury was guarded by six hundred men, and the remainder of his loyal soldiers, some two thousand in number, were allowed to stand by and look on at the butchery. He went so far as to send General Daoud Shah to remonstrate with the insurgents; but they maltreated and wounded him, and his son who was despatched on a similar errand carefully rode to the opposite side of the town.

The position of the besieged was soon found to be untenable. "At about 9 a.m.," said Nakshband Khan, "while the fighting was going on, I myself saw the four European officers charge out at the head of some twenty-five of the garrison; they drove away a party that were holding some broken ground. When chased, the Afghan soldiers ran like sheep before a wolf. About a quarter of an



THE ATTACK ON THE BRITISH RESIDENCY, CABUL. (See p. 486.)

hour after this another sally was made by a party with three officers at their head—Cavagnari was not with them this time—with the same result. A third sally was made with two British officers, Jenkins and Hamilton, leading; a fourth sally was made with a Sikh Jemadar bravely leading. No more sallies were made after this. They appeared to go to the upper part of the house and fired from above." Soon the building was observed to be in flames; they spread rapidly. About 2 p.m. the roof fell in, burying, it is believed, Dr. Kelly and Major Cavagnari, who had been wounded about an hour previously, in its ruins. The remainder of the devoted band, headed by Lieutenant Hamilton, rushed out and perished sword in hand in a wild and desperate charge. Their bodies were afterwards buried by order of the Ameer. Some servants of the Embassy, and a few troopers who were absent at the time, escaped to the British lines and brought the sad intelligence to the outposts. The disastrous history of forty years before had indeed been terribly repeated.

The measures taken by the Indian Government were prompt and successful. The key to Cabul was the Shutargardan Pass, and General Massey, who was stationed at Ali Kheyl, was at once directed to seize the position and throw open an entrenched camp there. General Roberts, who was at Simla, hurried to the front and prepared to move 6,000 men on Cabul with the utmost possible despatch. Unfortunately, the transport was found to be unusually inadequate, and considerable delay occurred, during which General Baker, who was now in command of the Shutargardan, felt his way to the Sirkai Kotal and reported all quiet there. The Khyber column, under General Bright, reoccupied Dakka and Jelalabad, and were ready to give him every assistance, while General Stewart, who had promptly reoccupied Candahar, was preparing to effect a diversion by attacking Ghuznee.

Meanwhile, the apprehensions of Yakoob Khan were increasing daily. He had to choose between his rebellious subjects who, as he plaintively wrote to General Roberts, were kept in order "partly by bribing and partly by coaxing," and the advancing British. He wisely resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the latter, instead of risking the result of a jihad or religious war, for which the people and the army were clamouring. Accordingly he sent his chief Ministers, the Mustaufi Habbibullah Khan and the Wazir Shah Mohammed, to Ali Kheyl, bearing a letter in which he announced his intention of placing himself in the hands of General Roberts. On the 27th of September

he entered the British lines at Kushi, accompanied by Daoud Shah, and though a fugitive was received with every mark of respect. The British commander made every use of his royal captive, who at his instigation issued a proclamation to the people of Cabul, forbidding his loyal subjects to resist the British troops, and warning them that any persons found with arms would be treated as enemies.

The insurgents, who had thought themselves safe for the winter, were thrown into utter consternation by the rapidity of the British advance. Not that the advance was absolutely unimpeded. The Mangals, as usual, were a continued source of annoyance, and more than once menaced the Shutargardan, until a severe castigation had been inflicted on them by Colonel Money. Leaving a strongly-entrenched force on the crest of the pass, General Roberts advanced on the capital, bearing with him the captive Ameer. On October 2nd he reached Zurgan Shahr, and marched on to Zahidabad the following day. On the 5th he advanced to Charasiah, about ten miles from Cabul. There it was evident that the Ghilzais intended to bar the way. As the day dawned on the 6th the enemy, who were commanded by Seidar Nek Mohammed Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, were seen in large numbers on the hills intervening between the camp and Cabul. Hastily sending a squadron of cavalry to reinforce General Macpherson, who was coming along the road with a large baggage-train and reserve ammunition, General Roberts prepared to carry the hills in front. This task was entrusted to General Baker, and he executed it admirably; a party under Major White, consisting of a wing of the 92nd Highlanders and some native troops, was sent along the Cabul road to the right of the gorge, and thence stormed the hill against heavy odds. With fifty Highlanders at his back White charged up the steep under a severe musketry fire, until within a few yards of the enemy, who turned and fled. Having received a reinforcement of another fifty men, he again went forward and took two smaller hills on the right, capturing six Armstrong guns in the hollow ground. This brilliant movement was of the utmost assistance to Baker, who, having occupied the village of Charasiah, was preparing to turn the enemy's flank. Here the 72nd Highlanders, scaling the rocks with intrepid gallantry, made for the enemy, who shot at them wildly from the heights. For about an hour and a half the fate of the battle hung in the balance, but the reserves were pushed forward at 1.30 p.m., and the enemy's first position carried by a series of rushes. After

a brief rally on some low hills 600 yards in the rear, the broken Afghan right fled in confusion pursued by the 72nd. Baker now swung round his left and ordered a general advance, the result of which was to clear the whole main ridge of the enemy. At nightfall a junction was made with Major White, who in the meantime had taken twelve more guns. Throughout the day General Roberts had made his dispositions most effectively, aided by the admirable working of the heliograph by Captain Straton of the 22nd. The troops encamped on the positions they had taken. Some 300 dead were left on the field by the enemy, who are said to have numbered some nine or ten thousand, including several regiments of regulars. Our loss was twenty-six killed and sixty-seven wounded.

On the next day an advance was made to the Beni Hissar, three miles nearer the capital. A cavalry reconnaissance established the fact that the Bala Hissar was deserted, and towards evening the sound of a tremendous explosion towards the north-east announced that the Afghans had blown up the magazine at the fortified camp at Sherpur, and were in full retreat. It was occupied on the following day by General Massey, who found it quite deserted, and took 78 guns, including 17 Armstrongs. General Baker was sent at the same time to attack the enemy on the high ground commanding the Bala Hissar, but he did not arrive in position until it was too dark to make the assault, and contented himself therefore with sending shells at them from his mountain guns. On the following morning he was joined by General Macpherson, but it was soon discovered that the enemy had fled during the night, abandoning a very strong position which formed one of the main defences of the city. General Roberts's camp was pitched on the Siah Sang ridge, immediately overlooking the Bala Hissar and the town of Cabul.

The formal occupation of the citadel of Cabul was made on the 12th of October, when General Roberts, accompanied by Yakoob Khan's eldest

son, the miserable Ameer being allowed to plead indisposition, entered the fortress in state, accompanied by his staff and the generals who had played such brilliant parts in the campaign. There, in a room of the palace, he received the obsequious submission of the sirdars, and then a space being cleared he read out the proclamation which announced the fate of the city. He said that the misdeeds of the people were such that it would have been a just and fitting reward if the city of Cabul were totally destroyed, and its very name blotted out, but the British Government, tempering justice with mercy, decreed that it should be spared. The buildings which interfered with the military occupation of the city were to be destroyed, a heavy fine was to be exacted, and the city placed under martial law. After a week's notice, anyone found bearing arms was to be shot. On the following day the army marched in triumph through the city.

The measures taken for the pacification of the city were well considered. General Hill was appointed its military governor, assisted by the trusty Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan. Rewards were offered for the surrender of arms, and two commissions sent to inquire into the circumstances of the attack on the Residency, and to try those who had taken part in the rebellion. The terrible work of vengeance began with the hanging of five prisoners, including the kotwal, or chief magistrate of Cabul, who were proved to have been actively concerned in the massacre of the mission, and a number of military executions followed, which had a very wholesome effect. Soon after the occupation of the city the perplexing relations between General Roberts and the Ameer, in whose name these acts of retributory justice were committed, terminated by the proclamation of the abdication of that unhappy individual. As the rapidly accumulating mass of evidence seemed to point to his complicity in the murders, the Government directed that he should be sent to India as a state prisoner.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Afghan War continued; Retirement of Roberts to Sherpur—Position of the Occupying Forces—Roberts's Situation—Mohammed Jan's Attack—The Takht-i-Shah—Arrival of Gough and previous Defeat of Mohammed Jan—Continued Insecurity—Mr. Griffin's Speech to the Sirdars—Battle of Ahmed Kheyl—Arrival of Stewart at Cabul—Abdurrahman Khan—Mr. Griffin's Statement of Terms—Abdurrahman's Recognition and Interview with Mr. Griffin—Evacuation of Sherpur—Advance of Ayooob Khan on Candahar—Battle of Maiwand—Preparations for the Relief of Candahar—The Siege—Roberts's March to Candahar—The Battle of Candahar—The Settlement of Afghanistan—Evacuation of the Country and Establishment of Abdurrahman—The Zulu War—Relations with Cetewayo—Effects of the Transvaal Annexation—Report of the Boundary Commission—Sir B. Frere's Memorandum—Publication of the Award—Additional Causes of Dispute—Reinforcements sent out—The Ultimatum—Invasion of Zululand—The Zulu Army—Movements of Wood and of Pearson—Difficulties of Glyn's March—Operations of Lord Chelmsford—Disaster of Isandhlwana—Return to the Camp—The Defence of Rorke's Drift—Discussions in Parliament—Motions of Lord Lansdowne and of Sir Charles Dilke—Situation in Natal—Relief of Ekowe—Battle of Ginghilovo—Movements of Wood—Arrival of Rowlands—Disaster on the Intombi River—Attack on Umbellini's Camp—Defence of Kambula Kop—Landing of Reinforcements—Preparations for the Advance—Appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley—Death of Prince Louis Napoleon—Comments on the Mishap—Battle of Ulundi—Departure of Lord Chelmsford—Intentions of the British Government—Capture of Cetewayo—Settlement of Zululand—Subjection of Sikukuni.

It soon became clear that it would be no easy matter to keep a grip on Cabul. Though afraid to take the open field, the Afghans did not refrain from any of the stratagems and devices of guerilla warfare. The capital became daily more unsafe, and the explosion of the Ameer's arsenal on the 17th of October, which caused the death of Captain Shaftoe and some Ghoorikas, was generally thought to have been due to treachery. General Roberts, therefore, instantly removed the troops from the Bala Hissar into the cantonments at Sherpur. It became daily more difficult to keep up communications with Colonel Gordon at Ali Kheyl, and Colonel Money in the Shutargardan, who were perpetually subject to the attacks of the Ghilzais and Mangals. At one time Money's position was so desperate that it seemed as if the post would have to be abandoned. He was in great extremity, when a flash from the heliograph informed him that General Gough was advancing to his relief from Cabul. For some days Cabul was isolated from the outer world, but on the 7th of November a junction was effected between Macpherson from Cabul and General Charles Gough from Jelalabad, and a new route established, along which supplies could easily pass without danger of attack except in a single defile. From Candahar about this time came news of rather mixed import. Within the town everything was quiet in the extreme. There was, however, great difficulty in obtaining efficient transport, in spite of the magnificent energy of Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay, who came northwards and pushed on the construction of a railway to the

mouth of the Bolan Pass at the rate of a mile a day. The expedition towards Ghuznee was not an unqualified success. General Hughes having occupied Khelat-i-Ghilzai pressed on with a small force to Tazi, thirty miles farther. There on the 24th he had an encounter with the Tariki Ghilzais, and after a very smart affair, dispersed them with the loss of their leader and forty-one men. In spite of this success his position was exceedingly critical, and being unwilling to risk too much in an absolutely unknown and difficult country, he prudently returned to Khelat-i-Ghilzai.

As the winter drew on it began to dawn on the British people that Sir Frederick Roberts was not master of a single inch of ground outside his own cantonments. Armed with the authority of a local Lieutenant-General, which gave him command of the whole district from the Indian frontier to Cabul, he faced the desperate situation resolutely. A proclamation was issued on November the 12th offering an amnesty to all who had not been personally concerned in the massacre. At the same time expeditions were directed against the hillmen who were still contumacious, and they were severely chastised. Meanwhile, requisitions of grain and forage were collected on all sides by the sirdars, or governors of districts, and the army was soon amply supplied for five months. Early in December, Baker's brigade, which had been stationed on the Ghuznee road, returned to Sherpur, and at a review held on the 8th the total strength of the garrison was found to consist of about 5,000 men and twenty guns. With the coming of the winter snows, the Afghans, like wolves, began to show a



ACTION IN THE CHARDEH VALLEY: "TRYING TO SAVE THE GUNS." (See p. 442.)

bolder front. News came into the camp that the sirdars who had been appointed by Sir Frederick Roberts were everywhere being ill-treated, and one of them, Hussein Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, was foully murdered by the hillmen of the Maidan.

This proved the beginning of a very dangerous crisis. General Baker and General Macpherson were sent to chastise these highlanders, the one advancing from Charasiah so as to cut off their retreat to Ghuznee; the other marching up the Chardeh Valley, so as to enclose them in a trap. They speedily found, however, that they had to deal with a very formidable force some 10,000 strong, well-drilled and commanded by Mohammed Jan, the Governor of Ghuznee, who was trying to effect a junction with a band from Kohistan several thousand in number. Against the latter Macpherson advanced on the 9th, and after a feeble resistance they fled with heavy losses. Having well beaten the Kohistan insurgents Macpherson prepared to deal with Mohammed Jan on the following day, hoping to drive him down to Bamian, where Baker was waiting for him. The Afghan commander, however, took matters into his own hands, and marched straight towards the Sherpur cantonments. On the march thither he met General Massey, who was advancing with a small contingent consisting of two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, one of the 14th Bengal Lancers, and four horse Artillery guns to co-operate with Macpherson. This handful of men could do nothing against such an enormous force, and Massey slowly retired towards Cabul, until he received instructions from General Roberts to order the Lancers to charge in order to save the guns. Upon ten thousand men two hundred and twenty made little impression, they were overwhelmed by sheer weight of numbers, and were thrown into disorder by the inequalities of the country. Four guns were upset and had to be spiked and abandoned, and the enemy advanced on Sherpur, until the appearance of Macpherson, who was coming up with all speed in his rear, made him turn sharp towards Cabul, with the intention of occupying the Bala Hissar. He was turned back, however, at the entrance of the gorge by 200 of the 72nd Highlanders, hastily despatched from Sherpur, who gallantly aided the Lancers in stemming the rush. Splitting up into two bodies the Afghans retired, one going southwards, and the other occupying the heights above the Bala Hissar. Meanwhile Colonel Macgregor with a scratch lot of men had made a dash for the lost guns, and pluckily recaptured them. As night

fell the enemy in some strength were assaulting the picket which held the Bala Hissar.

For the next few days the interest centred round the Takht-i-Shah, a high conical peak, from which Macpherson attempted to dislodge the enemy, or rather to hold them in check until Baker, who reported himself much harassed by tribesmen, arrived from the Maidan district. On the 13th, the day after he entered camp, the peak was carried in brilliant style by the Highlanders and the Guides, the former led by Major White, the hero of Charasiah. An attack on Baker's left flank was repulsed with equal success by the 9th Lancers, who lost a gallant officer in Captain Batson. The forces of Mohammed Jan, however, increased daily and soon reached the formidable total of 40,000 men. Baker, on the 14th, made a splendid attempt to clear the Asmai heights, and accomplished his almost superhuman task through the gallantry of the 72nd, one of whom, Lance-Corporal Salter, led a charge against a low stone wall manned by Ghazis, or religious fanatics, fully twenty yards in front of his comrades. About mid-day, however, Mohammed Jan made a desperate attempt to recover the hill. Some 15,000 men advanced on the little band, which suffered so severely that its commander, Colonel Jenkins, was ordered by General Roberts to evacuate the position. At the same time Macpherson was ordered to retire into Sherpur with all his force, Baker covering the retreat. These movements were effected with admirable regularity, and by dusk the whole army was within the cantonments, Cabul and the Bala Hissar being no longer tenable. A night attack was apprehended, but Mohammed Jan was content with his success and merely occupied the capital. The British loss in the three days' fighting had been eighty-three killed, including eight officers, and one hundred and ninety-two wounded.

A delay of two days before Mohammed Jan attacked the camp was occupied by General Roberts in strengthening his position, which soon defied any such strategy as the Afghans could bring against it. A feeble assault on the 17th, and another on the 19th, soon convinced the British commander that, though the enemy could fight with stubbornness and courage behind defences, they were of no account when they had to advance across the open and attack scientifically-constructed entrenchments. Meanwhile Lord Lytton was preparing to send reinforcements to Cabul. No help could come from Candahar, where General Stewart had his hands full in preparing against a prospective

attack from Ayoob Khan, the Governor of Herat, which was fortunately frustrated by the mutiny of the majority of his soldiers, Cabulees by birth, who imprisoned him in the citadel. It was from the side of Jelalabad alone that the besieged garrison could be reached. Accordingly, General Gough was at once directed to advance from Gundamak. Unfortunately the opposition he encountered from the hillmen was so dangerous that he was obliged to take shelter in the Jugdulluk Pass, and thence send urgent messages for assistance. General Bright in the Khyber, though himself apprehensive of attack, contrived to spare two companies of the 51st, which were pushed on to the front to strengthen Colonel Norman at Jugdulluk, from which place Gough advanced on the 17th. After a rapid march, during which he encountered but slight opposition, he entered Sherpur on the 24th, to find that General Roberts had issued from behind his defences and scattered the hosts of the enemy to the four winds of heaven.

Mohammed Jan had not occupied the city of Cabul without adding to the misfortunes of its peaceable inhabitants by looting the houses of those who were well-disposed towards the British, the Hindoo quarter being treated with especial severity. An attempt was made to settle the government by proclaiming Musa Khan, the baby son of Yakoob, as Ameer. After some delay Mohammed Jan and the other chiefs, hearing that General Charles Gough was hastening up, resolved to deliver their grand attack on December 23rd. About 20,000 men took part in the assault, but at no time did they gain possession of a single foot of the British lines. The enemy's first effort was made about six o'clock, but the Guides and one hundred men of the 67th, reinforced by two companies of the 92nd, gave them such a warm reception at close range that they soon scattered. A second but feebler assault was made about eleven, after which General Roberts ordered a counter-attack. With the guns playing freely upon them, and the cavalry bearing down on their flank, the Afghans speedily broke, and ran towards the city, the few who remained in the fortified villages being blown up by the mines that had been previously laid by the engineers. That night Mohammed Jan fled to Ghuznee, taking with him the infant Ameer. The siege was over, the tribesmen completely dispersed, and on the following day Cabul was re-occupied, General Baker being sent in pursuit as soon as the snow permitted, towards Kohistan. At the close of the year 1879 General Roberts was master of all the ground he had lost, and was

in a position to issue a proclamation offering pardon to those who would lay down their arms, with the exception of the ten leaders of the rebellion.

Nevertheless, the hold on Cabul was never for one moment perfectly secure. Apprehensive of frequent attacks, Sir Frederick Roberts strengthened the Bala Hissar and Sherpur by every possible means, and destroyed all the villages and buildings in the neighbourhood of the fortifications which could afford shelter to the enemy. An attempt was also made to conciliate the Cabulese by appointing a native governor over them in the person of the Wali Mohammed, but the selection was not altogether a success. Meanwhile Mohammed Jan from Ghuznee was vigorously stirring up the hillmen, who, though they shrank from attacking General Roberts, were greatly to be dreaded along the lengthy and indifferently-forged chain of communication with Jelalabad. An able intriguer, it was evident that until he was conciliated or suppressed there was every danger of a fresh combination of the tribes mustering round Cabul. It was understood that he was in constant communication with Hassan Khan, the Governor of Jelalabad during Yakoob's brief reign, who was stirring up the Ghilzais of the south, and with Ayoob Khan, who had once more established himself in Herat. Overtures were also made to Abdurrahman Khan, a nephew of Shere Ali's, who had been driven out by Yakoob, and had since been a pensioner of Russia. This man, who was now at Balkh, was one of the strongest of the pretenders to the Afghan throne, and the Wali having turned out a failure, Abdurrahman was looked upon generally as the best selection the British could make. Such was the position of affairs about the middle of March, 1880.

About this time the uneasiness caused in Cabul by the doubt as to what the policy of the Government was, or whether it had any policy at all, was removed by the arrival at the capital of Mr. Lepel Griffin, Secretary to the Punjab Government, who had been appointed Chief Political Officer in Northern Afghanistan. This caused great satisfaction in the camp. On March 25th Mr. Griffin called the sirdars together and made known to them the future of Afghanistan. In the first place he declared emphatically that on no account would Yakoob Khan be allowed to return to Cabul. In order to provide for the better government of the country, Afghanistan was to be divided into separate governments, and Candahar and Herat would be removed from the jurisdiction of the future ruler of Cabul. The British Government

had no desire to annex the country, but the army of occupation would remain in Afghanistan until a new ruler had been appointed strong enough to carry out the obligations imposed upon him, and such a ruler would have to be found. This programme was repeated in haughtier tones to a deputation of the Ghuznee malcontents whom the British envoy, the Mustaufi Habbiballah, Shere Ali's late financial minister, had induced to come to Cabul. In addition to the intimations as to the destiny of their country, the sirdars were informed that "an army from Cabul is now marching on Ghuznee, while another from Bombay has taken its place at Candahar. A third army is in the Kurum, a fourth at Cabul, a fifth at Jelalabad, in the Khyber, and at Peshawur. The General has ordered a strong force to march from Cabul to cooperate with the Candahar army. If you are wise, you will do everything to assist this force, which is not sent against you, neither will it molest you, if only the conduct of the people is friendly."

The Candahar force was advancing towards Ghuznee in three divisions, which united at Khelat-i-Ghilzai. The first part of the journey was uneventful, but as the invaders approached their goal it became evident from the bands of tribesmen who appeared from time to time on the hills that they would encounter opposition. On the evening of the 18th of April spies brought in word that the British might expect an attack on the morrow. As the leading brigade neared Ahmed Kheyl, about twenty miles to the south of Ghuznee, they found the enemy drawn up in the shape of a huge parallelogram across the road, completely barring the way. At eight o'clock the British advance was ordered, two batteries of artillery being on the extreme right, the 59th foot in the centre of the line, with the 2nd Sikhs on their left flank, while the 3rd Ghoorkas were on the extreme left with their ranks deflected a little to the rear. Afterwards, some guns and two squadrons of the 19th Bengal Lancers were moved to the left, in order to prevent any flanking movement in that quarter. The enemy, some 15,000 strong, moved from the crest of the opposing hill in very fair order, though exposed to the well-directed fire of our artillery. Suddenly a great commotion was observed in the foremost ranks of the enemy, and a huge body of religious fanatics, some three or four thousand in number, some on foot and some on horseback, dashed wildly down upon the plain and made with reckless impetuosity for the British force. They covered the 600 yards between the

Afghan and British lines with wonderful rapidity, and enveloped General Stewart's little army on both sides. Some penetrated within twenty yards of the spot where the staff were watching the action, and so critical was the moment that Sir Donald Stewart and every man of his staff drew their swords and prepared for self-defence. The impetuosity of the Ghazis on the left carried them right in the rear of the British infantry, and but for the promptitude of Colonel Lyster, V.C., commanding the 3rd Ghoorkas, the rush might have had terrible results. Had the remainder of the Afghan army advanced, a defeat was inevitable, as the artillery had exhausted their case-shot. General Hughes, however, rallied the 59th, and the 2nd Punjab Cavalry by a series of splendid charges checked the advance until the troops from the rear came up, when a well-directed fire broke the enemy, who fled in confusion across the plain leaving a thousand dead upon the field.

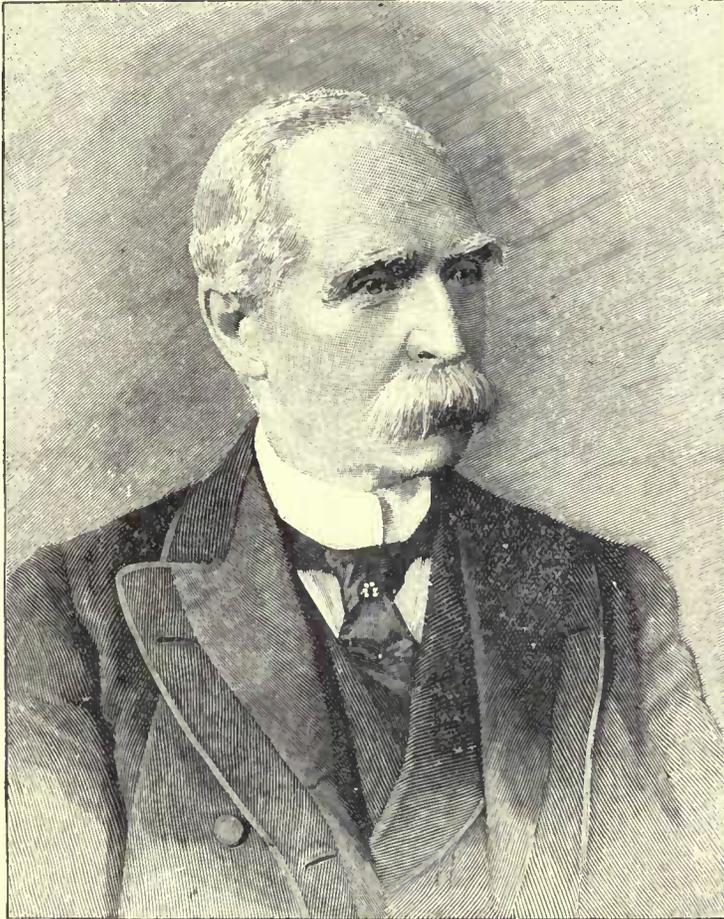
The grand effort to save Ghuznee having failed, the cavalry entered the place on the 20th without any opposition. General Stewart was ready to advance northwards at once, but hearing that the Urzoo villages were occupied by some three or four thousand men he turned aside to attack them, and scattered them by a terrible fusillade. Soon afterwards he started for Cabul, leaving a friendly sirdar, Alum Khan, in charge of Ghuznee.

Meanwhile, two forces had been sent off from Cabul to aid the movements of Sir Donald Stewart, one under General Ross to meet him, and the other, a smaller force, in the direction of Charasiah, it being reported that Hassan Khan was threatening the villagers who were sending in supplies to Sherpur. Both bodies came in for some very severe fighting. The Charasiah expedition, under Colonel Jenkins, comprising two guns, a wing of the 92nd Highlanders, and the corps of Guides, was suddenly attacked by an overwhelming number of villagers, who surrounded them on all sides, but did not venture to charge. They were rescued by General Macpherson, who advanced from Sherpur with a thousand men and swept the enemy away, but not until the Guides had suffered severely. General Ross had not gone far before he received a welcome heliogram containing the news of General Stewart's victory at Ahmed Kheyl, and he then set to work to clear the hills. On the 29th of April General Ross effected a junction with the Candahar force, and shortly afterwards returned to Sherpur, General Stewart turning aside for a while into the Logar district in order to collect supplies. Arrived at Cabul, he took

over command as senior officer from General Roberts, its gallant defender.

The most prominent figure in the events of the next few weeks, after these stirring military operations had been brought to such a successful termination, was Abdurrahman Khan. His importance

which the present Government, if they dared avow it, would like to pursue, namely, to retire as soon as they could, with as little loss of credit as possible, and with as little real sacrifice of their Indian interests as possible, from the false position in which the blunders of the last five years have



SIR DONALD STEWART.

(From a Photograph by Lombardi & Co., Pall Mall East.)

was increased by events in Great Britain which no political foresight on his part could have anticipated. Parliament had been dissolved, the Liberals had come in with a crushing majority, Lord Lytton had sent in his resignation, and Lord Ripon had been sent out to replace him. Lord Hartington, the new Secretary of State for India, had already stated, in the course of his electioneering speeches, what the policy of the Liberal party would be with regard to Afghanistan, supposing they came into power. "It was," he said at Bacup on the 29th of April, "the policy

placed us." Before doing so, however, it was necessary to find an Ameer. Already Lord Lytton had fixed upon Abdurrahman Khan as the most capable of the various competitors, and had opened communications with him, and these negotiations were continued by his successor, Lord Ripon. On his side, Abdurrahman displayed extreme caution and reserve. His position was one of great difficulty. On the one hand, the Afghans would refuse to receive him if he came as a British nominee; on the other, he had sense enough to see that unless he was a British nominee he had

little or no chance of success. His subjects would prefer to hail him as a conqueror, but he knew that to conquer was out of the question. For the present he declined to cross the Hindu Kush, preferring to wait at Khanabad, where early in May he received the British mission which had been sent from Cabul. A letter was brought from Mr. Leppel Griffin, which intimated that the British had decided to withdraw from Cabul at the end of a few months; that they desired to make over the provinces to a capable and friendly ruler; and that they were therefore willing to transfer the government to him, and recognise him as ruler of the State. These fair promises, however, were not enough for Abdurrahman, who sent a formal reply containing expressions of friendship and hope of support, which Mr. Griffin forwarded to the Indian Government, with a strong expression of his opinion that the sirdar would not be satisfied without precise information as to the limits of his dominions and his responsibility.

Meanwhile, it had become known through Afghanistan that the Government were in communication with Abdurrahman. This alone was enough to produce great excitement, and the ferment was increased by rumours that the pretender was advancing southwards with a large army, and by circulars which appeared in his name calling upon the tribes to be ready. Though the main attack of the Afghans had been broken, yet isolated outbreaks were frequent, and assaults on outlying posts, such as that on Fort Battye, near Jelalabad, in which Lieutenant Angelo, the officer in command, was killed, kept the armies of occupation in a continual state of anxiety. So evident were the proofs of Abdurrahman's duplicity that the Government, soon after Lord Ripon's arrival, seriously debated the question whether it was expedient any longer to continue communications with him. However, considering his difficult position, it was resolved, before finally closing the correspondence, to send him plain replies to the points to which he attached particular importance. Accordingly, a letter was despatched from Cabul on the 14th of June, in which Mr. Griffin informed him, in the first place, that the British Government were ready to aid the Ameer, if necessary, to repel aggression on the part of any foreign Power, provided he followed the advice of the British Government with regard to his external relations; secondly, that the whole province of Candahar was to be placed under a separate ruler, and therefore that the Government could not enter into discussion of the arrangements with regard to the Indian

north-west frontier; thirdly, that the British Government desired to exercise no interference with the internal government of his territories, nor would he be required to admit a British Resident anywhere, although it might be advisable to station by agreement a Mohammedan agent of the British Government at Cabul. This letter reached Abdurrahman, at Khanabad, on the 20th. He sent, as before, an ambiguous reply, and his insincerity, together with the disturbed state of affairs around Cabul, caused both Mr. Griffin and Sir Donald Stewart to urge the Government, not for the first time, to break off negotiations. Abdurrahman had replied to Mr. Griffin's letter, requiring him to use his authority to disperse tribal gatherings, by saying that by ordering the clansmen to disperse he should only alienate all his supporters. They still continued to collect in menacing numbers, and on the 1st of July some 2,000 of them occupied Padkhao Shana, a village only twelve miles from the British camp, whence they were dispersed by a cavalry brigade, under General Palliser, after some severe hand-to-hand fighting.

At length the wary sirdar, Abdurrahman Khan, ventured to lay aside suspicion, and to commence his journey southwards, to discuss a settlement of affairs with Mr. Griffin. After a trying passage over the Hindu Kush, he arrived on the 15th of July at Tutandarra, in Kohistan, where he courteously received a deputation from Cabul, which had been sent to greet him. As he advanced many of the leading chiefs, including those of the great Ghilzai and Wardack tribes, declared in his favour, and his cause was further strengthened by the accession to it of Yakoob Khan's most powerful followers, the old priest Mushk-i-Alam, and even the irreconcilable Mohammed Jan. So strong had his cause now become that Sir Donald Stewart considered that the time for his recognition as Ameer had arrived, and accordingly on the 22nd a durbar was held, attended by a large number of chiefs, and by a deputation representing the sirdar, when Abdurrahman was publicly and formally recognised on the part of the British Government as Ameer of Cabul. Preparations to evacuate the city went on apace, and as a preliminary to handing it over to Abdurrahman the Wali Mohammed was induced to resign the governorship, and Yusef Khan, a friend of the new Ameer, was appointed in his place. The departure of the British garrison was hastened by the intelligence that arrived on July 29th, announcing the "annihilation" of General Burrows's brigade near Candahar. A meeting was accordingly arranged



By permission of the Corporation of Liverpool.

SAVING THE GUNS AT MAIWAND, 1880.

BY R. CATON WOODVILLE. FROM THE PAINTING IN THE WALKER ART GALLERY.

for the 31st between Mr. Griffin and the Ameer near General Charles Gough's camp at Kila Hajee, at a place called Zinima. The impression produced on Mr. Griffin by Abdurrahman was most favourable. It was determined not to hold a durbar, for instead of strengthening the Ameer, it was evident from the defiant attitude of his supporters that it would only weaken him. The news of the disaster at Maiwand had by this time reached the Ameer's camp, and the city of Cabul was greatly excited. On the 5th of August General Stewart telegraphed to Lord Ripon that nothing remained but to hand over Cabul to the Ameer, and his proposal was cordially endorsed by Lord Hartington.

The evacuation of Sherpur took place on the 11th of August, the pick of the army under General Roberts having started three days before on the famous march to the relief of Candahar. General Stewart undertook a less splendid but not less heroic task to convey the sick and less efficient troops by the Jelalabad route to India. Happily he was not to leave without seeing Abdurrahman, and bidding him a friendly farewell. A meeting had been arranged by Mr. Griffin on the night of the 10th. Accordingly, as the troops started, the British commander remained behind with Mr. Griffin, and received Abdurrahman, who came up from his camp several miles off. The interview was of a purely formal character, but great cordiality was expressed on both sides, and it was hoped that the goodwill which the Ameer professed was not all on the surface. Sir Donald Stewart's march was accomplished without much incident, but it is not to be undervalued on that account. It was supposed that Gundamak and Jelalabad would have been held until Candahar was relieved, but the retiring army marched rapidly through them, provisions and fortifications being handed over to the representatives of the Ameer. Leaving a small number of men to garrison the posts in the Khyber Pass, General Stewart allowed the rest of his war-worn soldiers to betake themselves to the welcome stations of India.

We must now repair to Candahar, in order to recapitulate the events which conducted to the deplorable disaster at Maiwand. There Shere Ali, a cousin of the late Ameer, had been recognised in May as an independent ruler, with the official title of Wali. Like all the British nominees, he proved incapable, and affairs in that city lapsed into a state of complete disorder. Threats from without were soon added to dissensions within. Towards the end of June reports reached the Viceroy that Ayooob Khan was advancing from

Herat with a large force. It was at once determined to send a brigade to aid Shere Ali, and to prevent the passage of the Helmund, while the reserve division, which had been formed on to Bombay, was sent to Candahar. These orders were despatched on July the 11th, when Ayooob Khan's advance guard was known to have arrived about half-way between Herat and Candahar. The Wali, Shere Ali, thereupon betook himself to Girishk with such forces as he could raise, in order to watch the advance of the Heratis, while General Burrows, with six companies of the 66th, the 1st Grenadiers, and the 30th Native Infantry, together with 500 sabres of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry and the 3rd Seinde Horse, was sent to the front to guard the river, which was found to be fordable at almost every point. He remained, therefore, on the eastern side, while Shere Ali was at Candanak on the western side. On the 14th news reached the two camps that Ayooob's cavalry was about twenty miles off. The Wali's infantry promptly mutinied, seized his guns and baggage, and marched off to join the enemy. General Burrows thereupon sent a force across the river, which caught the mutineers at Sheraki, and utterly discomfited them.

Finding his position on the Helmund somewhat precarious, General Burrows determined to retreat to Kushk-i-Nakhud, some twenty-three miles nearer Candahar. This movement was successfully effected on the 17th, and on the 19th and 22nd he again shifted his camp. Ayooob Khan crossed the river on the 22nd and 23rd, and advanced slowly forwards, his cavalry being often seen by the British reconnoitring parties. On the 27th, hearing that Ayooob was trying to slip past him, and so reach Candahar, General Burrows advanced to Maiwand to intercept him. There was fought the disastrous action which resulted in a humiliating defeat. It appears that General Burrows was under the impression that the main body of Ayooob's army was a march in the rear. As the British force advanced through a thick mist large bodies of men were seen moving in their front; his object had been anticipated, and the British were opposed, not to Ayooob's advanced guard, but to the whole of his army. There was nothing for it but to fight. The ground is described as slightly undulating, dotted here and there with high walled enclosures, but for the most part open. About twelve o'clock the battle began; Lieutenant Maclaime, with two horse-artillery guns and a small cavalry escort galloping out on the extreme left, and opening fire on the Afghan cavalry. He was ordered by

General Burrows to retire, which he did, though with great reluctance. For the next hour the battle was confined to an artillery duel, a fatal mistake on our part, as it allowed the enemy to manœuvre round our right in a deep ravine, of the existence of which we were ignorant, while their guns, superior in numbers, and very well served, began to distract our Sepoys, especially the five companies of Jacob's Rifles. After our ammunition began to give out a rifle fire began, in which the 66th swept the enemy away on the right; and for awhile it seemed as if we should hold our own. A vigorous charge of Ghâzis, however, on our left flank threw the two companies of Jacob's Rifles on the extreme left into complete confusion: they crashed into the Grenadiers and disorganised their ranks. In another instant the rest of the Rifles and the whole of the Native Infantry had followed their example, and came rushing back on the 66th. A hopeless scene of confusion followed. Lieutenant Henn, commanding the Sappers, was killed, after behaving most gallantly. The enemy saw their advantage, and a rush of irregulars, led by Ghazis, was made from the right front. The guns fired canister into the mass, but it was useless, and Slade limbered up and retired. Maclaine remained with two guns, firing until the Ghazis were actually at the muzzles, and these two guns had to be left behind. The 66th were broken by the rush of Sepoys upon them. No attempt to use the bayonet was made by the recruits among Jacob's Rifles, who scarcely seemed to know that they carried arms wherewith to defend themselves. A cavalry charge was ordered, but the men were out of hand, and though two squadrons rode out they never really charged. The 66th, however, retreated in good order to a garden, where they made a desperate stand, brilliantly headed by their officers, most of whom were cut down. The conduct of the British regiments was throughout most gallant, but they were hopelessly outnumbered, and the remaining third was at length extricated by General Burrows at some personal risk. The horrors of the retreat were caused not so much by the vigour of the pursuit as by the heat and want of water, from which hundreds sank down exhausted. As day dawned the villagers collected on both sides of the road, and added more to the miseries of the panic-struck Sepoys. General Primrose, however, who was in command at Candahar, sent out General Brooke to clear the country, and he rescued the survivors with admirable skill.

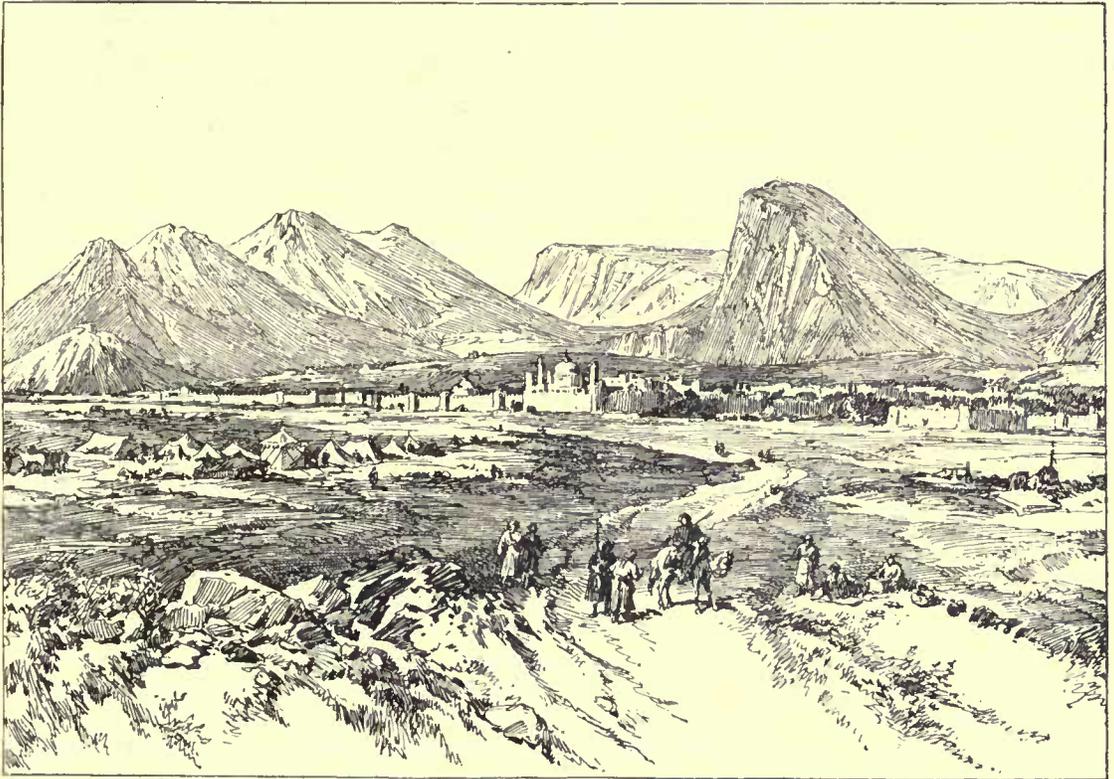
The intelligence of the crushing defeat was

despatched to the Secretary of State on the 28th of July. "Terrible disaster," ran the telegram. "General Burrows' force annihilated. We are going into citadel. General Phayre telegraphed to collect what forces he can, and march on Candahar." After this the telegraph wire was cut and the intelligence for the next few days was meagre and untrustworthy. At first it was thought that General Primrose could not possibly hold out, but these fears were soon found to be exaggerated. Nevertheless, General Phayre was directed to send on reinforcements from Quettah with all speed, and the aid offered by the Khan of Kelat in the shape of camels and mules was gladly accepted. However, in spite of every exertion, so completely had the country been denuded that it was not until the end of August that a relieving column was ready to start, and by that time the battle of Candahar had been fought and won. During the intervening weeks the whole of the country between Candahar and Quettah was in a state of seething insurrection, and our outlying stations were in considerable danger.

Had Ayoo Khan advanced immediately upon Candahar, there is no doubt that the position of the garrison would have been most serious. Like those of all Asiatic generals, however, his movements were dilatory; moreover disputes broke out in his camp. It was not until the 8th of August that his troops began to appear on the hills above Candahar, and by that time General Primrose had made every preparation for defence. His retirement within the citadel was, as events turned out, unnecessary, but it was unquestionably dictated by sound considerations. Under him were about 4,000 men, British and native, but the latter had been infected by the remnants of the defeated brigade, and had but little spirit in them. So confident were the Afghans that they at first occupied part of the cantonments, but after a brief experience of the artillery fire they withdrew to less exposed positions. On the north side of Candahar they could do but little damage, as the plain up to the walls was perfectly bare; but on the south-west and east there were villages in close proximity to the city, which gave good cover for the sharpshooters. As the batteries erected by the enemy in the village of Deh-i-Khoja gave a good deal of trouble, General Primrose determined, on the 16th, to make a sortie against it. Unfortunately the movement was preceded by a cannonade of half an hour's duration, which attracted a considerable number of Afghans to the place and altogether prevented a surprise. When the sortie

did take place the village was full of men, and though General Brooke with the central party of attack forced his way through it, he could not make good his hold. Suddenly General Primrose gave the order to retire. Brooke's supports promptly fell back and he was left with 200 men in the rear of the village. This small band was overwhelmed and suffered very severely, its brave commander being killed while attempting to save

of (1) the 92nd Highlanders, the 2nd Ghorkas, the 23rd Pioneers, the 24th Punjab Native Infantry, under General Macpherson; (2) the 72nd Highlanders, 2nd Sikhs, 3rd Sikhs, 5th Ghorkas, under General Baker; and (3) the 60th Rifles, 15th Sikhs, 4th Ghorkas, and 25th Punjab Infantry, under General Macgregor. The cavalry, under General Hugh Gough, consisted of the 9th Lancers, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, the 3rd Punjab



CANDAHAR.

a wounded comrade. The losses of the British altogether considerably exceeded two hundred. After this disastrous affair the interest of the siege languished. The news of Sir Frederick Roberts's approach shortly caused Ayoub to raise the siege and retreat to Argandab, north of the city, where he stood on the defensive.

The march from Cabul to Candahar was the most brilliant operation of the whole campaign, and ranks conspicuously among modern military feats. Roberts had with him 9,987 fighting men, and about eight thousand camp-followers. There were three brigades of infantry, the whole being commanded by Major-General Ross, consisting

Cavalry, and the Central Indian Horse. The artillery under Colonel Johnson consisted of eighteen mountain guns. As rapidity was the chief object to be attained the scale of baggage was very low, each British soldier being allowed 30 lbs., and each native 20 lbs. Provisions were to be collected as far as possible from the villages, though tea, sugar, and rum were taken for thirty days. The Ameer promised to ensure that the peasants should bring in supplies without coercion, and as an earnest of his goodwill sent 700 baggage animals. The route chosen was the longer one *via* the Logar Valley, as the country in that direction was more fertile. On the morning of the 9th of

August the march began, and for several days no more was heard of the relieving column. Fortune on this occasion favoured the brave; supplies flowed in abundantly, and on the 15th Ghuznee was reached, nearly a hundred miles having been traversed in eight days. There Abdurrahman's Governor received the British officers with friendship. As the troops became more inured to their toilsome tramp, and when it was found that no opposition was as yet in contemplation, the pace quickened. The distance from Ghuznee to Khelat-i-Ghilzai, 136 miles, was accomplished in eight days, giving the splendid average of 17 miles a day over a difficult country, the force encumbered by the camp-followers, who had to be driven along the road by the cavalry. By this time General Roberts had been informed by letter of the disastrous result of the sortie of the 16th. At Khelat-i-Ghilzai it was deemed advisable to halt for one day. Taking on the garrison, General Roberts handed over the citadel to Abdurrahman's representative and pushed forward to Jaldak. He was now fully informed of Ayob Khan's movements and advanced cautiously, as it was evident that the Afghans were going to make a stand. On the 27th General Gough went on ahead with some cavalry to Robat, and opened heliographic communications with Candahar. In the afternoon the political agent, Colonel St. John, rode out from the city and met this advance-guard, to whom he was able to bring the welcome news that the way into the city was clear. On the 28th the rest of the army arrived at Robat, and the forced marches were over. Two easy stages took the weary troops into Candahar, and the rush to the rescue was successfully accomplished. In twenty days more than three hundred miles had been accomplished, giving an average, including the day's halt, of fifteen miles a day. Discipline never flagged for a moment, and the soldiers bore the trying changes of temperature, from severe cold at night to great heat at mid-day, with wonderful fortitude.

The battle of Candahar or Mazra was fought on September 1st, and the splendid march was followed by a decisive victory. August 31st was spent in reconnoitring Ayob's position, when Colonel Chapman, by means of some well-concerted cavalry movements, in which the 18th Sikhs behaved with great courage, succeeded in demonstrating that the enemy was well posted. General Roberts determined to threaten his left, which rested on a hill known as the Baba Wali, while he effected a turning movement on the right by way of the valley of Pir Paimal, after which the Kotal

was to be taken in reverse and the entrenched camp of Mazra stormed. The battle began shortly after nine o'clock, when the Candahar garrison, under General Primrose, made the feigned attack on the Bala Wali, supported by the heavy guns which shelled the enemy continuously and completely silenced their batteries. Under cover of this fire General Macpherson with the first brigade carried the nearest village with a rush, the 2nd Ghorkas and 92nd Highlanders behaving with great spirit. After he had cleared the village Macpherson was joined by Baker's brigade, which had been carrying a series of walled enclosures in which the 72nd had suffered severely, their commanding officer, Colonel Brownlow, being killed. The two brigades then advanced together towards Pir Paimal, where Ayob's army made its last stand. The chief credit in this affair belonged to the 92nd Highlanders, who, splendidly led by Major White, charged up to the enemy's guns and carried them at the point of the bayonet. "Two small camps of the enemy then came in sight, but they were easily captured. The result of the capture, together with that of the two villages, and the arrival of the British force on the flank of Ayob's position, was a panic, which quickly spread to the main camp, and the enemy commenced flying in all directions, abandoning their guns. Our cavalry, under Gough and Nuttall, at once went in pursuit, and followed the flying enemy for fifteen miles, killing, it is said, 500 of the fugitives." Some of the victorious British troops bivouacked in Ayob Khan's standing camp, which was taken, together with large supplies of ammunition. The whole of his guns were captured and removed to Candahar. In the last minutes of the fight Captain Straton, whose management of the heliograph during the campaign had been of incalculable service to General Roberts, was shot dead; and after all was over the body of Lieutenant Maclaine, who had been taken prisoner at Maiwand, was discovered, butchered by his guards.

Thus the Afghan campaign was brought to a glorious conclusion. Not that the situation was by any means free from causes of anxiety. The "strong, friendly, and independent" Afghanistan could by no figure of speech be said to exist, for Abdurrahman held a most precarious tenure of the throne of Cabul, where the Ghilzais seemed indisposed to accept his authority, and Ayob, who had regained Herat, was reported to be gathering another army about him. Still, the question of abandoning or retaining Candahar was not one to be decided offhand. The friends of the forward

policy claimed for it that it might become a valuable trade centre, and that it would prove a most useful outpost against Russian aggression. The Liberal Cabinet, however, pronounced emphatically against retaining the place. In a despatch to Lord Ripon, dated November 11th, Lord Hartington declared that "any measure which would make necessary a permanent military occupation of Candahar would be considered by the Government as open to the gravest objection." He pointed out that Russia had gained no position of strength by her advance, and that there was no possibility of her invading India from the north-west; that recent events had shown the difficulties of occupation, and that the question was not that of occupying the town, but of ruling a large province which would probably require an army of 20,000 men; he acknowledged that the retirement from Candahar might be regarded in India as a confession of weakness, but that was unavoidable; and he pointed out that it was improbable that advocates of an ambitious policy would be content with Candahar, and lastly that it would be far easier to occupy Candahar as an ally of the Afghans when the safety of their country was threatened. He desired, therefore, that Lord Ripon should steadily keep in view the paramount importance of effecting a withdrawal on the earliest suitable occasion.

To find a native Governor strong enough to administer Candahar was no easy task. Lord Hartington considered that the best policy would be to enable the Ameer of Cabul to establish his authority in the town. The abdication of the incompetent Wali, Shere Ali, to a large extent removed the difficulties that stood in the way of a peaceful settlement of affairs. Meanwhile Candahar was held by a strong garrison commanded by General Hume, who had superseded General Phayre. In other quarters the evacuation went on more rapidly. Before the end of the year the troops in the Kurum Valley had retired to Thal, and negotiations were in progress for handing over the Khyber Pass to the Afreedees, who, in return for a subsidy, guaranteed to keep it open. In March of 1881 the British troops finally retired from the Khyber, the Indian Government contenting themselves with keeping a garrison at Jumrud. During the winter months Ayoub Khan from Herat, and Abdurrahman from Cabul were employed in bidding against one another for the possession of Candahar. The star of the former, however, was rapidly setting, and his envoys received no encouragement from General Hume,

while to Abdurrahman it was intimated that he might send a Governor with a suitable military force to occupy the town. On the 1st of April an Afghan force entered Candahar, and it was soon followed by the Governor, Mohammed Hassan Khan. After more than one delay, owing to bad weather, General Hume began his march southwards, halting for awhile in the Pishin Valley to see what the effect of his retirement would be. Eventually his brigade withdrew to Quetta, and thence to India. Of the struggle between Abdurrahman and Ayoub Khan, it is enough here to say that the latter started for Candahar in July, 1881, met Abdurrahman's Governor near Maiwand, on the anniversary of that disastrous day, defeated him, and occupied the city. The Ameer, however, supplied with British money and British arms, advanced quickly against the pretender from Cabul, encountered him outside the walls, and completely reversed the fortunes of the war. Ayoub fled to Herat, and being again defeated by one of the Ameer's generals, sought refuge in Persia. At last the long-continued anarchy in Afghanistan appeared to have subsided.

The Zulu war, unlike that with the Afghans, was not a matter of years, but of months. It was, nevertheless, not unmarked by vicissitudes, and had its Isandhlwana as a counterpart to Maiwand. In order to trace the causes of this rupture between the Government of Natal and the chief of a native tribe with which we had hitherto been on the best of terms, it is unnecessary to go back to a more remote date than 1873, when Cetewayo, on the death of his father, King Umpanda, became king of the Zulus. Wishing to secure as firm a position as possible, he applied to the British Government to recognise him, and also urged that his country should be defended from Boer aggressions. Accordingly, Mr. Shepstone, with an escort, went into Zululand and publicly crowned Cetewayo, who in return for British support promised to govern uprightly, and to practise moderation, prudence, and justice. It may fairly be said that as far as his imperfect idea of good government went Cetewayo was faithful to his part of the bargain. With the Boers, however, his relations were not by any means of a friendly nature. These colonists had settled in the district of Utrecht in the time of Umpanda, and had at once begun to encroach upon the native boundaries, whence arose a perpetual state of border warfare and blackmail. The question was all the more involved from the fact that there were two unsettled boundary lines, one between Zululand

and the Transvaal to the south of the river Pongola, and the other between the Zulus and the Swazis, their inveterate enemies. In this dispute the Boers also claimed to have a share, on the ground that they had purchased part of the borderland in question from the Swazis, a statement which those savages stoutly denied. The first of these questions was by far the more important, and dated back to 1861, when it was asserted by the Boers that in return for the extradition of certain criminals the Zulu king had ceded to the Transvaal Republic a large tract of land east of the Blood river, but this bargain was repudiated by Umpana. In 1875 the Boer Government attempted to settle the question off-hand by annexing the disputed territory to the South African Republic, and proceeded to exercise there the functions of government. At this crisis Sir Henry Bulwer became Governor of Natal, and succeeded for awhile in averting hostilities. Cetewayo was kept quiet by profuse compliments paid to his moderation and forbearance, while the Boers were warned that their aggressive propensities could no longer be permitted by the British Government.

The annexation of the Transvaal Republic—which seemed to Sir Theophilus Shepstone the best means of preventing the Boers from provoking the native races to war, and, in consequence, endangering the safety of the whole of the white population of South Africa—materially altered the friendly relations of Cetewayo with Great Britain. Sir Henry Bulwer demonstrated this in an able despatch. “The Zulus,” he said, “had found out that the English Government had no aggressive designs, that it was contented to keep the boundaries laid down in the treaty with the Zulu nations in 1843, and that it was friendly and moderate in its dealings. They knew it also to be the most powerful Government in South Africa, and they quickly recognised the importance of cultivating its friendship, more particularly in the presence of the neighbouring Republic, of whose policy and designs they did not feel equally sure. The annexation of the Transvaal has destroyed the conditions which created the balance to which I have referred.” Besides, Cetewayo was piqued because he had not been allowed to try conclusions with the Boers, whom his rival Sikukuni, the king of a Kaffir tribe of strength inferior to that of his own, had worsted.

Though Cetewayo was thus alienated, it might have been thought that the disputed boundary question afforded a splendid opportunity for persuading him that his relations with the British

Government need not be permanently affected by the annexation of the Transvaal. Instead of acting thus, however, the Government waited for a time before doing anything, and it was not until February, 1878, that it was agreed to appoint a commission of inquiry, whose decision was afterwards to be referred to Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner of South Africa. Their report, which was forwarded to Sir Bartle Frere at the end of July, was entirely in favour of Cetewayo, and against the Boers; they decided that the land belonged to the Zulus, that no cession of territory was ever made by the Zulu people, and that, even had such a cession been made, it would have been null and void unless confirmed by the voice of the nation.

Sir Bartle Frere, however, was a man of fixed ideas. We have seen what an important part his “note” played in the chain of events that ultimately produced the Afghan war, and in South Africa, as on the north-west frontier, he stood forth as an apostle of the “policy of advance.” In a memorandum, dated November 13th, 1878, he afterwards showed plainly enough that he did not judge the boundary question on its own merits; but regarded it as subsidiary to the all-important necessity of compelling Cetewayo to reduce his military establishment. “Zululand,” he said, “is surrounded landward by the territory of the British Government or its allies. They are all peaceful, non-aggressive people, and would never interfere with Cetewayo, nor attempt to harm him and his subjects unless Cetewayo first meddled with them, but while he keeps up a large standing army, useless for all but purposes of tyranny and aggression, it is impossible for his peaceful neighbours to feel secure. The English Government is forced to keep large numbers of her Majesty’s troops in Natal and the Transvaal, and even then the people do not feel secure that Cetewayo will not attack them to ‘wash his spears.’ It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the peace and quiet of Natal that Cetewayo should alter his military system, and reduce his army to such dimensions as shall be considered by the great council of the Zulus and the British Government sufficient to ensure the internal peace of the country.”

It was with these impressions on his mind that Sir Bartle Frere attempted in the course of a long correspondence with Sir Henry Bulwer to disprove the finding of the commission, on the ground that the Zulus were a migratory tribe with no settled boundaries, that there was no authorised form of Zulu cessions of land, and that it was impossible

to understand what rights the Zulus claimed in the territory under dispute. Sir Henry Bulwer, on the other hand, insisted that the boundary question was one on which British faith had been committed. In the face of such representations Sir Bartle Frere could not wholly afford to

and to secure performances of those promises of better administration which were made by Cetewayo to the British Government and the Zulu nation at the time of his coronation and recognition as king by the British Government." This, of course, implied that the Dutch settlers were to be



CETEWAYO, KING OF THE ZULUS.
(From a Photograph by Crewes, Cape Town.)

set aside the decision of the commission. Accordingly his award, which was published on the 16th of November, 1878, was found to consist in a compromise. The disputed lands were to belong to the Zulus, but it was decided that, "inasmuch as the existing system of government in Zululand makes no provision for securing any rights of person or of private property, that such rights on the portion of the disputed territory assigned to Zulus be placed specially under the charge of the British Resident, who on other grounds will be appointed to represent British interests in Zululand,

left in possession, while the appointment of a British Resident made the pill additionally bitter.

Three other circumstances, which may be called the "Sirayo affair," and the "Middle Drift difficulty," and the "Missionary dispute," helped to bring matters to a crisis. The Sirayo affair was caused by the unfaithful conduct of two of that chieftain's wives, who eloped into Natal and were there hunted down and murdered by two of their husband's sons. Sir Henry Bulwer thereupon requested that Cetewayo would send the youths to Natal to be punished by the law of the colony

Cetewayo, however, after much shilly-shally, asked that the act might be condoned as that of "rash boys, who, in their zeal for their father's honour, did not think what they were doing." By the advice of John Dunn, an Englishman who had acquired considerable influence with Cetewayo as a "gun-runner," or purveyor of illegal arms, he offered a money compensation which Sir Henry Bulwer refused to accept, though he was inclined to allow a larger sum, and though Sir Michael Hicks-Beach acknowledged that "there was nothing in Cetewayo's conduct which would preclude the hope of a satisfactory arrangement." This was by no means the view of Sir Bartle Frere, who, in tones of much indignation, said that unless the outrage was apologised and atoned for by compliance with the Lieutenant-Governor's demand that the leader of the murderous gangs should be given up to justice, it would be necessary to send to the Zulu king an ultimatum which must put an end to pacific relations. The Middle Drift difficulty revealed a still greater difference of opinion between the Colonial Office and Sir Bartle Frere on the conduct of Cetewayo. At the beginning of 1878 Mr. Smith, a surveyor in the Colonial Engineer's department, and his assistants, were on duty inspecting the road to the Lower Tugela, when they were surrounded by Zulus, and, as they took no notice of the questions put to them, were seized and detained for some time. The affair was considered by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to have been partly due to the indiscretion of the surveyors, and evidently in no way sanctioned by the Zulu authorities, while Sir Bartle Frere said that it was a most serious injury and outrage, and should be severely noticed. The missionaries who were the cause of the third subject of disagreement were Norwegians. They had been some time in Zululand, and apparently had suffered little or no molestation, but after a time they suddenly determined to retire from the country, a step considered by Sir Henry Bulwer to have been not only "unnecessary, but ill-advised for their own interests." The reason they gave was that their converts were maltreated by Cetewayo, but the Zulu king asserted, on the other hand, that they were spies—a supposition to which their interference in his affairs and rude behaviour towards him gave some natural colour—and that they encouraged all the bad characters in the nation to resist the law under the pretext of being Christians. As before, Sir Bartle Frere found his views contradicted by Sir Henry Bulwer; as before, he demanded the punishment of Cetewayo.

Meanwhile, the High Commissioner's military preparations had seriously alarmed Cetewayo, yet they were by no means as complete as he would have wished, for to his application for two more regiments Sir Michael Hicks-Beach returned a distinct refusal. "Her Majesty's Government," said he, "are not prepared to comply with the request for a reinforcement of troops. All the information that has hitherto reached them with respect to Zululand appears to them to justify a confident hope that by the exercise of prudence, and by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and reasonable compromise it will be possible to avert the very serious evil of a war with Cetewayo." Sir Bartle Frere was highly indignant at this refusal, and wrote letter after letter urging Government to change their mind. At last they yielded, and on November 21st they announced that he should have the required reinforcements, on the distinct understanding that they were not to be used for aggressive purposes.

Meanwhile, the award had not yet been communicated to Cetewayo, and it was not until he had received a pretty severe rebuke from the Colonial Secretary that Sir Bartle Frere proceeded to send a commission to Zululand, who met the king's envoys on the Lower Tugela Drift on December 11th, and communicated the conditions to him. An hour later they followed up the award by an ultimatum couched in the severest terms, of which the chief points were: (1) that Cetewayo should disband his army and discontinue his military system; (2) that he should allow the missionaries to return to Zululand and teach without restraint; (3) that he should receive a British Resident; (4) that he should give full satisfaction in the matters of Sirayo and the Middle Drift, and for certain raids on the Boers made by a chief named Umbellini, who was not a Zulu, but a Swazi. Unless these demands were complied with by the 1st of January, 1879, a period of grace afterwards extended to the 11th, Zululand was to be invaded by the British forces.

After one or two feeble attempts to gain time, Cetewayo resolved to stand on the defensive. He returned no definite answer to the High Commissioner's demands, and accordingly on the 12th the invading army under Lord Chelmsford, the commander of the forces in South Africa, crossed the Tugela, and prepared to operate against Cetewayo in four columns. Of these the first, numbering 4,200, under Colonel Pearson, advanced along the coast; the second, of 3,000 men, composed of native levies, commanded by European officers,

had been drilled and organised by Colonel Durnford, R.E., who was to cross the Tugela at Middle Drift and march up the left side of the river to Rorke's Drift. Colonel Glyn commanded the third column, which advanced from Helpmakaar. It was about 3,000 strong, and contained the 1st and 2nd battalions of the 24th regiment, together numbering about a thousand bayonets. The fourth column, under Colonel Evelyn Wood, was to operate from Utrecht in the Transvaal, in conjunction with Glyn; it was also about 3,000 strong. Altogether there were about 8,000 regulars, 1,000 European volunteers, and the rest native levies. Very little was known as to the intentions of the enemy, but it was believed they would not fight until the royal kraal was menaced. The Zulu army was drawn by conscription from the entire male population, and consisted in theory of thirty-five regiments. It was estimated, however, that only about twenty-five regiments would be able to take the field, and these would muster perhaps 40,000.

At first the advance of the invading forces was rapid and successful. Colonel Wood marched from Utrecht on the 7th of January in order to be at the frontier on the appointed day, and arrived on the 10th close to Rorke's Drift, having covered thirty-one miles in the last twenty-four hours, so as to be ready to support Colonel Glyn's movement. There he was met by Lord Chelmsford, who directed him to occupy himself for the present with the tribes in his front and left flank, a change of plan by which the left flank of Colonel Glyn's column was left undefended. On the following day Wood's men had a first taste of Zulu warfare, when the 13th Light Infantry scattered a large body of the enemy. For the next week his advance was unimpeded, and on the 20th of January he encamped at Bemba's Kop. Thence he turned to the north-east, dispersing scattered bodies of the enemy, and sending patrols in the direction of the River Ingwazini. On the 23rd he found some 4,000 Zulus strongly posted at a place called Tinta's Hill, and drove them away with considerable loss. The news of the terrible disaster of Isandhlwana, where Colonel Glyn's column had been cut to pieces, caused him to change his plans. He retired to a strong position at Kambula, where he entrenched himself and stood on the defensive.

The news of that terrible defeat found Colonel Pearson with No. 1 column at Ekowe, about forty miles due north of the River Tugela. His force comprised about 1,500 regulars, consisting of eight

companies of the old Buffs under Colonel Parnell, six companies of the 99th under Colonel Welman, one company of Royal Engineers, and two seven-pounder guns. There was also with him a naval brigade of 270 blue-jackets, and marines from H.M. ships *Tenedos* and *Active*, about 400 colonial troops, and about 2,000 of the native contingent under Major Griffiths. Floods on the river caused nearly a week's delay, and then on the 18th a flying column pushed on to Ulundi, where Colonel Pearson intended to throw up an entrenched post as a *point d'appui* to the invading army. As usual with most generals commanding troops in Africa he had to contend with very heavy transport difficulties, both from the nature of the country and the ravages caused among the animals by the climate and the tsetse fly. On the 22nd Colonel Pearson had a brush with the enemy at Inyezane, the Zulus skirmishing up to his outposts in very fine style. They were, however, met by steady fire from the Naval Brigade and driven away from the waggons. Nothing daunted they attempted a flanking movement, but Colonel Parnell brought up the Buffs, and by a spirited charge cleared the heights before him, the total loss of the enemy being about 900 killed and wounded. On the following day he arrived at Ekowe, and there received news of Isandhlwana. Hastily collecting his convoys and sending away the native and colonial contingents, he stockaded his 1,200 British troops and prepared to await the advance of the victorious hordes of Cetewayo.

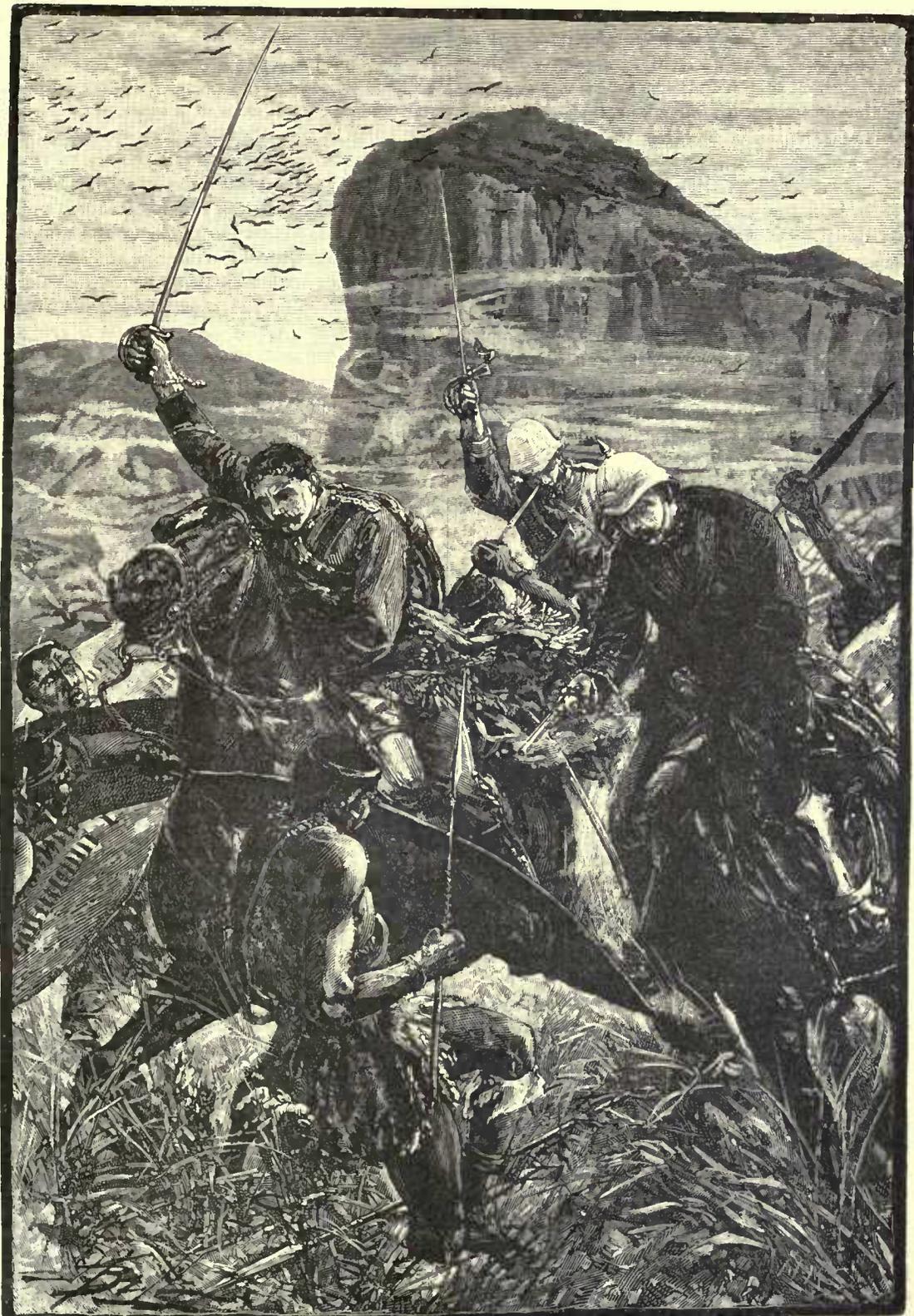
We must now trace the events that led to the deplorable disaster of Isandhlwana. In the first place, the native troops proved very inferior, and the greater part had to be left behind to guard the frontier, the rest under Colonel Durnford being hurried up to Rorke's Drift to reinforce Colonel Glyn. On the 12th of January the latter came into contact with the enemy, who were discovered to be Sirayo's people. After a skirmish of about twenty minutes the Zulus fled, their chief's kraal was burnt, and a large quantity of cattle captured. The difficulties of the road soon became formidable. Leaving Colonel Glyn encamped at Insalwana, or Isandhlwana, Lord Chelmsford pushed ten miles farther on to reconnoitre the country, and on the following morning, having himself returned to camp, he sent out two reconnoitring parties, one under Major Dartnell, and two battalions of the native contingent under Commandant Lonsdale, the orders being that these officers were to effect a communication on the Inhlazaty range, and then return to camp. About three in the afternoon

Dartnell sent word that the enemy were in great force in front, and asked for reinforcements. Lord Chelmsford, however, thought it advisable not to comply with the demand, and the reconnoitring party encamped where it was. About dawn, however, Dartnell sent word a second time that he was in danger. After considerable delay Lord Chelmsford ordered Colonel Glyn to march to his assistance with all the available force, consisting of the 2nd battalion of the 24th, the mounted infantry, and four of Harness's guns. He himself accompanied this force. The camp was left in charge of Colonel Pulleine until the arrival of Colonel Durnford, who was hastily summoned from Rorke's Drift, and as senior officer took command. He had under him 772 Europeans and 850 natives. Lord Chelmsford meanwhile advanced rapidly and joined Dartnell at a quarter past 6 o'clock. He soon discovered what he imagined to be the main body of the enemy, and rapidly dislodged them; Captain Shepstone with the Natal Carabineers cutting off a considerable number. Twice during the day came messengers reporting that there was firing going on, and that the camp was being attacked, but observations seemed to show that everything was quiet, and that the assault, if it had been made at all, had been successfully repulsed. Lord Chelmsford and his staff were leisurely returning homewards when they met Commandant Lonsdale, who uttered the astounding words, "The camp is in possession of the enemy." He had been allowed to fall out from Glyn's column earlier in the day, and had almost ridden into the tents when he perceived, not British troops but Zulus in possession, and galloped off just in time to warn the General.

The story of Isandhlwana was, in the main, as follows:—Soon after his arrival in camp, Colonel Durnford sent out reconnaissances to the hills on the left. Conflicting reports were brought in as to the movements of the enemy; they were at first said to be in three columns, one of which was moving towards Lord Chelmsford, and a second to the left rear of the camp, but it was afterwards reported that they were retiring in every direction. Colonel Durnford thereupon decided to start in pursuit, and asked Colonel Pulleine to lend him two companies of the 24th. Pulleine replied that "two companies could ill be spared, but that if Durnford ordered them, he might have them." Thereupon Colonel Durnford determined to take only his own men. His left had gone a very little way when they found themselves opposed, not as they had anticipated by some four or five hundred men, but

by the whole Zulu army about 25,000 strong. They charged furiously, and Colonel Durnford at once commenced a steady retreat on the camp, the Zulus pressing him very close. Still farther to the left Captain Shepstone with his mounted natives was holding the crest of the Ingputis Hills, but though reinforced by Captain Mostyn of the 24th, he was compelled shortly after noon to retire. Still the fight was going well for the British, as Durnford's natives rallied behind a donga and so galled the enemy that they began to show signs of wavering. Had the camp been pitched in a less open spot, had a laager of waggons been formed round it, had in fact any of the ordinary precautions been taken, it might have been possible to hold out until Lord Chelmsford arrived to the rescue. As it was the position was very weak, and when the right horn of the Zulu army appeared without the slightest warning in the rear, having cleverly manœuvred round a range of hills, despair stared the British in the face. The Zulu regiments in front rushed forward with wild enthusiasm. Durnford's natives were seized with panic and fled, and in a moment the dusky savages were surging into the camp on all sides. The British soldiers fought bravely, but were overwhelmed and fell under showers of assegais. The guns tried to make a way of escape, but their drivers were stabbed, and all that was left was a company of the 24th, about sixty in number, who, forming in square beneath a hill, fought until their ammunition was spent and then died each man in his place. Of the fugitives a very small remnant struggled into Rorke's Drift. Lieutenants Melvill and Coghill made a gallant effort to save the colours of the regiment, but their horses were shot as they forded the Buffalo, and they died fighting to the last breath. The two heroes did not perish in vain, for the colours were recovered from the river ten days afterwards.

When the news of the destruction of Colonel Durnford's force arrived, Lord Chelmsford at once sent back to hurry up Colonel Glyn, and disposing the force in order of battle, they advanced rapidly towards the camp, which was reached late in the evening. The Zulus, startled at their approach, fled without attempting to improve upon their previous success; and the weary soldiers, many of whom had not tasted food for forty-eight hours, flung themselves down for a few hours' rest among broken waggons, overturned tents, and the corpses of horses, and of comrades whom they had left a few hours previously alive and well. It was a night of false alarms and much disorder among the



ISANDHLWANA: THE DASH WITH THE COLOURS. (See p. 456.)

native troops. At dawn the column prepared to cut its way to Rorke's Drift, and great was their surprise when they found that the road was open. Pushing forward with all speed, they arrived at the mission-house to find, not that the victorious Zulus had effected a second Isandhlwana, but that the gallant little garrison had saved the colony. For it is not too much to say that if the station had fallen Lord Chelmsford's army would have been annihilated, and the Zulus in their thousands would have poured over the frontier without encountering the slightest opposition.

On his departure for Isandhlwana Colonel Durnford left at Rorke's Drift eighty men of the 24th under Lieutenant Bromhead, while Lieutenant Chard, R.E., was in charge of the ponts or flying bridges across the river. The news of the disaster at Isandhlwana reached Chard about 3.30 p.m., and the two officers, with the assistance of Sergeant Daly, instantly began to strengthen their position by connecting the buildings with potato bags, and making an entrenchment of biscuit boxes. "A worse position," we are told, "could hardly be imagined—two small thatched buildings, about thirty-nine yards apart, with the walls commanded by rising ground to the south and west, completely overlooked on the south by a high hill. On the north side an orchard and garden gave good cover to an enemy within a few yards of the houses." About 4.30 p.m. the enemy came in sight, and were discovered to be about 4,000 in number. They advanced at a run until within fifty yards of the wall, when they were checked by a heavy fire, and retired into the bush, whence they conducted for the next hour or more a series of desperate assaults, which were repelled by the bayonet. While these assaults were going on the enemy were trying to fire the hospital, and Privates Williams, R. Jones, W. Jones, and Hook gallantly performed the difficult duty of rescuing the sick, holding the doorway with the bayonet when their ammunition was expended. When it was abandoned the enemy fired the building, which as darkness came on helped to direct the fire of the garrison. The Zulu marksmen from the hills at length proved so galling that Chard and Bromhead decided to retire within the inner entrenchments, where until midnight they were exposed to numerous attacks. The Zulus behaved with the utmost courage, frequently rushing up to the parapet and seizing the muzzles of the guns, and there were many hand-to-hand conflicts. After midnight, however, their fire slackened, at four it ceased altogether, and when day dawned the

enemy were seen retiring over the hill. Lieutenant Chard at once set to work patrolling the ground, collecting Zulu arms, and strengthening the defences. All fears of a renewed attack were not quite at an end, when the arrival of Lord Chelmsford's force caused the enemy to retreat. Their loss was probably more than five hundred; that of the British was seventeen killed, and ten wounded. So ended the action of Rorke's Drift, which fairly retrieved the disgrace of Isandhlwana.

The consternation produced by the news of the defeat in England and at the Cape was intense. Both in South Africa and at home a cry arose that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled, but the Cabinet, instead of superseding the General, resolved to double the forces at his disposal. The 57th Regiment was ordered from Ceylon, a requisition for any disposable troops was telegraphed to Bombay, and seven infantry regiments and two regiments of cavalry, with artillery and engineers, were warned for service in South Africa. In spite of the energy thus displayed it was some time before the excitement cooled down, and it found eager expression in the House of Parliament. As soon as the Queen heard of the disaster at Isandhlwana she sent a message to Lord Chelmsford, through the Secretary-at-War, expressing her "confidence in the Commander-in-Chief and her troops to maintain her name and honour." This was taken up in the House of Lords, much to the wrath of Lord Beaconsfield, who protested in dignified terms against "torturing the message into a formal expression of unlimited confidence in the Commander-in-Chief." In the House of Commons Mr. Jenkins made himself the mouthpiece of those who wished Lord Chelmsford to be recalled. On being informed by Sir Stafford Northcote that there was at present no intention of placing the supreme command of the forces in South Africa in other hands, he moved the adjournment of the House, and a scene of the utmost confusion followed, during which Mr. Jenkins was understood to accuse Lord Chelmsford of great military incapacity, and to hint that the Horse Guards was a centre of intrigue, where incompetence was shielded by Court influence or by favour with the Royal person at the head of it. Sir Robert Peel, who seconded the motion, wished to know whether the incapacity of the Commander-in-Chief and the subsequent victory of the Zulus was any reason for continuing the war; but far more attention was paid to Colonel Mure, who protested against the policy of censuring generals in the field when there was little or no evidence before the House;

and to Lord Hartington, who censured an attempt to regulate the conduct of a campaign before the House possessed the necessary military information. Finally, the motion was withdrawn.

The publication of a despatch from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to Sir Bartle Frere by no means tended to appease the resentment of the opponents of the war. In this document the High Commissioner was rebuked in terms of grave displeasure for "taking, without full knowledge and sanction, a course almost certain to result in war, which, as I had previously impressed upon you, every effort should have been taken to avoid;" while, at the same time, he was informed that Government would not recall him, but would continue him in South Africa, trusting that "there would be no recurrence of any cause for complaint on this score." It was followed by a message from Lord Chelmsford, asking Government to send out a Major-General competent to succeed him, and also to take the place of Sir Bartle Frere, which to a certain extent disarmed criticism, although it increased the impression that some decisive step ought to be made. There was, therefore, considerable feeling in support of Lord Lansdowne outside the House when, on the 25th of March, he brought forward a motion expressing regret that, after the censure passed on the High Commissioner in the Colonial Secretary's despatch, the conduct of affairs in South Africa should be retained in his hands. The debate was not a very remarkable one, as Government did not attempt to defend the conduct of the High Commissioner at all points. He had, said Lord Cranbrook, under a high sense of duty, made a mistake, and engaged in something they would rather he had not done, but he ought to be corrected with moderation and not absolutely condemned. The Secretary for War dwelt forcibly on the perpetual danger hanging over the Natal colony from Zululand; if you were to have a colony at all, it was simply impossible to have things going on as they were. He urged also that Sir Bartle Frere had been sent to carry out Lord Carnarvon's great scheme of confederation, and that it would be unwise to recall him before that work had been accomplished. Their lordships divided, after an animated debate, and Government were victorious by 156 to 61, many Liberals not voting.

Two days afterwards Sir Charles Dilke brought forward an identical motion, and arraigned the whole policy of Sir Bartle Frere, whom he accused of having deliberately broken a peace which had lasted thirty years, and declared that Government

had constantly received from him despatches which clearly showed his intention of committing offensive and aggressive acts, and yet they contented themselves with a simple acknowledgment of them. From the 23rd of January to the 19th of March not a word of censure was passed on his acts. Knowing well the opinion of Government with regard to the war he was about to begin, Sir Bartle Frere seemed to have argued with himself that if he gained a triumphant success and added a new province to the British empire, all his faults would be forgiven. No doubt he was challenged by many only because he had failed, but if the papers before the House proved anything it was that he deserved to be challenged, whether he gained a triumphant success or not. The war had been begun with very inadequate preparations. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach replied that the war was inevitable sooner or later, owing to the great strength of Cetewayo, and that Sir Bartle Frere had only displayed an excess of zeal, not incapacity. "It has been alleged," said he, "that the policy of the Government is inconsistent with Sir Bartle Frere's idea. I distinctly deny that assertion. If the hour were not too late, I would quote from repeated despatches of Sir Bartle Frere his views as to a system of Residents among the native tribes on our borders, similar to that which I believe will be the best solution of the future of Zululand." Mr. Courtney boldly advocated the abandonment of the Transvaal, to the annexation of which he traced all subsequent evils, while Sir William Harcourt facetiously described the meaning of the despatch of the Secretary to the Colonies as expressed in the well-known phrase, "Not guilty; but don't do it again!" After Sir Stafford Northcote had defended the High Commissioner in a rather faint-hearted manner there was a division, in which Government triumphed by a majority of sixty, the numbers being 306 to 246.

