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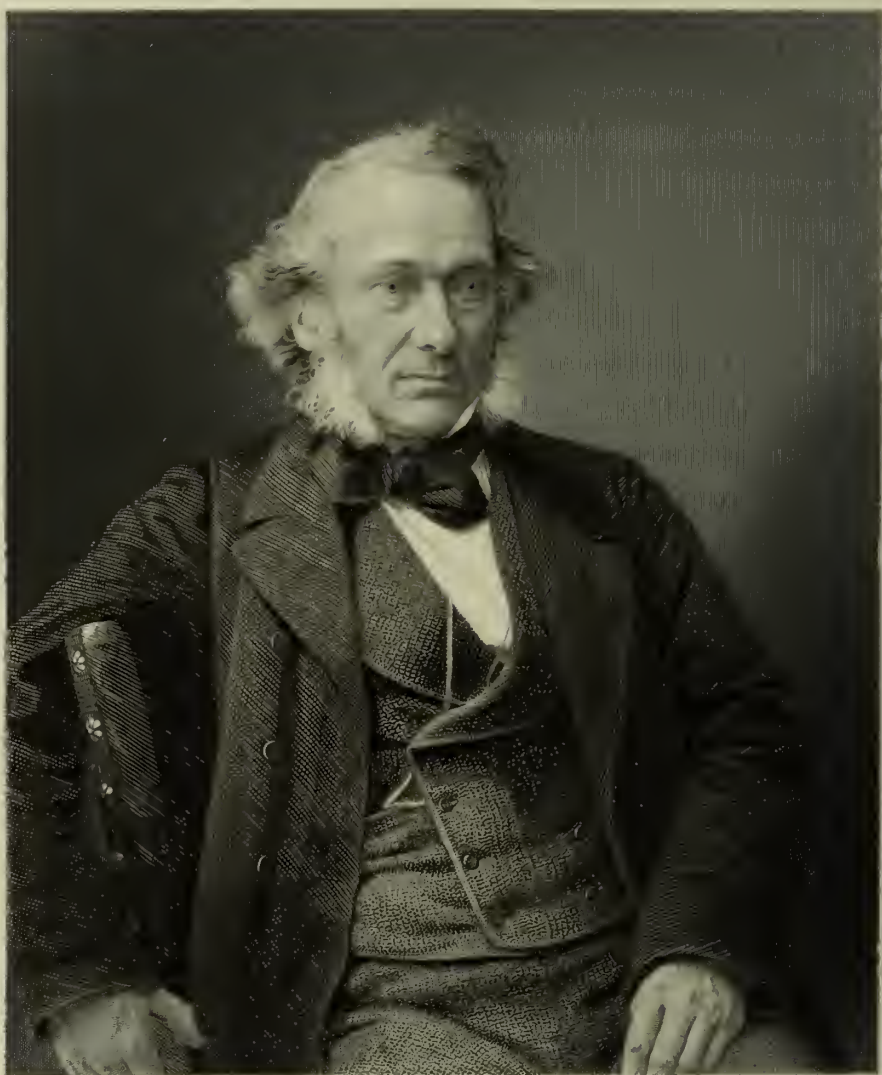
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THE
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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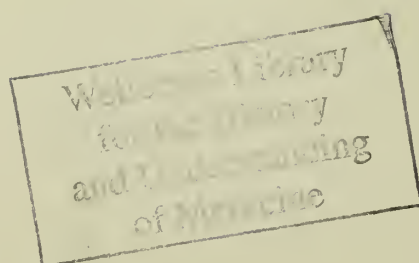
VOL. III.

LONDON:

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, 69 LUDGATE HILL, E.C.,

EDINBURGH AND DUBLIN.

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THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

Donald Fraser

CHAPTER I.

Free Trade and the League—The Corn Laws of 1815 and 1822—Opposition to them in 1833—First Anti-Corn-Law Association—Motions of Mr. Villiers—Anti-Corn-Law Association formed in Manchester—Mr. Frederick Bastiat—Operations of the League—The Central Agricultural Society—Motion of Mr. Hume—Election of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—Their Respective Characters—Change of Ministry—Opinions of Sir Robert Peel—Activity of the League—Conferences of Clergymen—The *Struggle*—The Organs of the Protectionists—Measures of the Government—Resignation of the Duke of Buckingham—The new Sliding Scale—The Tariff Bill—Distress of the Working Classes—The Income Tax Bill—Behaviour of the Chartists—Progress of the League Agitation—Deputations to the Agricultural Districts—The £100,000 League Fund—The Forty Shilling Franchise—The Potato Disease in Ireland—Lord John Russell's Letter—State of Opinion in the Cabinet—Resignation of the Ministry—Inability of Lord John Russell to form a Government—Return of Peel to Office—Proceedings in Parliament—The Corn Bill carried through Parliament—The Coercion Bill—Defeat of the Ministry—Their Resignation—Sir Robert Peel's final Address—Dissolution of the League.

AT the close of the protracted Continental war in 1815, when the European ports were opened to our commerce, a Corn Law was hurried through Parliament, prohibiting the importation of foreign grain until the price of wheat had risen to eighty shillings a quarter. In 1822 this law was so far modified that importation was permitted when the price of wheat was seventy shillings a quarter. Five years later, Canning, who was then Prime Minister, introduced a new Corn Bill on the principle of a sliding scale, making the duty rise as the price of grain fell in the home market. For every rise of a shilling in the home price the duty was to go down two shillings; for every fall of a shilling in the home price the duty was to go up two shillings. When the Bill reached the House of Lords an amendment was introduced into it by the Duke of Wellington, which caused the Ministry to withdraw the measure. After the death of Canning, and the downfall of the short-lived administration of Lord Goderich, the Duke came into office and introduced a

new Corn Law Bill, based on the principle of Canning's measure, but carried much further. Canning proposed that when the price of wheat in the home market reached sixty shillings a quarter, wheat was to pay a duty of twenty shillings. But the Duke proposed that when the price in the home market was sixty-four shillings the duty should be twenty-three shillings and eightpence. The amount of duty did not vary at an equal rate, as in Canning's Bill, but rose by leaps, the precise reason for which was not very perceptible. The principle on which all these restrictions were based was the supposed right of the landlords or growers of corn to obtain what they regarded as a fair return for the produce of their estates at the expense of the people; so that when the harvest was abundant, and corn was cheap, a heavy duty was immediately exacted, in order that a remunerative price might be obtained by the growers at the expense of the consumers.

The first attack on the Corn Law in the

new House of Commons was made on the 17th of May, 1833, by Mr. Whitmore, who proposed a motion to the effect that instead of producing equality of prices, and thereby a permanent good, the law had produced a contrary effect, and tended injuriously to restrict trade. The motion was, of course, easily set aside. The landed interest was banded together as one man to oppose free trade in corn, while the manufacturing communities were not at that time uttering a word of complaint against the monopoly of the landlords. It was impossible to contend successfully with the one interest without the aid of the other. On the 6th of March, 1834, Mr. Hume moved for a committee with the view of substituting a fixed duty on corn for the sliding scale. Sir James Graham declared his firm conviction, that such a scheme would be the destruction not of one particular class in the State, but of the State itself. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, the notorious Chartist leader, said that to admit duty corn free would be the ruin of Ireland, and almost all the Irish members voted against the motion. On the other hand, Mr. Poulett Thomson, the Vice-president of the Board of Trade, warned the House that it would be wise to legislate then, when they could do so with calmness and deliberation, and not to delay till a time of scarcity and disturbance. Lord Morpeth and Lord Howick supported the motion, but it was rejected by a majority of 313 against 155. It was evident that even in a reformed Parliament the landlord interest was paramount.

A succession of good harvests, and the consequent cheapness of bread, contented the operatives, but 'distressed' the agriculturists, who had confidently expected that their law of 1815 would keep up the price of wheat to eighty shillings, while it had now fallen to thirty-six shillings a quarter. But after the harvest of 1836 a considerable rise in the price of corn, and a pressure upon the money market, indicated approaching adversity, and towards the end of the year an Anti-Corn-Law Association was

formed in London. Its committee comprised Grote, Molesworth, Joseph Hume, Roebuck, Colonel Thompson, and other well-known Radicals; but though they were men of eminent ability, they did not, as Lord Sydenham remarked, possess the power 'to elevate the subject, and excite the feelings of the people;' and, besides, as it has often been noticed, London, from various causes, is not the proper place for originating and carrying out any popular agitation. The formation of this Association, therefore, had no influence on the opinions or votes of the House of Commons; and a motion made by Mr. Clay, for the adoption of a fixed duty of ten shillings, received the support of only 89 members against 223.

In the new Parliament elected on the accession of Queen Victoria, the free trade cause fared little better. The leader of the party at this time was Mr. Charles P. Villiers, brother of the Earl of Clarendon, an able, moderate, judicious, and upright politician, who for several successive sessions brought forward a motion for the total repeal of the restrictions on the import of corn. A proposal made by him at this time for inquiry into the operation of the Corn Law obtained only ninety-seven supporters; and even a Bill to permit the grinding of wheat in bond for foreign export was peremptorily rejected by 220 votes against 150. Mr. Villiers warned the Protectionists, who had closed their eyes in a moral blindness that they could not discern the signs of the times, that the rejection of this measure 'would be like that preliminary folly which characterizes those whom Heaven has marked as its victims, that it would rouse that feeling which had been dormant too long on the subject of the Corn Laws; and that those who wanted to gain partizans in favour of the repeal of these laws, could desire nothing better suited to their purpose than the irrational opposition offered by the landed interest to this measure, which was in fact the East Retford of the Corn Laws.' Mr.

Villiers' prognostication was received with shouts of laughter, but in no long time it was fulfilled to the letter.

In August, 1838, the price of wheat had risen to 77s. a quarter, and there was every probability that it would rise still higher. The continued wet weather rendered it almost certain that the harvest would be unfavourable. The revenue was declining, and pauperism was increasing. The manufacturing population of Lancashire were suffering great privations, owing to the state of trade. In the town of Bolton-le-Moors more than one-half of the manufacturing establishments which it contained were closed, nearly a fourth of all the houses of business were in the same condition, and more than 5000 workmen were without the means of subsistence. The most obvious remedy for their distress was cheap bread, but this boon could not be obtained in consequence of the operation of the Corn Laws. It was high time to be up and stirring; and at this critical moment—in the month of October—seven men met at a hotel in Manchester, and formed a new Anti-Corn-Law Association. The list of the provisional committee contained the names of Richard Cobden, John Bright, and others, who took a prominent part in the agitation for the abolition of all restrictions on trade and commerce. As Mr. Archibald Prentice, editor of the *Manchester Times*, and one of the earliest and most zealous commercial reformers, remarked, there needed but a spark to ignite the mass of smouldering discontent, and the spark was supplied by this infant association. Its influence was immediately felt in the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. The president, Mr. G. W. Wood, member for Kendal, and a number of the older men, directors of the Chamber, were inclined to rest satisfied with some modification of the existing duty; but Mr. J. B. Smith, afterwards President of the League, expressed himself as opposed to all protective duties, and Cobden, in a short but powerful speech, pointed out that the Corn Law was the only

obstacle to a vast increase of their trade, and that every shilling of protection on corn passed into the pockets of the landowners without benefiting either the farmer or the agricultural labourer.

The meeting was adjourned for a week, and when the members again assembled, the faltering petition of the president was set aside, to his great chagrin, and a petition which had been prepared by Cobden was adopted in its stead by an almost unanimous vote. The preamble called attention to the rapid extension of foreign manufactures, the diminution of the trade of Britain with the Continent, and the successful competition of continental with British manufacturers in neutral foreign markets—all owing to impolitic and unjust legislation which, by preventing the British manufacturer from exchanging the produce of his labour for the corn of other countries, enabled his foreign rivals to purchase their food at one-half the price at which it was sold in the home market. The prayer of the petition called for the repeal of all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and all foreign articles of subsistence, and implored the House to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects manufactures and agriculture, the true and peaceful principles of free trade.

The anti-corn-law agitation having thus been fairly launched, its agitators showed their determination to carry it on with vigour and resolution by at once raising upwards of £6000 to make the movement effective. 'Let us,' said Cobden, 'invest a part of our property, in order to save the rest from confiscation.' 'Certainly,' said Mr. Frederick Bastiat, 'there needed more than ordinary courage to face such an enterprise. The adversaries to be combated were in possession of riches, influence, the legislature, the church, the state, the public treasure, the soil, places, and monopolies, and they were walled around by traditional deference and veneration. But the aspect of these difficulties did not frighten the founders of the League. After having

looked them in the face, and measured their strength, they believed they had strength to conquer them.' The preparations which they made for the struggle showed that the free-traders were quite well aware of the formidable nature of the opposition they would have to encounter, and the great sacrifice of time, money, and labour they would require to make, in order to free the commerce of the country from the restrictions which hampered and threatened to destroy it. 'They set to work with a zeal, a knowledge, a pertinacity, and spirit of self-sacrifice, probably unequalled in the spirit of peaceful agitation.' At the outset they were disposed to dwell mainly on what may be called the commercial aspect of the question—the injury which the protective system inflicted on trade and commerce, limiting the supply of food required by our constantly-increasing population; restricting our commercial intercourse with other nations, who could not buy our manufactures so long as we refused to take in return their corn; and fostering the rivalry of America, Germany, and other foreign competitors, by refusing to accept their surplus food as payment for our own manufactures, thus forcing them to erect manufacturing establishments on their own territory, which not only supplied their own people, but competed with us in the open markets of the world. 'I am afraid,' said Cobden, 'that most of us entered upon this struggle with the belief that we had some distinct class-interest in the question, and that we should carry it by a manifestation of our will in this district against the will and consent of other portions of the community.' But as the contest went on the views of the free-trade champions no doubt became more expanded and comprehensive, and the interest, moral as well as physical, of the whole community was shown to be involved in the struggle for justice to all classes—agricultural and manufacturing alike.

The executive committee of the Anti-Corn-Law Association, in taking all legal and constitutional means, such as the for-

mation of local associations, the delivery of lectures, the distribution of tracts, and the presentation of petitions to Parliament to obtain the total and immediate repeal of the corn and provision laws, were told by a nobleman who was in favour of the modification of these laws, that they would overturn the monarchy as soon as accomplish the object they had in view. But Cobden and his associates had unbounded confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice, and they set to work with a stout heart and a resolute will. A meeting of delegates from the various associations throughout the kingdom was held in Manchester in January, 1839, at which the rules of the Central Association were sanctioned, and arrangements made for rousing the whole country. In the beginning of February the scene of action was transferred to London, and the delegates proceeded to Westminster to wait upon Lord Melbourne, to lay before him the state of the country, and to co-operate with their friends in Parliament in pressing their views upon the House of Commons. On the 18th of February Mr. Villiers moved that a number of petitions against the Corn Laws should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The motion was negatived without a division. Next day, in a speech of singular force and clearness, he moved that the chairman and certain other members of the association should be heard at the bar, in support of the allegations of the petition which they had presented three days before. The motion was rejected by 361 votes to 172. Three of the Cabinet Ministers—Lord Morpeth, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, and Mr. Poulett Thomson—voted in favour of the motion; and Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and T. Spring Rice against it.

The delegates were not dispirited by this repulse. Mr. Cobden said there was no cause for desponding, because the House over the way refused to hear them. They were the representatives of three millions of the people; they were the evidence that

the great towns had banded themselves together, and their alliance would be a Hanseatic League against the feudal Corn-Law plunderers. The castles which crowned the rocks along the Rhone, the Danube, and the Elbe, had once been the strongholds of feudal oppressors. But they had been dismantled by a league, and they now only adorned the landscape as picturesque memorials of the past, while the people below had lost all fear of plunder, and tilled their vineyards in peace; and the new league would certainly not fail in dismantling the legislative stronghold of the new feudal oppressors in England. The delegates left town to meet in Manchester with a renewed determination to carry on the contest more resolutely than ever. Some of the monopolists tried to keep up their courage by alleging that the vote of the House of Commons had put the question to rest; but they were warned that the departure of the delegates was like the breaking up of a Mahratta camp—the war was not over, but only the mode of attack was about to be changed.

The delegates had offered to 'instruct' the House of Commons, but the House had refused to be instructed; and in order that these representatives might be instructed willingly or unwillingly, it was resolved to begin by instructing the nation. With that view the local societies scattered over the country were formed into a permanent union, bearing the designation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. With a view to secure unity of action the central office of the League was established in Manchester. In order to carry out their resolution to diffuse among the people a knowledge of the principles of free trade, means were taken to obtain the co-operation of the public press. Lecturers were engaged, and sent out into the provinces, and a stamped circular and a large number of handbills and placards were scattered broadcast over the country. Short, pithy tracts, such as 'Facts for Farmers,' were published in tens of thousands; and the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*,

in a few weeks, reached a circulation of 15,000.

The supporters of the Corn Laws now became alarmed at the impression which the free-trade advocates were producing on the country, and an association termed 'The Central Agricultural Society of Great Britain and Ireland' was formed in London, presided over by the Earl of Tankerville, for the purpose of counteracting the efforts of the League. This mode of upholding the cause of protection was legitimate and fair; but some, at least, of the agricultural party were not ashamed to have recourse to weapons of a very different kind. A band of dirty and noisy vagabonds, of the lowest class, intruded into a meeting of the association in Manchester; threw chairs at the heads of the gentlemen on the platform, some of whom were severely hurt; smashed the forms and the glasses of the lamps; and turned the meeting into a scene of riot and confusion. When conduct of this kind took place in Manchester it need not excite surprise that much worse treatment was, in not a few instances, given by the hangers-on of the landlords to the lecturers who ventured into the districts which were the strongholds of ignorance and prejudice. It was not unusual for the local authorities in petty agricultural boroughs to refuse the use of the town hall, and for the landlord of an inn to decline to give the use of a room, and sometimes even to refuse to allow the lecturer to spend the night in his house, for fear of giving offence to his bucolic customers. At Newark and at Retford, where the arbitrary Duke of Newcastle was all-powerful, there was not an innkeeper who could venture to let a room to the lecturer; and at Worksop, in the 'Dukery,' not only could the lecturer not obtain a room or find a printer who durst print a placard for him, but he was assaulted by hired bullies in the street. At Louth, where at their first meeting the lecturers were so unlucky as to discomfit a local magnate in the discussion which followed,

they were deprived on the succeeding night of the use of the town hall, and had to deliver their addresses from a gig in the market-place. They were in consequence served with a summons for causing a disturbance in a thoroughfare, and were fined by the very person whom they had routed in argument. At Huntingdon—the last place in England where a witch was burned—an outrageous disturbance took place, led by the town clerk, which compelled the lecturer to leave the place. At Cambridge Mr. Sidney Smith and Mr. Shearman, lecturers of the League, were interrupted by a band of the students, who, with the sound of trumpets and other discordant noises, prevented the lecturers from being heard. This uproarious conduct roused the anger of the townsmen. A fierce battle ensued between ‘Gown’ and ‘Town;’ considerable damage was done to the furniture of the building, and the police had a good deal of difficulty in suppressing the riot. The *Cambridge Chronicle*—the local Tory organ—after congratulating the riotous undergraduates on having done their duty as ‘the friends of good government and the upholders of the religious constitution of the country,’ went on to say, ‘If the paid hirelings of a disloyal faction are to persist in inflaming the public mind with sentiments destructive of all moral right and order, we cannot call too strongly at the present crisis upon the well-disposed portion of the community to assist the authorities in putting down those revolutionary emissaries.’

The expression of such discreditable sentiments as these was not confined to provincial newspapers; some even of the metropolitan journals went beyond them in the virulence of their abuse. The *Standard*, which was regarded as a highly respectable paper, affirmed that the ‘present cry against the Corn Laws is at bottom the work of a few commercial swindlers, though aided, no doubt, by the exertions of political swindlers.’ The *Morning Herald* declared that many of the

League were ‘unprincipled schemers,’ and ‘the few members who may claim credit for honesty of purpose are at best conceited Socialists;’ while their lecturers are ‘empty-conceited blockheads.’ The courtly *Morning Post*, re-echoing the sentiments of not a few of its aristocratic supporters, thus descanted with mingled insolence and folly on the arguments of the free traders:—‘The manufacturing people exclaim, “Why should we not be permitted to exchange the produce of our industry for the greatest quantity of food which that industry will everywhere command?” To which we answer, Why not, indeed? Who hinders you? Take your manufactures away with you by all means, and exchange them anywhere you will, from Tobolsk to Timbuctoo; but do not insist on bringing your foreign corn here untaxed, to the ruin of your countrymen engaged in the production of corn. If nothing will serve you but to eat foreign corn, away with you, you and your goods, and let us see you no more. You are welcome to starve if you will; but remember if you do that, “live and let live” is a fair and honest and English mode of proceeding.’

It is a striking and instructive fact that in certain districts where the lower classes were sunk in ignorance and immorality, the mob were incited to break up the meetings of the Free Traders, by being told that the movement was simply a cunning and dishonest device of the manufacturers to lower the wages of the operatives. It is noteworthy that in Scotland the monopolists did not venture to resort to any of these discreditable modes of buttressing up the Corn Laws, and that the lecturers received an attentive hearing from all classes of the community. The opposition of the Chartists was all the more discreditable, that at this time the deplorable condition of the agricultural labourers had been made widely known by means of the publications of the League. In Devonshire the wages of the labourers averaged from seven to nine shillings a week; they rarely tasted meat

or even milk, and their chief food was a mixture of ground barley and potatoes. In the adjoining county of Somerset a labourer, after paying four shillings for half a bushel of wheat, sixpence for grinding, baking, and barm, sixpence for firing, and eighteenpence for rent, had only a balance of sixpence left out of his total earnings of seven shillings a week to provide for his wife and children potatoes, clothing, and all other necessities of human life. These facts present a startling commentary on a speech which was delivered at this time in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, in which he descanted on the position of the agricultural labourer, with his neat thatched cottage, blooming garden, and cheerful village green, summoned to his work by the breezy call of incense-breathing morn, and declared that the repeal of the Corn Laws would lead to a great migration from such delightful scenes to the noisy alley and 'the sad sound of the factory bell'—a change 'far more cruel, far more heartrending,' than 'the cruelties of the conveyance of the Poles to the wintry wastes of Siberia,' or 'the transportation of the Hill coolies from Coromandel to the Mauritius.' But deplorable as was the condition of the English agricultural labourer, the state of the Irish was incomparably worse. Potatoes had risen to such a price that the poor were unable to purchase them, and were actually starving. In Limerick and various other places the populace, prompted by the cravings of hunger, broke open the flour and provision shops, and the grocers' stores, and divided the contents among them. In some places the military had to be called out to disperse the crowd. 'Repeal the Union' was the cry of the local journalists. 'Repeal the Corn Laws' was the rejoinder of the Free Traders.

An important step was taken in May, 1840, when, on the motion of Mr. Hume, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the several duties levied upon imports into the United

Kingdom, and how far those duties are for protection to similar articles the produce of this country or of the British possessions, or whether the duties are for revenue alone. The evidence given before this Committee by the official witnesses—Secretaries of the Board of Trade—threw a flood of light on the 'commercial obstruction, the fiscal exhaustion and embarrassment, the national waste, impoverishment, and suffering inflicted by the various monopolies,' which were petted and pampered by the restrictive system of legislation. The report of the Import Duties Committee formed a peculiarly interesting epoch in the history of the free-trade question. It set in the boldest relief the broad difference, or rather contrariety, between two classes of taxation as opposite in their nature as light and darkness, which had been jumbled together in our tariff—taxes for revenue and taxes for protection. 'It showed that the British Custom-house, though nominally one establishment, performed in fact two functions that are not only distinct, but contradictory—levying money directly and openly for the public service of the State, and levying money indirectly, to the detriment of the State, for the private pockets of certain favoured classes; that the indirect taxation far exceeded in amount the whole sum of the public taxation of the country; that the incidental effect of these private taxes in diverting capital and industry from their natural channels, limiting trade, relaxing the demand for labour and abridging its remuneration, was beyond measure more mischievous than their pressure as a pecuniary impost. And, moreover, that the classes for whose supposed benefit these taxes are levied are, on the whole and in the long run, nothing the better but very much the worse for the oppression and impoverishment of the rest of the community.' The report of the Committee, which was 'first unheeded, then ridiculed, and then angrily denounced,' might have shown Lord Melbourne's Cabinet the true principles on which the financial policy of

the country should be based; but Spring Rice and his successor at the Exchequer had not sufficient grasp or courage to adopt the principles of Lord Althorp's budget, and to give relief to the working classes by reducing the taxes which most interfere with manufacturing industry, even though the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Peel remarked, was 'seated on an empty chest, by the side of bottomless deficiencies, fishing for a budget.'

The question which the Cabinet had to decide at this time, as Lord John Russell said, was 'whether they would lower duties of a protective character on a great number of small articles, or whether they would attack the giant monopolies of sugar, of timber, and of corn.' They adopted the latter course, as we have seen; but while they went so far as to alarm and rouse the indignation of the monopolists, they did not go far enough to excite the enthusiasm and secure the hearty support of the Free Traders and the commercial and manufacturing classes of the community. They in consequence met with a signal defeat, and were replaced by a powerful Ministry, pledged to the support of the Corn Laws and protective duties on trade.

The ranks of the Free Traders in the House of Commons received at this time an accession of vast importance in the person of Mr. Cobden, who was elected member for Stockport; and in the autumn of the same year (1841) Mr. John Bright, a young manufacturer of Rochdale, became Cobden's chief colleague in the struggle against all restrictions on agriculture, trade, and commerce. The interesting account given by Mr. Bright of his first meeting with Mr. Cobden has been repeatedly quoted, but it will bear any amount of repetition. 'The first time I became acquainted with Mr. Cobden,' he said, 'was in connection with the great question of education. I went over to Manchester to call upon him and invite him to come to Rochdale to speak to a meeting about to be held in the school room of the Baptist Chapel in West Street.

I found him in his country house. I told him what I wanted; his countenance lighted up with pleasure to find that others were working in the same cause. He, without hesitation, agreed to come. He came and he spoke, and though he was then so young a speaker, yet the qualities of his speech were such as remained with him so long as he was able to speak at all—clearness, logic, a conversational eloquence, a persuasiveness which, when combined with the abstract truth there was in his eye and on his countenance, became a power it was almost impossible to resist.'

The account which the great orator has given of Cobden's appeal to him to join in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws is singularly touching:—

'It was in September in the year 1841. The sufferings throughout the country were fearful; and you who live now, but were not of age to observe what was passing in the country then, can have no idea of the state of your country in that year. At that time I was at Leamington, and I was on the day when Mr. Cobden called upon me—for he happened to be there at the time on a visit to some relatives—I was in the depths of grief, I might almost say of despair, for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left on earth of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and a too brief happiness, was lying stiff and cold in the chamber above us. Mr. Cobden called upon me as his friend, and addressed me, as you might suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up, and said, "There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now," he said, "when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest till the Corn Law is repealed." I accepted his invitation. I knew that the description he had given of the homes of thousands was not an exaggerated description. I felt in my very conscience that there was a work which somebody

must do, and therefore I accepted his invitation, and from that time we never ceased to labour hard in behalf of the resolution which we had made.'

'For seven years,' adds Mr. Bright, 'the discussion on that one question—whether it was good for a man to have half a loaf or a whole loaf—for seven years the discussion was maintained, I will not say with doubtful result, for the result was never doubtful and never could be in such a cause; but for four years or more we devoted ourselves without stint; every working hour almost was given up to the discussion and to the movement in connection with this question.'

Mr. Bright might well say that he and his friend Cobden devoted themselves without stint to the great cause which they had adopted. 'We were not even the first,' he remarked, 'though afterwards we became the foremost before the public.' Though they had numerous and able coadjutors, the success of the agitation for commercial freedom was largely, under divine Providence, due to their labours. They were truly 'instant in season and out of season—reproving, rebuking, exhorting.' United as these two noble-minded men were by mutual esteem and confidence and the strongest affection, their mental qualities were admirably fitted to make them fellow-helpers in the cause to which they had devoted themselves. 'The alliance between them far more than doubled the power that either could have exerted without the other.' 'These two orators,' said Mr. Kinglake (whose general political opinions are far from being in sympathy with theirs), 'had shown with what a strength, with what a masterly skill, with what patience, with what a high courage they could carry a scientific truth through the storms of politics. They had shown that they could arouse and govern the assenting thousands who listened to them with delight—that they could bend the House of Commons—that they could press their creed upon a Prime Minister, and put upon his mind so hard a stress that after a while he felt it to

be a torture and a violence to his reason to have to make a stand against them. Nay more, each of these gifted men had proved that he could go bravely into the midst of angry opponents, could show them their fallacies one by one, destroy their favourite theories before their very faces, and triumphantly argue them down.'

The change of Ministry had no effect upon the operations of the League—it neither diminished their efforts, nor daunted their confidence in the ultimate success of their cause. They thought, indeed they had reason to believe, that the new Premier was at heart a Free Trader. In 1839 he had told the House of Commons, with marked emphasis, 'I have no hesitation in saying, that unless the existence of the Corn Law can be shown to be consistent not only with the prosperity of agriculture and the maintenance of the landlords' interest, but also with the protection and the maintenance of the general interests of the country, and especially with the improvement of the condition of the working classes, the Corn Law is practically at an end.' Firmly persuaded as Cobden and Bright were that this law was in the highest degree injurious to the interests of all classes of the community, they not unnaturally concluded that a statesman of Peel's intellectual acumen could not resist the evidence they had adduced to prove that this was the case. 'My own conviction,' said Cobden, some years later, 'is that Peel was always a Free Trader in theory; in fact, on all politico-economical questions he was always as sound in the abstract as Adam Smith or Bentham. For he was peculiarly a politico-economical and not a Protectionist intellect. But he never believed that absolute free trade came within the category of practical House of Commons' measures. It was a question of numbers with him; and as he was yoked with a majority of inferior animals, he was obliged to go their pace and not his own.' This statement is scarcely quite correct as regards the state of Sir Robert Peel's mind at the time he assumed

office in 1841. He indeed frankly admitted that the general principles of free trade were sound, and that it was a mere delusion to suppose that Parliament by any duty, in whatever way imposed, could guarantee a certain price to the grower of corn. He expressed his belief that 'on the general principle of free trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market;' but he contended that the Corn Laws and the Sugar Duties were exceptions to the general rule. His cousin, Sir Laurence Peel, in a sketch of the life and character of the great statesman, says, 'Sir Robert Peel had been alway a Free Trader. The questions to which he had declined to apply these principles had been viewed by him as exceptional.' It is obvious, however, that circumstances might arise which would compel the Prime Minister to apply the principles of free trade to these exceptional cases.

The members of the League believed that these circumstances had already arisen, and that the distress which existed among the manufacturing classes, amounting almost to famine, demanded the immediate abolition of the restrictions on the people's food. Their faith in the conclusiveness of their arguments was so strong, that they did not doubt that their effect upon others would be equally convincing. There were nearly 21,000 persons in Leeds whose average earnings were only about a shilling a week. In Bradford the woollen goods made in a year had decreased five-sixths, and of nineteen mills in operation in 1820 only two remained in 1840. In Paisley nearly one-fourth of the population was in a state bordering upon actual starvation. Bolton, Colonel Thompson said, was in the condition of a besieged town—the inhabitants were compelled to consider on how small an amount of food life could be sustained. A specimen case was that of a woman purchasing a halfpenny worth of bread to be the dinner for herself and her two children.

A penny worth of mutton was a common purchase.

The Leaguers took care that these and other similar facts should be proclaimed over the whole country. Lecturers were sent out to every district, especially to the strongholds of the Corn-Law landlords, to make known to the agricultural labourers the real cause of their sufferings, and to show the farmers that protective duties on corn were as injurious to them as to the community. The placards, hand-bills, and brief statements of facts were circulated in tens of thousands among the middle and lower classes. Public meetings were held in all the large towns and many rural districts, from Aberdeenshire to Cornwall, which were addressed by Cobden, Bright, Colonel Thompson, and other leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and in spite of the opposition of local magnates, and sometimes the stones and brickbats of hired ruffians, these meetings universally terminated with carrying almost unanimously resolutions in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws, and of all restrictions on trade and commerce. Conferences of ministers—mostly Nonconformists—were held at Caernarvon, at Manchester, and in Edinburgh, at which interesting information was given respecting the privations of the people, and the woeful deterioration of their condition within the last ten, and more especially within the last three years; and resolutions were passed against the unjust and injurious laws which had so grievously aggravated the sufferings of the working classes, and the general depression of trade. At the moment when millions of the people were in this deplorable condition the duty on the importation of wheat was twenty-four shillings and eightpence, on oats thirteen shillings and ninepence, on barley ten shillings and tenpence, and on rye fourteen shillings a quarter. The Anti-Corn-Law agitators, whom the landlords denounced as sowers of sedition, were in reality the most efficient instruments in preserving the public peace, for there is every reason to believe that

the starving multitudes would have broken out in open insurrection if they had not cherished the hope that some relief would come to them through the exertions of the League.

After the new Ministry had been installed in office, the Parliament was prorogued for four months, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of Cobden and other Liberal members, that the national distress should be taken into consideration. The League turned the interval to good account by their vigorous exertions to instruct the people on the effect of all restrictions on trade and commerce, and especially of the Corn and Provision Laws, on the national well-being. A great conference of the merchants and manufacturers of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire, upwards of a thousand in number, was held at Derby on the 8th of December, and was addressed by Cobden and other half a dozen members of Parliament, and by the most extensive manufacturers in the Midland counties. A similar conference of the woollen manufacturers of the counties of Somerset, Wilts, and Gloucester, was held on the 6th of January, 1842. On the 14th of that month a great meeting was held at Glasgow, which was attended by deputies from most of the manufacturing towns in Scotland. Convocations of a similar kind were held at Birmingham and other great centres of manufacturing industry, and the whole island from Cornwall to Caithness was in commotion.

The people were urged, says Mr. Morley, to form associations, to hold district meetings of deputies, and to collect information as to the state of trade, the rate of wages, the extent of pauperism, and other facts bearing upon the food monopoly, as all these things affected their local industry—the woollen trade at Leeds, the iron trade at Wolverhampton, the earthenware trade in the Potteries, the flax trade at Dundee, the cotton trade at Manchester and Glasgow. The lecturers continued their work in the principal towns in thirty-two counties in

England, besides in many places in Scotland and Ireland, and in the course of a few months delivered upwards of 800 lectures. One of them went among the farmers and labourers on Sir James Graham's estate, where he did not forget the landlord's idyllic catalogue of the blessings of the rural poor. 'What!' cried the lecturer, 'six shillings a week for wages, and the morning's sun, and the singing of birds, and the sportive lambs, and winding streams, and the mountain breeze, and a little wholesome labour—six shillings a week and all this! And nothing to do with your six shillings a week but merely to pay your rent, buy your food, clothe yourselves and your families, and lay by something for old age! Happy people!'