The panic at Natal had in the meantime been very acute. For nearly a week after the battle of Isandhlwana the victorious Zulus were daily expected to cross the frontier; the whites retreated inland, and every available colonist was summoned to bear arms. Lord Chelmsford hurried to Pietermaritzburg, and made hasty preparations for the defence of the principal towns. Before long it was perceived that the situation was by no means so desperate as had been at first imagined. The native insurrection throughout South Africa which so many apprehended, was seen to be in the highest degree improbable, while Pearson and Wood more than held their own at Ekowe and Kambula,

and still the victors of Isandhlwana did not cross the Tugela. Gradually the truth leaked out, through deserters and prisoners, that Cetewayo, so far from being elated at his victory, was horror-stricken at the destruction which had been wrought among some of his bravest regiments. Thereupon the outcry of the opponents of Sir Bartle Frere's policy, the most important of whom was Bishop Colenso, redoubled, and Natal was divided into a war party and a peace party.

The chief efforts of the Zulu warriors were all this while directed mainly against Colonel Pearson's position at Ekowe, but they made very slight impression, the entrenchments having been constructed with solidity and skill. Towards the end of March, however, their provisions began to give out, and several men died of fever, the station being exceedingly unhealthy. Pearson, therefore, flashed signals with the heliograph to Lord Chelmsford, explaining the desperate circumstances in which he was placed. It was immediately determined to send a relief column to his rescue, and the arrival of a small reinforcement from St. Helena in H.M.S. *Shah* at this crisis proved most welcome. Directing Colonel Wood to effect a diversion by an attack on the Zulu flank, Lord Chelmsford hastily collected a somewhat heterogeneous force consisting of about 3,300 whites, many of whom were sailors from the *Shah* and the *Boadicea*, 1,600 of the native contingent, and a small body of cavalry, about 160 in number, with nine-pounders and rocket-tubes. The convoy was made as light and small as possible, and the leading division, commanded by Colonel Law, R.A., started on the 27th of March. That fighting was in prospect was certain enough, for Pearson had signalled that a force of 35,000 men lay between the relieving column and Ekowe. Taking the coast route as being more open than that adopted by Pearson, Lord Chelmsford pushed rapidly forward, and had arrived at Ginghilovo, having accomplished about three-fourths of the journey, when a heliographic signal from Ekowe warned him that he might expect an attack.

As day dawned on the 3rd of April the Zulus were observed stealing round the British camp. After some delay they advanced in their usual skirmishing order against the British front, but they were met by a terrific fire from the 60th Rifles, and though they displayed great courage they did not succeed in getting within 300 yards of the shelter-pits. Suddenly changing their front with great military precision, they attacked the side of the camp held by the men of the 57th and

91st. Here they charged with still greater courage and resolution, and four times they swarmed up to the entrenchments, but failed to reach the British bayonets. A last and still more desperate attack was made on the left of the camp. A charge from the little body of horse soon finished the battle of Ginghilovo. The loss of the enemy could not be set down at less than 1,000, while the British lost only three killed and 37 wounded. Leaving a small garrison at Ginghilovo under Major Walker, Lord Chelmsford formed the 57th, 60th, and 91st into flying column and went on to Ekowe. Not a Zulu was to be seen, and that night rescuers and rescued were face to face. Pearson's men were found to have suffered much from fever, but otherwise their condition was satisfactory. Next day a raid was successfully effected on the kraal of a chief named Dabulamanzi, in which John Dunn, who had deserted Cetewayo, rendered valuable assistance. It was resolved to evacuate Ekowe, which was very difficult for a relieving force to approach, and to make Ginghilovo the most advanced position. The return was accomplished without any incident. Leaving an adequate force at Ginghilovo, Lord Chelmsford started on the following day for the Tugela on his way to Durban, where he intended to organise a general advance on Cetewayo's kraal at Ulundi, which was to begin early in May.

Meanwhile Colonel Wood's movements had been equally brilliant, and had also resulted in a decisive victory. At first, as we have seen, he fell back upon Kambula with the view of covering Utrecht, but when he found that the danger of invasion was small, he speedily assumed the offensive and commenced a series of marches and countermarches in order to discover the whereabouts of the enemy. On the 28th of January he received intelligence that there was a large depôt of provisions and cattle at Baglusini's kraal, about thirty miles away. It was resolved to assail the place with cavalry, and Colonel Buller was entrusted with the task. Taking with him 106 of the Frontier Light Horse and thirty-three of the Boer contingent he made a dash at the stockade, took it completely by surprise, fired the magazine, and made off with a large prize of cattle. Soon afterwards he was reinforced by Colonel Rowlands, V.C., who had been conducting operations with some success against Sikukuni, chief of the Makatisi tribes, with whom the relations of the British had become unfriendly in consequence of the annexation of the Transvaal. Abandoning his attempts to reduce the Makatisi without having succeeded

in capturing their chief stronghold, and having made hasty dispositions for the defence of the Transvaal frontier, Colonel Rowlands, in obedience to orders from headquarters, set out from Derby and effected a junction with Colonel Wood. The camp was now at Kambula Kop, and there, on the 2nd of March, Colonel Wood received the important submission of Oham, Cetewayo's brother, who pronounced himself weary of the war. He was received with marked attention, and his wives and children were rescued from the power of Cetewayo by a detachment of Buller's horse.

Colonel Wood's operations were now directed against Umbellini, the powerful chief who barred the way to Ulundi, but before he could inflict any serious blow upon that marauder, an outlying portion of his own force suffered a disaster which in completeness, if not in magnitude, was equal to that of Isandhlwana. It appears that some seventy men of the 80th regiment, under Captain Moriarty, were ordered to march from Luneberg on the 7th of March to escort eighteen waggons of ammunition coming from Derby. On their return they halted on the banks of the River Intombi, which they found swollen, for three days. A very inefficient watch was kept, notwithstanding the fact that Umbellini's stronghold was barely four miles off. On the morning of the 12th the camp was suddenly surrounded by 4,000 or 5,000 of the enemy, and Moriarty and his men were massacred before they could leave their tents.

The Intombi disaster hastened Colonel Wood's movements against Umbellini. He determined to seize that savage's camp on the Zlobani range, where he had a large quantity of cattle. The movement was, as usual, entrusted to cavalry, and a picked number of Boers and frontier horsemen, accompanied by Colonel Wood in person, started on the 17th for the kraal, which was about twelve miles from Kambula. Unfortunately the ground proved unusually difficult, and though Colonel Buller scaled the precipitous heights with dauntless intrepidity and gained the level plateau, he had barely succeeded in capturing the cattle and carrying the entrenched camps by storm, when a large body of men was seen approaching which caused him to relinquish his booty and to retreat with all speed upon the main body. It proved to be an army of considerable numbers, which had been sent by Cetewayo to reinforce Umbellini. Colonel Wood was now caught in a trap, and had to cut his way out by some very severe fighting, in which Colonel Buller, who commanded the rear-guard, behaved splendidly. The British loss in this

venture was seven officers and ninety-one men. Among the slain were Piet Uys, the commander of the Boer contingent, Colonel Weatherly, the gallant leader of Weatherly's horse, and two of Colonel Wood's staff, Captain the Hon. Ronald Campbell and Mr. Llewellyn Lloyd, political agent.

Encouraged by this distinct success, the Zulus resolved to attack the British troops in their position at Kambula. On the morning of the 29th a native spy, sent by Colonel Wood to pick up what news he could concerning the enemy, reported that the column that had marched from Ulundi to the relief of Umbellini was 20,000 strong, and was well supplied with arms and ammunition. Preparations were accordingly made for a vigorous resistance, and when the Zulus arrived before the camp at about eleven a.m., they found the British lines so strong that it was some time before they ventured to attack. At length they made an effort against the left rear, when they were met by a splendid flanking fire from four companies of the 13th, and were finally repulsed by a body of the 90th Light Infantry. About four o'clock the enemy's fire began to slacken, and about half-past a final charge was made against the north and north-east front of the camp, the warriors advancing with their usual desperate rush up to the muzzles of the British rifles. After this they broke up in confusion, and, being caught in a threefold fire, fled in great dismay, and were pursued for seven miles by Buller's horse. It was estimated that their loss could not possibly have been under 3,000, the flower of Cetewayo's army, while that of the British troops did not amount to thirty all told. With the battles of Ginghiloyo and Kambula Kop the first period of the Zulu war came to an end.

The landing of the reinforcements from England was the signal for the recommencement of the invasion of Zululand. On April 12th Lord Chelmsford arrived at Durban, and proceeded to inspect the lately-arrived regiments of much-needed cavalry, the 17th Lancers and the King's Dragoon Guards. Among the spectators was Prince Louis Napoleon, the Prince Imperial as he was still commonly called in England, who had been permitted to proceed to Africa as a spectator of the campaign. Since the fatal day of Sedan, the only child of Napoleon III. had lived in the country of his exile, his time being occupied in military studies. At Woolwich, where he was very popular, he gave promise of shaping into an excellent soldier. He was understood to be attached to the staff, though his position had not been definitely settled.

Lord Chelmsford's plans for the new campaign were now thoroughly matured. Three columns were to advance simultaneously upon the King's kraal at Ulundi: the first, under Major-General Crealock, C.B., was to move along the coast road, having as its bases of operations, Durban, Fort Pearson, and Ginghilovo. The second column, under the personal command of Lord Chelmsford, was to rest upon Utrecht. General Wood, who was largely reinforced, was to retain his independent command and to co-operate in the general movement. General Crealock at once went to the front and was soon engaged in the prosaic duty of constructing fortifications: the first about seven miles beyond Tenedos, called Fort Crealock, and the second, Fort Chelmsford, on the Inyezane. Wood was also busied in moving his camp to a spot known as Mayezwhana, or the Queen's kraal, Kambula having become tainted by the decomposing corpses of unburied Zulus. As usual the main advance was hindered by want of transport. Popular opinion in England was inclined to underrate such difficulties, and to cry out because Cetewayo's kraal had not long ago been committed to the flames. Accordingly, there was some expression of satisfaction when on May 25th an announcement was made in both Houses that Sir Garnet Wolseley had been appointed Governor of Natal and the Transvaal, and High Commissioner in these Provinces. Ministers carefully explained that by this arrangement there was no intention of slighting Sir Bartle Frere or Lord Chelmsford. It was felt that "the arrangement under which the chief military and civil authority in the neighbourhood of the seat of war was distributed between four persons—Sir Bartle Frere, Lord Chelmsford, Sir Henry Bulwer, and Colonel Lanyon (the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal)—could no longer be deemed adequate." As senior officer Sir Garnet was to take command over Lord Chelmsford.

Pending a general advance, which Lord Chelmsford after much delay at length settled for June 2nd, Colonel Buller was vigorously patrolling the country and preventing a concentration of the enemy. Moreover, reconnaissances were pushed forward towards Isandhlwana, the result of which was that a large force under General Marshall was told off to revisit that fatal field and bury the dead. And now all was ready for an advance. On June 1st General Wood with the flying column led the way towards the Blood River, General Newdigate following with the first division of the second column. The country had

been carefully reconnoitred by Buller's horse for twenty miles around, and was reported to be clear of the enemy. In the morning Prince Louis Napoleon asked permission to accompany a patrol that was to be sent in advance of the column to choose the site for the camp on the following day. With him went Lieutenant Carey of the 98th, and six men of Bettington's horse. The country was to all appearance deserted, and after making observations the party off-saddled near an empty kraal for a mid-day rest. Suddenly a friendly Zulu who had followed them came running back from the horses with the report that he had seen a party of the enemy approaching. The Prince gave the order "Prepare to mount," but hardly were the words out of his lips when the wild Zulu yell rang forth, and a volley was fired which stretched one of the party, Private Rogers, dead on the ground. Every man thought only for himself. Lieutenant Carey, who was in command of the party, rode off at full speed, and he was followed by his comrades with the exception of the unfortunate Prince, whose horse was utterly frightened and impossible to mount. A final attempt caused the animal to break from his hold and gallop away. Then the Prince turned and faced his assailants, and fell pierced in front with eighteen assegai wounds. Lieutenant Carey and the troopers, seeing that the Prince had not followed them, concluded that he was killed, and rode on to the camp. Next day General Marshall with two squadrons of horse went out, and found the body stripped of all but his mother's locket. It was conveyed in the *Orontes* to England, and buried with military honours by the side of the ex-Emperor, Napoleon III., at Chiselhurst, the funeral being attended by the Queen and her sons.

The outcry against the military authorities who had authorised the expedition which led to Prince Louis Napoleon's death was at first violent and indiscriminate. Lord Chelmsford was blamed for allowing the Prince to go to the front, Colonel Harrison for permitting him to start without sufficient escort, and Lieutenant Carey for deserting him in the moment of need. It was found, however, that the General, at any rate, was not culpable. He had given distinct orders that the Prince was not to go on a distant reconnaissance without special permission, and that, even when he was employed near the camp, he was always to have an escort. These commands Colonel Harrison appears to have failed to carry out. Moreover, his instructions to Lieutenant Carey were afterwards censured by the Commander-in-Chief



THE LAST ELEVEN AT MAIWAND.

FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANK FELLAR.
BY PERMISSION OF MESSRS. HENRY GRAVES & CO., LTD., PALM MALL, S.W.

as "not sufficiently explicit; he failed to impress on the Prince the duty of deferring to the military orders of the officer who accompanied him, and the necessity of guiding himself by his advice and experience." Indeed, throughout the day the party seems to have been under the impression that the Prince was in command, and not Lieutenant Carey. This unfortunate officer's explanation of the events succeeding the fatal halt was very complete. It appeared that he had not ridden from the kraal in a panic, but had pulled up behind the donga to wait for the Prince; that it was impossible to see anything owing to the long grass; and that he did not even know that the Prince had failed to mount. Much to the general satisfaction, the finding of the court-martial, which sentenced him to be cashiered on account of "misbehaviour before the enemy," was quashed.

Long ere this, the king's kraal at Ulundi had been taken, and the war brought to a triumphant termination. The advance of the second column had been well arranged and well carried out. As the invading force drew near, Cetewayo sent messengers with offers of peace, not for the first time; but he was sternly informed that, before any negotiations could be entered into, the cattle and the two seven-pounders taken at Isandhlwana must be restored. The envoys were further informed that one of the terms would be that the Zulu army must be broken up. After a short armistice, of which Cetewayo did not condescend to avail himself, the advance was continued; and it became evident—when reports were received that General Crealock had to contend with insuperable difficulties caused by coast sickness and mortality among the cattle—that to Wood and Newdigate would fall the honours of the war. On the 27th of June the flying column was within twenty miles of Ulundi, and the main division, under Newdigate, only a mile behind. An entrenched laager was thrown up as a depôt and garrison with 500 men, chiefly from the 24th Regiment, and preparations were made for an attack. Grace was given to the Zulu king until the 3rd of July, Lord Chelmsford consenting to a slight abatement of terms, viz. the surrender of a thousand rifles being substituted for that of an entire regiment, as originally agreed upon. The Zulu king, however, declined to avail himself of the respite, and his men fired on the British whenever they came near the banks of the river. On the 3rd, Colonel Buller made a reconnaissance towards the kraal from the south-west, which resulted in his being almost surrounded; but he extricated himself

with much cleverness, and established the possibility of advancing straight on Ulundi. On the following day, therefore, the whole force crossed the river without opposition and proceeded to choose their ground. A large hollow square was formed, with the ammunition and two Gatlings in the centre. Buller went ahead and fired the smaller kraals. At nine the Zulu attack was fully developed, and the cavalry, after doing splendid service, were compelled to retire within the square. Led by a chief on a white horse, the enemy rushed on towards the British lines, undeterred by the fire of shrapnel that opened on them from right and left. However, they never came to close quarters; volleys from the 80th kept them back in front, and the left rear, at which they dashed in hollow square, was splendidly defended by the 21st, the 94th, and the 58th. A brilliant charge of the Lancers, led by Colonel Drury-Lowe, came upon them as they were wavering, undecided whether to make a final rush or to retire. They scattered in all directions before the cavalry, and, though groups fought on doggedly, the battle was practically over when the King's Dragoon Guards dealt the *coup de grâce* to the Zulu resistance. Their loss was estimated at 1,500; that of the British was only ten killed, including Captain Wyatt-Edgell, and eighty wounded. The news of the victory of Ulundi, and the burning of the king's great kraals, was conveyed to Sir Garnet Wolseley—who had been detained outside Port Durnford by the heavy surf, and so did not arrive in time to take command of the army—by Mr. Archibald Forbes, the special correspondent of the *Daily News*, after a bold and adventurous ride of thirty miles through the enemy's country.

Having thus triumphantly retrieved his reputation from the charges of incompetence and vacillation, Lord Chelmsford resigned his command; and with him went the two men who had, perhaps, won the most brilliant reputations of any that were engaged in the campaign—Sir Evelyn Wood and Colonel Redvers Buller. Sir Garnet Wolseley set himself vigorously to work as soon as he had landed at Durban. One of his first steps was to reduce the troops in order to lessen the expenses of the war, which threatened to become enormous. These were bold preliminaries to the second advance of troops which was evidently necessary before Zululand could be said to be completely pacified. For, although the Zulu chiefs who dwelt near the coast showed considerable eagerness to submit, Cetewayo was still at large, and was reported to be organising a fresh resistance. As a

preliminary, Sir Garnet summoned a meeting of Zulu chiefs, among whom came two of Cetewayo's brothers, to Emangwene on the 19th of July, and there explained to them the designs of the British Government. It was emphatically declared that there was no intention of annexing Zululand, but that the country was to be divided into districts ruled by native chiefs. No one was to carry arms and the king's cattle were to be given up. Sir Garnet further informed the assembly that he intended shortly to proceed to Ulundi, and there unfold more plainly his arrangements for the future government of the country. Sending General Clarke on ahead with a column to re-occupy the Zulu capital, Sir Garnet pushed rapidly forward, and, after stopping on the way to receive the submission of several important chiefs, he arrived there on the 9th of August. He found that the preparations for the hunting-down of Cetewayo were thoroughly complete. Colonel Villiers had been sent into the district of Oham, the king's brother, and had organised a body of natives, officered by Europeans. The Swazi frontier was watched by 5,000 warriors, who had also been reduced to some sort of discipline, but whose savage propensities rendered it imprudent to employ them in offensive operations.

Having thus cut off Cetewayo's retreat, Sir Garnet Wolseley sent Major Barrow with a troop of the King's Dragoon Guards, sixty mounted infantry, and some colonial troops and natives to pursue the fugitive monarch. The Zulus, however, were most unwilling to betray his whereabouts, and the rugged nature of the country made the chase exceedingly wearisome and painful. Lord Gifford, of Ashantee fame, was at length sent ahead with a few men, and managed to keep pretty closely to Cetewayo's track as he dodged backwards and forwards in the south-eastern corner of his country. At length, on August 28th, Lord Gifford captured several of Cetewayo's personal attendants, and extorted from them the secret of the place where he had slept on the previous day. Sending word to Major Marter of the King's Dragoon Guards, who was not far off, to come up on the opposite side, Lord Gifford determined to make a night march on the kraal in which the weary king was lying. In the race for the prize Major Marter came in first. He rode into the kraal and summoned Cetewayo to come forth. The Zulu king obeyed, remarking with some dignity to a bold dragoon who tried to lay hands upon him, "White soldier, do not touch me; I surrender to your chief." A few minutes afterwards Lord Gifford

galloped up, and supervised the arrangements for conveying the fallen monarch to Ulundi. Thence he was sent to Cape Town, where he was kept in easy captivity. He appeared fairly contented, although Bishop Colenso and his other supporters did not cease to urge that the war had been unjust from the beginning.

With the capture of Cetewayo the Zulu war closed. Before his departure from Ulundi, on September 1st, Sir Garnet Wolseley summoned the Zulu chiefs, including two of the ex-king's brothers and his Prime Minister, and addressed them on the settlement of the country. The country was to be divided into thirteen districts, over each of which a native chief was to preside, who was to be chosen by the people after their custom. The largest of these districts was assigned to John Dunn, under whose supervision Cetewayo's brothers were placed. Two British Residents were appointed, of whom the first was Mr. Wheelwright, for some time a magistrate in Natal, who were to watch the new chiefs. The old military system was to be utterly destroyed; all arms were to be confiscated, and none imported without special permission, and, lest they should be smuggled in under the guise of merchandise, all landing of stores on the coast was forbidden. No life was to be taken without trial, and trivial offences were to be punished by fines. The young men would be allowed to marry when and whom they pleased, and "smelling out" for witchcraft was to be put down. No land was to be sold to white men, and missionaries were not to be forced upon the Zulus, who were even forbidden to encourage their settling among them. As to boundaries, it was decided that no land north or west of the Pongola should belong to Zululand. Though framed with considerable wisdom, these regulations were subjected to the most vehement criticism. The colonial papers objected to the two most sensible provisions—the prohibition of white settlers and the discouragement of missionaries. At home, on the other hand, it was pointed out that the substitution of thirteen kinglets for one king would produce a perpetual state of cattle-raids and border warfare, and the prophecy proved to be only too true. Zululand for the next few years was in a state of perpetual anarchy and the "settlement" of the country was discovered to be a delusion.

In other respects Sir Garnet Wolseley was highly successful. The Pondos were turbulent, and a Basuto tribe, under its chief, Moirosi, warmly resented all proposals of disarmament. To suppress these malcontents a few colonial troops were

sufficient, but for Sikukuni more drastic measures were necessary. During the war his attitude had been the cause of constant alarms; there were apprehensions that he would appear in arms as an ally of Cetewayo, and he was known to be intriguing with the malcontent Boers who were evidently seeking opportunity to shake off the British yoke. After Colonel Rowlands had failed to take Sikukuni's strongly-fortified kraal, Colonel

continued until the 28th, when the lower town was stormed by Carrington's column and burnt. The central attack was directed against Sikukuni's stronghold known as the Fighting Koppie. Not much progress was made against the fortress, although the 21st Fusiliers, 94th Regiment, and detachments of the 80th and the Royal Engineers took part in the assault. As soon, however, as Carrington had cleared the town the position was



SURRENDER OF CETEWAYO. (See p. 464.)

Lanyon, the Administrator of the Transvaal, was deputed to organise an expedition against him, but it was countermanded by Sir Garnet Wolseley. Several attempts were made to reduce the savage to reason by peaceful means, but Sikukuni stoutly announced his intention of fighting. Sir Garnet Wolseley promptly organised a force to storm the heights on which the enemy was posted, Colonel Baker Russell, C.B., being placed in command. He divided his force, which largely consisted of Swazis, into three columns: the right being under Captain Ferrier, the centre under Colonel Murray, and the left under Major Carrington. Operations began on the 26th of November and

surrounded on all sides. The enemy were disheartened, and offered very slight resistance. Isolated bands of men, however, held out in the caves around, and died rather than surrender. The British losses were some thirty killed and wounded. Sikukuni fled, but was vigorously hunted down, and, after making a last stand in a narrow cavern, surrendered on December 2nd to Major Clarke, R.A. He was taken prisoner to Pretoria, and his people hastened to make their submission. Unfortunately, the people who profited by all this expenditure of men and money were not the colonists of Natal, but the Boers, whose attempt to secure independence became from thenceforth a certainty.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1880; Relations between Sir Henry Layard and the Sultan—Mr. Parnell in America—The Liverpool Election—The Queen's Speech—The Relief of Distress Bill—Criticisms and Amendments—Mr. Plimsoll's Proceedings—Resolution against Obstruction—Mr. Grissell—Legislation and the Water Bill—Announcement of the Dissolution—The Marlborough Letter—Reply of the Home Rule Confederation and of Lord Hartington—Mr. Gladstone's Address—The Second Midlothian Campaign—Election Contests—Speeches and Addresses—Result of the Polling—Facts about the Election—Mr. Gladstone becomes Prime Minister—The Ministry—The Indian Budget—Mr. Gladstone and Count Karolyi—Political Speeches—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Peace Preservation Act and on Turkey—The Irish Land Question—Mr. Bradlaugh: his Attempts to take the Oath—Report of the Committee—Subsequent Proceedings—The Burials Bill: its Progress through Parliament—The Ground Game Bill: its Progress and Lord Beaconsfield's Advice—The Employers' Liability Bill—The Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—The Radicals and the Fourth Party—The Irish Difficulty—Mr. O'Connor Power's Bill—The Relief of Distress Bill—The Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Course of the Measure in the Lower House—Debate in the House of Lords and Rejection of the Measure—Mr. O'Donnell on the French Ambassador—State of Ireland and Mr. Dillon's Speech—His Defence in the House—Mr. Forster's Proceedings in Parliament—The Land League Agitation—Mr. Parnell at Ennis—Murder of Lord Mountmorres—The Landlords' Deputation—Mr. Parnell at New Ross—Arrest of Messrs. Walsh and Healy—The Boycott Episode—Prevalence of Terrorism—Mr. Bence Jones—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and others—Mr. Gladstone at Guildhall—Reports of Ministerial Dissensions—Attitude of the Opposition—Rumours of a Land Bill—British Affairs—The *Atalanta*—Russia and China—The Sultan and the Treaty of Berlin—The Question of the Greek Frontier—The Montenegrin Difficulty—Naval Demonstration off Albania—Surrender of Dulcigno—The Pan-Slavonic Movement—Position of the Prince of Bulgaria—Affairs in Austria—Prince Bismarck's Army Bill—Affairs in France—The Government and the Jesuits—Gambetta's Speech at Cherbourg—Resignation of M. de Freycinet—M. Ferry in Office—The contemplated Anglo-French Commercial Treaty—Affairs in the United States—Election of General Garfield to the Presidency.

THE two men who stood in the foreground of the political landscape during the opening days of the year 1880 were the Sultan of Turkey and Mr. Parnell. For the last few months the relations between Sir Henry Layard and Abdul Hamid had been of the most uncomfortable nature. The latter persistently declined to take a single step towards carrying out the reforms in Armenia which had been guaranteed under the Anglo-Turkish Convention. Rumours pointed to energetic proceedings on the part of the British Ambassador, and they received confirmation when it was announced that on November 3rd Sir Henry Layard had informed the Sultan that, unless his demands were complied with, the British fleet would move at once from Malta into Turkish waters. The mere threat of a "naval demonstration" was sufficient to terrify Abdul Hamid into obedience; he agreed to carry out the reforms, and appointed Baker Pasha to superintend them. That officer at once started for Aleppo, but having very limited powers he could effect little, and the whole arrangement was regarded as a mere blind.

It was not long before Sir Henry Layard had his revenge. The Turkish police, acting very irregularly, had seized, several months before, a manuscript translation of the Scriptures and the book of Common Prayer belonging to Dr. Köller—who had for many years been employed as a missionary by the English Church Missionary

Society—and had imprisoned Ahmed Tewfik, a schoolmaster, who had been employed in the translation. The latter would have been executed as a breaker of the sacred law, had it not been for the British Ambassador's speedy intervention. Sir Henry Layard protested vigorously against this breach of the Sultan's promises of toleration, but after playing with him for a considerable period Abdul Hamid intimated pretty clearly that he had no intention of granting satisfaction. Sir Henry Layard thereupon, acting with promptitude, declared that if his demands were not complied with by December 31st he should break off diplomatic relations. On the 1st of January London was informed that communications between Britain and Turkey had ceased. The news was certainly startling, but the chief feeling it evoked was one of amusement. It was obvious that the two nations could not come to blows on such a trivial dispute, and it was merely a question as to which of the two parties concerned should concede most points in the inevitable compromise. It must be acknowledged that the Sultan had by far the better of the game. Dr. Köller's papers indeed were restored, but all the satisfaction that could be obtained for Ahmed Tewfik was that he should be exiled to some island with a Christian population. Hafiz Pasha, the too-zealous Minister of Police, was not only not dismissed, but was presented with the Sultan's highest mark of favour, the Order of the

Medjidie, Sir Henry Layard having to content himself with a bare apology.

The attitude adopted by Mr. Parnell towards the representatives of the British Government was even more irreconcilable than that of the Sultan. He arrived at New York on January 2nd, and forthwith began a vigorous anti-rent campaign. It was not long before the violence of his denunciations of landlordism began to attract unfavourable comments in the American papers. Moreover, the object to which he wished the citizens of America to subscribe was not much to their taste; they wished rather to alleviate directly the distress of Ireland than to further a political movement, of which the programme was revolutionary, and which was believed to aim at severing the "last link" between Ireland and England. Sympathy was still further alienated when he proceeded to denounce the Duchess of Marlborough's Relief Fund, and the Dublin Mansion House Relief Organisation, on the ground that the promoters of both funds had declined to aid sufferers who were in arrears of rent. The money would, in fact, he said, be applied indirectly to bolstering up the land system. A flat denial to this statement was promptly telegraphed from Dublin. Some of his attacks on the Churchill family were in such bad taste that the American papers refused to print them, and though the House of Representatives allowed him to use their hall for an address, their resolution was generally condemned as an obvious concession to the Irish vote, and he spoke to a very scanty audience. When, early in March, he started on his return voyage to Ireland, he had not collected nearly as much as the 100,000 dollars presented to the famine fund by the munificence of the *New York Herald*. It was unfortunate at such a moment that some colour should have been given to his allegations by a dispute which broke out between the managers of the two relief funds, with regard to the alleged miscarriage of certain subscriptions. When the two lists were closed, the Duchess of Marlborough was found to have collected £112,000, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin £143,000. These moneys were chiefly expended in the purchase of potatoes, seeds, and fuel, a smaller portion being devoted to the supply of food and clothing to the absolutely destitute.

The severity of the industrial crisis, which had only just begun to show signs of alleviating, was so completely the absorbing topic of conversation before the meeting of Parliament, that political oratory was at a discount, though the leaders of both parties were early in the field, and discoursed

powerfully and well. Far more attention was paid to the bye-election at Liverpool, consequent on the death of one of the Members, Mr. John Torr, for which both parties made great preparations to poll the constituency to the last vote. Two very strong candidates were chosen; the Conservatives depending on Mr. Whitley, a local solicitor of much personal popularity, and the Liberals on Lord Ramsay, the eldest son of Lord Dalhousie. The traditions of Liverpool were emphatically Tory, but the vigour displayed by the Liberal candidate in his canvass and the ability of his speeches caused a palpable reaction in his favour. In bidding for the support of the Irish voters Lord Ramsay said that he would not object to support and vote for a motion for inquiry into "the nature and amount of the demand made by the Irish people for an Irish Parliament," although opposed to the separation of the two races. After a very severe contest, in which five-sixths of the constituency were polled, Mr. Whitley was returned by a majority of 2,221, having received 26,106 votes against 23,885 given to Lord Ramsay. There could be no doubt that the Liberals were seriously disheartened by the result of the contest, though they were slightly comforted by seeing that the Tories had lost ground since the general election of 1874.

Meanwhile Parliament had met on the 5th of February, and had been opened by the Queen in person. The Royal message, which was read by the Lord Chancellor, declared that, "the course of events since the prorogation of Parliament had tended to furnish additional security to the maintenance of European peace on the principles laid down by the Treaty of Berlin," and that a convention for the suppression of the slave-trade had been concluded with the Sultan. Allusions were made to the unsettled condition of Afghanistan, and to the restoration of peace in South Africa by the defeat of Cetewayo, Moirosi, and Sikukuni. There was reason to hope that a time was now approaching when an important advance might be made towards the establishment of a union or confederation under which the powers of self-government, already enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Cape Colony, might be extended to the Queen's subjects in other parts of Africa. With regard to the distress in Ireland, the authorities whose duty it was to administer relief had been instructed to make ample preparations for the distribution of food and fuel, and had stimulated the employment of labour by loans, for which a Bill of Indemnity was necessary, the money having been taken from

the Irish Church Fund. Several new measures were promised, including a Criminal Code, a Bankruptcy Bill, and Bills for enlarging the powers of the owners of settled land, for consolidating and amending the lunacy laws, and for simplifying the practice of conveyancing.

It is unnecessary to enter into a prolonged examination of the events of this brief session, cut short as it was by the dissolution. The debates on the Address were flat and unreal in the extreme. In the House of Lords, Lord Granville alone displayed any energy; and in the Commons discussion degenerated into an Irish row, the Home Rulers succeeding in raising a debate on the prevalent distress and the injustice of the Irish land system, which Government in vain endeavoured to postpone until papers were ready. After offering a protracted opposition, Mr. Shaw and his followers at length allowed the Address to pass, the amendment condemning Government for not having taken "adequate steps to alleviate the distress now existing" having been defeated by 216 votes against 66. How premature the discussion had been was made evident as soon as the Relief of Distress Bill began to run its course, when the Irish Members were compelled to redeliver the arguments which they had already addressed to the House. The nature of the Bill had been carefully explained by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the course of the debate on the Address. He premised his observations by the startling piece of information that in 1879 the yield of the principal crops of Ireland had been £10,000,000 less in value than that of the previous year, and that with regard to the potato crop, whereas the average for the last ten years had been 60,652,000 cwts., the estimated yield of 1879 was only 22,273,000 cwts. Having carefully inquired into the resources of the country, and finding that the deficiency of the crops was partial rather than universal, Government had warned the Local Government Board that they must keep themselves properly informed from week to week as to the condition of the country, and instructed them if any occasion should arise making it necessary to distribute fuel or food immediately, to report the circumstances at headquarters, whence authority would be given them to go beyond the law. This, he thought, was all the precaution that was necessary before the meeting of Parliament. It was now proposed to go farther, and to give Boards of Guardians power, with the consent of the Local Government Board, to issue fuel and food to those who had no proper right to apply for outdoor relief where the necessity

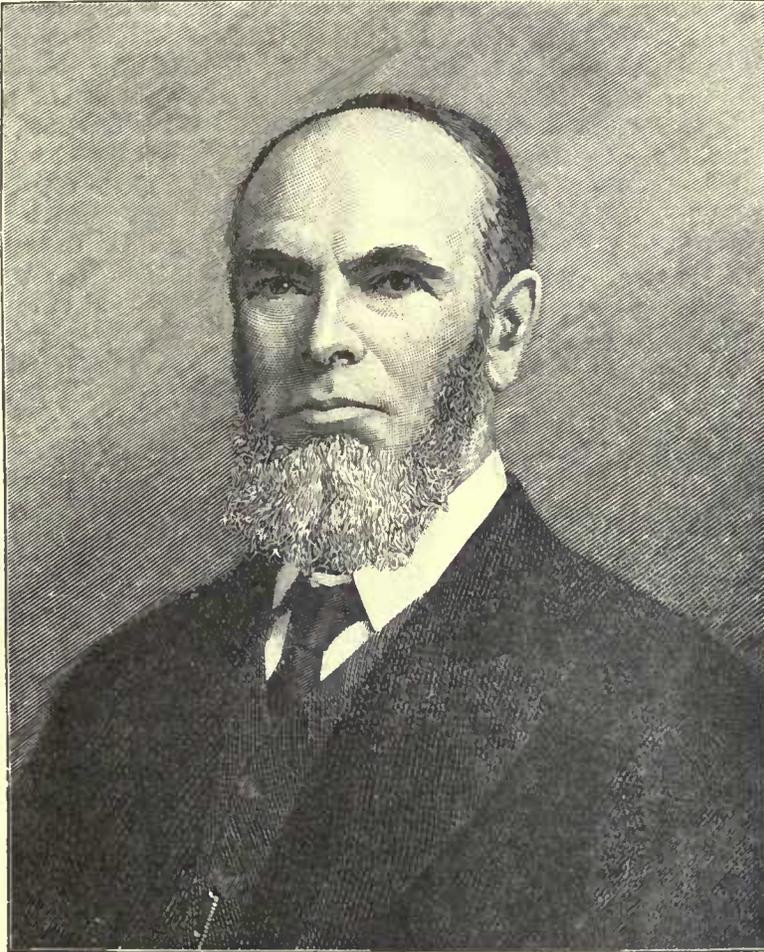
arose, and to borrow upon the rates in order to meet extraordinary expenditure. Other provisions had regard to the stimulation of the employment of labour. In this case there were two great dangers—a waste of money and the demoralisation of the people. It was determined, however, to afford the landlords special facilities for borrowing public money; accordingly, the period of repayment was extended from twenty-two years to thirty-seven; for the first two years it was to be lent without any interest, and for the remaining years the interest was not to be more than 1 per cent. In offering this low rate of interest, Government had again gone beyond the law, as well as in their provisional arrangement which secured the loan upon the Irish Church surplus. There were besides to be extraordinary baronial sessions, at which arrangements were to be made for works of local utility, which were to be carried out by loans granted on very easy terms by the Local Government Board.

These remedies met with much desultory criticism from the Irish Members, both because of their inadequacy and of their late application, but the Opposition preserved an attitude of neutrality. Mr. Synan objected to the Bill, on the curious ground (for a Home Ruler) that the money ought to be supplied from Imperial resources, and should not be taken from the Irish Church surplus, which should be reserved for the establishment of a peasant proprietary. More attention was paid to Mr. Shaw, who proposed that, instead of placing the initiation of relief works in the hands of baronial sessions as Government wished, Boards of Guardians should be empowered to distribute money as well as food and fuel. He met with support from both sides of the House, but was ultimately defeated by 109 votes to 89. A clause proposed by Mr. Law, limiting landlords' rights in cases of eviction when money borrowed under the Relief Act had been applied to the holding, was thrown out in the Lords. The question was, however, destined to come up again in a more serious manner in the next Parliament. The Bill was read a third time on February 23rd, and passed its second reading in the House of Lords on March 1st. It received the Royal assent on the 18th of the month, and though ineffectual to check the land agitation of the farmers, afforded valuable relief to the sufferings of a more patient and more deeply affected class—the peasantry.

The long debates on such a simple measure as the Relief of Distress Bill appeared to foreshadow a wasted and purposeless session. Mr. Newdegate

accordingly proposed to deal with the intricate question of obstruction in a summary way by a rule empowering the Speaker, on his attention being drawn to the fact that a Member was obstructing the business of the House, at once to put the question whether this was so, and in case

representatives in Parliament. When, however, Sir Charles Russell threatened to proceed against him for breach of privilege, Mr. Plimsoll saw the un wisdom of his course of action, and made a full apology. They expressed themselves satisfied, and there the matter might have ended had not the



MR. LEONARD COURTNEY (LATER LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH).
(From a Photograph by Messrs. W. and D. Downey.)

of a vote in the affirmative to suspend him for a certain period. However, on the night fixed for the discussion of his proposal, it had to be postponed in favour of another burning topic, of which the exciting cause was once more Mr. Plimsoll. He had obtained leave to introduce a Bill making it compulsory to store all grain cargoes in bags. Two members, Mr. Onslow and Sir Charles Russell, gave notice of opposition to the second reading of this measure, and Mr. Plimsoll thereupon placarded Guildford and Westminster with appeals to the constituents against the conduct of their

leader of the House interposed, and while confessing that the personal apology was sufficient, moved a resolution declaring that the House considered that the Member for Derby had, in publishing the placards, been guilty of conduct calculated to interfere with the free and unprejudiced discharge of the duties of a Member of Parliament. There was a vigorous debate on Mr. Plimsoll, in which the leaders of the Opposition urged with much force that Sir Stafford Northcote's proceedings were a distinct departure from precedents. Government, however, persisted, and passed the

resolution, with its implied condemnation, by a majority of 66 (182 against 116).

Meanwhile, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had announced his intention of dealing with the question of obstruction, and accordingly, on the 26th of February, he proposed a resolution that when a Member should have been named by the Speaker or the Chairman of Committees as guilty of obstruction, the matter should be immediately reported to the House, and the Speaker should thereupon put the question to the House, on a motion being made, no amendment, adjournment, or debate being allowed, that the Member in question be suspended during the remainder of the day's sitting. If any Member was suspended three times in one session, his suspension on the third occasion was to continue for a week, and until the House had decided whether it should then cease, or for what longer period it should continue; and on that occasion the suspended Member might if he pleased be heard in his place. This motion was supported with much cordiality by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington; and though some attempts were made to mitigate its force—Mr. Courtney proposing that a Member should only be silenced, not suspended from the right to vote, and Mr. Dillwyn, wishing to make the new order a sessional, not a standing order—it was adopted after three nights' debate without any substantial modification.

This was not the only session in which the expiring House of Commons showed itself eager to defend its dignity. During the previous session Mr. C. E. Grissell had been accused of representing to the agents of the Tower High Level Bridge that he could control the decision of the Committee of the House of Commons for £2,000. A committee was promptly appointed to consider his case; he was reported to have been guilty of breach of privilege, and was ordered to attend, but he betook himself to Boulogne, pleading medical orders, and surrendered only on the day before the House was prorogued. It was considered that he had laughed at the House, and his re-arrest was accordingly ordered. After attempting to avert condign punishment by an abject apology, he was condemned to Newgate for the rest of the session at the instance of Mr. Rylands. Fortunately for Mr. Grissell, the period of his imprisonment was cut prematurely short by the dissolution.

Meanwhile, legislation was proceeding with an air of unreality, for although the secret had been most carefully kept, there was a strong probability that the session would be brought to an end long before the month of July. Nevertheless, there

were all the outward appearances of the commencement of a busy session; the Army and Navy estimates were hurried on, and Lord Cairns introduced four Bills which proposed to modify the land laws. In the House of Commons there had been discussions of the Criminal Code Bill and the long-expected Bankruptcy Bill. Lastly, Mr. Cross introduced his Metropolitan Water Bill. The object of this measure was to create a central body to which the eight water companies should make over their property and their powers. It was to be called the Water Trust, and was to consist of twenty-one members, of whom the Lord Mayor and the Chairman of the Board of Works were to be members, *ex officio*, and the remainder to be elected in various ways. Unfortunately, Mr. Cross offered the companies by far too liberal terms. The new corporation was to issue to them enough $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. water stock, guaranteed on water rates and the rates of the metropolis, to yield them their dividends. This was generally thought to have been much too large a price to pay, and certainly the water companies imagined that they had gained great advantages, for their shares rose enormously directly the Bill appeared. The outcry against Mr. Cross's exuberance of generosity was long and loud, and it seemed exceedingly doubtful if the Bill would pass, despite the Ministerial majority.

Upon these contentions came the announcement of the impending dissolution. The secret, of which not a rumour had reached the ear of the outer world, was divulged simultaneously in both Houses. Lord Beaconsfield confined himself to a few sentences, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer took the Commons into his confidence, and explained the reasons which had induced Government to strike at that particular moment. He maintained that the dissolution could not have taken place earlier in the year, inasmuch as immediate legislation had been demanded to meet Irish distress. That legislation had been accomplished, and the question arose, what was the most convenient time for Parliament to dissolve? An autumn dissolution was not convenient, especially if it interfered with the operations of harvest. It was necessary, therefore, to break up either before Easter or before Whitsuntide, and the former period was preferable, because the financial measures would have been passed, and three months would remain for the consideration of new legislation. Certain things, however, must first be got through, including the Budget and a three months' vote on account. It was necessary also to pass the

Parliamentary Elections Bill. Mr. Forster, on behalf of the Liberal party, promised every assistance in the passing of these measures, and they were rapidly run through in a half-empty House, a few Members remaining to utter an energetic but fruitless protest against the clause in the Parliamentary Elections Bill, which legalised in boroughs the conveyance of voters to the poll. The House was finally counted out during a debate raised by The O'Gorman Mahon on the virtues of Home Rule, the while that Lord Beaconsfield in the Upper House was making promises to the tenant farmers.

The leader of the Conservative party had a few days previously sought to improve the occasion by issuing an electioneering address in the form of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. This document began with congratulations on the measures that had been taken for the relief of Irish distress, which contradicted the suggestions that England, instead of being the generous and sympathising friend, was indifferent to the dangers and the sufferings of Ireland. "Nevertheless," he continued, "a danger, in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, and which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both. It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine. The strength of this nation depends on the unity of feeling which should pervade the United Kingdom and its widespread dependencies. The first duty of an English Minister should be to consolidate the co-operation which renders irresistible a community, educated as our own, in an equal love of liberty and law. And yet there are some who challenge the expediency of the Imperial character of this realm. Having attempted, and failed, to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition, they may perhaps now recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish, but will precipitate their purpose." Lord Beaconsfield concluded by praising the policy which had obtained peace, resting not on "the passive principle of non-interference," but on "the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the councils of Europe," an influence which was arrested at that very moment by the doubt inseparable from a popular election. "Whatever may be its consequence to her Majesty's present advisers, may it return to Westminster a

Parliament not unworthy of the power of England, and resolved to maintain it."

Whatever may have been the motives which dictated this manifesto, it attracted at any rate quite its fair share of attention. The Home Rule Confederation, with much exasperation, denounced Lord Beaconsfield's letter as a "declaration of war" on Ireland, and called upon the electors to "vote against Benjamin Disraeli, as the mortal enemy of your country and your race . . . the common enemy of the peace and concord of Ireland and Great Britain." The Liberal leaders, on the other hand, controverted the Prime Minister's assertions with sobriety and dignity. Lord Hartington, in his address to the electors of North-East Lancashire, said that he knew of no party which "challenged the expediency of the Imperial character of the realm;" he knew of none who "had attempted to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition." "No patriotic purpose is, in my opinion, gained by using the language of exaggeration in describing the Irish agitation for Home Rule. I believe the demand so described to be impracticable; and considering that every concession, or appearance of concession, in this direction would be mischievous in its effects to the prosperity of Ireland, as well as to that of England and Scotland, I have consistently opposed it in office and in Opposition, and I shall continue to oppose it."

Mr. Gladstone, in a manifesto even more wide-ranging than that of his chief, disposed of the "dark allusions" in the Prime Minister's letter with searching eloquence.

"At home the Ministers have neglected legislation; aggravated the public distress by continual shocks to confidence, which is the life of enterprise; augmented the public expenditure and taxation for purposes not merely unnecessary, but mischievous; and plunged the finances, which were handed over to them in a state of singular prosperity, into a series of deficits unexampled in modern times; of these deficits it is now proposed to meet only a portion, and to meet it partly by a new tax on personal property, partly by the sacrifice of the whole sinking fund, to which five years ago we were taught to look for the systematic reduction, with increased certainty and energy, of the National Debt.

"Abroad they have strained, if they have not endangered, the prerogative by gross misuse; have weakened the Empire by needless wars, unprofitable extensions, and unwise engagements, and have dishonoured it in the eyes of Europe by

filching the island of Cyprus from the Porte under a treaty clandestinely concluded in violation of the Treaty of Paris, which formed part of the international law of Christendom.

"If we turn from considerations of principle to material results, they have aggrandised Russia, lured Turkey on to her dismemberment, if not her ruin, replaced the Christian population of Macedonia under a debasing yoke, and loaded India with the costs and dangers of a prolonged and unjustifiable war; while they have, at the same time, augmented her taxation and curtailed her liberties. At this moment we are told of other secret negotiations with Persia, entailing further liabilities without further strength; and from day to day, under a Ministry called, as if in mockery, Conservative, the nation is perplexed with fear of change.

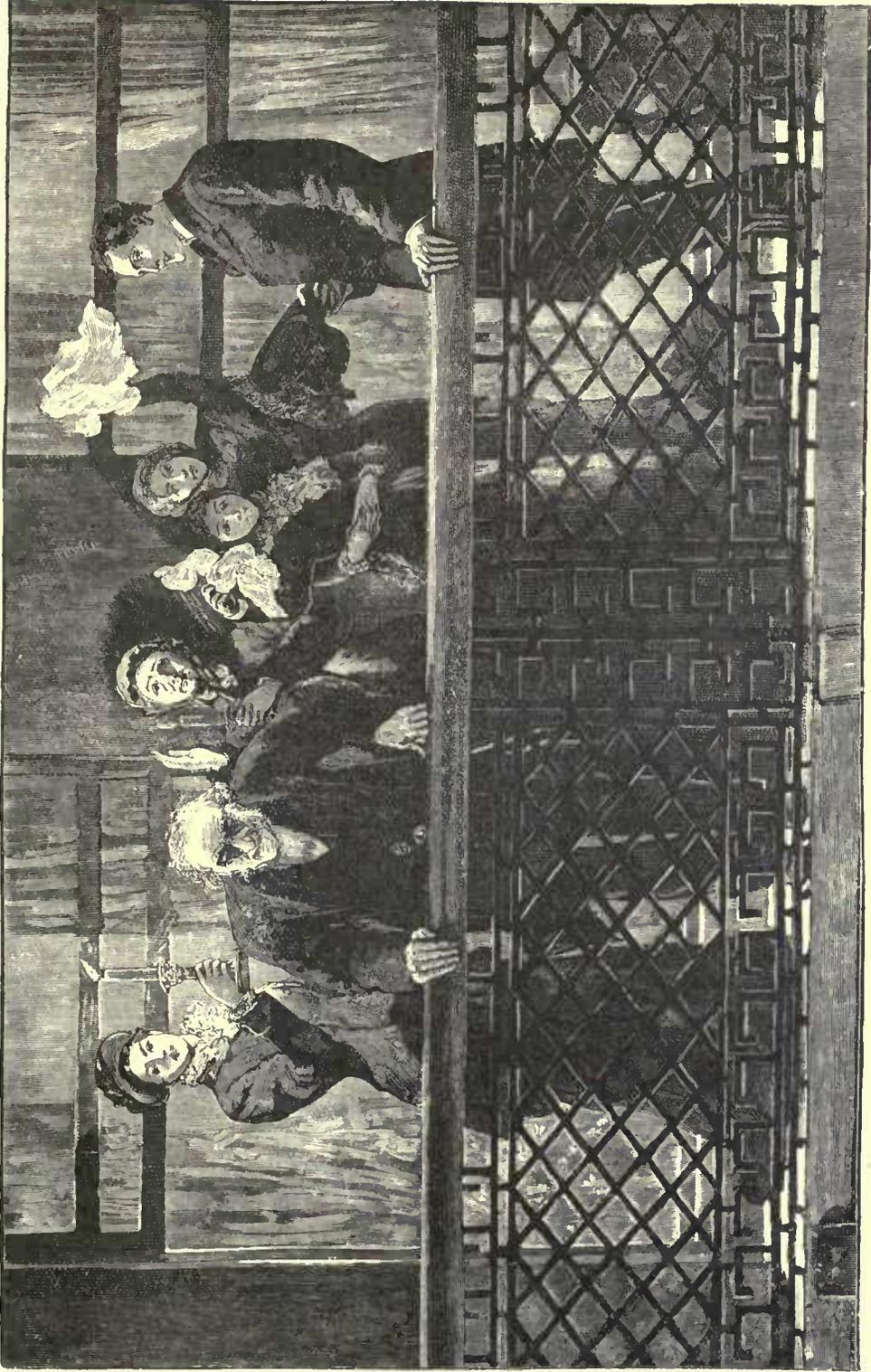
"As to the domestic legislation of the future, it is in the election address of the Prime Minister a perfect blank. No prospect is opened to us of effectual alteration in the land laws, of better security for occupiers, of the reform and extension of local government throughout the three kingdoms, of a more equal distribution of political franchises, or of progress in questions deeply affecting our social and moral condition."

Having launched this powerful missile at his illustrious opponent, Mr. Gladstone, after a farewell speech at Marylebone, started northwards, and, despite his threescore years and ten, commenced with undiminished energy a second Midlothian campaign. At every halting-place on his way to Scotland he was received with boundless enthusiasm, and in fervent language endeavoured to impress upon his audience the tremendous issues that lay before them. It was observed that Mr. Gladstone expressed himself with the utmost confidence as to the result of the elections. "I mean," he said, just before his departure, "not only to secure the seat for Midlothian, but my object goes so far as to sweep out of their seats a great many other men who now represent constituencies in Parliament, and to consign them to that retirement for which they are more fitted, and of which I hope they will make good use, and by reflection and study render themselves more entitled than they are at present to serve their country." Whether the other Liberal chiefs were equally sanguine is more than doubtful; nevertheless, as the weeks went on their hopes must have been considerably strengthened, for their party was better organised than that of the Conservatives; the organisations called by the Tories "caucuses" worked admirably,

and there was no difficulty in finding candidates. Perhaps the most interesting contests were those in Lancashire, where Lord Hartington and Mr. Cross, though standing for different parts of the county, fought during several weeks a cut-and-thrust duel; in Middlesex, where Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the youngest son of the veteran statesman, made a gallant but fruitless effort to oust Lord George Hamilton; and in Westminster, where Mr. John Morley and Sir Arthur Hobhouse conducted the Liberal attack against Mr. W. H. Smith and Sir Charles Russell. A sign of the times was discovered in a letter from Lord Derby to Lord Sefton, the Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire, containing a public announcement of his adhesion to Liberalism. "The present situation of parties," said he, "and the avowed policy of the Conservative leader in reference to foreign relations, leave me no choice. I cannot support the present Government, and as neutrality, however much from personal feelings I may prefer it, is, at a political crisis, an evasion of public duty, I have no choice except to declare myself, however reluctantly, ranked among their opponents."

It is impossible to generalise on the election speeches and election addresses which flooded the country, and it is enough to say that the Conservatives relied chiefly on the achievements of their party in the domain of foreign policy; and were not slow in bringing forward charges against their opponents of sympathy with obstruction. On the other hand, the Liberals condemned thoroughly both the Eastern policy of Government and their attitude towards Colonial questions; commented severely on the barrenness of their domestic legislation and the weakness of their finance; and proposed, supposing the ballot resulted in their own favour, to initiate comprehensive and necessary reforms. The earnestness of both sides was proved by the fact that double the usual number of seats was contested. Up to the very last political seers were chary of predictions, but it was doubted whether a curious letter from an old Whig, Earl Grey, in the *Times*, expressing a wish that the Liberal party should not return to power, produced much effect in the direction desired, as Mr. Gladstone in a temperate reply completely disposed of its main contention—that Lord Hartington and Lord Granville were mere puppets in his hands.

The result of the first day of polling, March 31st, was a distinct surprise; the Liberals gained twenty-four seats and lost nine, leaving a net gain of fifteen seats; on Thursday their gain was eighteen; and on Saturday the Tory majority had



AFTER THE MIDLOTHIAN VICTORY: MR. GLADSTONE ADDRESSING THE CROWD FROM THE BALCONY OF LORD ROSEBERY'S HOUSE IN GEORGE STREET. (See p. 474.)

completely disappeared. These victories were achieved in the boroughs, where the party had been thoroughly prepared for the contest, and where it was acknowledged that its strength lay. It had hardly entered into anyone's calculations that the counties would follow the example of the boroughs. Such, however, was the case; and at the end of the second week the Liberals counted a net gain of eighty-nine—thirty-five county seats having been won, and only two lost. At the end of the third week their net gain was 106. When all the returns were completed, it was found that there would assemble in the new Parliament 349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers.

In England the revulsion of feeling was exceedingly marked, except in the City of London, and in some of the suburban counties round great cities like Liverpool. Mr. Gladstone's old seat at Greenwich was filled by a Conservative, Baron Henry de Worms, but Chelsea and Finsbury both returned Liberals. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, though defeated by a large majority by Lord George Hamilton, eventually found a seat at Leeds, which city as well as Midlothian had the honour of returning his father. The contest in Midlothian roused widespread interest. When the fight was over, it was found that Mr. Gladstone had polled 1,579 votes and the Earl of Dalkeith 1,368, the majority for the great Liberal statesman thus being 211. The result of this election was eagerly waited for everywhere, and in Edinburgh when it became known Mr. Gladstone had to address an enthusiastic crowd, under a fall of snow, from the balcony of Lord Rosebery's house, in George Street. Though the "late-present Government," as Mr. Lowe called it, was evidently in deep disgrace with the constituencies, its members were personally not unpopular. The only prominent Conservative who suffered defeat was Mr. James Lowther; and Messrs. Cross and W. H. Smith, and Lord George Hamilton came as triumphantly through the ordeal as did Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain. Sir John Lubbock, a highly respected Liberal of moderate opinions, was unseated at Maidstone, but found refuge in London University; and on the other side Mr. Raikes, the late Chairman of Committees, was rejected by Chester, a city where, as in so many other cathedral cities, a great amount of bribery and illegal treating was afterwards found to have been employed. Wales and Scotland had responded with zeal to the bugle-call of Mr. Gladstone, the former sending to the House of Commons only two

Tories against twenty-eight Liberals; and Scotland, where the victories of the previous election had been won by only slight majorities, seven Tories and fifty-three Liberals. In Ireland Mr. Parnell's exertions had been crowned by success. He himself had been returned for three seats, and though his violent opposition failed to defeat his rival, Mr. Shaw, in Cork county, his nominees, or "carpet-baggers," as they were impolitely called, were in other quarters returned. For the rest the Irish Members divided themselves into twenty-six Conservatives and fourteen Liberals.

As to the causes of so marked a triumph as that of the Liberal party at the general election of 1880, one fact stood out clearly amidst assertions as to the influence of bad harvests and of the machinations of the caucus, namely, that the victory had been due to the exertions of Mr. Gladstone more than to those of any ten other men. Every argument, both of gratitude and of expediency, demanded that he should be the chief of the new Cabinet, and during the interval of suspense caused by the absence of the Queen in Germany, his cause was pleaded with great vehemence by the country press, which had stood faithful to him in days when the London papers had deserted his side. On her return, Lord Beaconsfield wisely followed recent precedents and resigned. Curiosity was at once on the *qui vive*. On the 22nd of April Lord Hartington was sent for, but it was understood that he declined the Premiership, and next day both he and Lord Granville went down to Windsor. The result of their representations was that Mr. Gladstone was summoned, and that late in the evening it was announced that he would be Prime Minister—First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The process of constructing the new Government was watched with some curiosity. Several of the appointments were obvious. Lord Granville was Foreign Secretary, Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor, Lord Northbrook, First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Childers became Secretary for War; Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India; and Mr. Forster accepted the Irish Secretaryship. The other places in the Cabinet were filled by Mr. Bright, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Earl Spencer, Lord President of the Council; Mr. Dodson, President of the Local Government Board; and Mr. Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trade. This last selection was distinctly a surprise; it was understood, however, that the place

had been offered to Sir Charles Dilke, but that he preferred to be Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Cowper eventually became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Other offices went as follows: Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education; Mr. Fawcett, Postmaster-General; Mr. Grant Duff, Under Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Shaw Lefevre, First Commissioner of Works; Lord Frederick Cavendish, Financial Secretary of the Treasury; and Dr. Playfair, Chairman of Ways and Means. Mr. Lowe was raised to the Upper House as Viscount Sherbrooke; Lord Lytton promptly resigned the Viceroyalty of India and was succeeded by Lord Ripon.

The Liberal Ministry soon had its hands full of unexpected difficulties. In the first place the Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, was deprived for the time being of his seat in Parliament, for on seeking re-election he was opposed by his former antagonist, Mr. Hall, and defeated, after rather an acrimonious contest, by fifty-four votes, a change of opinion partly accounted for when the newly-returned candidate was unseated because of the wholesale bribery practised by his agents. Sir William Harcourt was eventually returned for Derby in lieu of Mr. Plimsoll, who magnanimously resigned his seat. A second difficulty was inherited from their predecessors in office, and it must have seriously incommoded the new Secretary for India, Lord Hartington. The Indian Budget had been produced in February, and was at once pounced upon by Conservative orators as a triumphant proof of the success of Lord Lytton's régime. During the elections, however, it was dimly rumoured that a huge error had been committed in the calculation of the Indian Budget, and that, instead of the surplus of which the Finance Minister had boasted, there would be a deficit of at least four millions. The report was soon discovered to have solid foundations, and the miscalculation to have been caused by neglect to take into account a large quantity of Treasury disbursements necessitated by the Afghan war. Of course much righteous indignation was expressed at this blunder, and the justice of these complaints was afterwards confirmed by the publication of some very severe strictures by Lord Hartington. The question was enlivened by a little passage of arms between Mr. Edward Stanhope and Mr. Fawcett, caused by an assertion of the latter on returning thanks for his re-election at Hackney, that the authorities at the India Office had been for some time aware of the existence of the deficit, but he was compelled to acknowledge that he had

been misinformed. The financial error was brought forcibly home to the British taxpayer when Mr. Gladstone announced that a considerable portion of the cost of the Afghan war, which was finally discovered to be about £17,500,000, would have to be defrayed by England.

The publication of a letter from the Prime Minister to Count Karolyi, the Austrian Ambassador, was another circumstance that did not tend to strengthen the position of the Government. It was necessitated by certain expressions made use of by Mr. Gladstone during the second Midlothian campaign. The orator was, it appeared, much incensed by a report circulated by the *Standard* correspondent at Vienna, that the Emperor had expressed to Sir Henry Elliot a hope that Mr. Gladstone would not be successful in the approaching contest. He retorted at Midlothian by telling Austria to keep her hands off further annexations, and asserted that there was not a single spot on the whole map on which you could lay your finger and say, "There Austria did good." The Emperor, it appeared, was much hurt at these observations; and Mr. Gladstone, as soon as he found that the information of the *Standard* correspondent was incorrect, offered to withdraw the expressions, provided that assurance was given that the House of Hapsburg contemplated no conquests. Count Karolyi then informed him that the Emperor intended to adhere faithfully to the terms of the Treaty of Berlin. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone penned his formal letter of apology, in which he said, "I will not conceal from your Excellency that grave apprehensions had been excited in my mind lest Austria should play a part in the Balkan Peninsula hostile to the freedom of the emancipated populations. . . . Permit me at once to state to your Excellency that had I been in possession of such an assurance as I have now been able to receive, I should never have uttered any one of those words which your Excellency justly describes as painful and wounding in character. Whether it was my misfortune or my fault that I was not so supplied I will not now attempt to determine, but will at once express my serious concern that I should, in default of it, have been led to refer to transactions of an earlier period, or to use terms of censure which I can now wholly banish from my mind." This letter was the subject of bitter comment from Conservative newspapers and speakers, who represented it as entailing national disgrace.

The proceedings of the leaders of the three political parties were closely watched during the

fortnight before the assembling of Parliament, fixed for May 20th. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain both made political speeches, and both implored their hearers to be sober in their expectations, and not to look for too much from the new Government in the brief period of legislation that remained for it. The Conservatives shortly afterwards held a meeting at Bridgewater House, at which Lord Beaconsfield, amid much enthusiasm, announced that he intended to continue to lead the party, and Lord Carnarvon that he had re-entered the ranks; after which the ex-Premier made a long speech, in the course of which he recommended the representatives of his party to organise and watch carefully the foreign policy of the Government. Less unanimity was observed in the councils of the Home Rulers. A division on the question as to who should be their leader resulted in Mr. Parnell's victory by a majority of twenty-one. It was also decided that they should sit on the Opposition side of the House. Several prominent members of the party were absent and sent letters showing little disposition to submit to the dominion of Mr. Parnell.

The Queen's Speech attracted an unusual amount of curiosity. The first six paragraphs were devoted to foreign affairs. It was announced that Government had determined, in concert with the other Powers, to promote the early and complete fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin with respect to effectual reforms and equal laws in Turkey, as well as to such territorial questions as had not yet been settled in conformity with the provisions of that treaty. Efforts were to be directed towards the pacification of Afghanistan, and towards the establishment of such institutions as might be found best fitted to secure the independence of its people, and to restore their friendly relations with the Indian Empire. The fullest information was promised on the condition of Indian finance. In maintaining supremacy over the Transvaal, it was proposed both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races, and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on large and liberal principles of self-government. A most important announcement was that the Peace Preservation Act for Ireland would be allowed to expire, and the ordinary law would be firmly administered. The new measures promised were a Burials Bill, a renewal of the Ballot Act, and, if time permitted, a Bill handing over ground game to the tenant, a Bill determining the liabilities of employers for injuries sustained by their workmen, and a Bill extending the borough franchise in Ireland.

The debate in the House of Lords brought up two questions of some interest; the non-renewal of the Irish Peace Preservation Act, and the proposed action with regard to Turkey. The first topic was raised by the late Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Marlborough, who in a very moderate speech contended that Ireland was still full of secret associations, which were of the most dangerous character; that the Peace Preservation Act did not in any sense abridge the liberty of the subject, but that its various provisions, in particular the compensation for injury done to persons and property, and the taxation of a district for quartering police upon it on the occurrence of a serious outrage, were of the utmost importance for the maintenance of law and order. Earl Spencer, also a former Lord-Lieutenant, replied that the late Government, by not dealing with the question before the dissolution, had taken considerable responsibility on themselves; and as to the Act itself some of its provisions were useless, while others—such as the power of charging a disturbed district for the expenses of extra police—were re-enactments of more general Acts. The Arms Act had never prevented crime of a determined kind, and as to party processions, they constantly took place in districts that had not been proclaimed, and where consequently the Act had no effect whatever. He did not believe that the present breaches of the law were the work of secret societies.

Lord Beaconsfield, in the course of some brief remarks, wished to know what were the "active measures" Government proposed to take with regard to Turkey. Lord Granville, in reply, informed him that the new special ambassador, Mr. Gopschen, had been sent out with the same technical appointment as Sir Henry Layard had been sent out with a short time ago. He then went on to show what steps were about to be taken to compel the Porte to carry out the terms of the Treaty of Berlin. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice had been sent to continue the work of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and the Earl of Donoughmore, in formulating the Roumelian Constitution, and it was hoped that the other provinces would be given statutes of a similar nature. With regard to the Greek frontier, the Porte had done nothing but put forward dilatory pleas to delay action. There had also been differences between the Powers, not only with regard to the line it was desirable to recommend, but also respecting the mode of procedure to be adopted, which had stood in the way of a settlement. The surrender of the territory ceded to Montenegro had been

interrupted by an insurrection of the Albanians from the mountains, and it was certain that there had been connivance on the part of the local authorities to prevent the fulfilment of the treaty. The condition of Armenia was absolutely heart-rending; nothing had been done by the Turkish

Ambassador, that if an intimation was given it would certainly be carried out.

In the Commons Ireland was the chief subject of debate, Mr. O'Connor Power moving an amendment expressing his opinion that the Irish land question deserved the immediate attention of



MR. GLADSTONE (1880).

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott and Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Government, and when they had sent out commissions, they had entirely disregarded the recommendations that had been made by them. The British Government had come to the conclusion that the only chance of obtaining the fulfilment of those conditions of the Treaty of Berlin lay in a vigorous and concerted action of the Great Powers. A circular had accordingly been addressed to these Powers, proposing that an identical note should on those points be addressed to the Porte. If these efforts failed, Lord Granville could only say what he had said a short time ago to the Turkish

Government with a view to the introduction of legislation. Mr. Gladstone replied that it was impossible to deal thoroughly with the land question at such short notice, and in such a short session; and Mr. Forster, who made his first speech as Chief Secretary for Ireland, spoke to the same effect, adding, however, that he should be very sorry if a misconception existed that Government had neglected the Irish land question, or that they under-rated its immense importance. He took upon himself the entire responsibility of the non-renewal of the Peace Preservation Act,

and said that he believed it was quite possible to maintain good government and order without exceptional legislation. After very moderate and conciliatory speeches by Mr. Shaw and Mr. Parnell, a division was taken, and the amendment negatived by 300 votes against 47.

After this successful start, Government became involved in a difficulty of large proportions and apparently interminable length. Among the successful candidates at the general election was Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, hitherto known chiefly as a lecturer on secular subjects, and the editor of a Radical and Malthusian paper called the *National Reformer*, who after many unsuccessful attempts was at length returned for Northampton. He presented himself on the third day of the swearing-in of new Members, and requested to be allowed to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking the oath, claiming exemption under the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866. The Speaker, instead of allowing him to affirm at his own risk, referred the question to the House, and Lord Frederick Cavendish, as representative of the Government, moved for the appointment of a committee to consider and report to the House whether such a course would be consistent with the law. The motion was seconded by Sir Stafford Northcote, but opposed by Sir H. D. Wolff and Mr. Gorst on technical grounds—an act of insubordination to their leader which found only 72 supporters. The committee accordingly sat and decided by the casting vote of its chairman, Mr. Walpole, against the claim of Mr. Bradlaugh to affirm. Mr. Bradlaugh took matters into his own hands, and announced in a letter to the newspapers, that now that the committee had decided against his right to affirm, he intended to take the oath.

On the 21st of May Mr. Bradlaugh accordingly presented himself at the table of the House of Commons to take the oath of allegiance. Sir H. Drummond Wolff, however, interposed and objected to the administration of the oath, whereupon the Speaker directed that Mr. Bradlaugh should withdraw in order that the objection should be discussed. A long and heated debate then arose on a motion of Sir H. Wolff's that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be allowed to take the oath, which was seconded by Mr. Alderman Fowler. Mr. Gladstone proposed, as an amendment, that a Select Committee should be appointed to consider whether the House had any right, founded on precedent or otherwise, to prevent a duly elected Member from taking the oath, which he ultimately,

on the advice of Mr. Watkin Williams, changed into a proposal that a committee should be appointed to inquire into and advise "on the circumstances of the case under which Mr. Bradlaugh desired to take the oath prescribed by statute to him in this House, and as to the law applicable to such claims under such circumstances, and as to the right and jurisdiction of the House to refuse to allow the said oath to be taken." Mr. Gladstone contended that this was a question for the Courts of Justice, that penalties were recoverable from Mr. Bradlaugh if he took the oath in informal circumstances, and that the House had no right to interfere with the performance of a statutory duty. Mr. Gibson, on the other hand, contended with much legal subtlety that the House had power to prevent the profanation of its own forms. After two nights had been expended in rambling discussion, Sir Henry Wolff's amendment was negatived by 289 to 214.

Mr. Bradlaugh argued his case in person before the committee, of which Mr. Walpole was chairman. The committee, after much careful consideration, reported that Mr. Bradlaugh ought not to be allowed to take the oath after he had confessed that it was partly meaningless to him, and recommended that he should be allowed to affirm at his own risk, and that the legality of the affirmation should be tested by a suit in the Courts of Law. Thereupon Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bradlaugh's colleague for Northampton, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to make an affirmation instead of taking the oath, and the fray became hotter than ever. Mr. Labouchere's speech, which was moderate and to the point, was met by Sir Hardinge Giffard, who proposed an amendment that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be permitted either to take the oath or to affirm. Mr. Alderman Fowler, who seconded the amendment, informed the House that if he assented to Mr. Labouchere's motion "he should be recreant to his sovereign, his country and his God." Later Mr. Bright, in a very fine speech, made an impassioned appeal for liberty of conscience, which was listened to with some impatience, especially when he committed himself to the remark that "the working people of the country did not care any more for the dogma of Christianity than the upper classes cared for the practice of that religion." On the second night (June 22nd) the debate was resumed by Mr. Newdegate, who denounced atheism in a long speech full of historical allusion. Mr. Gladstone, who followed, once more defended religious toleration in

burning words, and warned the House that it was entering upon a struggle with the constituencies similar to that which had been waged with such bad results in the case of Wilkes. His stirring appeal, however, had no avail; the Irish Catholics rose one after another and made known their intention of voting against Government; some thirty Liberals went into the lobby against their chief, and Sir Hardinge Giffard's amendment was carried by 275 to 230.

Next day the House of Commons was the scene of events even more dramatic. The Member for Northampton again presented himself at the table of the House and claimed the right to take the oath. The resolution of the previous day was read to him, and he was ordered to withdraw, but at the instance of Mr. Labouchere it was decided that he should be heard. Mr. Bradlaugh's speech, in which he recapitulated briefly the arguments which he had urged before the committee and in his letters to the papers, was very finely delivered. An interval of some confusion followed, after which Mr. Labouchere requested the House to rescind the resolution of the previous day, but he was induced by Mr. Gladstone to withdraw his motion. Mr. Bradlaugh was then called in, and informed that the opinion of the House had not been modified in consequence of anything that he had said, and that he must withdraw. "I submit to you, sir," replied Mr. Bradlaugh, "that the order of the House is against the law, and I positively refuse to obey it." Thereupon on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote he was ordered into custody, Mr. Gladstone explaining that as his own advice had been rejected, he left the leader of the Opposition to act. Next day, much to everyone's astonishment, Sir Stafford Northcote moved that Mr. Bradlaugh should be released, explaining that as the authority of the House had been vindicated he did not see any use in keeping him any longer in confinement. Mr. Labouchere's threat that Mr. Bradlaugh would immediately return and claim his right to sit for Northampton was fortunately not carried out, as Mr. Gladstone on the 1st of July settled the melancholy dispute for the time being by carrying a resolution that "every person returned as a Member of this House, who may claim to be a person for the time being by law permitted to make a solemn affirmation or declaration instead of taking an oath, shall henceforth (notwithstanding so much of the resolution adopted by this House on the 22nd of June last as relates to affirmation) be permitted without question to make and subscribe a solemn affirmation in the

form prescribed by the Parliamentary Oaths Act, 1866, as altered by the Promissory Oaths Act subject to any liability by statute." As Sir Stafford Northcote put it in his amendment, this resolution virtually rescinded that of the 22nd of June, but it was felt to be the only way of retreat from a most untenable position, and was carried by 303 votes against 249. Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who, as the representative of the Irish Catholics, attempted to steer a middle course, proposed an amendment making the resolution prospective only, and therefore excluding Mr. Bradlaugh, but he was defeated by a majority of thirty-eight.

Before treating of the Irish difficulty, the second great obstacle which unexpectedly hampered the good intentions of the new Government, it will be well to mention briefly the legislation which they accomplished in the short session between Easter and August. The measure that was put in the forefront of the Queen's Speech, the Burials Bill, was introduced in the Upper House by Lord Selborne on May 27th, and was found to be a prudent arrangement for removing another Nonconformist disability, but at the same time hardly going far enough to satisfy the most earnest Radicals. In an eloquent and moderate speech the Lord Chancellor argued out the legal and moral aspects of the question, pointing out that the controversy must be settled, and that it was impossible to settle it without allowing the relatives of the deceased to use their own religious services at the grave side. The Bill therefore provided that burial in churchyards or graveyards might take place "at the option of the person having charge of or being responsible for the same, either without any religious service or with such Christian and orderly service at the grave as such person may think fit; and any person or persons who shall be thereunto invited, or be authorised by the person having charge of or being responsible for such burial, may conduct such service or take part in any religious act thereat." At the same time clergymen were permitted to refuse to read the burial service over a Nonconformist, to dispense with the usual form of prayer in the case of anyone dying in the commission of some grievous crime, and with the consent of the friends of the deceased to use an abridgment of the ordinary service.

At the second reading, Lord Derby, in an admirable speech, made himself the mouthpiece of those who objected to the limitation of the services to "Christian" services. If, he said, the question was to be treated as a matter of common citizenship,

and as a matter of right founded on such citizenship, he could not understand how freedom to use their own ceremonies could be conceded to Non-conformists, and at the same time refused to a Positivist, a Freethinker, or a Jew. The second reading was carried by a majority of twenty-five, both the Archbishops voting in favour of the bill. In committee, amendments were introduced limiting its scope still further. The Archbishop of York compelled Dissenters, over whom their own services were read, to be buried in unconsecrated ground, wherever such ground was available. The Bill passed the House of Commons after hasty discussions by large majorities; Mr. Osborne Morgan, who had championed the cause in days when it seemed almost hopeless, being entrusted with its charge. In committee, Mr. Illingworth's amendment substituting "or" for "and" in the phrase "Christian and orderly service," was rejected by a majority of sixty-eight. The Archbishop of York's amendment was struck out, and the regulations about abridged services were finally so framed that a clergyman, with the approval of the friends of the deceased, could use any burial service sanctioned by the Bishop, consisting of portions of Scripture and selections from the Prayer Book.

The Hares and Rabbits Bill, or as it was eventually called, the Ground Game Bill, was another measure which found many bitter opponents and not a few very lukewarm friends. Nevertheless, Sir William Harcourt's introductory speech elicited expressions of approval from most of the recognised authorities on agricultural subjects in the House of Commons. Mr. Pell, for instance, announced that he should support the Bill. The question was, how to remedy the evil caused by ground game, the existence of which, as Sir William Harcourt pointed out, was demonstrated beyond all doubt by the evidence of the committee of 1873. It had been proposed to exclude hares and rabbits from the category of ground game, but it was asserted that this would lead only to the multiplication of trespass. Government, therefore, determined that the occupier of land should have the right to kill ground game concurrently with the landlord or any person authorised by the landlord. Current leases were to be exempted from the operation of the Act, but no tenant was allowed to contract himself out of it.

The opposition to the Bill took refuge in many devices, including that of something very like obstruction. They clamoured against the attack on the sacred principles of freedom of contract,

though numerous instances were adduced of laws passed by Conservatives in direct violation of that formula. Nevertheless, the Bill was read a second time without a division, in the face of the gloomy prognostications of Lord Elcho, who, in conjunction with Mr. Chaplin, proceeded to move whole shoals of amendments in committee, which grievously tried the patience of the Home Secretary and Mr. Bright. Several concessions were made. Leases completed before the passing of the Bill were to be exempt from its provisions; the number of persons whom the tenant might authorise to carry guns was limited, and they were compelled to produce a written order on the demand of the landlord. Thus lightened of some contentious matter, the Hares and Rabbits Bill was submitted to the consideration of the House of Lords. Lord Redesdale promptly moved its rejection on the ground that no time was left for its consideration; he found, however, an opponent in Lord Beaconsfield, who in one of his wittiest speeches described the Bill as one for reinstating poachers, but nevertheless recommended the Lords not to throw it out. His reason was a weighty one. For the next few years, he said, the course of politics would mainly consist in an attack on the constitutional position of the landed interest in the system of Government. Collisions would be frequent between the two Houses, but it was of the utmost importance that they should only be on questions of great national interest. This was not in his opinion an instance in which the Upper House would wisely exercise the authority which no one denied that they possessed. Guided by these words of wisdom the Lords contented themselves with two important amendments, one providing a close time for ground game, which the Commons refused to accept, and the other preventing farmers from forming shooting parties, by limiting the right of shooting ground game to the farmer and his authorised agent.

The violation of the principle of freedom of contract was also a charge brought with considerable force against the Employers' Liability Bill. Here, again, Government attempted to grapple with a question of much nicety which the previous Administration had promised but had failed to solve. As Mr. Dodson explained on the second reading of the Bill, the present state of the law was this: that a workman had no claim at all against the master for compensation unless he could prove negligence on the part of the master himself. According to the doctrine of "common employment," which had been established by

numerous decisions dating from the year 1837, it was held that if a workman suffered injury through the negligence of his fellow-labourers, or even of overseers appointed by the employer, he could obtain no redress. This, of-course, had proved unjust in

for injury to a third party in all cases, although that third party may be in his own employment." Government, however, determined to adopt the principle on which Mr. Brassey had framed his bill of 1879, namely, a compromise between these



THE CLOCK TOWER, WESTMINSTER PALACE. (From a Photograph by J. Valentine & Sons, Dundee.)

the case of large industries where the master stood altogether too remote from the workmen, or where the master did not himself exercise the functions of an employer at all. Two extreme remedies were proposed; some people said, "Sweep away all liability on the part of a master for injuries inflicted by men in his employ on any third person, and let him be responsible only for his own personal negligence." Others on the contrary said, "Sweep away the non-liability of the master

two courses. The employer was to be liable for injuries caused by a defect or preventible fault in the machinery; by the negligence of any person to whom the employer had delegated superintendence; and lastly, by any act or omission done or made in obedience to the employer's rules or bye-laws. This compromise was attacked on both sides. Mr. Knowles, on behalf of the employers, said that the workman's grievances could be met by a system of insurance; while Mr. Broadhurst, who represented

the working classes, demanded that the doctrine of common employment should be abolished. Government, however, refused to depart from the principle of their Bill, which Mr. Chamberlain defended in an able speech and it was carried through committee after prolonged debates. In the Peers an attempt was made by Lord Brabourne, formerly known in the House of Commons as Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, to exempt employers from liability for sub-agents, but the Commons refused to accept this alteration and the Lords gave way.

The Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, a device of Mr. Gladstone's, the object of which was to abolish the malt-tax, on the ground that it pressed very severely on producers, and to substitute a duty on beer, formed part of a supplementary Budget which he was compelled to introduce from the fact that Sir Stafford Northcote's estimated surplus had already disappeared. Lord George Hamilton took upon himself to move an amendment to the effect that the malt-tax should not be abolished at the expense of the additional penny of income-tax which was thereby necessitated, and he was supported by his chief. Lord Randolph Churchill, however, though willing to avail himself of any good opportunity to "embarrass the Government," pointed out that some substitute must be provided, and that it was foolish to resist the passing of a measure that would be of great benefit to the farmers. Only ninety-four voted for Lord George Hamilton and Sir Stafford Northcote, and 234 for Mr. Gladstone. This and the Burials Act, the Employers' Liability Act, and the Ground Game Act, were the chief measures of a session which, though protracted into September, was not without several disappointments. However, Lord Spencer's amendment of the Education Act, Mr. Fawcett's valuable Post Office reforms, and Mr. Chamberlain's Grain Cargoes Act and Seamen's Wages Act were all put down to the credit side of the accounts of the new Administration.

Government had been compelled to deal with difficulties almost as serious as that created by Mr. Bradlaugh and by the state of Ireland. In the first place, the Extreme Left were disappointed at the spirit of compromise that pervaded their measures, and angry because they delayed to recall Sir Bartle Frere until, owing to the obstinacy of the Cape Parliament, his scheme of confederation had broken down. That they had sympathisers on some points among Ministers themselves was shown by a division on Mr. Briggs's resolution, condemning the proposal to erect a monument to Prince Louis

Napoleon in Westminster Abbey on the ground that it would be inconsistent with the national character of the Abbey. Mr. Gladstone wished the motion to be withdrawn, but a division was insisted upon and the resolution carried by 162 to 147; four important members of the Ministry—Mr. Bright, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Fawcett—voting in its favour. But the extreme Radicals, though they occasionally showed the cloven hoof of disaffection, contrasted most favourably in their treatment of Government with the Home Rulers and extreme Conservatives. The Opposition were exceedingly irritated by their defeat, and eager to throw discredit on the new Government by every means in their power. More than once they broke away from the control of their courteous and moderate chief, and made desultory attacks on the Ministerial position. Among these *franc tireurs* four singled themselves out for comment—Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. D. Wolff, Mr. Gorst, and Mr. A. J. Balfour—and they became known as the Fourth Party.