The establishment of the penny postage system, which had been earnestly advocated by Cobden and other Free-Trade leaders, afforded them ample facilities, of which they fully availed themselves, to diffuse information regarding the nature of the struggle throughout the whole country. Millions of hand-bills and tracts were distributed, and several hundreds of thousands of the *Anti-Corn Law Circular* were circulated through this medium, containing harrowing details of the distress existing among the working classes in every district of the country. The organ of the League was conducted with great ability, energy, and spirit. Many of its leading articles were written by Cobden and Bright themselves, and it contained not only reports of the speeches of the Free-Trade leaders, but 'Poor Men's Songs, Anti-Corn-Law Hymns, and Anti-Bread-Tax Collects.' Nor did the editor forget Byron's famous lines from the 'Age of Bronze,' a thousand times declaimed in this long struggle, in which the poet denounces in burning words the 'inglorious Cincinnati farmers of war, dictators of the farm;' who remained 'safe in their barns,' but 'sent their brethren out to battle' for rent; who 'roared, dined, drank, and swore they meant to die for England,' but lived for rent; whose 'good, ill, health, wealth, joy

or discontent, being, end, aim, religion, was—rent, rent, rent!’

A striking indication of the state of popular feeling in England at this time is furnished by the publication, at Preston, and extensive circulation of a quaint little sheet of four quarto pages, called *The Struggle*, and sold for a halfpenny. ‘It had no connection with any association, and nobody was responsible for its contents but the man who wrote, printed, and sold it. In two years eleven hundred thousand copies had been circulated. *The Struggle* is the very model for a plain man who wishes to affect the opinion of the humbler class without the wasteful and, for the most part, ineffectual machinery of a great society. It contains in number after number the whole arguments of the matter in the pithiest form, and in language as direct if not as pure as Cobbet’s. Sometimes the number consists simply of some more than usually graphic speech by Cobden or by Fox. There are racy dialogues in which the landlord always gets the worst of it, and terse allegories in which the Duke of Buckingham or the Duke of Richmond figures as inauspiciously as Bunyan’s Mr. Badman. The Bible is ransacked for appropriate texts, from the simple clause in the Lord’s Prayer about our daily bread down to Solomon’s saying, “He that withholdeth the corn the people shall curse him; but blessings shall be upon the head of him that selleth it.” On the front page of each number was a woodcut, as rude as a schoolboy’s drawing, but full of spirit and cleverness, whether satirizing the Government or contrasting swollen landlords with poverty-stricken operatives, or painting some homely idyll of the industrious poor, to point the greatest of political morals, that “domestic comfort is the object of all reforms.”

On the other hand the organs of the Protectionists were unsparing in their abuse, not only of the free-trade leaders, but of the whole body of the manufacturers and merchants. They had even the baseness to

follow the example of the notorious *John Bull* during the time of Queen Caroline’s trial, and to cast foul slanders on the characters of the ladies who were taking part in getting up the Anti-Corn-Law bazaar, until an intimation given to the proprietor of one of these journals that he would be held personally responsible for the calumnies published by his underlings, compelled them to desist from this cowardly practice. The *Times* termed the millowners ‘Mill-Molochs’ and ‘Millocrats,’ and the leaders and lecturers of the League as ‘capering mercenaries who go frisking about the country, and as authors of incendiary clap-trap.’ The *Standard* said that ‘England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulph all the manufacturing towns and districts of Great Britain.’ ‘Is there,’ it added, ‘a millowner who would not compound for the utter destruction of all the manufacturing industry of Great Britain at five years’ end, upon condition that during that period he should have full and profitable employment for all his mills and all his capital, reinforced by all the credit he could obtain? And it may be confidently answered, NOT ONE.’ And the *Quarterly Review* denounced the League as the foulest and most dangerous combination of recent times.

The chiefs of the League were in no degree moved from their purpose by such furious and discreditable attacks, which only served to show the alarm of their opponents; and they steadily pursued the course which they had marked out for themselves. A great bazaar, which had for some time been in preparation, was held at the close of January, 1842, and produced nearly £10,000. A meeting of delegates—about 600 in number—from the local associations throughout the country, was convened in London on the 18th of February, to wait the announcement of the measures which the Government had prepared to submit to Parliament, with

instructions to entertain no proposal for any compromise. Everything betokened a struggle in which no quarter would be given or received.

It had been commonly understood during the recess that the Ministry intended to do something with the Corn Law, and the whole country was on the tiptoe of expectation. The retirement at this time of that member of the Cabinet who was regarded as especially the representative of the agricultural interest, had greatly quickened public excitement among both Protectionists and Free Traders. Sir Robert Peel mentions in his 'Memoirs,' published after his death, that he had brought the question before his colleagues in written memoranda, pointing out the evils of the present system, especially the violent fluctuations in the corn duty, and showing how little that duty could do towards keeping up a permanent high price. It was assumed when the law of 1815 was passed that wheat could not be profitably grown at a lower price than eighty shillings a quarter, while on the average of a number of years it amounted to only fifty-six shillings. He therefore proposed for their consideration the propriety of so readjusting the machinery of the sliding scale as to secure that price.

The proposal was evidently distasteful to all the members of the Cabinet. The Duke of Buckingham at once resigned his office, rather than be a party to any project for remodelling the Corn Law. The other Ministers urged that, if they consented to this change, it should be on the understanding that whatever amount of protection should now be fixed should be made permanent; but Peel unhesitatingly refused his consent to any such guarantee.

Mr. Morley quotes a letter from Cobden to his brother, which gives a graphic description of the discussions in the Cabinet at this time.

'Whilst I was with M^cGregor,' he says, 'he showed me a copy of the scale of duties which he had prepared under Peel's direc-

tions, and which he proposed to the Cabinet, causing Buckingham's retirement, and nearly leading to a break-up altogether. The scale was purposely devised to be as nearly as possible equal to an eight-shilling duty. It was eight shillings at fifty-six shillings, rising a shilling of duty with the rise of a shilling in price. With the exception of Ripon, he could get no support in the Cabinet. Lyndhurst, like an old fox, refused to vote (as I am told), not knowing whether Peel or the monopolists might be conqueror, and being himself equally happy to serve God or Mammon. The Duke of Bucks got hold of Richmond, who seconded Wellington, who by the aid of Stanley and Graham frustrated Peel's intentions. The latter told them that no other Prime Minister after him would take office to give the landlords even an eight-shillings maximum duty. I learn from several quarters that Stanley is one of Peel's stoutest opponents against any alterations of a beneficial character in the monopolies.'

The Queen opened the Parliament in person on the 3rd of February, 1842. The speech from the throne acknowledged 'with deep regret the continued distress in the manufacturing districts of the country,' and that 'the sufferings and privations which had resulted from it had been borne with exemplary patience and fortitude.' It also recommended to the consideration of both Houses the 'laws which affect the imports of corn and other articles.' In the Commons, Sir Robert Peel announced that, on the following Wednesday, he would state to the House the nature of the measure which he intended to bring forward.

The deputies had been refused an interview with the Prime Minister on the plea of his numerous engagements; and they were excluded from the lobbies of the House, probably on account of their numbers. They appear to have been in a state of considerable excitement and irritation; and congregating in Palace Yard, they greeted with angry shouts of 'No Corn Laws,' 'Down with the monopoly,' 'Give

bread and labour,' the members whom they knew to be supporters of the obnoxious laws. Peel rose to speak at four o'clock to a crowded and anxious House, amid deep and almost breathless silence. He was uneasy and nervous, but he stated clearly and distinctly the modifications he was prepared to make on the existing system. He admitted and deplored the prevailing distress, but he could not admit that it was in any degree owing to the operation of the Corn Laws. It was due to 'a combination of causes acting concurrently; to too much facility of credit in 1837 and 1838; to the displacement of hand-loom weaving by steam-power; to monetary difficulties in the United States, which had lessened the demand for our manufactures; to interruption of the China trade; to over-production at home; and to alarms of war in Europe, which had exercised an injurious influence on commerce. An alteration of the Corn Law would be no remedy for any of these evils, and a total repeal of that law would add agricultural to manufacturing distress. At the same time, the existing Corn Law was capable of improvement. It was injurious to the consumer, to the revenue, to the grower, and to commerce; and he thought it might be so modified as to obviate these injurious effects, and yet to afford adequate protection to the agricultural interest. He could not, however, agree to a fixed duty on two grounds—first, on account of the great difficulty of determining the proper amount of it on any satisfactory data; and secondly and chiefly, because it would be impossible to maintain a fixed duty in a time of scarcity and distress, and if it were once withdrawn it would be impossible to reimpose it. He had, therefore, resolved to retain the sliding scale, but considerably altered and improved. He thought it was for the interest of the agriculturist that the price of wheat should range between fifty-four and fifty-eight shillings, and they ought not to expect more. 'When corn is 59s. and under 60s.,' he said, 'the duty at present is 27s. 8d.; when corn is between these

prices the duty I propose is 13s. When the price of corn is at 50s. the existing duty is 36s. 8d., increasing as the price falls; instead of which I propose when corn is at 50s. that the duty shall be only 20s., and that that duty shall in no case be exceeded. At 56s. the existing duty is 30s. 8d.; the duty I propose at that price is 16s. At 60s. the existing duty is 26s. 8d.; the duty I propose at that price is 12s. At 63s. the existing duty is 23s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 9s. At 64s. the existing duty is 22s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 8s. At 70s. the existing duty is 10s. 8d.; the duty I propose is 5s.'

After reading this proposed scale of duties, Peel concluded his long exposition of his scheme by pleading that the agriculturists had special burdens, and were therefore entitled to have such a duty imposed on foreign corn as is equivalent to these burdens. 'Any additional protection to them can only be vindicated on the ground that it is for the interest of the country generally. And it is for the interest of all classes that we should be paying occasionally a small additional sum upon our own domestic produce, in order that we may thereby establish a security and insurance against the calamities that would ensue if we became altogether, or in a great part, dependent upon foreign countries for our supply.'

Such was the nature of the last and the most memorable of the Corn Laws adopted by the British legislature. There was no debate. When Peel sat down Lord John Russell asked a question about the mode of taking the averages, and Sir Robert added a word or two of explanation. Cobden, however, denounced the measure as a bitter insult to a suffering people, who had borne their privations with most praiseworthy patience. The opinion which the free-trade leader had expressed respecting the new Corn Law was at once re-echoed by the 700 delegates who met next morning and recorded their emphatic condemnation of the measure, and their solemn protest against it as a total denial of the

just demands of the people of this country. Similar expressions of opinion, in even more indignant terms, were made throughout the manufacturing districts. The ordinary places of public meeting were not large enough to contain the thousands of men suffering from the restrictions on the importation of food, who had learned with mingled anger and dismay that a Corn Law was to be maintained, and they assembled in the open air, in cold and rain, to lift up their protest against the denial of relief. Their indignation was mainly directed against the Prime Minister, who, they believed, had the power to redress their wrongs if he had possessed the inclination; and his effigy, suspended on gibbets, was carried through the streets of several towns, to the sound of drums and fifes, and then, amid the execrations of the crowds, consigned to the flames.

The adjourned debate in the House of Commons on the Bill was opened on the 14th of February by Lord John Russell, who moved 'that this House, considering the evils which have been caused by the present Corn Laws, and especially by the fluctuations of the graduated or sliding scale, is not prepared to adopt the measure of Her Majesty's Government, which is founded on the same principles, and is likely to be attended by similar results.' After a debate which lasted for four nights, the amendment was rejected by 349 votes to 226. Mr. Villiers then moved the total abolition of the duty on corn; and the discussion of this testing question lasted for five nights more. Sir Robert Peel, who had endeavoured to restrain his followers from taking part in the debate, delivered a very long and plausible speech on the fourth night, and was answered on the following evening by Cobden, who ridiculed the attempt to settle the price of food by legislation. Why not try in the same way to keep up the price of cottons and silks? The fact that they did not try this was the simple and open avowal that they were met there to legislate for a class against the

people. Cobden was particularly happy in his exposure of the fallacy that low wages are the same thing as cheap labour. English artisans on the Continent were earning twice as much as the native workmen, yet their employers declared that the English labourer is cheaper than the native labourer. He roused the anger of the Ministerial supporters by accusing them of gross ignorance of the points at issue; and they took their revenge by setting on him a Mr. Ferrand, member for Knaresborough, a coarse and vulgar fellow, 'the buffoon of the House,' who in a previous speech had abused the manufacturers and their wives and daughters, and had said that their only object was to make fortunes by reducing wages. The attack was premeditated and arranged by the Ministerial whips, and Cobden was told several days before that it was to take place. 'With the attitudes of a prize-fighter and the voice of a bull,' Ferrand assailed the whole class of northern manufacturers, accused them of forcing the truck system upon their helpless workmen, of poisoning them by the vile rags and devil's dust with which they had to work, and which their employers used for the fraudulent adulteration of their cloths. He went so far as to assert that the scarcity of flour arose from the consumption of that article by the manufacturers in a paste with which they dishonestly daubed the face of their calicoes.

'You never witnessed such a scene,' wrote Cobden to his brother, 'as that in the House of Commons when Ferrand was speaking the other night. The Tories were literally frantic with delight. Every sentence he uttered was caught up and cheered by a large majority far more vehemently than anything that fell from Peel or Macaulay.' Cobden himself was quite indifferent to attacks of this sort. They passed by him 'idly as the wind, which he regarded not.' He told the House very quietly that it was not his mission to indulge in gross personalities, and that nothing should drive him into a personal altercation; but he con-

sidered the dignity of the House lowered by such an exhibition as they had witnessed, and which the Ministers and their supporters had witnessed with such approbation and delight. His friends, however, did not regard with complacency such a scandalous attack on the free-trade leader and the whole class of manufacturers ; and the men whose 'talk was of bullocks' were not aware of the danger they were provoking by their uproarious applause of the Ferrands and other bullies of their party, and their loud laughter during the debate at the details given of the privations and sufferings of the working classes. The motion of Mr. Villiers for the total repeal of the Corn Laws found only ninety supporters in a House of 483 members. But the fact that so many had voted in its favour was regarded as ominous by the more sagacious members of the Protectionist party. Lord Lowther, one of the shrewdest of their number, after the division, remarked that he now saw that the Corn Laws would not last more than three years. Peel's new Corn Bill proceeded unaltered through the Commons, the amendments proposed by the 'Farmers' friends,' on the one hand, and of the moderate Free Traders on the other, being rejected by large majorities; and the second reading was carried on the 9th of March by a majority of 284 against 176.

It was followed by another measure, called the Tariff Bill, founded on the report of the Committee on Import Duties. That report showed that the existing system was not based on any general principle, and had no unity of purpose. No less than 1150 rates of duty were enumerated as chargeable on imported articles, and these duties were frequently levied in the most vexatious and annoying manner. Some were imposed for revenue, others for protection to particular interests, to the great detriment of the public income and of the people. Peel's Tariff Bill substituted for a great multitude of duties imposts on a small number of the most productive articles. He abolished in all cases imposts for mere

protection, leaving only duties levied for revenue ; and he reduced very materially the duties upon the raw materials of manufactures, and on articles only partially manufactured. Altogether, he made a reduction of duty on 750 articles. The duty on the importation of fresh and salted meat was lowered, but not on cheese and butter. Heavy imposts, of course, were still levied on corn and sugar, the two chief articles consumed by the masses, and the Free-Trade orators did not fail to ring the changes on the legislation which had taken off the tax upon dried fruits, cosmetics, caviare, and satin—the luxuries of the rich—and left it upon the poor man's loaf.

The Income-Tax Bill, which imposed a tax of sevenpence in the pound on income—the complement of Peel's financial measures—passed the Commons with little opposition, but with strong protests against it on account of its bearing as heavily upon the precarious income of professions and trades as upon the income derived from landed and realized property. The produce of the new tax was estimated at £3,775,000; but of that sum only £154,000 was expected to come from tenant farmers. The Protectionists gave their assent to these measures reluctantly. The more shrewd of their number saw clearly that the Parliament had entered upon a course of legislation which sooner or later would lead to the abolition of the Corn Law and all other protective duties.

The new Corn Law had reduced the duty on wheat by more than a half; but the price of bread continued to rise, and 'the famine was sore in the land.' From every quarter of the country came reports of the dreadful sufferings of the people from the want of employment and food. A number of leading manufacturers issued a letter, in which they stated that 'trade is everywhere paralyzed, wages are rapidly declining, workmen are being discharged, poor-rates are fast increasing in the agricultural as well as in the manufacturing districts,

Private charity has subscribed nobly, but yields to the overwhelming pressure. Peaceable men are made savage and desperate. The loyal and obedient are becoming discontented, and disaffected, and revengeful; and society in many parts of the country seems to be on the very verge of dissolution.' In Scotland—Glasgow, Paisley, and other manufacturing towns were in a state of destitution. In Newcastle almost the whole of the operatives were out of employment, and were living on the charity doled out to them by the town council. In Shields the trade was almost annihilated. In Somersetshire there were about 30,000 persons out of employment. In Leeds there were 30,000 or 40,000 persons existing upon charity. In Stockport, where more than half the master spinners had failed and 3000 dwelling-houses were shut up, a subscription had been raised which afforded relief to 3143 families and 73,314 individuals; but the funds were exhausted while there were still 13,161 individuals requiring assistance. The want of employment and the distress were equally great in Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and the iron districts. So was it also in the Potteries and among the miners of Staffordshire, and indeed throughout the whole manufacturing districts of the country. The agricultural labourers shared in the general distress, and the able-bodied labourers received only six or seven shillings a week. Cobden said in the House of Commons that he knew of a place where a hundred wedding-rings had been pawned in a single week to provide bread, and of another place where men and women subsisted on boiled nettles and dug up the decayed carcase of a cow rather than perish of hunger. The value, not only of manufactured goods, but of machinery and buildings, had enormously decreased, while the poor-rates had everywhere increased in the same proportion.

On the 1st of July an important debate took place in the House of Commons, on a motion by Mr. Wallace of Greenock, upon

the distress of the country. It was rendered memorable as having afforded Cobden an opportunity of making his first great speech in the House, of which a member no way friendly to him said it was 'a speech fraught with more melancholy instruction than it had ever been his lot to hear.' It produced no effect, however, on the mind of the Minister and of his supporters, who insisted that the prevailing distress was not caused by the Corn Law, and would not be removed or lessened by the abolition of that measure; and accordingly the House resolved, by 156 votes against 64, that the distressed condition of the country should not be taken into consideration. The Chartists, under the guidance of the unprincipled demagogue, Feargus O'Connor, had thrown every obstacle they could interpose in the way of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and had violently intruded into its meetings and interrupted its proceedings. It was not without good reason that Cobden complained that 'the great body of the intelligent mechanics stood aloof, and allowed a parcel of lads, with hired knaves for leaders, to interrupt their meetings.' In the autumn of 1842 the Chartists became more violently aggressive. They imagined that if they could compel the operatives to cease from work, they would compel the country to support and the legislature to grant their demands for the six points of the Charter. Their foolish or designing leaders, not a few of whom had been bribed by the Protectionists, acting upon the distressed and despairing multitude, induced them to be guilty of the inexpressible folly of abandoning their employment, and trying to compel their fellow-workmen to abandon it, at a period when employers had very little work to give. The movement began at Ashton-under-Lyne on the 8th of August, and speedily extended to Hyde, Oldham, and Manchester. Thence it spread into Staffordshire and Yorkshire, and reached the nailers and miners at Dudley and Stourbridge. Bands of men visited the manufactories of every sort

in these districts, and compelled the men to turn out. In some instances machinery was broken and dwelling-houses were gutted and burned. Large bodies of military were despatched to the scene, and several thousands of special constables were sworn in to preserve the peace. The privations which the rioters brought upon themselves speedily convinced them of the folly of their resolution not to resume work until the Charter was obtained. An earnest and convincing address was issued by John Bright, exposing the arts of the leaders of the movement—most of them from a distance—which produced a powerful impression upon the tens of thousands who had been misled by these unscrupulous knaves; and in the course of a few weeks the men returned to their work.

This movement was undoubtedly intended to injure the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, and was fitted to produce that effect; but it was nevertheless represented by the Tory press as the work of the League, in spite of the fact that its leaders were nearly all mill-owners. It was even reported that criminal proceedings were about to be taken against them. Cobden, after indignantly repudiating this unfounded aspersion, and commenting on this exhibition of the profligacy of the London and Manchester Tory press in connection with this subject, availed himself of the opportunity to repudiate all connection of the League with any political party for the promotion of factious or sectional purposes. 'We are no political body,' he said; 'we have refused to be bought by the Tories; we have kept aloof from the Whigs, and we will not join partnership with either Radicals or Chartists; but we hold out our hand ready to give it to all parties who are willing to advocate the total and immediate repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws. Our business is not to alter constitutions. We do not seek for Chartism, Whiggism, Radicalism, or Republicanism—we simply ask for an enlarged market to enable the capitalist to extend the sale of his goods, and thereby

to increase the demand for labour, and augment the rate of wages.' One main element, indeed, of the strength of the agitation was the fact that its leaders steadily pursued the great object they had in view, without any regard to the views or interests of either of the political parties in the country. That it was essentially a middle-class agitation was no fault of theirs, for they had been compelled to take up this position by the artifices and manœuvres of the Chartist intriguers on the one hand, and the furious opposition of the landlords on the other.

The leaders of the League now set themselves with renewed energy and activity to prosecute the work of instructing the nation; and their first step towards the attainment of that object was to raise the necessary funds. They had already expended about £100,000, of which a considerable portion had been raised in the city of Manchester and its vicinity. They now resolved to raise at once a new fund of £50,000. Two thousand lectures had been already delivered, and more than 4,000,000 of tracts had been printed and circulated; but the obnoxious system of monopoly and restriction seemed as firmly rooted as ever. The Council of the League now resolved to make an attack upon every registered elector in the United Kingdom by sending to each a packet of publications, embracing the whole argument as it affects both the agricultural and the commercial interests of the nation. A series of meetings in order to raise the necessary funds, was held throughout Leicestershire and Yorkshire; and Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and Colonel Thompson, made a pilgrimage into Scotland. Their reception, as Cobden says, was gratifying in the extreme. Their addresses, delivered in almost all the towns throughout the country, were listened to by great crowds with marked attention, and, indeed, enthusiasm. 'Glasgow, Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Perth, and Stirling,' says Cobden, 'have all

presented me with the freedom of their burghs; and I have no doubt I could have become a free citizen of every corporate town in Scotland by paying them a visit.'

Mr. Bright also described in glowing terms the intelligence of the Scottish working men, their freedom from any crotchets about machinery or wages, and their thorough comprehension of the real question at issue. After mentioning that the farmers and landowners were 'intelligent enough to know that the monopolists themselves rarely thrive under the monopolies they are so fond of,' he goes on to say that 'Scotland in former ages was the cradle of liberty, civil and religious. Scotland now is the home of liberty; and there are many more men in Scotland in proportion to its population who are in favour of the rights of man than there are in any other equal proportion of the population of this country. I told them that they were the people who should have the repeal of the Union, for that if they were separate from England they might have a government wholly popular, and intelligent to a degree which I believe does not exist in any country on the face of the earth. However, I believe they will be disposed to press us on, and make us become more and more intelligent; and we may receive benefit from contact with them, even though for some ages to come our connection with them may be productive of evil to themselves.'*

As there was no building in Manchester capable of containing the large numbers who flocked to hear the speeches on the progress of the struggle, a large wooden structure, capable of holding a good many thousands, was hurriedly erected in 1840, and completed in eleven days. It occupied the field on which the 'Peterloo massacre' had occurred, and the ground belonged to Mr. Cobden, who placed it at the disposal

of the League for that purpose. As it had now become evident, however, that the contest was to be protracted probably for a number of years, it was resolved to replace this temporary structure, which had been destroyed by a fire, by a more substantial building. The beginning of the year 1843 saw the new Free-Trade Hall rapidly approaching completion, and on the evening of the 30th of January this room, the largest place of the kind in the kingdom, was opened, and was crowded in every part by nearly five thousand enthusiastic friends of the cause. It was announced to the meeting that upwards of £40,000 had already been subscribed towards the League fund, and the remainder of the sum that had been fixed as necessary was shortly after made up. Other meetings followed, and banquets and conferences to promote the removal of all restrictions on agriculture, trade, and commerce, which were attended by thousands, not only of the inhabitants of Manchester, but of the surrounding districts. Similar meetings were held in London, and great multitudes, attracted by the eloquent orations of Cobden and Bright, flocked to Drury Lane Theatre, which was engaged for one day of each week in Lent. Anti-Corn-Law meetings, bazaars, and banquets, were to be seen in every part of the kingdom, and the whole country was in a state of deep commotion.

Parliament met on the 2nd of February, and on the 13th of the month a motion proposed by Lord Howick, for a committee to consider the distress which the Queen's speech admitted to prevail among the people, gave rise to a debate which extended over five nights, and was conducted on both sides with marked ability. Shortly before this Mr. Edward Drummond, Sir Robert Peel's private secretary, was shot in the street by a mechanic named Macnaghton, who was tried for the murder, but was proved to be insane, and confined for life in an asylum. It was alleged that Mr. Drummond had been mistaken for the Premier, but there was no evidence

* The Union with England was no doubt at first a great benefit to Scotland; but it is undeniable that, down to the present day, Scotland has suffered severely, especially in regard to ecclesiastical and educational matters, from English legislation.

whatever to prove that this was the case. The incident, however, gave a shock to the nerves of Sir Robert Peel, who was morbidly sensible to physical pain, and was moreover worn out with labour and harassed with public anxieties, as well as distressed by the murder of his secretary. This may account for the painful incident that occurred in the course of this discussion. Mr. Cobden spoke on the last night of the debate, and in the course of a very powerful speech declared that he held Sir Robert Peel 'individually responsible for the present state of the country.' The House apparently saw nothing reprehensible in this statement, and not the slightest indication of feeling was evoked by it; and when Cobden sat down, the Ministerialists loudly called upon Mr. Bankes, who rose along with the Premier, to reply. But Sir Robert, with furious gesticulations, and a countenance which indicated extreme agitation, insisted on being heard, and charged Mr. Cobden with exposing him to serious danger by declaring him 'personally responsible' for the misery of the people. A scene of the most extraordinary excitement ensued. Mr. Cobden immediately declared that he had not said that he had held the Premier 'personally responsible.' But the Ministerialists, having now received their cue, shouted in the most passionate manner, 'Yes, yes! you did! you did!' and even Sir Robert so far forgot what was due to himself, as well as to his opponent, as to reiterate the assertion. Cobden repeated his denial, and added, 'I have said that I hold the right hon. gentleman responsible by virtue of his office, as the whole context of what I said was sufficient to explain.' Peel was still apparently not satisfied; and when at the close of the debate Cobden returned to the subject amidst interruption from the Ministerial benches, he accepted the explanation in a manner by no means so frank or cordial as it ought to have been. There were not wanting persons who at the time were so uncharitable as to allege that Peel's passion was simulated

for the purpose of crushing a formidable adversary, and the charge was repeated some years subsequently by Disraeli in his attack upon the Prime Minister. Peel then declared that he had intended at the time fully to acquit Mr. Cobden of the imputation which he had by misapprehension put upon him, and if any one had then pointed out that the reparation was not so complete and unequivocal as it ought to have been, he should at once have repeated it more plainly and distinctly. It is gratifying to know that these two eminent men came at last thoroughly to understand and appreciate each other. Roebuck, an able but ill-tempered man, availed himself of the opportunity when Cobden seemed to be pushed to the wall, to attack the free-trade leader on the ground that he was said to have spoken of Lord Brougham as a maniac, and to have threatened Roebuck's seat at Bath. Roebuck's conduct in selecting this moment for his assault was characteristic, and deserved the unsparing denunciation it drew down upon him from Mr. Bright for so assaulting the man who stood before the House the very impersonation of justice to the people.

The League had repeatedly been taunted by their opponents with the small influence they had in London, and certainly the metropolis had hitherto shown comparatively little interest in the movement. This apathy was, however, coming to an end. Drury Lane Theatre was engaged for a series of weekly meetings, the first of which was held on the 15th of March, 1843. The theatre was crowded in every part week after week with enthusiastic audiences, assembled to listen to the rousing addresses of the leaders of the agitation. In no long time London was found zealously co-operating in the work of the League.

The leaders of the movement had hitherto confined their exertions mainly to the towns; they now resolved to carry the war into the enemy's camp, and to hold a succession of meetings in the rural districts. In April, 1843, a meeting was convened at

Taunton, attended by 800 farmers from all parts of the division of Somerset, at which a resolution was passed condemnatory of the Corn Law. It was followed by similar meetings in every district of the country, which were addressed by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other leading Free Traders. At Hertford the Shire Hall was so crowded that the meeting, attended by 2000 persons mostly farmers, had to adjourn to the open air. A resolution in favour of the repeal of the Corn Law was carried almost unanimously. A similar result took place at Aylesbury, the stronghold of the Duke of Buckingham; at Lincoln, where there were farmers who had travelled thirty miles to be present; at Canterbury, where personal violence to the speakers was threatened by one or two corn-factors; at Dorchester, where some land agents and auctioneers attempted, in their anger, to storm the hustings, but were defeated; at Bedford, where Cobden had to fight a hard battle 'against brutish squires and bull-frogs,' presided over by Lord Charles Russell, an extreme Protectionist, and beat them by a majority of two to one. At Penenden Heath 3000 of the "Men of Kent" assembled to hear a debate between Cobden and Charles Villiers, and Mr. Osborn of Marden, an influential local landowner. Hereford, Lewis, Croydon, Bristol, Salisbury, Winchester, Canterbury, Reading, Guildford, Rye, Norwich, and Huntingdon were all visited by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, or some other prominent member of the League. Perhaps their most signal triumph was at Colchester, the chief town of Essex, a county represented exclusively by Conservatives. As soon as the meeting was announced, the farmers were urgently entreated to attend. The local agricultural associations marshalled all their forces to resist the Free Traders, and the clergymen of the county exerted their influence for the same purpose; 6000 persons were present, and a staunch Protectionist was appointed to preside. Sir John Tyrrel, one of the members for the county, and a pro-

fessed friend of the agricultural labourers, backed by the redoubted Mr. Ferrand, appeared as the champions of the Corn Law; Mr. Cobden and Mr. Villiers represented the League. The debate lasted for six hours, and ended in the total discomfiture of the Protectionists, their amendment having been supported by only twenty-seven persons. It is no matter of surprise that the *Morning Post*, the organ of the extreme Conservatives, exclaimed, 'Will these repeated discomfitures induce the landowners of England to open their eyes to the dangers that beset them? . . . It is not, we fear, by such men as the present race of the parliamentary landowners that the deadly progress of the League is to be arrested.' It was impossible, indeed, for the Protectionists any longer to shut their eyes to the enormous progress that Free-Trade principles were making among the agricultural population.

Meanwhile Mr. Bright was making a tour on the Borders; and after the close of the session the 'brothers in arms,' accompanied by Colonel Thompson and Mr. Moore, made a triumphant progress through Scotland as far north as Aberdeen, taking every town of any importance in their way, and then back to Yorkshire and the Midland Counties. The agitation gathered strength at every step. Mr. Bright, after a stiff contest, was elected member for the old cathedral city of Durham; Mr. Pattison, the Free-Trade candidate, was returned for the city of London, defeating Mr. Baring, though supported by the whole influence of the Government and of the powerful Protectionist interests of the metropolis. Mr. J. Jones Lloyd (now Lord Overstone), the celebrated banker, at this juncture openly avowed himself a convert to Free-Trade principles, and so did Earl Ducie, Earl Fitzwilliam, Earl Spencer, Earl Radnor, the Marquis of Westminster, and other influential noblemen and gentlemen. In 1843 the sum of £50,000 had been raised by the League; it was now resolved to raise an additional fund of £100,000, and

before the close of the year not only that sum, but £17,000 in addition to it had been collected. The circulation of the *League*, the weekly organ of the Free Traders, now amounted to 20,000 copies. These and other indications of the growing influence and ultimate triumph of the Free-Trade agitation, induced the *Times* reluctantly to avow that 'THE LEAGUE IS A GREAT FACT. It would be foolish, nay, rash, to deny its importance. It is a great fact that there should have been created in the homestead of our manufactures a confederacy devoted to the agitation of one political question, persevering at it year after year, shrinking from no trouble, dismayed by no danger, making light of every obstruction. It is a great fact that at one meeting at Manchester more than forty manufacturers should subscribe on the spot each at least £100, some £300, some £400, some £500, for the advancement of a measure which, right or wrong, just or unjust, expedient or injurious, they at least believe it to be their duty or their interest, or both, to advance in every possible way. These are facts, important and worthy of consideration. No merchant can disregard them; no politician can sneer at them; no statesman can undervalue them. We who collect opinions must chronicle them. He who frames laws must to some extent consult them.'

The goal, however, was not yet reached, and cheered by the tokens of ultimate success, the Free Traders continued with unwearied assiduity to educate the people in the merits of their cause, spending £1000 a week. They were excluded from Drury Lane by the proprietors of the building; but they immediately secured the use of Covent Garden Theatre, where crowded and enthusiastic meetings assembled weekly. A bazaar was held there in May, 1845, which was a nine-days' wonder, and realized altogether £25,000. The question of the repeal of the Corn Law was brought before the House of Commons in all varieties of form; and though the Free Traders were always defeated by large majorities, the discussions

contributed greatly to the enlightenment of the people, and were not without effect even on the farmers' friends in Parliament. But to outward appearance their cause seemed then on the decline. Two remarkably abundant harvests, combined with Peel's financial measures, had brought about a revival of trade, and consequent relief to the manufacturing classes. The revenue was prosperous, and the Ministry seemed more secure and powerful than ever. Strange to say, however, the farmers throughout the whole country were in a state of embarrassment and distress, and, as usual, were appealing to Parliament for relief. The proposals of Cobden and his friends that committees should be appointed to inquire into the causes of the agricultural distress, and the real nature and amount of the peculiar burdens of which the landed interest had to complain, were opposed by the Government and rejected by the Legislature. But the discussions on these repeated motions made it evident to all unprejudiced persons that, while abundance of food stimulated manufacturing industry and increased the comfort of the working classes, restrictions on the importation of corn could not protect the interests of the farmers. There can be no doubt that the position of the agricultural as well as of the manufacturing classes at that time, and the causes at work in regard to both, had produced a deep impression on the mind of the Prime Minister, and had already shaken his confidence in the protective system. This feeling was strikingly manifested in the debate (7th of March) on Mr. Cobden's motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged existing agricultural distress, and into the effects of legislative protection upon the interests of landowners, tenant farmers, and farm labourers. Cobden's speech on this occasion was regarded by some as his best. The Prime Minister followed every sentence with earnest attention; his face grew more and more solemn as the argument proceeded. At length he crumpled up the

notes which he had been taking, and was heard by an onlooker, who was close by, to say to Mr. Sidney Herbert, who sat next him on the bench, '*You must answer this, for I cannot.*'

The battle, however, was apparently still far from being won. The leaders of the League were apprehensive that the contest would be protracted much longer than they had at first expected, and practically the Government was much stronger at this time than even when they assumed office. As Mr. Disraeli said, '*If they had forfeited the hearts of their adherents, they had not lost their votes;*' and the Conservative party were quite well aware that without Peel and the Duke of Wellington they were powerless. But although the state of the harvests and of commerce had given a great advantage to their opponents, the confidence of the Free Traders in the goodness of their cause, and their exertions to bring the contest to a successful issue, were in no degree diminished. In the previous year Cobden had originated a sagacious scheme for bringing the influence of the party to bear upon the House of Commons. They had hitherto devoted attention, time, and labour to the registration of voters in the boroughs. They had found tens of thousands on the register who had no right to be there, and tens of thousands omitted who ought to have been there. Matters were in a similar state in the great county of Lancashire; and the exertions of the Free Traders to rectify the register had been so successful, that they had good reason to believe a new election would only leave the Protectionists four out of the twenty-six members returned by the county and its boroughs.