General satisfaction was expressed when Lord Hartington delivered a severe and telling rebuke to their loquacity. On August 20th Mr. Balfour remonstrated with Government for hurrying measures through Parliament without leaving proper time for discussion. Lord Hartington replied with much force that the result of the general election proved that the country desired legislation, and that as Members insisted on unlimited discussion, the sittings must be considerably prolonged. "Even in the case of Bills of a simple character, the practice now existing permits Members to discuss the question of principle not only on the second reading, but on every clause and every amendment of a clause." Lord Hartington then proceeded to read some statistics of the number of speeches that had been delivered during the session. Of the Fourth Party Mr. Gorst had spoken 105 times and had asked eighteen questions, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff had made sixty speeches and had asked thirty-four questions, and Lord Randolph Churchill had made seventy-four speeches and had asked twenty-one questions. Three Irish Members, Messrs. A. O'Connor, Finnigan, and Biggar, had spoken one hundred and sixty times and asked thirty questions. Allowing ten minutes to each speech, Lord Hartington calculated that if the other Members of the House followed their example, the work of a six months' session would take about eight years. After this vigorous exposure of questionable Parliamentary tactics it needed not the return of Mr. Gladstone,

restored in health and spirits, to secure the passing of the Bills that had been imperilled by a policy of factious obstruction.

The Irish difficulty, which Mr. Forster had so courageously undertaken to grapple with, proved to be of most formidable dimensions. The Home Rule party had been considerably reinforced at the elections and were evidently determined to wring concessions from Government. They contended that they did not at present wish to exact from Ministers any drastic measure of land reform; all that they required was an *ad interim* Bill in order to stop evictions. Such a Bill was introduced by Mr. O'Connor Power early in June, and was received by the Chief Secretary for Ireland with some cordiality. "For his own part he would candidly state that he was not prepared to oppose the principle of the Bill. But it was a very important measure, and being anxious not to say anything that might be misleading, he did not wish on the other hand to say that he approved of the measure." Both he and Mr. Gladstone asked for time for consideration, and promised that Government should examine thoroughly into the matter. In pursuance of this promise Mr. Forster, on June 15th, made an important announcement. In consequence of the distress prevailing in some parts of Ireland, Government were prepared to ask Parliament to enlarge for a time—until the end of the year 1881—the discretionary power of the County Court Judge, so that he might, in certain circumstances, give compensation to tenants in particular districts who were ejected for non-payment of rent. For that purpose he would propose a new clause in the Relief of Distress Bill then before the House.

Eventually, at the instigation of the Speaker, Mr. Forster withdrew the clause and introduced it as a separate measure, and the Relief of Distress Bill, an amendment of the Act of the previous session, passed uneventfully into law, though attacked by Mr. Parnell on the score that it was framed in the interest of the landlord and not of the tenant. A far stormier career was in store for the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, as it was now called. Its main provision, that in certain districts tenants might be compensated for eviction in the case of non-payment of rent, was defended by the Chief Secretary in an extremely able speech. He pointed out that the proposal was temporary, and that compensation was only to be given under certain conditions, if it should appear to the County Court Judge, 1st, that the tenant was unable to pay his rent; 2nd, that he was unable to do so

on account of the bad harvest of that and the two previous years; 3rd, that he was willing to continue in his tenancy on just and reasonable terms, as to rent, arrears of rent, and otherwise; and 4th, that those terms were unreasonably refused by the landlord. He showed that under the Act of 1870 the landlord had no power to raise the rent without the consent of the tenant, except on the expiration of the tenancy and after notice to quit had been served. Now, Government contended that in a great many cases the keeping up of the same rent in 1880 as was paid in the good years before 1877 was really very much the same thing as if the rent had been raised, and therefore the Compensation for Disturbance Bill was framed in the spirit of the Land Act of 1870. The Bill had been introduced only when they found they could wait no longer. Evictions had increased and were increasing. The average evictions for the five years ending in 1877 was 503 for each year; in 1878 the number of evictions was 1,743, in 1879 it was 1,098, and up to June 20th of 1880 it was 1,073. These evictions had to be carried out by force, and in cases where resistance was not overwhelmed by numbers conflicts were highly probable.

Mr. Chaplin, who moved the rejection of the Bill, expressed the profound dislike of his party to the measure. It assailed, he said, the rights of property and departed from every principle of legislation which had hitherto been sanctioned and admitted in civilised society in the country and in the age in which they lived. He contended that compensation for improvement was one thing and compensation for disturbance was another. Viewing the measure as a whole, he regarded it as unwise, impolitic, and unjust. Successive speakers were hardly less vigorous in their onslaughts on the Bill. Mr. Plunket termed it a proposal for the direct confiscation of the income of one class in favour of another, and a direct encouragement to the anti-rent agitation, and Mr. Tottenham bore him out in his argument in the course of an earnest protest on behalf of the landlords of Ireland. So the debate went on and grave consequences appeared imminent. Lord Lansdowne, a large Irish landowner, foreshadowed its fate in the House of Lords by resigning the office of Under Secretary of State for India. Other resignations were expected to follow, but the failing hearts of the followers of the Ministry were restored when Lord Hartington, the representative of the propertied Whigs, defended the measure in a very honest speech. After a brilliant speech from Lord

Randolph Churchill the third reading was carried by a majority of seventy-eight, there being a large number of Liberal absentees and not a few who went into the lobby against Government. Before going into committee the Attorney-General for Ireland moved the following amendment:—“Provided always that if it shall appear to the court that the landlord has given permission to the tenant to dispose of his interest in his holding on such terms as the court may deem reasonable, and that the tenant has refused or neglected to avail himself of such permission, then, and in every such case, the claim of the tenant for compensation for disturbance may be disallowed.” This change was warmly resented by Mr. Parnell, who had voted for the second reading. He announced that the amendment made the Bill absolutely useless, since in the case of rack-rented tenants who had nothing to sell, permission to dispose of their interest was worth nothing, and that he and his followers would oppose the measure to their utmost. The Bill got into committee by a still smaller majority, fifty-eight; and then Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord George Hamilton, and Mr. Gibson vied with one another in the frequency and vigour of their speeches. Lord George Hamilton made a good point by questioning the correctness of the eviction returns, maintaining that although processes of ejection were numerous, evictions were comparatively few, and that tenants were frequently readmitted to their farms as caretakers. Once more Mr. Parnell's indignation was aroused when Mr. Forster accepted a limit to the Bill at holdings for which the valuation was not above £30 annually, equivalent to £42 or £43 rent. The third reading was carried on the 26th of July after a debate not inferior in vehemence to those that had preceded it, and Government were victorious by a majority of sixty-six.

These desertions were a foretaste of what would happen in the House of Lords. From the first it was evident that the feeling of the House was dead against the Bill. Lord Granville's speech, in which he dwelt on the number and hardship of evictions, and showed that the whole cost of this measure of relief would not fall on the landlords, who had received exceptional advantages in the shape of loans at a nominal rate, and of distributions of potatoes and seeds to their tenants, commanded little attention. Lord Lansdowne denounced the Bill because it appealed to the sordid instincts of the people; and even Lord Derby, who urged the Lords to pass the Bill, intimated that it ought to be greatly modified in committee. Lord Salisbury

insinuated that the Bill had been introduced by Mr. Forster in order to make his term of office peaceful, by feeding the wild beasts whom he was unable to tame. Lord Beaconsfield was, as might be expected, full of scorn. He objected to the Bill because it imposed a burden upon a specific class, and a class suffering as well as the rest of the population; it introduced insecurity into all transactions, and it appointed a public functionary, to whom it delegated the extraordinary power of fixing the rents of the country. The reason given by Government for the introduction of the measure was, that if not passed they would have to encounter civil war in Ireland. Lord Beaconsfield showed that at the time of the Queen's Speech Government had not given the slightest hint that the condition of Ireland was at all desperate, and that it was only when the Bill was brought forward that they were informed by Mr. Gladstone that they were within “measurable distance of civil war.” He believed that it was possible that there might be disturbance, and for this reason, because they had proposed this Bill—a measure calculated to excite the minds of an imaginative people; and if the distress, which he trusted might be declining, proceeded in that country, he thought it not impossible that by the very measure brought forward to avoid civil conflict they might find themselves involved in trouble and disaster. The House of Lords threw out the Bill by the overwhelming majority of 231—only fifty-one peers, all connected more or less intimately with the Ministerial bench, voting in its favour. A remarkable fact was the number of Liberal peers who recorded their vote against it. They were no less than sixty-three—among them being the new creations, Lord Sherbrooke and Lord Brabourne—so that the rejection of the Bill was effected by their vote alone.

Hitherto the relations between Mr. Forster and the Irish Members had been of a fairly friendly character. The session had not passed altogether without storms, of which the most serious was raised by Mr. O'Donnell. The Member for Dunganvaran declared that M. Challemeil-Lacour, the new French Ambassador, was one of the prefects of the provisional Government of September, 1870, who had ordered the massacre of Colonel Latour's battalion in the telegram, “*Fusillez-moi ces gens-là,*” and that he had been condemned to pay a heavy fine for his share in the plunder of a convent. Sir Charles Dilke having completely disposed of these legends, Mr. O'Donnell proceeded to raise a debate under cover of a motion for adjournment,

until Mr. Gladstone moved that "Mr. O'Donnell be not heard." A very violent discussion followed, which ended by Mr. O'Donnell giving notice of a series of questions for the following Thursday concerning M. Challemeil-Lacour, of which the Speaker struck out the greater part as being beyond the

Beaconsfield's assertions that the state of Ireland did not call for serious alarm, its condition during August was one of the utmost gravity. The country was simply held down by the soldiers, and, in spite of the exertions of a splendidly-organised constabulary, the number of undetected



SIR CHARLES DILKE. (From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell & Sons.)

cognisance of the House. Failing to obtain satisfaction, Mr. O'Donnell declined to put his questions at all, and so the incident terminated. During this wrangle Mr. Forster had aroused considerable indignation by declaring that Mr. O'Donnell's speech was "contrary to the decencies of society," an expression which he was compelled to withdraw.

Mr. Forster's next collision was with Mr. Dillon, the Member for Tipperary. In spite of Lord

crimes was fearfully on the increase. Of these the most remarkable was the robbery of the Norwegian ship, *Juno*, of rifles, as she lay by night in Queens-town harbour, by a gang of about forty men, who rowed across in six boats. Agrarian outrages were widespread; the son of Mr. Tottenham's agent was shot dead while driving with his father and cousin, and process-servers went about their business with armed escorts, and in peril of their lives. An evil

feature in this new agitation was the maltreatment by their neighbours of tenants who paid their rent, or who entered upon a farm from which the previous occupier had been evicted; and perhaps even more revolting was the practice of maiming and torturing cattle. Hitherto the leaders of the agrarian movement had abstained from expressing any sympathy with these deeds of violence, and there was accordingly a deep feeling of resentment stirred up throughout the community when Mr. Dillon, at a Land League meeting, held in Kildare on the 15th of August, was reported to have cordially approved of such proceedings, and even to have hinted at organised insurrection. He warned the people not to put their trust in the English House of Commons, nor in the Royal Commission for inquiry into the land question which was about to sit under the presidency of Lord Bessborough. Every farmer, he said, should belong to a branch of the Land League. "In the county of Mayo, where the organisation was now pretty strong, they had many farms lying idle because they had evicted tenants from them; nor if the landlord put cattle on them would they prosper very much." He then proceeded to describe the power of the Land League: "The League was almost in its infancy, and the people had not been sufficiently made aware of its objects, but he would tell them what the League would do if the landlord refused them justice. After another six months or a year, when they had enrolled in Ireland, as he hoped they would have before long, 300,000 members of the League, and if the landlords persisted in resisting justice and refused to moderate their claims, they would give out the word to the people of Ireland to strike against rent entirely, and to pay no more until justice was done them. With 300,000 Irishmen enrolled in the National Land League, all the armies in England would not levy rent in that country. How did their forefathers strike down the tithe-rent charge, and prevent the parsons from demanding a share of their crops? By agitation? No. They refused to pay it except at the bayonet point."

Mr. Forster, when questioned about this speech in the House of Commons, described it as being as "wicked as it was cowardly;" on his return from a visit to Dublin he was severely taken to task by the Home Rule Members. The attack began on the question of the recent order given to the constabulary to load their guns with buckshot instead of bullets, that kind of ammunition having been used in a riot at Dungannon, at which a man

had been killed. Mr. Forster declared that buckshot was more humane, for although it might wound more it was less likely to kill; but the Irish Members inveighed against the innovation as one of great barbarity, and Mr. Parnell went so far as to hint that perhaps they might expect explosive bullets next year. Then Mr. Dillon got up and moved the adjournment of the House, in order that he might make reply to Mr. Forster's censure. To be called a coward was, he said, no more to him than to be denominated a ruffian by the *Times* newspaper, but he could not allow the statement to pass that his speech was a wicked one. Mr. Forster replied that he adhered to his statement that the speech was wicked, in that it had a tendency to stir up excitable people to break the law, and cowardly because it was so framed as to secure the speaker against prosecution. A long discussion followed, in which the Irish Members did their best to exculpate Mr. Dillon. Mr. Parnell attempted to prove that his language in regard to cattle would bear a different interpretation, but Mr. Dillon declined to avail himself of the subterfuge. "He could not understand the feeling which induced Members to melt almost into tears over the sufferings of cattle that had been injured. He would rather prefer to have the cattle slaughtered than let Irish tenants perish." Only twenty-one Members supported Mr. Dillon, and afterwards at a meeting of the Land League he made an unreserved apology for having used an expression advocating the maltreatment of cattle.

The attitude of Mr. Parnell's followers during the brief remainder of the session was extremely unconciliatory. They opposed the Irish constabulary vote during an all-night sitting, and carried the discussion of the iniquities of Government into a third day's debate. Mr. Forster at this time was assailed on all sides. In return for a promise of Mr. Parnell that the Home Rule party would do their utmost to suppress outrages and the mutilation of cattle, he said that if he found that the landlords of Ireland were making use of their powers unjustly, he, for one, would not be a party to such proceedings, and would certainly accompany any request for special powers with some sort of a Bill that would prevent him from being obliged to support injustice. This subjected the Chief Secretary to a very cruel attack from Lord Randolph Churchill, who said that if the word "wicked" could be applied to speeches like that of Mr. Dillon, he must say that of all the speeches he had ever listened to or read

Mr. Forster's speech was the most wicked. Another utterance of Mr. Forster's called down upon him even more abundantly the thunderbolts of Tory indignation. During the fag-end of the session the majority of the House of Lords, though they had been induced by Lord Beaconsfield to pass the Ground Game Act, were evidently determined to make a decisive protest against the action of the Lower House of sending up measures when there was time left for only the most perfunctory discussion. Accordingly, at the instigation of Lord Redesdale, they rejected the Irish Registration of Voters Bill, a simple measure, of which the object was to harmonise the systems of registration of voters in England and Ireland. Mr. Parnell promptly moved that the obnoxious measure should be "tacked" to the Appropriation Bill. To this Mr. Forster demurred; but, at the same time, he used some very strong expressions with regard to the Upper Chamber. "It was said that the Bill did not reach the House of Lords in time to enable that House to consider it. If that course were taken often it would make the proceedings of the Legislature difficult, and not altogether comfortable. It seems to me that this is a matter in which *noblesse oblige*, and that the House of Lords ought not to allege personal convenience as a reason for not thoroughly considering a measure sent up from this House. It cannot be forgotten, also, that we are the representatives of the people, and that the power which the House of Lords possesses is simply owing to the accident of birth." These "alarming sentences," as Sir Stafford Northcote termed them, produced a great commotion in the House of Commons, and Lord Granville was obliged to repudiate all sympathy with them in the hereditary Chamber.

As in the previous year, the breaking-up of Parliament was only a signal for the renewal of the Land League agitation. September and October were very unquiet months. That Government were willing to do something for the good of Ireland was shown by the energy of the Bessborough Commission, and by the attention paid by the leading statesmen of the day to a remarkable pamphlet written by Mr. Tuke on "Irish Distress and Its Remedies," which pointed to the fact that the whole system of land tenure in Ireland had hopelessly broken down. But the greater part of the politicians of Ireland were indisposed to wait any longer. Mr. P. J. Smyth, indeed, in a letter to the papers, advised tenants to give evidence before the commission, but Mr.

Parnell did not agree with him. Speaking at a meeting at Ennis on September 19th, he said that he believed the commission was appointed to try and whittle down the demands of the tenantry, and to find out the very smallest measure of reform that had a chance of being accepted in Ireland. If farmers went before the commission, Government would put off legislating for the next session under the pretext that they must read and study the report. "Depend upon it that the measure of the Land Bill of the next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this winter. It will be the measure of your determination not to pay unjust rents; it will be the measure of your determination to keep the grip of your homesteads; it will be the measure of your determination not to bid for farms from which others have been evicted, and to use the strong force of public opinion to deter any unjust men amongst yourselves—and there are many such—from bidding for such farms." He then proceeded to advise that if a man took a farm from which another had been evicted, that he was to be "shunned in the street, in the shop, in the market-place, and in the place of worship as if he were the leper of old."

The cry of "Keep a grip of your homesteads," and "Hold the harvest," was not taken up in the north. On the contrary, the Orangemen of county Down cheered to the echo the wild speeches of the Rev. R. Kane, who announced that lead was a game that two could play at, and that if necessary the Protestants of Ireland, 200,000 strong, each man with a rifle in his hand, could march on Dublin and take their part in the game. In the south of Ireland, however, the anti-landlord spirit was all but universal, many owners were obliged to ask for police protection and their agents were not unfrequently attacked. The murder of Lord Mountmorres at this juncture produced a strong outcry throughout England against Government for their supposed weakness in relaxing the coercion laws. On September 25th he was found within a mile of his house, shot through the body in six places. Lord Mountmorres was a resident landlord, but he was apparently not popular with his tenantry and had been compelled to ask for police protection. He was poor and had only fifteen tenants, against two of whom he had recently taken out decrees of ejectment. The circumstances that followed the murder were calculated to create a feeling of the utmost apprehension in the popular mind. It was reported that a peasant refused to admit the body into his house in order that the doctor might

discover whether life was extinct, alleging that if he did so he or his would be sure to suffer within the twelvemonth. The details of the removal of the body to Dublin were even more significant. The corpse had to be guarded by police, as it was expected that the peasantry might attack the procession. Even the drivers of the hearse refused to touch the coffin and it had to be placed on the bier by members of the escort. No sympathy was shown to the family; only one of the tenants was present, the rest having gone to a fair. The people of the district also declined to move a finger to aid Lady Mountmorres in her distress, and she was obliged to obtain the help of the police in procuring food and firewood, while threatening letters of the most diabolical character were sent to her daily. Lastly, the reward of £1,000 offered by the Lord-Lieutenant failed to effect the discovery of the authors of the outrage. Mr. Parnell, however, commented on this and other murders "as unnecessary and prejudicial" where the farmers were organised.

Still Government refused to take any exceptional measures. The air was full of rumours, which appeared to have some foundation when a Cabinet Council was hastily summoned on the 30th of September; but no blow was struck. It was asserted that Parliament was to be summoned for an autumn session, that the Habeas Corpus Act was to be suspended, that Government would promptly use exceptional powers and ask afterwards for a Bill of Indemnity, but nothing came. Early in October a number of landowners and agents met in Dublin, under the presidency of the Earl of Donoughmore, and discussed privately—for it was considered unsafe to make public the names of the speakers—the state of the country. A deputation then waited on Earl Cowper, and urged on him that measures should be taken to protect life and property. They represented that though they had done their utmost for the good of their tenantry they were now in a state of siege; that it was impossible for them any longer to carry on their public duties; there were men in the room whose lives were doomed and who might never return home alive. Earl Cowper referred them to Mr. Forster, who asked if they had any suggestions to make. They replied that it was not their place to make suggestions, but that prompt measures were necessary, and implied that if Government failed to do their duty they would take measures for protecting themselves. Mr. Forster could only reply that everything that could be done within the bounds of the law would be done, and that if

measures of an exceptional character were indispensable they would be taken.

Still the meetings of the Land League continued, and every Sunday large numbers of farmers assembled and listened to harangues against the iniquities of landlordism. The movement was recruited from America; one of the wildest of the mob-orators being Mr. Redpath, a citizen of the United States. Complaints were frequently made that, though Mr. Parnell and his friends were ready to point out the evils of the system, they were unable to suggest a feasible cure, their words were indefinitely violent and implied destruction rather than reform. At last Mr. Parnell, in a speech at New Ross on the 28th of September, ventured to commit himself to a definite proposal. He alluded to the Ulster tenant-right and to a periodical valuation of rents as unsatisfactory solutions of the difficulty. "Talk," he cried, "of fixity of tenure at fair rents! I think the Irish tenantry should be able to look forward to a time when all rents would cease, when they would hold homes of their own without the necessity of making annual payments for them, and I see no difficulty in arriving at the solution, and arriving at it in this way: by the payment of a fair rent; of a fair and fixed rent for the space of, say, thirty-five years, after which there should be nothing further to pay, and, in the meantime, the tenant would have fixity of tenure, he would have his tenure also at a fair rent, not liable to revision, re-valuation, or raising." That is to say, tenants should become freeholders after five-and-thirty years' payment of fair rent. "Either the landlord or the tenant," he said, a few days afterwards, "must go." The extravagance of Mr. Parnell's proposal was largely denounced by the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Bishop of Cloyne declined to subscribe to the unqualified denunciation of landlordism as an institution intrinsically bad and immoral in itself, and Archbishop M'Cabe issued a very important pastoral, in which he administered a reprimand to speakers who, if they did not mean what their words seemed to imply, yet failed to rebuke the cries for vengeance and blood which they excited among their ignorant hearers. The main body of the Roman Catholic clergy followed sedulously in the wake of this declaration, and in consequence the speeches of the Land League leaders were for a time of a more moderate character.

This moderation, however, lasted only for a short time. As soon as it was known that warrants were out against Mr. Parnell and other prominent members of the Land League, their language

became more violent than ever, and the League itself gained several accessions, one of which was Mr. Justin McCarthy. Mr. Parnell denounced that "sham humanitarian Chief Secretary, Buckshot Forster," and exposed his hand by saying that large as the class of tenant-farmers was he would not have taken off his coat and gone to this work if he had not known that they were laying the foundations of Irish independence. Soon

League, was now carried out with increased severity. In the beginning of November this species of social ostracism was dignified with the title of "boycotting," from the name of one of the most prominent sufferers under its iron *régime*. Captain Boycott was the agent of Lord Erne in the county of Mayo, and rented a large farm near Lough Mask. The tenants on Lord Erne's estate determined to ask for a reduction of 25 per cent.



THE SAVING OF CAPTAIN BOYCOTT'S CROPS. (See p. 490.)

afterwards Messrs. Walsh and Healy, the latter Mr. Parnell's private secretary, were arrested on a charge of intimidating a farmer named Manning, who had taken possession of a farm near Bantry, from which the former occupier had been evicted. They were set at liberty on bail, and Mr. Healy used the interval before the trial to indulge in the most inflammatory language, and was in consequence elected to a seat vacant at Wexford. The prisoners were tried in December at the Cork assizes, and acquitted.

Mr. Parnell's advice to shun the tenant who had taken possession of an evicted farm, or who otherwise transgressed the mandates of the Land

in their rent, and on his refusal declined, for the most part, to pay any rent at all. Thereupon Captain Boycott took out processes of eviction against the offenders. In consequence he was placed under the ban. His servants were compelled by threats to leave him, his labourers refused to work, and the crops lay ungathered; the tradesmen declined to supply him with provisions, and he went about in danger of his life, surrounded by a cordon of police. He thereupon wrote to the *Times*, describing his desperate position. The recital of his wrongs fired the men of Ulster with indignation. An association was formed in Belfast to protect him, a subscription was raised

with great rapidity, and hundreds of men volunteered to start, rifle in hand, on a relief expedition. It was determined, however, by the promoters of the project to reduce the number of men to a hundred, and Government were informed of the decision. Mr. Forster felt that to allow even so large a force to go armed through the country at that time would certainly lead to a breach of the peace, and, after communicating with Captain Boycott, he informed the association that although an armed procession could not be permitted to march through the country, yet a sufficient number of men for the saving of Captain Boycott's crops would be protected during their journeys to and from the farm and during the period of their labour. With this understanding fifty volunteers started by train for Claremorris, and on their arrival there found the station full of troops. Government had taken the wise precaution to send a body of cavalry into Mayo, and, including the police, it is stated that there were 7,000 men under arms in the district. With such an escort an attack was impossible, and the populace confined themselves to hooting and cursing Captain Boycott. As the carmen refused to drive the Orangemen to Lough Mask, they were compelled to walk. While the crops were being saved Captain Boycott's house was guarded by one hundred infantry, sixty cavalry, and fifty police, sentinels watched over the men as they worked, and the roads were carefully patrolled. Having accomplished the objects of their expedition, the Ulstermen started on their return journey on the 26th, taking Captain Boycott with them, it being impossible for him to remain on the estate any longer. During the return march again no attempt was made to attack them; indeed, a fiat had gone forth from the Land League that they should be unmolested, and the famous Boycott relief expedition was disbanded. Captain Boycott was persecuted by threatening letters and betook himself to England, where he applied to Mr. Gladstone for compensation, being, he said, "a ruined man, because the law as administered" had not protected him. His request was refused, though many leading politicians subscribed to the fund raised on his behalf.

The Land League orators rejoiced exceedingly over the result of the Boycott episode. Mr. Parnell exultingly calculated that every pound of potatoes and every turnip saved had cost the Government a shilling. "Mayo," said Mr. Dillon, who was now more outspoken than ever, "has taught a lesson on the policy of the Land League. The word 'boycotting' has gone all over the

country. What we propose to do in case of eviction is a very effective form of obtaining our object. We will 'boycott' the farm, and it will require an English army, such as that which is down at Lough Mask, to hold the farm. So long as they keep the army on the farm we will support the tenants, so that as soon as the army evacuates they can go back to their own farms. As to the amount of rent to be paid, it is a question which must be left to each branch of the Land League." This advice was followed on Lord Lansdowne's and Lord Digby's estates, both in Queen's County, where the tenants offered Griffith's valuation, and on its refusal by the agent declined to pay at all. The local branches of the Land League meanwhile issued their boycotting decrees against tenants who paid their rent, landlords who exacted it, and even labourers and tradesmen who held communication with the excommunicated men. By the side of this open intimidation was waged the darker and more terrible social war of midnight outrages and injuries inflicted on cattle. Several ladies were fired at and the miscreants escaped undetected. So great, indeed, was the terrorism prevalent everywhere that juries refused to convict on the clearest evidence, witnesses perjured themselves rather than incriminate the accused, and magistrates declined to execute their duties.

Perhaps the case that illustrated the dread power of boycotting more thoroughly even than that of the man from whom it derived its name, was that of Mr. Bence Jones, who was well known for his letters and articles on Irish questions. Mr. Bence Jones was a good though somewhat peremptory landlord, and a thoroughly scientific farmer, who had spent large sums on his estate which had, in consequence, improved enormously. Nevertheless, he fell under the ban of the Land League on account of his published opinions, and the usual course of persecution began. His tenants offered Griffith's valuation, and that being refused, declined to pay at all. His servants and labourers were compelled to leave his farm. The shopkeepers declined to serve him and the smiths to shoe his horses. He was obliged to sell his cattle, but no one dared purchase them in the Cork market and they had to be shipped to Liverpool. The Cork Steamship Company, however, declined to transport them and they had to go by train to Dublin. There the cattle-dealers refused to send their own beasts in the same ship with this obnoxious herd, and even when, after some delay, the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company ventured to convey them

across, it was some time before a purchaser could be found.

There seemed now at any rate some prospect of the arch-agitator and his comrades being called to their account. The indictment, after some delay, was made public early in November, when fourteen persons, of whom Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Biggar, T. D. Sullivan, and Sexton were already well known, and Messrs. Egan and Sheridan had celebrity in store, were accused of conspiring to intimidate tenants from paying their lawful rent, to defeat the various legal processes for the enforcement of rent, and to prevent the letting of farms from which persons had been evicted, or the sale of goods taken in execution. The trial was fixed for the 28th of December, and an application of the accused, or "traversers," as they were termed, for a postponement, on the ground that Mr. Parnell was required to be in his place by the opening of Parliament, was refused. On this occasion, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir G. A. May, used language which was regarded as inconsiderate and calculated to produce an impression that the case would not be decided on its merits. "Let the trial," he said, "proceed as speedily as possible, and if Mr. Parnell has to complain of any one it is of himself and of the conduct of those associated with him. He has not thought proper to address his policy to the House of Parliament of which he is a Member. He has endeavoured to carry out alterations in the law by violent speeches and means." Mr. Justice Barry wisely tempered the ill effects of this remark by observing that the court would not pronounce any opinion on the merits of the case, but it gave a fine opening for the Land Leaguers of which they were not slow to avail themselves. Mr. Dillon denounced the Lord Chief Justice as a "cowardly liar," and there was a general outburst of wrath against Sir George May. It was with difficulty that a jury could be collected for the trial, which began as the year was hurrying to its close.

Meanwhile, the attitude of politicians across the water to the Irish agitation had been watched with great attention. There were rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet; Mr. Forster had, it was said, applied for increased powers, and Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain had declined to countenance the demand. Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Guildhall banquet was awaited with almost as much anxiety as the annual declarations of Lord Beaconsfield at a time when the Eastern Question occupied all men's minds. His remarks were simple and emphatic. Her Majesty's Government

would examine the Land Laws of Ireland to see whether "the principles applied to land in Ireland in 1870 required still further development in order to complete the great improvement which legislation had effected in the condition of the occupiers"—a hint at the future Land Act. "Yet," he said, "anxious as we are for the practical improvement of the Land Laws, I assure your lordship, and all who hear me, as well as those who may become acquainted with the proceedings of this meeting, that we recognise the priority of the duty above every other of enforcing the law for the purposes of order. And let me say one word more. We hold it our first duty to look to the law as it stands, to ascertain what its fair and just administration means. But the obligation incumbent upon us to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his life and his property might, under certain circumstances, compel us to ask for an increase of power; and although we will never anticipate such contingency, nor imagine it to exist until it is proved by clear demonstration, yet if that contingency were realised, if the demonstration were afforded, you may rely upon it that we should not shrink from the obligation it would entail."

This remarkable utterance was followed by persistent rumours of more Cabinet schisms, and resignations were hourly expected that never came. The statesmen whose names cropped up most frequently in the stories more or less circumstantial that were floating about were Lord Hartington and Mr. Forster, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bright. The Whig element, it was said, was anxious for the immediate suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Radicals were opposed to that course in any circumstances, and Mr. Gladstone was unwilling at present to go beyond the law. That Mr. Bright, at any rate, was not to be depended upon in case repressive measures were necessary was shown by a remarkable speech to his constituents, in which he uttered the celebrated aphorism that "Force is not a remedy." The true remedy, he said, lay in measures of relief, not indeed in violent schemes for the expropriation of landlords, but in security against eviction and against arbitrary raising of rent; a complete system also ought to be established by which landlords willing to sell should be able to sell, so that the tenant should be turned into a proprietor and the waste land should be put into cultivation and let upon easy terms.

The biography of Mr. Forster by Sir Wemyss Reid shows that the stories of Cabinet dissensions were well founded. The Chief Secretary was

anxious that the existing law should have a fair trial, and on October 8th we find him writing to Mr. Gladstone that he was in favour of prosecuting the Land Leaguers, even though convictions were not to be expected. "I believe that if we cannot prosecute we shall be driven to a special session for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; and even if we do prosecute we may also have to do this; but at any rate we should be able to tell Parliament that we had done what we could with our present powers." On the 10th he further explained that "as before, so now, we may find that nothing will check the actual outrages but arrest and detention of men on suspicion," and on the 25th he acknowledged himself driven to the conviction that, "unless we see a real improvement, we cannot face the winter—that is, January and February—without special legislation; and if special legislation at all, we cannot conceal from ourselves that it must be special legislation in the most high-handed fashion." At the same time he declared that "our Land Bill when it comes must be strong and comprehensive. We had better do nothing than tinker." A very gloomy letter about outrages followed in reply to Mr. Gladstone's request for information which he might use at the Guildhall banquet; they were owing to the action of the Land League, but were now very much beyond its control. It was shortly after the delivery of the Guildhall speech that Mr. Forster asked for additional powers and the summoning of Parliament without delay. He believed that "by waiting until January they would not only increase their administrative difficulties, but diminish their power of dealing successfully with the Land Question." Two of his colleagues, however, opposed the proposal with the utmost bitterness, with the result that Parliament was postponed until January the 6th, and Government refrained from promising a Coercion Bill.

The Opposition seemed inclined, with one or two exceptions—among whom may be mentioned Mr. Gibson—to turn the Irish Question into a party weapon; they were more disposed to deride the weakness of Government than to deplore the condition of Ireland. Lord Randolph Churchill indulged in violent denunciations of "Buckshot Forster and his dummy Lord-Lieutenant." On the head of the Chief Secretary, said he, and upon his head alone, lay the blood of the victims who had been murdered. Lord Salisbury followed in his footsteps and, at a great meeting at Woodstock under the auspices of the "Fourth Party," jeered at Mr. Bright's scheme, and said that it was

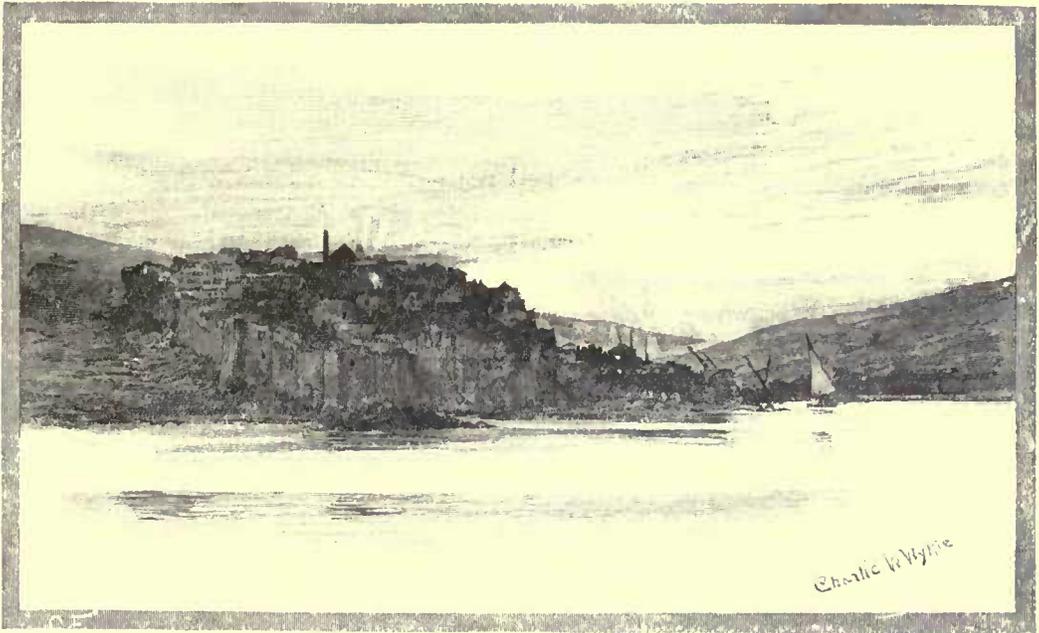
necessary to protest with all possible energy against the indolent and timid policy which Government were pursuing. "The truth is," he said, "that there are two governments in Ireland. You have the ostensible and showy government, which maintains a showy Chief Secretary, and a showy Lord-Lieutenant; which discusses, and meets, and hesitates, and does not act; and you have on the other side, extending over all the western counties of Ireland, another government, diametrically opposite in all its peculiarities to the ostensible government against which it stands." Sir Stafford Northcote, indeed, in a speech to the Welsh Conservatives at Brecon, declared himself no advocate for intemperate language or intemperate action, but derided any possibility of a settlement of the land question on the basis of the "three Fs." He "did not know what the expression meant, but if he were to guess he should be inclined to say that the 'three Fs' stood for fraud, force, and folly."

The internal affairs of England during the year 1880 do not call for any lengthy comment. It closed less gloomily than its predecessor, trade had revived, and there was an abundant harvest. In the Church an increase of activity, evidenced by the laying of the foundation stone of a new cathedral at Truro, and by the consecration of the first Bishop of Liverpool, contrasted favourably with the evidences of internal disunion on questions of ritual afforded by the cases of Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght. The great disaster of the year was the loss of the *Atalanta*, all the more terrible because it followed so soon on that of the *Eurydice*. This vessel, a training-ship with 300 men and boys on board, under Captain Sterling, R.N., left Bermuda on the 31st of January, and soon afterwards encountered a terrific hurricane in mid-Atlantic, under stress of which she foundered, and not a trace of her was afterwards discovered. Passing to individuals, we find that in this year the place of several great men knew them no more. Lord Hampton, better known as Sir John Pakington, was a Conservative Minister, whose zeal was hardly tempered by sufficient discretion. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who passed away on August the 14th, was a man of masterful mind, and one of the greatest diplomatists, as the French understand the word, of his time. That even he should have failed to induce the Turk to reform, pointed conclusively to the impossibility of that reform. In the autumn the Bar lost the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, whose power as an advocate was great, but who became a judge too late, and in

Parliament was a failure; Lord Justice Thesiger, whose rise to the bench at the early age of thirty-nine promised him a career of distinction; and lastly the genial and accomplished Sir Alexander Coekburn, who, by the power of his natural qualities rather than by his knowledge of law, became illustrious among his contemporaries.

Meanwhile affairs of some moment were engaging Lord Granville's attention. The disaster of the previous year inflicted on the Russian troops by the united forces of the Tekke Turkomans and the Khan of Merv remained unavenged; and although

the year on the verge of a war, and there was no more talk of the Russo-Chinese alliance that was to effect such extensive modifications in the affairs of Central Asia. The Chinese Government refused, with much warmth, to ratify the treaty concerning the retrocession of Kuldja concluded by their envoy, Chang-How, in the previous year. The hapless plenipotentiary was imprisoned and condemned to death, while the Chinese generalissimo, began to mass troops on the borders of Manchuria, and munitions of war were imported in large quantities from the United States. The



DULCIGNO.

the military talents of General Skobelev were employed to reduce the stronghold of Denghil Tepe, he failed in three separate attempts. The Shah of Persia, to the south, was too weak to give any active assistance to the Turkomans, though they were nominally his subjects; but he did his best to prevent the Russian troops from drawing supplies from his country in any large quantities, and was, in consequence, roundly taken to task by the Russian press. When, however, he found that Lord Granville had no intention of carrying out the idea of his predecessor in office, Lord Salisbury, and of allowing Persian troops to take possession of Herat, he evinced considerable change of opinion and no longer attempted to oppose the daily increasing arrivals of Russian agents into his dominions. With China the Czar was throughout

Russians in turn collected a large fleet at Saghalien, with a view to making a descent upon the frequently bombarded town of Peking. At the same time they informed the Chinese Government that no resumption of negotiations was possible until Chang-How had been released unconditionally. Eventually the Chinese determined to yield to the representations of the Powers; the indiscreet ambassador was released, and the Marquis Tseng reopened diplomatic communications at St. Petersburg. The resolution of the Chinese not to fight was confirmed by a timely intimation from their old friend, Colonel Gordon, to the effect that their army was in a bad state.

In Europe the Muscovite power continued, as before, to menace the German-Austrian alliance, and to intrigue in the Balkan Peninsula. The

Sultan, who had now supplied himself with a completely reactionary and conservative Ministry, was induced to believe that he could rely upon Russian support if he refused to inaugurate reforms; and though the vigorous conduct of Sir Henry Layard had compelled him to send Baker Pasha to Armenia, it was evident that in other quarters he had no intention of carrying out the unfulfilled conditions of the Treaty of Berlin. A slight attempt, indeed, was made to settle the Montenegrin question on the lines suggested by the Italian Premier, and hence known as the Corti compromise; but when Prince Nikita attempted to take possession of his new dominion, his soldiers were fired on by the Albanians and he could obtain no redress from the Sultan. When Lord Granville replaced Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, the coil of events began to unwind itself with considerable rapidity. The promises of the Liberal Government with regard to the fulfilment of the Treaty of Berlin were carried out in a way that much irritated the Sultan, who found Mr. Goschen a more severe taskmaster than Sir Henry Layard. An Identical Note was presented to the Porte at the initiation of Great Britain, which informed him that a conference was to be held at Berlin, to settle the Greek frontier, a question that had been allowed to drift. Representatives of the Powers assembled at the German capital on the 16th of June, and drew up a unanimous protocol, to which the consent of the Governments was given, declaring Greece to be entitled to some 8,000 square miles of additional territory, including the Lake of Janina and Metzovo.

It was generally expected that the Sultan would decline to execute these demands, and would have accordingly to be coerced. His refuge lay in the Albanians, who, thoroughly loyal to the Porte, declined to acknowledge the authority of Montenegro on the one side, or of Greece on the other, and indeed had already formed themselves into a league for purposes of resistance. Fortified by this support, the Sultan accordingly replied to the collective note of the Powers by an adroitly worded remonstrance. He complained of the cession of Albania with the whole of Thessaly as having the effect of annexing to the Greek kingdom a territory equal in extent to one-half the present territory of that kingdom. He had expected also to be granted a defensive frontier; but how could that be when Janina, the Albanian capital, and Mahometan Metzovo, a place of great strategical importance, and Larissa, of which the population was wholly Mahometan, were to be

surrendered? This equivocation was supposed to imply resistance, and the situation became very grave. The Powers replied by a second Identical Note, on the 28th of August, in which they informed the Porte that they insisted on the Greek frontier fixed upon by the Treaty of Berlin, although they would be willing to accept any manner of surrender which the Porte might think proper.

Meanwhile the Montenegrin frontier question had become exceedingly critical. In the early summer the Porte, according to promise, had evacuated the ceded territory, but it had been occupied by the Albanians, who were supposed to be acting in connivance with their suzerain. In their willingness to grant the Sultan every reasonable concession, the Powers thereupon agreed that the district to be added to Montenegro under the Treaty of Berlin should be exchanged for that of Dulcigno. As the Sultan showed an evident intention of evading the settlement of the difficulty altogether, an ultimatum was presented to him requesting that the matter should be terminated within three weeks; and when he still attempted to defeat united Europe it was resolved to try the effect of coercion.

The form of coercion adopted was that of a naval demonstration off the coast of Albania. The fleets of the Powers, placed under the command of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, accordingly collected early in September at Ragusa, a port thrown open to them by the Austrians. Unfortunately the French gave an appearance of dissension to the European concert by delaying to send ships and by giving orders to their Admiral not to take part in active operations. Encouraged by the hope that the Powers would fall out among themselves at the eleventh hour, the Porte made no attempt to force the Albanians to surrender Dulcigno, but allowed its army to stand idly by, while Prince Nikita was preparing for war. Even yet the intelligence of Europe was slow to realise the gravity of the situation. Early in October, however, the Sultan, who had fortified himself by a new Ministry, informed the Ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople that it would be impossible to surrender Dulcigno, rectify the Greek frontier, or promote reforms in Armenia until the demonstration had been abandoned.

This open defiance of the Powers caused general consternation in Europe, and the Cabinets began to consult as to what was to be done. Great Britain at once stepped to the front and

proposed the sequestration of Smyrna, a policy in which she received the cordial support of Russia and Italy; France, according to her newly-developed policy, still holding timidly back. This threat had instantaneous effect. On October the 12th the Porte sent a note to the Powers, announcing that it would at once give directions to the local authorities to hand over the town to the Montenegrins. Nay, more; the Sultan was apparently in earnest, for when the Albanians threatened resistance, he sent Dervish Pasha thither with troops. After prolonged delays, which were thought to argue bad faith on the part of the Sultan, that general forced his way into the town and handed it over to the Montenegrins. The fleet, therefore, was withdrawn on December the 5th, having foiled the Sultan, and completely refuted the prophecies of Lord Salisbury and other Conservative statesmen, that the naval demonstration would result in failure.

The Greek frontier question, however, still remained open, and the Hellenes themselves, seeing no hope of getting possession of the promised territory by peaceful means, were swiftly arming for war. The Sultan protested vigorously against these preparations, and wrote a defiant letter to the Powers, declaring that he still refused to grant more territory than he had originally proposed, namely the line of Tukkala and Macquiti. At the proposal of France the Powers decided to appoint a court of arbitration, composed of their representatives. Neither Turkey nor Greece, however, was inclined to submit to this tribunal and when the year closed affairs were at a deadlock. The Porte adopted a similar policy of passive obstruction with regard to the inauguration of reforms in Armenia.

In the liberated Principalities Russian agents were zealously preaching the necessity of the union of the Slavonic family into a grand confederacy and in some quarters they found ready listeners. It was in the two Bulgarias that the Pan-Slavonic movement found by far the greatest number of adherents. There the position of Prince Alexander was most unenviable. Not only was he generally regarded as a mere nominee of the Czar, controlled by a Ministry of Russian placemen, but his treasury was empty, and he was compelled to hear of violent and brutal attacks made by the Bulgarian part of the population upon their Mahometan and Greek neighbours. Towards the end of May, the supporters of the fusion of the two Bulgarias began to distribute arms, to collect subscriptions, and generally to

prepare for war. At the same time, Prince Alexander declared that he could no longer endure the conflicting jurisdiction of Aleko Pasha, and that either the Turkish Governor-General or himself must be removed. By way of reply, the Porte massed troops on the frontier, and the unionists, seeing that they were unlikely to gain their point without fighting, and finding there was no hope of assistance from Russia, began to lower their pretensions, and towards the autumn the agitation subsided.

It is not very probable that there was ever much reality about the warlike threats that were uttered at this time by the Russian press on the one side and that of Austria and Germany on the other. The House of Hapsburg, at any rate, was in no mood to challenge a conflict that would have imperilled the allegiance of its Slavonic subjects, and, though it supported Germany throughout the revived Eastern crisis, there was no disposition to defy the Czar. Austria was, in fact, quietly working for its own ends, and by carefully avoiding menace to Russia, she was able to gain two important points—the completion, after much hectoring of Prince Milan, of a commercial treaty with Servia, and the consent of the Powers to the appointment of a mixed commission of delegates from Austria, Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, under the presidency of the first, to draw up rules for the navigation of the Danube.

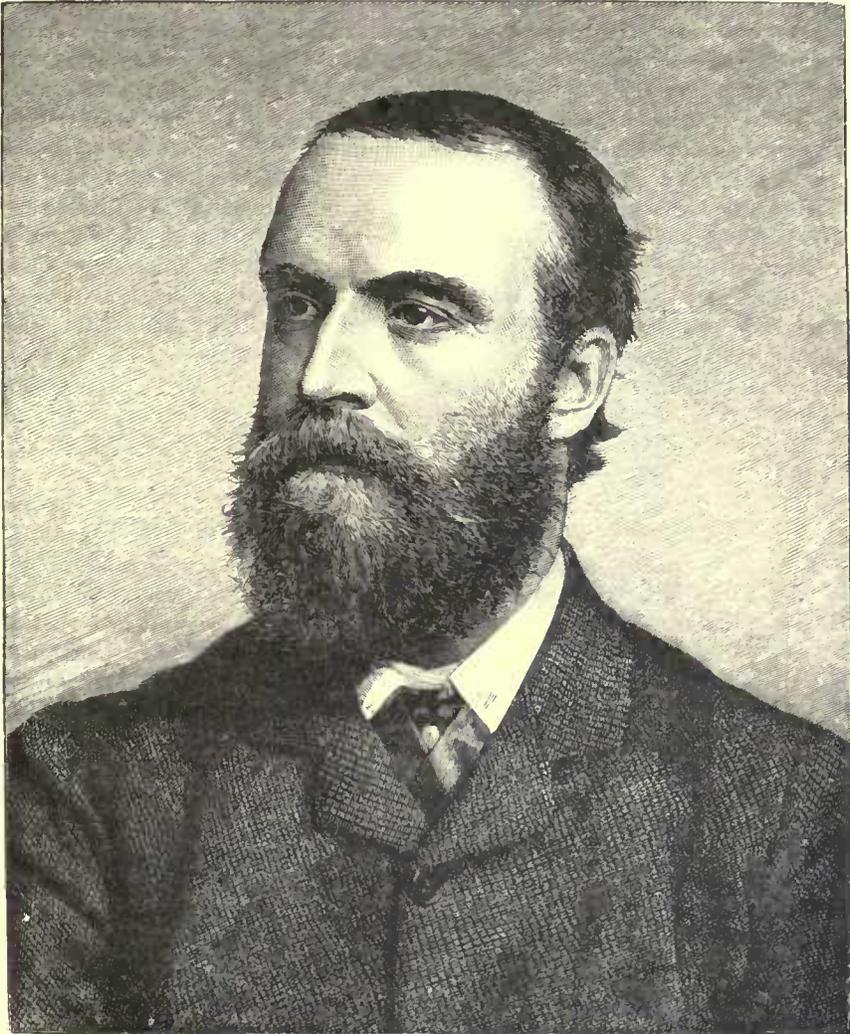
Prince Bismarck was—if semi-official utterances have any weight whatever—considerably more outspoken with regard to the supposed designs of Russia than the Austrian Minister, Baron Haymerle, and during the months of January and February it seemed as if, despite the goodwill which the Emperor William and the Czar Alexander were known to entertain towards one another, there would be a collision between the two mighty nations. During the first days of 1880 it was rumoured that Russian forces were being massed in large numbers upon the Polish frontier, and the outcry against the aggressive designs of the Czar was loud in Prince Bismarck's organs. People held their breath in expectation of the collision of the two massive forces. Once more, however, the complete accord existing between the two Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin persuaded the Russians to withdraw from an enterprise which in all probability was never contemplated too seriously. The tension of affairs, whether real or imaginary, was admirably suited to the furtherance of Prince Bismarck's plans for the moment, and was therefore supposed to be a not altogether unintentional

coincidence. At any rate, the huge military preparations of France and Russia were adduced as a most powerful reason for the passing of an Army Bill, the main point of which was to establish the military system of the Empire on its then footing for seven years. Pleas that the measure should be annually submitted to the criticism of the House, that its duration should be limited to the end of March, 1881, and that training should be limited to two years, were rejected by General von Kameke, the Minister at War, and von Moltke made yet another of his impressive speeches about the martial array of France and Russia.

In France the Ministry of M. de Freycinet was soon found to be by far too moderate for the extreme Left. M. Jules Ferry's Bill on higher education contained the famous "seventh clause," providing that the right of directing an educational establishment should be taken from any one who belonged to one of the unauthorised communities. The clause was rejected by the Senate; whereupon the Government determined to avail themselves of the means which the law placed at their disposal, and on the 30th of March a decree appeared summoning the Jesuits to break up their establishments and depart within three months, while the unauthorised congregations were ordered to submit an account of their revenues and rules to the Government and to apply for leave to exist. The recess was marked by two very remarkable speeches and the resignation of the Ministry; the first speech was made by M. Gambetta at Cherbourg, whither he had gone on a visit to M. Grévy, in which the recovery of France from its late state of prostration both as regards its military and material condition was treated in a warlike and triumphant spirit that aroused great indignation in the German press. The upshot of his trenchant sentences was that grand reparation might issue from right. M. de Freycinet promptly hastened to remove the impression which these remarks produced by a rejoinder at Montauban, in which he went out of his way to use expressions of kindness and goodwill towards Germany. However, M. de Freycinet was destined to discover in a few weeks the folly of attempting to be independent of M. Gambetta. Acting under M. Gambetta's directions, four of the Ministry sent in their resignations, and M. de Freycinet, finding himself without support in other quarters, was obliged to retire. The reconstruction of the Cabinet

was entrusted to M. Jules Ferry, and it appeared as if his reign would be as brief as that of M. de Freycinet. There seemed but little chance of extracting any credit from his relations with Great Britain. During nearly the whole of the year communication had been dragging on for the renewal of the commercial treaty between the two nations, and the French Minister in London, M. Leon Say, had succeeded in arranging bases for negotiation with Mr. Gladstone. Upon his recall to France, however, to preside in the Senate, he was treated with some obloquy because of his concessions in the direction of Free Trade, and his successor, M. Challemel-Lacour, showed no disposition to grapple for the present with the complicated problem.

Another Protectionist Republic, that of the United States, was engaged in preparing for the impending Presidential election. The great question was whether there should be so complete a departure from precedent as that implied in the choice of General Grant for the third time. It was decided against him at the meeting of the Electoral Convention at Chicago in June, when he failed to secure the requisite majority; and, after numerous balloting, the choice of the electors fell upon General Garfield, whose name was not on the original list of candidates. The Democrats held their rival convention shortly afterwards, when Mr. Tilden, oppressed, no doubt, by the consciousness of his unpopularity with his party, withdrew from the competition, and the choice of the electors fell upon General Hancock and Mr. English. The campaign previous to the declaration of the poll was exceptionally active, and as the hour drew nigh the Republicans were much inspirited by the triumph of their party at the autumn elections to vacant seats in Congress. The Presidential election took place on the 2nd of November, when General Garfield was successful by a majority of thirty-four votes. The new Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, promptly presented the French Government with a statement of opposition, based on the Monroe doctrine, which seemed to argue little chance of success for M. de Lesseps's projected Panama Canal. The relations between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, on the other hand, continued to be satisfactory, and the arrangements for the completion of the railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific went on apace.



MR. PARNELL. (From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1881—The Trial of the Traversers—The Queen's Speech—Debate in the Upper House—Debate in the House of Commons—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. McCarthy's Resolution—The Protection of Persons and Property Bill—The Speaker's *coup d'état*—Suspension of the Home Rulers—Mr. Gladstone's Resolution—Debates on the Report and the Third Reading—The Arms Bill—Debates in the Lords on Afghanistan—Speeches of Lord Lytton and Lord Derby—Lord Beaconsfield's last great Speech—His Illness and Death—Mr. Gladstone's Estimate of his Character—The Irish Land Bill—Reports of the Richmond and Bessborough Commissions—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Land Court—The Court as a Land Commission—The Peroration—Resignation of the Duke of Argyll—The Easter Recess—Attitude of the Conservatives and Home Rulers—Lord John Manners' Amendment and Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Division—The Bill in Committee—Mr. Gladstone's Concessions—The Arrears Clause—Clauses on Loans and Emigration—The Land Commission—The Final Clauses—The Third Reading—Lord Salisbury's Speech in the Lords—Amendments in Committee—Their Reception by the Commons—Lord Salisbury's Ultimatum—Mr. Gladstone's Compromise—Remainder of the Session.

THE chief topics of discussion on New Year's Day, 1881, were the prospect of war between Turkey and Greece, and the condition of Ireland, the trial of Mr. Parnell and his friends, and guesses at the scope of the Land and Coercion Bills. The latter measure had been brought before the Cabinet in

the previous week, and in a letter to Mr. Gladstone the Chief Secretary was constrained to chronicle "a large and progressive increase of outrages, especially in maiming cattle and firing into dwellings—the worst forms of intimidation." The trial of the traversers attracted little interest, inasmuch as its result was looked upon as a foregone conclusion. A pleasing incident marked the beginning of the case, showing that the authorities were impressed with the desire to see justice done. Three judges took their seat on the bench, but Lord Chief Justice May, before the proceedings commenced, announced his intention of retiring, in order that all suspicion of partiality might be removed. There is no need to describe the legal sparring and the extracts from speeches delivered at Land League meetings, which were the leading features of the trial. Mr. Parnell did not attend, but left his fortunes in the hands of Mr. Macdonough, Q.C., who had formerly appeared for the defence of Mr. O'Connell, and repaired to London, there to fight the battle of Home Rule with the weapon of obstruction. After an impartial summing-up from Justice Fitzgerald, the jury reported, as had been foreseen, that they were unable to agree and were accordingly discharged. Bonfires and general rejoicings, together with an attack on the house of one of the jurymen who was stated to have been for a condemnatory verdict, showed the opinion of the Dublin mob.

When Mr. Parnell returned from a triumphant reception at Dublin, Parliament had been sitting for some weeks, and Members had wasted themselves in much fruitless labour. The two Houses had reassembled on the 6th of January and at once set to work to consider what could be done for Ireland. The Queen's Speech treated of little else. After allusions to the settlement of the Montenegrin frontier, to the non-settlement of the Greek frontier, to the disturbances in the Transvaal and in Basutoland, to the approaching evacuation of Candahar, it plunged *in medias res*, and stated that in spite of the great diminution of the distress "the social condition of Ireland had assumed an alarming character." Agrarian crimes had multiplied far beyond recent experience, and though attempts on life had not grown in the same proportion, that was due to the police protection afforded by the executive. Justice had been frustrated through the impossibility of procuring evidence, and an extended system of terror had paralysed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties. It had been deemed expedient in the first instance to rely upon

the ordinary law; but its inefficiency had been demonstrated, and proposals were to be submitted for additional powers necessary, not only for the vindication of order and public law, but to secure protection of life and property, and personal liberty of action. Still the work of legislative improvement was to be prosecuted, and the development of the principles of the Land Act of 1870 was desired in a manner conformable to the special wants of Ireland, both as regards the relation of landlord and tenant, and the increase of a peasant proprietary; all obstacles arising from the limitation of the ownership of property were also to be removed. A Bill for the establishment of county government in Ireland was also promised, together with a number of measures for England and Scotland.

The debates on the Address in the Upper House attracted very little attention. Lord Beaconsfield dealt largely with foreign affairs, and then turning to Ireland, he contended that in his letter to the Duke of Marlborough he had predicted accurately that if care was not taken something might happen worse than pestilence or famine. Mr. Gladstone, however, had thought fit to declare that Ireland was unusually happy and prosperous, to supersede the Duke of Richmond's Land Commission by the Bessborough Commission, and to decline to renew the Peace Preservation Act, which the late Government were prepared to renew. In conclusion, he advised Government to introduce Bills adequate to the occasion and to proceed with them *de die in diem*. To this Lord Granville replied—and Lord Spencer heartily supported him—that in his opinion Government had acted quite rightly in refraining from asking for coercive measures immediately. He acknowledged the state of Ireland to be painful and humiliating, and urged the House to grant the powers and pass the remedial measures demanded.

Of the eleven nights' discussion in the House of Commons it is unnecessary to say much, and it will be sufficient to disentangle its more salient features from the overwhelming mass of verbiage. From the first it was evident that obstruction was intended by the Parnellites, who were stirred by the announcement that Mr. Forster would immediately introduce two repressive measures (a Preservation of Property Bill and an Arms Bill), and that these would have precedence of all other business. For awhile the debate on the Address followed a parallel line to that in the Upper House. Sir Stafford Northcote took Government to task for not having sooner applied coercion, and

pointed out that the Land League had been allowed to assume the entire government of Ireland. He promised on behalf of his party that remedial measures should have candid consideration, but it must be on their own merits, not for the sake of pacifying Ireland and giving content to a body of men who were subverting the principles of liberty and justice. To this Mr. Gladstone replied that the late Government, by dissolving when they did, must have known that they had made the renewal of the Peace Preservation Act impossible; the passing of a new Act would have aroused bitter hostility and consumed a great deal of time. It was not until December that the resources of the law had been fully exhausted and Parliament had been summoned at the earliest possible date. Repressive measures were no remedy for the wrongs of Ireland, but a remedy lay in the direction of the Land Act of 1870. In conclusion, he made a noble appeal to both sides of the House to approach the difficult task without personal and party feeling.

On the second night Mr. Parnell rose to move an amendment that "the peace and tranquillity of Ireland could not be promoted by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the Irish people." In an exceedingly clever speech he protested against the alarmist tone of the English newspapers, though as a matter of fact outrages were below the average of the last thirty or forty years. The objects of the Land League were 1st, to prevent rack-renting; 2ndly, to enable tenants to become owners of their own farms by paying a fair rent for a limited number of years; and 3rdly, to facilitate the working of the Bright clauses of the Land Act. He declared that the leading members of the League had never ceased to reprobate outrages, that their choice lay between an open and a secret agitation, an agitation necessitated by the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. In conclusion, he asked whether it was worthy of a Liberal party of unexampled strength and liberality to allow themselves, immediately on coming into office, to be made the catspaw of the minority over in Ireland. Later, Mr. Forster, in an impressive speech, defended Government from those who accused it of being too weak and from those who accused it of being too severe. He asserted, as Mr. Gladstone had done before him, that Government had been justified in relying on the ordinary law; it was necessary to teach the authorities of Ireland to depend on their own resources, not upon external British force. Accordingly 591 police had been sent into the

proclaimed counties, and the number of troops had been increased from 19,000 to 26,000; there had been 217 applications for police assistance and only three had been refused. Extraordinary powers were, however, necessitated by the fact that outrages were daily increasing instead of diminishing, and that they were invariably the result of the speeches of Mr. Parnell and his friends.

Mr. Shaw's speech, as a member of the Land Commission, was heard with great attention. His assertion that the commission was unanimously in favour of the creation of a court to determine a fair rent between landlord and tenant, was received as an intimation of the probable direction of the new Land Bill. He defended the Land League in a measure because it had not created but only organised the agitation. Lord Hartington spoke with weight on the necessity of coercion, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in a speech the moderation of which won general praise, promised the support of his party, provided the law was properly administered, to a reasonable settlement of the land question. After this, the debate dragged, and when a division was taken on Mr. Parnell's amendment, it was rejected by 135 against 57, the Home Rulers being reinforced by eight English Radicals.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, who had recently been elected Vice-President of the Home Rule Party, thereupon interposed with a resolution requesting the Crown to refuse the aid of police constabulary and military in enforcing ejections for non-payment of rent, until a decision had been come to with regard to the Government proposals for modifying the relation of landlord and tenant. This produced an indignant remonstrance from Mr. Gladstone, both on account of the unconstitutional nature of the demand, and the folly of thus delaying the production of remedial measures by "the renewal night after night of spontaneous debate aimed at no practical conclusion." Lord John Manners, on behalf of the Opposition, expressed his hearty approval of Mr. Gladstone's sentiments, but the Irish Members were furious, and Mr. Parnell, forsaking the conciliatory demeanour with which he had moved his amendment, declared roundly that landlordism must go, in order that there might no longer be a class in Ireland in favour of British rule, and said that he thought rebellion against England would be justifiable if there was any chance of success, thereby, as Sir Stafford Northcote pointed out, speaking as if he were an equal power addressing the power and Crown of England. Two nights were consumed

on Mr. McCarthy's amendment, which was then rejected by a large majority. Mr. Dawson came to the rescue of his compatriots with an amendment relating to the Irish Borough Franchise, which occupied two more sittings, and then Mr. Gladstone, amidst general cheering, declined to discuss an amendment of Mr. O'Kelly's, "that the people of Ireland should be guaranteed their rights of public meeting." Mr. Forster gave the assurance that meetings were prohibited only when there was a danger of breach of the peace. Thereupon the Home Rulers suddenly collapsed, and on January the 22nd, after eleven nights of debate, the report to the Address was taken.

Mr. Parnell prepared to oppose Mr. Forster's measures of coercion with even more determined pugnacity. The Chief Secretary for Ireland introduced his Protection of Persons and Property Bill in an extremely able and, as one of his adversaries acknowledged, temperate speech. First he set himself to prove the need of extraordinary measures, and his figures were certainly startling. The number of outrages in 1880, excluding threatening letters, had been 1,253, and this, allowing for the increase of population, was more than double the number in the worst year of the Irish famine. The outrages had been rapidly increasing up to the end of the year, and the area of disaffection was considerably enlarged. Moreover, deeds of violence had followed immediately upon meetings of the Land League. The law itself was powerless; during the three months ending with January, the apprehensions for agrarian offences did not reach a higher rate than 16 per cent.; for non-agrarian offences it was 47 per cent.—an average which was no worse than that of the rest of the United Kingdom. People were not arrested because no one would give evidence against them. Mr. Forster divided these people into three categories: Those who remained of the Old Ribbon and other secret societies of former days; a large number of Fenians who hoped to find in the general confusion opportunities for promoting their particular views; and, in the third place, men who were the *mauvais sujets* of their neighbourhood, ruffians who were shunned by every respectable man, but who were active policemen in support of the unwritten law. Since the resolve of Government to introduce a Coercion Bill had become known, outrages had sensibly diminished, partly because these ruffians were frightened and partly because members of the Land League had at last really begun to preach against them. In any case coercion was necessary. Mr. Forster's

proposed cure was the power to arrest without evidence and detain as a person accused of a crime any person who, before or after the passing of the Act, could be reasonably suspected of having been guilty of high treason or treason-felony in any district of Ireland, and any one in the proscribed districts who had committed any crime of the nature of violence or intimidation, or had incited to any such act as tended to interfere with or disturb the maintenance of law and order.

The speeches on the first night were uninteresting. On the following night Mr. Gladstone moved that Mr. Forster's Bills should have precedence of all other business, and the resolution was carried after a wearisome sitting of twenty-two hours. Only one good speech marked the progress of the debate. Mr. Bright made a fine defence of the Anti-Corn-Law League, which The O'Donoghue had wished to compare with the Land League, and promised that the Land Bill would be "a great and comprehensive measure and a durable monument to this Parliament, and to the Administration of which my right honourable friend is the head." This was on Friday, January 27th, but the debate dragged on during the next Monday and Tuesday nights without any prospect of its coming to an end. At length, at half-past nine on Wednesday morning, the Speaker determined on a bold *coup d'état*. He entered the House, told Mr. Biggar, who was then speaking, to resume his seat, and said that the motion for leave to bring in the Protection Bill had now been waiting for above five days, that the present sitting had lasted for forty-one hours, and that a crisis had thus arisen which demanded the prompt interposition of the Chair and the House. "A new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded, and I am satisfied that I shall best carry out the will of the House, and may rely on its support, if I decline to call upon any more Members to speak, and at once proceed to put the question from the Chair. I feel assured that the House will be prepared to exercise all its powers in giving effect to these proceedings." The question was then put and carried by 164 to 19. Mr. McCarthy then attempted to speak, but the Speaker declined to hear him, and the Home Rulers, after shouting for some time "Privilege," "Privilege," bowed to the Chair and left the House. Mr. Forster then brought in his Bill amid cheers.

A few minutes afterwards Mr. Gladstone gave notice of a motion the upshot of which was to place greatly increased powers in the Speaker's hands, inasmuch as it was proposed that whenever



THE SPEAKER'S COUP D'ÉTAT: WITHDRAWAL OF THE IRISH HOME RULERS. (See p. 500.)

a notice was given that a measure was urgent, and the House had resolved by not less than three to one that it was so, the powers of the House for the regulation of its business upon several stages of its Bills, and upon motions and all other matters, should remain with the Speaker until he should declare that the state of public business was no longer urgent. At twelve o'clock, when Members after a few hours' rest reassembled for their arduous duties, the Home Rulers unexpectedly reappeared, attempted to question the Speaker's proceedings, and in desultory talk on motions for adjournment spun out the time of the House until its rising at six. On Thursday the struggle between the parties of order and disorder was brought for the time to a close. On the Speaker calling on Mr. Gladstone to move his urgency resolution, Mr. Dillon rose to a point of order, and declined to resume his seat when told to do so. He was thereupon suspended and after refusing to budge was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. The next victim was Mr. Parnell, who persisted in moving that Mr. Gladstone "be no longer heard," in spite of the frequent warnings from the Speaker. The third victim was Mr. Finnigan. Then, as Lord Richard Grosvenor, the Government whip, was unable to clear the House for a division owing to the refusal of the Home Rulers to leave their places, twenty-nine of them were suspended in a batch, and removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms, all declining to yield until nominal force was employed. Mr. O'Kelly and Mr. O'Donnell, who had not been present at the last division, kept up the struggle for a little while longer, but at length Mr. Gladstone was able to begin his speech. It was reported at the time that the conflict had been precipitated by the news of the arrest of Mr. Michael Davitt on the previous day.

In a speech of extraordinary cogency Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to move his resolution. Its chief points were that liberty of speech, as long as it did not prevent the proper discharge of Parliamentary duties, could not be too securely guarded, but that it was necessary to prevent its abuse. Recent events, however, had placed the House in a position of embarrassment and discredit, for which it was highly essential to find a prompt remedy. This would consist in placing the control of the procedure of the House from time to time in the Speaker's hands. "As you value the duties that have been committed to you, as you value the traditions that you have received, as you estimate highly the interests of this vast empire, I call

upon you without hesitation, after the challenges that have been addressed to you, after what you have suffered, to rally to the performance of a great public duty, and to determine that you will continue to be, as you have been, the mainstay and power and glory of your country, and that you will not degenerate into the laughing-stock of the world." Sir Stafford Northcote, in a speech full of generosity and friendship, cordially supported the Prime Minister, suggesting, however, the important limitations that only a Minister of the Crown should declare urgency, and that it should refer only to particular business, and both points were practically conceded. A division was taken on the number required to vote for urgency, Sir Stafford advocating the number 300, and the Prime Minister desiring that the contents should be in a majority of three to one in a House of at least 300, which arrangement was accepted. In deference to the extreme Liberals it was conceded that a private Member might put a stop to urgency, as well as the Speaker, by moving that business was no longer urgent, which motion was to be put without amendment or debate, and decided by a majority.

Armed with the closure, Mr. Forster proceeded to move the second reading of the Peace Preservation Act. It was opposed by Mr. Bradlaugh, who was supported by one or two extreme Radicals, the most eloquent of whom was Mr. Cowen. On the other side Mr. Gibson warmly praised the measure; Sir Stafford Northcote thought it well considered; and Lord Randolph Churchill, though holding that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright had stirred up Ireland by making it the battle-ground of party, and though he had not much confidence in the capacity of Mr. Forster, gave it his qualified support. The second reading was carried by 359 to 56 votes, seven English members being among the minority. This favourable state of affairs did not long continue, for in committee obstruction began again. One or two concessions were made by Mr. Forster. In deference to Members who argued with Mr. Dillwyn in condemning the retrospective character of the measure, Mr. Forster agreed that it should not affect offences committed before the 1st of October, 1880, when the great agitation began. He also accepted an amendment of Mr. O'Donnell's, which provided that the case of every imprisoned "suspect," as they were now called, should be re-examined by the Lord-Lieutenant at the end of three months. As the days dragged on, the evident intention of the Irish Members to talk against time and exhaust the patience of the House was suddenly

nipped in the bud by the Speaker, who once more came to the rescue of Government. On February the 18th he brought forward a set of the most stringent regulations, which were to empower the chairman of a committee to check frivolous amendments and irrelevant speeches by bringing the consideration of a Bill for which urgency had been declared to an abrupt conclusion within a certain time. At the request of the Conservative party, however, he substituted for those regulations a single rule which ran as follows:—“That on a motion being made after notice by a Minister of the Crown that, upon committee upon any Bill declared urgent, or upon the consideration of any such Bill as amended, the remaining clauses then standing on the notice paper shall after a certain day and hour be put forthwith; the question thereupon shall forthwith be put from the Chair, but shall not be resolved in the affirmative unless voted by a majority of three to one.”

On the 21st of February Mr. Gladstone asked that urgency should be declared if the debate in committee did not cease at midnight. Accordingly, when that hour arrived, Dr. Playfair put the remaining amendments in succession to the vote, and reported the Bill to the House. The Home Rulers forced a division on the Chairman leaving the chair, and another on the report being taken on the following day. The discussion of the Bill as amended was marked by a debate raised by Mr. Parnell, on a proposal to exclude arson-felony from the operation of the Act. He maintained that the rumours of Fenian attempts then current were absurdities, but Mr. Forster replied that there was every reason to believe that treason was at work, and Sir William Harcourt caused a great sensation by reading extracts from the speeches of the American Fenians, O'Donovan Rossa and John Devoy, in which wholesale arson, “with the aid of all the resources of modern science,” was warmly advocated. At the instance of Lord Hartington, the debate on report was ended by the application of the closure, and the third reading began. It was enlivened by two vigorous attacks on the Chief Secretary, one from Lord George Hamilton, who accused Government of first exciting and then repressing the Irish agrarian agitation; and the other from Mr. Cowen, who declared that it was highly inexpedient to entrust such extensive powers to a “nervous and inexperienced Lord-Lieutenant and a supercilious Chief Secretary.” The Coercion Bill, which had been over seven weeks in its passage through the House of Commons, was at last disposed of, 281

voting for the third reading, and only 36 against it. In the House of Lords proceedings which had occupied such an unreasonable amount of valuable time did not take up more than three days. Lord Beaconsfield supported it, but complained that it ought to have been introduced earlier and taunted the Ministry with having made Ireland the battleground of party politics; to which Lord Granville replied that if anyone had done so, it was the leader of the Opposition, who in his letter to the Duke of Marlborough had appealed directly to the constituencies on the question.

The Arms Bill was introduced, in the absence of Mr. Forster in Ireland, by Sir William Harcourt. With his animosity perhaps sharpened by a telegram from America, purporting to have been sent by John Devoy and threatening to “stamp him out,” the Home Secretary was in no melting mood and interspersed his argument with sarcastic remarks which cut the Irish Members to the quick. After quoting extracts from one of Mr. Dillon's incendiary harangues, in which he advised the farmers and their sons to have rifles and drill themselves, he drew a comparison between the Member for Tipperary, who, he said, had the courage of his convictions, and his leader, Mr. Parnell, who “advised the people to break the law one day, recanted the next, and disappeared from the scene on the third.” Sir William then informed them that—

“Bon Jean was a gallant captain,
In battle much delighting,
He fled full soon on the 1st of June,
But bade the rest keep fighting.”

He then proceeded to explain the proposed regulations of the Arms Act, which were to render the carrying of arms within a proclaimed district unlawful, except under certain conditions; to allow power to search the houses and persons of those suspected to be in possession of arms unlawfully, the hours of search being limited to the hours between sunrise and sunset, and the person and house to be searched being named in the warrant. The Lord-Lieutenant was to be empowered by Order in Council to regulate and prohibit the importation of arms in Ireland. The penalty was to be the imprisonment of the offenders for not more than three months without hard labour, and the Bill was to remain in force for five years.

The evil effects of what Lord Randolph Churchill not unjustly termed the “provocative and defiant” character of the Home Secretary's speech soon declared themselves when Mr. Dillon, in an impassioned piece of declamation, committed himself to

the remark that "the Irish had no means of waging civil war—he wished they had," and when Mr. Healy had to be suspended for thrice accusing Sir William of falsehood. Mr. O'Donnell was suspended for an unseemly wrangle with the Chair, and Mr. Finnigan was reprimanded for applying the expression "beastly bellowing" to sounds proceeding from the Treasury Bench. The news that twenty-three arrests had already been made under the Coercion Act by no means soothed their irritation. Finally, the urgency rules had to be brought into force in order to dispose of the enormous number of amendments brought forward by the Home Rulers. The third reading was chiefly remarkable for a speech of Lord Randolph Churchill's, who waxed eloquent on the results of the Coercion Act. "Trains," said he, "were arriving in Dublin from north, south, and west loaded with *mauvais sujets*." Finally, the Bill passed the Lower House by 236 to 36, and speedily ran its course in the House of Lords without amendment proposed or division taken. Thus, after much trying opposition, which had resulted in the abandonment of many measures of supreme importance to England and Scotland, the Coercion Acts became law, and Government were free to introduce their "message of peace to Ireland"—the new Land Bill.

During this period of tempest in the Commons even the serene atmosphere of the House of Lords experienced occasional disturbances. There were warm discussions on foreign policy, and especially with regard to the difficulties in Afghanistan. On the 10th of January Lord Lytton delivered his maiden speech in the House of Lords, and brought forward an apology for his administration, and was answered by the Duke of Argyll. On this side, at all events, the position of Government appeared to be impregnable: but the abandonment of Candahar was a far more open question and it was resolved by the Opposition to lead an attack on that point. In the interval, another of those extraordinary breaches of official confidence which were so frequent at the crisis of the Eastern question, led to the publication in the *Standard* newspaper of the secret papers found at Cabul during the British occupation. It could hardly be maintained that their evidence supported the Conservative contention that the Russians had continued their intrigues with Shere Ali after the signature of the Treaty of Berlin. Of General Kauffman's treaty of peace all trace had been destroyed by Yakoub Khan; but an abstract given on the authority of his Minister did not

appear to commit Russia to any sort of armed intervention on behalf of Afghanistan. Though these papers dealt a very serious blow at the contention of the Opposition that the Afghan war had been forced upon them, the majority in the House of Lords had a very strong case on Candahar. The assault was, according to etiquette, entrusted to Lord Lytton, who on the 3rd of March moved a resolution that "nothing in the information laid before the House justified the announced policy of the Government in regard to Candahar." The late Viceroy's speech was very much in the nature of a personal defence, and covered a wide ground, but on the question of Candahar itself he was very clear. If we retained it, he said, we could afford to ignore all Russian influence in Afghanistan and any revolutions at Cabul; moreover, we should have control through Calcutta of the whole of the export commerce of Central Asia. If it were given up, to whom should it be given? It was impossible to hand it over to Ayoub Khan; it could not be restored to Cabul, for the Candaharis hated the yoke of the Cabul power; and, moreover, Abdurrahman could barely hold his own in Northern Afghanistan. Candahar was, then, to be left as a prize, to be raffled for and rifled by every ambitious gamester in the sanguinary lottery of Afghan politics. Lord Derby, in reply, defended Government, and in a masterly speech proved that the retention of Candahar could be justified neither by reasons of expenditure, nor by reasons of policy, for the Afghans always hated the Power that was over them. As to military reasons, he admitted that the authorities on the subject were divided, but pointed out that in the event of a rising in India the Candahar garrison must be cut off; and that it was no loss of prestige to do in 1881 what the Government had promised to do in 1878. Lord Salisbury ridiculed the idea of Russia keeping her promises, and said that Afghanistan would be far more disposed to be loyal to a Power which advanced and never retreated than to one which retreated and provoked all the way. The adjourned debate commenced with a vigorous speech from Viscount Cranbrook on the anarchy of Candahar, the evil designs of Russia, and the baseness of deserting the tribes we had promised to support. The Duke of Argyll then made a careful and temperate speech, of which the main points were that the Russian advance in Central Asia was not a thing of to-day, and secondly that the late Government had continually shifted its policy and that the contention that the position at

Candahar could be maintained was untenable, for we must either advance right up to the Oxus or go back. It was late in the evening when Lord Beaconsfield delivered what proved to be his last political speech. He addressed a brilliant audience, for the occasion was no ordinary one: the Upper Chamber were about to pass what was practically a vote of censure on Government, and the gallery was full of the representatives of

prove a commercial burden any more than the Punjab and Scinde. The concluding passage of his speech was a characteristic piece of declamation which smote alike at both friend and foe. "I myself believe," said he, "that even if we abandoned Candahar we should still be able to retain our Indian Empire. I do not think that it is absolutely essential to us. There are some very important places which are called the keys of India.



HUGHENDEN CHURCH. (From a Photograph by Messrs. Taunt and Co., Oxford.)

the Great Powers. With the malady that was to bring him to the grave pressing heavily upon him, with the consciousness perhaps that all that could be said for the motion had been already said, he did not speak at any length. He declined to review the history of the Afghan war, but dwelt for a while on the relations between Britain and Russia, and defended himself from the charge that the war had been forced on the authorities at home by the Indian Government. Coming now to the question of Candahar, he said that the state of disintegration in which the country was left would be an admirable pretext for a Russian advance, and that there was no reason why Candahar should

There is Herat and there is Merv. I do not know whether Merv has yet been taken by the Russians. I see in the newspapers it is taken. Perhaps the First Lord of the Admiralty will be able to inform us. [Lord Northbrook: "It is not a seaport."] No; it is not a seaport, but in these days in Central Asia railways connect places with seaports. Still there is Merv; then there is Herat, Ghazni, Balkh, and Candahar. My opinion is that though such places may not be absolutely essential to us, yet that I should regret to see them in possession of any great military Power—I should look upon such an event with regret, and perhaps with some degree of apprehension; but even if the great

military Power were there I trust that we might be able to maintain our empire. My lords, the key to India is not Merv, or Herat, or Candahar. The key of India is London. The majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliaments, the inexhaustible resources of a free and ingenious and a determined people—these are the keys of India. But, my lords, a wise statesman would be chary in drawing upon what I may call the arterial resources of his power. He would seek to sustain his empire by resources prompt and ready at hand . . . If we pursue this policy Candahar is eminently one of the places which would contribute to the maintenance of the empire." Lord Granville's masterly reply had no effect on the peers, who passed a vote of censure on Government by 165 to 76.

For several days after he had gained this complete though somewhat empty triumph, Lord Beaconsfield was seen from time to time in his place in the House of Lords. The last words he uttered there were on March 15th, when it fell to his lot to second Lord Granville's motion for an address of condolence to the Queen on the occasion of the assassination of the Emperor of Russia by the ruthless hand of Nihilism. Soon afterwards it was reported that he was seriously ill, and though his fine constitution and buoyant vitality enabled him for a few days to battle successfully with the asthma which, aggravated by a severe attack of gout, was sapping his strength, yet relapse succeeded relapse, and his condition became highly critical. About the end of the fourth week of his illness the weather became mild and his health visibly improved, but with the return of the east wind he began to sink rapidly and on the 19th of April he died. His last moments were extremely peaceful and he passed away without a struggle and without suffering. Throughout his illness all classes in the land—from the Queen, who was prevented from visiting her late Minister only by the earnest representations of the doctors, to the poor man who could barely afford to spend a halfpenny on an evening paper—had been full of anxiety for his welfare. Lord Beaconsfield had been gratefully conscious of this and had more than once requested that bulletins which were to be sent to the papers should be read to him. All through he never tried to disguise from himself that the end was near. It was expected that he would have been buried in Westminster Abbey, and Mr. Gladstone immediately wrote proposing a public funeral, but Lord Beaconsfield was laid to rest by the side of his wife at Hughenden.