Something more was wanted, however, than the purification of the registers; and Cobden proposed that they should turn to account that section of the Reform Bill which conferred the franchise upon freeholders possessing property worth forty shillings a year. The noted Chandos clause, as we have seen, gave tenants-at-

will, occupying land of the yearly value of £50, the right to vote, and the landlords had availed themselves of this provision to the utmost 'by making,' as Cobden said, 'brothers, sons, nephews, uncles—ay, down to the third generation if they happened to live upon the farm—all qualify for the same holding, and swear, if need be, that they were partners in the farm, though they were no more partners than you are. This they did, and that successfully, and by that means gained the counties. But there was another clause in the Reform Act, which we of the middle classes—the unprivileged industrious men who live by our capital and labour—never found out, namely, the forty shilling freehold clause. I will set that against the Chandos clause, and we will beat them in the counties with it. The forty shilling franchise is within the reach of any man who has the spirit to acquire it. Every county with a large population, every county bordering upon the sea coast or having manufactures, may be won, and easily won, if the people can be roused to a systematic effort to qualify themselves for the vote. There is a large class of mechanics who save their £40 or £50; they have been accustomed, perhaps, to put it in the Savings Bank. I will not say a word to undervalue that institution; but cottage property will pay twice as much interest as the Savings Bank. There are many fathers who have sons just ripening into maturity. I say to such a parent, make your son at twenty-one a freeholder; it is an act of duty for you to make him thereby an independent freeman, and put it in his power to defend himself and his children from political oppression.'

Cobden's recommendation has frequently been referred to as equivalent to the creation of fagot votes, which has been so often denounced as a violation of the principle of the Reform Bill. In reality it had nothing in common with the practice of persons who are strangers to a county acquiring votes, often on a fictitious qualification, in order to override the wishes and opinions

of the majority who reside in it. Cobden's object was to induce the inhabitants of a county to purchase with their own money freeholds in their own neighbourhood. And no one can affirm that this is not in entire accordance both with the spirit and the letter of the law.

Mr. Cobden's advice was immediately followed with such alacrity and zeal that it took two hours a day to read the letters that came from every part of the country, all expressing cordial approbation of the scheme, and a desire to take part in it. In the course of a few months not less than £250,000 was invested in forty shilling freeholds in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and between 4000 and 5000 new electors were put upon the electoral registers in these three counties. In other parts of the country ten times as many persons were induced in the same way to obtain a qualification to vote, and the operation has been vigorously carried on down to the present time. Cobden did not regard this great process simply as a means of promoting the triumph of Free Trade, but also as an instrument for obtaining other much needed reforms. The moral influence which such an investment was fitted to exercise upon the character of the skilled working class is even more important than their possession of constitutional rights. As it has been justly remarked, 'it was well to neutralize the vicious operation of the Chandos clause; but it was a far greater thing to have recurred to the benefit of making our working classes citizens indeed by giving them the power of holding house or land by means of their own earnings, and to do this by a method suited to the time and to the existing state of our civilization—not by tempting them to depend on the land for subsistence, but only as an investment for their savings after maintaining themselves by the species of labour which the time requires.'

The League continued steadily to gain ground; and it was evident that the leaders of the Whig party were gradually giving

up the notion of a fixed duty on corn, and becoming favourable to the principle of total repeal. Still, the goal seemed to be at a considerable distance, and the Free-Trade champions were girding up their loins for another and more vigorous campaign. Their complete triumph, however, was near at hand, though the path to victory lay through a scene of terrible national suffering.

The Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person, on the 7th of August, 1845. The summer had been cold and rainy, and it became evident as the season advanced that the harvest was to be deficient; but the session was hardly at an end before serious apprehensions began to be entertained that the potato crop, on which the vast majority of the working population of Ireland depended for subsistence, would prove a failure. Sir Robert Peel, in his 'Memoirs,' states that about the beginning of August he received notice of the appearance of disease in the potato plant in the Isle of Wight. A letter from a potato merchant, forwarded by Sir James Graham on the 12th, confirmed the report. About the end of September the disease had become very general in Ireland; and by the middle of October the accounts which reached the Home Secretary and the Premier had become most alarming. 'The stealthy rain,' says Miss Martineau, 'by some means yet as mysterious as ever, generated some minute plague—of what nature nobody yet knows, if indeed it is certain that the rain was the instrument; a plague so minute that no microscope has yet convicted it, yet so powerful that it was soon to overthrow governments and derange commerce, and affect for all time to come the political fate of England, and settle the question of the regeneration or destruction of Ireland. The minute plague spread and spread till it blackened thousands of acres, and destroyed the food of millions of men.' The progress of the disease was watched with the greatest anxiety by Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, as their

correspondence shows. 'I am greatly troubled by this Irish calamity which occupies my thoughts,' wrote the Premier; 'and it becomes greater in prospect the more I consider it. It is awful to observe how the Almighty humbles the pride of nations.' It will be necessary,' said the Home Secretary, 'that we should apply our immediate thoughts and attention to measures which may mitigate this national calamity, for human skill can supply no remedy.' It seems that it was from Sir James that the first expression came of the opinion, that if the duties on the food of the people were once remitted it would be impossible to reimpose them. 'The suspension of the existing Corn Law,' he wrote, 'on the avowed admission that its maintenance aggravated the evil of scarcity, and that its remission is the surest mode of restoring plenty, would render its re-enactment or future operation quite impracticable, yet if the evil be as urgent as I fear it will be, to this suspension we shall be driven.' There is every probability that the Premier had by this time come to the same conclusion.

When at length the probable extent of the calamity could no longer be concealed, a meeting of the Cabinet was called on the 31st of October. Sir Robert Peel, after laying before his colleagues the information he had received respecting the state of Ireland, including the scientific reports of Professors Lyon Playfair, Lindley, and Kane on the potato disease, put to them three questions: 'Shall we maintain unaltered—shall we modify—shall we suspend the operation of the Corn Laws?' In the course of the conversation which followed the reading of the Premier's Memorandum, it became evident, strange to say, that very serious differences of opinion existed as to the necessity for adopting any extraordinary measures, as well as to the character of the measures which it might be advisable to adopt. The Cabinet therefore separated without coming to any decision, fixing another meeting for the 6th of November.

The accounts which continued to pour in upon the Government left no doubt that matters were rapidly becoming more alarming, and that, in the words of the Duke of Portland, 'the failure of the potato crop in Ireland must produce this winter the most cruel distress there among the lower orders.' When the Cabinet reassembled, on the 6th of November, Sir Robert proposed that they should at once issue an Order in Council, opening the ports for the admission of all species of grain, and call Parliament together to ask for indemnity. These proposals were supported by only three members of the Cabinet—the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. The other members, following the Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley, declined to give their assent to them. Peel did not conceal his conviction, in which the dissentient majority fully shared, that it would be very difficult to reimpose the corn duties if they were once suspended. They were all aware, as Cobden said, that the League was strong enough to prevent the ports, if once opened, from being shut again. The proposal to open the ports was in consequence laid aside or postponed, and the Cabinet merely resolved on appointing a Commission to take some steps to guard against the consequences of a sudden famine in Ireland.

Meanwhile, however, the League had raised the cry of 'open the ports' throughout the whole country. Its leaders had resolved to raise a fund of a quarter of a million, and to redouble their exertions at this crisis to abolish all restrictions on the importation of food. 'The Anti-Corn-Law pressure is about to commence,' wrote Sir James Graham to the Premier, 'and it will be the most formidable movement in modern times.' It was all the more formidable that a number of influential landowners, hitherto opposed to the repeal of the corn duties, now felt that the claims of humanity imperatively required their immediate abolition. On the 10th of October Lord Ashley, in a letter to

the electors of Dorsetshire, which produced a great sensation throughout the country, declared his conviction that 'the destiny of the Corn Laws was fixed,' and that 'the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition.' A few weeks later Lord Morpeth joined the League, and wrote, 'I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can my conviction that the time is come for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and my protest against the continual inaction of the State in the present emergency.'

At this critical juncture Lord John Russell, who was in Edinburgh, and had been closely watching the proceedings of the Ministry, wrote on the 22nd of November his famous letter to his constituents—the electors of the City of London. 'The Queen's Ministers,' he said, 'have met and separated without affording us any promise of such seasonable relief [as a suspension of the import duties on corn]. It becomes us, therefore, the Queen's subjects, to consider how we can best avert, or at all events mitigate, calamities of no ordinary magnitude.' After adverting to his former opinions and proposals, he went on to say that observation and experience had convinced him that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food; that it was no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty; and that the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. 'Let us then,' he proceeded to say, 'unite to put an end to a system which has been found to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people. The Government appear to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present Corn Law. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek.'

This letter at once brought matters to a head. 'It could not,' as Peel said, 'fail to exercise a very material influence on the public mind, and on the subject-matter of our deliberations in the Cabinet. It justified the conclusion that the Whig party was prepared to unite with the Anti-Corn-Law League in demanding the total repeal of the Corn Laws.' It did more. As Mr. Bright said to Lord John, whom he accidentally met on his way from Edinburgh to Osborne, 'it made the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law inevitable.' The Premier immediately summoned his Cabinet to consider what course they should now adopt. He advised the suspension of the Corn Law for a limited period; but he at the same time frankly admitted that this course involved the necessity for the immediate consideration of the alterations to be made in the existing Corn Law—in other words, the question of the principle and degree of protection to agriculture. His opinion was that either by a progressive diminution of duty to be annually continued, or at a certain time to be named in the law, all duties on the import of grain, meal, and flour should be abolished. Sir Robert at one time entertained the belief, that some such measure as he suggested might receive the assent of all his colleagues. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual straightforwardness and simplicity of character, declared that his own judgment would lead him to maintain the Corn Laws; but, he added, 'A good Government for the country is more important than Corn Laws or any other consideration, and as long as Sir Robert Peel possesses the confidence of the Queen and of the public, and he has strength to perform the duties, his administration of the Government must be supported.' But Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch declined to give their assent to any measure involving the ultimate repeal of the Corn Laws. The other members of the Government were prepared to support such a measure; but the Premier said he could not conceal from himself that the

assent given by many was a reluctant one—that it was founded rather on a conviction of the public evil that must arise from the dissolution of the Government at such a time and from such a cause, than on the deliberate approval of the particular course which he urged upon their adoption. Under such circumstances Sir Robert thought it very doubtful whether he could conduct to a successful issue a proposal for the final adjustment of the Corn Law. He therefore considered it to be his duty to tender his resignation.

This event took place on the 5th of December. On the previous day the *Times* had announced that it was the intention of Government to repeal the Corn Laws, and to call Parliament together in January for the purpose. Next day the *Standard* denounced the statement as ‘an atrocious fabrication,’ and the *Herald* also fiercely denied and argued against it; but on the 6th the *Times* calmly repeated the assertion. ‘We adhere to our original announcement that Parliament will meet early in January, and that a repeal of the Corn Laws will be proposed in the one House by Sir Robert Peel, and in the other by the Duke of Wellington.’ The effect of this announcement at the Corn Exchange was immense—surprise, not so much displeasure as might have been expected, and an instant downward tendency in the price of grain. The information was substantially true when it was made public; but on the following day the Premier, as we have seen, came to the conclusion that it was doubtful whether he could carry out his project, and that the public interest would be very injuriously affected by the failure of an attempt made by a Government to adjust the Corn-Law question. He therefore repaired to Osborne on the 5th of December, and solicited the Queen to relieve him from duties which, as he said, he felt he could no longer discharge with advantage to Her Majesty’s service.

The Queen naturally turned to the leader of the Opposition as Sir Robert Peel’s natural successor, and Lord John

Russell was accordingly summoned from Edinburgh. He arrived on the 11th. Though the result was in part due to his letter, it had taken him by surprise; and he was fully alive to the difficulties he would have to encounter, if he were to take office while his party was in a decided minority in the House of Commons. With his characteristic courage, however, he accepted the commission which Her Majesty had offered him, encouraged by the generous assurance from Sir Robert Peel that he would support any measures founded on the general principle stated at the close of Lord John’s letter, and would exercise his influence to promote their success. But the experiment was not tried. Lord Russell considered the presence in his Cabinet of Lord Palmerston and Earl Grey (formerly Lord Howick, who had recently succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father), as indispensably necessary; but the latter, while desiring that Lord Palmerston should be a member of the Government, was of opinion that he should not be appointed to his former office of Foreign Secretary. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, intimated that if he joined the Government he would do so only as the head of the Foreign Office. Lord Grey also expressed his dissatisfaction with Russell’s refusal to offer a seat in the Cabinet to Mr. Cobden, when the Whig chief, true to the traditions of his party, proposed to appoint the great leader of the Anti-Corn-Law League to the office of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, as the reward of his long services in the cause which was now about to place the Whigs once more in power. This dissension in the camp could not be allayed, and it rescued the leaders from a position not only perilous to the real interests of the party, but to the public welfare. There is every reason to believe that Lord John Russell could not have carried the repeal of the Corn Law, for this among other cogent reasons, that the great body of the Conservatives would not have given him the support in

carrying the measure which they were with difficulty induced to give to the Bill brought forward by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. Russell therefore, on the 20th of December, underwent the mortification of confessing to the sovereign his inability to form a Government, and was obliged to leave to his great rival the performance of the service which he had found himself unable to undertake. 'All our plans,' wrote Macaulay, 'were frustrated by Lord Grey, who objected to Lord Palmerston being Foreign Secretary. I hope that the public interests will not suffer. Sir Robert Peel must now undertake the settlement of the question. It is certain that he can settle it. It is by no means certain that we could have done so. For we shall to a man support him; and a large proportion of those who are now in office would have refused to support us.'

Sir Robert Peel had been invited by the Queen to a parting interview on his relinquishment of office, and the time fixed for that interview was the afternoon of the 20th. Previously to his arrival at Windsor Her Majesty had received from Lord John Russell a letter, intimating that he had found it impossible to form an Administration. The Queen, who felt that in this most trying crisis Peel had shown himself, as she said, more than ever 'a man of unbounded loyalty, courage, patriotism, and highmindedness,' was probably not sorry at Russell's failure; and when the ex-Premier entered the room, she said to him 'very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation and to remain in my service."' 'I informed Her Majesty,' says Peel in his 'Memoirs,' 'that considering that Lord Stanley and such of my colleagues as had differed from me had positively declined to undertake the formation of a Government, and that Lord John Russell, having had the concurrence and support of all his political friends with a single exception, had abandoned his attempt to form one. I should feel it my duty, if

required by Her Majesty, to resume office.' Sir Robert accordingly returned from Windsor to inform his colleagues that he had 'resumed all the functions of First Minister of the Crown.' 'I resume power,' he wrote to the Princess Lieven, 'with greater means of rendering public service than I should have had if I had not relinquished it. But it is a strange dream. I feel like a man restored to life after his funeral service had been preached.'

The Cabinet was reconstructed without difficulty. Lord Stanley alone adhered to his resolution to retire, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone as Secretary for the Colonial Department. The Duke of Buccleuch, who had been Privy Seal, withdrew his opposition to the Premier's policy; and in order publicly to signify his resolution to give it his cordial support, he accepted the higher office of President of the Council, which had become vacant by the sudden death, in the midst of these negotiations, of Lord Wharncliffe, an industrious and efficient Minister. The Earl of Haddington, 'prompted by the same generous feeling,' consented to exchange for the office of Privy Seal the much more important trust of First Lord of the Admiralty, to which Lord Ellenborough was appointed. Lord Dalhousie accepted a seat in the Cabinet, retaining the office of President of the Board of Trade.