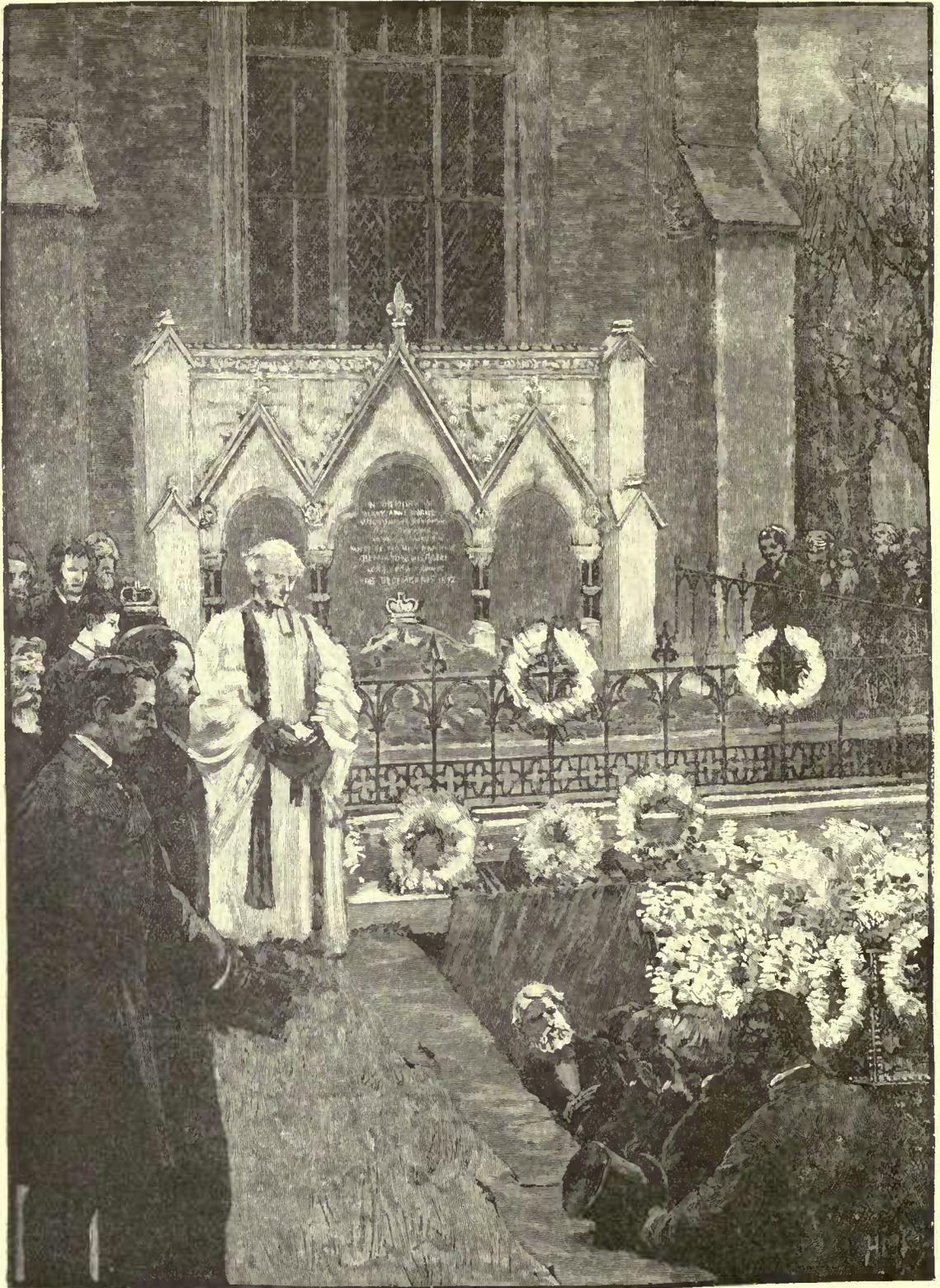
So passed away the most unique of English statesmen, and the political society of the country gave expression to a feeling of half bewildered consciousness that it had lost one of its two great men. No leader of the people in modern times ever found the path of life at the outset more overstrewn with difficulties, and no man ever overcame those difficulties with more complete success. In connection with him two facts stand prominently forward—that though Lord Beaconsfield was an alien and looked upon English society from the standpoint of an outsider, "with," as he says in one of his novels, "that absolute freedom from prejudice which is the compensatory possession of a man without a country," yet in practical politics he thoroughly identified himself with the national aspirations, and was thus enabled to assert the dignity of England at a moment when it was sorely needed. The other is this: that self-seeking and unscrupulous though he was at the outset of life, his inconsistencies were due not so much to disregard of obligations, as to his appreciation of the great truth that finality is impossible in politics. "Above all things," said he, "no programme." To the innate qualities of his nature, by the force of which Lord Beaconsfield triumphed over circumstances that would have been fatal to ninety-nine men out of a hundred, perhaps the worthiest tribute that has yet been paid is that contained in the speech of his rival, on the occasion of his moving a resolution that a monument should be erected to the departed statesman in Westminster Abbey "in recognition of his rare and splendid gifts, and of his devoted labours in Parliament and in the great offices of state." Mr. Gladstone said that it was no occasion to attempt a historical portraiture of Lord Beaconsfield, and he therefore dwelt only slightly upon the association of his name with the important change in the principle of Parliamentary Franchise, and its association with great European transactions, great European arrangements. "The deceased statesman," he continued, "had certain great qualities on which it would be idle for me to enlarge; his extraordinary intellectual powers, for instance, were as well known to others as to me; but they are not the proper subject of our present commendations. But other qualities there were in him, not merely intellectual or immediately connected with the conduct of affairs, but with regard to which I should wish, were I younger, to stamp the recollection of them on my mind for my own future guidance, and which I strongly recommend to those who are younger for notice and imitation.

They were qualities not only written in a marked manner on his career, but possessed by him in a degree undoubtedly extraordinary. I speak, for example, of his strength of will, his long-sighted persistency of purpose, reaching from his first entrance on the avenue of life to its very close, his remarkable power of self-government, and last, not least, his great Parliamentary courage, which I, who have been associated in the course of my life with some scores of Ministers, have, I think, never known but two in whom it was equalled." Then, after alluding to Lord Beaconsfield's strong sympathies with his race, his sympathies with the brotherhood of letters, and the strength of his home affections, Mr. Gladstone continued: "There is much misapprehension abroad as to the personal sentiments between public men who are divided in policy. Their words may necessarily from time to time be sharp; their judgments may occasionally be severe; but the general idea of persons less informed than those within the Parliamentary circle is that they are actuated by sentiments of intense antipathy or hatred for one another. I wish to take this occasion, if with the permission of the House I may for a moment degenerate into egotism, of recording my firm conviction that in all the judgments ever delivered by Lord Beaconsfield upon myself he never was actuated by sentiments of personal antipathy. It is a pleasure to me to make that acknowledgment. The feeling on my part is not a new one, but the acknowledgment of it could hardly have been made with propriety on an earlier occasion, and hon. Members must excuse me for having thus obtruded it upon them."

Ever since the beginning of the year, since the Queen's Speech had promised a new measure for the amendment and extension of the Land Act of 1870, speculation had been rife as to what the nature of the new remedy would be. At first it was feared that it would be weak, and deputations not only of Irish but of English Liberals as well, waited on the Premier in order to strengthen his hands; and though he refused to disclose the great secrets, he sent them away with an assurance that he would introduce a thorough measure. Fortunately at this critical moment the reports of the two Land Commissions, those of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Bessborough, appeared, and gave in a succinct form the evidence that was so indispensable towards the formation of an independent judgment. It was observed that even in the commission appointed by the Conservative Government a strong minority, including Lord Cairngford, Mr. Stansfeld, and Mr. Mitchell Henry,

were in favour of granting the "three Fs" outright, and that the majority, including rigid Conservatives like the Dukes of Richmond and Buccleuch, Mr. Chaplin, and Lord Vernon, only mildly condemned them. As might be expected from the tenor of Mr. Shaw's speech on the Address, the report of the Bessborough Commission was considerably more outspoken. It was an extremely able document, proving conclusively that neither the Ulster Tenant Right nor the Land Act of 1870 had conferred sufficient protection on tenants against arbitrary rent-raising. They urged that the movement against rent was no reason for refusing to legislate, and that the evidence of the tenant-farmers had been extremely moderate. They recommended a Land Act for the whole of Ireland, the effect of which would amount to "the enlargement of the tenancy from year to year into a new kind of statutory tenure, defeasible only upon decree of the Land Court, for the breach of certain well-ascertained conditions, and held subject to the payment of a rent, the amount of which should in the last resort be fixed neither by the landlord nor by the tenant, but by substituted authority. To these two concessions, commonly spoken of under the names of Fixity of Tenure and Fair Rent, that of a right of free sale has usually been appended. This also, on the principle of recognising the existing order of things, we think it would be expedient to establish." The reports concluded with the expression of a hope that if a strong remedy were applied to the evils from which the country suffered, Ireland might become pacified, "although the habit of agitation is not unlearned in a day." Mr. Kavanagh did not sign this report, but added one of his own, which advocated the placing of considerable restrictions on the "three Fs," though it conceded them in principle.

The main lines of Mr. Gladstone's "message of peace" were thus known with some accuracy for several weeks before, on April 7th, he introduced the Land Bill of 1881. In its preparation he had been greatly aided by Mr. Forster, who was a strong advocate of the "three Fs." Never was the Prime Minister seen to greater advantage than when unfolding the details of his elaborate scheme. For two hours and twenty minutes his exposition of the remedial measures was heard with the profoundest attention. He began by inquiring what were the grounds on which it was thought necessary to proceed to legislate for Ireland. It was not the iniquity of the Irish Land Laws, nor the extreme schemes for expropriating the landlords, nor the tyranny of that class as a whole, which



FUNERAL OF LORD BEACONSFIELD AT HUGHENDEN. (See p. 506.)

obliged Government to deal with the question, but "land hunger" aggravated by bad seasons, and the failure of the Land Act of 1870 to stop both arbitrary raisings of rent and harsh and cruel evictions. "It may seem hard, where there are so many landlords with whom we have not a shred of title to interfere, were it possible to separate their case from other cases around them, that they must be liable to interference on account of the acts or omissions of the few; but so it is, and so it must be, under the iron necessity of public affairs."

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to show that although both the Land Commissions differed enormously from each other and between themselves on every conceivable point, yet both were in favour of legislative interference between landlord and tenant, and that even the Duke of Richmond's Commission implied, though it did not mention, the necessity of a Land Court. This court must take cognisance of rent and also of tenure and assignment, that is, free sale. Was this court to be compulsory or optional? Mr. Gladstone thought that if it were established by law that a tenant might go into court, it was impossible for the landlord to bring any intimidation, direct or indirect, to prevent him from doing so; while, on the other hand, there might be cases in which landlord and tenant might prefer to conclude their own arrangements without the compulsory aid of public authority. The first purpose of the court would be to find a "judicial rent," such a rent being determined by a reference to a solvent tenant on the one side, and on the other by a due regard to the value of the tenant-right. When the court had fixed the rent, that rent was to carry with it a statutory term of fifteen years during which there was to be no change. During that period there was to be no eviction of the tenant without leave of the court, except for the breach of certain specified covenants or for the non-payment of rent; resumption on the part of the landlord was permitted under no pretext whatever, but he might effect a compulsory sale of the tenant-right in the case of a breach of its conditions. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years, application might be made to the court for the renewal of the tenancy *toties quoties*. When it was renewed, the conditions as to evictions would remain the same, but after the expiration of the next term of fifteen years the landlord might, with the approval of the court, resume possession. The landlord had also the right of pre-emption in case the tenant wished to sell his tenant-right; if he did not purchase it the tenant again became the possessor of

the holding. In cases where the English system prevailed, that is, where the holding had been maintained and improved by the landlord, no new and exceptional state of things should be brought about. On the contrary, "ordinary tendencies" were to be invested with the right of assignment, *i.e.* sale of tenant-right, the landlord having the right of pre-emption of the tenant-right, which he might either buy in the open market, or have its price fixed by the court. In cases where landlords proposed an increase of rent, if the tenant accepted it, it could not be raised again for fifteen years; if he refused it he had three remedies—he might sell his tenant-right, or he might fall back on compensation for disturbance and compensation for improvements, or he might exercise his right to go into court and demand the fixing of a judicial rent.

Other general provisions of the Bill were as follows:—The Ulster tenant would have the right of remaining under his custom, but he would also have the protection of the general provisions of the Bill for controlling augmentation of rents. With regard to leases, any lease which was to be exempt from the provisions of the Bill was to be a "judicial lease;" fixed tenancies at fee-farm rents might be established by consent of landlord and tenant, but not compulsorily; and all power to contract out of the Bill would be confined to tenancies of £150 a year and upwards.

Turning to the second part of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone said that the court would also be from another point of view a Land Commission regulating the tribunals below it. It was to consist of three persons, one of whom must always be a judge or ex-judge of the Supreme Court; it would have the authority of appointing assistant commissioners and sub-commissioners to sit in the provinces. The object of the commission was to establish facilities for the acquisition of land by tenants in cases where the landlord was willing to sell and the tenants were willing to buy. The advance would be three-fourths of the purchase money, and the tenants would not be precluded from borrowing the remainder. Purchasing tenants would have a guaranteed title, and would be charged only a small sum for law costs. Advances would likewise be made for agricultural improvements, including the reclamation of waste lands, to both tenants and companies, and also for purposes of emigration, and no limit would be placed on the gross sum to be advanced. "It is said," was Mr. Gladstone's brilliant peroration, "that we have failed in Ireland. I do not admit failure. I admit the success

to be incomplete. If I am asked how it is to be made complete, I say by patient perseverance in well-doing, by steady adherence to the work of justice. Then we shall not depend upon the results of the moment. It will not be what to-day may say or what to-morrow may say; it will be rather what fruits we are to reap in the long future of a nation's existence, and with that we have a reckoning which cannot fail. Justice is to be our guide. It has been said that love is stronger than death; and so justice is stronger than popular excitement, than the passion of the moment, even than the grudges, the resentments, and the sad traditions of the past. Walking in that path we cannot err; guided by that light—that divine light—we are safe. Every step that we take on our road is a step that brings us nearer to the goal; and every obstacle, even although it seem for the moment to be insurmountable, can only for a little while retard, and never can defeat the final triumph."

That the Bill was an honest attempt to remedy the wrongs of Ireland was acknowledged without reservation by the newspapers of both parties and by the authorities, Mr. Shaw and others, who took part in the conversation which followed its introduction. The second part of the Bill, relating to the commission and the advances to tenants, was received with great approval, but it was pointed out that it provided continuity rather than fixity of tenure, and that the details of the clauses which had reference to that provision were likely to work in a very complicated fashion. The crucial question was of course how the measure would be received by the House of Lords, and on that point there was considerable cause for apprehension, the retirement of the Duke of Argyll from the Ministry being generally regarded as a sign of the times. On the day before the Easter recess, he announced that he must separate the close political connection which for twenty-nine years had existed between himself and Mr. Gladstone. He heartily approved of getting rid of all restrictions which constituted "limited ownership" of land, but his opinion was that the Government scheme would tend to "paralyse the ownership of land in Ireland, by placing it for all time to come under new fetters and regulations under which it is not placed in any other civilised country in the world." Lord Carlingford, who had large experience in Irish affairs, took the vacant place in the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal.

At this juncture Lord Beaconsfield died, and the Conservative party, for the moment leaderless and

bewildered, were hardly in a condition to offer to so complex a measure much effective criticism. Accordingly, speeches on the subject during the recess were chiefly limited to Home Rulers, who followed their leader, Mr. Parnell, in severely condemning the adoption of emigration for the relief of over-population instead of migration to uncultivated districts, and in expressing their belief that the poorer class of tenants would gain very little benefit from the fair rent provisions. Soon after Parliament had met again, on April 26th, the Conservative party commended its fortunes to the guidance of two leaders, Sir Stafford Northcote in the Lower, and Lord Salisbury in the Upper House. The choice of the latter occasioned some surprise, as the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Cairns were all considered to have prior claims. Thus reconstituted they prepared to attack the Land Bill, and, in the Commons, Mr. Gibson was deputed to lead the way. This he did in a speech of some ability, which pointed out that the Bill would ensure litigation for ever, and that it would be better to pass a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the landlord at once and to drop the farce of pretending that this was an honest Bill. These vigorous remarks were, however, to a certain extent premature, since his leaders had not yet defined the attitude they would assume with regard to the Bill. This was accomplished at a meeting held a few days afterwards at the Carlton Club, the result of which was that Lord John Manners brought forward an amendment which, while expressing a hope that customs like the Ulster custom should be preserved, and the Land Act of 1870 remedied, the House "was disposed to seek for the social and material improvement of Ireland by measures for the development of its industrial resources, rather than by a measure that confuses, without settling on a general and permanent basis, the relations between landlord and tenant." About this time Mr. Parnell, violently irritated by the arrest of Mr. Dillon under the Coercion Act, called his followers together, and made them promise, upon threat, it was said, of resignation, that they would not vote for the second reading of the Land Bill. Greatly to their credit, Mr. O'Connor Power and Mr. A. M. Sullivan refused to obey him and retired from the party.

With these cross-interests at work, it was no wonder that the debate on the second reading was somewhat rambling and confused. Lord John Manners' amendment failed to inspire much enthusiasm into the rank and file of his party; and Lord

Elcho, though professedly speaking to it, denounced the "Brummagem Girondists" who had raised passions which they could not control, and railed against the Land Bill as being based not on the "three Fs," but on the "one R," that is "robbery." As the debate went on new points arose, and the persistency with which the measure was attacked in detail showed the difficulty experienced by politicians on both sides in grasping its significance as a whole; for instance, Mr. W. H. Smith confined himself mainly to the point that Irishmen were very bad debtors and that the experiment of turning Government into a universal landlord was likely to fail. For the next week no contribution of importance was made, except that Ulstermen of all shades of opinion spoke warmly in favour of the Bill, and that Mr. Bright defended it with much of his old fire, on the ground that it aimed at the distribution of landed property among as many people as possible, its main object being the security of the tenant. At the beginning of the third week Mr. Gladstone unexpectedly interposed and proceeded to remove one after another the misconceptions that prevailed. First of all with regard to the expressions "confiscation" and "compensation," he pointed out that as the first did not exist, the second was not to follow. He proved that the cry of compensation was unjust, because the object of the Bill was not to carve new interests for the tenants out of the landlords' property, but to instruct the Land Court to take into account what the interest of the tenant really was, whether arising out of a tenant-right like that existing in Ulster, or that created by the Act of 1870, or from a *pretium affectionis*, and that the landlord on his side would have redress against an excessive interpretation of the tenant-right. "The basis of the Bill lies in the land scarcity of Ireland, and its principle is this: a frank acceptance of the Irish custom, especially the custom of tenant-right, and secondly the introduction of judicial authority to settle a grievance between man and man with regard to agricultural holdings." He pointed out that this last most radical proposal had been distinctly promulgated by Mr. Disraeli during the debates on the Land Bill of 1870, and that the Richmond Commission, of which Mr. Chaplin was a member, had drawn up a recommendation to the same effect. The result of throwing out the Bill, and therefore the Government, would be the dominance of Mr. Parnell, who would force the Conservatives to carry a still more revolutionary measure. After this statesmanlike speech, Mr. Chaplin was the

only member of the Conservative party who still raised the cry of confiscation. Colonel Stanley and Sir Stafford Northcote spoke against the Bill, but their condemnation was very mild, and they were fairly open to Lord Hartington's rebuke for not knowing their own minds. After his speech, the House divided. Seldom had Government obtained a more complete triumph. The numbers were 352 against 176, exactly two to one. Of the Irish Members, only nine voted against the Bill, Mr. Parnell and a following of twenty-seven stayed away, and the Ulster Conservatives went into the lobby with the majority. The remainder of the House divided chiefly on party lines, only one Conservative, Sir B. Leighton, voting for the second reading, but many more absented themselves without pairing, fearing, no doubt, to offend the susceptibilities of the tenant-farmers.

On the 26th of May the Bill reached the Committee stage, and in order to make satisfactory progress with the eight thousand and odd amendments that were eventually placed on the Order Book, it was determined to devote every available hour and day to their consideration. Nevertheless, not much advance was made before the Whitsuntide recess; in fact, all that was done was to agree to exactly six lines of the Bill. When the House reassembled, business was disposed of at a more rapid rate. Government agreed to direct the court "to ascertain the true value" of a tenant-right instead of "settling" its value, as before; and after a very vigorous debate defeated by a majority of twenty-five Mr. Heneage's amendment, which was supported by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and the rest of the Whigs, providing that all estates managed on the English system—*i.e.* where the landlord made the improvements—should be exempted from the conditions of free sale. This Pyrrhic victory was regarded with grim foreboding by Mr. Gladstone's warm supporters, as ominous of the fate of the Bill when it reached the House of Lords.

The third week in June witnessed the acceptance by Mr. Gladstone of several important concessions to English opinion, among which the most striking was a provision that landlords as well as tenants might apply to the court to have the rent fixed, an arrangement against which he had raised several objections during the debate on the second reading. Further, the Prime Minister promised to deal with the highly important questions of arrears and leaseholders, both of which were causing much ferment in Ireland. He also gave notice that he would withdraw the special

instructions in Clause 7, which were to be submitted in the tenants' interest to the court, when a question of "fair rent" was to be decided, but this produced such a loud outcry from the Ulster Liberals that he thought it advisable to accept an amendment of Mr. Charles Russell's, directing the court to have regard to the interests of the landlord and tenant respectively in determining the fair rent. Two days previously, it being now the end of June, and only four clauses having been passed, Mr. Gladstone moved that the several stages of the Land Bill should have precedence of all orders of the day and notices of motion, on all days when it was set down among the orders. The result was that the Bill progressed much more rapidly, this desired result being aided by the fact that the contentious matter of the "three Fs" was at last in a fair way of settlement.

The question of arrears was entrusted to Mr. Forster, who explained the new clause to be added to the Bill. It concerned only tenancies of less than £30 a year, and provided that when the tenant had paid his rent for 1880, or as much of it as the landlord would accept, the commission should have power to advance from the Irish Church surplus to the landlord half the arrears for the two bad years of 1878 and 1879. This loan was to be repaid by the landlord in fifteen years, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, while the tenant was to allow this payment to be added by instalments to his rent. Late in July this clause was added to the Bill.

The Committee had now reached the clauses framed on the model of the "Bright clauses" of the Land Act of 1870, empowering the Land Commission to advance money to the tenant for the purchase of his holding. Some of the Irish Members contended that the whole sum should be advanced on the security of the holding. Mr. Litton, an Ulster Member of much ability, held out for four-fifths, but Mr. Gladstone declined to go beyond three-fourths, wisely arguing that there was great danger in pledging the security of the taxes to too large an extent. A violent tempest broke out on the relative merits of emigration and migration, a subject on which the Home Rulers expressed themselves very bitterly, to the effect that the former palliative was designed with the deliberate intent of exterminating the people of Ireland. Although Mr. Gladstone was unable to accept *in toto* Mr. Parnell's proposal, that money should be advanced from time to time to Boards of Guardians for the purpose of reclaiming waste lands, he consented to enlarge the original provision by authorising loans to companies as well as

to individuals. Nevertheless, this did not soothe the resentment of the Irish Members, and it was not until nearly a week had been wasted in obstruction that Mr. Forster smoothed over the difficulty by limiting the sum to be expended in aid of emigration to £200,000 in all, not more than a third of which was to be at the disposal of the commission for any one year.

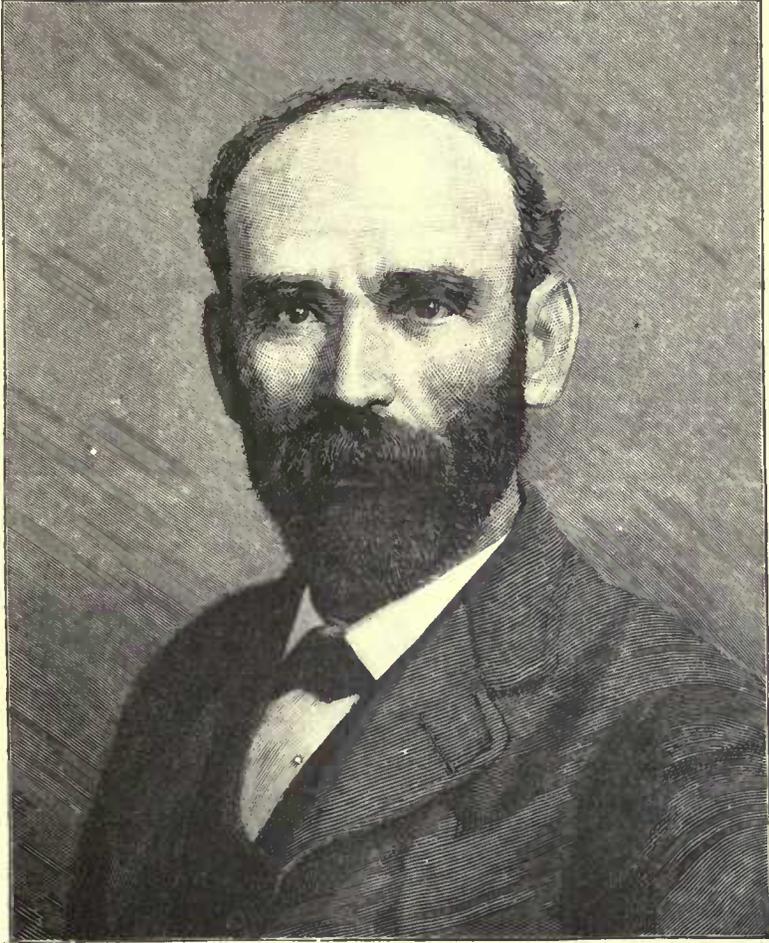
At the beginning of the third week in July Mr. Gladstone made known the names of the Land Law Commissioners. They were Mr. Serjeant O'Hagan as judicial commissioner; Mr. Vernon, a land-agent of great ability and good repute; and Mr. Litton, M.P. It was understood that seats on the commission had been offered to Mr. Law, the Irish Attorney-General, and to Mr. Shaw, M.P., and had been declined by both. The Irish Members at first threatened opposition, and proposed especially several substitutes for Mr. Vernon, among whom were "Chinese" Gordon and Sir George Campbell, but eventually they recognised that the appointments were fairly made, and the discussion dropped.

The Bill had by this time been safely steered through Committee, all but the final clauses. Some important modifications were made in them; for instance, it was provided that existing leaseholders on the termination of their leases should have the status of "present tenants"—that is, should have the right to apply at once to the court for a judicial decision of a fair rent, and all leases which had been unfairly obtained under the Land Act of 1870 were to be subjected to the court. New clauses were also added, on the motion of Mr. Forster, empowering the Land Commission to authorise sub-letting for the purpose of providing labourers with cottages, and to fix the rent of those cottages; and an amendment, proposed by Mr. Parnell, allowing tenants evicted since the 1st of May, 1880, to have the benefit of the arrears' clause if their landlord chose to reinstate them, was also accepted. The remaining discussions were on the rejected clause of Sir Walter Barttelot, the object of which was to compel the commission to buy from the landlord any holding coming under the Act that he wished to sell, and of Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, designed to exclude from the operations of the rent-fixing clause all holdings above the amount of £100 a year. On this point he united the Whigs and Conservatives, and very nearly carried his point, the numbers being 241 against, and 205 for the amendment. The last contest was on an amendment of Mr. Parnell's providing that a landlord should not be allowed to

force on the sale of the tenant's right before the court had fixed a judicial rent, which was accepted by Government, much to the indignation of the Tories.

The debate on the third reading resulted in the complete failure of Lord Randolph Churchill's effort to get up a demonstration against Government.

To which Mr. George Russell, Member for Aylesbury, retorted by a parallel comparing the relations between the leader of the "Fourth Party" and Sir Stafford Northcote, who had left the House, to those existing between Eli and his rebellious sons, and said that the noble lord was a first-rate actor



MICHAEL DAVITT.

(From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

Foiled in an attempt to move an amendment expressive of his opinion that the Bill was the "result of revolutionary agitation, that it encouraged repudiation of contracts and liabilities, and endangered the union between England and Ireland," he proceeded to offer a few "valedictory comments" on the measure. The upshot of these was that the Irish people would declare that the author of the Bill was not Mr. Gladstone but Mr. Parnell, and that the Prime Minister would soon be heard sadly to say—

"Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores."

in third-rate parts, who played, alas! habitually to pit and gallery. A prolonged and desultory conversation followed, after which some of the extreme Tories persisted in taking a division, and completely exposed the weakness of their cause by obtaining only 14 supporters against 220. As before, Mr. Parnell and his warmest supporters walked out without voting, but many Members who as a rule followed his leadership, voted boldly for the Bill.

And now came the great question—how would the House of Lords treat the Bill? Would they reject it altogether, or would they introduce vital

modifications into its provisions, and endeavour to force them upon the House of Commons? There were not wanting those who urged them to take the former step, regardless of consequences, but to that extent their leader, the Marquis of Salisbury, did not venture to commit them. Nevertheless, he replied in an exceedingly mordant spirit to Lord Carlingford's masterly and sensible exposition of the principles and tendencies of the Bill. He proved that Mr. Gladstone had denounced the Irish Encumbered Estates Act, on the ground that it confiscated tenants' improvements; if the present Bill had been simply devised with the object of preserving improvements, there could be no objection to it, but as it was it gave the Irish tenant the right to sell what he had never bought, and never earned; and, moreover, to tear up contracts that had been deliberately made. The court, in his opinion, was made up of strong partisans, and it was not the relegation of landlord and tenant to an impartial tribunal, but Parliament and Government coming down with an Act of power and imposing certain terms advantageous to the tenant and detrimental to the landlord, and imposing them without appeal. Government had sent political economy to Jupiter and Saturn, and they had invented a doctrine of free contract which, if ever applied to England, would produce the utmost confusion and the most bitter contention. They were told that the Irish tenant had acquired a new property—a tenant-right of land. And how had he acquired it? He did not buy it and he did not earn it; but he got it because in 1870 Mr. Gladstone and the House of Commons went to sleep. Lord Salisbury then proceeded to contrast the feelings of the landlord, who would from henceforth be like a man living in a country ravaged by earthquakes, and those of the tenant, who not having obtained nearly all his demands, would certainly resort to the agitation which had benefited him hitherto with the sound conviction that it would not fail. Nevertheless, having regard to the state into which Ireland had been allowed to drift by the Executive Government, he recommended their lordships not to throw out the Bill, but to amend it in Committee in the direction of freeing large estates managed according to the English custom from its provisions, and especially in the direction of preventing the tenant's interest from being carved out of the rent until the whole of the landlord's interest had disappeared.

The remainder of the debate was noticeable chiefly for very trenchant and bitter attacks on the Bill by two great Irish landlords, Lord

Lansdowne and Lord Waterford: for its able defence by Lord O'Hagan and Earl Spencer. The adjourned discussion was resumed by the Duke of Argyll, whose speech was chiefly an apology at once for his resignation and for the fact that he had been a member of the Government that had passed the Act of 1870. Ministers, he said in conclusion, were like jelly-fishes, beautiful creatures, thoroughly destitute of skeleton and backbone, who made convulsive movements in the water so that they appeared to be swimming, whereas they were only floating with the currents and the tides. Lord Selborne defended the Bill with great skill and vigour; Lord Cairns mildly opposed it, hoping, at the same time, that its main features would be unchanged in Committee; and after Lord Kimberley had summed up the debate the second reading was carried without a division.

In Committee Lord Salisbury soon showed that he would be as good as his word. The Duke of Argyll having carried several minor amendments affecting the first part of the Bill, the leader of the Opposition as soon clause 7 was proposed that the landlord should have access to the court, not only in cases of a dispute about increase of rent, but whenever he chose. This he carried without a division, and Mr. Heneage's suggestion that English-managed estates should be exempted from the working of the Bill met with a far more cordial reception in the Upper House than it had in the Lower. Next evening Lord Salisbury proposed an amendment virtually abolishing tenant-right, its aim being that the rent of a holding should not be reduced "on account of any money or money's worth paid or given by the tenant or his predecessors in title on coming into the holding." It was carried by 127 to 110, in spite of the warnings of the Duke of Argyll and Lord Derby that its acceptance would be fatal to the peace of Ireland. On the proposal of Lord Lansdowne, the clause providing that the rent of existing leases should be revised by the court on the expiration was struck out, and on that of Earl Cairns the power to quash leases obtained under undue pressure since the Act of 1870 was abolished; further Lord Salisbury carried the rejection of the clause proposed by Mr. Parnell, under which the court was empowered to stay execution on a tenant in arrear pending the decision of the tenant's application for a judicial rent. Finally the Bill was read a third time, after a vigorous speech from Lord Carnarvon, who came in for a good deal of banter from Earl Granville, and some remarks from Lord Brabourne, one of Mr.

Gladstone's peers, of a highly complimentary character to Lord Salisbury and his amendments.

The sweeping character of these amendments, and the large majorities by which they were carried, seemed to preclude all hope of compromise. In the House of Commons the famous Heneage clause, which had been reintroduced in the Lords, was allowed to stand, with the proviso that the improvements should have been "maintained" as well as "made" by the landlord. The other important alterations, however, especially Lord Salisbury's destruction of tenant-right, were rejected by large majorities, though Mr. Gladstone intimated that he might be willing to accept a compromise on the question of the landlord's access to the court, suggested by Mr. Brand (which the latter was debarred from moving on technical grounds), if it was reintroduced into the Upper House. In deference to the opinion of the House of Lords, Mr. Parnell's provision for staying sales under execution pending a judicial decision of rent was remodelled, the period of grace being limited to three months instead of six, much to the anger of the Irish party.

Though this discussion had to a certain extent lessened the number of the points of contention, the divergence between the views of the two Houses had only been accentuated by the firm, though by no means disrespectful, treatment of the Lords' amendments by the House of Commons. Yet few people believed that the crisis was real. The Lords, it was said, would be sure to give way: by passing the second reading without a division they had admitted the necessity of the Bill. Nevertheless, there was a general feeling of apprehension throughout society when Lord Salisbury, having previously held secret conclave with the Conservative peers, arose, on the 12th of August, and moved, as each question came up, that the Commons' amendments should be rejected, and those of the Lords' insisted upon, even down to the almost verbal alteration of the Heneage provision. Upon Lord Granville expressing his regret that the Conservative peers should have shown how little they regarded the opinions of the immense majority of the representatives of the constituencies, Lord Salisbury warmly retorted that the House of Lords was not accustomed to be scolded; and that the conduct of both Houses "must be submitted to the country, which is superior to both, and the country will recognise in your action a desire to protect legal and constitutional privileges against violent innovation and temporary passion."

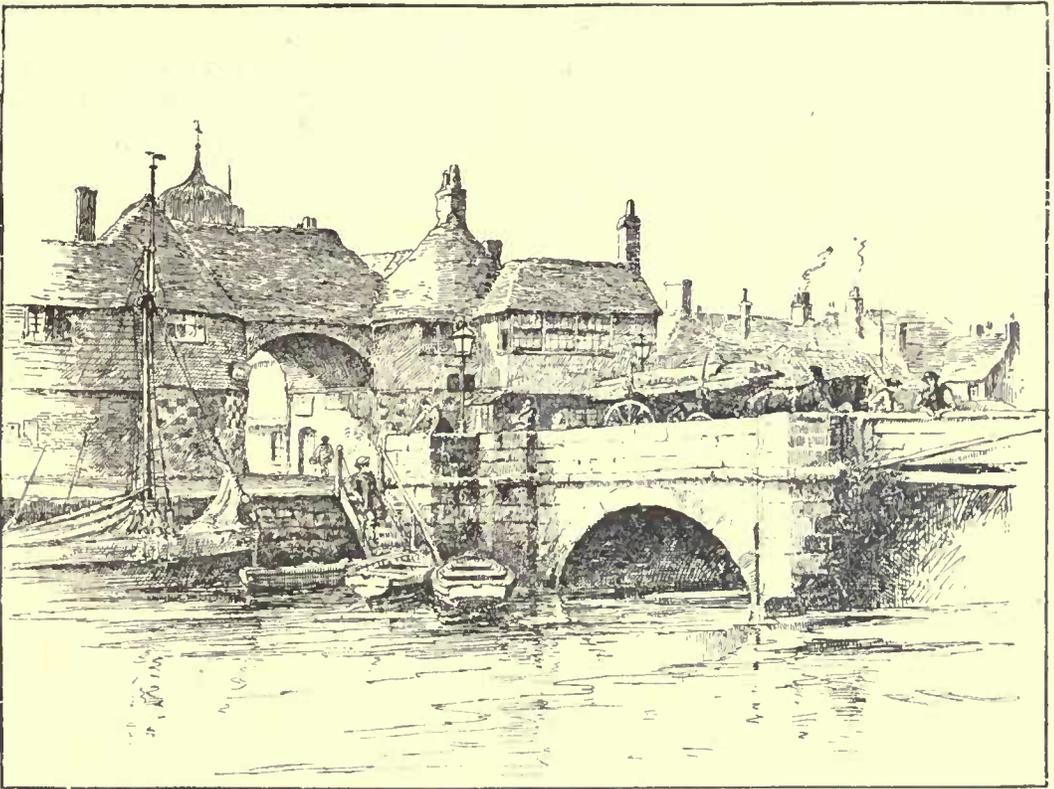
Thus the two parties were face to face in a strait where there was no room to pass and one of them must inevitably retreat. Throughout Saturday and Sunday the constituencies were full of the wildest rumours; a dissolution was immediately expected; Liberal committees sent resolutions of confidence to Mr. Gladstone and urged their representatives not to give way. When the House met on Monday it was evident how strongly the Liberal party felt the necessity of resisting the Lords on questions of principle, even at the cost of a dangerous quarrel between the two Chambers. Mr. Dillwyn, on behalf of the independent Liberals, implored Government not to make any serious concession or change in the Bill in response to that "irresponsible body," the House of Lords, appealing with some earnestness to the silent and frank support which he and others had given to Government in spite of the suspicions of their friends and the taunts of their opponents. If vital concessions were made, the Radicals below the gangway would be compelled to vote against Government. Mr. Gladstone replied by repudiating the use of the word "compromise," and in tones of very deliberate moderation expressed his intention of drawing a distinction between real difference in principle and "a case where there might be some motive—some object to be served, not by the House yet felt, but fully understood, and yet not in itself illegitimate as involving any principle." Accordingly, though allowing some minor amendments in the direction of extending the right to appeal from the decisions of the Land Court, and excluding leaseholders from the benefits of the Bill, and in defining the vexed theory of tenant-right, Mr. Gladstone refused to make any substantial change. It was true that Mr. Parnell's clause designed for the protection of evicted tenants was omitted, not, as the Prime Minister explained in answer to the taunts of Messrs. Healy and T. P. O'Connor, because of any secret compact with the Opposition, but because Irish Members themselves had declared it to be useless in its mutilated form and recommended its rejection.

Lord Salisbury availed himself of the way of escape thus unexpectedly thrown open to him and executed an admirably skilful retreat from his untenable position. When the House of Lords met again on the 16th, threats were no longer fulminated about appeals to the country. On the contrary the leader of the Opposition propounded a theory that the only object of the House of Lords had been throughout to fulfil the policy which the authors of the Bill had announced in

points where they had departed from it, not to interfere with its essential principle. These departures had been chiefly on the question of fair rent, and the House of Lords had attempted to secure two points—first, that the landlord should have equal access to the court with the tenant; and, secondly, that rent should not depend upon the price paid by the tenant for the interest in his holding. Both these points had been accepted by the House of Commons, and Lord Salisbury was able to speak in terms of unreserved satisfaction of the decision to which that House had come. He regretted that the Duke of Argyll was not present to take care of his amendments, but declined to move them in his absence. Finally, he rejoiced at the abandonment of Mr. Parnell's amendment, "the principle of which was more vicious than that of any clause he had ever seen introduced into an Act of Parliament," and concluded with expressing "a hope, not a trust, that the Bill might do much good to the Irish tenants, and not much harm to the Irish landlords." Lord Lansdowne, in a similar spirit, declined to press his amendment with regard to leaseholders. Then Lord Carlingford, having expressed his opinion that none of the essential principles of the Bill had been sacrificed, and Lord Granville, in reply to Lord Monck, having promised that Government would not relax its vigour and determination in maintaining the authority of the law, the discussion closed, and a few days afterwards the Irish Land Bill received the royal assent.

Acts of coercion and acts of redress for Ireland, together with that amusement so congenial to several of the Home Rule Members known as "baiting the Chief Secretary," absorbed such a vast quantity of the time at the disposal of the House of Commons that one by one the proposals of the Queen's Speech, the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Bankruptcy Bill, and their comrades, had to be laid aside until a more convenient season. Lord Salisbury was successful in procuring the rejection of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Statutes) Bill, on the ground that an amendment

introduced by Professor Bryce, M.P., enabled Government to add to the Universities Committee of the Privy Council two new members, thereby securing for it a permanent majority. The Estimates produced no very great novelty; Mr. Gladstone's Budget was very modest and unsensational, despite prophecies as to the startling novelties in finance he was about to produce; Mr. Childers's scheme of army reform, on the other hand, attracted a good deal of criticism. Its object was threefold: first to decrease the evils of the short-service system (of which General Roberts had recently been complaining) by allowing no one to enlist under the age of nineteen, and, while permitting the period of enlistment to remain twelve years as before, increasing the number of years under the colours to seven; secondly to improve the prospects of junior officers, by adding to the number of higher officers in each regiment, and lessening the number of the lower; thirdly, to have more men ready for service at a particular moment; and in order to effect this Mr. Childers proposed to augment the army by about 3,000 men, so as to have always ready for service twelve regiments at home and six in the Mediterranean, the former being, with their depôts, each 1,100 strong, and the latter each 1,000 strong, and a *corps d'armée* of eighteen regiments of the Line; three battalions of Guards, and six regiments of Cavalry, and seventeen batteries of Artillery would also be prepared to take the field when called upon. Localisation was to be still further insisted on, two battalions of the Line and two battalions of the Militia being formed into territorial regiments wearing the same uniforms, with the trifling difference of the letter "M" to distinguish the Militia. The old titles were to be abolished, and the regiments were from thenceforth to receive names from the counties, a proposal which called forth expressions of indignation from the lovers—and they were many—of the old traditions. So the session came to an end, having been devoted, like its predecessor, almost entirely to Irish affairs.



OLD BRIDGE AND BARBICAN GATE, SANDWICH.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Report of the Bribery Commissioners—Punishment of Offenders, and consequent Petitions—Mr. Bradlaugh's Case in the Law Courts—His Attempt to take the Oath—Scene on the 2nd of August—Bye-elections and the "Fair Trade" Cry—Declarations of the Conservative Leaders—Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Leeds—The Ritualists and the Salvation Army—Ireland: Arrest of Mr. Davitt—Conduct of Mr. Parnell—Proceedings of the Dynamite Faction—Arrest of Mr. Dillon—Disturbed State of Ireland—Attitude of Ulster and of the Irish Nationalists towards the Land Act—Proposed Peasants' Agitation—The Irish Catholic Bishops—Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Leeds—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and Others—Suppression of the Land League—Working of the Land Act and the Condition of Ireland—Obituary of the Year.

In two cases the affairs of Parliament were intermingled with those of the Law Courts, and the will of the former found confirmation in the decrees of the latter. That the Liberal Ministry were anxious that elections should be conducted with less of the flagrant debauching of the constituencies than had been systematically practised during the great contest of the previous year, was clear from the stringent provisions of the Attorney-General's Corrupt Practices Bill, and certainly the disclosures of the Bribery Commissioners were calculated to startle the believer in the purity of political life. It is true that of the boroughs arraigned, two—Canterbury and Knaresborough—escaped with mild

rebukes. The inquiries at Macclesfield, Oxford, Boston, Chester, Gloucester, and Sandwich disclosed a far more deplorable state of things, especially when it is remembered the investigations extended over three or more elections. As might be expected, the methods employed varied both in degree and in kind. At Macclesfield the peculiarity took the form of bestowing pecuniary bribes through the medium of the wives and female relations of the electors; at Oxford labourers were employed under the pretence of bill-sticking, and so forth; the Boston voter preferred his reward in hard cash; the free and independent elector of Chester had a *penchant* for beer; at Gloucester he

was apparently indifferent as to the form which the gratuity assumed, provided it was administered by a member of the Corporation. Of Sandwich, the less said the better. Both candidates, Mr. Compton Roberts and Sir Julian Goldsmid, were found legally guilty of corrupt practices. The former had come to the borough prepared to spend "something like £10,000," that is, about £5 per head in a constituency of about 2,000. Sir Julian Goldsmid, who had been anticipated in securing the best public-houses, disbursed his money at a somewhat lower rate, but equally systematically. In the whole constituency the commissioners reported that 128 persons were guilty of bribery, and 1,005 guilty of taking bribes; of the latter, 127 received bribes from both sides.

There was a general feeling of regret that the law failed altogether to reach the principals in these disgraceful transactions, and only on rare occasions made any examples at all. It is true that at Chester one of the Liberal agents was found guilty of bribery, but in most cases the number of apprehensions was very small and the number of convictions still smaller. At Sandwich and at Macclesfield the blow fell, not on the candidates, nor on their more aristocratic agents, but on ten persons chiefly in the humbler walks of life, though two of them were solicitors, who were found to have made false returns. The excellent character borne by these men, and the severity of their sentences, varying from six to eighteen months' imprisonment with hard labour, caused a strong agitation in their favour. Memorials were presented to the Home Secretary, largely signed by clergymen and Members of Parliament, praying for the release of the prisoners. Sir William Harcourt declined, very properly, to meddle with the decrees of law, though in cases where the health of the prisoners had been affected by prison *régime* he afterwards allowed discharges.

The other affair of half-Parliamentary and half-legal interest was that of Mr. Bradlaugh. In the beginning of March his claim to make an affirmation was decided against him by Mr. Justice Mathew in the Court of Queen's Bench, on the ground that the statute under which Mr. Bradlaugh claimed was applicable to courts of justice only; on the other hand, the judge was of opinion that he could not be refused the oath if he offered to take it in the usual way. Mr. Bradlaugh promptly gave notice of appeal, while Mr. Gorst, at the same time, gave notice in Parliament of his intention of attempting to solve the difficulty by moving for a new writ for Northampton, which

motion he withdrew at the request of Sir Stafford Northcote.

The next link in this long chain of difficulty was the hearing of Mr. Bradlaugh's appeal. The judges decided against him, though paying him a high compliment for the way in which he had conducted his case, and upheld Mr. Justice Mathew's decision that he was not among the persons affected by the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1869; moreover, they declared that penalties were recoverable from him for having voted without taking the oath. Thereupon his colleague, Mr. Labouchere, rose and moved for a new writ for Northampton, on the ground that Mr. Bradlaugh had vacated his seat by not complying with the necessary forms of Parliament. The writ was agreed to, and the election took place within a week, with the result that Mr. Bradlaugh was returned, though with a considerably reduced majority of 132 votes over his Conservative opponent, Mr. Corbett, who came forward at very short notice.

Here an opportunity was given of terminating the dispute, since all that the Speaker had to do was to rule that he had no power to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking the oath. However, when the Member for Northampton presented himself to be sworn, the Speaker again allowed Sir Stafford Northcote to interpose with a plea that the oath should not be administered, and the representations of the leader of the Opposition were accepted by the majority of the House, after Mr. Bradlaugh had pleaded his case at the bar, and in spite of a fine speech from Mr. Bright, by 208 to 175. Thereupon a scene of discreditable confusion followed, Mr. Bradlaugh advancing from the bar, and claiming to take the oath, declining to retire at the order of the Speaker, and being thrice dragged back by the attendants. Finally, at the instance of Sir Stafford Northcote, he was removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and much heated language was indulged in by both sides. Next day the House resumed the discussion in a calmer frame of mind, and speakers on both sides at once saw the necessity of putting an end to these disturbances, and of accepting an Affirmation Bill as the easiest way out of the difficulty. It was arranged that the measure should be introduced by the Attorney-General.

Business, however, was at this time very pressing, and as the Opposition declined to allow an extra morning sitting for the introduction of the Bill, Mr. Bradlaugh saw but little chance of obtaining satisfaction. On May 10th, accordingly, he presented himself again at the table and

claimed to take the oath, but was again met by Sir Stafford Northcote, who rose, and carried without a division a resolution that Mr. Bradlaugh should be excluded from the precincts of the House, unless he gave an engagement not to disturb its proceedings. Mr. Bradlaugh withdrew without commotion, contenting himself with sending a letter to the Speaker, which questioned the decision of the House as being contrary to law. Throughout this interval Mr. Bradlaugh constantly appeared, on one plea or another, before the judges, catching at every legal subtlety, including the long unused weapon of "maintenance," in order to get at his real enemy, Mr. Newdegate, M.P., who fought behind what is known as "a man of straw."

On the 2nd of August a mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, at which Mr. Bradlaugh announced his intention of going once more to the House and claiming his seat. Next day about noon he appeared, and attempted to force his way in, but the policemen, who had been previously stationed in readiness by the order of the Speaker, resisted him and a violent struggle took place. Mr. Bradlaugh used all his strength, but was finally forced into the courtyard, completely exhausted, and with his coat torn. There was another wrangle over the difficulty, now become more grave than ever, in the House of Commons, during which Mr. Bright used expressions which cut the Conservatives to the quick. Finally, Sir Henry Holland proposed an amendment to the effect that the House approved of the conduct of the Speaker, and it was carried by a large majority, after both Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote had declared their acceptance of it. Mr. Bradlaugh meanwhile had driven to the Westminster Police Court, where he applied for a summons for assault against Inspector Denning, but the magistrate decided against him. For the remainder of the year the Member for Northampton and his grievances were not quite so prominently before the public gaze, but, shortly after the close of the long vacation, the Court of Appeal reversed the rule refusing him a new trial, and thus laid open to him an endless prospect of litigation.

Meanwhile, the difficulties into which Government had been plunged had caused the public enthusiasm in their favour sensibly to decline. The bye-elections went decidedly against them. At Coventry, the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Henry Jackson, a Liberal, was filled by Mr. Eaton, a Conservative; at Preston Mr. Ecroyd signally reversed the verdict of the general election. Then followed two crushing Liberal

defeats: Sir George Elliot won back his seat for North Durham, and Mr. James Lowther at length found a haven of rest in North Lincolnshire. The Marquis of Blandford, in Cambridgeshire, did not venture to go to the poll against Mr. Bulwer, Q.C. Against these reverses of fortune the Liberals could only set a victory at Berwick-on-Tweed, and there the majority gained by Mr. Jerningham, a Roman Catholic, was so large as to be perfectly inexplicable. The Conservatives everywhere were winning the ear of the constituencies by the specious cry of "Fair Trade." Mr. Ecroyd had boldly advocated that doctrine at Preston; Mr. Lowther revived what Lord Beaconsfield had called the "musty phrases" of a 5s. duty on corn and the sliding scale. As long as the fallacy was confined to the free-lances of the party, not much attention was paid to it, but when the Tory leaders began to coquette with the movement, it became a more serious matter. "I have always been a Free Trader," said Sir Stafford Northcote at Sheffield, "and I am a Free Trader now; but I desire to see Free Trade universal and fair." The result of these remarks was a spread of the agitation during September. A correspondence was conducted in the columns of the *Standard*, which attempted to prove that the 5s. duty would be paid by the Americans, not by the home consumers; and Lord Randolph Churchill, at Oldham, advocated the taxing of foreign articles to the amount of twenty millions, in order that the burdens on land might be relieved. Amidst this babel of wild ideas, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach alone preserved his common sense, ridiculing a return to Protection and advocating relief for the distresses of agriculture in the readjustment of taxation.

The farmers, however, seemed inclined to take matters into their own hands, and no longer to leave the exposition of their needs entirely to the representatives of landlord interests. They had learned a lesson from the legislation of the year, and in November the Farmers' Alliance produced a Land Bill of its own, framed on the basis of the "three Fs," and aiming especially at securing compensation for improvements and immunity from capricious eviction. While announcing its intention of producing this bold manifesto, the association had the courage to denounce Fair Trade as a delusion and a snare; and it was noticed that about the same time the Trades' Union Congress expelled five delegates on the ground that their expenses had been paid by the Fair Trade League. Despite these emphatic declarations of public opinion, the Conservative leaders persisted

inconniving at the delusion. Sir Stafford Northcote, while opening a northern campaign in October at Hull, indulged in derogatory observations about the Cobden Treaty with France; and later, at Newcastle, said that he was not, and never had been, in favour of a duty on corn, and held Protection to be "a pious opinion," though not an article of faith. Lord Salisbury, at the same meeting, went in boldly for Reciprocity. "In spite," he said, "of any formulas, in spite of any cry of Free Trade, if I saw that by raising a duty upon luxuries, or by threatening to raise it, I could exercise a pressure upon foreign Powers, and induce them to lower their tariffs, I should pitch orthodoxy and formulas to the winds, and exercise the pressure."

Sir William Harcourt, at Glasgow, remarked that "pious opinions" were doctrines held by the Jesuits, and that it was impossible to juggle away the common sense of a nation by the legerdemain of "pious opinion." Mr. Gladstone at Leeds had exposed earlier in the month the folly of the Fair Trade cry, and utterly demolished Protection. He proved, in the first place, that the assertion that our commerce had permanently fallen off was ridiculous; there was every sign that we had made huge strides since Free Trade had been adopted; population had increased 33 per cent., incomes from land, trades, and professions, 130 per cent., exports had increased 350 per cent., savings bank deposits 200 per cent. On the other hand, crime had decreased 54 per cent., and paupers 46 per cent. He disproved the other theory of the Protectionists that this increase of prosperity was due, not to the adoption of Free Trade, but to the development of the railway system and the invention of the telegraph, by showing that the development of commerce in countries which had accepted these improvements, but not Free Trade, had not been nearly so rapid as that of Great Britain. Secondly, Mr. Gladstone showed that the merchant shipping of the United Kingdom had increased under free competition more than sixfold, while that of America had correspondingly declined. Finally, he proceeded to prick the Reciprocity bubble. "If you are to strike," he said, "you should strike hard, and can you strike the foreigner hard with retaliatory tariffs? What manufactures do you import from abroad? In all £45,000,000. What manufactures do you export? Nearly £200,000,000. You are invited to inflict wounds upon him on a field measured by £45,000,000, while he has the same power of inflicting wounds upon a field measured by more than £200,000,000."

While the political world had been thus torn asunder by discussions on Free Trade and Fair Trade, the religious world was equally ill at ease with itself. Dissension broke out at its two remotest points. The extreme Ritualists had a martyr in the Rev. S. F. Green. Less fortunate than his fellow-prisoners, the Rev. Pelham Dale and the Rev. R. W. Enraght, who were discharged in January by the Court of Appeal, on the ground of a technical informality in regard to their former trial, he continued in prison during the whole of the year. Lord Beauchamp introduced a "Contumacious Prisoner Bill" in the Upper House with a view to procuring Mr. Green's release by special legislation, but did not succeed in carrying through his well-meant proposal. During the autumn numerous meetings were held in the large towns, at which the grievances of the extreme High Churchmen were urged with force and eloquence, and petitions were signed. Mr. Green, however, refused to make any promise of altering his ritualistic practices, and efforts for the remission of his punishment were, therefore, in vain. The other cause of disturbance was the Salvation Army. During the past two years a revivalist movement, organised by a Mr. Booth, who assumed the military title of "General," had become extremely popular among the lower orders on account of the emotional character of its services, which combined the contagious enthusiasm of military *esprit de corps* with musical attractions, similar to those of a backwoods camp-meeting. It had obtained large numbers of converts in all the large towns, in each of which "barracks" were established, and its paper, the *War Cry*, had gained a wide circulation. For some unknown reason the military processions of the Salvationists, with their accompanying bands and banners, proved very offensive to the rough element of city populations. They assembled at street corners, threw mud at the more prominent officers, and beat and kicked the women who took part in the demonstrations. At first the magistrates gave lenient sentences to those convicted of these barbarous assaults, and the scandal increased. Finally it became so great that Sir William Harcourt was compelled, in October, to issue directions that the processions of the Army should be stopped wherever they were likely to tend to breaches of the peace.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the exasperation of the roughs against the Salvationists was scarcely less acute than the deplorable feeling of resentment which existed during the year between England and Ireland. It will be remembered

that the State prosecutions which had been begun in the previous December terminated in the triumphant acquittal of Mr. Parnell and his accomplices. This defeat of Government added to the strength of the agitators, and they condemned the Land Act by anticipation, regardless of a manifesto of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland earnestly imploring Government to legislate, and legislate thoroughly, that peace might thereby

the movement from America was capable of great development, and hinting at an alliance between the English and Irish democrats against the landlords. On his return to Ireland he gave advice to the tenants about to be evicted that they should plough up their land, and it was found that he was unable to recall the word once spoken, for it was freely acted upon. The arrests under the Coercion Act, which came into force early in March, added



ASSAULT ON A SALVATION ARMY PROCESSION. (See p. 520.)

be restored. Boldest among the popular orators was Mr. Michael Davitt, "the father of the Land League," and its most effective speaker. On the 2nd of February he was arrested in Dublin; he was taken to London, where his ticket-of-leave was cancelled, and he was sent back to prison. Indignation meetings were held throughout Ireland, at which blessings were showered on the head of Michael Davitt and Mr. Forster was held up to eternal infamy. The ostentatious secrecy of Mr. Parnell's visit to Paris at this time caused his organs to breathe forth ominous hints at French assistance; while the Member for Cork published a manifesto from the French capital declaring that

fuel to the flame of popular indignation, and it was pointed out, with some plausibility, that the "suspects" were not the village ruffians whom Mr. Forster had portrayed, but mostly people of the farmer class, who were merely agitators, not perpetrators of crime.

On the other hand the "movement from America" was receiving a development upon which Mr. Parnell had not reckoned. The ravings of O'Donovan Rossa and his faction about the "holiness of dynamite," and the "sacred duty of using the resources of science against England, our eternal foe," found sympathisers, and the successful wickedness of anarchists abroad was

imitated unsuccessfully by miscreants in England. There were several attempts to blow up public buildings, of which the gravest was that aimed against the Mansion House in London on the 16th of March, but the machine, a box containing about 15 lbs. of blasting powder, to which a fuse was attached, was discovered in time. Nearly as vile an attempt made in June to blow up the Town Hall at Liverpool resulted in a harmless explosion, and in the conviction of its perpetrators McGrath and McKeivitt, who were caught red-handed. A consignment of ten infernal machines, containing cartridges of nitro-glycerine and clockwork apparatus, was also detected on its arrival at Liverpool, from Boston, by the Custom House officials, on the last day of June and the 3rd of July. Meanwhile the American Fenians, availing themselves of the unfortunate weakness of the American law in favour of liberty of speech, openly gloried in these infamous designs. O'Donovan Rossa asserted, but apparently it was an empty boast, that the loss of H.M.S. *Doterel*, which was blown up in April in the Strait of Magellan, had been due to his machinations, and in August he declared in his paper that it would no longer be safe to travel in English vessels, as preparations were on foot for destroying the whole of the British navy.

During the month of April the weekly list of outrages, after a brief lull, became as full as ever, and Government was forced to take more measures of repression. On the 1st of May the city of Dublin was proclaimed, and on the 3rd Mr. John Dillon was conveyed to Kilmainham Gaol. He had just brought a series of defiant speeches to a climax at Clonmel, where he recommended his audience to organise, keeping, if possible, within the law. "Within the law you must do two things; you must obstruct the levying of rack-rent by every device which your ingenuity suggests; and, secondly, you must punish the man who assists the landlords to levy their rack-rent."

The arrest of Mr. Dillon took place a few days before the second reading of the Land Bill, and during the passage of that measure through the House of Commons Ireland was in a state of scarcely-veiled rebellion. Collisions between the populace and the constabulary were frequent. "There are districts," wrote Mr. Forster to Mr. Gladstone on May the 27th, "especially parts of Limerick, which are in the most dangerous excitement. I still hope to make the writs run without bloodshed, but it is very difficult, and the magistrates have to possess a rare

combination of firmness and forbearance. The insults to the police are almost past bearing; for instance, many hundreds of men and women, yelling like savages, throwing dirt, spitting in their faces, for hours. This, of course, they bear; but when stones are thrown, actually endangering life, it is hard to keep them quiet." The crew of the gunboat *Goshawk* were stoned by the natives of the island of Arranmore, county Donegal, when they were aiding a process-server in the execution of his unpopular mission. "Captain Moonlight" and his secret police made daring and successful raids in search of arms. The crops of unpopular landlords were trampled down by organised bands, or crushed beneath steam-rollers. Still, the facts that there were prospects of an abundant harvest, that the priesthood, with one or two prominent exceptions, distinctly disapproved of the Land League, tended to keep things quiet; and the release of Mr. Dillon early in August, on the ground that his health was grievously affected by imprisonment, was regarded by many as evidence of goodwill on the part of Government. That earnest enthusiast soon afterwards announced that the want of harmony between his views and those of Mr. Parnell, on the subject of the Land Bill, compelled him to abandon for awhile political life, and he went into retirement, but only to reappear on the scene more pertinacious than ever.

The leader of the Home Rule party had, indeed, after a period of some vacillation, settled down to a fixed hostility to the Land Act, and a determination to allow it no chance, which was uncongenial to Mr. Dillon. Directly after Parliament had broken up, Mr. Parnell repaired to Ireland, and there, in conjunction with Mr. Sexton, proclaimed the total inadequacy of the measure, and the impossibility of giving it a fair trial until Michael Davitt and the other "suspects" were released. Nevertheless, the farmers in many parts of Ireland, especially in Ulster, showed a strong disposition to accept the boon offered them by Mr. Gladstone's Government, and to rest content with the "three Fs." Fortunately the appointment of Mr. Litton as one of the commissioners of the Land Court gave them an opportunity of emphatically pronouncing their opinion. Though Mr. Parnell gave energetic personal support to the Rev. Harold Rylott, the Land League candidate for the vacant seat, he had the misfortune to see the name of his nominee at the bottom of the poll with only 907 votes, Colonel Knox, a Conservative, receiving 3,084 votes, and Mr. Dickson, the successful Liberal, 3,168. It was evident that the

tenant-farmers were, for the moment, at any rate, weary of agitation.

The lesson thus taught was not thrown away on Mr. Parnell. Towards the end of September the "National Convention of Ireland" met in Dublin, and was treated by its president to proposals for a peasants' agitation. To this he was impelled by the Irish Americans, who telegraphed to the Convention, that the entire system of landlordism must be abolished, and that if the Land League showed signs of accepting less, supplies would be cut off. Accordingly, having declared that the Land Act settled nothing, and that the entire abolition of landlordism was a necessary preliminary to national self-government, he proceeded to consider the case of the labourers, who were becoming clamorous for their wants to be settled in their turn. He claimed for the Irish Parliamentary party that they had tried to get clauses inserted in the Land Act which would have given labourers houses and land of their own, from which no one would be able to turn them out; but as the Act had passed, very little, if anything, was done for the labourers directly—indirectly there was more—and he now advised the farmers to reward their faithful allies and fellow-sufferers by availing themselves of the borrowing powers given to them by the Act, and to spend the money in employing the labourers. He asked the labourers not to make a league of their own, but to join the Land League organisation. "If I find," said he, "a joint movement of labourers and farmers fail, I pledge myself to take my stand at the head of the labourers' movement."

Mr. Parnell's uncompromising dislike to the Land Act and its prospective benefits received soon afterwards a severe rebuke from the Irish Catholic bishops, who, at a meeting held at Maynooth, on the 29th of September, passed resolutions which pronounced the new Land Act to be a "large instalment of justice," and calling on the clergy to remove the stigma that had been cast on the people that they would not pay their just debts, as they were bound to do. This manifesto produced considerable sensation, but signs were not wanting to show that it did not meet with universal acceptance. Father Sheehy, an ex-suspect, who was released at this moment, paraded the country uttering the most furious diatribes against the Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary; and Mr. Parnell, far from lowering his pretensions, entered Dublin, on the 25th of September, after a brief visit to his property, with the pomp of a victorious general, and next day made a

speech, in which he advised the tenant-farmers of Ireland not to avail themselves of the Land Act until the result of certain "test cases" had given an indication of the spirit in which it was to be administered.

At last the longsuffering of Government was exhausted. For a moment Mr. Gladstone, cheered by the Tyrone election, was anxious for a relaxation of the Coercion Act. But Mr. Forster wrote, "Ulster is not Connaught or Munster. We have had few or no outrages in Tyrone. We have no proof that Parnell has lost his influence in the south and west; or that the intimidating orders of the League will be disobeyed in Connaught or Munster or that outrages there will diminish." On September the 26th he wrote to Mr. Gladstone suggesting that Mr. Parnell should be arrested, and the Premier concurred, provided that the law officers thought his speeches to convict him of treasonable practices. The correspondence that ensued was anxious enough, though Mr. Forster adhered steadily to his view that the only course was to give the Protection Act a wide interpretation, not justified at first, but now, to his mind, abundantly justified. "It would be useless and weak merely to arrest local Land Leaguers and let off the Dublin Leaguers, especially Sexton and Parnell." In reply to this "sad and saddening letter" the Prime Minister expressed his general concurrence, but he considered that so novel an application of the Coercion Act should not be undertaken without the Cabinet.

In the interval Mr. Gladstone, in a noble speech at Leeds, denounced the men who were not ashamed to preach the "gospel of public plunder." Mr. Parnell, he said, was advising the Irish people to test the Act, not to use it. "It is no small matter if he desires to arrest the operation of the Act, to stand, as Moses stood, between the living and the dead, but to stand there, not as Moses stood, to arrest, but to spread the plague. . . . In the impending crisis we depend on the good sense of the people, and we are determined that no force, and no fear of force, and no fear of ruin through force shall, so far as we are concerned and as it is in our power to decide the question, prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land Act. And if, when we have a short further experience, it should then appear that there is still to be fought the final conflict in Ireland between law on the one side and sheer lawlessness upon the other; if the law, purged from defect and from any taint of injustice, is still to be refused and the first

condition of political society to remain unfulfilled, then I say, gentlemen, without hesitation, that the resources of civilisation are not yet exhausted."

This philippic was answered by Mr. Parnell by a counter-attack on the Prime Minister, "this masquerading knight-errant, this pretended champion of liberties of every other nation except the Irish nation;" and Mr. Dillon repudiated with much violence Mr. Gladstone's compliments on his political fairness, passed at the expense of Mr. Parnell. On October the 12th the Cabinet met, and sat four hours. That evening Mr. Forster crossed over to Ireland, and the arrests began. Mr. Forster's only confidant was the commander of the forces, Sir Thomas Steele, as both Lord Cowper and Mr. Burke were away, and could not return without exciting suspicion. However, the secret was carefully preserved, and as the Chief Secretary grimly remarked, "Parnell and Co. had full swing." Mr. Parnell was taken up next morning and conveyed to Kilmainham Gaol; Mr. Dillon, who was appointed to succeed Mr. Parnell as head of the Land League, had only time to make one wild speech, when he followed his leader to prison. The other victims of the Coercion Act were Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, and Mr. Quin, secretary of the Land League. Other prominent Home Rulers, such as Mr. Healy and Mr. A. O'Connor, were fortunate enough to be beyond the range of the Coercion Act; Mr. Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, managed to make good his flight to Paris.

Very grave riots broke out in Dublin, Limerick, and Cork, but there was no actual insurrection. The Land League, driven to desperation, completed its own ruin by issuing a circular, which purported to be signed by all its imprisoned leaders, including Michael Davitt, calling upon the farmers to pay no rent until the suspects were released. It had played completely into its enemies' hands. Archbishop Croke, hitherto its staunch defender, protested solemnly against the promulgation of such doctrines, in any circumstances whatever, both on the ground of their immorality and of their want of policy. On October 22nd Government struck a mortal counter-stroke by decreeing the suppression of the Land League as "an illegal and criminal association, intent on destroying the obligation of contracts and subverting law." "One question," said Mr. Gladstone at London Guildhall, after that he had announced the arrest of Mr. Parnell, "at least has been decided, namely, that whereas it was attempted to prevent the people of Ireland from obtaining the full benefit of the

beneficent legislation that Parliament had devised for them, the people of Ireland, on their part, are determined—and nothing can now prevent them from doing it—to make a full trial and obtain the full benefit of the Land Act this year placed upon the Statute Book." And Mr. Forster wrote to a colleague that, though an action might be brought against Government for force used in dispersing public meetings, he did not think it likely if they continued to take care that their force was overpowering.

With the overthrow of the great organisation, the avowed aim of which had been to override the law, the Land Act, after several months of denunciation from Irish Nationalists and English Conservatives, was at last allowed fair play. In Ireland open opposition was confined to the "Ladies' Land League," which had been formed earlier in the year under the leadership of Miss Anna Parnell, a sister of the Member for Cork, and had received the sanction of Archbishop Croke and of Mr. A. M. Sullivan; and though the open incitement to non-payment of rent indulged in by its members compelled Government to resort in one or two instances to imprisonment, its influence was not very serious. In England extravagant criticism was confined to Lord Randolph Churchill, who suggested that Government had deliberately joined hands with Mr. Parnell in order to turn out Lord Beaconsfield, had winked at murders in order to educate the English mind to the necessity of heroic remedies, and had then followed up the kick of coercion by the caress of the Land Act. From the hour of its opening, on the 20th of October, the Land Court was crowded with applicants, and on the first day there were 108 cases on notice. That Mr. Parnell's saying that judgment would be given in favour of the landlords had no basis in fact was proved by Justice O'Hagan's definition of fair rent as one "that might fairly be paid, and yet permit a tenant, not deficient in those qualities of industry and providence which are expected in every walk of life, to live and thrive." Soon the quantity of work before the commissioners was so great that the courts were in danger of being swamped, and additional commissioners had to be appointed. The reduction of rent, which generally amounted to 25 per cent. in the cases decided by the end of the year, showed beyond doubt how great an evil the rack-renting system had become. Nevertheless, in spite of these benefits the condition of Ireland was not healthy. Agrarian outrages did not diminish, but rather increased through the month of October,

and though juries did not show quite so much reluctance as formerly to convict, the proclaimed districts still remained under the influence of organised terrorism. "I send you," wrote Mr. Forster to Mr. Gladstone on November the 20th, "the confidential return of aggravated outrages for October, in which you will find one murder and four frings into dwellings, believed to have been perpetrated as punishment for paying rent. I am

the suspects, we shall have to consider whether we renew the Protection Act, or replace it by some other form of repression." Meanwhile he continued to do his duty like a man, and in December took the important step of appointing district magistrates, like Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Mr. Blake, who became responsible for divisions of counties. So deeply were men of authority in England impressed with the disorder prevalent in the sister isle, that



ARRIVAL OF MR. PARNELL AT KILMAINHAM GAOL. (See p. 524.)

sorry to say there is a turn decidedly for the worse, and we are going to have a most anxious winter . . . We must meet this as best we can by (1) more soldiers and billeting of them, (2) economising our police force, (3) multiplying arrests under Protection Act." It could hardly be wondered that he should add "while we are fighting for law and order, I cannot desert my post; but this battle over, and the Land Act well at work, I am quite sure that the best course for Ireland, as well as for myself, would be my replacement by some one not tarred by the coercion brush. But alas! it is but too probable that the battle will not be won when Parliament meets, and that, instead of releasing

the Lord Mayor summoned an influential meeting for the purpose of forming a defence of property fund. Unfortunately he, of necessity to some extent, came into collision with Government. Mr. Lowther, in sending his contribution, gave expression to the opinion that the necessity for the fund was nothing short of a national disgrace, for which those responsible should be called to account. Mr. Gladstone declined to countenance the scheme, and it eventually assumed a party character. By the end of the year the fund amounted to £9,000, and that collected for a less questionable purpose—namely, the relief of distressed Irish ladies—to £11,000.

The obituary of the year contained several names of more than ordinary note besides that of Lord Beaconsfield, but Carlyle belongs to literature, not to politics. He was followed to the grave in May by the Right Hon. W. P. Adam, for years remarkable as the able Whip of the Liberal party, and its reorganiser after the crushing defeat in 1874. He did not long enjoy the honours of Governor of Madras. Lord Hatherley, who died on July 10th, rose steadily in the ranks of the legal profession, and equally steadily in Parliament, until, in 1868, he became Lord Chancellor; defective eyesight, however, caused his retirement in

1874. The personality of Dean Stanley, who died a few days later, was far more marked. He had many enemies, and his appointment to the Deanery of Westminster in 1863 was bitterly resented in many quarters. The Dean was a decided broad Churchman, and both inside and outside Convocation stood forward unflinchingly for the liberal ideas as to ecclesiastical government formulated in "Essays and Reviews." Much of this opposition he succeeded in living down; indeed, the most orthodox of High Churchmen could hardly fail to do justice to the integrity and fearlessness of his character.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Assassination of President Garfield—The United States and the Panama Canal—Affairs in Russia—Cession of Kuldja to China—Assassination of the Czar—Alexander III.—Panic-stricken Designs of the new Reign—Events in South-Eastern Europe—The Greek Frontier Question—The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty—French Aggression in Tunis—The Revolt in Algeria—General Election in France—Fall of the Ferry Ministry—Gambetta Premier—Affairs in Germany—Bismarck and his Parliamentary Difficulties—Affairs in Austro-Hungary and Italy—Events in India and Australasia—The Boer War—Sir B. Frere in the Transvaal—Sir Garnet Wolseley's Declaration—Disturbances and Arrests—Improvement of the Situation—Liberal Declarations—Disappointment of the Boers—Imminence of the Struggle—The Declaration of Independence—The First Shot—Concentration of Forces, and Defeat of Col. Anstruther—The Basuto Rebellion—Colley's Advance—The Battle of Laing's Nek—Battle of the Ingogo River—Arrival of Reinforcements—Occupation of Majuba Hill—The Battle—President Brand's Mediation—The Armistice—Resistance of the Garrisonists—The Peace—Feeling in South Africa—Lord Cairns's Speech—Lord Kimberley's Reply—Terms of the Convention—Termination of the Dispute.

THOUGH no two countries could be more utterly unlike one another both in government and national characteristics than the United States and Russia, neither the free institutions of the one nor the despotic precautions of the other were able to save their rulers from the assassin's hand. When the year 1881 began, it was known that the suffrages of the largest electorate in the world had fallen upon General Garfield, and once more the expectations of reform were high. Once more these hopes had to be postponed. The sturdy integrity of the new President was calculated to arouse opposition, and General Grant's supporters, under the guidance of Mr. Conkling, formed themselves into a party of malcontents who were called "Stalwarts." On July 2nd, as the President was entering the railway station at Washington in company with his

Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine, he was shot at and wounded in two places. The assassin was one Charles Guiteau, a member of the "Stalwarts," who had been disappointed of place under the new *régime*. It was thought that General Garfield would soon succumb to the injuries he had received, but his fine constitution enabled him to rally, and for weeks he fought death inch by inch. Seldom had the bulletins from a sick room been awaited with more public anxiety, and this feeling was by no means confined to the New World, for there was deep sympathy for the sufferer and his family in the United Kingdom, too, which found expression in the messages of condolence sent by the Queen to Mrs. Garfield. At last, after a period in which a sudden return of strength had aroused false hopes of a complete recovery, the President's vital

forces gave way, and he died on the 19th of September. How hard it would be to supply his place was seen when the new President, Mr. Arthur, the nominee of the distrusted Conkling, produced his colourless and unsatisfactory programme; how sorely the Augean stalls needed cleansing was disclosed in the circumstances attending the trial of Guiteau, severely tried though American justice was by the blasphemous buffoonery of the prisoner.

It was generally felt that at this moment the display of spread-eagleism in which Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, indulged on the subject of the Panama Canal was peculiarly inopportune. Nevertheless, the American Government thought fit on November 19th to bring to a head a correspondence of several months' standing, by a despatch which firmly declared that the United States would no longer be bound by those articles of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 which allowed any European Power to guarantee the neutrality of the Canal and which contended that the treaty must be revised. Britain, it was agreed, had assumed control over the water-way to India, and the United States had therefore a perfect right to act in a similar manner with regard to the water-way between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. He pointed out, moreover, that—"the first sound of cannon in a general war would in all probability annul the treaty of neutrality. The strategic position of a canal commanding both oceans might be held by the first naval Power that would seize it." All this was perfectly true, but very considerable exception was taken to the blustering tone in which the manifesto was couched, especially in its allusions to the military resources of the States and its calm contempt for existing arrangements, "a principle," as Lord Granville drily remarked, "novel in international law." The British Foreign Secretary replied by offering facilities for a new arrangement, and the discussion was continued into the following year by Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Blaine's successor, but without definite results.

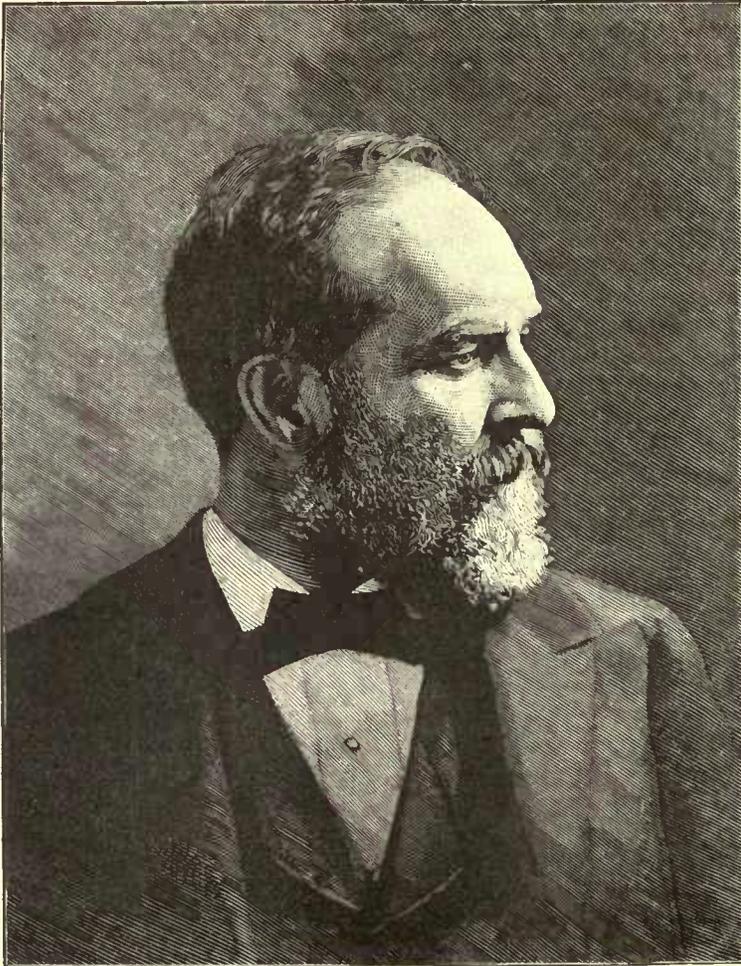
Of the great States immediately affected by the widely-ramified interests concerned in the existence of the Ottoman Empire, Russia passed, perhaps, through the most terrible trials. At first all seemed well with the mighty empire; on the 24th of January the intrepid Skobelev defeated the Turkomans and took their principal stronghold, the Geok Tepe, a success speedily followed by the submission and annexation of their vast territory. The dispute with China was also brought to a successful termination by a treaty which ceded the disputed district of Kuldja to the Celestials, with

the exception of a small portion, a large sum of money being paid to the Russian Government to cover the expenses of occupation. But disasters at home were a poor recompense for successes abroad. Nihilism had not been killed by General Melikoff, and its press was more active than ever. Yet few anticipated that its adherents were animated with sufficient nerve to make an attempt in the open street upon the life of the Czar. Such, however, was the fanatical resolve, that, on the 13th of March, as the Emperor was returning from a review, along the Catherine Canal, a bomb exploded beneath the carriage, wounding some Cossacks who were in attendance. His Majesty alighted unhurt, and was proceeding to attend to the wounded when another bomb was thrown from a short distance, and exploded at his feet. The doctors pronounced that his wounds were fatal; the Emperor was removed to the Winter Palace, where he expired about 3.45 p.m. Few men have ever been placed in a more terribly difficult position than the new Czar, Alexander III.; he could neither advance nor retreat. It was easy enough to apprehend and bring to trial the assassins of the Czar, who made no attempt to disprove their guilt, and were duly hanged on the 15th of April. But how to deal with Nihilism as a whole? The capital was placed in a state of siege, wholesale arrests were made of those suspected of revolutionary sympathies; a scheme of agrarian reform, of which General Melikoff was the author, was summarily rejected, and when that statesman resigned in consequence, he was replaced by the iron personality of General Ignatieff. Then a new policy was tried by the bewildered Government, and commissions of reform were issued, but very little came of them. An interview between the Czar and the aged Emperor of Germany, on September the 9th, at Danzig, was followed by a return to measures of repression, but without the smallest effect upon the Nihilist propaganda.

In the south-east of Europe there was turmoil and confusion of an even more hopeless character than usual. Bosnia and the Herzegovina was still violently indignant at being incorporated with Austria, and resisted the introduction of a new system of military service. Roumania was equally inclined to oppose the Austrian claim to interfere in the navigation of that part of the Danube which ran through the principality, and at one time diplomatic relations were severely strained. From Bulgaria came the not unexpected news that Prince Alexander, finding the inhabitants totally unfit for a democratic government, had boldly

revoked the constitution in favour of an autocratic system. Against Turkey was raised the usual cry of promises broken and pledges unfulfilled. Her finances were in disorder, no attempt was made to carry out reforms in Armenia, and the only direction in which any activity was displayed was in

promised her by the Treaty of Berlin, and that promise had been confirmed by the conference of the previous year. On the other hand, the European Concert was practically non-existent, and that chiefly owing to the attitude of France, whose Foreign Minister, M. de St. Hilaire, had addressed



PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

(From a Photograph by Sarony, New York.)

the prosecution of several ex-Ministers on the grave charge of having murdered the late Sultan, Abdul Aziz.

By far the most important of these complications, however, was that legacy of the Conservative Government—the Greek Frontier Question—which still remained unsettled. The idea of arbitration seemed a hopeless dream; both Turkey and Greece declared that they must have Janina, and both were arming apace. Justice was emphatically on the side of Greece; a certain frontier had been

a circular to the French diplomatists denying that Europe was in any way pledged to secure to the Hellenes the frontier they desired. Meanwhile the Greeks, confident in the moral support of the rest of Europe, and in material assistance from the Albanians, who were aiming at resistance, declined to abate a jot of their pretensions. The efforts of Lord Granville and Mr. Goschen to keep the peace were apparently destined to end in complete failure. Chiefly through the efforts of France an informal conference met towards the end of

January at Constantinople, where the initiation of negotiations was placed in the hands of the German Ambassador, Count Hatzfeld. The weeks dragged on, and there appeared no hope of an understanding being effected.

Suddenly the situation was entirely changed by

United Kingdom was thus now the only well-wisher of Greece, and Europe was thoroughly tired of the question. Accordingly, when the Sultan proposed a new frontier line by which Greece received Thessaly and part of Epirus, and Turkey retained the larger portion of the latter



MOUNTAINEER OF JANINA, ALBANIA.

an event to which we have already referred. The murder of the Czar Alexander II. removed from the government of Russia a determined ruler, and placed on the throne a man unskilled to govern, and desirous mainly of preventing everything from going to ruin within his dominions. Therefore, despite the fact that the Czarina was the sister of the King of the Hellenes, Russia was unable to champion the cause of the weaker side. The

province, together with the important fortresses of Janina and Metzovo, the Powers accepted the terms with certain modifications, and informed the Greeks that in the event of their non-acceptance they must expect no help from Europe.

At first it was thought, and in many quarters hoped, that the Hellenes would fight. The people, and especially the army, were anxious to draw the sword, but King George had too much prudence,

and early in April the conditions of the Powers were accepted. There was at first an outburst of disappointment throughout the nation, the troops were ready to mutiny at any moment, and it was thought probable that the king would be forced to abdicate. Gradually, however, the popular agitation grew calmer, and it was resolved to make a virtue of necessity. His mission accomplished, Mr. Goschen returned to England and took up the congenial position of the "candid friend" of the Ministry, full of much critical insight. If he had not saved Epirus for Greece, at least he had gained Thessaly for her, and not compelled her to put up, as was at one time proposed, with the poor alternative of Crete.

It was, as we have seen, the action of France which compelled Lord Granville, sorely against his will, to abandon Greece, and in other respects the relations of Great Britain with the Republic during the year were at times the reverse of cordial. The question of revising and renewing the commercial treaty between the two countries, originally made by Mr. Cobden, which had expired in 1880, was not decided within the year, though British interests were entrusted to the vigorous hands of Sir Charles Dilke, and though the commission which failed to come to any agreement at London reassembled at Paris in September. The points of dispute related to the new French general tariff which had been framed on the principle of substituting specific for *ad valorem* duties, to the great injury of English cotton and woollen goods, especially those of inferior quality. No *via media* was discovered on either side, even though Sir Charles Dilke's views were known to be supported by the powerful influence of M. Gambetta, and the affair stood over to 1882.

The self-effacement which France showed with regard to the Greek question was perhaps more than counterbalanced in the popular eye by certain Chauvinistic exploits against Tunis. The French Ministers had long been desirous to annex that regency, and the invasion of Algerian territory by a marauding tribe known as the Kroumirs, in April, gave them this opportunity. Meanwhile the Porte, suspecting the ulterior designs of the Republic on its tributary, appealed to Mr. Goschen, but received no hope that England would interfere; the Sultan's best chance of assistance lay in the Italians, who were furious at the idea of a rival Latin race acquiring glory at their expense. However, the French, finding that their way was tolerably clear, resolved to strike, and while protesting that any design of annexation was far from

them, advanced with a considerable force, nominally against the Kroumirs but really against the Bey. Biserta was occupied without firing a shot, and on the 13th of May the unfortunate Bey was compelled to sign a treaty which made him a complete puppet in the hands of a French "Minister Resident," M. Roustan.

Of course there was much indignation at this act of duplicity. Earl Granville pointedly informed the French ambassador, M. Challemel Lacour, that the Government of the Republic was mistaken if it imagined that the proceedings of the French in Tunis had produced a favourable effect upon public opinion in England. "Her Majesty's Government do not wish to lay too much stress upon inconsistencies of language or conversation, or on the various reasons which had been given at Paris and at Tunis for French intervention, first as a protection against the alleged design of the Sultan for the Bey's deposition, and secondly for the punishment of the turbulent frontier tribes. But it is hardly to be doubted that the treaty with Tunis goes far beyond any question of the security of the frontier, and amounts practically to a Protectorate, which they understood to have been disclaimed." Lord Granville, however, concluded simply by expressing his satisfaction that the French had determined not to upset any of the existing commercial conventions between Tunis and foreign Powers.

The Conservative papers at once raised the usual cry of "betrayal of British interests," and were somewhat disconcerted to find that the annexation of Tunis by France had received the seal and sanction of Lord Salisbury. Papers were promptly published which tended to prove that during the sittings of the Congress of Berlin the British Plenipotentiary had informed M. Waddington that the British Government accepted beforehand all the consequences which a natural development of French policy might entail on the ultimate destination of the Tunisian territory. "Do at Tunis as you think proper," his lordship said; "England will offer no opposition, and will respect your decisions." M. Waddington had replied that it was possible that the future might impose upon France, as regarded Tunis, more direct responsibility than now devolved upon her. The correctness of this statement of M. Waddington's was never disproved, though at the same time there were printed despatches from Lord Salisbury to the British representative at Tunis, and to Sir Henry Layard at Constantinople, denying the rumours that an annexation of the regency had ever been suggested by the British Government.

With regard to Tunis the British Government continued to maintain an attitude of strict neutrality, though the rising of the Arabs compelled the French to bombard Sfax, to occupy Tunis itself after considerable losses with an army of something like 70,000 men, and finally to place the government in the hands of a French Cabinet, who were to control the Bey in what M. Gambetta called "the Egyptian manner." When, however, the non-official journals of Paris began to hound on the French Government to annex Tripoli as well, Lord Granville said "Hands off" to M. de St. Hilaire. On June the 16th he wrote that in view of the unquestioned incorporation of Tripoli in the Turkish Empire, as well as its proximity to Egypt, the British Government could not possibly tolerate interference of whatever description on the part of the French Government in that province. He reminded them that M. de St. Hilaire himself had formerly expressed his opinion that it would be unwise on the part of France to annex Tunis, which formed a convenient "buffer" between Algeria and the possessions of the Porte in Africa, that France would besides be involved in difficulties with Italy about Tripoli, and would have extended her power too near Egypt. M. de St. Hilaire promptly replied that the French had no designs whatever upon Tripoli; all that they desired was that the Porte should repress any outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism, and with that answer the British Foreign Minister was content.

The interest of home politics in France was, as usual, concentrated almost entirely in M. Gambetta. In face of the inefficiency of M. Ferry's Cabinet, it was clear that he would soon have to take a far more active part than he had hitherto thought fit to assume. When the great question of election by *scrutin de liste* came before the Chamber, the Government assumed an attitude of weak neutrality, and the committee of the Senate to whom it was submitted ventured in consequence to throw out the measure. Soon after this very significant event the Chambers dissolved, and France found herself in the midst of a general election. The contest resulted in large Republican gains, chiefly at the expense of the Bonapartists, who lost nearly half their number. M. Gambetta was returned by such a narrow majority by one of the two districts of Belleville that a second ballot was necessary. Nevertheless, though he had lost his hold upon his old constituents, the great dictator was more powerful than ever within the Assembly; he was re-elected temporary President of the Chamber by a record of opinion that was

practically unanimous, and when the Cabinet had to face the issue of a grand debate on the Tunis question, the Chamber adopted his resolution in favour of passing to the order of the day, thus neither condemning nor acquitting the Government. The Ferry Ministry thereupon resigned, and to M. Gambetta was entrusted the task of forming a new Cabinet. He found it less easy than had been anticipated. M. de Freycinet, M. Tirard, and M. Léon Say declined one after another to serve under him, and he was forced to have recourse to less prominent politicians, whose chief virtue consisted in their implicit obedience to his command.

Unstable as was the state of affairs in France, her great rival, the German Empire, was almost equally perplexed. The behests of the Chancellor were not obeyed by the Imperial Reichstag, which was opened on the 15th of February. One of the Government proposals, a Bill for biennial budgets, was rejected *sans phrase*, with the exception of a clause which extended the duration of Parliament from three to four years. On the 2nd of June the second reading of the Workmen's Insurance Bill came on; amendments of vital importance were introduced by the Liberals, but the Bill was rejected by the Federal Council. Lastly, another of Prince Bismarck's favourite projects, the creation of an Economic Council, was thrown out by 183 to 102. The German Parliament was dissolved on the 15th of June. The elections, which were fixed for October, were waited for with much anxiety by all parties. After all, Prince Bismarck found himself in not quite so bad a position as had been anticipated. Nevertheless, it was an act of almost heroic audacity on the part of the Chancellor to attempt to force his old measures, the Biennial Budgets Bill, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, and the Accident Insurance Bill through the new Parliament. Of the measures that came on for discussion before the end of the year, the Economic Council Bill was again rejected, and bitter complaints were made of the interference of the Government in the elections. Towards the close of December Prince Bismarck was casting about for support, and was again understood to be engaged in dealings with the Holy See.

Of the affairs of the remaining States of Europe there is not much to be said: The Austro-Hungarian Empire was as usual much disturbed by the turbulence of the Czech and Magyar populations, and was in consequence ready to seize with avidity the opportunity of establishing more cordial relations with Italy which was afforded by the visit of

King Humbert to Vienna. The Italians, on the other side of the Alps, found plenty of occupation in abolishing the forced paper currency, and in clamouring against the French aggressions in Africa, about which the strength of the national feeling showed itself in the ejection of the Premier, Signor Cairoli, from power, because of his supposed want of firmness, and the accession of Signor Depretis as his successor.

In Asia the most important facts as far as England was concerned were the termination of the Afghan imbroglio by the withdrawal of the British troops from Candahar, and the reversal of the victory of Ayoub Khan's forces, which was followed by the occupation of Candahar by the Ameer Abdurrahman and the flight of Ayoub into Persia. Another frontier affair was an expedition against the Waziris, who had made a raid upon the town of Tonk in the previous year. The small force, commanded by General Kennedy, was entirely successful; five out of six of the marauding chiefs surrendered at once, the sixth fled to Cabul, but his possessions were harried by the British troops. It is necessary only to put on record a number of miscellaneous facts with regard to the huge mass of nations comprised within the limits of the Indian Empire. The year did not pass absolutely without disturbance, partly owing to religious feuds between the Mohammedans and Hindoos, and partly to the unreasonable dislike and alarm entertained by the native population against the census. Mysore, which had profited greatly by fifty years of British government, was at length handed back to its own line of princes, and the young Gaikwar of Baroda was installed with much pomp and circumstance upon attaining his majority. Under the direction of Major Evelyn Baring, who had already won much credit for his efforts to put straight the affairs of the Khedive, Indian finance assumed a more satisfactory aspect than it had done of late. The error in the Budget of the previous year was rectified, the outlay of native capital for the construction of local relief works was encouraged, and important steps were taken towards the further decentralisation of the government. Lord Ripon's administration encouraged also the extension of the railway system and, aided by a fairly propitious season, was thus able to give an impetus to the prosperity of the country.

In Australasia the zeal for improvement which had dictated the opening of the highly successful Melbourne International Exhibition in October of the previous year continued unabated, as was

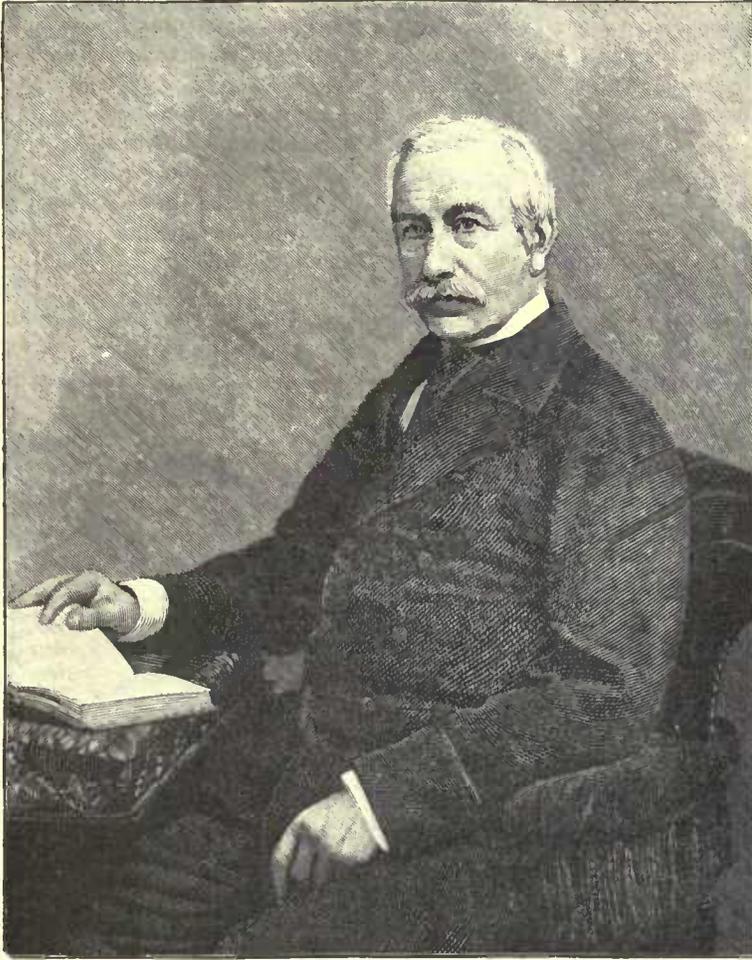
evinced by the opening of similar shows on a smaller scale at Adelaide, and at Perth in Western Australia, in November. In other respects the history of these great dependencies was a record of untroubled prosperity. Victorian politics, however, were not less turbulent than usual, and the Berry Ministry, unable to carry their Reform Bill through the Upper House, were defeated on a vote of want of confidence proposed by Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, who became the leader of a Coalition Ministry, and inaugurated his tenure of office by applying to the London money-market for a loan of nearly £4,000,000. Great excitement was caused at this time in the political world of Sydney by the discovery of some questionable official transactions in connection with money that had been voted as compensation to a mining company. Reports from Queensland and South Australia spoke of a rapid increase of population and activity in the construction of public works, against which had to be set a certain inability on the part of the respective governments to employ the financial resources of the colony to the best advantage. Lastly, in New Zealand the apprehensions that had been freely expressed as to the probability of a collision between the British and the Maoris were fortunately falsified in the event: and timely steps were taken to establish a more prudent system of finance than that by which, under the previous Administration, the public debt had increased by leaps and bounds.

Throughout the varying fortunes of the Zulu war the attitude of the Boers of the Transvaal was one of sullen neutrality. With the exception of a small band of volunteers under Piet Uys they refused to fight against their old enemy, and it was even reported that the Moderate party had considerable difficulty in restraining the violent inclinations of the hotter spirits to cast off the British yoke. Early in the year 1879 the envoys of the Boer Executive Council, Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, returned from England, having failed to induce the Colonial Secretary to listen to their prayers for autonomy. From that moment rebellion sooner or later was inevitable. A mass meeting was held at Kleinfontein in March, to which the People's Committee, of which Mr. Pretorius was chairman, presented a document containing a demand for independence, which was received with loud cries of assent.

After a journey of some peril, for Isandhlwana was as yet unavenged, Sir Bartle Frere arrived, according to promise, in the Transvaal, accompanied by Sir Owen Lanyon, and met the Boer

leaders in conference. To the demand for independence, which Mr. Joubert urged with some persistency, the High Commissioner replied that he had no power to give them anything of the kind, and pointed out that they were much better off than they had been before Sir Theophilus

The hopes which Sir Bartle Frere had smothered were revived in the breasts of the farmers on his supersession by Sir Garnet Wolseley, but they were destined to be rudely destroyed a second time. Immediately after the so-called settlement of Zululand Sir Garnet betook himself to Pretoria, and



SIR BARTLE FRERE. (From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

Shepstone's act of annexation. Thereupon the farmers dispersed, after their leaders had drawn up a strong protest against the "unbearable state of things" in which they were placed, which Sir Bartle Frere promised to forward to the home authorities. Sir Bartle then proceeded to interview the prominent Boers privately, and the result of his investigations was a despatch to the Colonial Office of the 6th of May, in which he stated that the desire for independence was by no means unanimous, but that it would be well to conciliate the colonists by a liberal scheme of government.

there, in answer to a letter from Mr. Pretorius, asking whether any reply had been given by the British Government to the memorial forwarded by Sir Bartle Frere, he issued a proclamation which stated in the plainest terms that it was "the will and determination of Her Majesty's Government that the Transvaal territory should be and should continue for ever an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa." There was evidently no chance of wringing concessions from the new administrator, and almost simultaneously Sir Bartle Frere assured a

deputation of Cape Colonists, who were in sympathy with the Boer malcontents, that the independence of the Transvaal was out of the question. Upon this came the letters patent from the Colonial Office authorising the creation of an Executive Council, consisting of three official members, and three members nominated by the Crown. This form of government was bitterly resented by the Boers as opposed to their notions of free representation, and as being in direct contradiction to the promises of Sir Theophilus Shepstone made at the time of the annexation.

Only the presence of a large force of British soldiers carefully disposed by Sir Garnet prevented the outburst of immediate rebellion. The malcontents had recourse to every kind of disturbance calculated to set the administration at naught. Mass meetings were frequent, at which the language became more and more fervid, but in face of the overwhelming superiority of British troops, wiser heads were in favour of waiting upon events. The saying of Sir Garnet Wolseley that "as long as the sun shone the Transvaal should remain British territory" was exposed, however, to the most unsparing ridicule. In spite of the warnings of the High Commissioner, a great mass meeting was held on the 16th of December, at which resolutions were passed utterly repudiating the British rule and demanding the restoration of the old Republican Constitution. Immediately afterwards Messrs. Pretorius and Bok, whose names had appeared on the document, were arrested on charges of high treason, and soon afterwards, Abel Erasmus, who was said to have incited Sikukuni to rebellion, was sent to share their fate. The indignation caused by these somewhat violent proceedings was increased by a speech of Sir Garnet's at a banquet given to him in Pretoria after the discomfiture of Sikukuni, in the course of which he asked the unfortunate question, "Why are we left to fight out the battle by ourselves, when these ignorant men, led by a few designing followers, are talking nonsense and spouting sedition on the high veldt?"

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1880 the prospect seemed a little brighter than it had done hitherto. Although Mr. Pretorius, who was never brought to trial, declined a seat on the new Executive Council, several Dutchmen of importance accepted official positions; and though a severe press law was received with considerable dissatisfaction, the legislation of the Assembly, taken as a whole, was regarded with some favour. Sir Garnet was able to write to Sir M. Hicks-Beach :

"Reports from all quarters of the Transvaal sustain the opinion that the people, being thoroughly weary of the uncertainty and the troubles attendant upon opposition to the Government, and seeing no hope of any successful issue from the dangerous measures in which they had been induced to place confidence, have determined to renounce all further disturbing action, and to return to the peaceful cares of their rural life, which was already beginning to suffer from the continuance of political irritation."

As a matter of fact, the idea that the British Government might still be willing to grant independence was cherished by many, although the promises in the Queen's Speech pointed only to the establishment of a union or confederation, "under which powers of self-government, already enjoyed by the inhabitants of Cape Colony, may be extended to my subjects in other parts of South Africa." What a Conservative Government refused to grant might be given by the Liberals, and a speech of Lord Hartington's recognised the relinquishment of the Transvaal as a question worthy of consideration. "If it be proved," said he, "that it is for the advantage of the district, and for the peace of the whole community of South Africa, that the Transvaal should continue to be governed by us, by all means let it be so. But if, on the other hand, we find that it would be more advantageous, and more honourable, to restore the former government of that country, then I say that no false sense of dignity ought to stand in the way." After the dissolution many of the Liberal leaders committed themselves to utterances of an even more outspoken nature. Mr. Gladstone, for instance, in the course of the second Midlothian campaign, said concerning Cyprus and the Transvaal, that if these acquisitions were as valuable as they were valueless, he would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonourable to the character of England.

It is hardly to be wondered that the Boer leaders should have telegraphed to their sympathisers in London expressing their bitter disappointment at the intimation in the Queen's Speech, which set forth the Liberal programme, that the Queen's supremacy over the Transvaal would be maintained. This was followed by a message from the new Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Kimberley, to the same effect, and by a letter from Mr. Gladstone to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, explaining that "in view of preventing a renewal of the disorders in South Africa the Queen had determined to retain her sovereignty over the Transvaal," but at the

same time the white inhabitants were to be allowed the utmost liberty to manage their own affairs." Although there was as yet no open rebellion, Sir Owen Lanyon's stringent methods of collecting arrears of taxation added fuel to the flame, and threats were frequently made to the magistrates that it was impossible any longer to put up with the demands of the British Government. These threats, however, attracted but little attention, as it was generally believed that the Boers did not intend to fight, until in October there appeared a notice in the *Volksstem*, the organ of the malcontents, declaring that they would pay no more taxes without the authority of the Volksraad or assembly of the people, and alleging that the country was being illegally robbed.

Rebellion was now imminent, and inasmuch as the country had been nearly denuded of troops, the opportunity promised well. Events soon precipitated the struggle. A Boer named Bezuidenhout, who refused to pay taxes, was seized by the magistrates, and his waggon put up to auction at Potchefstroom. A number of armed Boers, however, had assembled, who ill-treated the sheriff and drove off the waggon in triumph. Sir Owen Lanyon immediately sent troops (about 600 in all) into the district, an act which still further irritated the people. It was found impossible to arrest the rebels, and nothing but the presence of Mr. Kruger, who had hurried up from Pretoria, prevented the shedding of blood. In spite of the prohibition of Sir Owen Lanyon, it was determined to hold a great mass meeting in December.

This important assembly met on the 13th of that month at Paardekraal, and at once decided not to give up those who were implicated in the Bezuidenhout affair. It went farther, and demanded the restoration of the Republic under a British protectorate. A provisional Government was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and P. J. Joubert, and on the 18th the flag of the Republic was hoisted at Heidelberg, and the new Constitution proclaimed in a long document which set forth the grievances suffered by the Boers under the British Government, accusing Sir Bartle Frere of misleading the British authorities, quoting against Sir Garnet Wolseley his dictum that "as long as the sun shone the Transvaal would remain British territory," and expressing much indignation against Sir Owen Lanyon for having said that the opposition of the people was abating and that they paid their taxes willingly. This declaration of independence was forwarded to Sir Owen Lanyon.

Already the first shot had been fired. A party

of Boers had ridden into Potchefstroom with a copy of the proclamation which they wished to have printed. Major Clarke, the Civil Commissioner, refused to sanction such a proceeding, and the Boers thereupon surrounded the town, taking possession of the principal streets. Shots were exchanged, but it is a much disputed question which party was the aggressor. Though taken by surprise, Major Clarke with sixty men held out gallantly in the court-house, but they were compelled to surrender to numbers, and Major Clarke and Mr. Raaf, a Boer who was faithful to the British Government, were taken prisoners. The insurgents, however, could make no impression upon the troops encamped outside the town under Colonel Winslow, consisting of 140 men of the 21st Fusiliers, and a number of artillerymen with two guns.

To the summons of the Boer Triumvirate requesting him to give up the keys of the Government offices, without spilling blood, within twenty-four hours, Sir Owen Lanyon replied by sending a hasty message to Sir George Colley, the Governor of Natal, asking him to send up reinforcements without delay, and ordering a general concentration of troops on Pretoria. It should be observed that there had been no declaration of war on either side. In pursuance of the Administrator's order Captain Froome moved three companies of regulars from Wakkerstroom to Standerton, though he had received notice from the Triumvirate that advance of troops before the reply of the British Government had been received would be considered a *casus belli*. Colonel Anstruther, who was directed to march from Middelberg to Pretoria with some 250 men of the 94th, was not so fortunate. He had been warned that an attack was probable, and had replied that the 94th knew how to take care of themselves. On the 20th of December he moved forward, accompanied by a long string of baggage-waggons which seriously impeded any attempt at maintaining order. The party had arrived without molestation at Brunckers Spruit when they were suddenly surrounded by the enemy under Franz Joubert, a cousin of the Commandant-General, who had been admirably posted in ambush, and a letter was handed to the Colonel, signed by Piet Joubert, ordering him not to advance. Colonel Anstruther replied that he would march to Pretoria and, to use his own words, as published in his despatch written just before he died, "the Boer messenger said that he would take my message to the Commandant General; and I asked him to let me know the result, to which he nodded assent." Almost

immediately, however, the enemy's line advanced; a murderous fire was opened upon the British troops, who, taken utterly aback by the promptitude of their assailants, had no time to form. In about ten minutes nearly the whole of the small force was placed *hors de combat*. Colonel Anstruther, who had received his death-wound, was compelled to give the signal for surrender. Of the officers Lieutenant Harrison and Lieutenant Hume behaved with conspicuous courage, while Mrs. Smith, the widow of the bandmaster of the 94th, devoted herself with the utmost heroism to assisting the wounded under fire. The colours were saved by Conductor Egerton, who managed to convey them to Pretoria whither he was allowed to go for medical help. The Boers treated the wounded with the utmost consideration, and most of the prisoners were released on *parole*. As two officers were returning to Pietermaritzburg they met a body of Boers, who compelled them by threats to ford the river Vaal, and fired on them as they were crossing, killing Captain Elliott. The other, Captain Lambert, escaped, and after many hardships arrived at Pietermaritzburg. The result of the affray at Brunkers Spruit came upon the administration like a thunderclap. Sir Owen Lanyon still offered pardon to those rebels who were willing to submit, but on the other hand he made all possible dispositions for war. Pretoria was abandoned, and the troops were sent into an entrenched camp. Sir George Colley sent for reinforcements both to India and England.

So turbulent indeed was the state of South Africa that all available troops were required elsewhere. The Dutch element sympathised profoundly with their fellow-countrymen, though they had no mind to rebel. The disposition of the native tribes, consequent on the wave of unrest which had culminated in the recently-quieted Zulu war, was even more dangerous. Hence a proposal, hastily conceived and hastily executed by the Government of Cape Colony, to put into force the Disarmament Act against the Basutos, who had fought so bravely against Cetewayo and Sikukuni, was particularly inopportune. After a deputation, headed by their old chief Letsea, had been sent away from Cape Town by the Prime Minister, Mr. Sprigg, with an unfavourable reply, the bolder spirits urged that rather than surrender their arms they should fight with them. Letsea himself was for submission, but his brother Masupha and his son Lerothodi headed the disaffected party. After Mr. Sprigg had tried to avert hostilities by a personal visit to Basutoland, the rebellion broke

out in October, and was still unsubdued when the Boer war began. Hence some hundreds of mounted volunteers, who would have done invaluable service in the Transvaal, were at that moment over the border. The native movement became more dangerous when it spread into Kaffraria, and the Basutos of East Griqualand, together with the Tembu and Pandomisi tribes, rose in considerable numbers. However, with the aid of volunteers from the Transvaal and Natal, the colonial troops speedily restored peace on that side. Lerothodi made peace in the following April, when Sir Hercules Robinson arranged a settlement between the Basutos and the Cape Colonists to which Masupha, after holding back, gave his consent.

In such a grave conjuncture of events there can hardly be any doubt that Sir George Colley would have acted wisely in waiting for reinforcements before taking the field. He had with him barely a thousand men, and the Boers had already shown that they were an enemy not to be despised. Moreover, he was very weak in cavalry. The High Commissioner, however, resolved to march at once to the relief of Pretoria, where Sir Owen Lanyon was being besieged, and of Potchefstroom, where the garrison was scantily supplied, and determined to make Newcastle, already threatened by the enemy, his base of operations. The Boers, meanwhile, were encamped, under their Commandant-General, P. J. Joubert, at Coldstream, on the borderland of Natal and the Transvaal. Thence they advanced on the 27th of January and occupied the famous position of Laing's Nek, a ridge between the Majuba mountain and the Buffalo hills flanked by rocks on either side, and approachable only in front. There Joubert received Sir George Colley's ultimatum—a summons to disperse—with a defiant negative.

On the 24th of January, Sir George Colley, having thrown up an entrenched camp at Newcastle and provisioned it for thirteen days, determined to advance and attack the enemy. His actual force comprised 500 of the 58th Regiment, 400 of the 60th Rifles, seventy Mounted Squadron, 120 Naval Brigade, 100 detachment of the 21st, 110 Artillery, and sixty or eighty of the Natal Mounted Police, besides a complement of the Army Service Corps. Next day he crossed the Ingogo river and encamped within four miles of Laing's Nek. At that very moment the *Euphrates* troopship was disembarking 1,400 men at Durban, but the General, who had completely underrated his enemy, would not wait for them, as they could not come up in less than three weeks. On the

by the 58th under Major Hingeston, covered on the right by the Mounted Squadron under Major Brownlow, K.D.G.; Colonel Deane, commanding the Natal field force, personally led the attack. It proved a disastrous failure. Major Brownlow led his men up the hill in splendid style and charged the enemy's position, but the steepness of the ascent fatigued the horses, and the unerring aim of the Boers shot down the officers. This settled the fate of the 58th, as the Boers, who had repulsed the cavalry attack, were free to open fire upon the right rear; while another force, behind entrenchments, shot at their front. "The 58th," ran Sir George Colley's account, "pushed on eagerly, forming a few men on the left flank to return the enemy's fire. But the climb was a very trying one, and when the men got near the top they were too fatigued and breathless for a charge, while the fire from the ridge behind continued to tell heavily, and the Boers on the brow shot down on the men as they struggled up. The officers led nobly, and Colonel Deane, with splendid gallantry, tried to carry the hill with a rush. His horse was shot, but he extricated himself, and dashing forward on foot fell, riddled with bullets, ten yards in front of the foremost man. Major Poole, D.A.Q.M.G., who joined him in the charge, with Lieutenant Inman, 60th Rifles, his orderly officer, and Lieutenant Elwes, Grenadier Guards, my A.D.C., were killed close by him, and Major Hingeston, commanding the 58th Regiment, and all the mounted officers of the regiment were shot down or dismounted. The men continued to hold their ground unflinchingly for some time, but the ground was too unfavourable and the fire too severe, and ultimately the regiment was compelled to retire, covered for some time by the fire of two companies posted under the direction of Major Essex, 75th Regiment, behind a slight ledge. Part of the 60th pushed forward to cover the retirement, and the 58th, which had fallen back leisurely, without haste or confusion, re-formed at the foot of the hill, and marched back into position in as good order and with as erect and soldierly a bearing as when it marched out." It had lost over 170 killed and wounded.

In a generous speech addressed to the troops after the engagement Sir George Colley confessed that he alone was to blame, and congratulated the 58th on the brave and noble manner in which they had fought. Pending the arrival of reinforcements, there was nothing to be done but to hold the camp. It was not long before it was rumoured that the Boers intended to cut off the reinforcements

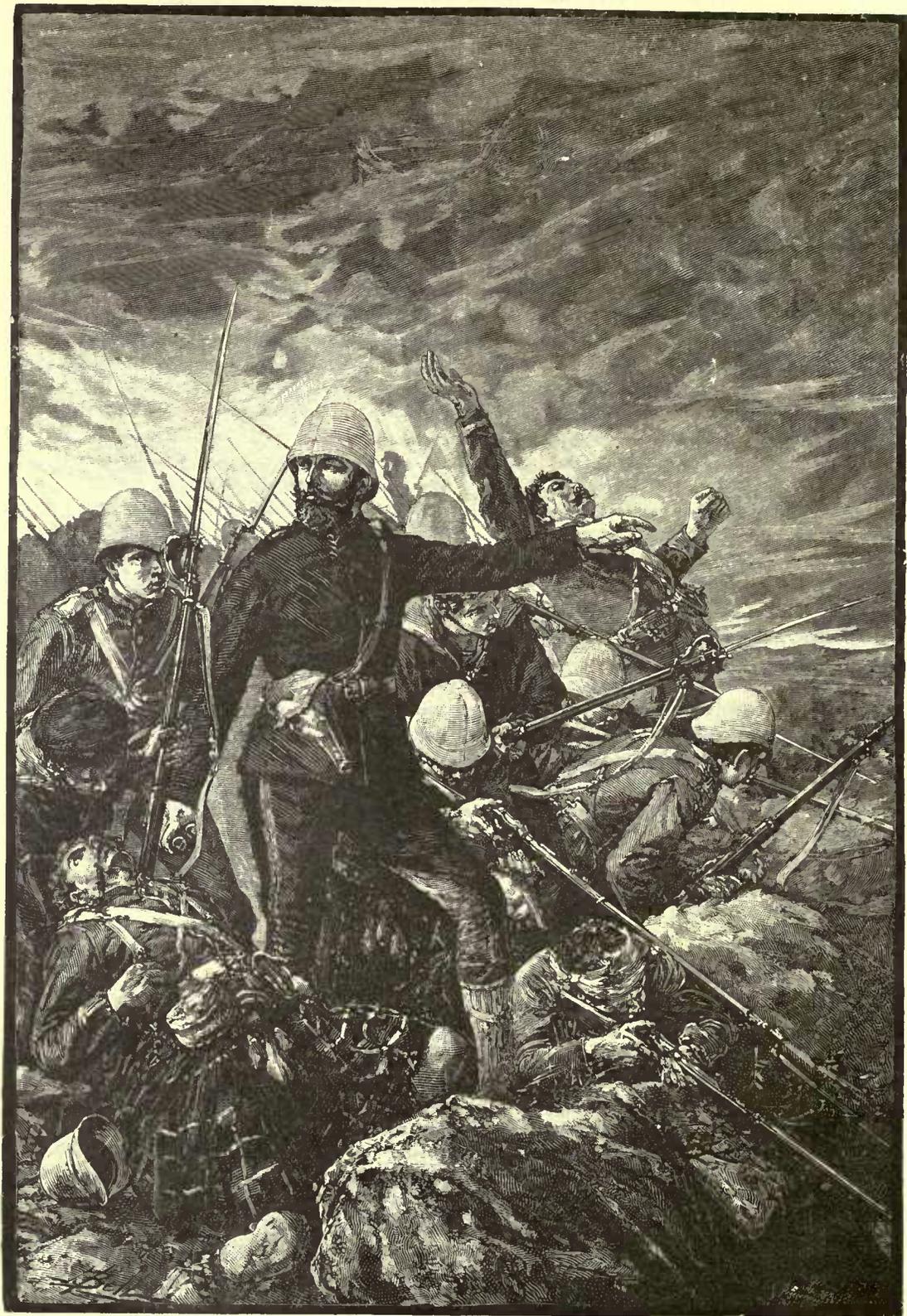
on their way to Newcastle, and as the road from the camp to that town was also unsafe, the General decided to make a reconnaissance in force on the 8th of February, in order to restore communications. He himself took command, having as staff, Major Essex, Captain MacGregor, Lieutenant Hamilton, and the Chaplain, the Rev. St. M. Ritchie; his troops consisted of five companies of the 60th, numbering 273 all told, under Colonel Ashburnham; there were two nine-pounders and two seven-pounders under Captain Greer, R.A., and thirty-eight men of the Mounted Squadron. The Ingogo was forded without opposition, and the way to Newcastle seemed perfectly clear when, to their utter consternation, the troops found themselves confronted by the enemy who, from under cover of the boulders, directed a heavy fire upon the British guns and skirmishers. The companies of the 60th as they came up the hill were sent forward to meet these attacks, and in a few minutes the engagement became heavy and general. The Rifles, who pushed forward to cover the guns, suffered severely, and Major Brownlow's small mounted detachment was too weak to attempt a flank attack. The Artillerymen, who had no shelter whatever, suffered most; Captain Greer fell early in the day, and his place was taken by Lieutenant Parsons, who showed the most determined courage throughout the affair. As soon as it became evident that the attack was serious, the General sent back to the camp at Mount Prospect for reinforcements. "About three," he wrote, "the fire began to slacken, and the enemy apparently abandoned the idea of trying to win the position, though a steady and very accurate fire was still maintained, anyone exposing himself being almost certainly struck. Our men fired with steadiness and coolness, husbanding their ammunition. About this time the Boer reinforcements, which had been dropping in during the afternoon, began to stream in in large numbers, and the attack on our right was for a time more vigorously renewed; but towards sundown the fire slackened on this side also, and the enemy withdrew and concentrated their forces in the valleys on our right. A movement made by a considerable force of Boers towards the Ingogo drift, apparently with the object of intercepting our return to camp, was stopped by the appearance of the companies of the 58th on the ridge above the drift, and before dusk the fire had ceased altogether." As Sir George Colley had no supplies, and as the enemy were evidently prepared to attack in overwhelming numbers on the morrow, he decided to withdraw.

The movement was successfully effected, in spite of the intense darkness and want of horses to drag the guns, and the lines were reached shortly after daybreak. On arrival in camp it was found that the British had lost quite 150 killed and wounded, who were left on the field of battle. The Boers, who at one time had numbered as many as 1,000, also suffered severely.

After this second reverse—for such it was, and the General hardly attempted to disguise the fact—there was a lull in the operations, during which reports were once more circulated that the Boers were about to invade Natal and force a battle with the relief troops, which were being hurried to the front under Sir Evelyn Wood. That excellent soldier, however, outwitted the enemy by forced marches, and so accomplished the crossing of the dangerous Ingogane river in safety. On February 17th he arrived at Newcastle with the reinforcements, consisting of the 2nd battalion of the 60th Rifles, the 92nd Highlanders, two squadrons of the 13th Hussars, and fifty men of the Naval Brigade with two guns. These he handed over to Sir George Colley, and then was sent back to Pietermaritzburg to hurry up further reinforcements, a step which was afterwards gravely censured. For the next few days nothing was done, and it was thought that nothing would be done until the return of Sir Evelyn.

In the evening of the 26th, however, an order was sent to detachments of the 58th, the 60th Rifles, the Naval Brigade and the Highlanders, about 600 all told, to parade with three days' rations. Their destination was kept secret. Starting forth, they advanced by night towards the Majuba mountain, and proceeded to climb its precipitous sides, some 2,500 feet high. The summit was reached about four in the morning, and the men flung themselves down, completely worn out. "They were," as the official account had it, "too exhausted to entrench, and hardly fit to fight." The hill top is hollowed out in the centre like a basin; the men therefore lined the ridges, and thence looked down the sides of the mountain, which were so precipitous as to appear impregnable. As a matter of fact this was a disadvantage. It was afterwards discovered that the slopes below the plateau were so steep that they could not be searched by British fire, while the Boers could avail themselves of cover up to the very brow. Below was the enemy's camp, extending along Laing's Nek, with three waggon laagers about 3,000 yards to the north-west, and a fourth about 1,500 yards to the west of the British position.

About a quarter to six some shots fired contrary to orders revealed the presence of the British on the summit of the mountain to the astonished Boers. Their camp was immediately seen to be in great commotion, and it seemed as if they were meditating a retreat. Reinforcements, however, kept steadily coming up, and soon the enemy were filing out of camp and skirmishing towards the base of the mountain. Shortly after six they began a desultory fire. It was some time before the shots on either side had much effect. The Boers kept creeping up, until within 600 yards of the brow, when they opened a steady fire, but it was too high. The British replied slowly and steadily. About a quarter past ten the General went to the right, where Commander Romilly stood, in order to start the sailors in an entrenchment. The Commander, however, was shot by his side, and seeing the exposed nature of the ground he abandoned the idea. The fire then slackened until 11.30, the Boers all the while advancing up the steep slopes unseen by the British shooting line. A heavy volley opening on an isolated spot held only by fifteen or sixteen Highlanders, the greater part of the reserves were hurried up to support them, obeying the order, it is said, with some want of alacrity. About noon the rest of the reserves were taken up to reinforce the shooting line by Colonel Stewart and Major Fraser, but as there was no room for their supports on the brow they were posted on the second ridge. Suddenly the fortune of the day changed. Shortly after one o'clock a terrific fire broke out from the right lower slopes of the hill, where the firing had all along been heaviest, and the enemy made simultaneously a vigorous rush. The advanced line of the British was at once nearly all shot; the rest were driven back from all parts into the middle of the basin, where a last attempt to rally was made. But the men were out of hand and refused to obey their officers, who one and all behaved with conspicuous gallantry. For a while the exertions of General Colley and Colonel Stewart succeeded in persuading many of them to fix bayonets. No order, however, was given to charge, though several officers repeatedly crossed the line of fire to ask for a charge, and Privates Hemsley and Boyle actually advanced alone and fell, and at last the dispirited troops, composed to a considerable extent of mere boys, and unable to stand the hail of bullets from less than forty yards off, broke and fled in the wildest confusion down the precipitous slopes. The Boers, with loud shouts, rushed after them, and mowed them down as they



SIR GEORGE COLLEY AT MAJUBA HILL. (See p. 539.)

ran. General Colley, accompanied only by Captain Maude, turned round and faced the enemy, and the two died there. There they were buried. Two guns and two companies of the 92nd, sent up from the camp, covered the retreat to the best of their ability; and a small force, consisting of a company of the 60th and of the 92nd, which had been extended at the foot of the mountain, escaped almost unscathed. The official return showed that out of 35 officers and 693 men, 20 officers and 266 men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The number of casualties on the other side was exceedingly slight; in fact the enemy was a mere handful. So ended one of the most decided reverses British troops had experienced for many years. Every effort was made to prevent a repetition of the disgraceful disaster; General Wood hurried up to Providence camp, which was carefully fortified against attack. Sir Frederick Roberts was immediately appointed to succeed General Colley—General Newdigate, Colonel Baker, and Colonel Hughes, R.A., having commands under him—and reinforcements sailed from England and Ireland. It was reported that the war would be resumed in the Transvaal by the new General at the head of some 14,000 men.

The battle of Majuba was, however, the last of this miserable war. In spite of the irreconcilable declarations of the Triumvirate from their headquarters, formulated in a document termed their "petition of rights," negotiations for peace had been for some time under consideration. Their initiation was due to Mr. Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, a gentleman of Dutch family, but of English education. Partly, no doubt, he was influenced by motives of policy, as there was a strong war party in the Free State who were anxious to plunge into the struggle on behalf of their fellow-Dutchmen; but there can hardly be any question that he was also swayed to a very great extent by impulses of humanity. As early as the 5th of December he had telegraphed to the Governor of Cape Town, Sir George Strahan, suggesting that a commissioner should be sent into the Transvaal—for instance, Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony—to ascertain the real feelings of the population. The suggestion was declined, but he renewed his mediation on the 10th of January, and subsequently relaxed no effort towards peace. The result of his representations had been that Mr. Kruger had communicated with Sir George Colley, and that the latter before the Majuba disaster had forwarded the terms of a proposed armistice to General Joubert.

Sir Evelyn Wood took up the negotiations where his predecessor had left them. A conference was held midway between the lines between the generals of the two armies on the 6th of March, and an eight days' armistice was agreed upon, the conditions of which were, (1) that neither party should make a forward movement, but that each should retain a liberty of movement within its own lines; (2) that General Wood should undertake to send eight days' provisions but no ammunition to the Transvaal garrisons, the Boer officers undertaking to pass such provisions; and (3) that Joubert should send notice of the armistice conditions to the British garrisons and Boer commanders at once; and should use his influence to induce the Boer commanders to allow the withdrawal of British wounded from all Transvaal garrisons into Natal.

These conditions, which were received with much indignation by the British settlers in South Africa and by the Conservative party in Britain, gave timely relief to the hard-pressed British garrisons in the Transvaal, who in several instances had to defend themselves not only from the attacks of the enemy from without, but from possible risings of the townsmen within the walls. Of the large settlements in the Transvaal, Utrecht and Middelberg had been seized before there was time to organise resistance, but the gallant little garrison of Potchefstroom, under Colonel Winslow, did not surrender until the 20th of March, after having endured the utmost extremities. It appeared that the Boer Commandant Cronje disregarded the orders of Joubert, and did not acquaint the besieged with the armistice; General Wood therefore insisted that the arms of the garrison should be restored, and he reoccupied the place *pro forma* with a company of foot-soldiers. Standerton held out under Major Montague with the utmost resolution, and the enemy could make no impression; but at Pretoria, though the British flag still waved, the garrison were severely wasted in two sorties. At Lydenberg Lieutenant Long of the 94th held out splendidly against the enemy, who during the last days of the siege were directed by one Aylward, an old Fenian Centre.

Once more President Brand came forward as a mediator between the two peoples, and when the armistice was extended from the 14th to the 18th and then to the 21st of March, it became clear that peace was highly probable. Its terms were finally settled on the 21st, and their substance was announced in both Houses of Parliament on the following day. The Boers were to acknowledge

the suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal, but were to retain the right of complete self-government. The Crown was to have control over all foreign relations, and a British Resident was to be admitted to the future capital to protect the natives. A Royal Commission, consisting of Sir Hercules Robinson, the new Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir H. de Villiers, was to determine boundary questions and the methods by which the natives were to be protected, and until a final settlement was made the British garrisons were to continue in the Transvaal. The Boers were to abandon Laing's Nek and disperse, while the British engaged not to advance or send stores into the country.

Of course, peace concluded in these circumstances caused some dissatisfaction. The Boers, who had expected freedom in name as well as in fact, were disappointed; the British inhabitants of the Transvaal, who had suffered much during the war for refusing to submit to the Triumvirate, were infuriated, and the natives, who had held under the South African Republic a social status very little, if at all, superior to slavery, were in a condition of great uneasiness. The powerful independent tribes, like the Zulus and Swazis, threatened to attack the Boers on their own account. The Dutchmen of the Orange Free State were divided between satisfaction at the prominent part played by their President, and regret at not being able to share in the triumphs of their fellow-countrymen. The people of Natal, who had made a handsome profit out of the war, condemned the Government. Their disgust found expression in a refusal to accept Mr. W. J. Sendall as their new Governor in place of Sir Evelyn Wood. They alleged that he was an unknown man and had been secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson, so that it seemed as if they were to be placed in a position of inferiority to the Cape Colony. After some delay the Colonial Office consented to cancel the appointment in favour of Sir Henry Bulwer, their former Lieutenant-Governor. The only voice upraised in favour of the settlement was that of the House of Assembly at the Cape, in which a resolution was passed expressing satisfaction at the restoration of peace.

The negotiations were received by the Conservative party in England and by not a few Liberals with an outburst of indignation, which Mr. Gladstone hardly checked by dwelling upon the sin of "bloodguiltiness," and it was not long before Lord Cairns, on behalf of his party, made a most vigorous assault on Government. He first

described the disastrous progress of affairs since the day on which the Queen's Speech had promised that the rising should be suppressed and the authority of the Crown maintained; then he dwelt on Lord Kimberley's assurance that the negotiations were calculated "to produce a satisfactory settlement and to spare the effusion of blood, consistently with the honour of the British Crown." He did not think that that result had been attained, and he showed that Government, which had at first even refused to entertain the suggestion that Sir H. de Villiers should be sent into the Transvaal as Special Commissioner, had either misled the country, in which case the blood of brave soldiers had been deliberately shed in vain, or had given way before reverses; and he pointed out that the expression "submission," which had been used by President Brand in the first instance, had dropped out of the telegrams after the Majuba disaster. He showed also that after this battle Sir Evelyn Wood was of opinion that if reinforcements had come up the Boers would have dispersed without bloodshed, and that his advice had been disregarded. The last two stages of "Surrender's Progress" were the appearance of Mr. Kruger on the scene, with his "It is you, and not we, who are to cease from hostilities," and his declaration, "We are to have all that we ever asked for, including the restoration of the Republic." As to the terms of the peace, he doubted in the first place whether they would be ratified by the Volksraad; and discussing them *seriatim*, he pointed out that the expression "complete self-government" was a miserable attempt to reconcile the surrender with the Queen's Speech, that 700,000 natives were handed back to slavery, and that by reserving foreign relations we should be involved in endless conflicts with the Zulus and Swazis. He laughed at the word "suzerain," which would be explained to the Boers as being different from "sovereign," to the English as being like "sovereign." Finally, in a brilliant peroration, he exclaimed that we had had other reverses, other disasters. "But a reverse is not dishonour, and a disaster does not necessarily imply disgrace. To her Majesty's Government we owe a sensation which to this country of ours is new, and which certainly is not agreeable."

To this Lord Kimberley replied that Earl Cairns might perhaps have been a little more moderate in his speech, considering that he had been a member of the Government which had been the cause of all these misfortunes. He began his defence of Government from the day on which they had

assumed office, and argued that, unwilling to entirely reverse the proceedings of the Tories, they had at first attempted to give the Boers self-government within the Confederation; that both Sir Owen Lanyon and Sir George Colley had throughout misunderstood the state of affairs. He maintained that the communications with President Brand, which had resulted in a direct overture from President Kruger, originated before the Majuba Hill disaster, and had been already sanctioned by Government. He pointed out besides that it was absurd to speak of the abandonment of the Transvaal, which had been joined to the Empire for only three years and annexed against its will, as the surrender of an integral portion of the United Kingdom. Finally, as to the terms of peace, Lord Kimberley asserted that the commissioners had power to modify them, that the right to supervise frontier questions in South Africa was vitally necessary to Britain, and that she had therefore retained it, and that slavery had ceased to exist in the Transvaal. Lord Kimberley was aware that there was not much to boast of, but thought there would have been greater humiliation in continuing the war.

Nevertheless, there was no small danger of the struggle beginning again. Elated by success, the Boers were unwilling to support the concessions of their leaders. The military element loudly protested against the separation of a strip of territory east of the 30th meridian from the Transvaal, as a buffer between it and the neighbouring nations, which was known to be in contemplation. There was the utmost suspense during the sittings of the commission, which was opened at Newcastle on the 10th of May, and thence adjourned to Pretoria where the convention was published on the 3rd of August.

The following were its more important modifications of the terms of peace. With regard to the question of boundaries the British Government made several important concessions, among which the idea of a "buffer territory" east of the 30th meridian was abandoned, and on the south-west the Keate award was reversed in favour of a boundary which placed several independent chiefs under the Dominion of the Republic. The question of compensation for losses through war was fairly decided; it was to exclude articles which were required for the actual purposes of war, such as horses and arms, which had always been liable to seizure in the Transvaal under the system of "commandeering," and the decision of claims was to be referred to a sub-commission. The cases of

murder connected with the war, such as that of Captain Elliott, and of acts against the rules of civilised warfare were to be submitted to trial, and, as had been anticipated, no convictions were obtained. As to the native question, it was decided to recognise the independence of the Swazis, and to set free Sikukuni. Within the boundaries of the Transvaal the interests of the natives were to be looked after by a Native Location Commission, of which the British Resident was to be a member. As the latter was in a minority, the position of the blacks could hardly be said to be favourable. They could only acquire titles to land through the commission, but it was expressly stipulated that the provisions of the Sand River Convention concerning the abolition of slavery or apprenticeship partaking of slavery should be observed. The Resident was to watch against encroachments on natives beyond the frontier; and in case of apprehended or actual war between the suzerain and any foreign or native state, he had the power of moving troops through the Transvaal. The rights of the British minority were carefully guarded; they were placed under the protection of the Resident, and British subjects were exempted from compulsory military service. Finally the convention was to be ratified within three months by the Volksraad, and until the ratification the British garrisons were to remain in the Transvaal.

Inadequate as these conditions were, there was considerable danger that the Volksraad would refuse to agree to them. They were especially indignant at the provisions that the suzerain should have right to the "conduct" of foreign affairs, and asked that the word "control" should be substituted for it; declared that as slavery no longer existed, the renewal of the terms of the Sand River Convention was unnecessary, and objected to British interference with the legislation of the country to protect the natives. The Triumvirate accordingly telegraphed to England requesting a modification of the terms. Lord Kimberley, however, declined to alter the convention in any way, and the Volksraad, bound by the promise of the Triumvirate, ratified that settlement on the 25th of October by a unanimous vote. They added, however, the significant declaration that their objections were maintained, and that they only "provisionally subjected the articles of the convention to a practical test." Thus the miserable Transvaal question was buried for the time, and the last British soldier left Laing's Nek.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1882; Speeches on Ireland and the Closure—Bye-elections—Opening of Parliament; the Queen's Speech—Lord Salisbury and Lord Granville—Mr. Bradlaugh in the House—Debate in the Commons—Mr. Gladstone on Mr. Smyth's Amendment—Prolongation of the Debate—Motion in the Lords for a Committee on the Land Act—Mr. Gladstone's Vote of Censure on the House of Lords, and his Speech—Mr. Bradlaugh's Attempt to take the Oath, and his Exclusion after his Re-election—The Affirmation Question in the Lords—Mr. Gladstone's Closure Resolution and his Speech—The Remainder of the Debate—Withdrawal of the other Resolutions—Block of Public Business—State of Ireland—Temporary Release of Mr. Parnell—Conservative Demonstration at Liverpool—Mr. Redmond's Bill—Release of the Suspects and Resignation of Mr. Forster—Appointment of Lord F. Cavendish—Mr. Forster's Defence—Murder of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke—Opinion in Ireland and England—New Appointments—The Prevention of Crimes Bill—The Arrears Bill—The "Kilmainham Treaty"—Progress of the Crimes Bill—Dr. Playfair's Suspension *en bloc*—The Arrears Bill in the Lords—Collision between the Houses—Mr. Gladstone's Concessions—Lord Salisbury's Surrender—Condition of Ireland during the Spring—The Ladies' Land League—Attitude of the Priests—The Landlords—Suppression of Newspapers—Murders and Trials—The Maamtrassna Massacre—The Mutiny of the Irish Constabulary—Decline of Mr. Parnell's Influence in America—Rivalry between Mr. Davitt and Mr. Parnell—Attempt on the Life of the Queen—Her Majesty's Letter—Fenianism in London—Marriage of the Duke of Albany—Visit of Cetewayo to England—Ecclesiastical Affairs—The Salvation Army—The Channel Tunnel and the History of the Scheme—Extra-Parliamentary Speeches—The Autumn Session—The Closure Resolutions—Lord R. Churchill's Revolt—Amendments to the First Resolution—Speeches of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Gladstone—The Half-past Twelve Rule—The Remaining Resolutions—The Grand Committees—Changes in the Cabinet—Opening of the New Law Courts—Obituary of the Year.

WHEN the year 1882 began its appointed course, attention was still concentrated on Ireland, where the landlords, uncomforted by the Lord Mayor's exertions on their behalf, had assembled at Dublin, and were crying with an exceeding bitter cry that the Land Act was being unjustly administered. Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain were the first of the Ministerialists to break silence, and their speeches attracted very considerable comment. It may fairly be said that the younger statesman eclipsed his venerable colleague. As the representative of the Radical wing of the Government, his policy with regard to Ireland was regarded as a matter of great importance, and it was with a feeling of some relief that people read his declaration that he would never acquiesce in the repeal of the Union. On another topic his views naturally met with more qualified praise. Mr. Chamberlain considered that the deliberate obstruction of business in the House of Commons must be checked at all hazards, and he defended the closure with much eloquence. Even moderate politicians of the complexion of Lord Derby were in favour of the remedy, though they advocated a closure by a fractional majority—for instance, a two-thirds vote of the whole House. Some of the extreme Radicals, however, were violently opposed to any restraint on liberty of speech. Mr. Anderson, the member for Glasgow, declaimed against it to his constituents, while Sir Wilfrid Lawson humorously suggested that the true cure for obstruction was the slaughter of Irish Members at

the port of debarkation. Shortly afterwards Dr. Lyon Playfair and Mr. Whitbread, two politicians whose knowledge of the forms of the House was very thorough, pronounced in favour of the principle of closing an unduly prolonged debate. The Conservatives, on the other hand, were bitterly opposed to this or any proposal of the Government. A grand meeting, patronised by the Fourth Party, was held at Woodstock on the 19th of January, at which Lord Lytton was the guest of the evening. On this occasion Lord Randolph Churchill propounded the ingenious theory that by keeping the representatives of Ireland in Kilmainham, Government hoped so to exasperate Ireland that they would be able to carry their proposals for the destruction of freedom of debate in the House of Commons. Lord Lytton was even more intemperate. Mr. Gladstone, he said, only employed office for the sake of revolutionary agitation, Mr. Chamberlain deliberately tolerated crimes in order to further the extension of the Land Act of 1880, and so forth.

It was hoped that the result of the election for the North Riding of Yorkshire, a seat vacant by the death of Viscount Helmsley, in the month of December, would furnish an emphatic protest against language of this nature. Two strong candidates were started; for the Conservative, Mr. Guy Dawnay, was a speaker of some vigour, and had the energetic support of Mr. James Lowther, while the Liberal, Mr. Rowlandson, a tenant-farmer's candidate, gave proof of sound

common sense. The Liberals, however, were deserted by the great Whig landowners, Lord Zetland and others, notably Lord Grey, who wrote a letter of bitter denunciation against Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy; and the farmers, caught by Mr. Lowther's specious arguments in favour of a five

The session began on the 7th of February, when the Queen's Speech was read to the assembled Houses. It began with the customary references to foreign affairs. In England trade had been improved, but the revenue had not as yet responded to this increased activity. The condition



LORD LYTTON ("OWEN MEREDITH").

(From the Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

shilling duty on foreign corn, returned Mr. Dawnay, though only by a narrow majority of 386, the number being 8,135 votes against 7,749 given for Mr. Rowlandson. Another election, for a vacant seat at Preston, also resulted in a victory for the Conservative candidate, but there the electors were not called upon to give a strict party vote. Mr. Raikes was a politician whose absence from the House was a cause of general regret, while his Radical rival, Mr. Simpson, a working-man's candidate, came forward at the last moment.

of Ireland was declared to show signs of improvement; justice had been administered with greater efficacy, and the intimidation which had been employed to deter occupiers of land from fulfilling their obligations, and from availing themselves of the Act of the previous session, showed on the whole a diminished force. The measures proposed were for the establishment of local self-government in the counties of Great Britain, Ireland being reserved for separate consideration; the reform of the ancient and distinguished Corporation of

London and the extension of municipal government to the metropolis; the revival of Bills, such as the Bankruptcy Bill and the Corrupt Practices Bill, which had been dropped in the previous session. One of the concluding paragraphs contained the significant remark that "the interests of some portions of the United Kingdom had suffered peculiarly of late years, from the extreme pressure of business on your time and strength."

In the Upper House the Address was moved by Lord Fingall and seconded by Lord Wenlock in two commonplace speeches. Their lack of point was, however, more than counterbalanced by the brilliant attack of Lord Salisbury on the home and foreign policy of the Government. His two main points were Egypt and Ireland. With regard to the former, he charged Government with having expanded a financial into a political control, with having repudiated the authority of the Sultan, and with having acted without the sanction of the European concert, which might retaliate by neutralising the Suez Canal when Russia was almost at the gates of India. Turning to Ireland, he declared that Government had during the recess changed their tone with regard to the Land Act; it had been passed under the understanding that it would not reduce rents, but Government had appointed commissioners pledged to a reduction. He sneered at the wholesale recourse to coercion involved in the arrest of Members of Parliament, and the maintenance of 60,000 troops in Ireland. He regretted that the Speech from the Throne contained no promises for the restoration of peace, though outrages and insecurity of life and property were increasing, and held out no hope of compensation for the impoverished Irish landlords. Lord Granville replied that Conservative peers, representing only the landlords' side of the question, should be slow to bring charges against those who were administering the law to the best of their ability. With regard to Egypt, he denied that there had been any new departure on the part of Government; they wished to uphold the authority of the Sultan, as well as the autonomy of the country under the firmans and its good government.

In the House of Commons Mr. Bradlaugh once more stood in the way of business. Once more he presented himself to be sworn, and again the leader of the Opposition met him with a resolution that he should not be permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the oath. Sir William Harcourt, in the absence of his leader, moved the previous question, and Mr. Bradlaugh

obtained permission to be heard from below the bar. He maintained that he always had considered, and always would consider the oath to be binding on his conscience, but that if the House would discuss an Affirmation Bill he would be willing to stand aside, and in the event of its passing would accept the Chiltern Hundreds, and present himself for re-election to his constituents. Mr. Gladstone again declared that the question was one for the courts of law only, and that the House was wholly incompetent to decide it. The House, however, was of a different opinion, and the division placed Government in a minority of 58, the numbers being 286 to 228.

Another interlude before the debate on the Address could be begun was caused by the Speaker, who announced that four Members, Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, and O'Kelly, had been arrested by order of the Viceroy of Ireland, and that Mr. Sexton had been subsequently released. Mr. Gray thereupon moved for a Select Committee of inquiry, his argument being that the arrest of these members was a breach of privilege. After Mr. Gladstone had disposed of this line of reasoning, a tedious debate was kept up by the Irish Members, who used language of considerable freedom towards the Prime Minister. Mr. Marjoribanks was not able to move the Address until nearly eleven, and after an extremely clever speech from Mr. Firth, the seconder, the debate was adjourned on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote. We need not follow it into all its weary ramifications. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech was moderate, and full of generous acknowledgments of the difficulties in which Government were placed. Mr. Gladstone defended the conduct of the Administration both in Egypt and in Ireland, and passed a fine eulogium on Mr. Forster. Upon Mr. P. J. Smyth's amendment, which advocated the restoration to Ireland of her legislative independence, Mr. Gladstone again took up his parable, and delivered some very striking remarks, in conformity with his declarations made during the Midlothian campaign in favour of local government for Ireland. "Of one thing I am convinced," said he, "that neither this House of Commons nor any other which may succeed it, will at any time assent to any measure by which the one paramount central authority, necessary for holding together in perfect union and compactness this great empire, can possibly be ever, in the greatest or the slightest degree, impaired. The first duty of those who wish to secure the management of purely Irish affairs by Irish hands is to

point out to us in a manner that we cannot mistake by what instrument and what authority those purely Irish affairs are to be divided, in order that they may be appropriated to what they call national handling, from those Imperial affairs which they frankly admit—and I thank them for the admission—must remain in the hands of the Imperial Parliament.” An amendment of Mr. McCarthy’s, now leader of the Home Rule party, furnished food for three days’ debate, and drew from Mr. Forster a very vigorous defence of his administration, and an equally able speech from Mr. Sexton on behalf of the Land League. Then the discussion collapsed, and the amendment was negatived by 98 to 30 votes.

Nevertheless, on report new points were raised, and the weary rambling debate began again. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett and Sir H. Drummond Wolff took Government to task for their foreign policy in general, and in particular for the so-called secret mission of Mr. Errington, M.P. for Longford, to the Vatican, which, said Sir Charles Dilke, was no mission at all, but simply a private visit, and no negotiations were passing between the Pope and the Foreign Office. Then the water supply of London was discussed by Mr. Ritchie; Mr. Lowther once more attacked the conduct of affairs in Ireland; and on the last night of the nine consumed by the debates, speakers wandered over various subjects, the most popular being agricultural distress, local taxation, and South Africa. Finally the report was carried by 129 to 14, the debate having accomplished this, that it had educated the nation up to the necessity for the closure.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords had prepared a new trouble for Government. Threats had been held out during the debate on the Address that the operation of the Land Act would be called in question, and they were made good by Lord Donoughmore’s proposal for the appointment of a committee of inquiry. The Ministerialists, on the other hand, protested vigorously against the injustice of sitting in judgment upon an Act that had only been four months in working. These arguments, however, had no effect on the Tory majority, who carried the day by 96 votes to 53, there being twelve Liberal deserters. Mr. Gladstone promptly showed that he had no intention of taking this direct rebuke “with bated breath and whispering humbleness.” While Lord Granville was stating in the Upper House that Government would take no part in the committee, the Prime Minister in the Lower House gave notice that on the following Monday he would move that

Parliamentary inquiry into the operation of the Irish Land Act at the present moment would tend to defeat the operation of the Act, and be injurious to the good government of Ireland. In order to ascertain the feelings of his party he first called a meeting of the Liberal party in Downing Street, and there elicited a remarkable agreement of opinion from Radicals, Ulster Liberals, and Whigs, like Mr. Goschen, on the folly and partisanship of the House of Lords. Meanwhile, Lord Donoughmore, supported by Lord Salisbury, who raised the cry of “No concession,” had nominated his committee, which contained the names of four nominal Liberals, the Duke of Somerset, and Lords Brabourne, Dunraven, and Donoughmore.

When Mr. Gladstone arose and moved that the orders of the day be suspended until he had brought forward his motion on the Land Act, he was greeted with a ringing cheer. Even now he was anxious for a peaceful termination of the strife, and said that if the Lords would be willing to exclude the judicial clauses of the Act from their inquiry he would not press his objections. Soon afterwards he had a passage of arms with Sir Stafford Northcote, who attempted to make promises that the committee would attend to the representations of Government: whereupon the Prime Minister retorted that Government could hardly be expected to ask favours of a committee in which they had refused to take part. Finally, after a desultory conversation, the motion for the postponement of the orders of the day was carried by the huge majority of 133, the Conservative and Home Rule alliance being able to muster only 167 against 300 for Government. Two Home Rulers told for the minority. Then the Prime Minister moved his resolution in one of his finest efforts. He denied that there was any intention of passing a vote of censure on the House of Lords, apart from the censure necessarily involved in a vote impugning their policy, because it was not the province of one House of Parliament to censure another, and secondly, because there was no privilege in the present case nor any conflict of jurisdiction. He proved from numerous precedents that when a blow was struck at the existence of Government or at the interests confided to their charge, the House of Commons was the place to which they were bound to come to restore their strength. “Let us consider what will be the effect of this inquiry. It is an inquiry by a committee of the House of Lords into the proceedings of a judicial body, and, as far as we can gather, it will be their duty—and I do not know how the committee will

escape the duty—to summon before it a smaller or a larger number of the judicial agents by whom the Act is now being administered. Have they considered what kind of rebuff they may possibly receive, when they ask a judge under the Land Act what were the considerations which moved him to deliver this or that judgment?" At first the Conservatives seemed to be absolutely bereft of reply. The Speaker was about to put the question, when Mr. Gibson got up, and after moving the previous question, made a speech on the administration of the Land Act. After this the discussion was dragged out through three weary nights, until after a powerful summing up by Lord Hartington, Mr. Gibson's proposal was vetoed by a majority of 84, and the Prime Minister's resolution carried by a majority of 68 (303 to 235), the extreme Irishmen voting against Government.

Before this altercation between the two Chambers had come to an end, there had been another Bradlaugh episode. On the 21st of February the Member for Northampton suddenly appeared at the table, produced a Testament from his pocket, and administered to himself the oath. Having done which he produced and signed a declaration paper, and leaving it on the table proceeded to take his seat as one of its Members. When ordered to withdraw he did so, under protest, whereupon Lord R. Churchill at once rose and proposed that the seat should be declared vacant and a new writ issued. By Mr. Gladstone's advice the debate was adjourned in order that the question might be adjudged by the House in a calmer frame of mind. When it reassembled Mr. Bradlaugh again appeared and took his seat. Mr. Gladstone then declared that he adhered to his opinion that the House had gone beyond its province in forbidding Mr. Bradlaugh to take the oath, though there could be no doubt that he had frequently and repeatedly violated the orders of the House. Government, he said, had decided to leave the conduct of affairs to those who had carried these orders. Sir Stafford Northcote at first contented himself with proposing that Mr. Bradlaugh should be excluded from the precincts of the House, a method of solving the difficulty indignantly scouted by Lord Randolph Churchill as "milk and water," but ultimately moved that the offender should be expelled, and carried his amendment by 291 votes to 83. A new writ for Northampton was granted without a division.

Once more Northampton was subjected to a contested election, and once more Mr. Bradlaugh gained a very decided victory over his opponent,

Mr. Corbett, the votes showing that the Radical candidate was almost as great a favourite as he had been at the general election. The Conservative leader was thus driven to devise some fresh means of preventing Mr. Bradlaugh from making his periodical invasions into the House. He therefore proposed a resolution, that, "the House having ascertained that Mr. Bradlaugh has been re-elected for Northampton, affirms the sessional resolution of February 7th, and directs that he be not permitted to take the oath." Mr. Marjoribanks thereupon moved that the existing law should be modified so that a Member could take the oath or affirm as he pleased. To this the Prime Minister agreed, having received an assurance from Mr. Labouchere that his colleague would stand aside until a Bill founded on Mr. Marjoribanks' resolution had either become law or been rejected. Nevertheless, in spite of the support of the Ministerial bench, the amendment was rejected by a majority of fifteen, the numbers being 257 for the leader of the Opposition and 242 for Mr. Marjoribanks.

For the remainder of the Session, however, Mr. Bradlaugh troubled not, and was allowed to sit outside the bar. The affirmation question was handed on to the House of Lords, where Lord Redesdale proposed a short Bill which was to compel Members, before taking the oath, to subscribe a solemn declaration—"I do solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare that I do believe in an Almighty God." This test, however, was rejected on the advice of Lord Shaftesbury because of its extreme vagueness, and a counter-proposal of the Duke of Argyll to enable those who had conscientious scruples against taking the oath to make an affirmation was thrown out in the beginning of July by 138 votes against 62.

The main topic of discussion during the earlier part of the session—the new rules of procedure—had met with serious interference from these two totally unexpected incidents. The resolutions, twelve in number, had been placed in the hands of Members soon after they assembled, and the pros and cons of the first and most important of them had already been worn threadbare in the papers, when Mr. Gladstone arose to move it on the 20th of February. It ran as follows—"That when it shall appear to Mr. Speaker, or to the Chairman of a Committee of the whole House, during any debate, to be the evident sense of the House, or of the Committee, that the question be now put, he may so inform the House; and if a motion be made 'That the question be now put,' Mr. Speaker,

or the Chairman, shall forthwith put such question; and if the same be decided in the affirmative, the question under discussion shall be put forthwith: provided that the question shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than two hundred Members, or opposed by

involved a great waste of time. Even after the urgency rules had been adopted in the previous session, twenty-nine nights were used in passing the Protection Bill, and no less than fifty-eight in passing the Land Bill, to the complete exclusion of all English and Scottish business. He proved that it had always been the practice of the House



DVRME DOWNING
'91

TOWN HALL, NORTHAMPTON.

(From a Photograph by Charles Law, Northampton.)

less than forty Members." To this was added a provision that when the minority was less than forty the majority must be more than a hundred.

It is impossible to give more than a very faint idea of the Prime Minister's speech on the resolution. He argued that his object was not to check the freedom of debate, but to rescue the House from its present discreditable position. The Prime Minister proceeded to argue that urgency rules could only be regarded as exceptional remedies, and that the suspension of individual Members

that a bare majority, and not a fractional majority, should prevail, and he produced numerous instances since 1839 in which Governments had been forced to resign owing to majorities of three or four being adverse to them. Moreover, the facts that initiation was placed in the hands of the Speaker, and that a large number of Members should be present for the exercise of the new powers, furnished ample security that these powers would not be used for the suppression of freedom of speech.

Sir Stafford Northcote's reply was exceedingly

moderate, hinting chiefly at the danger attendant on the election of a partisan Speaker, and the real opposition came from Mr. Marriott, the Liberal Member for Brighton, who made a personal attack upon Mr. Chamberlain, whom he accused of forcing the proposal on his party through the machinery of the caucus. Mr. Marriott's amendment, which was to the effect that no alteration of the rules would be satisfactory which gave to the majority the power of closing the debate, was answered by Mr. Goschen, who said that he and his friends had come to the conclusion that the closure was the only remedy that was left. Owing to several Irish debates and other causes the discussion on the closure resolution was not resumed until the 20th of March, when Mr. Raikes led off with a lively speech on the irony of fate which compelled Mr. Gladstone, who had spoken during the fifty years of his Parliamentary life more than any other two Members together, to check too verbose orators. Lord Hartington replied in a speech of great strength, which dealt with the question from three points of view: first, that the time of the House belonged to the House itself and not to any Member who chose to appropriate it; secondly, that a Government must be able to carry the measures which it has been sent by the country to pass; and thence he drew his third argument—that if the Ministry did not carry the first resolution, they were bound in honour to resign. Two more nights were devoted to discourses, in the main disappointing, on the first resolution, during which Mr. Whitbread fully set the minds of the supporters of Government at rest as to the attitude of the moderate Liberals by warmly advocating closure by a bare majority. Mr. Bright showed, first of all, that the resolution erred if anything on the side of leniency. Then he fell, with much vehemence, upon the Irish party, whom he accused of having declared war against the House of Commons, and of having avowed their intention of making government impossible by degrading the Parliament of which they were Members. The division gave Government a majority of thirty-nine, which was considerably in excess of the most hopeful anticipations. The Liberal party mustered 318 strong, while the alliance between the Home Rulers and Conservatives produced 279 votes.

Though Government had thus gained a considerable moral victory, the limited number of hours at their disposal proved totally insufficient to enable them to urge on their resolutions with any degree of rapidity. It will, however, be

expedient to anticipate events a little, and describe the halting course of the closure debate. It was resumed on the 1st of May, when amendments moved by Mr. O'Donnell and Lord George Hamilton—of whom the former urged that the initiative should rest with a Minister of the Crown, not with the Speaker, while the latter proposed to extend it to the Member in charge of the subject of the debate—were passed under review and rejected. Further than this the debate did not proceed, for unexpected circumstances compelled Government to turn their attention to legislation which had not formed part of their original programme, to the exclusion of business of almost equal importance. Accordingly it was determined to hold an autumn session, for the purpose of passing the procedure rules, and Parliament adjourned on the 18th of August to meet again on the 24th of October. There was much grumbling at this decision. It was urged that if Government had been willing to accept a two-thirds majority, all opposition would have at once fallen through. Mr. Gladstone had indeed at one time shown some willingness to listen to suggestions of compromise, but his offer to accept a two-thirds majority, made to Sir S. Northcote in May, was not accepted.

Never was there a session in which the later performances so completely belied the earlier promises; in fact the Queen's Speech might most justly have been said to contain an intimation of the measures which would *not* become law. When the House rose for the Easter holidays, all the practical business that had been accomplished was the passing of the Army and Navy estimates, and voting an increase of allowance to Prince Leopold, now styled Duke of Albany, on the occasion of his marriage with Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont. Against this last proposal very strenuous opposition was led with a good deal of tact by Mr. Labouchere. The division showed a minority of 42 against 387. It was hoped there would be more expedition after Easter, but a terrible crisis arose which compelled Government to have resort to a totally new departure.

It was caused by the condition of Ireland. There the imprisonment of Messrs. Dillon, Parnell, and O'Kelly was found to have had no effect in checking the number of outrages, or in enforcing respect for the law. Despite the suppression of the Land League, and the confinement of its leaders, the country was still in a state of smouldering rebellion. Nevertheless, Mr. Forster paid a visit, without the slightest protection, to the most disturbed parts of County Clare, and at Tullamore

strongly rebuked the assembled farmers and labourers for allowing themselves to be terrorised. It was felt in many quarters that it was impossible to keep men in prison for an indefinite period without trial, but on the other hand it was impossible to let them out unless they promised to abstain for the future from inflammatory speeches. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Forster on March the 24th that in his opinion the renewal of "so odious a power" as the Protection Act was impossible, and that other forms must be found to supplement the ordinary law. Mr. Forster demurred, saying that Government could not as yet pledge themselves to non-renewal, and that "Ireland will certainly be ungovernable if we give up the Protection Act without replacing it by other strong measures." The matter, however, remained unconsidered by the Cabinet, and Mr. Forster, sorely nettled by an attack in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, placed his resignation in the Premier's hands. It was not accepted; on the contrary, Mr. Gladstone remarked that he did not admit the Chief Secretary's failure; on the contrary, in the deadly fight with the social revolution he had not failed, but succeeded. Mr. Forster accordingly proceeded to write an important letter urging not only that the Protection Act must be maintained, though it was held in reserve, but that additional powers must be given to the Irish Government in order to secure convictions. He was also in favour of immediate legislation, though fully admitting that its Parliamentary inconvenience was immense. Accordingly he drafted, apparently with Mr. Gladstone's concurrence, a Bill for extending the powers of the Executive, together with a measure for establishing provincial councils in Ireland suggested by the Prime Minister and Mr. Childers.

Early in April Mr. Parnell requested leave to go to Paris to attend the funeral of his young nephew. He was promptly set free on parole, went unostentatiously over to France, and returned to Kilmainham. When the news of his release was made known, it was thought that Government had decided to abandon their policy of coercion, and great was the disappointment throughout Ireland when it was discovered that the Home Rule leader had only been let out temporarily. The cry for a change of policy was echoed on the British side of the Channel, and even Englishmen began to doubt whether Mr. Forster, courageous and patient though his administration had been, had not better retire in favour of someone more acceptable to the Irish, for example, Mr. Chamberlain. Coercion had failed to restore

order, and its failure was made more painfully clear at this moment by the occurrence of two hideous murders: that of Mr. Herbert, J.P. in Kerry, and of Mrs. Smythe, who was shot by a bullet intended for her brother-in-law a Westmeath landlord. As usual, the assassins were undetected. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, on the day of the Easter adjournment admitted, in answer to a powerful speech from Mr. Gorst, that the state of Ireland was as grave as it could well be. Government were face to face with a social revolution more widespread than had yet been encountered; he even felt inclined to say that it had come to the end of its resources. New steps must be taken; no man could suppose that after a measure so exceptional as the Coercion Act of the previous year they could pass through the present session, or pass on to the time of the expiration of that measure, without making known to the House the other proposals they wished to make, or the reason why no proposals were made.

The chief event of the Easter recess was a great Conservative demonstration at Liverpool, which Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir R. Cross, and Lord Sandon attended. They also had their plan for healing the disorders of Ireland, and it was the system of peasant proprietary to which Mr. W. H. Smith had recently given his sanction, the landlords to be compensated at twenty or more years' purchase of their nominal rental. It was, however, in another manner that Government intended to deal with the necessary alterations in the Land Act, namely, by alterations of the arrears clauses. Such at least was the intimation of Mr. Gladstone, in answer to a Bill brought in by Mr. Redmond in the name of the Parnellite party, on April the 26th, which dealt with this burning question. The Prime Minister at once declared that the Land Act had not worked in the manner in which it had been expected to work, and that Government were prepared to deal with the subject on a basis which would be satisfactory to the people of Ireland. While declining to say for the present what the principle of the Ministerial measure would be, he declared that Mr. Redmond's Bill deserved the fullest consideration. Indeed he thought that if, as the Irish landlords wished, a compulsory law were passed, to it should be joined a provision enabling Government to make advances in cases where the tenants were unable to pay, by way of gift and not of loan. The debate was ultimately adjourned, after the Irish Members had shown every wish to be conciliatory and moderate.

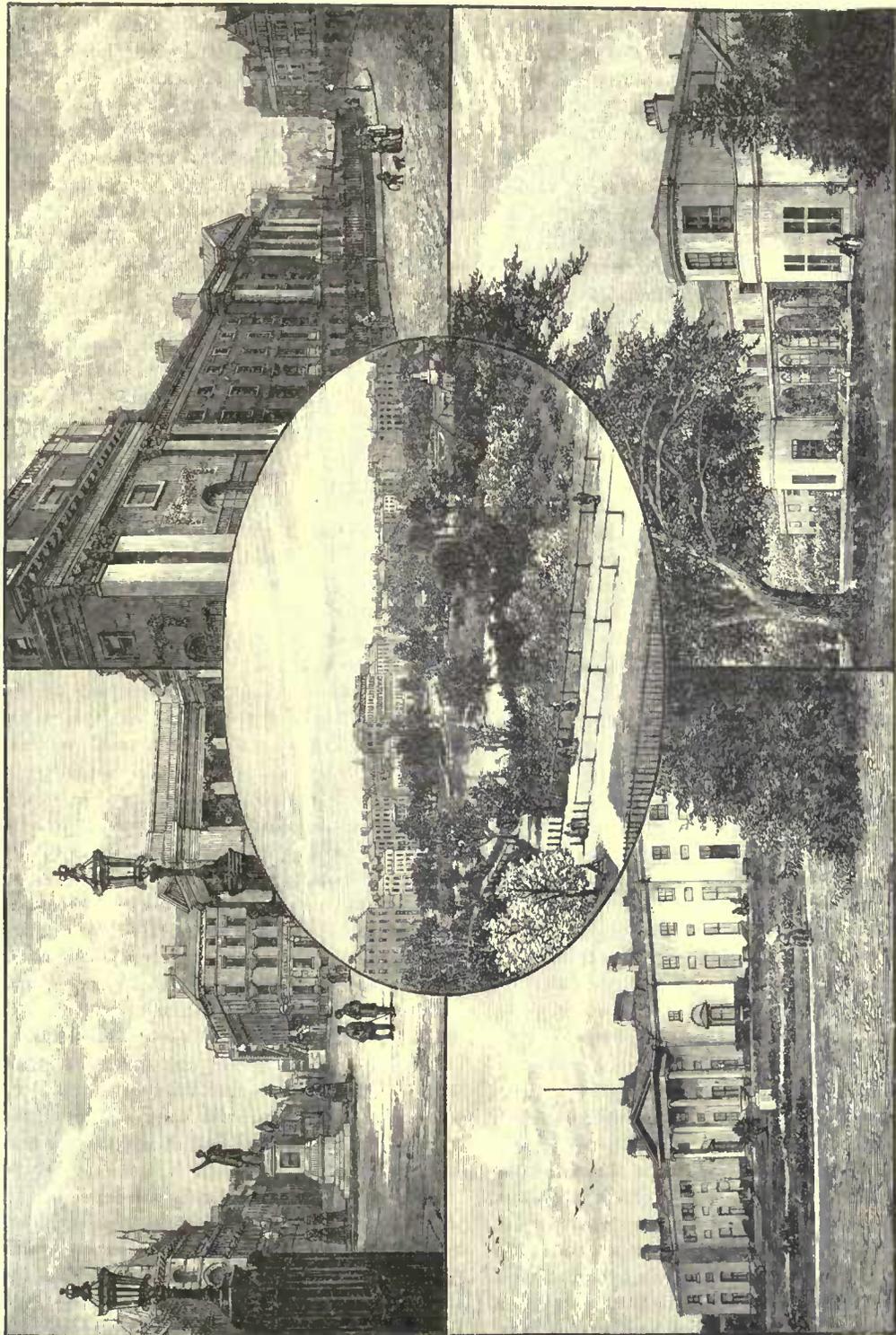
Then followed a week of changes, and rumours of changes. Lord Cowper, the Viceroy, resigned on the 28th, but his retirement was due to family reasons, and his place was promptly filled by Earl Spencer on Mr. Forster's suggestion. Both the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary were now members of the Cabinet, and it was freely hinted about that dissension was rife within that occult body. Nor were those stories wide of the mark. On the 22nd of April Mr. Forster issued a confidential memorandum on the state of Ireland to the Cabinet, in which, after giving his views on the question of arrears, he stated that in his opinion Mr. Parnell and the suspects generally could not be released until the country had become quiet, Government had acquired new powers, or they had received a trustworthy assurance that the Nationalists, if released, would not attempt to override the law. In the meantime he had returned to London, and subsequent disclosures showed that he only escaped assassination by the miscreants who destroyed his successor, through taking an earlier train than they expected. Meanwhile, Captain O'Shea, an Irish Liberal Member, had entered into negotiations first with Mr. Gladstone on the question of arrears, and next with Mr. Chamberlain on the possible release of Mr. Parnell. Mr. Forster wrote on April the 29th to the Prime Minister that "unless Mr. Parnell would make a public declaration that he would not in future aid or abet intimidation, including boycotting, he would not make himself a party to his release, or to that of other M.Ps., suspects or not, arrested on like grounds." To this resolve he adhered after the interview with Captain O'Shea, on April the 30th, of which he subsequently gave an account in the House. Mr. Gladstone, however, accepted the intermediary's assurances as satisfactory, and the Cabinet meeting of May the 1st revealed irreconcilable differences between the Chief Secretary and some of his colleagues. On the following day he resigned, having failed to gain his point, that Mr. Parnell's release should be accompanied by the immediate introduction of a new Crimes Bill.