The news of Sir Robert Peel's resignation had excited general apprehension and anxiety; and naturally the announcement that he was once more at the head of affairs was received throughout the country with a sense of relief. The measures which he was now prepared to bring forward were eagerly looked for, and the public had not long to wait for their production. The session of Parliament was opened by the Queen in person on the 19th of January, 1846; and the speech from the throne, after expressing satisfaction in the results of the repeal of customs-duties as far as they had yet gone, recommended to Parliament the consideration whether there might

not still be a remission 'of the existing duties upon many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries.' There was no opposition offered to the address, which was moved by Lord Francis Egerton. Contrary to all precedent Sir Robert Peel immediately followed the seconder, Mr. Becket Denison. He at once frankly admitted that his opinions had been modified by the experience of the last three years, which had led him to the conclusion that the main grounds of public policy on which Protection had been defended are not tenable. He was now satisfied that the rate of wages does not vary with the price of food. He did not believe that a low price of food necessarily implied a low rate of wages, or that high prices would bring high wages. In proof of this he pointed to three years during which prices were comparatively low, and yet at no period were the wages of labour higher. He next referred to other three years immediately preceding these, when high prices were found co-existent with low wages. The results of the reductions made in the tariff during the last four years had been, to increase the total value of British produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom no less than £5,000,000. The effect of the reductions made in the customs and excise had been equally satisfactory as regards the public revenue, and especially on the state of crime. The number of persons committed on charges of sedition and riotous offences had diminished to such an enormous extent, as to make it impossible to resist the inference that employment, low prices, and comparative abundance contribute to the diminution of crime. Even with regard to the agricultural interest, the effect of the diminution of the protective duties on flax, wool, foreign cattle, and land had been highly favourable to the farmers. The duty on flax had been abolished, yet the price of fine flax, which in 1843 was 65s. to 70s., was now from 70s. to 80s. There had been a gradual increase in the importa-

tion of foreign cattle, but there had been an increase on the price in the home market. Great alarm had been expressed when the duty on lard was taken off; a large importation of the article had taken place, and yet the price of domestic lard had risen from 48s. in 1844 to 62s. in 1846. In wool there had been an enormous increase in the imports in consequence of the reduction of duty, and yet the price was now higher than before that reduction and importation took place. After having thus shown that by the removal of Protection domestic industry and the great social interests of the country had been promoted, crime diminished, and morality improved, Sir Robert proceeded to speak of the severe labour and anxiety he had undergone in order to be able to guard against a heavy national calamity, and enumerated the efforts he and his colleagues had made, in harmony with the true principles of Conservative policy, to repair the disasters at Cabul, to increase the trade of the country, to discourage agitation, and to extinguish sedition. 'These are the objects,' he said, 'which we have attempted to accomplish. Power for such objects as these is really valuable; but, for my own part, I can say with perfect truth that, even for these objects, I do not covet it. It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour, and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it, I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand at the helm during the tempestuous night, if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse; I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England; but while I

am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure ; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interests and providing for the public safety.*

On the 27th of January the Prime Minister, in a speech which lasted four hours, stated the nature of his measure to a House crowded to excess with anxious listeners, including Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge.* After mentioning the proposed remission of duties on several articles of the tariff, he announced his plan respecting the Corn Laws. All protective duties on grain were to cease in three years, and in the interval the duties were to be considerably reduced. A merely nominal duty was to be levied on colonial grain ; and all agricultural produce which serves as cattle-food, such as buck wheat and Indian corn, was to be admitted duty free. Some readjustments of local burdens, such as the highway rate, the law of settlement, and the expense of public prosecutions, were to be made in order to compensate the landowners and farmers for the gradual withdrawal of protective duties ; but this proposal had no effect in conciliating the agricultural interests.

The motion to go into Committee on the resolutions was made on the 9th of February. The debate lasted twelve nights, and no fewer than 103 speeches were delivered, of very varied degrees of merit ; but most of those on the Protectionist side were filled with bitter attacks on the Government, and especially on the Prime Minister. Some of

* It is a most pitiable example of the depths to which party spirit could stoop at that time, that Lord George Bentinck and the Protectionists were thrown into a fury of indignation at what Mr. Disraeli calls the 'startling occurrence' of the presence of the Prince Consort on this occasion, who, according to Lord George, 'allowed himself to be seduced by the First Minister of the Crown to come down to the House to usher in, to give *éclat*, and, as it were by reflection from the Queen, to give the semblance of a personal sanction of Her Majesty to the measure.' 'The Prince merely went,' says the Queen, 'as the Prince of Wales and the Queen's other sons do, for once to hear a fine debate, which is so useful to all princes. But this,' the Queen adds, 'he naturally felt unable to do again.'

the Protectionists went so far as to deny either the existence, or even probability, of famine in Ireland. On the 27th a vote was at length taken, and the Government were successful by a majority of 97. The House went into Committee on the 2nd of March, and after four nights more had been spent in reiterating the old arguments, the second reading of the Corn Bill was carried by a majority of 88 in a House of 516 members. After another debate, which lasted three nights, the third reading was carried on the 16th of May, by a majority of 98 in a House of 556 members.

It was confidently expected that the Bill would meet with a more strenuous and dangerous resistance in the House of Lords, in which the genuine Free Traders were a very small minority ; but the opposition was much less effective than had been anticipated. Mainly through the influence of the Duke of Wellington, the second reading was carried by 211 votes against 164, or a majority of 47. Some amendments were proposed in Committee, but they were all negatived ; and Lord Stanley, who led the Protectionists, declined to divide the House on the third reading. The Bill passed on the 22nd of June, and received the royal assent on the 26th of the same month.

During the long series of debates, every possible argument or allegation that could be urged on either side was repeated with wearisome iteration. Taking into account the political training, position, and hereditary prejudices of the Protectionist party, great allowance must be made for the alarm with which they regarded the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the fallacies with which they strove to defend them. But their bitter personalities, and the coarse and virulent abuse which they heaped upon the Prime Minister, are utterly without excuse, and were most discreditable to the men who put themselves forward as the representatives of the agricultural party. This was especially the case with Mr. Disraeli, whose repeated eulogiums on

Peel's Free-Trade policy, in 1842, show that in now advocating Protection he was sinning against light, and was actuated by merely personal motives of no very elevated kind. He saw the agricultural party disorganized and without a head—filled with consternation at the ruin which they believed to be impending over them, and furious at the statesman who, as they fancied in their blind wrath, 'had sold them,' as Lord George Bentinck said, and whom, much to their discredit, they denounced in the most unmeasured terms as a traitor and an apostate.

Mr. Disraeli dexterously availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to become the mouth-piece of the mutinous Conservatives, and made a series of violent and malignant attacks on Peel for following that very economic policy which, in the first session of the existing Parliament, he had eulogized. He stigmatized that policy as an act of treason to his party; compared Sir Robert to the Lord High Admiral of the Turkish fleet, who at a great warlike crisis carried his ships into the enemy's port, and when arraigned as a traitor said that he saw no use in prolonging a hopeless struggle, and that he had accepted the command of the fleet solely for the purpose of bringing the contest to a close at once. He denounced the great statesman as 'a trader on other people's intelligence—a political burglar of other men's ideas, whose whole life had been one great appropriation clause. The occupants of the Treasury bench,' he declared, 'were political pedlars, who had bought their party in the cheapest market and sold it in the dearest. Peel,' he said, 'was a great parliamentary middleman, who bamboozled one party and plundered the other;' taunted him with the half-frenzied attack he made on Cobden in the painful scene which we have already described, and even, in conjunction with Lord George Bentinck, threw out imputations indescribably base of personal untruthfulness and treachery in his behaviour towards Canning. These savage personal attacks were most discredit-

able to Disraeli; but it was still more discreditable to the Bentincks, Heathcotes, Mileses, Lennoxes, Duncombes, Liddells, Lowthers, and other large-acred but crass representatives of the Protectionist party, that they should have applauded to the echo the malignant abuse of a disappointed political adventurer upon one of the most upright and conscientious statesmen, and the greatest parliamentary leader, of his age. Their blind and vindictive rage met with its appropriate reward.

The nominal leader of the discomfited Protectionists was Lord George Bentinck, a younger son of the Duke of Portland, a prominent patron of the turf, but quite unknown as a politician. He was a person of moderate abilities, and in the jests of the day was said to have 'a stable mind.' His knowledge of politics, or indeed of any really important branch of knowledge, was of a very limited kind. He was a poor speaker, both as regards manner and matter, and indeed not unfrequently uttered absolute nonsense when he ventured to speak on economical questions without being previously crammed by his mentor. But his high birth, social influence, and knowledge of society, combined with a cool head, a strong will, and a firm belief in the traditionary notions of the old fossilized school, made him a very suitable leader for the party who had revolted against the rule of Sir Robert Peel. Lord George, however, would speedily, like Falstaff, have led his party where they would have been 'soundly peppered,' had it not been for the dexterous and unscrupulous manœverer who was his chief counsellor. It was he who became at once the real leader of the extreme Tory party, and while apparently content to occupy the humble position of their agent in assailing Peel, was in reality artfully making their indignation subservient to his own purposes.

The first object of the Protectionists was to revenge themselves on the Government, and they speedily found an opportunity of carrying their designs into effect.

Sir Robert Peel had observed, as far back as the time of the Maynooth Bill, that his party was falling off from him, and had given intimation to the Queen that a ministerial crisis might probably soon take place. For a short period after he had resumed office in December, he seems to have cherished the expectation that he would carry his party with him in the policy which he had resolved to adopt; but in the course of a few weeks he discovered that, in addition to the rancour of disappointed political partizans and all other difficulties which lay on the surface, he must lay his account with the break-up of the party which he had organized and had so long triumphantly led, but which, unlike his virulent assailant, he had not succeeded in 'educating' to accept his policy.

In his final speech on the Bill he said:—'You have a right, I admit, to taunt me with any change of opinion on the Corn Laws; but when you say that by my adoption of the principles of Free Trade I have acted in contradiction to those principles which I have always avowed during my whole life, that charge, at least, I say, is destitute of foundation. I will not enter at this late hour into the discussion of any other topic. I foresaw the consequences that have resulted from the measures which I thought it my duty to propose. We were charged with the heavy responsibility of taking security against a great calamity in Ireland. We did not act lightly. We did not form our opinion upon merely local information—the information of local authorities likely to be influenced by an undue alarm. Before I and those who agreed with me came to that conclusion, we had adopted every means—by local inquiry and by sending perfectly disinterested persons of authority to Ireland—to form a just and correct opinion. Whether we were mistaken or not—I believe we were not mistaken—but even if we were mistaken, a generous construction should be put upon the motives and conduct of those who are charged with the respon-

sibility of protecting millions of subjects of the Queen from the consequences of scarcity and famine. Whatever may be the result of these discussions, I feel severely the loss of the confidence of those from almost all of whom I heretofore received a most generous support. So far from expecting them, as some have said, to adopt my opinions, I perfectly recognize the sincerity with which they adhere to their own. I recognize their perfect right, on account of the admitted failure of my speculation, to withdraw from me their confidence. I honour their motives; but I claim, and I always will claim, while intrusted with such powers and subject to such responsibility as the Minister of this great country is intrusted with and is subject to—I always will assert the right to give that advice which I conscientiously believe to be conducive to the general well-being. . . . If I look to the prerogative of the Crown—if I look to the position of the Church—if I look to the influence of the aristocracy—I cannot charge myself with having taken any course inconsistent with Conservative principles, calculated to endanger the privileges of any branch of the Legislature, or of any of the institutions of the country. My earnest wish has been, during my tenure of power, to impress the people of this country with a belief that the Legislature was animated by a sincere desire to frame its legislation upon the principles of equity and justice. I have a strong belief that the greatest object which we or any other Government can contemplate, should be to elevate the social condition of that class of the people, with whom we are brought into no direct relation by the exercise of the elective franchise. I wish to convince them that our object has been so to apportion taxation, that we shall relieve industry and labour from any undue burden, and transfer it, so far as is consistent with the public good, to those who are better enabled to bear it. I look to the absence of all disturbance—to the

non-existence of any commitment for a seditious offence; I look to the calm that prevails in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence, on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions and industry from unjust burdens: and where there was dissatisfaction I see contentment; where there was turbulence I see there is peace; where there was disloyalty I see there is loyalty; I see a disposition to confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundations of your institutions.'

As matters now stood it was evident that the Ministry could not in any case long remain in office. Until the Corn-Law Bill was safe, the Whigs in the House of Commons could not venture to join the Protectionists in any intrigue for the overthrow of the Government; but as soon as that measure was certain to become law, the field was open for any combination of parties which trickery and chicane could bring about. The dreadful sufferings of the Irish people during the winter had, as usual, led to a great increase in disorder and crime. The number of violent criminal offences, and especially of night murders, had risen from 1495 in 1844 to 3642 in 1845, and was still increasing. In the counties particularly of Tipperary, Clare, Roscommon, Limerick, and Leitrim, there was no security either for life or property. In these circumstances the Government considered it necessary to apply to Parliament for additional coercive powers, and a Bill for that purpose had been brought into the House of Lords, and passed there without opposition. It was sent down to the Commons early in the session, but there it met with a different reception. Even the first reading (March 30th), which by almost invariable custom is granted as a matter of course to bills sent down from the Upper House, was fiercely resented by the Irish members, but after a keen debate was carried by a

majority of 149. The measure was zealously advocated at this stage by Lord George Bentinck, who said that 'though his party were friendly to the principle of Protection, they would not allow protection to be extended to the broad-day murderer and the midnight assassin.' After stating various cases in which women had been murdered in open daylight in Ireland, he added that 'the Protection party would give its hearty support to the Government as long as it showed itself in earnest in putting down murder and preventing assassination in Ireland. The blood of every man who should be murdered hereafter in Ireland would be on the head of Ministers, and on the head of that House if they joined in retarding unnecessarily the progress of a measure like this.'

Under the pressure of the debates respecting the repeal of the Corn Laws, the second reading of the Coercion Bill was not moved until the 9th of June. By that time a desire to expel the Ministry from office had become the predominant passion in the minds of the Protectionists, and Lord John Russell and his followers resolved to avail themselves of this feeling to effect a combination against the Government. The rejection of the measure was therefore vehemently advocated by a strange and unprincipled conjunction of Repealers, Protectionists, and Whigs. The motives of the extreme Conservatives were openly avowed. 'It is time now,' exclaimed Lord George Bentinck, 'that atonement should be made to the betrayed honour of Parliament, and the betrayed constituencies of the empire. It is time that Europe and the world should know that treachery has been committed by the Ministers in power, but that they do not represent the honour of England. The agricultural interest may be betrayed and ruined, but let not the world think that England is a partaker in the guilt of those who now sit on the Treasury benches. The time has now come when they who love the treason that has recently been committed, though they

hate the traitor, should join with those who sit on the Protectionist benches in showing that they do not approve the recent conduct of the Ministers.'

Mr. Sidney Herbert, who vindicated with great ability the Bill and the conduct of the Government, reminded the House of the declaration of the Protectionist leader respecting the responsibility of the Ministers and their supporters for the blood of every man murdered in Ireland, and asked the pertinent question, 'On whose head will that blood be now?' Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Spooner, who though members of the extreme party, were men of high principle and consistency, expressed their intention to support the Bill, because they believed it to be imperatively required under the circumstances in which Ireland was then placed. Mr. Cobden said he was constrained to vote against the Coercion Bill on principle, but he disavowed all sympathy with the motives of its opponents. He was well aware that in no case could the vote of his party have saved the Ministry, for on a division the Bill was rejected by a majority of 73. The votes for the second reading were 219 to 292 against it. On the same night the Corn Bill passed the House of Lords. 'Two hours,' wrote the Premier to Sir Henry Hardinge, 'after the intelligence arrived that the Lords had passed the Corn and Customs Bill we were ejected from power; and by another coincidence as marvellous, on the day on which I had to announce in the House of Commons the dissolution of the Government, the news arrived that we had settled the Oregon question, and that our proposals had been accepted by the United States without the alteration of a word.'

Three days later Sir Robert announced his resignation of his office, and its acceptance by the Queen. There can be no doubt that he rejoiced to be relieved from a situation which had not only subjected him to the most harassing labours and anxieties, but had exposed him to the most virulent abuse

from his former supporters. 'I have every disposition,' he wrote to Lord Hardinge, 'to forgive my enemies for having conferred upon me the blessing of the loss of power.' To Cobden, who, it now appears, had earnestly recommended him to retain office and to dissolve the Parliament, he wrote, 'You will readily believe that such a position as mine entails the severest sacrifices. The strain on the mental powers is far too severe . . . that office and power may be anything but an object of ambition; and that I must be insane if I could be induced by anything but a sense of public duty to undertake what I have undertaken this session. But the world—the great and small vulgar—is not of this opinion. I am sorry to say they do not and cannot comprehend the motives which influence the *best* actions of public men.' There can be no doubt that Peel judged wisely. A dissolution in existing circumstances would certainly not have given him a working majority; and as he himself remarked, 'anything is preferable to the continuing ourselves in office without a full measure of the confidence of the House.'

In announcing to the House of Commons his abdication of his office, Sir Robert briefly reviewed the important questions with which his Ministry had been called on to deal, and congratulated the House and the country on the amicable settlement of the Oregon question, which had so long threatened to disturb the peaceful relations between this country and the United States. After declaring that he and his colleagues were influenced by no other motives than the desire of promoting the interests of the country, in proposing those measures of commercial policy which had lost them the confidence of many of those who had heretofore given them their support, he went on to say, 'The love of power was not the motive for the proposal of these measures; for I had not a doubt that whether these measures were accompanied with failure or with success, one event certainly must occur, and that was the termin-

ation of the existence of the Government'—an event which was perhaps not to be regretted, for, upon the whole, it was advantageous for the country and for the general character of public men, that the proposal of measures at variance with the course which Ministers heretofore had pursued should entail expulsion from office. Of this he did not complain. 'I have no wish,' he added, 'to rob any person of the credit which is justly due to him. But I may say, that neither the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite, nor myself, nor the gentlemen sitting around me—I say that neither of these are parties who are strictly entitled to the merit. There has been a combination of parties, and that combination of parties, together with the influence of the Government, has led to the ultimate success of the measures. But there is a name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures: it is not the name of the noble lord the member for London, neither is it my name. The name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of a man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason, enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. I shall now close the address which it has been my duty to make, thanking the House sincerely for the favour with which it has listened to this my last address in my official capacity. Within a few hours, probably, that power which I have held for a period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another; I say it without repining and without complaint, with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence which I have received than of the opposition which, during a recent period, I have encountered. I

shall, I fear, leave office with a name severely censured by many honourable men who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties—who deeply regret that severance, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party, the existence of a great party, and the maintenance of a great party, to be powerful instruments of good government. I shall surrender power, severely censured, I fear, by many honourable men, who from no interested motives have adhered to the principles of Protection, because they looked upon them as important to the welfare and interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated, I know, by every monopolist who, professing honourable opinions, would maintain protection for his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall be remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which are the abodes of men whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow; in such places, perhaps, my name may be remembered with expressions of good-will, when they who inhabit them recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.'