The Ministerial explanations, which were awaited with much excitement, were made by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville on the same day. The Prime Minister informed the House that Government, "without any registration, compromise, or engagement whatever," had ordered the release of Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly; that the Act for the Protection of Life and Property would be allowed to lapse; but that new

measures would be introduced to strengthen the law and remove the difficulties in the way of the administration of justice. He regretted to say that the consequence of this decision was that Mr. Forster had declined to share their responsibility, and had resigned the duties which he had discharged "with such universal diligence, such marked ability, and such unfailing patriotism." Sir William Harcourt also, a few days afterwards, announced that Mr. Michael Davitt had been released conditionally from Portland Prison.

Pending Mr. Forster's explanation, which was delayed by the necessity of obtaining the Queen's permission to speak, political speculators were anxiously inquiring who the new Chief Secretary was to be. Would he be Mr. Chamberlain, or Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, or Mr. Shaw, or Mr. Johnson, the Irish Attorney-General? All these selections were discovered two days afterwards to be hopelessly wrong, and much to everyone's surprise it was made known on the 4th of May that the office had been accepted by Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Marquis of Hartington's brother. Lord Frederick Cavendish, though not a very good speaker, had always been known as a zealous, able, and most courteous official. His relations with the Prime Minister had been peculiarly intimate, first as his private secretary, and then as financial secretary to the Treasury. It was naturally supposed that the appointment signified Mr. Gladstone's intention of paying special attention to Irish affairs.

The announcement of a new writ for the North-West Riding of Yorkshire, which Lord Frederick Cavendish represented, was followed by vigorous attempts on the part of Mr. Chaplin and others to elicit from the Prime Minister the source of the information which had induced him to release the prisoners. In this they failed; but already the details of these negotiations between Captain O'Shea, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Forster, which were afterwards magnified into the "Treaty of Kilmainham," began to be shadowed forth. Then Mr. Forster delivered his defence, which amounted to this: that the conditions which he had always insisted upon, as necessary preliminaries to the release of the suspects, were that the Members themselves should give an undertaking to respect law and order for the future; or that the country should be in a quiet condition, or that the Government should be armed with fresh powers. None of these conditions had been fulfilled, and he had resigned because he thought that we should not buy obedience to the law by concessions; "it is



VIEWS IN DUBLIN. (From Photographs by Poulton & Sons.)
COLLEGE GREEN.
VICEREGAL LODGE.
ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN.
TRINITY COLLEGE.
CHIEF SECRETARY'S LODGE.

better," he continued amid loud Opposition cheers, "even to have secret societies with their hideous machinery of demoralisation than to pay blackmail to the law-breakers." Moreover, he thought that though the new departure might be marked by a diminution of outrages, it would be at the price of weakening the power of Government to protect life, liberty, and property. To which Mr. Gladstone replied that there had been no arrangement of any sort with Mr. Parnell; nothing was asked for and nothing received. Government had had information that if the Members were released they would no longer attempt to destroy order, and that being the case there was no longer any reason for keeping them in prison. Messrs. Dillon and O'Kelly both warmly denied having held any communications with Government, and reserved their complete liberty of action; but Mr. Parnell, in a speech which had the effect of considerably irritating Mr. Gladstone, did not attempt to conceal the fact that communications had passed between him and members of the Ministry, and Captain O'Shea afterwards confessed to having been the intermediary. Mr. Gibson was highly indignant, but the debate ended without a division.

On the night of Friday, May 5th, Earl Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish crossed over to Ireland, and arrived in Dublin on the following day. The official entry was made in the morning, when the reception accorded by the populace to the new officials was described as very fairly favourable. On Sunday morning there spread through the United Kingdom the news that the insane hatred of British rule had been the cause of a crime, most brutal and unprovoked. It appeared that Lord Frederick Cavendish, having taken the oaths at the Castle, took a car about half-past seven o'clock on the evening of the 6th of May, in order to drive to the Viceregal Lodge. On the way he met Mr. Burke, the Permanent Under-Secretary, who, though his life had been repeatedly threatened, was not accompanied by any police escort. Lord Frederick dismissed his car, and walked with him through the Phoenix Park. There, in broad daylight—for it was a fine summer evening—and in the middle of a public recreation ground, crowded with people, they were surrounded and murdered. More than one spectator witnessed what he imagined to be a drunken brawl, saw six men struggling together, and four of them drive off outside a car, painted red, which had been waiting for them the while. The bodies of the two officials were first discovered by two shop-boys on bicycles

who had previously passed them alive. Lord Frederick Cavendish had six wounds, and Mr. Burke eleven, evidently dealt with daggers used by men of considerable strength. Lord Spencer himself had witnessed the struggle from the windows of the Viceregal Lodge, and thinking that some pickpockets had been at work sent a servant to make inquiries. A reward of £10,000, together with full pardon to anyone who was not one of the actual murderers, was promptly offered, but for many long months the telegrams from Dublin closed with the words—"No definite clue in the hands of the police."

All parties in Ireland at once united to express their horror and detestation at this dastardly crime. The Nationalist leaders, Messrs. Dillon, Davitt, and Parnell, issued an address to the Irish nation setting forth their great sorrow that, "on the eve of what seemed a bright future for their country, that evil destiny which had apparently pursued them for centuries should have struck another blow at their hopes, which could not be exaggerated in its disastrous consequences." In all the great towns of Ireland meetings were held, at which resolutions were passed expressing the utmost horror and disgust at the crime. In England there was no wild outburst of popular frenzy. It was at once recognised that the deed was not the work of the immediate sympathisers with Mr. Parnell. Meanwhile, statesmen vied with one another in paying due tribute to the high character and great abilities of the men who had gone. "In the death of Mr. Burke," said the Prime Minister, "we are robbed of one of the ablest, the most upright, the most experienced, the most eminent of that Civil Service to which we owe so much in the government of the country in the hands of its permanent officers. But, sir, the hand of the assassin has come yet nearer home, and although I find it difficult to say a word, yet say I must, that one of the very noblest hearts in England has ceased to beat, and has ceased at the very moment when it was devoted to the services of Ireland, full of love for that country, full of hope for the future, and full of capacity to render her service."

Lord Frederick Cavendish's place was not filled without some negotiations, during which Mr. Forster magnanimously offered his services to Earl Spencer, who, however, was able to decline them. It was offered to Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, but they both declined it on the ground, so it was asserted, that they could not be responsible for a policy which would be Lord Spencer's, not

their own. Finally it was accepted by Mr. Trevelyan, the Secretary to the Admiralty, an appointment which was most favourably received. The permanent Under-Secretaryship was filled by Mr. R. G. C. Hamilton, Accountant-General of the Navy, who also had an excellent official record.

On the evening of the day fixed for the funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish, a day marked by a display of mourning throughout England, Sir William Harcourt introduced the new Prevention of Crimes Bill which had been necessitated by the deed of the 6th of May. It certainly did not err on the side of leniency. The Home Secretary argued that Ireland was completely under the rule of terrorism, and that there was one set of men who were especially under its influence, namely, jurymen. Whenever, therefore, the Lord-Lieutenant was of opinion that it was impossible to secure a just and impartial trial for treason, murder, attempts to kill, and other violent offences, he was to be empowered to appoint a special commission of three judges who might decide, but their decisions must be unanimous, without juries. There was to be an appeal to the Court of Criminal Cases Reserved. Search might be made in proclaimed districts for the secret apparatus of murder, daggers, masks, etc., and powers were asked for the arrest of suspicious characters found prowling about after dark. It was also proposed to revive the Alien Act, in order that foreigners who were dangerous to the peace of the country might be removed. Membership of secret societies was to be an offence under the new Act, assaults or offences of the law were to be summarily dealt with, and intimidation was to be promptly punished. The Lord-Lieutenant had power to deal with unlawful assemblies, and newspapers which indulged in incitements to crime were to be forfeited. Compensation for murders and for maiming was to be levied on the district in which the offences were committed. The Act was to last for three years. At first the Home Secretary's measure was greeted with approval by the Conservative party, but the Irish Members were furious against the Press provisions, and the clauses for the suppression of meetings, and their resentment was shared in some measure by the Radicals. Leave, however, was given to bring in the Bill by 327 votes to 22.

On the 15th Mr. Gladstone introduced the Arrears Bill, the promise of which had made the release of the incarcerated Members possible. It was found to follow closely the lines of Mr. Redmond's measure; indeed, facetious Conservatives suggested that his name ought to have appeared

on its back. The Bill was to operate only in case of holdings which did not exceed the annual value of £30 according to Griffith's valuation. The tenant who required a remission of rent would have to prove before a competent tribunal, namely, either the Court of the Sub-Commissioners or the County Court, his inability to pay. He was not, however, to escape payment of the rent from November, 1880, to November, 1881. The sum to be paid by the State to the landlords was not to exceed a year's rent, or one-half of the total arrears to be dealt with, and when it was paid, all other arrears were to be cancelled. Whatever the tenant received, he was to have as a gift, not as a loan, and the money, which Mr. Gladstone estimated at about two millions, was to come from the Irish Church surplus.

On the night on which the second of these two measures was introduced, Government and the Opposition engaged in the first of many fierce encounters on the subject of the interviews which had preceded the release of the suspects. Curiosity was at last gratified when the leader of the Home Rule party rose and read a letter from himself to Captain O'Shea, which had resulted from an interview they had held together during his release on parole from Kilmainham. It was to the effect that, in his opinion, if Government would deal with the arrears, amend the tenure clauses of the Land Act, extend the operations of that Act to leaseholders, and improve the Bright clauses, he and his friends would be able to exert themselves so effectually that outrages and intimidation of all kinds would be checked. Suddenly Mr. Forster got up and asked if the whole of the letter had been read. Mr. Parnell said that possibly a paragraph had been omitted, and Captain O'Shea, who had the original letter, might read it if he chose. Captain O'Shea, however, said that he had not the document with him, so Mr. Forster handed him a copy, and the cries of the House compelled him to read out the omitted passage—"The accomplishment of the proposals which I have sketched out would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical settlement of the land question, and would enable us to co-operate cordially for the future with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles." It afterwards appeared that Captain O'Shea had withdrawn this paragraph on his own responsibility and without the knowledge of the Irish Secretary, after Mr. Gladstone had written to Mr. Forster saying that the offer contained in it was one which Government had no right either to expect or to accept.

The imaginations of the Conservatives, already in a wild state of excitement, were further fired when later in the evening Captain O'Shea, while relating his experiences as a go-between, complained that the late Chief Secretary had seriously misrepresented him. Mr. Forster demurred, and produced a memorandum of the conversation between himself and Captain O'Shea, in which the latter was said to have used the words—"What is obtained is, that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages will now be used to put them down." Captain O'Shea, however, emphatically denied having used the word "conspiracy," or having alleged that the Land League "organisation" had been used to get up outrages. Further, Mr. Forster declared that Captain O'Shea had said that Mr. Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person, Mr. P. J. Sheridan, "and get him from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the west. I added," he continued, "for the information of my colleagues, 'This last statement is quite true—this man is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, has hitherto eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers of the west.'" Mr. Parnell, however, entirely repudiated any knowledge of Mr. Sheridan being concerned in the promotion of outrages, and said that all he had implied was that his experience, gained during the organisation of the Land League among the Connaught peasantry, might be advantageously employed in putting them down. On the following day Mr. Balfour moved the adjournment of the debate in order to discuss the transaction, which, said he, "stood alone in its infamy." He was answered by the Prime Minister in a speech full of indignation. Mr. Balfour was congratulated on his courage on having first accused Government of a transaction which stood alone in its infamy, and then concluded with a mere motion of adjournment. He utterly denied that any terms had been made with Mr. Parnell, who did not know of his intended release until just before it took place, nor did he know anything of Government's intentions with respect to arrears, except what all the world was aware of after the debate on Mr. Redmond's Bill. After a discussion, which Sir Stafford Northcote termed "academic," the motion was talked out.

The debate on the Prevention of Crimes Bill differed in only a few remarkable features from the

debates of the previous year on the Coercion Bill. Mr. Parnell maintained at first an attitude of highly commendable moderation, though his followers, notably Mr. Sexton, indulged in long tirades against the measure. The second reading was carried by 383 votes to 45, and it was remarked that the minority contained names of moderate Irishmen like Mr. Shaw, Mr. Charles Russell, and Mr. O'Connor Power, as well as those of English Radicals like Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Dillwyn. The debate on the motion for going into committee lasted for three days, and was marked by a very fierce speech from Mr. Dillon, who declared that he would never denounce outrages until Government denounced eviction, and then proceeded to defend, or at any rate extenuate, the crime of boycotting landlords who turned out their tenants. Mr. Gladstone replied to this "heart-breaking speech," as he called it, by showing that while some evictions were unjust, others were perfectly justifiable in the execution of rights which had been deliberately and insolently denied by men who audaciously refused to perform their part of the contract; men with money in their pockets, perhaps loaded with benefits by him whose rights they denied. Yet Mr. Dillon did not hesitate to ruin men who claimed to exercise their private judgment in a direction opposite to his. On the following day Mr. Parnell apologised for Mr. Dillon by saying that, knowing his friend's sentiments as he did, he did not think that he had intended to convey such an impression as that either the exertions of the Home Rule party to suppress outrages would be dependent on the passing of the Arrears Bill, or that any illegal intimidation would be persevered in pending the final settlement of the land question, but that his language had applied only to "unjust evictions." Mr. Parnell further admitted that the practice of boycotting, which he had recommended in the Ennis speech, had since been much abused, but he pointed out that after the House of Lords had rejected the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, neither he nor his friends could stand by and allow the people to be evicted in thousands. Nevertheless, these moderate remarks were speedily followed by speeches of the most violent character from Mr. Sexton and Mr. Lalor to their constituents during the Whitsuntide recess. When Parliament reassembled, the determined opposition of the Home Rule party won several concessions from Government. The judges who were to try offences under the Act were to be chosen by ballot instead of being nominated by the

Lord-Lieutenant. Boycotting was discussed for several weary nights, and it was finally limited to acts committed "in order to put any person in fear;" then followed long sittings, in which the conduct of the constabulary and the suppression of public meetings were subjected to severe criticism

Playfair, the Chairman of Committees, suddenly appeared in his place, and after one solemn warning, which was disregarded, he proceeded to name as guilty of obstruction sixteen of the Irish Members, who were promptly suspended. Thereat Mr. O'Donnell shouted out, "The statement is



LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

It was agreed that newspapers should be seized only when they contained incitements to crime or violence, and night searches should be conducted only when the existence of unlawful meetings was suspected. On the other hand, the provisions relating to the expulsion of aliens were extended to Great Britain.

During the latter part of June and the beginning of July obstruction of the most determined kind was practised by the Irish Members, Mr. Healy being perhaps the most inveterate offender. After an all-night sitting on the 30th of June, Dr.

an infamy. I have been absent all night, and am foully named as guilty of obstruction. You sin against the tradition of your office." For this insult to the Chair, which he entirely refused to extenuate, the Member for Dungarvan was afterwards suspended for a fortnight. Obstruction was continued by the remaining Irish Members with motions to report progress, and nine more were then named by the Chairman, after which the remaining clauses were run through, and the House adjourned after sitting for thirty hours. The wisdom of this suspension *en bloc*, which was

admittedly retrospective in its action, and took into account the conduct of Members during the whole proceedings of the Committee, was on the following day gravely questioned. It appeared that several Members besides Mr. O'Donnell had been unreasonably included in the list, notably Mr. Callan and Mr. Marum, whose speeches had throughout been moderate, and several of whose amendments were accepted by Government. On the report of the Crimes Bill, Mr. Cartwright, the Liberal Member for Oxfordshire, with the aid of the Conservative party, procured the rejection of a Government amendment, moved by Mr. Trevelyan, which limited the search for arms and illegal documents to the daytime, except in cases where it was suspected that meetings of unlawful societies were being held. A large defection of Whigs, and the sullen refusal of the Home Rule party to come to the assistance of the weakened Ministerialists, caused the latter to find themselves in a minority of thirteen. Mr. Gladstone, however, explained that he intended to proceed with the Bill, and it was read a third time. The measure, which so severely tried the patience of the House of Commons, passed through the Lords and received the Royal assent in four days.

Meanwhile, the Arrears Bill had been allowed to go into Committee by 283 votes against 208, a majority considerably smaller than usual, there being a large number of Liberal absentees. In Committee the benefits of the Bill were considerably extended by the addition of a clause empowering tenants, whose holdings were valued at above £30 (the maximum to which the Bill applied) and below £50, to borrow money for improvements with the concurrence of the landlord from Government at 5 per cent., the loan to be repaid within thirty-five years. An amendment of Mr. Healy's, to the effect that an evicted tenant might apply to the court for a six months' extension of the term during which the tenancy might be redeemed, was also carried. Finally, some most important emigration clauses were added, in virtue of which Boards of Guardians were empowered to use a Government grant of £100,000 for the relief of congested districts. The Bill was read a third time by a majority of 108, and sent up to the House of Lords.

There it was read a second time without a division, but it was soon seen that Lord Salisbury was intent upon treating the Bill in the same fashion as he had treated the Land Bill of the previous year. The notice-book soon teemed with amendments utterly opposed to the spirit of the Government measure, among them being two in

the name of the leader of the Opposition, one of which made it optional for the landlord to refuse to compound for the arrears of rent due to him, and the other providing that if tenant-right were sold the landlord should be repaid the full amount of his arrears out of the proceeds. Both were carried by large majorities, as well as an amendment of Lord Waterford's relating to the "hanging gale," after which Lord Brabourne attacked the Sub-Commissioners of the Land Act in language for which he was very smartly taken to task by the Lord Chancellor. The third reading was marked by a declaration of Lord Salisbury's that he intended to stand by his amendments at all hazards, and in the final stage the Duke of Abercorn moved that the Land Commissioners should be compelled to take the tenant-right into account in ascertaining whether a tenant was able to discharge his arrears, instead of leaving it as before to their discretion, and his amendment was carried without a division.

The gravity of the situation was at once recognised; there were the usual rumours of the determination of the Ministry to force the Bill again upon the peers, and of an appeal to the country. There was no want of firmness in Mr. Gladstone's speech on the 8th of August in moving the consideration of the proposals of the Upper House. He declared, as he had in the Land Bill crisis, that he intended to be firm as to principles, but to avoid all matters of controversy. The first amendment was accordingly rejected, but it was provided that ten days' notice should be given by the landlord to the tenant before applying to the Court, and *vice versa*. The second amendment was accepted with the important qualification that the sale of the tenant's right must take place within seven years, and that the arrears recoverable must not exceed the value of a year's rent, or half the value of the tenant-right. Lord Waterford's amendment was rejected altogether, while that of the Duke of Abercorn was saddled with the condition that the saleable value of the tenant's interest should be taken into account only as far as the Commissioners thought reasonable. These concessions were received so readily by the leaders of the Opposition, that Mr. Gladstone was able to say in a speech at the Mansion House on the following day, that he thought all danger of a collision with the House of Lords was at an end.

Lord Salisbury promptly summoned a private meeting of Conservative peers to consider their course of action. What transpired seemed to show that he himself was in favour of "No Surrender,"

but that the cooler heads of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Cairns saw the unwisdom of such a desperate course. Accordingly, in answer to Lord Carlingford's motion for agreeing with the Commons' amendments, he rose and said that his objection to the Bill, that it made no distinction between good arrears and bad, continued unchanged, and that it was an act of simple robbery. "I have had the opportunity this morning of conferring with the noble lords who formed the majority of your lordships' House, by whom the amendment was carried which was sent down to the other House, and I found that the overwhelming majority of their lordships were of opinion that in the present state of affairs, especially those which have recently arisen in Ireland and in Egypt, it is not expedient that the Arrears Bill should be thrown out. I do not share that opinion. If I had the power, I would have thrown out the Bill. I find myself, however, in a small minority, and therefore do not intend to divide the House." On the 18th of August Parliament adjourned, having once more devoted a session to Irish affairs to the exclusion of most English and Scottish business. Mr. Chamberlain, however, carried an Electric Lighting Bill, and Mr. Fawcett the Parcels Post Bill, while in the Upper House Lord Selborne's Married Woman's Property Bill and Earl Cairns's Settled Lands Bill were introduced under favourable criticism, and eventually became law.

Throughout the year 1882 the state of the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom was unusually disturbed, and the cause of more than ordinary anxiety. More especially was there reason for apprehension in Ireland, where the presence of 30,000 men alone kept off a struggle between the Loyalist and Nationalist elements. Murder succeeded murder with horrible regularity, and the perpetrators escaped unharmed. Nor could these crimes be said to be localised. The beginning of the year was marked by the assassination of two of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs named Huddy in the wilds of Connemara. They had been sent to collect rents—and disappeared. It was not until Lough Mask had been dragged that their bodies were found, tied up in sacks. Not even the streets of Dublin were safe, and an informer named Bailey was shot in a crowded thoroughfare, without any one moving a hand to arrest the criminals. While the nights were long, the raids of "Captain Moonlight" and his followers upon the farms of obnoxious individuals who dared to pay their rents or occupy farms from which the previous tenant had been evicted, spread

terrorism everywhere, and the arrest of one of these brigands, named Connell, did not put a stop to the mischief. It became more and more clear that the suppression of open agitation had only given an impulse to the secret societies.

The Land Act had not pacified Ireland. Everything showed that, with the exception of Ulster, the feeling of the country ran one way, and that the imprisoned suspects had lost none of their old popularity. A proposal to present Messrs. Parnell and Dillon with the freedom of the city of Dublin, which had been defeated in the previous year, was revived by the Lord Mayor, Mr. Dawson, M.P., and carried triumphantly through the Corporation. This expression of opinion was followed by the unopposed return of Michael Davitt, at that time a prisoner in Portland Gaol, for Meath, in place of Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who had resigned on account of ill-health; and when he was declared ineligible by the law officers, a new Nationalist, Mr. Sheil, was elected without opposition. The place of the incarcerated leaders of the agrarian movement was filled meanwhile by the Ladies' Land League, which issued manifestoes from Sackville Street, under the auspices of Miss Anna Parnell, of a very vigorous character. The extravagant nature of the speeches of some of its members at last compelled the authorities to make arrests in several instances. One of the favourite objects of the wrath of these ladies was the supposed severity and brutality of the stipendiary magistrates and police inspectors. Unfortunately, some colour was given to these accusations by the appearance of a circular in March, which directed that the police, while guarding Mr. Clifford Lloyd, should fire on anyone whom they suspected in the slightest degree of an attempt on that gentleman's life, promising that in case an innocent person should be shot the police should be exonerated on producing the document. Mr. Forster admitted, in answer to the furious diatribes of the Irish Members, that this provision did not meet with his approval, and the circular was withdrawn.

No doubt part of the reluctance of the lower orders to strengthen in any way the hands of the Executive was due to the doubtful disposition of their natural leaders, the Irish clergy, towards the land agitation. In many parts, indeed, they still sympathised with the movement; for instance, the priests of the diocese of Tipperary, while deprecating outrages, passed resolutions in which they demanded that Government should stop evictions, and release the suspects. The bishops, however, did not encourage the resistance to

Government. Cardinal McCabe showed a good deal of moral courage in deploring the opprobrious terms which it was customary to hurl at Government, and later in the year the archbishops and bishops united in sending out a most important circular, in which the younger clergy were admonished not to attend political meetings.

If there was any doubt as to the sentiments entertained by the clergy towards Government there could be none as to those of the landlords. A meeting was held in Dublin early in January, which some 3,000 owners of property attended, for the purpose of taking into consideration the administration of the Land Act. They complained bitterly—and their complaints were made the basis of Lord Donoughmore's celebrated Select Committee—that the assistant commissioners were frequently men of no character, and that their decisions were grossly in favour of the tenant. Most unfortunately for Government, the authorship of a pamphlet entitled "How to Become an Owner of Your Farm," and containing strong commendations of the Land League and its works, which appeared at this time, was traced to Mr. Fottrell, Secretary to the Irish Land Commission. Mr. Fottrell resigned, and the pamphlet was suppressed, but it had created a very bad impression. Later in the year Mr. Kavanagh announced the formation of an Irish Land Corporation, the purpose of which was to defeat the terrorists who would stop the payment of rent. It was proposed to buy up farms from which tenants had been evicted for the non-payment of rents which they were perfectly able to pay, and cultivate them on behalf of the Corporation. This scheme, to which the landowners subscribed readily, was violently denounced by the Irish newspapers.

Government found it a far easier matter to suppress Mr. Fottrell's pamphlet than to put its foot upon the inflammatory press. *United Ireland*, a Home Rule organ of a pronounced type, was suppressed early in January, but it continued nevertheless to appear, being printed surreptitiously in Liverpool and elsewhere. The more violent American paper, the *Irish World*, which collected the funds of the Land League in the United States, was equally ubiquitous, and continually eluded the watchful eyes of the Post Office authorities and the police.

The sudden change of the Ministerial policy towards Ireland, comprised in the release of the suspects and the passing of the Arrears Act, together with the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, which compelled the

Ministry to pass the Prevention of Crimes Act *pari passu* with the remedial measure, has already been mentioned, and we may proceed to consider its effects. While matters were still in suspense three murders, all of an agrarian character, proved, if additional proof were required, how necessary it was that precautions should accompany conciliation. They were those of Mr. Bourke, a Galway landowner, who was shot, along with the soldier who escorted him; of Mr. Blake, the agent of the Marquis of Clanricarde, and of Mr. Keane, his steward. The trial of Hynes, the first prisoner who was condemned under the new Act, was the occasion of an unfortunate scandal. Shortly afterwards there appeared in *Freeman's Journal* a letter from Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, accusing the jury of being under the influence of drink on the previous night, and commenting unfavourably on their conduct during the trial. Mr. Justice Lawson, who had tried the case, promptly committed to prison, with a fine of £500, the owner of the paper, Mr. Gray, M.P. Though Mr. Trevelyan declared his inability to interfere in the matter, Mr. Gray was afterwards released before his sentence had expired. During the autumn session the report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the subject was presented to the House, and disclosed that the jury in the Hynes case was composed of eleven Protestants and a Jew, twenty-two Catholics and four Protestants having been ordered to stand aside by the Crown. An attempt to murder Mr. Justice Lawson, by one Patrick Delaney, was punished with ten years' penal servitude.

On August 17th the Joyce district in Connemara was once more the scene of a most frightful outrage, known as the Maamtrassna massacre. Some members of a family named Joyce were suspected of having given information concerning the murder of the Huddys. The death of the whole family was accordingly decreed, and the house was surrounded by a party of men in disguise, who butchered the father, mother, grandmother, daughter and son, and severely wounded another son, the only survivor. Fortunately these miscreants had been tracked by three farmers, who were afraid to give assistance to the victims but saw the carnage from first to last. On their information three of the murderers were condemned to death, and five others sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. Shortly afterwards the murderers of the Huddys were discovered on the evidence of an informer, and two of them were hanged. At last it seemed as if the peasantry

were no longer afraid to come forward and give evidence. Nevertheless, lawlessness was rampant in the streets of the capital itself, as was testified in November by the murder of a detective, who was attacked by an organised band, and in attempt to murder a juryman named Field, whose only crime was that he had done his duty. Mr. Justice Barry, however, held out hopes that a better time

increased when five out of the six were dismissed the service. From Limerick the feeling of injustice spread to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, whose grievance about pensions and increase of pay was aggravated by the epithet "disloyal" which had been rashly applied to them by one of the superior officers. They held, accordingly, numerous meetings, and refused to disperse when

Constable (March-
ing Order).

Constable (Barrack
Guard).

Constable (Mounted
Section)



Constable (Ordinary Duty).

Officers.

Head Constable.

OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

was coming, for in opening the winter assizes of the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork and Clare, he said that the wonderful decrease of agrarian crime exceeded his most sanguine anticipations.

During these anxious years the fidelity of the Irish Police force was beyond all praise, and yet, when the tension began to relax, an unfortunate blunder threatened to send them over to the side of the disaffected. For some time there had been an agitation among them for increase of pay, and the removal of six men from Limerick to the north was supposed by their fellow-constables to have been due to the prominent part they had taken in that agitation. The discontent was

ordered. Some 250 of them were in consequence dismissed, and immediately, on the 1st of September, nearly all the remainder, six hundred strong, threw up their commissions. For two days the military and special constables had the utmost difficulty in keeping down the rough element, which had its fill of rioting. The situation became additionally grave when the Lord Mayor, Mr. Dawson, M.P., proclaimed his intention of enrolling special constables of his own, a step which Lord Spencer declined to countenance. Fortunately, the Catholic clergy assumed the difficult task of mediation; those of the police who had resigned returned to duty, and

those who had been dismissed apologised, and, with the exception of seventeen, were pardoned.

During the latter part of the year dissensions seemed imminent among the Home Rule party, in spite of the considerable success of the Irish National Exhibition, organised chiefly by the energetic Mr. Dawson, and opened on the 15th of August. In the first place, the Ladies' Land League, which had brought itself under the ban of the priesthood, was dissolved by Mr. Parnell, who proposed to substitute for that lively body a committee who should confine their efforts to assisting evicted tenants. This was followed by a dangerous blow at Mr. Parnell's supremacy, in the shape of a declaration in the *Irish World* that its subscription list was closed, and that no more money would be forwarded to the Irish Land League because it no longer existed. Mr. Parnell replied indirectly that he still adhered to the original aims of the League, "the abolition of rack-rents pending the attainment of a peasant proprietary," but everything went to show that it was not he and his followers, but Mr. Michael Davitt that commanded the support of the Irish Americans. The latter, since his release, had been promulgating the doctrine of the nationalisation of the land, and he now issued a programme setting forth his idea.

The rivalry between the two parties came to an issue on the 17th of October, when Mr. Parnell summoned a meeting of delegates to Dublin, in order to discuss the formation and aims of a National League which was to take the place of the Land League. His programme, which embraced five proposals—repeal of the Union, land law reform, local self-government, assimilation of the franchise to that of England, and development of the labour and industrial interest—was so moderate as to win rather hearty approval from several Liberal newspapers, and was carried unanimously. Upon the question of the formation of the council there was, however, considerable discussion. Mr. Davitt proposed that all forty-eight members should be elected by the popular vote, but Mr. Parnell demanded that sixteen votes should be at the disposal of the Parliamentary party. Mr. Davitt's suggestion caused a violent outburst from Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who talked about "the work of slander and intrigue," whereupon it was withdrawn to avoid divisions, and Mr. Parnell was left victorious. Nevertheless, though divided among themselves, the Irish leaders were compactly united in their opposition to the Castle government, and during the closing months of the

year Messrs. Healy and Redmond joined Mr. Davitt in making speeches of a character described by Mr. Trevelyan as dangerous to peace and order. It was said that the authorities were going to take action in the matter, but they refrained.

In England, also, several dangerous attempts on life and property considerably agitated public feeling. Such, at all events, was the deduction drawn by most people when, on the 2nd of March, the news spread like wildfire through London that another attempt had been made on the life of the Queen. It was not long, however, before it was known that the act was caused by no political motive, but, like all the previous designs on her Majesty's life, by the wild promptings of an insane mind. Nevertheless, the attempt was determined enough. As the Queen, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, was driving from Windsor Station to the Castle, a man named Roderick Maclean fired point-blank at the carriage. The bullet—which was afterwards discovered—went wide, and the would-be assassin was about to fire again when he was seized and disarmed by the bystanders, among whom were several Eton boys. The Queen did not lose her presence of mind for a moment; her first thought was for her attendants, and her second for her family and subjects, whose fears were allayed by telegrams despatched to Marlborough House and the Prime Minister. There was no difficulty in proving the insanity of Maclean, who had only been released from an asylum in the previous July. He was sentenced to be confined during the Queen's pleasure.

At first it was feared that the shock of such a sudden and violent assault might have caused some injury to the Queen's health. These apprehensions were, however, soon laid to rest, though the doctors, anxious to be on the safe side, advised a short visit to Mentone. Before her departure the Queen wrote a touching acknowledgment of the sympathy and loyalty which the crazy assault on her person had evoked throughout the Empire. "The Queen," it ran, "cannot sufficiently express how deeply gratified she is by these demonstrations, and would wish to convey, from the highest to the humblest, her warmest and most heartfelt thanks. It has ever been her greatest object to do all she can for her subjects, and to uphold the honour and glory of her dear country, as well as to promote the prosperity and happiness of those over whom she has reigned so long; and these efforts will be continued unceasingly to the last hour of her life."

Other events tended to intensify the general feeling of disquiet and misgiving. On the 12th of May there was a second attempt to blow up the Mansion House, perhaps even clumsier than the first. The machine was a tin canister filled with powder and rubbish, with a hole in the lid, to which was attached a fuse. It was to have been fired by a smouldering rag, which was found close by, but the persons who had prepared the weapon of destruction were compelled to decamp without effecting their purpose. This blundering and abortive crime was followed by the seizure of a large quantity of arms in Clerkenwell. The weapons of war, consisting of between three and four hundred rifles and revolvers, five barrels of rifle cartridges, and sixty-four bayonets, were in the possession of one Thomas Walsh, who had for some months been under the eye of the police. He was charged with treason-felony, and in the course of the trial it appeared that for several years he had been in the habit of forwarding to Ireland large quantities of guns, cartridges, and bayonets. The defence set up for the prisoner was that he was a dupe in the hands of others; but the jury held a different opinion, and he was sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

Nevertheless, the twelvemonth was marked by one or two occasions of public rejoicing. For instance, the marriage of the Queen's youngest son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, to Princess Hélène of Waldeck-Pyrmont, was celebrated at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 27th of April. Into the details of the court pageant, which, after all, was much like the weddings of the Duke of Albany's elder brothers, it is unnecessary to enter. It is, however, fair to say that the public was known to take a warm interest in the future of this particular prince. Unlike his brothers, he had throughout his life been more or less of an invalid. Any shortcomings in that respect were, however, more than made up by the sympathy which he had evinced for literary and artistic pursuits. Of late he had begun to speak on educational subjects, and his remarks were sound and original.

Another royal personage who may be supposed to have regarded the year 1882 as one of special good fortune to himself was Cetewayo, the ex-king of Zululand. Ever since that monarch's capture he had been kept in easy confinement at Cape Town. Both there and in England he had a large body of admirers, who demanded that some indication should be given of the intentions of the authorities with regard to him. For some time

it had been patent that Sir Garnet Wolseley's settlement of Zululand had not effected its tranquillisation. The authorities determined that he should be restored under certain conditions, and, as a preliminary, it was proposed that he should visit England and gain some idea of the country. He arrived in London on the 3rd of August, and stayed for some three weeks in Melbury Road, Kensington. His wish to have a personal interview with the Queen was gratified, and in the last days of the long and weary session, Lord Kimberley announced in the House of Lords that he was to be sent back to Zululand. He landed at Cape Town on the 25th of December, and remained there pending the completion of the arrangements for his restoration. They were, that a large district south of the Umhlatusi should be reserved for those chiefs who were dissatisfied with his rule, and the deposition of the kinglets except Usibepu, who was to retain his station, while some of the others, among whom was John Dunn, were to have the status of headmen, with territory for their immediate followers. Cetewayo, who had expected to enjoy his own again in its entirety, was much disappointed, while Dunn and his following on their side showed a strong inclination to throw off his yoke altogether.

Ecclesiastical dissension showed, in 1882, several happy indications of subsiding. One great cause of scandal was removed after many vain attempts, including a Bill which was lost in the House of Commons, by the release of the Rev. S. F. Green from prison. His benefice had become vacant; and the Bishop of Manchester, on the advice of Archbishop Tait, moved Lord Penzance to declare that, the offence of contempt having virtually passed away, the imprisonment might cease, and he was accordingly set free. Another prominent struggle between the High Church party and the law courts was removed by the resignation of St. Alban's, Holborn, by Mr. Mackonochie, at the earnest request of the dying Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view of restoring peace within the Church. He received in exchange the living of St. Peter's, London Docks, where the good deeds of Father Lowder ensured a hearty reception for one who held advanced views on the question of religious ceremonial. With the cessation of strife came the development of much useful activity, and the creation of the see of Newcastle continued that extension of Church discipline which had begun at Liverpool and Truro. The first bishop of the new diocese was Dr. Ernest Wilberforce, son of the well-known Bishop of Winchester.

The charge of living in inglorious ease could certainly not be alleged during the months under our consideration against "General" Booth and the officers of the Salvation Army, who had their being in an atmosphere of litigation and assault. As in the previous year, there were numerous instances of violent attacks on the processions of these revivalists by gangs of organised roughs, and in more than one case the magistrates plainly sympathised with the breakers of the law. These persecutions were the subject of much remonstrance in the House of Lords, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Coleridge spoke out as the friends of the movement. An equally friendly spirit was evinced by the bishops in Convocation, when a discussion arose on Dr. Harold Browne's motion that a committee should be appointed to consider the attitude of the Church towards the Army. In this respect the prelates were probably in advance of Churchmen. However that might be, there was no doubt that the influence of the Salvation Army was extending far and wide. In April, "General" Booth informed the public, through the *Times*, that within three years the number of corps of the Army had increased from 48 to 286, of officers, from 100 to 623, and that the *War Cry* had reached a weekly circulation of 255,000 copies. The erection or purchase of numerous "barracks" on expensive sites pointed to a condition of much financial prosperity.

The construction of a Channel tunnel was a topic that was much discussed during the year in the press and in periodical literature, and the verdict, though it was far from unanimous, was against the wisdom of such a scheme. It had been in the air for many years; as far back as 1867 plans for a tunnel, by Mr. Brunlees and Mr. Low, had been submitted to the consideration of the Emperor of the French, and an Anglo-French committee had been formed, under the presidency of Lord Richard Grosvenor. In 1872 the Anglo-French company was formed, but the French Government declined to entertain its application until the opinion of the British Government had been expressed. Lord Granville was inclined to view it favourably, but was of opinion that precautions ought to be taken against allowing the tunnel to become a perpetual private monopoly. When Lord Derby assumed the direction of affairs at the Foreign Office, in 1874, the scheme suddenly began to progress. A committee of the French Assembly reported most favourably on the proposed tunnel, and suggested that if its utility could be proved, a concession should be made for

ninety-nine years, with a monopoly for thirty years. A Bill, framed on their recommendation, received the Presidential assent on the 2nd of August, 1875. On the same day the South-Eastern Railway Act received the Royal assent. It did not go nearly so far as the French Act, but merely empowered the company to purchase land in St. Margaret's Bay, Dover, and carry out such operations as the Board of Trade might authorise. However, just as everything looked most hopeful for the promoters of the submarine project, a period of commercial depression came over England, and the Channel Tunnel Company was unable to raise the capital necessary for the commencement of boring operations. In 1880, however, it suddenly came up again, when an announcement appeared in the papers that a rival company had been formed known as the Submarine Continental Railway Company. This attracted considerable attention, but curiosity and alarm were chiefly excited by a speech of Sir Edward Watkin's, the Chairman of the South-Eastern Railway Company, in June, 1881, in which he said that the result of borings from the Dover side showed that an experimental tunnel seven feet in diameter could be bored in five years. The Secretary to the Board of Trade promptly wrote to Mr. Childers suggesting that a Departmental Committee should be formed, in which the War Office, Admiralty, and Board of Trade should be represented, to inquire into the two schemes for which Bills were before Parliament. Its report, as well as that of the Scientific Committee of soldiers and civilians which sat under the presidency of Sir Archibald Alison, was unfavourable to both of them. Of the military witnesses, Sir John Adye, Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and chief of the staff in the Egyptian war, thought that with proper precautions an attack through the tunnel was virtually impossible; but the Duke of Cambridge and Sir Garnet Wolseley held directly opposite views, and their advice was considered to be sound by most competent critics. Thus condemned by public opinion, and the further prosecution of the borings being forbidden by a judgment of Mr. Justice Kay, the project again languished.

This semi-political controversy was appropriate enough in a year which began, continued, and ended with politics. It will be remembered that the Cabinet, hampered by the grave proportions which the Irish difficulty had assumed, determined to hold an autumn session in order to deal with the new rules of Procedure. This resolve naturally robbed the extra-Parliamentary speeches

of much of their interest, and there was observable a considerable falling off in their quality as well as in their quantity. Sir Stafford Northcote went on an autumn campaign in Scotland and there raised the Conservative banner, which, said he, should be inscribed with the word "Freedom",—Freedom of speech, no closure; freedom of contract, no commissioners to settle all affairs; freedom of opinion, no caucuses. He was ably seconded by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Edward Clarke, who vigorously denounced Government for many sins of omission and commission, which were either defended or denied by Mr. Mundella and Mr. Courtney, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury.

When Parliament reassembled on the 24th of October, the House of Commons was very full and its Members very keen for a trial of strength on the question of the closure. Lord Randolph Churchill, however, interposed, and accused Government of unconstitutional practices in refusing to pass the Appropriation Bill until the whole business of the session had been concluded; but Mr. Gladstone "smashed, destroyed, and pulverised" the noble lord's statement. Mr. Gladstone's resolution that Procedure should have precedence of all other business was carried by a majority of 51 in a thin House, and the debates on the first resolution began.

They proceeded very slowly, for amendment after amendment was brought up for discussion, and the speakers were numerous and often prolix. On both sides there were symptoms of revolt, and it was clear that when the Government proposal, closure by a bare majority, would be submitted to the House, there would be a large defection of Whigs to the Conservative camp. On the Tory side the divisions went deeper still; the Fourth Party and several of the Tory rank and file declined to submit any longer to the mild and judicious counsels of Sir Stafford Northcote. They were for war *à outrance*, and their views were stated honestly enough by Lord Randolph Churchill in a letter to the *Times*. He proposed that Sir Stafford Northcote should announce to Government that he refused to allow the question of Procedure to go forward without an appeal to the constituencies, and that with this end he should advise those who had supported him "to make a determined and constitutional use of the rights of Parliamentary minorities." Though the leaders of the party were not inclined to follow this desperate advice, they brought forward designs by the score to mitigate the severity of the first resolution.

Sir H. D. Wolff proposed that the resolution should refer to the Speaker only, and though Mr. Gladstone declined to accept this alteration, he consented that casual Chairmen of Committees should be excluded from it. The amendment, however, was rejected by 202 to 144, and a similar fate attended Mr. Selater-Booth's proposal to exempt proceedings in Committee of Supply from the operation of the resolution. Mr. Bryce on the other side of the House wished that the rule should be put in operation only on request of a Minister of the Crown or a Member in charge of the Bill before the House, but the Prime Minister pointed out that the adoption of this plan would inevitably lower the dignity of the Chair, and it was defeated by 152 to 100.

The real trial of strength began when Mr. Gibson brought forward his amendment that the closure of debate could not be put in force by a majority of less than two-thirds. He claimed for his amendment that while retaining all those limitations and checks which Government had provided for the protection of small minorities, it provided that the House should not be silenced by a bare majority or even a trivial and small majority. He said that the methods of future Speakers and Chairmen of Committees would be those of decorous partisanship, and that it was absurd to speak of the evident sense of the House unless there was a two-thirds majority in favour of the closure. He reproached the Prime Minister in vigorous terms for his letter to the leader of the Opposition on May 6th, in which Mr. Gladstone offered to try the two-thirds rule. Mr. Gladstone replied that the greater part of Mr. Gibson's speech, though professedly directed against closure by a bare majority, was really directed against any closing power whatever. As to the offer made to Sir Stafford Northcote in May, he pointed out that it had never been accepted, and that Government were perfectly justified in abandoning an arrangement for which, in any case, they would have had to pay a very high price. He then proceeded to show that Mr. Gibson's fears that the Speaker or Chairman of Committees would become partisan were imaginary, because in the first place their characters were dear to them, and in the second because their position would become untenable. He showed how a minority of less than a fourth had, under the Urgéney rules of 1881, kept up debates of many weeks on the Protection of Persons and Property Bill, which consisted only of two clauses, and that it was therefore absurd to imagine that the Conservative Opposition could

have what they called a gag put in their mouths through the rule of Urgency. He pointed out that it was no contradiction in terms to say that the evident sense of the House might be in favour of closure when less than two-thirds voted for it, because members of the Opposition might be unwilling to vote against those of their own party. Finally, he declared that although he was not disposed to make the question one of confidence, he would rather have no power of closure at all, than, by Mr. Gibson's proposal, to have the power of assuring the minority of the House that they might, if they chose, delay the business of the House. The rest of the debate was in nowise remarkable except for a clever speech of Lord Randolph Churchill's against Mr. Gibson's amendment, which he contended would only be used for crushing the Irish party; and of Mr. Labouchere's declaring that the democrats wished for the closure, and expressing a hope that it would be used for party purposes. The division followed a very vigorous reply from Lord Hartington, when Government found themselves in a majority of 84.

In spite of the rejection of Mr. Gibson's amendment, various members of the Conservative party persisted in bringing forward more proposals embodying fractional majorities of five-eighths, and so on, and it was not until the 6th of November that Sir Stafford Northcote gathered his forces together for an attempt to throw out closure of any sort or kind. This debate, which lasted for five days, was remarkable for a speech from Mr. Gladstone, who quoted statistics of the Members on the Tory benches, to show that at no time during the discussion had they displayed the slightest interest in the subject; and an impassioned oration by Mr. Cowen in defence of liberty of speech, which was tumultuously cheered by the Conservatives. The division gave Government a majority of 44. The first resolution—enabling the Speaker or Chairman of Committees to put the question, when a subject had been adequately discussed, if supported by more than 200 Members, or opposed by less than 40 and supported by more than 100—was then put and carried.

Two resolutions occupied the attention of the House for some days. The first was known as the half-past twelve rule, in virtue of which no opposed business could be taken after that hour except for a money Bill. As this rule was invariably put in force to "block" private Bills to which there was the slightest objection, it was much disliked by energetic Members. Mr. Gladstone therefore proposed to exempt from its operation the first stage

of a Bill, and those after a Bill had passed through Committee of the whole House. Sir John Hay, on the other hand, was anxious that the rule should be repealed altogether, while Lord George Hamilton maintained that it was desirable that no new business should be taken after midnight, and that the House should stop work at half-past twelve. Neither proposal found favour, and Mr. Gladstone's modifications were acknowledged to be a satisfactory way of meeting the difficulties of the case. As before, motions for the appointment or nomination of Standing Committees, and proceedings made in accordance with the provisions of any Act of Parliament or Standing Order, were excepted from the operation of the rule.

The ninth rule dealt with the offence of individual obstruction and provided, as previous attempts to check the evil had done, that when a Member had been named by the Speaker or Chairman of Committees, the Speaker was to put the question forthwith—"that such Member be suspended from the services of the House." The severity of the penalty was, however, increased; suspension was to continue on the first occasion for a week, on the second for a fortnight, and on the third or any subsequent occasion for a month; but the important limitation was added that—"not more than one Member shall be named at the same time, unless several Members, present together, have jointly disregarded the authority of the Chair." The remaining rules, which tended to shorten formal procedure, were carried without much debate.

The rest of the session was occupied mainly in discussing the formation of Grand Committees, an experiment urged by Mr. Gladstone in a speech on the 27th of November. He advocated the formation of two Committees which were to take into consideration all Bills relating to law and courts of justice, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures. The Prime Minister pointed out that this division of labour would enormously increase the power of the House, that it would give private Members a chance of putting their special abilities into force, and he anticipated that it would prove the best and healthiest part of the whole of the scheme with regard to Parliamentary Procedure. It was eventually decided that the Committees should not sit while the House was sitting, without the order of the House. The Committee of selection—consisting of Sir John Mowbray, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Orr-Ewing, Mr. Whitbread, Sir Charles Foster, and Mr. Mitchell Henry—were to nominate the

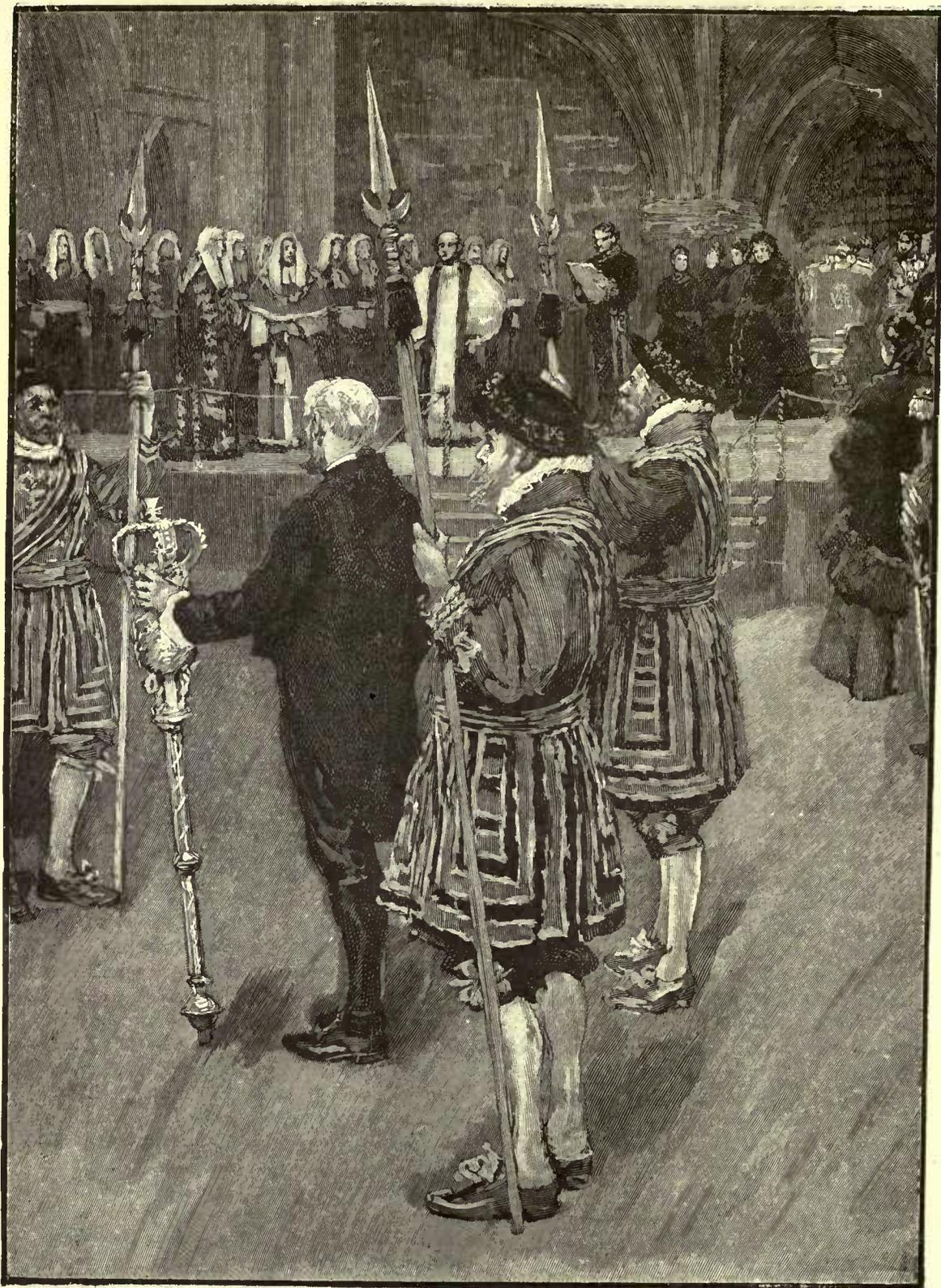
Committees, which were to consist of not less than sixty or more than eighty Members; twenty to form a quorum. The Chairmen were to be nominated by a Chairmen's panel, who could change them from time to time. Bills which had been considered by these Committees were to be proceeded with as if they had been reported from Committees of the whole House. Having thus greatly increased its legislative powers, Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of December.

Brief as the session had been, it was directly or indirectly the cause of the dangerous illness of several prominent politicians. Mr. Childers succumbed to the labours of the War Office, Sir Stafford Northcote and the Prime Minister broke down from overwork, and Mr. Fawcett was seized by a dangerous attack of diphtheria. It was partly no doubt to prevent the overstrain caused by multiplicity of office, and partly to fill up the places caused by the resignation of Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster, that the Cabinet was reconstructed at the end of the year. The Prime Minister resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and his place was filled by Mr. Childers, whose official position at the War Office was taken by Lord Hartington. The vacancy at the India Office was filled by Lord Kimberley, who made room for Lord Derby at the Colonial Office, an appointment which caused murmuring among the Radical benches. An elevation more generally popular was that of Sir Charles Dilke who, after gaining much credit as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, accepted the Presidency of the Local Government Board with a seat in the Cabinet. While these changes were being effected, the hands of the Ministry were strengthened by a Liberal victory at Liverpool, where a seat was won from the Conservatives by Mr. Samuel Smith at the expense of Mr. Forwood, a "Tory democrat."

The only event of much domestic importance during the closing days of the year was the opening of the New Law Courts by the Queen on the 4th of December. This noble Palace of Justice was designed by Mr. G. E. Street, R.A., whose plan was selected from others shown in competition in 1872. Several years were spent in clearing the site, which was covered with courts and alleys formerly inhabited by people of position, but of late fallen into a hopeless state of poverty and decay. The contract for the new buildings was signed in 1874, and they were to have been completed in 1880, but, as usual with great undertakings, delays interposed, partly due to strikes of workmen, and partly to severe winters. After the

death of Mr. Street, in December, 1881, his labours were carried on by his son, Mr. Arthur Street, in conjunction with Mr. Blomfield. Partly owing to the removal of the master-mind, but chiefly to the way in which the work was starved by Government, several modifications were made in the original design, not altogether to its improvement. The lofty Record tower and the gallery across the Strand, which was to have connected it with the Temple, were abolished. Nevertheless, the final result, though here and there confused in style and incongruous in detail, was on the whole extremely noble. The opening ceremony was striking, and it was felt that the majesty of the law received new dignity from its new surroundings. "I trust," said the Queen, as she stood in the great central hall, "that the uniting together in one place of the various branches of Judicature in this my Supreme Court will conduce to the more efficient and speedy administration of justice to my subjects, and I have confidence that the independence and learning of the Judges, supported by the integrity and ability of the other members of the Bar, will prove in the future, as they have in times past, the chief security for the rights of my Crown and the liberties of my people."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to have been present at this impressive scene, had died on the previous day, and his place was taken by the Archbishop of York. It can hardly be questioned that the loss of Archibald Campbell Tait was severely felt by all parties in the Church of England. He had displayed, in the difficult position of Primate, the qualities of dignity and justice in a very high degree. Throughout his life he had risen more by devotion to duty, coupled with the art of managing men, than by gifts of oratory, or display of profound theological learning. Sir George Grey, who died on the 9th of September, had in his time a very considerable reputation. After displaying conspicuous ability in grappling with the Canadian and Jamaican questions in his capacity of Colonial Under-Secretary, he became, in 1846, Home Secretary under Lord John Russell, and dealt with the formidable Chartist agitation with much tact and firmness, qualities which he also put to excellent use in facing the Young Ireland movement. Though it was not until 1874 that Sir George Grey retired from public life, his name was never connected with any great piece of legislation; indeed, his additions to the Statute books consist of two or three Irish Coercion Bills, and a measure which reformed the system of secondary punishments.



THE QUEEN OPENING THE ROYAL PALACE OF JUSTICE. (See p 567.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Skobeleff's Address to the Servian Students—Death of the General—Resignation of Prince Gortschakoff—Death of General Kaufmann—Nihilism and its Victims—Affairs in Turkey, Austria and Italy—Death of Garibaldi—Resignation of Gambetta—M. de Freycinet in Power—The "Holiday Government"—French Proceedings in Tunis, Madagascar, and Tonquin—Death of Gambetta—Affairs in Germany—Prince Bismarck's Concessions to Rome—Affairs in the United States—Affairs in Canada, the Colonies, and India—Egyptian Affairs from 1876—General Gordon in the Soudan—Financial Difficulties—The Nubar-Wilson Ministry—Ismail's *Coup d'État*—Deposition of Ismail—Tewfik and the Dual Control—Their First Report—The Commission of Liquidation—The Military *Emeute*—Baron de Ring—"Egypt for the Egyptians"—The *Imperium in Imperio*—Arabi's Preparations—The Military Demonstration—Chérif Pasha's Ministry—The Sultan's Mission—Joint Note of the Powers—The Nationalist Ministry—Plot for the Restoration of Ismail—Ultimatum of the Powers—Conference of the Ambassadors and Dervish Pasha's Mission—Riot in Alexandria and Preparations for War—The Bombardment—Destruction of Alexandria—Arrival of British Troops—First Operations—Graham's Skirmish with the Enemy—The Affair at Kassassin—Pause in the Campaign—Tel-el-Kebir—Surrender of Arabi—Collapse of the Nationalist Movement—Murder of Professor Palmer and his Comrades—Return of the Troops—The Fate of Arabi—Lord Dufferin and the Settlement of Affairs.

On the Continent the great scare of the year 1882 was caused by General Skobeleff, the hero of the Russo-Turkish war. This great soldier was known to entertain the most ardent approval of a Panslavic and Anti-Teutonic policy, but none of his previous utterances caused nearly as much consternation as a speech which he delivered during February in reply to an address of Servian students in Paris. Though the exact wording of his remarks was doubtful, they were to the effect that a great war was inevitable if the Austrians continued to oppress Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that Germany was Russia's deadliest enemy. There was almost a panic in the Bourses when these threats were made public. The Russian Ambassador, however, at once said that Skobeleff's imprudences had no sanction from St. Petersburg, and the warrior was recalled with every mark of disgrace. On the 7th of July his career was cut short by a mysterious death in a public restaurant. At a time when Russia could ill spare a single man of any ability, she was deprived of two more of her most powerful minds. In April Prince Gortschakoff was compelled by the increasing feebleness of old age—he was eighty-three—to retire from the St. Petersburg Foreign Office. On the whole he had come off second-best in his long diplomatic duel with Prince Bismarck, and in consequence had entertained of late years the most violent dislike to the German Empire. Hence, though his talents were missed, a certain amount of relief was expressed at his resignation, for his successor, M. de Giers, was known to be a cautious man. The death of General Kaufmann on the 16th of May was also a serious loss to the Czar. He was a man of great boldness of

design, never able to rest content with what he had acquired.

In other respects the year passed comparatively uneventfully in Russia. The Czar remained for the most part a close prisoner in his palace, and was reported to have lost all nerve before the ever-constant prospect of assassination. Meanwhile the efforts of the police to extirpate Nihilism were wholly without effect; and the revolutionary party claimed another important victim in General Strelnikoff, the public prosecutor at Kieff, who was shot dead at Odessa. The brutal persecutions of the Jews continued, though the Russian officials made vigorous efforts to hush up the stories of rapine and murder which caused much righteous indignation in England. When their condition and the failure to suppress Nihilism began to attract too much attention, General Ignatieff, the Minister of the Interior, was unceremoniously cashiered and his place supplied by Count Tolstoi, but the change was found to consist of men rather than of measures. Nevertheless, the outlook towards the end of the year grew sensibly brighter, among its favourable features being a visit paid by M. de Giers to Prince Bismarck in November, at which it was understood that views of a most amicable nature were exchanged.

Equally non-aggressive were the relations between the court of St. Petersburg and the Porte. By the command of the Czar Russian officers were compelled to desist from propagating Panslavic ideas, whether directed against the rule of Austria in Bosnia, or of Aleko Pasha in Roumelia; and the same powerful influence was used to compose the quarrels between Prince Alexander of Bulgaria and his discontented subjects. Nevertheless, there

was a general feeling of unrest in that utterly disorganised corner of Europe. The Herzegovinese and Dalmatians were uneasy under the Hapsburg yoke, and in the beginning of the year they rose in wild rebellion, which was not suppressed without considerable difficulty. The Montenegrins dared not intervene on their side, being involved in a frontier dispute with the Sultan, which was eventually settled in the latter's favour. On the other hand Servia, thanks to the exertions of Austrian diplomacy, was elevated in March to the dignity of a kingdom, but this accession of importance did not quench party animosity in the country. The Roumanians were also discontented with the general state of affairs, having failed to obtain what they considered their due in the final settlement of the Danubian question. As for the Porte, its attention was devoted chiefly to Egyptian affairs. The internal history of the Ottoman Empire was one of slow decay. It was found useless to press for reforms in Armenia, and the prospect of placing the financial affairs of Turkey on a satisfactory basis was exceedingly remote.

The state of affairs in Egypt was a matter of hardly less concern to the other Mediterranean Powers than to Austria. The Italians considered themselves very intimately concerned in the British expedition, and even the Ministry found it exceedingly difficult to maintain an attitude of reserve. This, however, they did, declining the invitation made in July by England that they should co-operate in the protection of the Canal, although later they proposed that the Powers should intervene and neutralise the overwhelming influence of Great Britain by a temporary joint occupation. The Austrians, on the other hand, though sullenly envious, had more self-control. In Spain it was seen that an admirable opportunity was afforded for recovering some of the country's lost *prestige*, and accordingly the Government tried to obtain a little cheap glory by offering to send troops to act as police on the Canal, but Lord Granville courteously negatived the proposal.

In the internal events in these three countries only a few facts of particular interest need be enumerated. The celebration on the 27th of December of the six-hundredth anniversary of the House of Hapsburg was most enthusiastic, nor were the congratulations paid to the Emperor upon his escape from the bombs which the Irridentists had prepared for him on his visit to Trieste at all less sincere. In Italy the chief events of the year were the opening of the St. Gothard Tunnel,

whereby the peninsula became united by very close ties with Germany; the passing of a Franchise Bill based on an educational qualification, all citizens being allowed to vote who could read and write; and the death of Garibaldi. The last of Italy's great deliverers was buried in his island home on the 8th of June.

In no country was the death of Garibaldi more sincerely mourned than in France. Moreover, the French were perhaps not displeased to be able to distract their attention for a moment from the unsatisfactory course of politics at home. From the first it was clear that although the popularity of M. Gambetta in the country was still considerable, his ministry of nobodies was held in deserved contempt. The Prime Minister was no doubt conscious of this, and determined to force the Chamber to give a definite vote either for him or against him, by insisting upon the substitution of *scrutin de liste* for *scrutin d'arrondissement* in the revision of the Constitution as a vital measure. He was promptly met in committee by a proposal of unlimited revision, and the opposition won their point by 282 to 227. M. Gambetta thereupon placed his resignation in the hands of M. Grévy. A new Ministry was formed by M. de Freycinet, which excited no enthusiasm, and existed only on sufferance. Nevertheless, it succeeded in carrying through its necessary stages a most important Bill for compulsory education, and in putting matters in train for a final settlement of the relations between France and the Bey of Tunis, a compromise which had been made easier by the more friendly attitude of Italy caused by the removal of M. Roustan. On the other hand the arrangement by which, after the failure to negotiate a new commercial treaty with England, a Bill was introduced, and eventually became law, placing Great Britain on the footing of "the most favoured nation," was not very popular, especially in the manufacturing towns, where the Finance Minister's preference for specific rather than *ad valorem* duties was not appreciated. The Government was hampered also on its accession to office by the effects of a commercial panic caused by over-speculation, in which the Union Générale fell after a short existence. But, in any case, so weak a Ministry could not have existed long when confronted with a difficulty of such magnitude as that of the Egyptian rebellion. M. de Freycinet attempted to steer a middle course, between active intervention as the ally of England, according to M. Gambetta's desire, and complete non-intervention as advocated by M. Clemenceau. His

proposal that France should concern herself in the protection of the Canal, and in that alone, was defeated by a combination of extremes on the 19th of July, and, after an interval of much anxiety, a Cabinet, which the ultra-Radicals termed in derision "a holiday Government," was formed under the aged M. Duclerc.

Chiefly through the fact that it was known to command M. Gambetta's support, the new Ministry was found to be less feeble than had been generally anticipated. It was dexterously resolved to take advantage of the general indignation at the self-effacement of France and of her low estate among the Powers of Europe. Accordingly, a policy of aggressive Chauvinism was adopted wherever it was thought that easy renown could be won at the expense of less powerful nationalities. The unfortunate Bey of Tunis was bound hand and foot by regulations which placed every single department of state under the control of French officials. A quarrel was picked with Madagascar, where the dominant race, the Hovas, were disinclined to admit the claims of the French, based on arrangements with the inferior tribe, the Sakalaves, to a protectorate over the north-west coast of the island, and were disposed to rely on the friendship of Britain. After Queen Ranavalona had sent a futile embassy to Paris, as a protest against the high-handed conduct of the French envoy and as an effort to avert hostilities, Admiral Pierre was sent with ships into the Indian Ocean in order to enforce the claims of France. An equally unjustifiable course of action was adopted in Tonquin, which was destined to have grave consequences in the following year, and preparations were made to countermine Portuguese influence upon the Congo. What M. Gambetta's opinions were upon this bullying of weaker nations could only be guessed, for the great statesman took no part in the deliberations of the autumn, and as the year drew to an end was reported to be seriously ill, though few thought that his days were numbered. Such, however, was the case, and in the closing minutes of the year the brilliant French statesman breathed his last agonised gasp.

In strong contrast to that of France, the political history of the German Empire at this time was one of considerable monotony. The most sensational episode occurred at the beginning of the year, when the Emperor informed the Prussian Parliament that he claimed the right to conduct personally the policy of the Government. This manifesto was defended by Prince Bismarck in a

speech of uncompromising strength. At the same time the Prince thought it necessary to go even farther in the direction of concessions to the Ultramontanes. The Ecclesiastical laws were made optional in their operation, and the Prussian Embassy, which had been recalled in 1874, was re-established at the Vatican. In his dealings with the German Parliament he was less disposed to adopt measures which were deliberate confessions of failure. On the contrary, he continued to thrust his semi-socialistic schemes upon the angry Liberals, who revenged themselves by rejecting his financial proposals, notably, the scheme for triennial budgets and the Tobacco Monopoly Bill. The foreign policy of the Empire at this time was emphatically pacific, and Germany was almost as eager as France to avoid complications which might force her to intervene in the affairs of Egypt. At the same time the threats of the Panslavic party in Russia could not be wholly ignored, and a most powerful reply was made by the publication in the *Cologne Gazette* in December of the news that the alliance between the monarchs of Vienna and Berlin, which had been made in 1879, was to be prolonged for another ten years.

The Republic of the United States, under President Arthur, continued to enjoy that prosperity which had been its lot under General Garfield, although more than one subject of dispute disturbed the otherwise peaceful intercourse between America and the mother country. Mr. Frelinghuysen continued to urge, though in less arrogant language than that used by his predecessor, Mr. Blaine, the claim of the United States to the sole right of protection over the Panama Canal. He argued that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had lapsed, and that any arrangement by which the Powers should jointly agree to protect the Canal would not be countenanced by the States. A more serious conflict of opinion appeared at one time likely to arise through the irreconcilable hatred entertained by the Irish-Americans towards the British Government. They petitioned the President for the recall of the United States Minister, Mr. Lowell, on the ground that he had not urged with sufficient vigour the release of Americans who had been imprisoned under the Coercion Act, and held meetings in the large cities, at which the tyranny of British rule was violently denounced. In obedience to their clamour, the House of Representatives passed a resolution empowering President Arthur to take vigorous means to effect the setting at liberty of the suspects; the United States Government, however, was most moderate

in its demands, and was always met in an equally conciliatory spirit. For instance, Mr. Henry George, an American journalist, the author of an economic work called "Progress and Poverty," who had been arrested by mistake whilst on a tour in Ireland with Mr. Joynes, an Eton master, was promptly released, with apologies from Lord Granville.

It remains to touch upon a few points in the record for the year of the British colonies and of India. The Dominion of Canada, in spite of its persistent defiance of the gospel of Free Trade, continued to prosper. Australasia was equally contented; in Victoria the Premier, Sir Bryan O'Loughlen, produced a highly satisfactory Budget, and in the face of the general state of peace and plenty an attempt to raise an Irish agitation fell very flat. From New South Wales came the news of good revenue returns, but of the failure to persuade the United States to reduce the wool duties. In New Zealand the native difficulty was settled by a policy of firmness and moderation, and under the new Premier, Mr. Whitaker, the revenue increased and the public debt diminished. The state of affairs in South Africa was by no means a subject of equal congratulation, and throughout the year there was continual fighting between the whites and the natives. The people of Natal were much disturbed by the anarchy in Zululand, and still more angry when the British Government decided to put a stop to that anarchy by the restoration of Cetewayo. There was also a strong agitation in favour of a more liberal Constitution, which Lord Kimberley nipped in the bud by a despatch in which the colonists were informed that if responsible government were established Natal would have to provide for its own defence. Affairs in the Transvaal were disturbed by border fighting between the Boers and the blacks, caused by the harsh and aggressive conduct of the former. The Cape Government was still unable to settle the Basuto difficulty, as that tribe boldly refused to accept the Governor's award. At one time the abandonment of the territory was suggested, but after an interval of hesitation the House of Assembly determined to entrust the settlement of the matter to Colonel Gordon, who was placed in command of the colonial forces. He had an interview with the arch-rebel Masupha, but while negotiations were proceeding news arrived that the rival chief, Lethorodi, had been persuaded by the authorities at the Cape to advance with an expedition against Masupha. Colonel Gordon was highly indignant, and sent in his resignation, which

was accepted, and Lethorodi's army dispersing shortly afterwards, the pacification of Basutoland seemed as far off as ever.

In India Lord Ripon's repeal of the stringent Vernacular Press Act, which had been imposed during Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, was regarded as a rather dubious concession. By the establishment of local corporations finance was as far as possible decentralised, and the educated natives were empowered to undertake the responsibility of self-government in spite of strong opposition from many official sources, notably from the Governor of Bombay. The energy of Mr. Grant Duff was highly appreciated in Madras, but an unfortunate controversy arose over his injudicious refusal to allow official information to be sent to the *Madras Times*, after the publication in that paper of a Government minute, evidently obtained through a breach of confidence. In Bengal the land question still remained unsettled, and there seemed no possibility of passing a Bill which would satisfy the conflicting claims of the zemindars and hereditary peasants. The opium question was still discussed with considerable vigour, both on Indian and English platforms.

From Afghanistan very little trustworthy information was received, but what there was seemed to show that the Ameer Abdurrahman was gradually establishing a supremacy over jarring factions and turbulent tribes. From Central Asia came the less welcome intelligence that the Russians were still annexing, that Merv and Sarakhs were about to share the fate of the Geok Tekke, and from there it was but a step to Herat. Farther east Mr. Colquhoun, starting from Canton, penetrated, in spite of the treachery of the local Mandarins, through unknown districts of Western China, until he struck on Margary's route, and thus established the possibility of opening a road for trade between British Burmah and China. Meanwhile the relations between the British Government and King Theebaw continued to be exceedingly strained, that savage having established monopolies contrary to the conditions of the commercial treaty that was in force.

In 1882 the chronic Egyptian difficulty came to a head, and the knot which no diplomacy could untie had to be cut by the sword. But before recounting the story of the overthrow of Arabi Pasha, it will be well to take up the thread of events from the close of 1876.

On Christmas Eve of that year Gordon Pasha returned to England, and paused for awhile in the work of civilisation in the Soudan. His mission

had been at first a sham, the Khedive only sending him because the authority of the Egyptian Government was being supplanted by the great slave-hunter Zebehr; but Gordon did his best to turn it into a reality, and he accomplished much in spite of the treachery of his subordinates. Khartoum was his base of operations, and during the first eighteen months of his administration he mapped the White Nile from Khartoum to within a short distance of Victoria Nyanza; he had given to the slave trade on the White Nile a deadly blow; he had

successfully accomplished. Arrived at Khartoum, he proceeded to try to "make a good province, with a good army and a fair revenue, and peace and an increased trade, and also to suppress the slave raids." His great enemy was Suleiman, the son of Zebehr, who was in command of some 10,000 men, and Gordon rode off alone to his camp and there "took his measure." Further operations were suspended by his recall to Cairo, where the Khedive hoped that his aid would be useful in overhauling the finances; but he was by



THE KHEDIVE'S PALACE, RAS-EL-TIN, ALEXANDRIA.

restored confidence and peace among the tribes of the Nile Valley, so that they freely brought into the stations their beef, corn, and ivory for sale; he had opened up the water communication between Gondokoro and the Lakes; he had established satisfactory relations with King 'Mtesa; he had formed Government districts, and established secure ports with safe communication between them; he had contributed a revenue to the Khedivial exchequer, and this without oppression. But, failing to gain sufficient support from Cairo, this masterful man resigned his office.

After a brief holiday, Colonel Gordon was hastily recalled by the Khedive, and was soon busily engaged in negotiating a peace between Egypt and Abyssinia—a delicate task which he

far too outspoken, and in less than a month went south again, this time to the sea-coast, where he stopped several consignments of slaves destined for the Arabian coast. He then went to Khartoum, where he tried to make the Soudan a paying concern, and sent his brave subordinate Gessi against Suleiman, who was utterly defeated on March 11, 1879, hunted down, and shot with ten of his comrades. The complicity of Zebehr was so completely proved that he, too, was condemned to death, but only to be released and pensioned. It was while thus in the full tide of success that Gordon received the news of the abdication of Ismail, and promptly determined to throw up his appointment. He undertook, however, before coming to England, a mission to Johannes, the

King of Abyssinia, in which he was treated with gross indignity, and could not effect his object—the conclusion of a new peace. It is possible that by his resignation Colonel Gordon had only anticipated dismissal at the hands of the shifty and vacillating Khedive.

Meanwhile in Egypt itself affairs since 1876 had steadily drifted from bad to worse. At first, however, there seemed some hope that they would mend; Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert succeeded in persuading the Khedive to hand over his revenue to the management of European financiers, Baron Malaret being Controller-General, and Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald Sub-Controller. These, however, were evidences of a spirit of penitence which was not to last long. No better result followed from the efforts of Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert than had been gained by those of Mr. Cave. A new Commission of Inquiry was sent out with Mr. Rivers Wilson at its head, M. de Balignières, who became the Khedive's Minister of Public Works, being the representative of French interests. As before, Ismail made many glib professions of his readiness to accept their recommendations; nay, more, he declared himself determined to abandon personal government, and to rule with the aid of a council of Ministers, of whom Nubar Pasha was to be the head, and Mr. Rivers Wilson Minister of Finance. On the 5th of September Ismail published a decree making over to the State a large portion of the royal domain and of the lands which had been acquired by the princes of his race.

The Nubar-Wilson Ministry enjoyed only a short and very unquiet tenure of office, which terminated in February, 1879. Ismail hated Nubar Pasha, who in turn did not attempt to conceal his intention of thwarting him at every turn. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, was at issue with the two other members of the Triumvirate on the question of the Commission of Inquiry; they naturally wished that it should continue until a definite scheme of reform had been produced for the country, while Nubar Pasha, like a true Egyptian, laboured in vain to get rid of it altogether. Besides, the representatives of France and Britain were not of one mind as to the necessity of the Controllers of Finance appointed under the Goschen report. Mr. Wilson urged that they had not effected much, and they were, in consequence, suspended by decree, in December. Lastly, there were disputes as to etiquette and *status* between Mr. Wilson and the diplomatic representatives of the United Kingdom, which had to be referred home for settlement.

The Khedive soon began to cast about for a lever with which to overthrow this already unpopular and divided Ministry. Great things had been anticipated from the loan which had been negotiated on the security of the ceded royal domain, but it was found to fall short of the nominal amount of £8,500,000 by more than two millions. This produced much disappointment, which Ismail steadily fanned until, in February, he saw his opportunity. An *émeute* of dissatisfied soldiers was arranged at Cairo, and the Khedive availed himself of the reasonable nature of their complaints, to which Nubar turned a deaf ear, as an excuse for summarily dismissing that Minister. At first the other members of the Triumvirate insisted upon his recall; but they eventually gave way, after Ismail, in deference to the grave reprimands of the French and British Governments, had consented to appoint his son, Prince Tewfik (whom he disliked), President of the Council, and had given the French and British Ministers the right of veto over any projected measure. These concessions, however, were only the merest devices to gain time. Roused by a second report of the Rivers Wilson Commission, which did not hesitate to represent Egypt as being in a state of bankruptcy, Ismail suddenly cast off the mask. He hastily dismissed the Tewfik Ministry, and, throwing himself upon the national party in the Council of Notables, formed an entirely native Ministry, under Chérif Pasha, Nubar's old rival.

This was an exceedingly bold stroke, cunningly conceived and dramatic in its effect. Indeed, at first it seemed as if Ismail's *coup d'état* were a complete success. A solemn warning was conveyed to him by the representatives of France and Britain, but there those two nations seemed inclined to rest, and it was at the instigation of Germany that action was taken. A ship of war was sent by each of the Powers into Egyptian waters, and, as the Khedive was plainly resolved to defy them, a Collective Note was drawn up, and presented in the course of the month of May, in which Ismail was held accountable for all the consequences of his illegal conduct. Hoping, perhaps, to profit by the separatist attitude of Italy, whose Government was known to be very jealous of the Anglo-French influence in Egypt, the Khedive still temporised and appealed to his suzerain the Sultan. Here, however, he had been anticipated, and on the 26th of June he was deposed by an Iradé from Constantinople, and his son Tewfik deputed to rule in his stead. The

ex-Khedive resigned himself placidly to the inevitable, collected all the treasure he could lay hands upon, and embarked for Naples.

Tewfik—who, if he had but little of Ismaïl's ability, was generally held to be a man of honesty—was confirmed by the Porte, after some pressure had been exercised by Britain and France, in all his father's privileges. He promptly dismissed Chérif Pasha and chose a new Ministry under Riaz Pasha. Meanwhile the French and British Governments were busily engaged in defining the amount of supervision they intended to exercise over Egyptian affairs. Their arrangements were at length formulated in a decree of the Khedive dated the 19th of November, 1879, which established the famous "Dual Control," devised by Lord Salisbury as the best possible modification of the unworkable plan of Mr. Goschen. The two Controllers were Mr. Evelyn Baring and M. de Blignières. They were instructed to investigate into every public service of the State, including that of the public debt; they could be removed from their posts only by their own Governments; they could inquire, control, and watch, but for the present they must not actually direct, the public service; they could speak but not vote in the council of Ministers; when it was necessary they could unite for purposes of action with the Commissioners of the Public Debt; they could submit a report on all questions to the Khedive whenever they pleased; and lastly, they could name or dismiss all subordinate officials. Although the Dual Control was jealously regarded by the Russian and Italian press, it was soon apparent that neither of these Governments felt called upon to interfere.

This complete reversal of the plans of Ismaïl Pasha seemed to the critics of the day a statesman-like settlement of a most delicate affair. Mr. Bright, indeed, true to his political creed, reproached Government with having incurred enormous and incalculable responsibilities in Egypt, but the general disposition was to give the Dual Control a fair trial. Already a policy of retrenchment had been inaugurated. Colonel Gordon had, as we have seen, resigned his post in the Soudan. His great work was continued in a desultory and incompetent manner by Egyptian Pashas, but it would have been far better if the abandonment of the district had been then and there determined upon. The first report of the Controllers-General appeared early in January, 1880, and was sanctioned by the Khedive. Complaints were made in many

quarters that they had not been able to resist the pressure brought to bear upon them by the bondholders, and had not shown due regard for the interests of the miserable fellaheen. The Controllers set aside no less than half the revenue for the payment of foreign obligations. Their contention was that the financial condition of Egypt, though very bad at present, was by no means ultimately hopeless. For the time being, however, the unified debt was unable to pay a higher interest than 4 per cent., and it was therefore thought to be desirable to put it at that rate, with the provision that if the taxes set apart for the purpose yielded more than that amount the surplus might be paid to the holders of the unified debt up to a maximum of 5 per cent. The unpaid coupons were to be repudiated. The Controllers decided also that a distinct line of demarcation must be drawn between the past and the future, which was fixed at December 31st, 1879, and that a new law must be put in force by which all claims prior to its promulgation must be finally liquidated.