The great statesman was not left long in doubt as to the light in which the public regarded the sacrifice that he had made, both of his most cherished feelings and his political interests, for the sake of the national welfare. As he quitted the House of Commons on the night of the 29th, after the vote had been taken, leaning on the arm of Sir George Clerk, he was awaited by a quiet multitude outside, who bared their heads at the sight of him, and escorted him to his house.

'If Sir Robert Peel has lost office,' said Cobden at the last meeting of the League, 'he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his which led to his discomfiture in my

hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power.'

The work of the League was now done. Its zealous and vigorous efforts had not only convinced the great body of the people that Free-Trade principles were right, and so prepared them to carry these principles into effect when the Irish famine showed that the time had come; but they also infused a wholesome apprehension of their power into the minds of the landowners. It was undoubtedly owing to the influence of this confederation that the ports were not opened by an Order in Council in the autumn of 1845. They compelled the Whig leaders to abandon their proposal of a fixed duty, they enabled Peel to carry the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and it was the dread of their renewed agitation that made the House of Lords afraid to throw out the Bill. The final meeting of the League took place in Manchester on the 2nd of July, when, on the motion of Mr. Cobden, it was agreed to

suspend the active operations of the Association, but to call it into 'renewed existence' should any 'serious attempts be made by the Protectionist party to induce the Legislature to retrace its steps or to prevent the final extinction of the Corn Law in 1849.' The sum of £10,000 was voted to the chairman, Mr. Wilson, who had devoted almost his whole time to the business of the League. The conditional dissolution of the League was followed by a spontaneous act of justice and gratitude to the public benefactor who had made such splendid sacrifices for the public cause. A sum amounting to between £75,000 and £80,000 was presented to Mr. Cobden by the Free Traders of the kingdom, not only for the purpose of acknowledging his eminent services, but to set him free for life to devote himself to the service of the country. At the same time Mr. Bright, his friend and chief fellow-labourer, received the gift of a fine library.

CHAPTER II.

The Non-Intrusion Controversy—The Patronage Act—Protest of the Church against it—Rise of the Evangelical party—The proposal of the Veto Act—Speech of Dr. Chalmers—Opposition of Dr. Cook and the Moderate party—The Veto Act adopted—Its nature—The Chapel Act—Church extension—Application to the Government for assistance—The Royal Commission—Its Report and Recommendations—Dissatisfaction of the Church—Its efforts—Working of the Veto Law—The Auchterarder case—John Hope, Dean of Faculty—Previous decisions of the Court of Session in similar cases—Judgment of the majority in the Auchterarder suit—Its grounds—Statements of the Judges on both sides—Effect of the decision—Resolute proceedings of the Non-intrusion party—Appeal to the House of Lords—Its decision—Opinions of Lords Brougham and Cottenham—Resolution of the Assembly—The Lethendy Case—Interdict of the Court of Session—It is violated by the Presbytery, who are rebuked by the Court—The Marnoch case—Conduct of the Presbytery of Strathbogie—Action of the Civil Court—Suspension of the Strathbogie ministers by the Church Courts—They disregard it and ordain Mr. Edwards—Strange scene at the Ordination—Interdict of the Court of Session against ministers appointed to preach in the parishes of the suspended ministers—It is openly and systematically violated—Lord Aberdeen's Bill—Deposition of the Strathbogie ministers—Interdict of the Court of Session—Proceedings of the Moderate party—Forced settlement at Culsalmond—Fresh Interdicts—"The Forty"—The Duke of Argyll's Bill—The Claim of Rights—The Convocations—Appeal to Parliament—Its Rejection—The Disruption—Formation of a Free Church—Refusal of Sites by Landlords—Progress and Position of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland—Abolition of Patronage.

WHILE the country was agitated by the struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws, an event of momentous importance had taken place in Scotland. Its national Church had been rent asunder by internal dissensions. Hundreds of clergymen had abandoned their homes and their livings for conscience sake, and had surrendered all the privileges of an establishment in order to secure the enjoyment of spiritual freedom.

Ecclesiastical patronage had always been obnoxious to the people of Scotland. It was abolished at the Revolution of 1688; but it was restored during the reign of Queen Anne, in direct violation of one of the fundamental articles of the Union, 'on design,' as Bishop Burnet said, 'to weaken and undermine the Presbyterian Establishment, and in furtherance of a deep-laid conspiracy against the Protestant Succession.' To the 'infamous Act,' as it has been termed, which re-established patronage in Scotland, may be traced all the divisions that have since taken place among the Scottish Presbyterians, and the bitter ecclesiastical feuds by which that country has been torn asunder for more than a century and a half. For upwards of fifty years the Church complained of the intolerable yoke of patronage, and in its judicial proceedings

acted upon the principle that 'no pastor is to be intruded upon a congregation contrary to their will.' The General Assembly annually continued to 'empower and direct' its Commission to make application to the King and Parliament for redress of the grievance of patronage, until about the close of the century, when the supremacy of the Moderate party had been completely established, this annual protest against patronage was laid aside. A reaction began about the time of the French Revolution. It proceeded at first slowly and almost imperceptibly, but the Evangelical party in the Church steadily gained ground. The extension of the political franchise by the first Reform Bill contributed not a little to strengthen that party, and to stimulate the demand for the restoration of popular rights and privileges. The cry that was at this time raised for the abolition of Church establishments made the leaders of the Evangelical party feel that a vigorous effort must be made to remove 'felt grievances and undeniable corruptions;' and they inaugurated a policy which one of their number alleged was intended to act as 'a lightning rod to catch the fiery thunderbolt, and to bury it in the ground.' Their object, in the first instance, was to restrict the operation of the law of patronage, and to restore the rights of congre-

gations in the calling and settlement of their ministers; and it was proposed to do this by what was called the Veto Act, which empowered the Presbytery to set aside a presentee to a parish if he should be rejected or vetoed by a majority of the communicants in the parish.

This measure, destined to exercise so momentous an influence on the constitution and character of the Established Church, was brought before the General Assembly of 1833 by Dr. Chalmers, in a speech of glowing eloquence, in which he denounced in indignant terms the evils of an unqualified and despotic patronage. 'The great complaint,' he said, 'of our more ancient Assemblies, the great burden of Scottish indignation, the practical grievance which of all others has been felt the most intolerable and galling to the hearts of a free and religious people, is the violent intrusion of ministers upon parishes.' He proceeded to say that an effectual provision against this enormity would be found, not in enacting a new law, but declaring their interpretation of an old one. The 'call,' or invitation of the people to a presentee, had always been held necessary to give validity to his settlement; but in the dark age of the Church it had been reduced to a mere form, and the signatures of two or three persons to the document had been regarded as quite sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the law. Chalmers proposed that the call should now 'be restored to significance, not by requiring that it should be signed by a majority of the parishioners or communicants, but by making the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish, being members of the congregation, of conclusive effect in setting aside the presentee.' He asserted that there was nothing new in this proposal—that it was in fact simply 'the appropriate, the counterpart remedy against the evil of intrusion,' as was shown by the Second Book of Discipline, the Act of Assembly, 1649, and the Act of Parliament, 1690. With regard to the operation

of the measure proposed he said, 'If we hear little of the application or actual exercise of this remedy during the time it was enforced, it was because of a great excellence, even that pacific property which belongs to it of acting by preventive operation. The initial step was so taken by the one party as to anticipate the gainsayers in the other. It was like the beautiful operation of those balancing and antagonistic forces in nature which act by pressure and not by collision, and by means of an energy that is mighty but noiseless, maintain the quiescence and stability of our physical system. And it is well when the action and reaction of these moral forces can be brought to bear with the same conservative effect on each other in the world of mind, whether it be in the great world of the state or in the little world of a parish; and the truth—the historical truth—in spite of all the disturbance and distemper which are associated with the movements of the populace, is that turbulence and distemper were then only let loose upon the land when the check of the popular will was removed from the place it had in our ecclesiastical constitution, and when it was inserted so skilfully by the wisdom of our fathers that instead of acting by conflict, or as a conflicting element, it served as an equipoise. It was when a high-handed patronage reigned uncontrolled and without a rival, that discord and dissent multiplied in our parishes. The seasons immediately succeeding to 1649 and 1690, when the power of negation was lodged with the people—not, however, as a force in exercise, but as a force in reserve—these were the days of our Church's greatest prosperity and glory, the seasons both of peace and righteousness. Persecution put an end to the one period, and unrestricted patronage put an end to the other.'

In answer to the objection that the proposed veto gave effect to a bare dissent, unaccompanied by any statement of the reasons on which the dissent was founded, Dr. Chalmers said, 'The people may not

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REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D.

be able to state their objection, save in a very general way, and far less be able to plead and vindicate it at the bar of a Presbytery, and yet the objection be a most substantial one notwithstanding, and such as ought, both in all Christian reason and Christian expediency, to set aside the presentation. I will not speak of the moral barrier that is created to the usefulness of a minister by the mere general dislike of his people; for this, though strong at the outset, may—literally a prejudice or a groundless judgment beforehand—give way to the experience of his worth, and to the kindness of his intercourse among them. But there is another dislike than to the person of a minister—a dislike to his preaching, which may not be groundless, even though the people may be wholly incapable of themselves arguing or justifying the grounds of it; just as one may have a perfectly good understanding of words, and yet, when put to his definitions, not be at all able to explain the meaning of them. This holds pre-eminently of the gospel of Jesus Christ manifesting its own truth to the consciences of men, who yet would be utterly nonplussed and at fault did you ask them an account or reason for their convictions. Such is the adaptation of Scripture to the state of humanity—an adaptation which thousands might feel, though not one in the whole multitude should be able to analyze it. When under the visitation of moral earnestness—when once brought to entertain the question of his interest with God, and conscience tells of his yet uncanceled guilt and his yet unprovided eternity—even the most illiterate of a parish might, when thus awakened, not only feel most strongly, but perceive most intelligently and soundly, the adjustment which obtains between the overture of the New Testament and the necessities of his own nature. And yet with a conviction thus based on the doctrines of Scripture and the depositions of his own consciousness, he, while fully competent to discern the truth, may be as

incompetent as a child to dispute or to argument it; and when required to give the reasons of his objections to a minister at the bar of his Presbytery, all the poor man can say for himself might be that he does not preach the gospel, or that in his sermon there is no food for his soul. To overbear such men is the highway to put an extinguisher on the Christianity of our land, the Christianity of our ploughmen, our artisans, our men of handicraft and hard labour; yet not the Christianity theirs of deceitful imagination, or of implicit deference to authority, but the Christianity of deep, I will add, of rational belief, firmly and profoundly seated in the principles of our moral nature, and nobly accredited by the virtues of our well-conditioned peasantry. In the olden time of Presbytery—that time of Scriptural Christianity in our pulpits and of psalmody in all our cottages—these men grew and multiplied in the land; and though derided in the heartless literature, and discountenanced or disowned by the heartless politics of other days, it is their remnant which acts as a preserving salt among our people, and which constitutes the real strength and glory of the Scottish nation.'

The motion was opposed by Dr. Cook, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, and leader of the Moderate party; by the Lord Justice-Clerk, Boyle; Principal Macfarlane, of Glasgow; and other prominent members of Assembly. Dr. Cook affirmed that 'it had always belonged to the Church to determine whether the election by the patron had been properly made.' He admitted that 'the power of the Church Courts in this matter had been for many years practically narrowed, and that it had come to be held that in general, when there was no deficiency of literature, or conduct, or doctrine, a presentee was entitled to be admitted, whatever other objections might have been made to him. But there was no rescinding of the ancient law upon the subject: that remained as it had

ever been; and to it, it was quite competent for the General Assembly to return for regulating the conduct of Presbyteries as to the presentation and induction of ministers.' Dr. Cook's view of what that law sanctioned and required was this:—'That the Presbytery should afford to the heads of families in a vacant parish an opportunity of stating whatever objections to the presentee they might think proper to urge. These, with the reasons on which they were founded, the Presbytery, in the exercise of its legitimate power, would consider, and its sentence with regard to them, if no appeal be taken, would be final.' At the close of the debate Dr. Cook's amendment was adopted by a majority of twelve over the motion of Dr. Chalmers.

The Evangelical party saw that victory was now within their reach, and in the Assembly of 1834 (of which Dr. Chalmers was not a member) the Veto Law was again introduced. The motion was proposed by Lord Moncrieff, and the opposition was led by the Rev. Dr. Mearns, Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen, who argued that the adoption of the Veto Law was a 'giving up to the people the power of judging. It was a transfer of the right of collation,' which properly belonged to the Church. Dr. Cook said 'nothing could be more manifest than that the meaning of the statute was that the judging of the qualification was not with the people, but that when a person was presented by a patron the ecclesiastical courts were to proceed to consider the qualification, that the judgment of the inferior court might be carried to the superior, and that the final settlement of the matter lay with the General Assembly. Of the opinion of the people as to this, not the slightest mention is made. But the motion of Lord Moncrieff sweeps all this away. It wrests from Presbyteries all control or judgment in the matter; it renders them purely ministerial; and where a majority of the people, without assigning the slightest cause for it, disapprove the presentee,

let the sentiment of the Presbytery with respect to him be what it may—let them be ever so fully satisfied that he would be a conscientious and zealous minister—they must reject the presentation, and prevent his admission.'

On the other side it was urged that these considerations proceed upon a total disregard of the principle laid down in the standards and laws of the Church, that 'no pastor shall be intruded upon any congregation contrary to the will of the people;' that the 'will of the people' can never with any show of reason be explained to mean 'the will of the Presbytery;' and that if a presentee is forced upon a congregation against their will, the principle is the same whether the intrusion is made by the nomination of the patron or the decision of the Presbytery. After a debate which lasted twelve hours, Lord Moncrieff's motion was carried by a majority of 184 to 138, and the Assembly declared 'That it is a fundamental law of the Church that no pastor shall be intruded into any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and in order that the principle may be carried into full effect the General Assembly, with the consent of a majority of the Presbyteries of this Church, do declare, enact, and ordain that it shall be an instruction to Presbyteries that if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the Church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the Presbytery shall proceed with the settlement according to the rules of the Church: and further declare that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove as aforesaid who

shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the Presbytery that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation.'

Such were the terms of the famous Veto Act, which passed apparently without any apprehension of evil consequences on either side, but which ultimately rent the church asunder, and indirectly exercised a momentous influence upon the spiritual interests of the people of Scotland.

Another important measure, called the Chapel Act, which had a considerable share in bringing about the Disruption, was adopted by the Assembly of 1834. During the course of the eighteenth century the division of populous parishes, and the erection of new churches for the accommodation of the increasing population, was attended with so many difficulties and obstructions that it was rarely attempted. But a number of unendowed churches—Chapels of Ease as they were called—were erected in various parts of the country, especially in the large towns. These chapels, however, were not regarded with favour by the dominant party in the Church, and it was with difficulty that the Assembly could be induced to sanction them. The status of the chapel ministers was studiously lowered, and their privileges and powers restricted. They were permitted to teach, but not to rule. They were not allowed to take their seats in any of the church courts, or to enjoy the assistance of a Kirk Session like the parish ministers, or even to exercise discipline over the members of their own congregations. This anomalous and indeed unconstitutional state of matters was regarded from the first with great dissatisfaction by the more zealous members of the Church; and now that the tide had turned in their favour, efforts were made to remove the barrier which had thus been placed in the way of church extension.

The subject was brought before the General Assembly of 1834, and it was

proposed that the ministers of these unendowed churches should be admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges of the regular clergy of the Established Church. The proposal was resisted mainly on two grounds—first, the want of endowments on the part of the chapel ministers; and secondly, on the alleged want of authority on the part of the church courts to admit them to equal privileges with the parochial clergy. Unendowed churches, it was said, could have no stability; they might, like Jonah's gourd, spring up in a night and perish in a night. To attach territorial districts to such unstable and transitory institutions would be to degrade the parochial system; and to invest their ministers with a parochial status would be, in their circumstances, only to make the distinction between them and their beneficed brethren more marked and painful than before.

Dr. Cook strongly insisted that it was not competent for the church courts to place chapels on the same footing with parish churches—a contention which the Court of Session afterwards declared to be well founded. 'The whole system of parish arrangements,' he said, 'is the effect of the legislation of the country. There are certain civil privileges connected with them; and ministers inducted to parishes have in consequence of such induction certain civil privileges which it is altogether out of the question to suppose that an ecclesiastical court could bestow on them. We sit in Synods and in General Assemblies solely and purely as ecclesiastical courts, but in Presbyteries in the double capacity of spiritual and temporal courts; and as members of Presbytery we sit in judgment on manes and glebes, and have certain temporal acts to perform which no man out of the church can perform, and which we could not have been warranted to perform, had not the Acts of the legislature made us the Established Church of the country.'