The instructions of the Commission of Liquidation, which was formed on the recommendation of the Controllers, were drawn up in a spirit that promised a more liberal measure of justice for the fellaheen, whose long-suffering had impressed the public imagination throughout the United Kingdom. The Commission was to consist of seven members, of whom two were nominated by France and Great Britain, and one each by Austria, Germany, and Italy. They were directed to examine the whole financial situation of Egypt, and to draw up a law of liquidation regulating the relations between Egypt and her creditors. The report of the Commission was presented in July, and the law based upon it was promulgated shortly afterwards by Khedivial decree. It was adopted with cordiality by the Treaty Powers. The country was thus no longer weighed down by obligations of which no one knew the extent, but its liabilities had been assessed, and there was little doubt but that with good government they could easily be discharged.

The general disposition to look upon Riaz Pasha's Ministry and upon the Dual Control as the inaugurators of a golden age, was destined to be rudely shaken in the course of the year 1881. The Commission of Liquidation had retrenched too vigorously, and in consequence there was very little money to defray the ordinary expenses of government. This fell with especial hardship upon the army officers, whose pay had been

allowed to drift into long arrears, and many of whom had been dismissed the service. They had an additional grievance in the fact that the new Minister of War, Osman Pasha, had recently begun to give appointments to foreigners. A case of this sort occurred in January, when the remonstrants, three in number—Ali Bey Fehmy, Abd-el-Al, and Ahmed Arabi—were put under arrest. The result must have considerably surprised the Government. The regiment of Ali Bey Fehmy promptly took up arms, broke open his prison, released him and his companions, and sent a message to the Khedive demanding the dismissal of the Minister of War. Tewfik was forced to comply, and with this surrender the *émeute* to all appearance died utterly away.

Nevertheless, its ultimate results were destined to be exceedingly serious. In the first place, it made known to the world that the long-standing differences between the European Ministers of the Khedive and the agents of their respective nations were still in active operation. Baron de Ring, the French agent, was even discovered to have pushed his dislike of M. de Blignières so far as to engage in intrigues with the malcontent colonels. Such a proceeding could not, of course, be tolerated, and the Baron was quickly summoned to Paris.

In the second place, the recalcitrant officers were evidently not inclined to remain satisfied with the advantages they had extorted from the paralysed Government. They aspired to connect themselves with the National party, to raise the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians," and to free the country of the highly-salaried foreign officials who, under the auspices of the Dual Control, had supplanted the native in every department of the State. The leader of this half-patriotic, half-military movement was Ahmed Arabi Bey. Being a man of considerable talent for organisation, he speedily put himself in communication with all the discontented elements in Egypt. People of all classes readily promised him support, the princes of the royal house were profuse in their protestations of goodwill, and he found in the religious dignitaries a no less ready ear. Chiefly, however, he relied on the wretched fellaheen, who believed in him implicitly.

The agitation rapidly extended over the whole of the Nile valley, but for some time the Government took no steps to counteract its effects. They were, as usual, at loggerheads with one another. Riaz Pasha was anxious to overthrow the European element, and had thus come into collision with

M. de Blignières, who, in the absence of Mr. Colvin, in England, represented the Control; while Tewfik Pasha drifted between the two. The military party was able to deal pretty much as it pleased with this disunited Administration. Arabi and his friends extorted concession after concession. A free pardon was followed by an increase of pay, and a commission, of which he was a member, was appointed to consider the grievances of the service. The result of their sittings was an important edict emanating from the Minister of War, by which powers of appointing, degrading, and dismissing their subordinates were placed in the hands of the colonels of the regiments, who were to be elected by the men. The creation of this compact and practically irresponsible *imperium in imperio* was soon discovered to have been a great mistake, and Tewfik, not daring to dismiss the whole of the Ministry, made the Minister of War, Mahmoud Pasha Samy Baroudy, a scapegoat, and appointed in his stead a relative of his own, Daoud Pasha Zigben.

Unfortunately this step served only to precipitate events. Arabi's regiment was ordered to Alexandria, where it was rumoured that a plan had been concerted for his arrest, while it was freely bruited abroad that the mission on which Mr. Malet had recently been sent to Constantinople was caused by the determination of the French and British Governments to invoke the military intervention of the Porte. Meetings were held at Cairo, chiefly attended by the more educated Egyptians, at which it was decided to overawe the Khedive by a display of force. The arrangements for the demonstration were entrusted to Arabi. He wrote accordingly, on the 9th of September, to the Minister of War, informing him that the troops intended presenting themselves at the Abdin Palace to demand justice for themselves and their families, and at the same time assured the representatives of foreign Powers that the intentions of the army were peaceable.

Three hours later the troops assembled in perfect order, an attempt of the Khedive to persuade them to remain in barracks having proved a complete failure. As soon as Arabi's regiment arrived from Abassieh, some four miles off, they joined him, the whole force amounting to some 4,000 men, with eighteen guns. After a parley, Arabi presented the demands of the National party, which consisted of three points: the instant dismissal of the Riaz Ministry, the summoning of the Chamber of Notables, an institution created by Ismail Pasha in 1860, and the raising of the



BRITISH ARTILLERY ENTERING THE ENEMY'S LINES AT TEL-EL-KEBIR, 1882.

FROM THE PAINTING BY JOHN CHARLTON, R. I., IN THE CORPORATION MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY, NOTTINGHAM.

numerical strength of the army to 18,000 men, the limit fixed by law. After the Khedive had retired under pretext of considering these terms, Mr. Cookson, the British consul, courageously

patriot though he was, declined to become a mere puppet in the hands of Arabi. The distracted Khedive was anxious to invoke the aid of the Sultan, but the idea was strongly opposed by the



AHMED ARABI PASHA.

(From the Portrait by Frederick Villiers in A. M. Broadley's "How we Defended Arabi and his Friends.")

tried to obtain an abatement of them, but the leaders of the *émeute* stood firm to their programme. After some delay, Tewfik determined to give way, and, though he at first reserved the right of choosing the new Ministry, he ultimately agreed to accept Chérif Pasha.

In spite of this surrender, the situation continued to be extremely critical. Chérif Pasha,

representatives of France and of Great Britain, and was abandoned. Chiefly through the mediation of Mr. Colvin, the British Comptroller General, it was arranged that Chérif Pasha should be free to select his Ministry, with the exception of Mahmoud Pasha Samy, who was to be restored to his old office as the representative of the military interest, while Arabi and Abd-el-Al engaged on

their part to withdraw from Cairo until affairs had settled down.

To all appearance the crisis had now wholly ceased to exist. There were, however, signs that disturbing causes were at work beneath the surface of events. The Sultan had caught with avidity at the idea of intervening in Egyptian affairs, and despatched Ali Nizami Pasha and Fuad Bey to the Khedive as assistants and advisers. As there was no limit to the harm that these envoys might not have effected if left to their own devices, Great Britain and France determined to send ships of war to Alexandria as an antidote. In consequence the Turkish emissaries were promptly recalled by the Porte, but before their departure they picked up sufficient information as to Arabi's designs to enable them to advise the Sultan to enter into communication with him. Again the beginning of the new year, 1882, was marked by two events of more than ordinary significance. The first was the opening of the Chamber of Notables by the Khedive, and the second was the appointment of Arabi as the Under-Secretary for War. The Allied Powers became seriously alarmed, and proceeded to deliberate as to the necessity of concerted action. The result of their deliberations was a Joint Note, which was addressed to the Khedive, and presented to him on the 8th of January. Its purport was that if Tewfik wished to remain on the throne, he must look to them for support, and not to Arabi or Abdul Hamid. They considered the present arrangement the only possible guarantee for the maintenance of order in which Great Britain and France were equally interested, and promised to ward off by their united efforts all causes of external and internal complications.

Unfortunately, Tewfik was not in a position to profit much by these assurances. Immediately after the opening of the Chamber, the Nationalists put forth their whole strength in an attempt to obtain the power of handling the Budget, which was refused them by the Controllers. Tewfik and Chérif Pasha were unequal to the task of holding the balance between the two parties, and Arabi in consequence increased his demands. On the 3rd of February the Khedive dismissed Chérif and entrusted the formation of a new Ministry to Arabi's creature, Mahmoud Pasha Samy. The military dictator took the portfolio of Minister for War. The intentions of the new Government were to reduce the authority of the Controllers to a minimum, to prevent foreign Consuls-General from interfering in internal affairs, and to abolish

European officialism throughout the country. For the present, however, they appeared disposed to restrict their reforms to matters administrative and judicial, and to the promulgation of organic laws for the Chamber of Deputies. In spite of the representations of M. Gambetta, the British Government decided that the time for action had not yet arrived.

A deceitful calm again came over the face of Egyptian affairs. Arabi was presented with the title of Pasha, and seventeen of his followers were made colonels. It was not until the middle of April that a new crisis arose. For some weeks there had been vague reports that a plot was being brewed for the restoration of Ismail, and through the treachery of an accomplice it was suddenly discovered that there was foundation for the story. It appeared that six Circassian officers, filled with fury at finding themselves excluded from the new list of promotions, entered into a conspiracy to murder Arabi and place the ex-Khedive upon the throne. They were promptly seized, and condemned to death, a sentence which was subsequently commuted by Tewfik to exile in the Soudan. Arabi was highly incensed at the lenient punishment meted out to the Circassians, and, to spite Tewfik, persuaded Mahmoud Pasha to convoke the Chamber of Notables on his own responsibility. Sir Edward Malet had long been eager for action. He had already warned Arabi that he would be held responsible for any violation of the peace, and now he began to urge Lord Granville to try the effect of a naval demonstration. His advice was taken, in spite of the unwillingness of M. de Freycinet, to commit himself to any definite line of action, and on the 15th of May the fleets appeared outside Alexandria. A second Joint Note had already been drawn up and presented to the Khedive by Sir Edward Malet and the French Consul-General. Its purport was that the Powers only interfered to re-establish the Khedive's authority, and to maintain the *status quo*; they advised him to dismiss his Ministry as soon as possible, and if the *coup d'état* were quietly effected to publish a general amnesty. Arabi and his most prominent followers, Mahmoud Samy, Abd-el-Al, Ali Fehmy, and Toubah Pasha were excepted from its privileges, but their sentence was to be limited to a year's banishment. The utmost confusion followed this ultimatum. Arabi at first determined to resist, then he changed his tone and resigned, then he recovered courage and terrified the Khedive into consenting to reinstate him as Minister for War.

The Governments of Britain and France, thus placed at complete defiance, resolved to hold a Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople. This proceeding, the wisdom of which was sharply criticised at the time, was necessitated by the timid policy of M. de Freycinet. It was therefore necessary to call in some third party, and it was decided that the Sultan, as suzerain of Egypt, should be invited to suppress the mutiny. The Porte resorted to its usual policy of trickery and procrastination; at first it declined to attend the conference at all, then it raised countless questions as to the number of troops to be sent and the method of sending them. Meanwhile the Sultan was quietly preparing to settle the matter out of court by the despatch of Dervish Pasha, an old Albanian field-marshal, as Special Commissioner to Cairo. He arrived on the 7th of June, and immediately proceeded to make profuse promises to Tewfik and the Nationalist party, so that whichever side gained the advantage, the influence of the Sultan in Egypt might not be impaired.

The time for diplomacy was, however, rapidly passing away. The chronic feeling of hatred entertained by the lower orders against Europeans had of late become exceedingly alarming; and on the 11th of June a chance quarrel between an Arab and a Maltese culminated in a very serious riot and massacre in Alexandria. Mr. Cookson and the Greek and Italian consuls were set upon and beaten with clubs; and some two hundred Europeans, chiefly Greeks and Maltese, with four Englishmen and about six Frenchmen, were murdered. The police either sympathised or were too frightened to interfere, and no aid was forthcoming from the admirals of the Anglo-French fleet, who were very short of men. Finally, the disturbance was suppressed by the military, and Arabi undertook, in conjunction with Dervish Pasha, to preserve order in obedience to the instructions of the Khedive. By the advice of the German and Austrian Consuls, a new Ministry was formed under Ragheb Pasha. The Dictator was, as before, Minister for War. The suspension of the interregnum, however, did not check the panic, and Alexandria was speedily emptied of the entire European population. Both sides had now definitely resolved on war. Arabi was engaged in throwing up earthworks to protect the harbour, and training guns on the fleet, while Sir Beauchamp Seymour was waiting for the arrival of the Channel Squadron, which was hurrying up at full speed through the Mediterranean. In obedience to instructions from the Ministry at home, the

British admiral informed the Egyptians that the continuance of the fortifications would be considered an act of war, and the Sultan, at the same time, telegraphed orders to stop them. On the 10th of July an ultimatum was sent to Arabi, ordering him to surrender the forts into British hands. The terms were refused, and the British ironclads, eight in number, accompanied by five gunboats, prepared for action on the morrow. The French admiral, in pursuance of orders from his Government, declined to take part in the bombardment and returned to Port Said.

The first shot was fired on July 11th, at 7 a.m., by the *Alexandra*, and the iron hail was soon playing on all the enemy's forts. The Egyptians replied steadily and with accuracy, but their guns failed to penetrate the armour of the British ships. About 8.30 the Marsa-el-Kanal Fort was blown up, and Fort Mex was dismantled shortly afterwards. Fort Pharos held out until the afternoon was well advanced, and it was not until nightfall that the enemy were forced to abandon Fort Marabout, by the brilliant attack of Lord Charles Beresford, in command of the gunboat *Condor*. Next day, as no offer to surrender the fortresses was made, the firing re-commenced. A flag of truce was displayed after a few shots had been fired, and Lieutenant Lambton was sent on shore to negotiate with the Turkish commandant, Toulbah Pasha. An armistice was granted until 3.30 p.m., when, as no definite reply had been received, the ships began the bombardment once more. Again another flag was waved. Ultimately it was discovered that these were tricks intended only to gain time, while Arabi withdrew with his army by rail to the camp at Kafr-el-Dowar, about fourteen miles distant from Alexandria.

Immediately after the departure of the troops the city was given over to destruction. The prisons were opened, and the convicts, reinforced by the Arab population, proceeded to loot and burn the European quarter. For two days the work of fire and slaughter continued; some 2,000 persons (chiefly Greeks and Levantines) were killed and an enormous quantity of property was destroyed. At length Admiral Seymour sent a body of sailors on land, who patrolled the streets and, by shooting persons who were caught in the act of plunder, restored order. The Khedive, who had been forced to fly for his life on board an English steamer, was reinstated in the Ras-el-Tin Palace under a guard of 700 marines. The British Government was censured for not instructing the admiral to stop the carnage earlier.

Until the arrival of the British troops no active operations could be taken against Arabi, whose forces, at first no more than 6,000 in number, were rapidly increasing, while supplies were being hurried up from every part of Egypt. Even now the Khedive feared to treat Arabi as a rebel, and it was not until considerable pressure had been put upon him that he published a proclamation dismissing him from his service. Meanwhile the preparations of the British, which had been begun long since, were rapidly approaching completion; and Mr. Bright had resigned office, unable to countenance what he considered "a manifest violation both of international law and of moral law." On the 27th of July a vote of credit for £2,300,000 was obtained from Parliament, and three days afterwards the first battalion of troops sailed. Already what troops could be spared had been sent from Malta and Gibraltar, and had taken Ramleh, a Khedivial palace, about four miles from Alexandria, after a very feeble resistance. Earthworks were hastily constructed, and the railway blown up for some distance, so as to prevent a sudden descent from Kafr-el-Dowar. The total number of British troops that were prepared to take the field in the event of the struggle being protracted was about 33,000, of whom some 22,000 were dispatched to Egypt at once. They were under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had with him a highly efficient staff, including, amongst others, the well-known names of Sir John Acland, Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Evelyn Wood, General Drury-Lowe, and General Hamley. The Duke of Connaught commanded a brigade of the Guards. A contingent was also sent from India, under General Macpherson, consisting of two British and three native battalions, and three regiments of Bengal cavalry, numbering in all some 7,200 men. The dispatch of troops from India was much ridiculed by the Conservatives, who declared that Government in this, as in other matters, were servilely imitating the very points of Lord Beaconsfield's policy which they had denounced when in Opposition. Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived at Alexandria on the 15th of August. Already a reconnaissance, in which an armour-clad train played an important part, had been made on Arabi's position, and it was discovered that he had under him some 30,000 men. Pending the arrival of his chief, however, Sir Archibald Alison had not ventured on any decisive operations. Sir Garnet, after making a feint at occupying Aboukir Bay, steamed to Port Said, and there disembarked his troops with great rapidity. They pushed

along the Canal, and seized Ismailia, while the Seaforth Highlanders, part of General Macpherson's force, pushed northward from Suez, which they had reached on the 8th, and occupied Chalouf on the 20th, after an artillery fight, in which the Egyptians suffered severely, thus obtaining possession of the Sweetwater Canal.

On his side, Sir Garnet was soon engaged in a series of skirmishes with the enemy, who had been for some days engaged in attempting to dam up the Sweetwater Canal at the opposite end. On the 24th the advanced guard, under General Graham, was sent forward to check these operations, and he came in contact with the enemy between Ramses and Tel-el-Mahuta. The enemy were some 10,000 strong, about four times our number, and had twelve guns against our two. Our troops could act on the defensive only, and as the day went on the enemy were largely reinforced by trains arriving from Arabi's camp at Tel-el-Kebir. Our men held out, therefore, under the burning sun, which proved more fatal than the enemy's carelessly-directed fire, until the Duke of Connaught, with the Guards, came up to their relief. On the following day Sir Garnet assumed the offensive, and the cavalry, under Sir Baker Russell and General Drury-Lowe, took the enemy's camp at Mahsameh. Among the prisoners was Mahmoud Fehmy, Arabi's second in command and chief engineer, who had planned the lines at Tel-el-Kebir.

Sir Garnet pushed forward General Graham again on the 27th to occupy Kassassin Lock, on the Sweetwater Canal. The position was considerably in advance of the main body of the troops, and during the next day it was menaced several times by the enemy. In the afternoon, as our men were resting, the Egyptians suddenly developed a very determined attack, their infantry advancing on our centre, and their artillery playing on our left. After some four hours, General Graham, finding his stock of ammunition running low, sent an urgent appeal for help to General Drury-Lowe, who was in command of the Household Cavalry at Mahsameh, four miles in the rear. He promptly obeyed the summons, and advanced through the dusk, making a wide circuit round the hills to his right and approaching within 2,000 yards of the enemy's batteries without being perceived. One charge sent the Egyptians on that side flying to the winds, and they were pursued for two hours through the darkness. A general advance made the rout complete. The British losses were eleven killed and sixty-eight wounded.



CHARGE OF THE HIGHLANDERS AT TEL-EL-KEBIR. (See p. 582.)

The affair at Kassassin was followed by a slight pause, Sir Garnet Wolseley naturally wishing that the preparations for the attack on Tel-el-Kebir should be as complete as possible. There were the usual transport difficulties, which were increased by the damage which Arabi had inflicted on the railway, and by the lowering of the water of the Canal. The aspect of affairs in other parts of Egypt gave little cause for uneasiness. Arabi's officers at Kafr-el-Dowar did not attempt a serious diversion on Alexandria, and operations in that quarter were confined to an artillery duel, in which the *Minotaur* took part, off Aboukir. But there were strong reasons for contemplating a serious complication of affairs in the news that the Sultan, finding that his influence in Egypt was on the wane, had suddenly changed his mind, and signed a military convention with Lord Dufferin. Dervish Pasha, with Baker Pasha as second in command, was, under this arrangement, to land 3,000 troops at Port Said.

It was earnestly hoped in England that Sir Garnet Wolseley would bring matters to a crisis before the arrival of the Turkish contingent, and great satisfaction was felt when the telegraph announced that Arabi's stronghold at Tel-el-Kebir had been taken. The operation was conducted from first to last without a single hitch. On September 9th the enemy made a reconnaissance in force upon the place, but were beaten back with complete disaster, and the concentration of the troops was effected without any further molestation. On September 12th everything was ready for a forward movement, and the British force, consisting of 11,000 bayonets, 2,000 sabres, and 60 guns, advanced stealthily and silently during the night upon the enemy's lines. They arrived within a mile of the works just before dawn of the 13th.

The position had been fortified with skill. Three long lines of redoubts were flanked on both sides by impassable ground, and traversed by a railway and a canal, each line of redoubts with a 15-foot moat before it. They were held by 20,000 regulars, of whom 2,500 were cavalry with seventy guns, and by 6,000 Bedouins and irregulars. Sir Garnet Wolseley in his despatch said that "the cavalry and two batteries of horse-artillery on his right had orders to sweep round the enemy's line at daybreak. On the left of the cavalry were the 1st division of the 2nd Brigade, under General Graham, leading, supported by the Guards, under the Duke of Connaught. On their left were seven batteries of artillery, in line with the supporting brigade. Then came the second division, with the

Highland Brigade leading." The Naval Brigade held the railway with the ironclad train, and the Indian contingent held the canal on the extreme left. The Egyptians, completely taken by surprise, made a very indifferent resistance. An irregular volley saluted our troops as soon as they were discovered, but both shell and rifle bullets went too high, and did little damage. They replied with a steady fire as they advanced within a short distance of the trenches, when they quickened to the double, swarmed up the earthworks and parapet, and carried the position in splendid style. In twenty minutes the whole affair was over, and the miserable Egyptians were streaming away pell-mell in headlong flight, pursued by the relentless vigour of General Drury-Lowe and Sir Baker Russell. Our losses were 34 killed and 124 wounded, while those of the Egyptians were considerably over 1,500. Arabi Pasha fled on horseback towards Cairo the instant that the battle began to go against him. The Indian contingent, under General Macpherson, pushed forward from the battle-field and occupied Zagazig; while General Drury-Lowe, after harrying the enemy over the plain, started with the cavalry for the capital, seized Belbeis, and after a most fatiguing march of thirty-nine miles through heavy sand and under a tropical sun, arrived before Cairo on the evening of the 14th. Arabi, who had been hiding in his own house, came out with Toulbah Pasha, and made a dignified, though unconditional, surrender, and ten thousand men followed his example.

The battle of Tel-el-Kebir decided the fate of the Nationalist movement. Garrisons threw down their arms and disbanded in all directions. Roubi Pasha, who was in command at Kafr-el-Dowar, came out from his strong lines—in some places 30 feet high—and, with 5,000 men, surrendered at discretion to Sir Evelyn Wood. The rebels at Damanhour followed his example. Abd-el-Al Pasha, indeed, who was in command of 6,000 negroes at Damietta, contemplated further resistance, but he soon gave up his sword. The only troops who still seemed disposed to fight were intangible hordes of the Bedouins, who had given Arabi much assistance of an irregular sort during the war. At the commencement of the campaign it was hoped that they would have preserved neutrality, and a mission, consisting of Professor Palmer, Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., went on the 12th of August to keep the sheikhs faithful to their promise. The gold that Professor Palmer carried with him was too much for the cupidity of his guide, who betrayed him

and his comrades into the hands of the Governor of Nakl, by whom they were massacred. Thirteen of the Arabs were afterwards caught and tried, five of them being condemned to death.

The re-embarkation of the bulk of the British troops followed upon the restoration of the Khedive to his re-conquered capital. Sir Garnet was of opinion that a force of 12,000 men, under command of Sir Archibald Alison, would be sufficient for the maintenance of order; and the rest sailed for England. The general left on the 14th of October, and, on his return to England, met with a most enthusiastic reception. It was announced that both he and Sir Beauchamp Seymour would be raised to the peerage and presented with pensions, while votes of thanks to the commanders, officers, and men were carried in both Houses. Finally, a grand review was held in St. James's Park before the Queen on November 18th, in which a selection of the Indian Contingent took part, and shared the popularity of the hour. The picture, however, was not without its dark side. Dysentery had laid low more than the bullet, and of the garrison of 12,000 that remained, no less than 126 were admitted to the hospital during the month of October, and of them 52 died. Sir Andrew Clark was at once sent out to Egypt, and instituted a rigorous system of precautions.

The fate of Arabi and his companions was the cause of much confusion. The Egyptian Government, to whom he had been handed over, wished to settle the matter secretly; but Mr. Wilfrid Blunt raised a loud outcry in favour of an open trial. Mr. A. M. Broadley and the Hon. Mark Napier, who were to be his counsel, were also engaged to defend his two fellow-malcontents, Ali Fehmy and Abd-el-Al, together with Toulbah Pasha, Yakoub, and Mahmoud Samy. The Egyptian Government were very indignant at the pressure put upon them by Lord Granville. It soon appeared that their indignation was inspired, in part at all events, by other causes. During the preliminaries of the trial before the Court of Inquiry, papers were discovered among Arabi's possessions which gravely compromised the Khedive, and still more gravely his suzerain, the Sultan. As a compromise, it was suggested that Arabi

Pasha should be exiled by Khedivial decree, but the idea was ultimately abandoned. It remained for Lord Dufferin, to whom was entrusted the task of settling the affairs of Egypt, to extricate the Egyptian authorities from the difficult position in which they were placed. At his instigation, the Committee of Inquiry, under the presidency of Ismail Ayoub Pasha, decided to abandon the charges of misusing the flag of truce and of complicity in the Alexandria massacre, while Arabi was persuaded to plead "Guilty" before a court-martial to the charge of rebellion. He was thereupon sentenced to death, but his doom was immediately alleviated by Khedivial decree in favour of perpetual exile. Arabi Pasha was deported to Ceylon, where he was kept in easy confinement.

The settlement of the Government was a business of hardly less nicety. The Dual Control had evidently broken down, and it was necessary to invent some less stringent and vexatious scheme of supervision. Sir Auckland Colvin, the British Controller, began to prepare the way for a change by declining to take part in the deliberations of the Egyptian Cabinet. As soon as Lord Dufferin reached Egypt a note was sent by the Khedive to Great Britain and France, pointing out the disadvantages of the Control, and suggesting its abolition. Lord Granville adopted the idea, and suggested that France should receive as compensation the permanent presidency of the Debt Commission. Thus responsibility would be divided, France supervising the revenue, and Great Britain the reorganisation of the country. True to its unsympathetic policy, the French Government declined to retire from an arrangement of which both its fellow-partners were anxious to be quit. Thereupon Lord Granville notified to Lord Dufferin that he intended to act alone. It was suggested that in place of the Control a single European financial adviser should be appointed, who should have no authority to interfere in the direct administration of the country. Tewfik accepted the plan, and on the last day of the year Lord Dufferin forwarded to the home authorities the first part of his scheme for the regeneration of the country. All seemed well with Tewfik, except in the direction of the Soudan.



THE TERRACE, WESTMINSTER PALACE.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1883—Extra-Parliamentary Speeches—The Queen's Speech—Debate in the Lords—Debate in the Commons—The O'Brien Incident—Mr. Gorst's Resolution—The Easter Recess—Mr. Childers's Budget—The Affirmation Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Remainder of the Debate and the Division—Mr. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Bill—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—Proceedings in Committee—The Bill in the Lords—Scene in the Upper House—The Corrupt Practices Bill—Minor Measures—Legislative Failures—Irish Incidents—The Bright Celebration and its Consequences—The Transvaal Question—The Proposed Annexation of New Guinea—Egypt and the Proposed Second Suez Canal—Ireland in 1883—Arrest of the Phoenix Park Murderers—Their appearance at Kilmainham Court House—James Carey—The Trials and Convictions—The Fate of Carey and his Murderer—Dynamite Outrages—Attempt to Blow up the *Times* Office—Arrests at Birmingham and in London—The Explosives Bill—Trial of Gallagher and his Companions—Ireland under the Coercion Act—The *Kerry Sentinel* and Mr. Healy at Monaghan—State of Parties in Ulster—The Pope and the Parnell Fund—The Parnell Banquet in the Rotunda, Dublin.

DURING the opening days of 1883 political affairs were singularly quiet. Sir Charles Dilke, accompanied by Mr. Mundella, made a series of speeches to his constituents in his new character of President of the Local Government Board. No secret was divulged beyond a statement that Government had not yet made up their minds whether to deal with the extension of the county franchise and the redistribution of seats together or in separate Bills. Soon afterwards the supplementary appointments necessitated by the changes in the Cabinet were announced. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice was made Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. J. K. Cross Under-Secretary for India, and Mr. H. Brand Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. It was not long before the usual signs of political activity began to develop themselves, but they excited but little interest in comparison

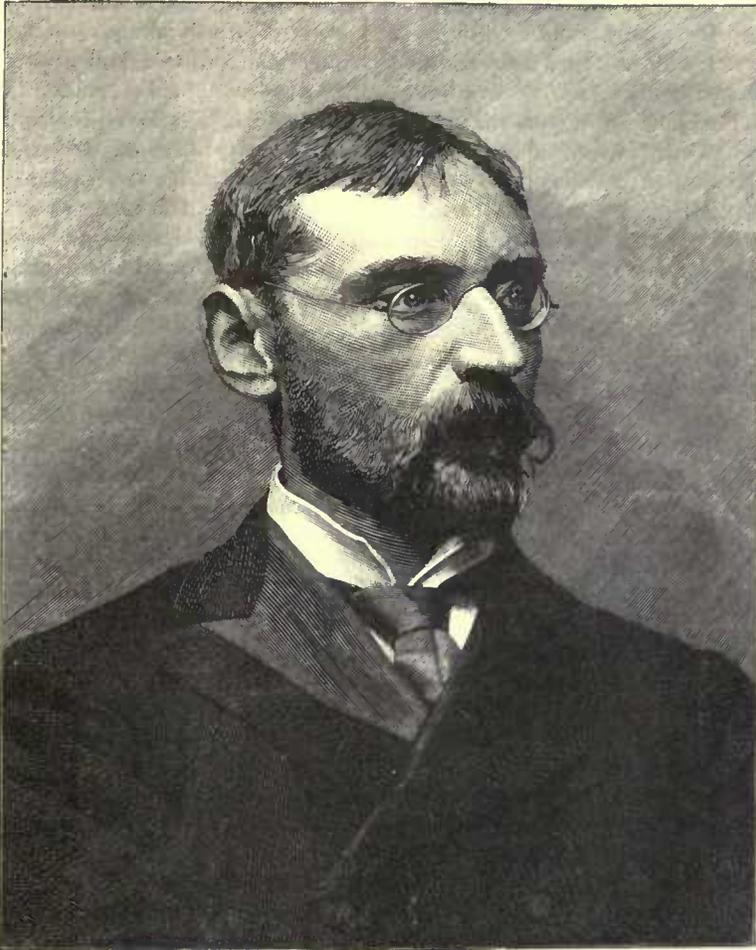
with the intelligence that Mr. Gladstone was out of health. He was compelled to betake himself to Cannes, whence he returned early in March, with his strength completely re-established. In his absence political addresses, being generally regarded as uninspired, fell rather flat. Exception, however, was made in favour of a speech of Lord Hartington's at Bootle, in which he declared himself adverse to extending the Irish franchise until affairs had settled down in that country, and of Mr. Trevelyan's defence of his administration at Hawick. The Irish Secretary asserted that there had been a wonderful decrease in the number of outrages; the figures were, for the last six months of 1881, 991; for the first six months of 1882, 1,010; and for the last six months, 365.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 15th of February. The Queen's Speech began with

a congratulatory reference to the relations with all foreign Powers, and to the rapidity and completeness with which the sea and land forces had suppressed the rebellion in Egypt. After alluding to the Danubian Conference and to the restoration of Cetewayo to Zululand, the continued improve-

Education in Wales, and a proposal which would more effectually secure compensation for improvements to tenants in England and Scotland.

In the House of Lords there was an exceedingly dull debate, enlivened only by Lord Salisbury's effective criticisms on the Ministerial policy in



MR. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P. (From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

ment in the condition of Ireland was noted. At the same time the existence of dangerous secret societies in Dublin called for unremitting energy and vigilance. Among the measures promised were the Codification of the Criminal Law, the Establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, the Amendment and Consolidation of the Bankruptcy and Patent Laws, the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections, the Better Government of the Metropolis and the Reform of Local Government, the Prevention of Floods, Bills relating to Scottish Police, Scottish Universities, and

Egypt. He wished to know when our troops would withdraw, and pointed out that the moment they did so old ambitions would revive, old intrigues would be renewed, and the effect of Tel-el-Kebir would be forgotten. The weakness of the central Government of France made its agents practically irresponsible, and they would be more dangerous than ever.

In the House of Commons what excitement there was could be traced to the report that Mr. Bradlaugh was about to make another raid upon its precincts. A mass meeting was being held at

the time in Trafalgar Square, at which a resolution was carried protesting against the illegal exclusion of the Member for Northampton, but the crowd refrained from marching down to Palace Yard, and quietly dispersed. Indeed, Mr. Labouchere had promised that his colleague would make no attempt to claim his seat if an Affirmation Bill were introduced, and Lord Hartington had engaged that such a measure would be brought in. The debate on the Address raged without intermission for eleven nights. At first attention was concentrated mainly on Egypt, Sir Wilfrid Lawson bringing forward a vote of censure upon Government for sending troops into the Nile Valley, and Mr. Balfour condemning them for not taking steps at an earlier period, which would have rendered military operations unnecessary.

It was not long, however, before the news of the arrest of the murderers of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the disclosures of the informer, James Carey, caused all eyes to be focussed on Irish affairs. Mr. Gorst moved an amendment expressive of a hope that Government would continue to maintain their new policy, making no further concessions to lawless agitators, and devoting vigilant attention to secret societies. This produced in the first place a furious indictment of the administration of the Crimes Act, which he declared to be used for the purpose of packing juries, by Mr. William O'Brien, who had recently been returned for Mallow. The excitement caused by this singular maiden speech had hardly died away, when Mr. Forster got up and delivered a wonderfully impressive exposition of his reasons for relinquishing office in the previous year. He asserted that the main reason of his resignation was inability to get the powers he desired. He then proceeded to indict Mr. Parnell with much trenchant denunciation. He directly accused the Member for Cork either of conniving at outrages, or of deliberately remaining in ignorance and taking no trouble to ascertain what was going on. These remarks lashed the Irish Members into a state of great anger, and Mr. O'Kelly was at last named and suspended for the offence of shouting several times, "It's a lie!" In conclusion, Mr. Forster said that there were two grounds for hope and encouragement in the state of Ireland. "One is that the Irish Government has now the power to uphold the law, and will use it; and the other is that the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his fellow-agitators have been found out, and that the hideous cruelty and wickedness of this agitation has been unveiled, and

unmasked, and exposed. I have only one further remark to make. I repeat that I have so framed my questions that he cannot plead his residence in Kilmainham as a reason for refusing to answer them." When Mr. Forster ceased there were shouts of "Parnell!" from all parts of the House, but he did not immediately rise to reply. On the following day he resumed the debate, the adjournment of which he had moved for the purpose of intervening, as he said, for a very short time, and to a very limited extent. "I do not," he continued, "intend to reply to the remarks of the right hon. gentleman. I consider that he has no right to question me, standing as he does in a position very little better than that of an informer, with regard to the secrets of the men with whom he was associated; and he has not even the pretext of that remarkable informer whose proceedings we have lately heard of: he has not even the pretext of that miserable man, that he is attempting to save his own life." Mr. Parnell disclaimed all responsibility for outrages, and reproached Mr. Trevelyan for following in the steps of his predecessor.

After this remarkable incident, the debate became more tranquil, though continuing to turn on Ireland. Sir Stafford Northcote raised a brief discussion on the "treaty" of Kilmainham; and on the 26th of February Mr. Parnell moved a strongly-worded amendment condemning the Crimes Act, which he supported in a singularly moderate speech, to which the Attorney-General for Ireland replied, disposing completely of the charge that Government were in the habit of packing juries. Three nights more were occupied in discussing Mr. McCarthy's and Mr. O'Connor's amendments on Irish distress, which elicited from Mr. Trevelyan some alarming statistics as to the recklessness with which out-door relief was granted in Ireland.

Obstacles of various kinds stood in the way of the Government programme. Sir Stafford Northcote asked Government to fix a day for the discussion of the Kilmainham "treaty," but Lord Hartington declined to revive that well-worn theme. Mr. Gorst was more successful on the Transvaal affairs, concerning which a question in the Upper House drew from Lord Derby the admission that the Boers had been oppressing two Bechuana chiefs in a manner contrary to the spirit of the Convention of Pretoria, but that Government preferred to compensate the chiefs rather than go to war. Mr. Gorst brought forward a resolution on this subject on the same day. Its object was to call attention to the treatment of the natives, and the mover made out

a strong case. The debate was adjourned to the 16th of March, when Mr. Forster made an effective speech on the necessity of adhering to our promises. He declared that we were pledged to defend the Bechnanas, and ought, if necessary, to go to war on their behalf. Mr. Gladstone's reply was to the effect that under the Convention the British Government could, but was not obliged to, interfere on behalf of the natives; that the latter course of action would entail our interposition in every single dispute, and the annexation of huge districts of territory. The debate was again adjourned, until after Easter. The votes on the Estimates took up the greater part of the time of the House previous to that recess. It should be mentioned, however, that Mr. Parnell raised an important debate on the Irish Land Act. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, declined to reopen the question, quoting figures to show how rapidly the Act was working.

After a short holiday, the chief incident of which was a vigorous campaign, conducted by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gibson, in the Liberal stronghold of Birmingham, Parliament reassembled on the 29th of March. The chief topic of Lord Salisbury's witty discourses had been the want of unity between the Whig and Radical wings in the Cabinet. The supporters of Government, however, had the laugh on their side when, immediately after the reassembling of Parliament, a letter from Lord Randolph Churchill appeared in the *Times*, calling upon the Conservative party to choose a leader, and singling out Lord Salisbury in preference to Sir Stafford Northcote or Lord Cairns. The result was that there was a remarkable demonstration on the Tory benches in favour of Sir Stafford Northcote on his next appearance in the House, a semi-official denial from the marquis of any sympathy with his indiscreet follower's views, and a statement from Sir Stafford that there had never been a difference of opinion between Lord Salisbury and himself on any main question of policy. Lord Randolph's blow had apparently failed completely, and never did the Conservative party seem more united than when, on the 19th of April, its leaders assembled round the fine bronze statue of Lord Beaconsfield by Signor Raggi, which was then unveiled at Westminster.

The next important event in the Parliamentary history of the year—if we omit the Explosives Act, which will find a more fitting place in juxtaposition to the occurrences which necessitated its introduction—was the first Budget of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Childers, which was introduced on the 5th of April. He proceeded

to discuss the revenue of the previous year, and showed how remarkable had been the falling-off in wine and spirit duties. Since 1874 it amounted to £5,000,000 sterling, so that, including the beer duties, the revenue for liquor had fallen off to an amount represented by a threepenny income-tax. The estimated expenditure for 1882—3 was £89,582,868, including the Egyptian War, but it had been reduced by savings to £88,906,000, leaving a surplus of £676,868. Mr. Childers accounted for the largeness of the expenditure by the inheritance of £15,000,000 of war expenditure from the Conservative Government, and the determination of the Liberals to discharge their own Egyptian debt. He explained the features of his admirable plan for using £5,000,000 of annuities, terminable in 1885, for the gradual extinction in twenty years of £172,000,000 of debt. Finally, the Chancellor promised to take off the additional three-halfpence which had been placed on the income-tax, to reduce and eventually to abolish the duty on silver, to introduce sixpenny telegrams, in accordance with a recent vote of the House, and to accommodate poor passengers by taking off the railway passenger duty for all fares under one penny a mile. The Budget, though described by Sir Stafford Northcote as the most controversial he had ever heard, was received with considerable approval.

As yet the session had been singularly devoid of incidents, with the exception of Mr. Forster's "impeachment speech" of Mr. Parnell. Not even the formation of the Grand Committees of Trade and Law aroused for any length of time the attention of an exceedingly languid House, and the second reading of the Affirmation Bill on the 23rd of April was hailed everywhere as a pleasant variation. It was moved by the Attorney-General in a luminous speech, of which the central points were that Parliament had no power to exclude Atheists, and that the oath of allegiance had always been used for political, not for religious purposes, until it was employed as a test in the matter of the succession of the Roman Catholic or the Protestant lines. The rejection of the Bill was moved by Sir Richard Cross, and seconded by Mr. Torrens, from the Liberal side of the House. During the first night the debate was very commonplace, but matters improved considerably when it was resumed on the 26th. Sir H. D. Wolff made a careful speech, in which he dealt with the legal points of the case. Mr. Gladstone followed him in one of the finest speeches he ever delivered in the House of Commons. After alluding to the

enormous amount of extraneous matter that had been introduced into the debate, he proceeded to state his opinion that if any elected Member chose to take the oath, the House had no power to prevent him from doing so. He then noticed some of the collateral matters that had been introduced. He disproved the theory that the law ought not to be altered for the sake of one person by quoting the cases of O'Connell, and the Bill for the admission of Jews into Parliament. There would be no difficulty about the disqualification of aliens, felons, or peers, since their exclusion rested on the common law, while that of an unbeliever did not. Lastly, he rebutted the accusations that Government had anything to bias them in the direction they had taken. "Do you suppose that we are ignorant that in every contested election that has happened since the case of Mr. Bradlaugh came up, you have gained votes, and we have lost them? Is not there some credit to be given to us—we are giving you the same under circumstances rather more difficult—for presumptive integrity and purity of motive?" Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to the heart of the Conservative argument, which he maintained to be that the question for the State was not what religion a man professed, but whether he professed any religion at all, any recognition of the supernatural. He declared this argument to be utterly hollow and false. It was totally inconsistent with the principle of civil freedom laid down by Lord Lyndhurst, namely, that there should be a total divorce between the question of religious differences and the question of civil privilege and power; that there should be no test whatever applied to a man with respect to the exercise of civil functions, except the test of civil capacity. He went further, and declared that the Conservative contention was highly disparaging to Christianity. It was tearing religion into shreds, and then setting aside one particular shred, with which they would never be induced to part, thus establishing a distinction between superfluities and necessities. He maintained that the line so drawn was worthless. Mr. Gladstone concluded with an eloquent peroration, in which he urged upon the House how necessary it was, not only in the interests of civil liberty, but of religion as well, that the measure should pass.

The rest of that night's debate was exceedingly tame, but matters improved on the 30th of April, when Lord Randolph Churchill led off with a vivacious speech, in which he favoured the House with some most original theories on the analogy

between Judaism and Arianism. The latter creed he considered an advance on the former, and it was owing to an accident as much as to anything else that the whole of Europe at the present moment was not Arian. Lord Randolph, however, was of opinion that the arguments for the admission of Jews were weighty and solemn, and that it was an insult to that ancient nation to compare them with Mr. Bradlaugh and "his crew." Mr. Labouchere followed the Member for Woodstock with an equally animated defence of his colleague. On the next night of the debate, Mr. Newdegate bewailed his fate in being defeated in the court of law in the dispute between himself and Mr. Bradlaugh. On behalf of Government, the Solicitor-General made an exceedingly able speech; and on the last night of the debate (May the 3rd) both Lord Hartington and Sir Stafford Northcote stated lucidly and moderately the views of their respective parties. As it was known that there would be a considerable number of Liberals who would vote against the Bill, the division took place amidst a scene of wild excitement. The tellers announced that the numbers were: for the Bill, 289; against 292, or a majority of three against Government. On the following day the Speaker stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Bradlaugh, who wished to come forward to take the oath, and asking, if refused, that he might be heard at the bar. Sir Stafford Northcote thereupon moved, as in the previous session, that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the oath. He was then allowed to address the House from the bar, and made a powerful appeal for justice. Afterwards the previous question moved by Mr. Labouchere was lost on a division, and the motion of practical exclusion carried.

The bad effect of this defeat was more or less annulled by the success on the previous day of a banquet at the Westminster Aquarium, held in honour of the opening of the National Liberal Club. It was attended by some 2,000 members, representing about 400 towns, who applauded with enthusiasm the speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. John Morley. Conservative obstruction was a topic common to all who spoke at this meeting, and a resolution was passed calling upon Government not to prorogue Parliament until all the measures had been carried which had been named in the Queen's Speech. It was, indeed, too clear that Government programme was advancing with painful slowness. Mr. Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Bill was, indeed, the only one of the Government measures

that was speeding at all rapidly on its appointed course. It had been read a second time on the 19th of March, after a speech from the President of the Board of Trade, which was a model of lucid exposition. He pointed out that under the existing law, the Act of 1869, there was no provision for an impartial examination into the causes of each bankruptcy; examinations were undertaken at the expense of the creditors; the provisions for the punishment of misconduct were inadequate; and there was no control over the administration of bankrupt estates. He proposed, therefore, that Board of Trade officials should be appointed, to be styled official receivers, whose duty it would be to make an independent examination into the circumstances of each bankruptcy, and one of whom would be appointed for each district. These official receivers would examine into the character of the bankrupt, conduct the inquiry before the court, and make reports. The only business the receivers would have with the assets would be to supervise their collection, so as to secure fair treatment to all parties concerned. Both during the debate which followed Mr. Chamberlain's speech and in the criticisms that appeared in the press the Bill was greeted with the most cordial approval. The main objection against the measure was that propounded by Mr. E. Stanhope, namely, that though it was highly necessary to secure an independent official examination, yet it was hazardous to place so much power in the hands of officials, and so much patronage under the control of the Board of Trade. During the discussion of the clauses in the Standing Committee some concessions in the direction of averting any possible danger of this nature were made by Mr. Chamberlain; but the Bill retained all its original features when it came back to the House of Commons on the 25th of June. It was re-committed for the consideration of minor clauses, and finally reported on the 9th of July. In the House of Lords it was read a second time on the 17th of August, and went through its remaining stages amidst a chorus of general approbation.

The details of the Agricultural Holdings Bill elicited, as was inevitable, differences of opinion considerably more emphatic. The depressed condition of agriculture had for some time attracted the notice of politicians in England, as well as in Ireland. Under a succession of disastrous seasons the land laws had been severely tried. One of the last acts of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry was to appoint a commission to inquire into the condition of agriculture, and their report,

which represented the landlords' view, had since been supplemented by the resolutions and publications of the Farmers' Alliance, which represented the tenants' opinion. Government had, therefore, two safe guides on the right hand and on the left to help them along their course of compromise. The Agricultural Holdings Bill for England, together with a kindred measure for Scotland, was entrusted to the care of Mr. Dodson, who, in consequence of recent departmental arrangements, was now virtually Minister of Agriculture. It proved, as might have been expected of so cautious a statesman, to be a measure erring, if at all, on the side of moderation. Its object was to entitle tenants to receive compensation for improvements from their landlords on the termination of their tenancies, the measure of such compensation to be the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant. Permanent improvements must be effected with the consent of the landlord, though temporary improvements might be effected without his consent. The landlord would have the option of performing drainage works, and charging the tenant 5 per cent.; at the same time, if he refused, the tenant was at liberty to perform the work himself, but in order to recover compensation from the landlord due notice must be given. The landlord would be able to charge the estate for compensation. A year's notice to quit in the case of yearly tenancies was required by law in lieu of six months, and the right of distraint was limited to one year's rent.

On the 29th of May the Prime Minister, after he had addressed a meeting of his party at the Foreign Office, in a serious speech on the backward state of public business, announced that the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill would have precedence of all notices of motion and other orders. It passed without a division, the representatives of the tenant-farmers, Mr. James Howard, Mr. Duckham, and others, preferring to reserve their fire until a later stage, and moderate Conservatives, like Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, greeting it with some warm expressions of approval. In committee, however, there was a long and stubborn fight over details, which lasted from the 17th to the 24th of July. Mr. Balfour carried in the teeth of the Government a provision that, in respect of improvements for which the consent of the landlord was not required, the compensation should not exceed the outlay. A suggestion by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach that, in estimating the value of an improvement nothing should be taken into account that was due to any cause other than

the skill and expenditure of the tenant, was agreed to with a slight modification. After passing through Committee, the Bill was re-committed, and a clause added by Mr. Dodson imposing restrictions in respect of compensation for improvements. Finally, Mr. Balfour's amendment was again submitted to the judgment of the House, and withdrawn in favour of a compromise, suggested by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, that "in estimating the value of an improvement for which the consent of the landlord was not required, there should not be taken into account as part of the improvement made by the tenant what is justly due to the inherent capabilities of the soil."

In the House of Lords, where Lord Carlingford moved the second reading on the 7th of March, the Earl of Wemyss met the Bill with a long amendment, the pith of which was that the Peers were not prepared to give their sanction to a Bill which in agricultural tenancies forbade free contract in the future and broke it in the past. This amendment was—after a discussion, in the course of which Lord Salisbury made known his opinion that if the harm that the Bill would do was little, the good that it would do was absolutely none—rejected by 55 to 9, and the Bill read a second time. Then began the introduction of several fundamental alterations in Committee. The Duke of Richmond carried an amendment enlarging the scope of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's modification of Mr. Balfour's amendment to improvements of any sort or kind. Lord Salisbury procured the insertion in Clause 2 of words providing that no compensation could be claimed in contravention of any specific agreement at present existing between landlord and tenant. Another was moved by the Duke of Buckingham, increasing the percentage to be paid to the landlord in respect of drainage. The remaining amendments were of an inconsiderable nature, and the Bill was reported after a long sitting. The Agricultural Holdings Bill for Scotland was treated in a similar fashion, the attack in this case being conducted by the Duke of Argyll. In the House of Commons the Duke of Richmond's amendment was accepted with a slight modification, but Government declined to entertain that of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Dodson declaring that it was either unnecessary or might do mischief.

On the return of the Bill to the House of Lords a curious scene occurred. Lord Salisbury, in a speech of some vehemence, insisted upon his amendment, but found an unexpected opponent in the Duke of Richmond, who said that it was a

matter of the greatest grief to him to find himself unable to support the noble marquis; but having devoted a considerable portion of his life to the consideration of all matters connected with agriculture, he did not think that he would be justified in retaining his seat in the House of Lords if he did not get up and state that he could not agree with him. The division was expected with some excitement, and the numbers were found to be exactly equal. Thereupon, by an old rule of the House, the Lord Chancellor was obliged to declare the proposal rejected, but a second division on the amended amendment resulted in a victory for Lord Salisbury by a majority of one. The Commons, however, declined to give way, and when the Bill was returned once more to the Lords, Lord Salisbury declared that he had no intention of dividing the House. On the following day, August 25th, the English and Scottish Agricultural Holdings Bills were read a third time.

The third great measure of a session that ended more successfully than it began was the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Bill, the necessity for which had been sufficiently established by the revelations which followed the general election. It was read a second time on the 4th of June, when the Attorney-General expressed himself as well satisfied with the criticisms which it received. He pointed out that the evils that had to be met were twofold: the great increase of corruption, and the great increase of election expenditure, which was almost the very father of corruption, and which placed seats in Parliament entirely at the mercy of wealthy men. The measure contained some severe restrictions on treating, undue influence, bribery, and personation. A candidate who was found by an election court to be personally guilty of corrupt practices would be incapable of ever sitting for the constituency in which they were committed, or of sitting in the House at all, or of voting at an election, or holding a public office for a period of seven years. If found guilty through his agents, a candidate would be incapable of representing the constituency for seven years. Persons convicted of bribery, treating, or undue influence would be liable to one year's imprisonment and to a fine of £200. Persons guilty of personation would be adjudged felons, and imprisoned with hard labour for a term not exceeding two years. The practice of conveying voters to the poll by carriage or rail was to be considered illegal, and no candidate or agent might under any pretence incur charges at an election greater than the maximum allowed by the Act. Illegal payment,

employment, and hiring of any sort, were provided against with stringent and almost too elaborate minuteness.

Complaint was made on the Conservative side that some of these penalties were much too severe. On their side, the Home Rule party declared that the Bill was not wanted in Ireland, but Mr. Parnell's proposal that that country should be omitted was defeated by 243 to 31. In Committee the discussions were long and tedious; an important amendment of Mr. H. Fowler's, the object of which was to prohibit all conveyance to the poll, was rejected, and persons were allowed to use their own carriages for the purpose, or to subscribe together to hire a public vehicle for their joint conveyance. Reasonable attempts on the part of the Conservatives to relax the severity of the bribery clauses were rejected by Government, and a new clause was added, making it a corrupt practice to promise the withdrawal of a candidate in consideration of a money payment. After the last sitting the Attorney-General explained the clauses which were intended to reduce election expenses. He proposed to reduce the expenses of a general election from £2,500,000, its cost in 1880, to £800,000, cutting down the sums that might be expended in hiring committee-rooms, employing agents, and other necessary apparatus. In cases of a joint candidature, the same committee-room was to be used, and expenses were to be diminished by one-fourth. The Bill was read a third time on the 10th of August, and received the royal assent after some perfunctory criticism in the House of Lords.

These three measures, the Corrupt Practices Act, the Agricultural Holdings Act, and the Bankruptcy Act, were the chief achievements of the session. A considerable number of measures of secondary importance also became law. A Patents Bill, the object of which was to remove some of the petty restrictions that tied down inventors, was brought in by Mr. Chamberlain, and successfully steered by him through the Standing Committee of Trade. Mr. Childers carried out the promise made in his Budget speech, and on the 7th of August moved the second reading of a measure for the gradual reduction of the National Debt. He explained that it did not in any way increase the annual charge, but that by re-creating long annuities it would in twenty years' time redeem £172,000,000 of debt. After a vapid debate, the second reading was carried by 149 votes against 93, the main argument of the Opposition being that it was inexpedient to press on so important a

scheme at so late a date. It passed swiftly through the Lords, and eventually became law. Ireland was not neglected, although her affairs did not take up nearly as much time as they had occupied during the previous year. An important Bill, known as the Tramways and Public Companies Bill, was introduced by Mr. Trevelyan, with the object of remedying defects in the legislation of the last few years. It received its name from the provisions which were intended to develop tramway communication, but it also included plans for assisting emigration, and for extending the range of the borrowing clauses of the Land Act. In the course of the debate on the second reading the Irish Secretary offered to devote £50,000 to the migration of peasantry to the less congested districts, a proposal received by Mr. Parnell and his friends with much cordiality. Two other measures of social improvement became law through the exertions of Mr. O'Kelly and Mr. T. P. O'Connor. The former, ably seconded by Mr. Blake, introduced a Sea Fisheries Bill, the object of which was to create harbours on the wild western coast by means of advances on the security of the Irish Church surplus; while Mr. O'Connor's Labourers Bill aimed at improving the condition of the agricultural classes, by empowering the authorities to borrow money for the erection of cottages.

There was a very great number of legislative failures, several of them of first-rate importance. Much had been expected from the Criminal Appeal Bill, the object of which was to create a court to which there should be an absolute right of appeal in capital cases, but it was dropped towards the end of the session; and a Criminal Code Bill shared its fate. Even more to be deplored was the inability of Government to carry through Sir William Harcourt's Bill for the reform of the Municipality of London. An Irish Parliamentary Registration Bill was thrown out somewhat cavalierly by the House of Lords on the motion of Lord Redesdale, the plea being that there was not sufficient time for its consideration; and a Local Government (Scotland) Bill shared its fate.

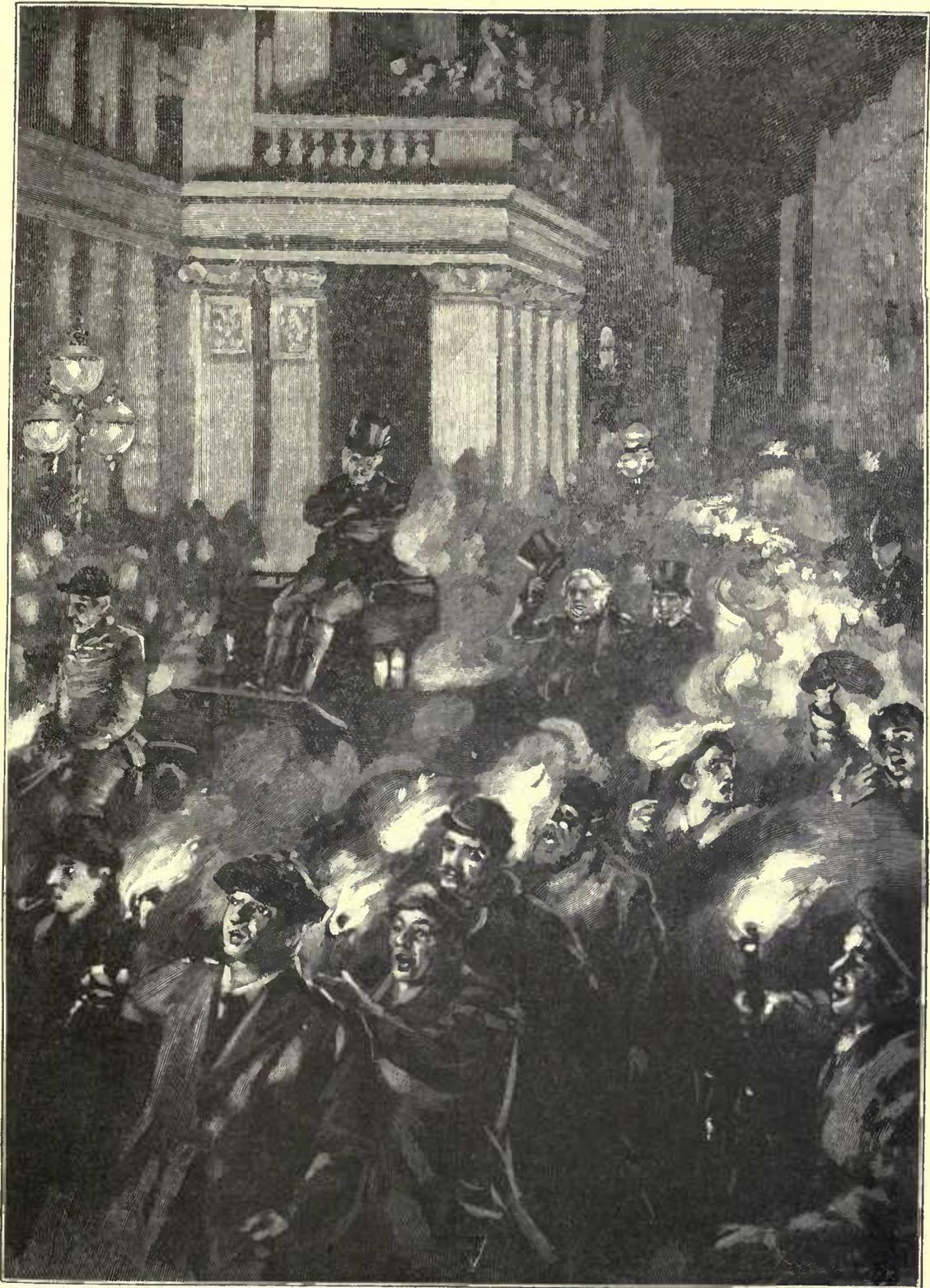
From Irish incidents the session was remarkably free. Some amusement, however, was caused when Mr. McCoan, on the 31st of May, informed the House that he had been challenged to fight a duel by Mr. O'Kelly, because in a speech to his constituents he had condemned the conduct of that Member during Mr. Forster's impeachment speech. The Irish Members wished that the matter should be regarded as one for a police-court rather than for the House, but the Prime Minister was

compelled by precedent to demand an assurance from the Member for Roscommon that he would keep the peace. This Mr. O'Kelly reluctantly gave, after making a speech in which he declared that Mr. McCoan had fallen out of "the category of honourable men." Another encounter between the Prime Minister and the Irish Members took place towards the end of the session when Mr. Healy, having completed the term of his imprisonment, and defeated two strong candidates, Mr. Munroe and Mr. Pringle, for the Ulster constituency of Monaghan, returned to his place, and commenced a series of provocative assaults on the Irish Executive, which culminated in a remark that, if the constabulary were to spit babes on their bayonets they would be defended by the Irish Executive in the Lower House. This brought up Mr. Gladstone, who in a speech of much dignity and in passages full of emotion, implored Mr. Healy to consider what the effect of his remarks would be in Ireland. Mr. Healy replied that could Ireland venture upon it, she would declare physical war against England, and that it was absurd to imagine that while the cancer was eating into their vitals Irish Members would not continue to use expressions which would grate upon Mr. Gladstone's ears. In spite of this declaration, the attitude of the Irish Members was, on the whole, far less irreconcilable than it had been during the previous session.

Another personal affair concerned the political reputation of Mr. John Bright. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the British Tribune's connection with Birmingham was celebrated by his constituents with extraordinary enthusiasm. There were festivities for a week, beginning on June the 11th, during which Mr. Bright was honoured by triumphal processions, deputations, memorials, and costly presents. The speeches made on such an occasion could not fail to be remarkable; and certainly neither Mr. Bright nor his colleague, Mr. Chamberlain, was commonplace. Speaking at Bingley Hall, the President of the Board of Trade committed himself to an extreme policy which was not unfavourable to Church Disestablishment, and even hinted at Universal Suffrage. Such language on the part of a Minister of the Crown was felt by most Moderates to be injudicious; and Lord Granville, when questioned by the Marquis of Salisbury in the Upper House, could only reply that Mr. Chamberlain had expressed his own views without implying the concurrence of the Government in them. Two days later Mr. Bright made a speech which highly incensed the Opposition. He was

talking of Ireland, and of his own devotion to the principles of peasant proprietary which had been recently adopted by the Conservatives. The mention of that party filled him with indignation, and he said, "And what is worse at this moment, as you see—you do not see it so much here as it is seen in the House—they are found in alliance with an Irish rebel party, the main portion of whose funds, for the purposes of agitation, comes directly from the avowed enemies of England, and whose oath of allegiance is broken by association with its enemies." For this bold language Mr. Bright was duly arraigned by Sir Stafford Northcote on the 18th of June, the leader of the Opposition, in a judicious speech, repudiating on behalf of his party both obstruction and alliance with rebels. Mr. Bright, in reply, admitted that the word "alliance" was too strong, but maintained that there had been a distinct combination to delay business. He declined to withdraw the word "rebels," though he said that he should be happy to do so if the Home Rulers would repudiate their connection with disloyalty. This remark, of course, brought down upon him the bitter reproaches of Mr. Parnell's followers, but the division list showed Mr. Bright to be acquitted of breach of privilege by 151 votes to 117.

The conduct of Government in foreign and colonial affairs was at times severely criticised, and the debates raised by the more enterprising members of the Opposition occupied much time during the later days of the session. The Transvaal still continued to engross a considerable amount of attention, the debate being adjourned from time to time, and on the 14th of June Mr. Gladstone informed Sir M. Hicks-Beach that the knotty native question was to be placed under the inspection of a Special Commissioner. About a fortnight afterwards, however, he stated that the Transvaal Government had proposed to send representatives to England, including, probably, their President or Vice-President, and that he was inclined to think that, in view of all the interests concerned, this would be the more suitable and more convenient mode of handling the matter. Their proposition had therefore been accepted. Another affair which excited much interest in connection with theories as to boundaries and enlargement of territory, was the sudden annexation of the island of New Guinea by the Government of Queensland. They were actuated partly by a desire to anticipate foreign Powers, and chiefly to prevent it from being occupied by French convict settlements. The Ministry were again and again



questioned on the subject in both Houses, but for some time declined to give an answer, being in consultation meanwhile with the agents-general of the various Australian colonies and of New Zealand. These authorities were discovered to be in favour of a wholesale scheme of annexation, embracing not only New Guinea, but also New Ireland, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz Islands, and New Hebrides. The Government of Queensland were subsequently (on July 11th) informed that the act of annexation was null and void, having been committed in excess of the powers of colonial authority, and that it would be disallowed by the British Government. Finally, in a despatch dated August 31st, Lord Derby reviewed the entire question of the islands of the West Pacific. He urged that some of them, such as Friendly Islands, could not be annexed, because they already had definite relations with different foreign Powers; that others, such as Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, were so far away that their annexation would be too great a burden. With regard to New Guinea, he thought that deputy commissioners of the West Pacific might be sent there, who would gradually establish a protectorate, and he invited the Australian colonies to make proposals for a British establishment on the coast, and to guarantee its cost.

Egypt, however, still continued to be the main subject of interest. The trial and execution of Suleiman Sami for complicity in the massacre of Alexandria was several times brought up by the Conservatives, and Lord Randolph Churchill, with characteristic boldness, attempted to prove that the guilty man was not Suleiman, but the Khedive; he failed, however, to substantiate his charges. Far more general was the dissatisfaction expressed with regard to the projected agreement between Government and M. de Lesseps, President of the Suez Canal Company, respecting the proposed second Suez Canal. Negotiations continued during the summer, amid a perfect hurricane of questions and suggestions from representatives of the rival shipowning interests, and on the 10th of July Mr. Childers laid the heads of the proposed agreement before the House. They were, that Government would lend £8,000,000 to the company at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with a sinking fund calculated to repay capital in fifty years. In return, the tolls were to be reduced, so that $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per ton should be taken off every 3 per cent. of dividend above 21 per cent., and the British element in the management of the Canal was to be strengthened. These concessions were at once declared to be

inadequate, although Mr. Gladstone quoted, as the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, a theory that the Khedive had conceded to M. de Lesseps a monopoly of the isthmus as far as the construction of canals was concerned. Meetings of shipowners were forthwith held throughout the country, at which resolutions of a very plainspoken nature were passed, and Mr. Childers was assailed by deputations. At the same time a report of the British Directors, Sir Rivers Wilson and Sir C. J. Stone, was published which proved the immense advantage of the up and down lines of traffic which would be secured under the new arrangement. It was, however, now too late to quell the panic that had arisen, and on the 23rd of July Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville announced the abandonment of the design. At the same time he said that the Suez Canal Company intended to construct a second canal along the greater part of the length of the old one, and that a reduction of dues would still take place. A motion of Sir Stafford Northcote's, protesting against the monopoly claimed by M. de Lesseps, was defeated in favour of an amendment moved by Mr. Norwood and supported by Government which reserved for the House of Commons complete liberty of action for the future. Addressing himself to the amendment, Mr. Gladstone pointed out how deplorable it would be were the friendly relations between the United Kingdom and France to become impaired. Nevertheless, the whole affair was frequently cast in the teeth of Government during the expiring days of the session; nor were the efforts of M. de Lesseps, made during an autumn visit to England, to substitute a new arrangement for that which had broken down, received with more than very cold attention.

The history of Ireland during the early months of 1883 was in remarkable contrast to that of its predecessor during a corresponding period. Early in January it was rumoured that arrests had been made in connection with the Phoenix Park murders, but it was some time before anything was definitely made public. The first batch, seventeen in number, were taken into custody on the 13th, among them being one James Carey, previously known as an active member of the Town Council and a rising tradesman. Two days afterwards three more men were taken. They were formally charged with conspiracy to murder certain public officials, and on the 20th the prisoners were brought into the Dublin Police-court. Meanwhile raids were being made in all directions, and it was said that a large quantity of arms and ammunition

had been seized. The inevitable informer soon appeared in the person of a labourer named Farrell, who had formerly been a member of a Fenian organisation. He swore that about eighteen months previous to the crime an "inner circle" of conspirators had organised itself with a view to murdering Government officials. According to his evidence he himself played only a subordinate part in its proceedings, nevertheless he was engaged in the attacks on Mr. Field and Judge Lawson, and in more than one abortive attempt to murder Mr. Forster, whose wonderful escapes he recounted with great minuteness.

The horror created by these revelations was increased tenfold when, on the 10th of February, twelve of the prisoners, of whom Carey, Brady, Kelly, Fitzharris, and Delaney were the most prominent, were placed in the dock at Kilmainham Court House and charged with the Phoenix Park murders. The first informer was Kavanagh, the carman, who swore that, in pursuance of his engagement to drive members of the secret society wherever they wanted to go, he had driven Kelly, Delaney, and Brady to Phoenix Park on the day of the murders, and that another car-load had been brought there by Fitzharris, known as "Skin-the-goat." He deposed that it was Carey who gave the signal for the murder with a handkerchief, after Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke had passed arm-in-arm, and that the attack had first been made on the grey gentleman—Mr. Burke. His four passengers had then rushed into the car and driven off at full speed.

Two days afterwards James Carey stepped into the witness-box, to the vast astonishment of all in court, and to the wild fury of his late fellow-prisoners. With supreme coolness and flippancy, he proceeded to unfold the dark story of the association "for the removal of all tyrants from the country," called the "Irish Invincibles." According to him, it was founded in November, 1881, on a branch of the Fenian Brotherhood—an organisation to which he had formerly belonged—by one Walsh, a North of England man, who said that he had come over to establish a society which would "make history." It was to consist of about 250 members, fifty of whom were to be in Dublin, and was to be recruited entirely from the Fenians. An executive four was formed, consisting of James Mullet, Edward McCaffrey, Daniel Curley, and himself, but the moving spirit was a certain mysterious "Number One," who was afterwards identified with an Irish-American named Tynan. This man had command of large sums of money,

which Carey believed to come from America, but he asserted that funds were also furnished by the Land League, and he implicated as connected with the Invincibles Thomas Brennan, a former secretary of the League, and P. J. Sheridan. Carey also declared that arms had been supplied by a woman whom he believed to be Mrs. Frank Byrne, the wife of the Secretary of the Land and Labour League of Great Britain, but when she was arrested and brought to Dublin he failed to identify her, and she was discharged. The informer related with wonderful minuteness the various attempts that were to be made on the lives of Mr. Forster and Earl Cowper, and deposed that it was after the departure of the Chief Secretary that Mr. Burke was placed on the list for "removal." His evidence as to the murder agreed with that of Kavanagh. He had walked off when he saw the victims approaching, and had witnessed the scene from about 250 yards away, but he distinctly saw Brady raise his left hand and strike Mr. Burke. Carey stated more than once that none of the band knew who Lord Frederick Cavendish was.

Twenty-one of the prisoners were on this evidence committed for trial, but the attempts to bring to justice those who, if Carey's evidence was to be believed, had suborned and instigated them, were less successful. Mr. Frank Byrne was arrested in Paris, in consequence of an application by the British Government for his extradition, and tried, first for complicity with the Phoenix Park murders, and then for the attacks on Judge Lawson and Mr. Field, but no sufficient case was made out against him and he was discharged. Walsh was also arrested at Havre, but here again the French Government held that the evidence was too slight, and he was allowed to make his way to the United States, whither Mr. Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, betook himself about the same time. Sheridan and Tynan were already in that country, and the requests which the British Government were reported to have made for their extradition produced no result.

The commission for the trial of the murderers was opened at Dublin on the 9th of April, Mr. Justice O'Brien delivering the charge to the Grand Jury. The evidence was, of course, much the same as that given before the magistrates, though to the stories of Carey and Kavanagh was added that of another approver, named Joseph Smith. The first two men who were tried were Joseph Brady and Daniel Curley, of whom the latter seems to have directed the murders. The defence in both cases was an *alibi*, but the evidence was very

strong, and the jury returned verdicts of "Guilty." Kelly was next put on trial, and twice the jury were unable to agree, his youth being the chief argument in his favour, added to evidence for an *alibi* less evidently concocted than that in the cases of Brady and Curley. On the 7th of May he was tried a third time, and this time he was convicted, Joseph Hanlon, another informer, bearing witness against him. The conviction of Michael Fagan followed. Fitzharris, the carman, was acquitted on the charge of murder, and, pleading guilty to the charge of being accessory after the fact, was sentenced to penal servitude for life. Thomas Caffrey and Patrick Delaney, who both pleaded guilty, were sentenced to death, but in the latter instance the penalty was commuted to penal servitude for life. He made an affecting speech, in which he declared that he was brought into the affair without knowing what it was, and that he had saved Judge Lawson's life by giving a signal to one of the police who were guarding him.

The commission had turned aside for awhile to take up the cases of those who were accused of having been concerned in the attack on Mr. Field, and of conspiracy to murder certain Government officials. On the former charge Lawrence Hanlon and Joseph Mullet were sentenced to penal servitude for life, while of those who were found guilty of conspiracy to murder, James Mullet, Edward McCaffrey, Daniel Delaney Edward O'Brien, and William Mooney were sentenced to ten years' and Thomas Doyle to five years' penal servitude. Finally came the dismal series of executions, beginning with that of Brady, on the 14th of May, and ending with that of Kelly, on the 9th of June.

What to do with the informer Carey, whose life was not worth an hour's purchase, was a sore puzzle to the authorities. He was finally deported with his wife and family to Natal, the family travelling under the name of Power. An Irishman, calling himself Macdonald, but whose real name was O'Donnell, succeeded during the voyage in penetrating the thin veil of disguise, and, on the 29th of July, when the ship *Melrose Castle* was on the high seas, twenty-five miles south of Cape St. Blaise, he shot the informer dead. There was fierce exultation at the news among the Irish, both in the Emerald Isle and in the United States; and large sums of money were readily subscribed to aid O'Donnell in his trial. He arrived in England on the 17th of September, and was committed by the Bow Street magistrate for trial at the October Sessions of the Central Criminal

Court. Although the Crown abandoned the theory that O'Donnell had been commissioned to do the deed by some secret society, his guilt was evident, and not even the silver tongue of Mr. Russell, Q.C., could save him.

At Glasgow an attempt to blow up the gas-works failed. Then the metropolis became the centre of dastardly attacks on life and property. On the night of Thursday, the 13th of March, a few minutes past nine, a terrific explosion took place in the offices of the Local Government Board, shattering the solid stone-work of the lower part of the building. Fortunately, however, no one was injured. About an hour earlier an attempt of a similar description was made upon the *Times* Office in Printing-House Square, which was frustrated by the accidental overturning of the tin vessel containing dynamite, and by application of a bucket of water to the flames. Guards were placed over the chief public buildings by day and night, and the Metropolitan Police were increased in number. Windsor and Chester Castles, on which attacks were apprehended, were carefully watched. The Government reward of £1,000 for information leading to the conviction of the perpetrators of the outrages of the 13th of March failed to induce any informers to come forward.

The intelligence of the police, now fully on the alert, was not long in detecting the whole gang of dynamite conspirators. The first arrest was made at Birmingham, where a man named Whitehead was found to have been engaged for months in the manufacture of the liquid explosive. On the previous day a young man named Norman was discovered to have removed a large case to London, which, when tracked to Southampton Street, Strand, was found to contain one gallon and three-quarters of nitroglycerine. In Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, Dr. Gallagher, who declared himself to be an American citizen, and Wilson, his companion, were found in possession of £900, chiefly in American notes, and a considerable quantity of nitroglycerine. A fourth capture was made on the evening of the same day in a reading-room in the Strand, where the police secured Dalton. The remaining prisoners were Curtin, taken in the north-west of London; Augsberg, in Blackfriars Road; and Bernard Gallagher, a brother of the doctor, at Glasgow.

The Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, at once brought in a Bill for amending the Act of 1875, relating to explosives, and it passed through all its stages at a speed which recalled the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1866. The measure

was introduced on the 9th of April, and within an hour and a-half had been read a first and second time, discussed in Committee, passed and sent up to the House of Lords. Next day it received the royal assent. It provided that any one convicted of causing an explosion likely to endanger life and property, even when no injury had been caused, should be liable to penal servitude for life. If criminal intent could be proved, attempts and

unexpected outburst was gravely rebuked by Lord Kimberley and the Lord Chancellor.

The conduct of the police was the subject of a warm tribute of praise from the Home Secretary, which was felt to be well deserved. His remarks were more than borne out at the trials of Gallagher, Whitehead, and their companions, by the story told by the detectives of the way in which they watched Whitehead, and slowly pieced together



THE "TIMES" OFFICE, PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE.

conspiracies to commit the crime were to be punished by twenty years' penal servitude, and the provision covered conspiracies by British subjects in foreign countries. The mere illicit possession of explosives was to be a felony, punishable with fourteen years' penal servitude. Witnesses could also be examined on oath before arrest had been made, and compelled, if necessary, to give answers criminating themselves. The measure was accepted by Sir R. Cross on behalf of his party with warm commendation, but when it reached the Upper House it was received by Lord Salisbury with a vigorous protest of dislike, as a violation in a panic of the doctrines of the criminal law, and as a manœuvre unworthy of Government. This

the evidence against him. The eight prisoners were brought up at Bow Street on the 12th of April, and on the 19th Norman, whose real name seemed to be Lynch, appeared in the witness-box as an informer, and gave a clear account of the proceedings of the band, from which it was evident that Dr. Gallagher, its leader, was in close communication with O'Donovan Rossa and the rest of the extreme Fenians, and that he had freely stated his intention of blowing up the Houses of Parliament and other public buildings. Dalton was discharged and Norman dealt with on a charge of misdemeanour. Early in June the remaining prisoners were brought to trial under the Treason Felony Act of 1848, and four of them, Thomas Gallagher,

Whitehead, Wilson, and Curtin, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. Augsburg and Bernard Gallagher were acquitted.

These terribly severe sentences and the stern provisions of the Explosives Act checked the exodus of miscreants with infernal machines from the United States to British shores. Nevertheless, all danger had not ceased to exist. On the 30th of October there was a concerted explosion on the Metropolitan Railway at two points—between Praed Street and Edgware Road, and between Charing Cross and Westminster. The shocks were close together, the first occurring five minutes before and the second a few minutes after eight p.m. Several persons were seriously injured in the former case, all poor men and women, and considerable damage was done to the train, but at Charing Cross the damage chiefly consisted of broken glass. No arrests were made.

In Ireland the authorities decided to drop the prosecution of Mr. Biggar, while Mr. O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, was acquitted; Messrs. Healy, Davitt, and Quinn, however, were not so lucky: they refused to find securities for their good behaviour, and went to prison for six months. The proclamation of a meeting of the National League in Sligo was a further indication that the Administration would tolerate nothing that was calculated to disturb the public peace, and its efforts received cordial support in the shape of a letter from the Pope to Cardinal McCabe, endorsing the Pastoral of the previous year in which the latter had warned the young men of Ireland against the dangers of agitation. Then came the trials of the Phoenix Park murderers. Other events taught the same lesson. During the trials of the Phoenix Park murderers a series of cases were going on in Belfast, where the prisoners were accused of conspiracy to murder many of the local landlords. An informer soon made conviction a certainty, and Patrick Duffy secured for his twelve companions in crime sentences varying from ten years' penal servitude to five years' imprisonment.

Nevertheless, the supporters of neither of the English political parties could boast victories at the poll. Mr. Timothy Harrington, the proprietor of the *Kerry Sentinel*, was elected at Westmeath while still undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for an inflammatory speech. A greater success was that gained by Mr. Healy at Monaghan, during July, in the heart of Orange Ulster, where the seat had been vacated by the acceptance of a Crown appointment by Mr. Litton. Accompanied by his leader Mr. Healy advanced to the attack,

and gained a brilliant victory, his place at Westmeath being immediately filled by Mr. W. H. Redmond, who defeated an enlightened Liberal in The O'Connor Don. On the other side the Orangemen were beside themselves with wrath. Nationalist demonstrations were met by counter-demonstrations, and Sir Stafford Northcote was summoned over to rouse the spirits of the Loyalist party. Towards the end of the year Government had the greatest difficulty in preventing bloodshed between the two factions, and were constrained to proclaim the meetings of both sides. For this impartiality they were denounced by the Orangemen, and particularly by Lord Rossmore, who was deprived of his commission as Justice of the Peace for the prominent part taken by him in some of the demonstrations: nor did they gain much gratitude from the Nationalists. Government, however, were still determined to act with equity. The Chief Secretary, Mr. Trevelyan, advocated at Kelso the extension of household suffrage to Ireland, and declared that it was useless to keep the country quiet by doctoring its representation on wrong lines.

While his lieutenants were everywhere gaining victories, the influence of Mr. Parnell by no means declined. Among his own followers he was more popular than ever, and it was determined to set a subscription on foot in order to compensate him for his pecuniary losses in the National cause. At first this tribute was supported by the clergy, and Archbishop Croke sent a contribution, but suddenly the Archbishop was summoned to Rome, and severely censured, and a letter was addressed by Pope Leo to the Irish Bishops forbidding them to have anything to do with the proposed tribute. For the moment the Parnellites wavered, and the English papers exultingly exclaimed that their leader's glory had departed. But they soon rallied, and even a good son of the Church like Mr. Davitt expressed his regret at its conduct.

On the 11th of December a great banquet was held in the Rotunda, Dublin, and the tribute, which amounted to some £38,000, was formally presented. Mr. Parnell signalled the occasion by a speech of the most uncompromising character, in which he congratulated himself on the Land League movement: "Beyond a shadow of a doubt it will be for the Irish people in England—separated, isolated, as they were—and for your independent Irish Members to determine at the next general election whether a Tory or a Liberal Ministry shall rule England."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

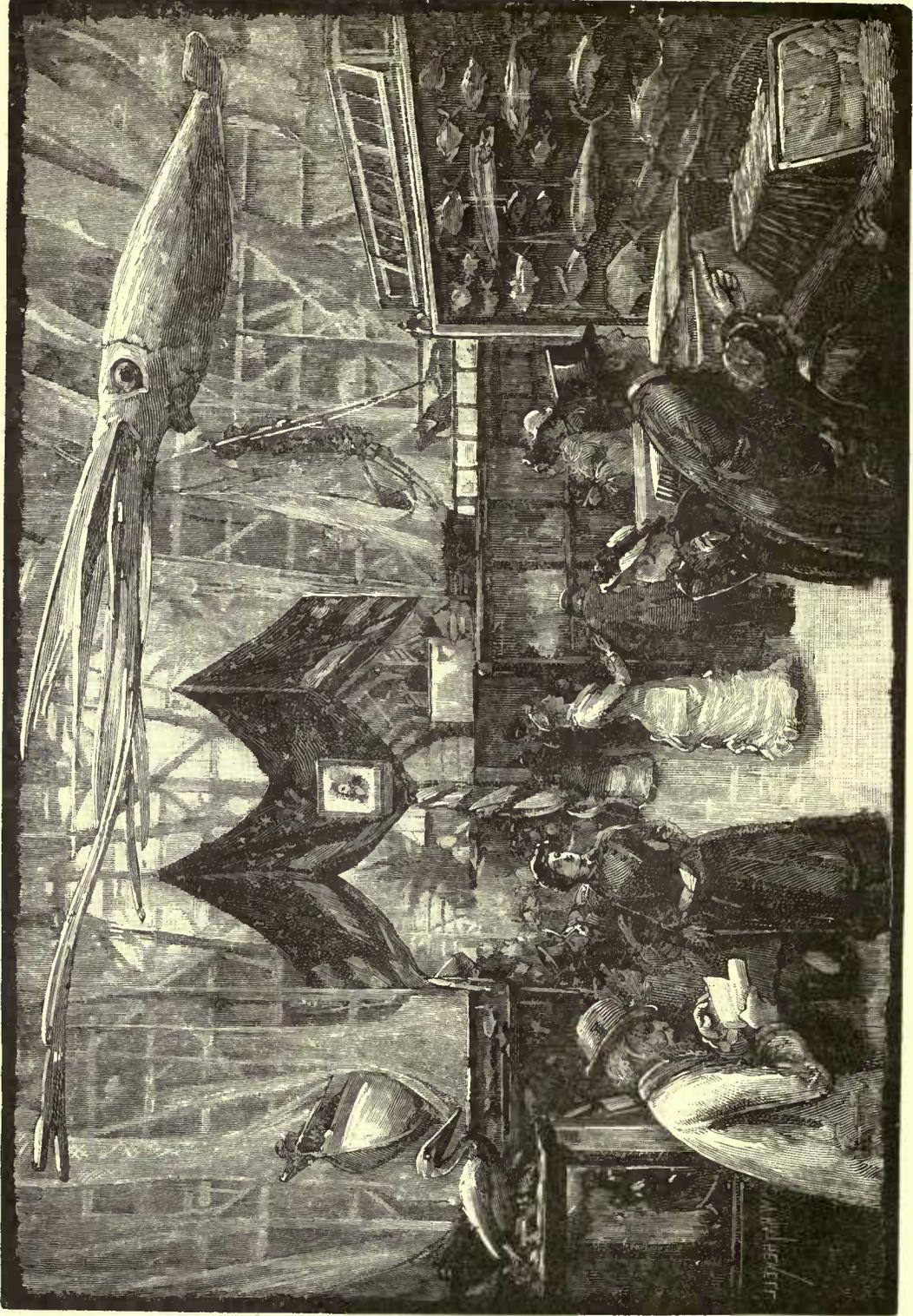
The International Fisheries Exhibition—The Sunderland Disaster—Mr. Bradlaugh in the Law Courts—The Leeds Conference and the Franchise Question—The "Bitter Cry of Outcast London"—Rise of Socialism and Mr. George's "Progress and Poverty"—The Controversy on the Franchise Bill—The Opposition on the Situation—Obituary of the Year—Foreign Affairs—Afghanistan and the Russian Advance—Lord Ripon and the Ilbert Bill—African Affairs and the Boers—The New Guinea Question—Canada and the United States—Prince Bismarck's Doings in Germany—France and the Pretenders—Death of the Count of Chambord—The Capture of Tamatave—The Tonquin Question—The Chinese Protest—Troubles in the South and East of Europe—Egypt—Lord Granville's Circular Note—Lord Dufferin's Despatch, and the Reorganisation of the Government—Outbreak of Cholera—The Mahdi and his Successes.

THE International Fisheries Exhibition, which was opened on the 12th of May, was not only the event of the London season, but gave, it was hoped, considerable impetus to one of the most important of the industries of the British Isles. The idea, which was suggested in the first instance by the Exhibition of Berlin, had already been put into form on a smaller scale at Norwich and Edinburgh. Far more ambitious were the aims of the promoters of the very complete display of 1883, of whom the Prince of Wales was President, Mr. Birkbeck, M.P., Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Mollett, Secretary, and Mr. A. J. R. Trendell, Literary Superintendent and Commissioner of Conferences. A capital site was secured in the Horticultural Gardens, South Kensington, and buildings divided into courts were erected covering twenty-three acres of ground. The Fishmongers' Company promised every assistance in its power, and a crowded meeting of lords and commoners, presided over by the Prince of Wales, passed enthusiastic resolutions in favour of the undertaking. Funds were also guaranteed, but before the end of July the number of admissions (over a million and a quarter of people) had made the Exhibition independent of external aid. Besides the Courts of the various nations there was a fish market, an aquarium, sets of fish-hatching apparatus, and the like. During the summer conferences were held at which papers were read, the first lecture being contributed by the Duke of Edinburgh. A large number of prizes were given, and handbooks on subjects interesting to all classes of fishermen, and to the trade interests and sports in which they are concerned, were published. The state ceremonial with which the Prince of Wales, in the absence of the Queen, through indisposition, opened the Exhibition was most brilliant, and the wonderful popularity of this admirable industrial display was attested by the

fact that, between the 14th of May and the 31st of October, when it closed, it was attended by over two and a half million persons.

Despite the numerous explosions, accident was to cause far more destruction on a wholesale scale than design. The want of ordinary precautions was the cause of a dreadful calamity at Sunderland on the 16th of June. In the Victoria Hall a conjuring entertainment was given to some 3,000 school-children, of ages varying from five to fourteen. At the conclusion of the performance prizes were to be distributed, and the attendant went into the gallery for the purpose, but finding no one there to control the children he descended to the body of the hall again. They rushed after him down the staircase, found the spring door at the bottom half closed and fell over one another in a huge heap. To open the door was impossible, and when at length the bodies of the unfortunate babies were extricated it was discovered that 190 had been killed and 100 besides severely injured. Almost more heartrending, if possible, were the scenes outside the building, and the military had to be summoned to keep back the furious crowds. An appeal to the sympathies of the public met with the customary prompt response. At the coroner's inquest a verdict was returned censuring the managers.

Mr. Bradlaugh, although, as we have seen, he failed to take his seat, was otherwise triumphant over his adversaries. In particular the judgment of the Court of Appeal in favour of Mr. Newdegate, M.P., was reversed, and the House of Lords decided that penalties could not be claimed through an informer. This interpretation of the statute of 1866 was supported by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Watson, and Lord Fitzgerald, against the opinions of Lord Blackburn and Lord Denman. Had judgment gone the other way, Mr. Bradlaugh would have been liable to penalties to the extent



THE UNITED STATES COURT AT THE INTERNATIONAL FISHERIES EXHIBITION. (See p. 599.)

of £45,000. Soon afterwards Lord Coleridge condemned Mr. Newdegate to pay the costs of the case in which he had been the prosecutor. Furthermore, Mr. Bradlaugh, when prosecuted for a series of blasphemies in the *Freethinker*, was acquitted of all legal complicity. To those who were found to have been directly concerned in the publication harder terms were meted out, Mr. Foote, the editor of the paper, being sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, Mr. Ramsay, the proprietor, to nine, and Mr. Kemp, the printer and publisher, to six.

Towards the end of September political affairs became very lively. It was evident that the Radical party were determined to bring the extension of the county franchise prominently forward, and Mr. John Morley, M.P., identified himself conspicuously with the agitation that was inaugurated. A mass meeting of some 50,000 Newcastle miners was only a preliminary to a most important conference at Leeds, at which this new leader of the people also took the chair. There, on October 17th, some 2,500 delegates met, representing upwards of 500 Liberal associations in all parts of the kingdom, and it was decided that the Franchise Bill had paramount claims for legislative procedure in the next session. Mr. Firth, M.P., held out vigorously for the reform of the government of London, and other speakers expressed a preference for a Local Government Bill, but they were not favoured with much support. The opinion of the conference was decidedly in favour of introducing the Franchise and Redistribution Bills in separate sessions, despite the hostility which such a course of procedure would arouse in the House of Lords; the Redistribution Bill was to be "such as would give as nearly as possible an equal value to every vote, and secure a true expression of the will of the nation." The conference also decided to support the causes of woman's suffrage, the extension of the hours of polling, and the abolition of the Parliamentary oath. Meetings were promptly held over the North and Midlands in support of the objects of the conference, and the Birmingham Liberal Association expressed itself in favour of a redistribution scheme based on a principle of equal electoral districts returning one Member each. A solitary plaint on the Liberal side was raised by Mr. Courtney, a warm supporter of county government, who pleaded that the Leeds Conference had not paid enough attention to female suffrage, and pointed out that Mr. Morley and his friends had left Ireland out of sight.

The attention of statesmen was now called from purely political questions to those of a social nature. A pamphlet written by a member of the Congregational Union, entitled "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," enforced warnings that had long been uttered by friends of the working classes as to the fearful state of destitution and vice prevalent in London and other large towns. Lord Salisbury, in an admirable article in the November number of the *National Review*, at once grappled with the difficulty. As to the objections of those who deprecated State interference, he pointed out that, admirable as the doctrine of *laissez faire* might be, it should not be one-sided, and that the homes of the poor were constantly being swept away to provide for metropolitan improvements. The question was whether suburban colonies, like that of Shaftesbury Park, connected with the centre by cheap trains, or the erection of huge buildings into the air, like the Peabody flats, was the better remedy, and he expressed himself in favour of the latter. Any decision, however, must be prefaced by a searching inquiry. Mr. Chamberlain put forward counter-propositions in the *Fortnightly Review*. His plans were more thoroughgoing, especially upon the question of the treatment of owners of "rookeries," who might be compelled to rebuild them or to sell them to the municipal authorities, minus a fine inflicted for the misuse of their property. The sting of the article lay in the opinion that overcrowding was due mainly to the constant migration from the agricultural districts, and that the arbitrary system must be swept away by which "in England alone, of all great civilised countries, the actual tillers of the soil are practically forbidden even the hope of ownership." Besides the punishment of the owners of property unfit for human habitation, Mr. Chamberlain proposed the following remedies:—(1) local authorities should be empowered to close such property, or to compel the owner to make alterations or repairs if ordered by the sanitary officer; (2) local authorities should be further empowered to acquire any lands and buildings for the purpose of an improvement scheme under the Artisans' Dwellings Acts, at the fair market value of the same, with no allowance for prospective value or compulsory sale; (3) a rate might be levied on the owners of adjacent property, fairly representing the appreciation of their holdings by the proposed improvement; (4) the cost of any scheme for the reconstruction of an unhealthy area should be levied on all owners of property, including long-lease holders, within a

certain district to be determined by the scheme. Sir Charles Dilke, whose attention, as President of the Local Government Board, was closely occupied with this social evil, soon announced in an important speech made at Birmingham in the second week of November, that much might be done, especially in London, by stringently enforcing the sanitary laws—and a similar opinion was expressed by Sir R. Cross in the *Nineteenth Century*—and that he intended to do so. Another highly necessary measure, he declared, as Mr. Chamberlain had previously pointed out, was the reform of the municipal government of London, and his utterances gave additional impetus to the meetings of the London Municipal Reform League, an association which was founded in 1881, and which, under the guidance of its able and energetic secretary, Mr. John Lloyd, J.P., had already succeeded in exciting the interest of Londoners in this question.

There were other reformers who would wage war against the inequalities of our social system in a far more summary manner, namely, by the nationalisation of land and possibly of capital. Socialism received a powerful impulse from the wide dissemination throughout England of the work of a San Francisco journalist, Mr. Henry George, entitled "Progress and Poverty." "There is but one way," he wrote, "to remove an evil, and that is to remove its cause. Poverty deepens as wealth increases, and wages are forced down while productive power grows, because land, which is the source of all wealth and the field of all labour, is monopolised. To extirpate poverty—to make wages what justice commands they should be, the full earnings of the labourer—we must therefore substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership." As for the landlords, they were to meet with scant mercy. "If the land belongs to the people, why continue to permit owners to take the rent or compensate them in any manner for the loss of rent? . . . It is sufficient if the people resume the ownership of the land. Let the landowners retain their improvements and personal property in secure possession." These doctrines soon gained adherents of some personal importance, among whom may be mentioned Mr. William Morris, the poet, Mr. Russel Wallace, Miss Helen Taylor, Mr. H. M. Hyndman, and Mr. Michael Davitt. Mr. Davitt addressed an enthusiastic meeting in St. James's Hall, London, and the Social Democratic Federation proposed in the following year to hold a series of meetings at which Mr. George was to appear.

The ordinary party politician, however, cared for none of these things; and occupied himself during the closing months of the year for the most part with the prospects of the coming Franchise Bill. As to the vexed question whether Franchise and Redistribution should form one or two measures, and in what order they should be taken, Sir Charles Dilke, at Birmingham, pronounced himself most strongly in favour of making the Franchise Bill a separate measure, and taking it first, and a census of the opinions of Liberal Members, collected by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, showed that he would have powerful support from the party. Nevertheless, it was clear that opinion was not perfectly unanimous. Mr. Fawcett, like Mr. Courtney, pronounced himself an advocate of the minority vote, and it soon appeared that there were grave differences between the Whig and Radical sections of the Cabinet. Mr. Forster, indeed, at Bradford was in favour of the one-man-one-vote principle, applicable alike to towns and counties, and including Ireland, but between Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain there was considerable divergence of opinion. Lord Hartington, at Manchester, on November 27th reproached the Leeds Conference with having forced a measure on Government which was as yet premature. Speaking in a tone altogether different from that of Mr. Chamberlain, who, a few days previously, had reiterated his approval of manhood suffrage, although he acknowledged that the time for it had not yet come, he pointed out the difficulties that beset the imminent measure, and, in particular, the enormous accession of strength that an enlarged franchise must give to the Parnellites. It was thought there was a grave quarrel in the Cabinet; but both speakers hastened to dissipate the impression. Lord Hartington, at Accrington, with what Lord Salisbury called "bated breath and whispering humbleness," assured his audience that he had never said that the difficulties in the way of reform were insuperable, and Mr. Chamberlain informed the people of Wolverhampton that every member of the Cabinet was anxiously pursuing the same projects. Mr. Gladstone, as far as could be judged from his utterances at the Guildhall in London, seemed to incline rather to the side of the Whig than of the Radical statesman.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Opposition were decidedly reticent on the subject, and judiciously confined themselves to criticism of the shortcomings of the Government in Egypt and elsewhere. Lord Salisbury, indeed, speaking at Reading, in October, declared that he saw no difficulty as to the



"TOIL, GLITTER, GRIME, AND WEALTH, ON A FLOWING TIDE."

FROM THE PAINTING BY W. J. WYLLIE, A.R.A.,
IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF BRITISH ART.

assimilation of the borough and the county franchise in itself, but he would not hear of it until he knew what was to be done in the way of redistributing the seats—an intimation which, coupled with the assertion that the House of Lords could not be abolished without its own consent, was generally taken to imply that a Franchise Bill, unaccompanied by a Redistribution Bill, would be thrown out in the Upper House. However, to an enlargement of the Franchise, taken on its own merits, none of the more prominent Tories pronounced themselves unfavourable, until Lord Randolph Churchill delivered himself of a series of attacks on Government. As to the concession of the Franchise to the agricultural labourer, he declared it to be not only not just but “premature, inexpedient, not natural, and, therefore, highly dangerous.” The Liberals, he said, wanted to enfranchise the agricultural labourers, because they hoped to “seduce their uneducated minds and feeble political intelligence by their own worn-out sophistries and fallacies.” As for himself, he would wait till the agricultural labourers marched to London and pulled down Hyde Park railings before enfranchising them. The demand for Redistribution—another name for disfranchising the smaller boroughs—he characterised as unnecessary, uncalled for, and, therefore, unjust. Mr. Lowther alone seemed to be inclined to imitate this excessive candour, his colleagues evidently waiting to see which way the cat was about to jump.

When, at the close of the year, the tale of the dead came to be reckoned up it was found to be of less than usual significance. The Duke of Marlborough, who died on the 5th of July, was a member of more than one Conservative Cabinet, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1876 to the general election of 1880. Another prominent politician was taken away in the person of the Right Hon. Hugh Law, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who had dealt so successfully with Irish disaffection as Attorney-General, and, in the House, had been one of the few people who showed any real grasp of the principles of the Land Bill. Professor Henry Smith, who died on the 9th of February, was a vigorous Liberal, and made a gallant attempt in 1878 to win the vacant seat at Oxford University, but he was chiefly famous as a mathematician and scholar of rare attainments. The Bar lost in Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls, a judge who was not more conspicuous for the rapidity than for the correctness of his decisions. Bishop Colenso left behind him, as was inevitable, a less unanimous reputation.

Events in Europe during the year 1883 gave Englishmen little cause for anxiety, but in other parts of the globe there were several irritant influences at work, and the administrators at the India and Colonial Offices had their hands full. From time to time numerous inquiries were made in Parliament concerning the Russian advance in Central Asia, an advance which menaced both Persia and Afghanistan. Frontier difficulties between the Shah and the Czar seemed in a fair way of settlement through a commission, and it was with considerable anxiety that news was received in England that the Russian outposts had occupied Chachar, a Turcoman village close to Sarakhs, and so commanding the approaches to Herat, and that the Transcaspian railway had already reached Kizil Arwat, while a survey had been completed to Askabad, about 180 miles from Sarakhs. In the circumstances, to strengthen the position of Abdurrahman in Afghanistan was a proceeding of unquestionable policy, and the arrangement by which he was to be subsidised by the British Government at the rate of £120,000 a year met with general approval. Within his dominions the Ameer held his own, though not without difficulty; his rival, Ayoub Khan, was still a source of uneasiness, and his presence at Teheran was undoubtedly countenanced by the Shah; while within Afghanistan the Sirdar Mohammed Hassan Khan stirred up the powerful Shinwari tribe to revolt, and kept up a smouldering war.

Otherwise the aspect of affairs on the Indian frontier was very favourable. Nor is there much to record concerning the feudatory states, except that in Hyderabad the death of Sir Salar Jung deprived the young Nizam of an extremely able Minister, and the British Government of an enlightened friend. But within the British dominion no such calm existed, and however popular Lord Ripon's administration might be among the natives, it was plain that he had alienated large and influential classes of the white population. They complained of the sweeping nature of his projected reforms, especially the Bengal Tenancy Bill, which proposed to introduce into India principles of land law somewhat similar to those of the Irish Land Act. The Ilbert Bill was also objected to strongly. It received its title from Mr. C. P. Ilbert, the legal adviser of the Indian Council. Its object was to amend the code of criminal procedure where it related to the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects, and particularly to remove what was regarded as a stigma upon the native civil servants. Native District Magistrates

and Sessions Judges were at last placed on a level with their European colleagues, and allowed to try any man brought before them, irrespective of his race and religion. As soon as the provisions of the measure became known the Anglo-Indian press raised a scream of indignation, and some of the native journals responded equally violently on the other side. Gradually the opposition gathered head; none of the Presidency Governments were favourably disposed to the Ilbert Bill; the opinions of officials were hardly less adverse; and when Sir Auckland Colvin was known to be sounding the non-official residents of Calcutta it was evident that a compromise was at hand. A hint of that nature was given by Lord Northbrook during November in a speech at Bristol, and by the end of the year it was understood that the Bill when submitted to the Legislative Council in January, 1884, would contain an arrangement to the effect that a European when tried before a native magistrate might claim a jury of which at least one half should be Europeans, and that in cases where it was impossible to procure a European quorum, a Sessions Judge should alone be able to try.

In Cape Colony the Basutos were still uneasy, and it was thought that Mr. Scanlan's Ministry had not found a very clever way out of the difficulty by determining to withdraw from all interference in the internal affairs of that district. The turbulent Masupha, indeed, rejoiced to shake off the British yoke, but the majority of the people asked the Queen's Government to renew its authority, preferring submission to an orderly Government to the independence of anarchy. Far less satisfactory was the condition of Zululand. Cetewayo had expressed disappointment at the terms of his restoration, which set apart a portion of his former territory as a "reserve" for malcontent chiefs, and it was soon seen that the enthusiasm supposed to have been displayed by his subjects on his return was of a very indifferent character. He was attacked by his rival Usibepu near Ulundi in July, and utterly routed. For some time it was thought that he had been killed, but it was eventually discovered that he was hiding in the bush. After maintaining for some time an attitude of defiance, Cetewayo placed himself under the protection of the British Resident at Ekowe in October, and perhaps his death in the following year was not altogether an unfortunate event. With the Boers relations were not always of the most amicable character, particularly because of their filibustering expeditions into the territory of the Bechuanas, a tribe under British protection.

These raids Mr. Kruger declared himself unable to prevent, and in May he informed the Volksraad that he was about to negotiate a modification of the Convention with England. A counter-proposal made by Lord Derby—namely, that Lord Reay should go out as High Commissioner—came to nothing; but in June he consented to receive a deputation consisting of President Kruger, Mr. Dutoit, and Mr. Smit. This step was not too popular in England, and shortly after their arrival here news was transmitted that the Bechuana chief Mampoer had been summarily hanged at Pretoria, notwithstanding President Kruger's assurances to the contrary. The result of the interviews between the deputation and Lord Derby was not made public before the close of the year, but it was understood that it returned with very substantial concessions. In the region of the Congo the International African Association promoted by the King of the Belgians was, under the able direction of Mr. H. M. Stanley, encouraging commerce and everywhere suppressing the slave-trade, despite the antagonistic influence of a Frenchman, M. de Brazza, who was acquiring large districts for the French Republic.

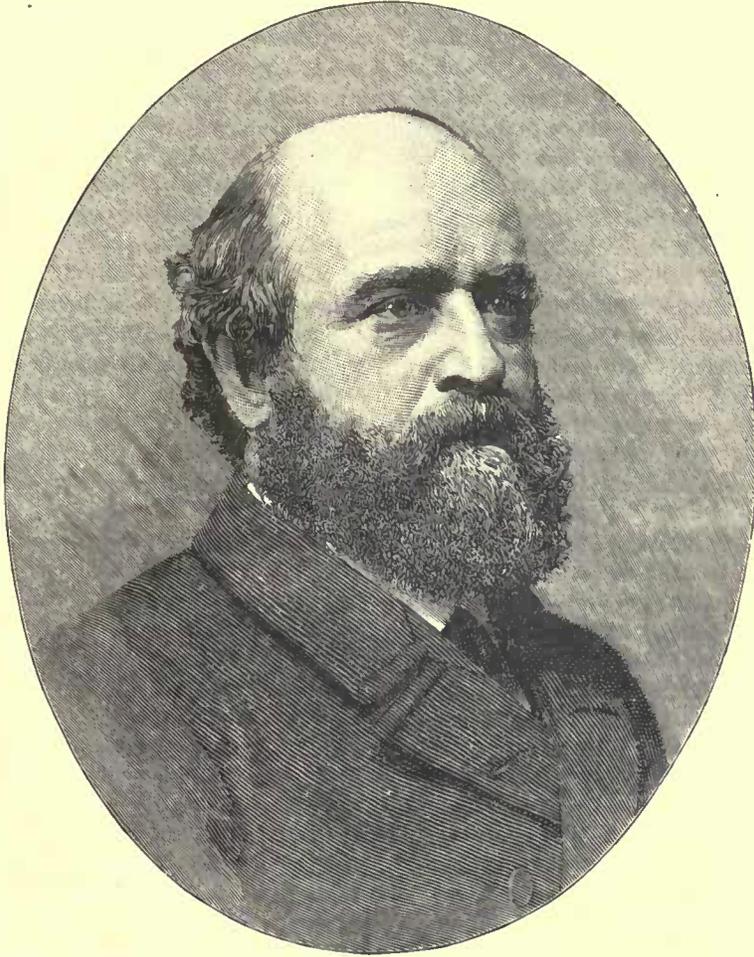
The attention of the Australian colonies was taken up by the burning question of New Guinea, and the different Legislatures protested against the refusal of the British Government to approve of the annexation of the island by Queensland. Lord Derby's cold reproof gave much offence, and yet good came out of evil, for in the Intercolonial Conference, which met at Sydney, in December, to consider the question, and at which representatives appeared from New Zealand and Fiji, was seen the germ of a Federation.

From Canada came no important news except that the Marquis of Lorne, on the expiration of his term of office, had been succeeded by Lord Lansdowne. The relations between the Dominion and the United States continued to be most satisfactory, and on the other side the Washington Cabinet had very few points of difficulty to settle with Great Britain. A considerable scare, indeed, was caused in the States by the rumour that shoals of helpless Irish paupers were being landed under Tuke's system at Boston and elsewhere; but they were soon found to be for the most part able-bodied men and women.

In Europe, the sayings and doings of Prince Bismarck were watched with the usual attention, and the conclusion was that the German Chancellor was still the firm supporter of the cause of peace, which was menaced alone by Russia,

where the good understanding that existed between the two courts was strained by the threatenings breathed out by various military officials; and by France, where the chronic anti-German sentiment rose to a dangerous height during the visit of the king of Spain to Berlin in September; and

Empire he drew away from the Liberal party even more decisively than in previous years, and was attempting to win over the Conservatives. The policy of opposition to the Vatican was definitely abandoned. Finally a compromise was effected, and a Bill framed upon it passed through the



HENRY GEORGE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

President Grévy had to apologise for the hootings with which he was received by the Paris populace when he came to visit the French capital. In March reports were circulated in the bourses that an alliance had been arranged between Germany, Austria, and Italy, on terms that if any one of the three was attacked by France the other two would come to her defence, and subsequent revelations proved that the Triple Alliance had actually been concluded. Prince Bismarek's habitually pacific tendencies were probably strengthened by his perplexities at home. Both in Prussia and in the

Prussian Parliament, by which clergy invested with a new office had to notify their appointment to the Prussian Government, which also had under its control the appointments to masterships in ecclesiastical training colleges, and the exercise of episcopal rights in vacant sees. Considering the original severity of the Falk laws, this was little less than a complete surrender on the part of Prince Bismarek, and his warmest admirers hardly attempted to disguise the fact.

France had in many ways to regret the death of M. Gambetta. As soon as the great Republican

ceased to direct affairs, the various claimants to the French throne raised their heads. The first of them to appear in the field was Prince Napoleon, who, on January 13th, issued a cleverly-worded manifesto in which he proclaimed himself the heir of Napoleon I. and Napoleon III., and charged the Government with incompetence and religious persecution. The pretender was promptly consigned to duance vile, but he must have felt some satisfaction when the Duclerc Cabinet collapsed, in consequence of its attempt to save members of French royal families, including the Orleanist princes, from expulsion from French soil, while at the same time part of the Ministry accepted a compromise depriving such persons of electoral functions and civil and military employment, and providing for their expulsion in the event of their presence compromising the safety of the State. After the usual interval of confusion M. Jules Ferry undertook to make a Ministry, and succeeded in forming one of a moderately Gambettist colour. By the death of the Count of Chambord on the 24th of August, another pretender disappeared, a man who might have been formidable if he had been less conscientious. The unostentatious and studious Count of Paris, to whom his claims descended, was not likely to prove a very formidable candidate. Far more active, for the time being, was the brilliant leader of the Extremists, M. Clémenceau, who took up the cause of the Communist exiles and tried to force M. Ferry's hand by demanding a general amnesty.

In two quarters of the globe the Republic became involved in some serious "little wars." In Madagascar the Gallic advance met determined resistance. On the one hand Lord Granville's offer of mediation was rejected by M. Duclerc; on the other the Malagasy Government declined to accept the vague ultimatum which demanded that the French right to acquire land should be acknowledged. A landing was promptly effected by Admiral Pierre, and the port of Mayunga occupied without any resistance, but the Hovas fought with determination in the interior, and were unsubdued by the end of the year. In connection with the capture of Tamatave, on the 14th of June, a very grave series of incidents occurred. Admiral Pierre proclaimed a state of siege, arrested the interpreter of the British Consulate, and a missionary, Mr. Shaw, on the charge of "communicating with the enemy," and ordered the British Consul, Mr. Pakenham, to leave the place in twenty-four hours. Mr. Pakenham, who was very ill, died

before that term expired, and the officers of H.M.S. *Dryad* were not allowed to attend the funeral. Lord Granville, of course, immediately asked for explanations, and M. Challemel-Lacour at once acknowledged that the expulsion of the Consul would be difficult to justify in any circumstances. As soon as the French Government were acquainted with the real circumstances, an apology was made in general terms, Admiral Pierre was recalled to France, and Mr. Shaw was released and was paid an indemnity of 25,000 francs.

All through the year the British mind was much exercised by the Tonquin question. Since the previous autumn it had been evident that the French contemplated vigorous action in that quarter, and no one was accordingly much surprised when, early in March, M. Challemel-Lacour announced that a vote of credit would be demanded for an expedition which would permanently occupy certain points of Tonquin, the division of Annam nearest China. He complained that the Sovereign of Annam had violated the Treaty of 1874 by acknowledging the suzerainty of China, and, further, that he had encouraged the piratical bands known as the Black Flags, who preyed on French Cochin China. It was clear that the time for action of some sort had come. In the previous April Commander Rivière had seized the fortress of Hanoi, but he made a rash sortie in May and was cut to pieces by the Black Flags. French ironclads were promptly sent into Chinese waters, and reinforcements were despatched from Cochin China, a display of force that soon produced effect. The Black Flags fought bravely, and were aided by the marshy condition of the country, which compelled a postponement of their final reduction; but in August an advance was made on Hué, the capital of Annam, whereupon the new king, Hiephma, by no means as anti-French as his predecessor had been, agreed to sign a treaty by which the French Protectorate over Annam and Tonquin was acknowledged, and consented that the French should occupy the forts at the entrance of the river Hué, should garrison Tonquin, and expel the Black Flags.

It was not to be expected that the Chinese Emperor would allow himself to be ousted from the suzerainty over Annam without a protest. The Marquis Tseng claimed that protectorate, and asserted that no arrangement could be accepted which did not give China exclusive control over the Red River; Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, declined to negotiate on any other basis. Throughout the Celestial Empire

military preparations went on apace, the coast was lined with torpedoes, and the forts were placed in a good state of defence, and troops massed on the Tonquin frontier. On the other side, the French were by no means inclined to abate their pretensions, and the Chamber, by a vote of more than two to one, affirmed that a policy of conquest in Tonquin was essential to the honour and interests of France. Before the end of the year, however, the Chinese had not made their expected declaration of war, and Admiral Courbet had gone a considerable way towards clearing Tonquin of the Black Flags. Bacninh was pronounced to be too strong for attack until the arrival of reinforcements, but a series of successful operations in other directions culminated, on December the 17th, in the evacuation by the bold buccaneers of the important fortress of Sontay, a well-situated place, strongly armed with Krupp guns.

Every one of the Great Powers in Europe had its little trouble at this time. Italy had not yet recovered from the annexation of Tunis by the French, and was disposed, therefore, to regard with approval the proceedings of England in Egypt. In the Austrian Empire riots broke out over wide districts, directed in many instances against the Jews. In Russia there was the usual war between Nihilism and the Government; the forces of the former laid low an important victim in Colonel Soudaïkim, the chief of the secret police, while the latter retaliated by deportations to Siberia. On the whole, however, the terror had relaxed, and the Czar Alexander at length ventured to be crowned, the ceremony taking place at Moscow in May. In Eastern Europe no very burning questions arose; the Porte had to suppress outbreaks in Armenia and Albania; the Prince of Bulgaria was compelled by popular opinion to dismiss his Russian advisers and to throw himself frankly on the support of native statesmen. Lastly, a conference of the Powers, which assembled in London at the invitation of England, on February 8th, to consider the much-vexed questions connected with the navigation of the Danube, succeeded in drawing up a most important provisional treaty by which the control over the ratification of the European Commission created by the Treaty of Paris was extended until 1904, while Russian and Roumanian susceptibilities were satisfied by the provision that the management of the river in the territory in which its banks belonged to them should be in the hands of their delegates, subject to the general supervision of the European Commission.

If France had her Tonquin, Britain had her Egypt; and the sequel to the victory of Tel-el-Kebir began to unroll itself with startling rapidity. Early in January Lord Granville made known the intentions of Government in a Circular Note to the Powers, and before its contents were made public the Dual Control ceased to exist. The substance of Lord Granville's circular was that Great Britain, having been compelled to assume a responsibility which she would gladly have shared with others, would retain an army in Egypt only as long as it was necessary. He then proceeded to sketch the necessary reforms: representative institutions should be created, the organisation of the Egyptian army and gendarmerie should be placed in British hands, the Daira estates should be more economically managed, foreigners should be placed on the same footing as natives with regard to taxation, and a single European financial adviser should be substituted for the Dual Control. To the last arrangement the French Government declined to lend any sort of countenance; and the office was therefore bestowed on Mr. Edgar Vincent. The other Powers, including the Porte, accepted the arrangement, but the ill-will entertained by France towards Great Britain was most pronounced.

To Lord Dufferin had been entrusted in the previous November the task of probing the depth of the official corruption, and in a series of sarcastic despatches he disclosed an unparalleled state of affairs; the Chamber of Notables under Ismail had "no initiative or any other characteristic but crass subserviency;" under Tewfik "it evinced, on the contrary, a reckless and dangerous excitability;" finance was administered in the most extravagant and dishonest manner, the army and police were disorderly and inefficient, the condition of the fellaheen was most miserable, and so forth.

In pursuance of Lord Dufferin's recommendations, Sir Benson Maxwell undertook the arrangement of a "pure, cheap, and simple system of justice;" Colonel Moncrieff took in hand public works in general, and irrigation in particular; Mr. Clifford Lloyd created a police for the large towns, purified prisons and hospitals, and cleared the gaols of crowds of untried prisoners; Baker Pasha formed a provincial Delta gendarmerie of about 4,000, consisting of Bashi-Bazouks *et hoc genus omne*. Lastly, Sir Evelyn Wood began to organise an Egyptian army of 6,000 men. Many of the British troops were meanwhile withdrawn, but the bulk of the force remained under General Stephenson. Tewfik did his best to press on these reforms,

but it cannot be said that his subjects showed the slightest alacrity in availing themselves of free institutions; and, meanwhile, the cost of suppressing Arabi's rebellion, and of paying the new official staffs, had to be provided in the old way—by foreign loan.

The prospect, however, though gloomy was not hopeless, but two new and formidable foes confronted the British Government. The first was the long-expected cholera, which broke out towards the end of June at Damietta and spread from thence to Mansurah and so to Cairo, where it arrived in the third week in July. The beastly condition of the hospitals, the utter inability of the police to isolate infected districts, the gross ignorance of native doctors and hospital authorities aggravated the pestilence. Among the natives the death-rate was several hundreds a day, and in spite of every precaution 140 of the British troops fell victims outside Cairo. The Khedive readily assisted the English doctors, of whom Surgeon-General Hunter had been specially despatched from England, by every means in his power, and even sanctioned the burning of an infected quarter of Cairo, but he was not supported by the Egyptian officials. At last nature came to their assistance; by September the Nile had risen, and as its healing waters overspread the land the death-fiend fled before it, making a last stand at Alexandria.

The second enemy was the Mahdi, or prophet, Mahomet Achmet, who had appeared in the Soudan, which unhappy district had lapsed into its normal condition of misrule. It was to the Arabs that the Mahdi appealed. He was born about 1843, in the province of Dongola, and was the son of a carpenter. His religious education was obtained chiefly at a village close to Khartoum, where is the tomb of Sheikh Hoghali, the patron saint of the town. About the year 1870 he was ordained a fiki, or learned man, by the famous Sheikh Nur-el-Daim, and soon the fame of his holiness spread far and wide. About the end of May, 1881, he began to write to his brother fikis, and to teach that he was the Mahdi foretold of Mahomet, and that he had a divine mission to reform Islam; all who did not believe in him were to be destroyed, whether they were Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan. In August, 1881, Reouf

Pasha was sent to summon him to Khartoum, but he refused to obey, and his influence among the Arab tribes rapidly increasing, he was able in January, 1883, after an almost unbroken series of victories against the Egyptian forces that were sent against him, to take the important town of El Obeid. At last the Egyptian authorities made a determined effort to suppress the rebellion. A force of some 10,000 men, all told, was placed at the disposal of Hicks Pasha, a retired Indian officer, and mustered at Omdurman, just opposite Khartoum. Thence Hicks Pasha advanced on the 6th of September up the Nile, resolving to strike across the desert to El Obeid. Almost from the first the force had suffered terribly from the heat and from want of water, but still it pushed on across the sands until, on November 1st, it was decoyed by a false guide into a narrow ravine at Kashgil and there surrounded by the Arabs. For three days Hicks held out, but on the 4th the pangs of thirst impelled his miserable troops to make one wild dash for liberty, only to fall before the spears of the sons of the desert. The consequences of the defeat were exceedingly grave; the whole of the Soudan burst into a flame of Arab rebellion, and the existence of the Egyptian garrisons, the most important of which was that of Khartoum, under the command of Colonel De Coetlogon, was placed in the very greatest peril. Further, a lieutenant of the Mahdi's, an ex-slavedealer, named Osman Digna, appeared in the Red Sea provinces, raised the Hadendowas and other tribes to arms, threatened the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, and cut communications between Suakim and Berber. The Egyptian troops sent against him were slaughtered on the 6th of November, and the English Consul at Suakim, Captain Moncrieff, was killed. As the year drew to a close, Baker Pasha, at the head of a motley army of some 3,000 Bashi-Bazouks, negroes, and Egyptians, was about to start on the forlorn hope of relieving Tokar. At the same time it was announced that Lord Granville had advised the Khedive to evacuate the more distant provinces of the Soudan, and to stand on the defensive at Wady Halfa. Nevertheless, it was not easy to see how in the face of a religious rising, evacuation could be accomplished.

INDEX



Abd-el-Al Pasha. (See Egypt.)
 Abdul Aziz deposed and murdered, 226.
 Abdurrahman Khan, 443, 445; subsidy to, 603.
 Abercarnie colliery explosion, 380.
 Aberdare, Lord, Licensing Bill, 103, 104.
 Accidents, Railway, 127, 404.
 Adam, Right Hon. W. P., death, 526.
 Affirmation Bill, and debate, 587, 588. (See Bradlaugh, Mr.)
 Afghanistan, murder of Sir L. Cavagnari, 406; narrative of events leading to the war, 419-426; war declared, 426; debates in Parliament, 426-430; events of the war, 426-451; affairs of, debate, 504.
 Africa, Travellers and discoveries in, slave-trade in, 87-90; quarrel with King of Dahomey, 214; federation in South Africa, debate, 292.
 Agrarian crimes in Ireland, 371; outrages, 485.
 Agricultural distress, debate, 393; royal commission, 394.
 Agricultural Holdings Bill, 154; and debate, 589.
 Agricultural labourers' strike, 45-47, 126, 383, 391; union, 170.
 Ahmed Kheyl, Battle of, 444.
 Alabama arbitration, Account of the, 1-23, 56.
 Aladja Dagh, Battle of, 268.
 Albania, Insurrection in, 360.
 Alhany, Duke of, marriage, 563.
 Albert Nyanza, Discovery of, 89.
 Alexander, Czar of Russia, coronation, 607.
 Alexandria, Naval demonstration at, 578; riot, bombardment, 579. (See Egypt.)
 Alfonso, King of Spain, 146; marriage, 367.
 Alice, Princess, Death of, 382.
 Ali Musjid, Capture of, 430.
 Alliance, The United Kingdom, 42.
 Alsace-Lorraine and German rule, 58.
 Amadeus, King of Spain, 27, 60.
 Ambassadors, Conference of, at Constantinople, 579.
 America, United States of, Alabama arbitration, 1-23, 56; Fisheries question, 13; San Juan boundary, 15, 56; Treaty of Washington, 16; the Erie rail, 56; Presidential election, 56; dispute with Spain, 143, 146; political corruption, 216; war with Sioux Indians, 216; affairs in, 368; labour troubles, currency, 368, 369; Halifax fishery award, 369; specie payments resumed, 418; General Garfield president, 496; Fe-
 minism, 522; assassination of General Garfield, 526; Panama Canal, 527; Irish suspects, 571.
 American (South) loans, 153.
 Amoafu, Battle of, 76.
 Andaman Islands, Lord Mayo assassinated at, 30, 31.
 Anglo-Russian secret agreement, 345.
 Anglo-Turkish agreement, 352, 353.
 Animals, Contagious Diseases, Bill, 372.
 Annexations, Colonial, 592, 594.
 Anstruther, Colonel, Death of, 536.
 Anti-rent agitation in Ireland, 397. (See Land League.)
 Appellate Jurisdiction, Court of, 155, 156, 168.
 Arzi Pasha, 576-583. (See Egypt.)
 Arbitration, The Alabama, 1-23; San Juan, 15, 56; Delagoa Bay, 191.
 Arch, Mr. Joseph, 46; and the agricultural labourers, 49, 170.
 Arctic expedition, sent by Austria, 104; by Great Britain, 204.
 Argyll, Duke of, on Russo-Turkish war, 317; on Eastern Question, 391; on Afghanistan, 505.
 Arms Bill, Ireland, 503.
 Army Bill of Germany, 139; of France, 175.
 Army Reform, Mr. Cardwell's plans for, 35; desertion in the, 103; increase of pay for, 203; mobilisation scheme, 210; estimates, 283; Discipline Bill, 387, 388; Mr. Childers' scheme of reform, 516.

Arrears Bill, Ireland, 558.
 Arthur, President, United States, 571.
 Artisans' Dwellings Bill, 148.
 Ashantee war, 71-79.
 Asia Minor, Famine and revolt in, 223.
 Asia, Russian progress in, 178, 179; Russian affairs in, discussed at Berlin Congress, 350.
 Assam, Insurrection in, 413.
 Athanasian Creed controversy, 54.
 Atlantic, SS., Loss of the, 68; Atlantic training ship, loss of, 492.
 Atrocities during Russo-Turkish war, 277. (See Bulgarian Atrocities.)
 Australasia, Affairs in, 532, 572.
 Australia, Progress of, 192, 193; annexations by, 592.
 Austria, Affairs in, 59, 222, 367, 570; Arctic expedition, religious affairs, 140; the Eastern Question, 176; Russo-Turkish war, 330, 331; the Principalities, 360; alliance with Germany, 415; Mr. Gladstone apologises to, 475; Triple Alliance, 605; riots in, 607.
 Ayoub Khan, 443, 603.
 Ayton, Mr., Parks Bill, 31.
 Baker, Sir Samuel, and African slave-trade, 87-90.
 Bakers' strike, 47.
 Ballot Act, debate, etc., 36-40.
 Bank failures, 383.
 Bankruptcy Bill, Mr. Chamberlain's, 588, 589.
 Banks, Joint-Stock, Bill, 390.
 Barbadoes, Riots in, 215.
 Baring, Mr., Report on Bulgarian atrocities, 233.
 Baroda, Guicowar of, 182; trial and deposition, 183; the new Guicowar, 532.
 Basutos, Rebellion of, 536, 604.
 Bath Letter, The, Mr. Disraeli's, 71.
 Beaconsfield, Earl of, 203; on Russian aggression, 239; defends his policy, 255, 256; on Russo-Turkish war, 282, 316; on Lord Derby's resignation, 335; on calling out the Reserves, 338; at Berlin Congress, 345, 346; on Berlin Treaty, 355; on the death of the Princess Alice, 382; his foreign policy attacked, 383, 384; on land laws, 395; on revival of trade, 400; Turnerelli wreath, 402; the scientific frontier, 426; Afghan war, 427, 428; dissolves Parliament, 471; on affairs in Afghanistan, 505; illness and death, 506. (See Disraeli.)
 Belfast, Riots in, 51-54, 211.
 Bengal, Famine in, 98-102; Tenancy Bill, 603.
 Berlin, Congress at, after Russo-Turkish war, 341-354; Memorandum, 226; Treaty, fulfilment of, 414, 415, 494.
 Besika Bay, British ships sent to, 276. (See Russo-Turkish War.)
 Biddulph, General, 431, 434.
 Biggar, Mr., 152, 154.
 Birch, Mr., Murder of, 175.
 Birmingham, Mr. Bright's twenty-fifth anniversary celebrated at, 592.
 Bishopsrics Bill, 372.
 Bismarck, Prince, 26, 140, 220, 221; domestic policy, 416, 604.
 "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," The, 601.
 Black Flags, The, 606.
 Boer war, 532-541; Boer aggressions, 604.
 Bonapartist scares in France, 137.
 Booth, "General," 564. (See Salvation Army.)
 Boycotting, 489, 490.
 Bradlaugh, Mr., and Parliamentary oath, 478; in law courts and Parliament, 518, 546, 548, 586, 589, 599.
 Brand, Mr., elected Speaker, 95.
 Bribery at Parliamentary elections, 517.
 Bribery Commission, Report of, 517.
 Brigandage in Italy, 140.
 Bright, Mr., on Burials Bill, 158; on Eastern Question, 240; on land laws, 394; resigns

on Egyptian war, 580; celebration in Birmingham, 592.
 British Columbia and Pacific Railway Bill, 215; threat to secede, 216.
 Browne, Sir Samuel, 430, 432.
 Bruce, Mr., Mines Regulation Bill, 34; Licensing Bill, 42.
 Bruncker's Spruit, Defeat at, 535.
 Brussels, Congress on war usages at, 140.
 Budget, The Indian, 413; Error in, 475.
 Budgets, 66, 102, 203, 391, 516, 587.
 Building trades, etc., Strike in the, 47.
 Bulgarian atrocities, 227-234.
 Bulwer, Sir Henry, Governor of Natal, 189; on Zulu war, 452.
 Burials Bill, 158, 287, 391, 479.
 Burke, Mr., Assassination of, 554.
 Burmah, Dispute with, 174; murder of Mr. Margary, 174; King Theebaw's cruelty, 414.
 Burnaby, Colonel, 87.
 Butt, Mr. Isaac, 29; Death of, 403.
 Cabul mission, Massacre of, 436; General Roberts at Cabul, 439.
 Cairns, Lord, on calling out the Reserves, 339; on Transvaal war, 542.
 Cameron, Lieutenant, in Africa, 207.
 Campbell, Sir George, 98.
 Canada and United States, 194; Pacific Railway Bill, 215; affairs in, 418, 604.
 Canal, The Suez, 171-173, 195; proposed second canal, 594; Panama, 418, 527.
 Candahar, British troops enter, 434; march on, 449; battle of, 450; evacuation of, 532.
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, death, 567. (See Ecclesiastical Affairs.)
 Cape Colony, Discovery of diamonds at, 187; dispute with natives, 187-189; affairs in, 604.
 Cardwell, Mr., army reforms, 35.
 Carey, James, informer, 595, 596.
 Carlist cause in Spain, 144-146.
 Carlos, Don, 142.
 Carlyle, Mr., defence of Russia, 241; on Eastern Question, 258.
 Carnarvon, Lord, South African affairs, 189, 190; Russo-Turkish war, 314; resigns, 321.
 Carpenters, etc., Strike of, 47.
 Cartagena, Bombardment of, 143.
 Castelar, Señor, Spanish President, 143.
 Cavaignac, Major, 430, 436.
 Cavagnari, Sir Louis, Murder of, 406.
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, Irish Secretary, 552; assassination of, 554.
 Cetewayo, 452; Capture of, 464; visits England, 563; death, 604.
 Challenger scientific expedition, 206.
 Chamberlain, Mr., 128; Bright celebration at Birmingham, 592; Bankruptcy Bill, 588, 589; on new Reform Bill, 602.
 Channel tunnel, 564.
 Chaplin, Mr., Agricultural Commission, 394.
 Chardeh Valley, Battle of, 442.
 Chelmsford, Lord (Lord Chancellor), Death of, 382.
 Chelmsford, Lord, in Zulu war, 454; resigns, 463.
 Cherif Pasha's ministry. (See Egypt.)
 Childers, Mr., army reforms, 516; Chancellor of Exchequer, 567; budget, 587.
 Children, Fatal accident to, at Sunderland, 599.
 China, Dispute with Great Britain, 174; dispute with Russia, 493; with France, 606.
 Cholera in Egypt, 608.
 Church, Mr. Gladstone on the, 55.
 Churchill, Lord R., on new Reform Bill, 603.
 Civil List, Sir Charles Dilke's motion, 36.
 Clarendon, Lord, Alabama claims, 11.
 Closures, The, 502, 544, 548, 565, 566.
 Coercion Bill, Ireland, 152, 500-503.
 Coffee Kalcak, King of Ashantee, 72. (See Ashantee Wsr.)
 Colenso, Bishop, and Langalibalele, 188, 189; death, 603.

- Colley, Sir George, 536; death, 541.
 Collier Scandal, The, 33.
 Colliers (S. Wslea), Strike of the, 50, 168—170; distress among, 379.
 Colliery explosions, 298, 379, 380.
 Columbia, British, and Pacific Railway Bill, 215; threat to accede, 216.
 Commercial Treaty, Anglo-French, 530.
 Commons Enclosure Bill, 199.
 Commune, The, in Paris, 23.
 Compensation for Disturbance Bill, Ireland, 483.
 Congoland, 604.
 Congo pirates exterminated, 191.
 Congress, International, on various subjects, 140—142.
 Connaught, Duke of, marriage, 402, 403; in Egypt. (See Egypt.)
 Conspirators, Dynamite, Arrest of, 596.
 Constatulary, Irish, Discontent among, 561.
 Constantinople, Riots in, 226; Conference at, 242—247.
 Convention, National, Ireland, 398.
 Convocation and Athanasian Creed, 54; "The Priest in Absolution," 296.
 Coomassie, Capture of, 78.
 Cornish Bank failure, 383.
 Corruption, Political, in America, 216.
 Corrupt Practices Bill, 38, 390, 590; at elections, 517.
 Cotton spinners, labour disputes and riots, 375, 376.
 County franchise, Extension of, 601.
 Cowper, Lord, resignation, 552.
 Credit vote for Egyptian war, 580.
 Cuba, Rebellion in, 146.
 Currency troubles in America, 368, 369.
 Cyprus ceded to Great Britain, 353; debate, 357, 358.
 Czar of Russia visits England, 123; plot to assassinate, 414; assassination of, 506, 527.
 Dahomey, Quarrel with King of, 214.
 Danube, Russians cross the, 264; rules for navigation of, 349, 607.
 Dardanelles, British fleet in the, 328. (See Russo-Turkish War.)
 Darling, Governor. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Darlington, Railway jubilee at, 166.
 Davitt, Michael, Arrest of, 521.
 Delagoa Bay arbitration, 191.
 Delane, John, Death of, 404.
 Derby, Lord, on Suez Canal shares, 172; on Eastern Question, 232; defines British interests, 256—258; on Russo-Turkish war, 282; resigns, 334; on acquisition of Cyprus, 355; joins the Liberals, 409; Colonial Secretary, 567; on Queensland's annexation of New Guinea, 594.
 Desertions in the army, 103.
 Diamond Fields in South Africa, 187.
 Dilke, Sir Charles, on Civil List, 36; on Zulu war, 459; President Local Government Board, 567, 584; on new Reform Bill, 602.
 Dillon, Mr., and Land League, 486; arrest of, 522, 562.
 Disasters at sea, 376—379, 492. (See Wrecks.)
 Discipline Bill, The Army, 387.
 Disraeli, Mr., the Bath letter, 71; Prime Minister, 95; on Endowed Schools Bill, 107; Public Worship Regulation Bill, 116; Regimental Exchanges Bill, 152; Royal Titles Bill, 196—199; becomes Earl of Beaconsfield, 203. (See Beaconsfield.)
 Distress in Ireland, Bill for relief of, 468.
 Dock labourers' strike at Liverpool, 400.
 Domesday Book, The Second, 212.
 Drink traffic, The, statistics, 41.
 Drury-Lowe, General. (See Egypt.)
 Dust control in Egypt, 574, 583, 607.
 Dublin, Riots in, 524.
 Dufferin, Lord, Governor-General of Canada, 194; settles affairs after Egyptian war, 583.
 Dynamite outrages, 521, 522, 596—598.
 Eastern Question, narrative of events leading to the Russo-Turkish war, 222—251; discussion in Parliament, 251—255, 259—262, 359. (See Russo-Turkish War.)
 Ecclesiastical affairs, 54, 107—110, 111—119, 295, 296, 563.
 Edinburgh, Duke of, betrothal, 66; marriage, 122.
 Educational matters, 35, 62, 104—107, 200—202, 288, 290, 372, 388.
 Education Bill, Scottish, 35; Lord Sandon's, 200—202; Intermediate (Ireland) Bill, 372; Irish University, 388.
 Egypt, 59; British influence in, 171—174; internal affairs, 217; Mr. Goschen's mission to, 218; events leading to the war, 572—579; events of the war, 579—583; affairs of, 594, 607; cholera in, 608.
 Egyptian finances, 173, 174.
 Elections, Corrupt practices at, 517.
 Employers' Liability Bill, 480.
 Empress of India, Queen proclaimed, 299.
 Endowed Schools Act, 104—107.
 Erie Ring, The, United States, 56.
 Erzeroum, Siege of, 270.
 Eurymedea, Loss of the, 378.
 Evictions in Ireland, statistics, 483.
 Ewelme rectory scandal, 34.
 Exhibition, Vienna, 83; Universal, Paris, 364; Fisheries, in London, 599.
 Explosives Amendment Act, 596.
 Factory and Workshops Bill, 372.
 Fair Trade, 392, 519.
 Falk Laws, The, 140.
 Famine in Bengal, 98—102; in Asia Minor, 222; in India, 300—308.
 Fantees, The, 72, 73. (See Ashantee War.)
 Farmers' Alliance, 392.
 Fawcett, Mr., 66, 128.
 Federation, South African, proposed, 190; debate, 292.
 Fenian outrages, 597.
 Fiji Islands annexed, 191; rebellion in, 215.
 Finance, Egyptian, 173, 174.
 Fisheries question, Arbitration on the, 15, 369; international exhibition, 599.
 Flogging in the army, 387.
 Florida, Case of the, 3—6. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Folkestone, Riots at, 43.
 Foreign affairs, 391.
 Forster, Mr., on vote for six millions, 323; and the Irish members, 484; on the House of Lords, 487; on the state of Ireland, 491; Coercion Bill for Ireland, 500—504; on outrages in Ireland, 522, 523; resigns, 552; defends his resignation, 586; on the New Reform Bill, 602.
 Fourth Party, The, 482.
 France, after the war, the Commune, 23; the republic, 24; Commercial Treaty with Britain, 57, 58; German war indemnity paid, 80; Monarchist faction, 81, 82; Bonapartist scare, 137; army bill, 175; constitution of the Republic, 176, 178; affairs in, 218, 219, 362—364; death of Thiers, the elections, 363, 364; universal exhibition, 364; MacMahon resigns, 417; Grévy President, 417; affairs in, 495, 530, 531; Tripoli, 531; quarrel with Madagascar, 571; Egyptian war, 583; affairs in, 605, 606; in Tonquin, 606; dispute with Madagascar, 606; with China, 606, 607.
 Franchise, Extension of, and redistribution, 601—603.
 Franco-German war, France after the, 23.
 Franconia, Case of the, 213.
 Free thinker, Prosecution of, 601.
 Free, Sir Bartle, Zulu war, 452, 459, 532.
 Friendly Societies Bill, 150.
 Froude, Mr., in Natal, 190.
 Fugitive Slave circular, 162; debate, 196; new circular, 211.
 Galway election, 28.
 Gambetta, M., 496, 531; death, 570, 606.
 Garfield, General, President United States, 496; assassination, 526.
 Garibaldi, 178; death of, 570.
 Gas stokers, Strike of, 49.
 General election, 472; new Government, 474.
 Geneva, Alabama arbitrators meet at, 19—23.
 Geneva, Mr. Henry, and Socialism, 602.
 Georgia, Case of the, 9, 10. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Germany, Affairs in, 26, 58; Pius IX. and, 82; the Army Bill, 139; religious affairs, 139; the Papal authority, 176; affairs in, 222; Russo-Turkish war, 331; affairs in, 364; Socialism in, 366; Emperor's life attempted, 366; Austro-German alliance, 415; Bismarck's policy, 416; Russian aggressions, 495; affairs in, 531, 571, 604, 605; the Triple Alliance, 605.
 Gibson, Mr., amendment on the closure, 565.
 Ginghamlo, Battle at, 460.
 Gladstone, Mr., on the Church, 55; University education in Ireland, 62; dissolves Parliament, 91; temporary retirement, 95; Endowed Schools Bill, 106; Scottish Patronage Bill, 109; Public Worship Regulation Bill, 113; Papal infallibility, 124; resigns leadership of Liberal Party, 147; on Regimental Exchanges Bill, 151; Bulgarian atrocities, 231; the five resolutions and debate, 259—262; correspondence with Mr. Negroponte, 278—280; on Russo-Turkish war, 318; on the vote for six millions, 324; first Midlothian campaign, 410—413; on Afghan war, 426; election manifesto, 471; second Midlothian campaign, 472; Prime Minister, 474; on Austria, 475; on state of Ireland, 491, 492; death of Lord Beaconsfield, 506; introduces Irish Land Bill, 507—510; on fair trade, 520; Parnell and Land League, 523; the Lords' proposed inquiry into Land Act, 547; illness, 584; Affirmation Bill, 588; Mr. Healy, 592.
 Glasgow Bank failure, 383.
 Glover, Captain. (See Ashantee War.)
 Gold Coast, The, 190. (See Ashantee War.)
 Goodenough, Commodore, Murder of, 193.
 Gordon, General, in Transvaal, 572; in Egypt, 572—574.
 Gortschakoff, Prince, death, 569.
 Goschen, Mr., 51; mission to Egypt, 218.
 Gothard Tunnel commenced, 27; opened, 570.
 Graham, General, 580. (See Egypt.)
 Grand Committees, Parliamentary, 566.
 Grant, General, President United States, 216.
 Granville, Lord, on Russo-Turkish war, 316; on calling out the Reserves, 338; circular to the Powers on Egyptian affairs, 608.
 Greece and Russo-Turkish war, 327; Affairs of, discussed at Berlin Congress, 350; and Turkey, 495, 528, 529.
 Greek frontier question, 495, 528, 529.
 Greeley, Horace, Death of, 56.
 Grévy, M. Jules, President of French Republic, 417.
 Grey, Sir George, Death of, 567.
 Griffin, Mr. Lepel, 443.
 Griguland West annexed, 187.
 Grissell, Mr., and the Tower Bridge, 470.
 Ground Game Bill, 480.
 Gundamuk, Treaty of, 435.
 Gurney, Mr. Russell, Death of, 381.
 Halifax fishery award, 369.
 Harcourt, Sir William, attack on Government, 383—385; on foreign policy of Government, 407.
 Hares and Rabbits Bill, 480.
 Hartington, Lord, leader of Liberal Party, 148; on Russo-Turkish war, 230; on the land laws, 393; war minister, 567; on new Reform Bill, 602.
 Hatherley, Lord, Death of, 526.
 Haydock colliery explosion, 379.
 Hayes, Mr., President United States, 368.
 Healy, Mr., and Mr. Gladstone, 592.
 Herzogovins, Revolt in, 223.
 Hickley, Captain. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Hicks Pasha's army destroyed, 608.
 Home Rulers in Ireland, 28, 51; obstruction in House of Commons, 152—154, 291, 370, 557; Objects of, 202; banquet in Dublin, 211; Disension among, 234; Mr. Bright's animadversions, 592.
 Honduras loans, 153.
 Housing the poor of London, 601.
 Humbert IV., King of Italy, attempted assassination, 368.
 Hungary and the Eastern Question, 222.
 Hunt, Mr. Ward, navy estimates, 285—death, 286.
 Ilbert Bill, The (India), 603.
 Imperial, The Prince, 461; death of, 462.
 Income Tax, Mr. Gladstone proposes to abolish the, 91.
 India, Famines in, 98—102, 300—308; Lord Mayo's reforms, 180—182; Lord Northbrook viceroy, 182; the Guicowar of Baroda, 182, 532; visit of Prince of Wales, 183—187; Lord Lytton viceroy, 187; events in, 214; Queen proclaimed

- Empress of, 299; troops sent to Malta, 340; Sir John Strachey's budget, 413, 475; Marquis of Rippon viceroy, 445; Affairs in, 532, 603; Vernacular Press Act repealed, 572; Bengal Tenancy Bill, Ibert Bill, 603.
- Indian troops sent to Malta, 340; debate, 342; in Egypt, 580, 582.
- Inland Revenue Bill, 482.
- International Society, The, 141.
- Intimidation in Ireland, 489-491.
- Intombi river, Disaster at, 461.
- Intoxicating Liquors Act, 42, 43.
- Invineible, The Irish, 595.
- Ireland, Home Rule, 28, 51, 202, 211; Galway and Kerry election petitions, 28, 29; party processions, 51; university education, 62, 388; Coercion Bill, 152, 500-504; O'Connell centenary, 165; Sunday Closing Bill, 286, 370, 371; Judicature Bill, 287; Parnell's tactics, 291; Home Rulers in Parliament, 370; murder of Lord Leitrim, 371; failure of potato crop, 396; Parnell and anti-rent agitation, 397; Land League, 398, 486-490; national convention, 398; arrest of agitators, 399; relief of Disturbance Bill, 468; Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 483; evictions in, 483; agrarian outrages, 485; Registration of Voters Bill, 487; no-rent agitation, 488; boycotting, 489, 490; debate on Irish affairs, 498-504; Land Bill for, 507-510; outrages in, 523; Parnell opposes Land Act, 522; riots in Dublin, 524; Land League suppressed, 524; turbulent state of, 551; release of Irish members, 552; Phoenix Park and other murders, 554, 560; Prevention of Crimes Bill, 555; Arrears Bill, 558; Ladies' Land League, 559, 562; Land Corporation, 560; National League, 562; debate in Parliament on Irish affairs, 586; atate of parties in Ulster, 594.
- Igandhwana, Disaster at, 455, 456.
- Ismail Pasha deposed, 575. (See Egypt.)
- Italy, Affairs in, 27, 59, 219, 367, 570; Brigandage in, 140; Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, 178; death of Victor Emmanuel, 367; Humbert succeeds, 368; death of Pius IX., 368; Leo XIII. succeeds, 368; death of Garibaldi, 570; the Triple Alliance, 605.
- Japan, 60.
- Jesuits in France, 496.
- Jessel, Sir George, Death of, 603.
- Jingoa, The, 325, 334.
- Johnson, Mr. Revery, Alabama claims, 11.
- Joint-Stock Banks Bill, 390.
- Judicature Act, 64-66, 155, 156, 202; Ireland, 287.
- Jung, Sir Salar, visits England, 208; death, 603.
- Kambula Kop, Battle of, 461.
- Kars, Siege of, 263; bombardment, 270.
- Kassassin, Battle of, 581.
- Kaufmann, General, 84; death of, 569.
- Keane, Dr., 137, 150.
- Keogh, Mr. Justice, Galway election, 28, 29.
- Kerry election, 28.
- Khiva, Russian expedition to, 83-87.
- Kilmaham Treaty, 552, 555, 586.
- Kingsley, Charles, death, 168.
- Kokand and Russia, 179.
- Labour disputes, 126; troubles in United States, 368, 369. (See Strikes.)
- Ladies' Land League, Ireland, 524, 559, 562.
- Laing's Nek, Battle of, 536-538.
- Lancashire, Riots in, 375.
- Land Act, Parnell's opposition, 522; popularity of, 524; Lords' Committee of Inquiry, 547, 557.
- Land Bill for Ireland, 507-510; debate, 510-516.
- Land Corporation, Irish, 560.
- Land Court, Ireland, 524.
- Land Law Commissioners, Ireland, 512.
- Land Laws and agricultural distress, in England, 393-395; in Ireland, 396.
- Land League, Ireland, 398, 486, 487-490; suppressed, 524.
- Landseer, Sir Edwin, Death of, 70.
- Langballele, Case of, 188, 189.
- Lansdowne, Lord, on Zulu war, 459; Governor-General of Canada, 604.
- Law Courts, Opening of new, 567.
- Lawrence, Lord, Death of, 404.
- Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Licensing Bill, 42, 43.
- Layard, Mr., Negroponte correspondence, 279, 280; on Russian designs, 322, 326; and Sultan of Turkey, 466.
- Leatham, Mr., Ballot Bill amendment, 38.
- Leeds Congress on Reform, 601.
- Lefevre, Sir John Shaw, Death of, 403.
- Legal reforms, 64-66.
- Leitrim, Lord, Murder of, 371.
- Leo XIII., Pope, 368, 416; Irish agitation, Parnell tribute, 568.
- Leopold, Prince, marriage, 563.
- Lesseps, M., Panama Canal, 418; Suez Canal, 594.
- Licensing Act, Mr. Bruce's, 42, 103, 104.
- Livingstone, Dr., Discoveries of, 119-122; death, 122.
- Liverpool dock labourers' riot, 400.
- Loans Bill, Public Works, 390.
- London Hospital, The Queen at, 210.
- London Municipal Reform League, 602.
- London Poor, Housing of the, 601.
- Lorne, Marquis of, Governor-General of Canada, 308.
- Lowe, Mr., 50; Budget, 43, 66; Home Secretary, 70; on Royal Titles Bill, 197, 198.
- Lytton, Lord, Death of, 69.
- Lytton, Lord, Viceroy of India, 187; Afghan policy, 422; resigns, 445.
- Maamtrassna massacre, 560.
- McCarthy, Justin, 499.
- MacGahan, Mr., letters on Bulgarian atrocities, 230.
- Maeknochie, Mr., 563.
- Maclean's attempt on life of the Queen, 562.
- MacMahon, Marshal, President French Republic, 81.
- Macpherson, General, in Egypt. (See Egypt.)
- Madagascar, French quarrel with, 571, 606.
- Magee, Bishop, on the Permissive Bill, 43.
- Magistrates' Summary Jurisdiction Bill, 390.
- Mahdi, Rise of the, 608.
- Maiwand, Battle of, 447, 448.
- Majuba Hill, Battle of, 539.
- Malet, Sir Edward, 578. (See Egypt.)
- Malt Tax, The, 482.
- Malta, Indian troops sent to, 340; debate on, 342.
- Mansion House, Attempt to blow up, 563.
- Margary, Mr., Murder of, 174.
- Marlborough, Duke of, death, 603.
- Martineau, Miss, Death of, 213.
- "May Laws," The, in Germany, 82.
- Mayo, Lord, Assassination of, 39, 31; character, 180.
- Merchant Shipping Bill, 156.
- Metropolitan Police, Strike of the, 47-49.
- Metropolitan Railway, Dynamite explosion on, 598.
- Metropolitan Water Bill, Mr. Cross's, 470.
- Midhat Pasha, 243, 249; banished, 362.
- Midlothian campaign, Mr. Gladstone's, 410-413, 472.
- Milan, Prince, 235; King of Servia, 236.
- Mill, Mr. John Stuart, Death of, 70.
- Mines Regulation Bill, 34.
- Mining casualties, 379.
- Missionaries, The captive, (See Ashantee War.)
- Mistletoe and Alberta collision, 159.
- Mitchel, John, 150.
- Mobilisation scheme, Army, 210.
- Mohammed Jan, 442.
- Mont Cenis Tunnel completed, 27.
- Montenegro, War with Turkey, 236.
- Montreal, Riots in, 194.
- Moody and Sankey, Visit of, 164.
- Morley, Mr. John, and Reform, 601.
- Motley, Mr., Alabama claims, 12.
- Mountmorrea, Lord, Murder of, 437.
- Murad, Sultan of Turkey, 226.
- Murder and outrage in Ireland, 559-561.
- Mutiny Act, Bill to consolidate, 387, 388.
- Nassau. (See Alabama arbitration.)
- Natal, Affairs in, 188, 189.
- National conference at St. James's Hall, 241.
- National Convention, Ireland, 398.
- National Debt, Bill for reducing, 591.
- National Liberal Club opened, 588.
- Napoleon III., Death of, 61.
- Napoleon, Prince, manifesto, 606.
- Napoleon, Prince Louis, 461; death of, 462.
- Naval catastrophes, 159-162. (See Wrecks.)
- Naval demonstration against Turkey, 494; at Alexandria, 578.
- Navy Estimates, 43, 285.
- Negroponie, Mr., correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, 278-280.
- New Guinea, Queensland annexes, 592, 604.
- Newspapers, Seditious, suppressed in Ireland, 560.
- New Zealand, Progress of, 192, 193.
- Nihilism in Russia, 367, 414, 527.
- Nine hours movement, 47.
- Northbrook, Lord, viceroy of India, 182, 183; resigns, 187.
- Northcott, Sir Stafford, vote for six millions, 321; Parliamentary obstruction, 386. (See Bradlaugh, Mr.)
- Northfleet, Loss of the, 67.
- Norwich railway accident, 127.
- Nubar-Wilson ministry, 574. (See Egypt.)
- Obituary, 69, 127, 168, 213, 298, 380-382, 403, 492, 525, 567, 603.
- Obstruction, Parliamentary, 291, 294; attempt to suppress, 386; resolution against, 470.
- O'Connell centenary, 165.
- O'Connor's attack on the Queen, 31.
- O'Donnell, Mr., and French ambassador, 485.
- Orange riots in Belfast, 51-54, 211.
- Osman Digma, 608.
- Osman Pasha, 267.
- Pacific Railway, 194, 215.
- Palmer, Professor, mission to Soudan, 582; murder, 583.
- Palmer, Sir Roundell, 21. (See Alabama claims.)
- Panama Canal, Proposed, 418; United States and the, 527.
- Paris, The Commune in, 23, 24.
- Paris, Universal exhibition at, 364.
- Parks Regulation Bill, 34.
- Papal Infallibility controversy, 124.
- Parliamentary elections and the ballot, 37, 40; obstruction, 291, 386; new rules of procedure, 502, 544, 548, 565; Elections Bill, 471.
- Parnell, Mr., 150; Parliamentary obstruction, 291, 367, 388, 500; anti-rent agitation, 397, 488; Land League, 398; in America, 467; prosecution, 491; trial, 498; opposition to Land Act, 522; arrest, 524; release, 562; subscription for, 598.
- Party processions in Ireland, 51.
- Patents Bill, 591.
- Patronage Bill, The Scottish, 107-110.
- Peace Preservation Act, 152, 502.
- Peel, General, Death of, 403.
- Peiwar Kotal, Capture of, 431.
- Pelly, Sir Lewis, at Baroda, 183; mission to Cabul, 422, 423.
- Perak, A little war at, 175.
- Permissive Bill, Bishop Magee on, 43.
- Persia, Shah of, visits England, 67.
- Phantom Fleet, The, 102.
- Phayre, Colonel, Attempt to poison, 182.
- Phoenix Park murders, 554, 5-6, 594-596.
- Piggott scandal, The, 290.
- Pius IX. and Germany, 82; death, 368.
- Plevna, 266; invested, 267; siege, 270-272.
- Plimssoll, Mr., Merchant Shipping Bill, 156, 469.
- Polar expedition, Austrian, 140; English, 204-206.
- Police, Metropolitan, Strike of, 47-49.
- Polling, Extension of hours of, 374.
- Potato crop fails in Ireland, 396.
- Presidential election, United States, 56.
- Prevention of Crimes Bill, Ireland, 555.
- Priesthood, Irish, Attitude of, 559.
- "Priest in Absolution," 296.
- Princess Alice, Death of, 382.
- Princess Alice, Loss of the, 379.
- Principalities, Affairs of the, 327, 607.
- Prisons Bill, Mr. Cross's, 285, 287.
- Procedure, Rules of, 293. (See Parliamentary obstruction.)
- "Progress and Poverty," 602.
- Prosecutor, Public, appointed, 390.
- Protection of Persons and Property Bill, Ireland, 500.
- Public Works Loans Bill, 390.
- Public Worship Regulation Bill, 111-119.
- Prussia, Affairs in, 58, 605.
- Queensland and the annexation of New Guinea, 592, 604.
- Race meetings, suburban, Act prohibiting, 390.

Railway accidents, 127, 404; Jubilee, 166.
 Reciprocity, 392, 520.
 Reform Bill, new, Proposed, 601, 602.
 Regimental Exchanges Bill, 151.
 Registration of Voters Bill, Ireland, 487.
 Religious Tests, 66.
 Rent, Anti, agitation, Ireland, 397, 488.
 (See Land League.)
 Representation, Parliamentary, Proposed reforms, 601-603.
 Reserves called out, 337; debate, 337-339.
 Revenue Bill, Ireland, 482.
 Rhodope mountains, Massacre in, 361.
 Richmond, Duke of, amendment to the Ballot Bill, 40.
 Ridsdale Judgment, 296.
 Riots, Labour, 375; in Dublin, 524.
 Ripon, Marquis of, 125; Viceroy of India, 445; his administration, 532, 603.
 Ritualistic practices, 295, 296; grievances of Ritualists, 520.
 Roberts, General, 426-431.
 Roebuck, Mr., Death of, 403.
 Rorke's Drift, Defence of, 458.
 Rossa, O'Donovan, and Lrington, 521.
 Roumania and Russo-Turkish war, 327.
 Royal Academy, Loss of, 9.
 Royal Commission, death and character, 179, 414, 572, 600; 1. ... expectation, 83-87; Czar visits England, 123; affairs in, 222, 494, 495, 569; Servian war, 236; ultimatum to Turkey, 237; Czar's speech at Moscow, 239; conference at Constantinople, 242-247; declares war against Turkey, 251; strained relations with Great Britain, 334; Nihilism in, 367, 414, 527; Berlin Treaty, 414; Afghanistan, 40; mission to Cabul, 424, 433; dispute with China, 493; threatened collision with Germany, 495; Czar assassinated, 506, 527; coronation of Alexander, 607. (See Russo-Turkish War.)
 Russo-Turkish war, peace efforts of neutrals, 251, 256, 274; Great Britain and France proclaim neutrality, 256; Lord Derby defines British interests, 256-258; war declared, 263; narrative of events of the war, 263-283, 309-332; negotiations between Great Britain and Russia, 274-276; Turkey appeals to the Powers to mediate, 283; debate in Parliament, 315-319; 323-326; Russia's peace proposals, 319, 320, 322; excitement in London, 325; excitement in Constantinople, 327; movements of the British fleet, 32; action of Continental powers, 328, 330; San Stefano Treaty signed, 332; Lord Salisbury's circular and Gortschakoff's reply, 335, 336; Russians evacuate Turkish territory, 362.
 Salisbury, Lord, at Constantinople, 240-247; on Russo-Turkish war, 280, 318; becomes Foreign Secretary, 335; circular on Russian peace proposals, 335; at Berlin Congress, 343, 346; his summary of its proceedings, 352; on the Eastern Question, land reform, and the Liberal policy, 408, 409; on Afghanistan, 422; becomes leader of the Conservative party, 510; on Egyptian policy of the Government, 585; on the new Reform proposals, 602.
 Salonica, Riots in, 225.
 Salvation Army disturbances, 520; progress, 564.
 Sandon, Lord, Education Bill, 200-202.
 San Juan boundary, 15, 56.
 San Stefano, Treaty of, 332.
 Schäffer, The, Loss of, 159.
 School Board elections, 212.
 Schools, Endowed, Act, 104.
 Schouvaloff, General, 343.
 Scientific frontier, The, 426.
 Scotland, Education Bill, 35; Patronage Bill, 107-110; Agricultural Holdings Bill, 390.

Sea Fisheries Bill, Ireland, 591.
 Selborne, Lord, on calling out the Reserves, 339.
 Serbia, war with Turkey, 235, 236, 274.
 Seward, Mr., 11. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Shaftesbury, Lord, on Ballot Bill, 39; on Public Worship Regulation Bill, 113; on Eastern Question, 241.
 Shah of Persia in England, 67.
 Shenandoah, Case of the, 6-9. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, Zulu war, 452.
 Shere Ali, Ameer of Cabul, 419, 433.
 Sherpur evacuated, 447.
 Shipka Pass, fighting in the, 267; surrender of Turkish army, 311.
 Shipwrecks, 45, 67, 159-162, 297.
 Sikukuni, Capture of, 465.
 Silver Bill (United States), 369.
 Sioux Indians, war with United States, 216.
 Siyayo affair, The, 453.
 Sixpenny telegrams, 587.
 Skobelev, General, death, 569. (See Russo-Turkish war.)
 Slave trade in Africa, 87-90; in the Sudan, 90.
 Smith, Mr. W. H., first Lord of Admiralty, 286.
 Socialism in Germany, 366; in England, 602.
 Social reforms, 591, 602.
 Soedan, Rebel, 608.
 Spain, affairs in, 60; Amadeus resigns, 142; state of anarchy, 142, 143; republic proclaimed, 143; dispute with America, 143; the Carlists, 144-146; Alfonso proclaimed king, 146; ex-queen Isabella returns to Spain, 219.
 Specie payments resumed in United States, 418.
 Spencer, Earl, Viceroy of Ireland, 552.
 Stanley, Dean, Death of, 526.
 Stanley, Mr. H. M., Livingstone Expedition, 122; on the Congo, 604.
 Star of India, Chapter at Calcutta, 186.
 Stewart, General, 431, 434.
 Strachey, Sir John, Indian budget, 413.
 Strangers in the House, Espying, 154.
 Strickland, Miss, Death of, 127.
 Strikes, 45, 47, 49, 50, 126, 168-170, 333, 391, 399.
 Suez Canal, purchase of shares, 171-173; debate on, 195; proposed addition to, 594.
 Sunday Closing Bill, Ireland, 286, 370.
 Sunderland, School fatality at, 599.
 Takht-i-Shah, Capture of, 442.
 Tamatave, Capture of, 606.
 Tay Bridge disaster, 404-406.
 Tel-el-Kebir, Battle of, 582.
 Temple, Sir Richard, 99; report on famine in India, 304.
 Tenth Hussars, Accident to, 434.
 Territorial Regiments, 35. (See Army Reform.)
 Tewfik Pasha, ruler of Egypt, 575. (See Egypt.)
 Theebaw, King of Burmah, 414, 572.
 Thiers, M., 25; his fall, 81; death, 333.
 Thorpe railway accident, 127.
 Thunderer, Explosion on board the, 207, 208.
 Tichborne claimant, account of trial, 129-137.
 Times office, Attempt to blow up, 596.
 Tonquin and France, 606.
 Tooth, Rev. A., Ritualistic practices, 295.
 Tower Bridge, The, and Mr. Grissell, M.P., 470.
 Trade depression and distress, 383.
 Trade Unions, 46; Bill relating to, 155.
 Tramways Bill, Ireland, 591.
 Transvaal, Annexation of, 292; republic, 452; Boer war, 532; peace, 541-543; border fighting, 572; oppression by Boers, 586; affairs in, 592.
 Triple Alliance, 605.
 Tripoli and France, 531.
 Tunis, French designs on, 530.
 Turnerelli wreath, The, 402.
 Turkey, Financial state of, 223; insurrections and riots, 223-227; Abdul-Aziz

deposed and murdered, 226; war with Servia and Montenegro, 235, 236; conference on Eastern Question at Constantinople, 241-247; a new constitution proclaimed, 243; Russia declares war, 251; affairs in, 362, 528, 569; Berlin Treaty, 494; Greek frontier, 495, 529; Egyptian war, 577, 582. (See Russo-Turkish War and Egyptian War.)
 Ulster, State of parties in, 594.
 Ulundi, Battle of, 463.
 Union, Agricultural Labourers', 170.
 United Kingdom Alliance, The, 42.
 United States of America. (See America.)
 Universities Bill, 288, 290.
 University education in Ireland, 62, 63.
 Vanguard, Loss of the, 161.
 Vatican Decrees, Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, 124.
 Vernacular Press Act, India, repealed, 572.
 Versailles, German emperor proclaimed at, 26.
 Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, 27; death, 367.
 Victoria (Australia) and Confederate cruiser, 6. (See Alabama arbitration.)
 Victoria, Queen, O'Connor's attack on, 31; visit of Shah of Persia, 67; visit of Czar of Russia, 123; marriage of Duke of Edinburgh, 123; the *Mistletoe* collision, 159; Royal Titles Bill, 198; at the London Hospital, 210; opens Parliament, 251; visit to Hnghenden, 283; proclaimed Empress of India, 299; excitement in London during Russo-Turkish war, 325; reserves called out, 337; loss of the *Eurydice*, 378; loss of *Princess Alice*, 379; death of the Princess Alice, 382; marriage of Duke of Connaught, 402, 403; message to Lord Chemsford, 455; assassination of Czar of Russia, 506; death of Lord Beaconsfield, 506; assassination of President Garfield, 526; Maclean's attempt on life of, 562; marriage of Prince Leopold, 563; opening of new law courts, 567; review of troops after Egyptian war, 583.
 Vienna Exhibition, 83.
 Vigilante, Affair of the, 142.
 Ville du Havre, Loss of, 68.
 Virginius, Affair of the, 143.
 Vivisection Bill, 202.
 Wages of agricultural labourers, 45.
 Wales, Prince of, at Birmingham, 128; visit to India, 183-187; opens Fisheries Exhibition, 599.
 War, usages of, Congress on, 140.
 Washington, Treaty of, 16.
 Water Bill, Metropolitan, Mr. Cross's, 470.
 Waziria, Expedition against, 532.
 Weather, The, in 1872, 45.
 Wellesbourne letter, The, 46. (See Agricultural labourers' strike.)
 Westbury Lord, Death of, 69.
 Whitechapel, The Queen in, 210.
 White Nile Slave-trade, 89, 90.
 Wigan, Colliery explosion at, 298.
 Wilberforce, Bishop, Death of, 70.
 William I., Emperor of Germany, proclaimed at Versailles, 26; attempts on life of, 366.
 Wilson, Mr. Rivers, Egyptian finance, 574. (See Egypt.)
 Wolsley, Sir Garnet, 73; Governor of Natal, 189; in South Africa, 462, 463; in Egypt, 580. (See also Ashantee War.)
 Wood, Sir Evelyn, 580. (See Egypt.)
 Wrecks, 45, 67, 159-162, 492, 376-379.
 Yakob Khan, 433, 435; abdicates, 439.
 Young, Mr., Scottish Education Bill, 35.
 Zanzibar, Sultan of, visits England, 163.
 Zehbeh Pasha, 573. (See Egypt.)
 Zulu, State of, after the war, 464, 604.
 Zulu war, Causes that led to, 451-454; outbreak of war, 454.



BINDING SECT. MAY 10 1972

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

DA
30
C35
1909
v.7

Cassell's history of England