It was pleaded in support of the claims

of the chapel ministers, that the present condition of the Chapels of Ease was a violation of the fundamental principle of Presbyterianism—the equality of all ministers; that there is no warrant, either in Scripture or in the Standards of the Church, for withholding from a minister the power of ruling, and from a congregation the privilege of being ruled by their own elders in session. No exclusion of ordained ministers from church courts, on any grounds whatever, was known in the Church of Scotland for 200 years after the Reformation. The Church of Scotland was established before it was endowed; and hence the possession of an endowment could not possibly have been regarded by the founders of the Church, and the framers of its constitution, as essential in order to entitle a minister to exercise all the functions and to enjoy all the rights of his sacred office; that the Church did, long after the Reformation, settle ministers whose stipends were provided and secured in the same way as those of the ministers of the modern Chapels of Ease; that no difference whatever was made between these ministers and those having public parochial benefices in regard to sitting in church courts and taking part in the government of the Church; that the Church actually settled ministers in charges where there was no security for a stipend of any kind, and this so frequently and notoriously as to raise a formal discussion in the Assembly of 1565 whether it was lawful for men once ordained to the ministry to leave it and to follow a secular calling in consequence of finding themselves without the means of subsistence; that the existing chapel system is contrary to all analogy in the Church of Scotland and to the practice of the church courts for 190 years; and that unless the founders of the Establishment and nearly 100 General Assemblies were utterly ignorant of what an Establishment is, the claims of the chapel ministers might be granted without the slightest infringement of any principle peculiar to

the Church of Scotland as a church that is recognized and established by the law of the land.

These reasonings were sound as far as they went; but they did not meet the argument, that as Presbyteries had temporal as well as spiritual duties to discharge, which they performed not in virtue of an Act of the Church, but of the Legislature, it was not competent for the Assembly, on its own authority, to invest them with the power to sit in judgment upon manse and glebe. It was decided, however, by a considerable majority to place the Chapels of Ease on an equality with the Parish Churches, and to invest their ministers with all the rights and privileges of parochial clergymen.

The extension of the Church, in order to meet the wants of an increasing population, had been studiously neglected for more than a century. As far back as the year 1818, Dr. Chalmers had made an earnest but unheeded appeal to the civic authorities of Glasgow for 'twenty more churches and twenty more ministers, for men of zeal and strength who might go forth among the outfield population of the city and compel them to come in.' In 1820 a committee was appointed by the Assembly to take this important matter into consideration; but nothing was done until 1834, when Dr. Chalmers was appointed convener, and the spirit of the times prepared the minds of the party for a great church extension movement. At the Assembly of 1835 it was reported that the contributions to the *general* fund for church extension amounted in this the first year of its real existence to £15,167 13s., that the sum subscribed for district *local* places of worship was £55,021 7s., making a total of £70,189, and that no fewer than sixty-four new churches had been completed or were in preparation. In the course of four years no less than £205,930 had been contributed to the Church Extension Fund, and 187 churches had been erected or were in progress.

It appeared to the leaders of the movement, that the large amount thus contributed

for church extension by the voluntary liberality of the people, entitled them to a grant from the national treasury to assist in the endowment of these new churches. As might have been expected, the appeal to the Government for aid met with violent opposition from the Dissenters and a certain class of Liberal politicians. Lord Melbourne so far yielded to the demand of the church as to issue in the year 1835 a Royal Commission to 'inquire into the opportunities of religious worship and means of religious instruction and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, and how far these were of avail for the religious and moral improvement of the poor and working classes; and with that view to obtain information respecting their stated attendance in places of public worship, and their actual connection with any religious denomination, and to inquire what funds were then, or might thereafter be available for the purpose of the Established Church of Scotland, and to report from time to time, that such remedies might be applied to any existing evils as Parliament might think fit.'

The first report of the Commissioners, which was presented to the House of Commons in February, 1837, stated that, taking into account all the sittings both in the Established and Dissenting Churches, there was accommodation for little more than 48 per cent. of the whole population, but that in the Established Churches there were upwards of 9000, and in the Dissenting Churches upwards of 11,000 sittings unlet. As to the actual attendance on religious ordinances, 'it would appear,' said the Commissioners, as was indeed universally admitted, 'that there was a large number of persons capable of attending who habitually absented themselves from public worship. This number cannot be less than from 40,000 to 50,000. It appears to us,' they add, 'as the result of the whole evidence, that from whatever cause it proceeds, whether connected with their extent or nature, the opportunities of public religious worship, and the means of religious instruc-

tion and pastoral superintendence at present existing and in operation are not adequate to the removal of the evil complained of.'

The second and third reports of the Commissioners, which were issued a few months later, fully bore out this opinion. In all the places of worship, Established and Dissenting, in the city and suburbs of Glasgow, it was found that there were sittings provided for only $39\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population, and that 'a very large number of persons, upwards of 66,000, exclusive of children under ten years of age, are not in the habit of attending public worship,' and that 'after making allowance for old and infirm persons, and those who may be necessarily absent, that number cannot be less than 55,000.'

As the Commissioners had thus distinctly reported that the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence were insufficient, the Government felt bound to take measures to supply this deficiency; but they were very much at a loss what course to pursue. On the one hand, as the Established Church clergy and the great body of the most influential laymen connected with the Establishment were hostile to the Ministry, they had no personal claim to the boon which they demanded. On the other hand, the Dissenters were the most zealous supporters of the Administration, and the Ministers felt that in their feeble and tottering condition they could not afford to alienate their best friends. They at last resolved to offer the bishops' teinds (that is, the tithes attached in former times to the Scottish bishoprics, and which on the abolition of Episcopacy had lapsed to the crown) to provide for the religious destitution existing in certain Highland and other rural parishes which had no unexhausted teinds. Another part of the Ministerial scheme was to make an alteration in the Act of 1707 respecting the division of parishes in Scotland, so as to afford facilities for the application of unexhausted teinds in the hands of private proprietors, to supply the spiritual necessities of the parishes in which these teinds

existed. No provision was to be made for the large towns, in which there was by far the greatest amount of spiritual destitution; they were to be left entirely to voluntary liberality. The Ministry had hoped to please both parties by the measure which they proposed, but they pleased neither. The Dissenters denounced it because it gave too much, or rather because it offered anything for church extension, while the Churchmen declared that it was merely one of those ingenious devices to which politicians sometimes have recourse in order to put an inconvenient question aside.

The eloquent appeal of Dr. Chalmers for additional provision for the instruction of the destitute and lapsed masses fell powerless on the ears of the members of Government and the Legislature; but it elicited a cordial response from a large body of the people. 'As the ear of the Government seemed to close, the ear of the country seemed to open;' and the success in Scotland appeared to Dr. Chalmers more than a counterbalance to the repulse of the metropolis.

While these zealous and successful efforts were made to instruct and elevate the heathen at home, the claims of the heathen abroad were not overlooked. In 1834 the income of the foreign mission scheme of the Established Church was £2736. In 1838 it had risen to £7859—a result which was largely owing to the eloquent advocacy of the Rev. Dr. Duff, a most zealous and devoted missionary. The contrast between the anti-missionary spirit displayed by the General Assembly of 1796, and the zeal for the extension of the gospel among ignorant and idolatrous nations exhibited by the supreme court in 1835, was most striking and instructive.

Scotland was greatly indebted during the period between the Reformation and the Revolution to the exertions of the Church for the establishment of schools throughout the country; and now when the old spirit was revived, the Assembly set itself to improve both the quality and the quantity of education; to establish normal schools

for the training of teachers; and to extend the benefits of education to the Highlands and Islands, and among the degraded masses in the great towns and the mining and manufacturing districts of the country. The amount contributed to the Assembly's education scheme in 1838 was double what it was in 1834; and the aggregate income of all the schemes of the Church was increased fourteen-fold during these four years, and amounted in 1838 to what was then regarded as the large sum of £69,412.

Meanwhile the Veto Law was working smoothly, disappointing the unfavourable predictions of its enemies and fully realizing the expectations of its authors. Within four years after the law was passed 150 parishes had fallen vacant, and of the licentiates presented to these vacant parishes only five had been vetoed. Nearly the whole of these rejections of presentees took place immediately after the passing of the law, and before either patron or people had learned how to carry it properly into effect. It operated, as Dr. Chalmers expressed it, by pressure, and not by collision; it deterred the spiritually halt, and maimed, and blind from entering on a profession for which they were unfit, and opened the way for preachers of more devoted principle and of higher talent. On the other hand, it led the patrons to have a proper regard for the opinions and feelings of the people in making choice of a preacher to fill the vacancy; and in consequence the people, in the vast majority of cases, cheerfully acquiesced in his selection.

At this stage of the Church's reforming career a little cloud appeared on the horizon, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which speedily darkened the whole firmament. In October, 1834, the Earl of Kinross, an Episcopalian, presented a preacher named Robert Young to the church and parish of Auchterarder, in Perthshire. The Presbytery proceeded to deal with the presentation in accordance with the regulations of the Veto Act, and appointed

Mr. Young in the usual way to preach two successive Sabbaths in Auchterarder, in order that the congregation might have the opportunity of judging of his qualifications for the charge. When the day appointed for their giving the presentee a call in the regular order arrived, only three persons—one of whom was not a parishioner—in a parish containing 3000 souls, affixed their names to the document. On the other hand, out of 330 heads of families, who alone were entitled to dissent from the call, 287 recorded their names as dissentients against Mr. Young's settlement, solemnly declaring, at the same time, that they were actuated 'by no factious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of themselves and the congregation.' After an appeal on technical grounds to the supreme court had been dismissed, the Presbytery of Auchterarder, acting under the instructions of the General Assembly, rejected Mr. Young, 'so far as regarded that particular presentation.' Mr. Young's agent, in the first instance, protested and appealed to the supreme court against that decision; but that appeal was speedily abandoned, and an action was entered in the Court of Session against the Presbytery by the patron and the presentee.

A party in the Church, including some of the judges of the Court of Session, who in those days were frequently members of Assembly, had from the first contended that the Veto Law was illegal, and that 'a presentee, though rejected by a majority of the heads of families, will nevertheless be legally, validly, and effectually presented to the benefice, and will have a clear right to the stipend and all other rights appertaining thereto.' Prominent among these men was John Hope, Dean of Faculty, and son of the Lord President. He was a person of highly respectable character, abilities, and attainments, but impulsive, rash, and prejudiced, as his subsequent career as Lord Justice Clerk showed; and his legal brethren had no great confidence in his judg-

ment or in the soundness of his decisions. It is to this lawyer more than to any other person that the disruption of the Scottish Church is to be attributed. He was the chief counsellor of the Moderate party throughout the struggle; and having the ear of the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, when the crisis came he largely contributed to blind the Government to the result of their policy. He was the leading counsel for Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young, though it was understood that his lordship gave nothing but his name to support the action.

In accordance with the opinion which Mr. Hope had expressed respecting the extent of the jurisdiction of the civil court in such a case, the pursuers in the original summons sought to have it found that Mr. Young had 'a just and legal right to the stipend, with the manse and glebe, during all the days and years of his life.' Down to this period, indeed, it had always been held by the Court of Session that its jurisdiction extended only to the temporalities of a benefice, and no one ever supposed that these courts could annul the spiritual sentences of the Church, or compel the church courts to perform spiritual acts under the pains and penalties of civil laws. Even Mr. Whigham, the junior counsel for Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young, had previously declared in the Assembly that, if the Presbytery should refuse to admit a qualified presentee, the fruits of the benefice would be withheld. This opinion was not new. Mr. Crosbie, one of the most eminent lawyers of the last century, said, 'In the settlement of churches they [the church courts] retain, and must always retain, the power that we have seen vested in them by the Statutes 1567 and 1592, of rejecting a presentee, even though qualified, and of conferring the ministerial office on another, though without the right of bestowing the stipend.' Lord Kames, an eminent and accomplished judge, in his 'Law Tracts,' after laying down the principle that the sentence of the church courts is final, even when they have settled

in a parish another person, or in opposition to the presentee of the patron, he affirms that it cannot be touched, excepting as to its civil effects, by any civil court whatever. Such a court, however, he states, would be entitled to withhold the benefice from any individual who, though ordained to the spiritual charge of the parish, might be found to want the proper title to its temporalities; but this was all. It would be a great defect in the constitution of a Government that ecclesiastical courts should have an arbitrary power in providing parishes with ministers. To prevent such arbitrary power, the check provided by law is that a minister settled illegally shall not be entitled to the stipend.'

The judgments of the Court of Session in the cases brought before it were quite in accordance with these views. In the year 1735, a Presbytery having set aside the preacher presented by the patron, and inducted another licentiate who had received a call from the people, the interposition of the Court of Session was invoked to vindicate the rights of the presentee. It declared that 'the right to the stipend is a civil right, and therefore that this court has the power to cognosce and determine upon the legality of the admission of ministers, *ad hunc effectum*, whether the person admitted shall have right to the stipend.' In the case of Lanark, Dr. Dick, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was inducted on a presentation from a wrong patron. No attempt, however, was made to annul his ordination, or to interfere with his discharge of the duties of his office. He continued minister of the parish, but received no part of the stipend. The Presbytery of Dunse, in the year 1749, thought fit to set aside altogether the claims of a preacher nominated by the patron, and were proceeding to settle another licentiate who had received a call from the congregation. But the Court of Session, without hesitation, refused to grant the petition of the patron that they should interdict the Presbytery from carrying out the settlement

of the preacher whom the parishioners had called. 'With this conclusion,' said the learned Lord Monboddo, one of the judges, with whom the whole court concurred, 'the court would not meddle, because that was interfering with the power of ordination, or the internal policy of the Church, with which the lords thought they had nothing to do.' Another case of a similar kind occurred so late as the year 1794, in the parish of Unst, in Shetland. The Presbytery, under the belief that the six months allowed to the patron, Lord Dundas, to exercise his right of presentation, had expired, and that the right had consequently fallen to them, not only nominated Mr. Gray, but actually ordained him to the pastoral charge of the parish. The Court of Session subsequently found that the right of the patron to the presentation had not lapsed, but had been exercised within the legal period. The court, however, refused to order the Presbytery to annul Mr. Gray's settlement, and to take the presentee of the patron on trial, with a view to his settlement as minister of the parish; they merely decided, in accordance with all precedents, that the patron was entitled to retain the fruits of the benefice for pious uses within the parish, allowing the settlement as regarded spiritual duties and privileges to remain untouched.

Up to this date all the decisions of the supreme court had been given in entire accordance with the principle laid down by Lord Monboddo—that they had nothing to do with the power of ordination, but were only authorized to withhold the stipend from a presentee settled illegally. In accordance with these precedents, as the action was originally laid, the Court of Session was asked, on behalf of Mr. Young, to review the proceedings of the Presbytery, solely with the view of declaring that the just and legal right to the stipend belonged to the rejected presentee, or alternatively to the patron. But the stipend could not be claimed by a presentee who had not been inducted into a parish. A recent Act of Parliament, however, had transferred the

grants of all vacant benefices from the patrons to the Ministers Widows' Fund. Neither Lord Kinnoull nor Mr. Young could therefore obtain possession of the emoluments of the benefice of Auchterarder. No one can doubt that it lay quite within the proper jurisdiction of the court to decide this question. On this ground, shortly after the case had been taken into court, the form and nature of the action were entirely changed by the introduction of new clauses, by which the court was asked to declare that the Presbytery of Auchterarder were bound to make trial of Mr. Young's qualifications; and if in their judgment, after due trial and examination, he was found qualified, they were bound to receive and admit him as minister of the church and parish of Auchterarder; and that their rejection of him, on the ground of a veto of the parishioners, was illegal, and injurious to his patrimonial rights.

The judges declared their opinion on this momentous question on the 27th of February, 1838, and six consecutive days, and by a majority of eight to five decided in favour of the presentee and the patron. The majority was composed of the Lord President (Hope), the Lord Justice Clerk (Boyle), and Lords Gillies, Meadowbank, Mackenzie, Medwyn, Corehouse, and Cunningham. The minority consisted of Lords Glenlee, Fullerton, Moncrieff, Jeffrey, and Cockburn. 'This,' says Lord Cockburn, 'is perhaps the most important civil cause the Court of Session has ever had to determine. It implies that the people have very little, if any, indirect check against the abuse of patronage, and that the Church cannot give them any, but that Presbyteries are bound to induct, unless the presentee be objected to *on cause shown*; that the mere unacceptableness of the man to the parishioners is not even relevant as an objection; that in law the *call* is a mockery; that though it be in the province of the Church to determine whether the presentee be qualified, it is not entitled to hold acceptable-

ness as a qualification; and that it is competent to the civil court, *even when the temporalities are not directly concerned*, to control the Church in the pure matter of induction.'

The two main points in this important case were the legality of the Veto Act and the competence of the Court of Session, in case it should find that Act illegal, to do more than decide to whom the funds of the benefice should belong. The first of these two questions turned upon this other—whether there was any legal validity in the call of the congregation. The counsel for the patron and the presentee affirmed that the call was a mere empty form. The counsel for the Presbytery, on the other hand, maintained that if the call be the law of the Church, it must be the law of the land, because the law of the Church is recognized by the State, and no presentee could be inducted into a parish without a call. With regard to the right of the civil court to interfere and grant redress if it should be found that the Church had acted illegally in this matter, it was argued that the State is the source and fountain of all the authority and jurisdiction which an Established Church enjoys; that 'the State does not recognize and ratify a certain authority and jurisdiction as inherent in the Church, and derived to it from its Divine Head, and which the State accordingly binds itself to respect and uphold, but that the State delegates to the Church a certain measure of power, which being held from the State, must be exercised at all times under State control.'

On the other hand it was shown that the Act of 1592 distinctly contradicts this theory, for it expressly declares that the right of the Church to regulate and dispose of all matters 'concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, and deprivation of ministers,' &c., is the privilege that 'God has given to the spiritual office-bearers of his Kirk,' while the Confession of Faith, which

is also the law of the land, pointedly affirms that 'the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hands of church officers distinct from the civil magistrate;' and that 'it belonged to Synods and Councils of the Church ministerially to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience; to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God and government of his Church; to receive complaints in cases of maladministration, and authoritatively to determine the same, which decrees and determination, if consonant to the word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his word.'

It was contended by the eminent lawyer, Mr. Rutherford, who was senior counsel for the Presbytery, that the statutes establishing the Church did not create, but simply recognized it as already in existence, and exercising known and acknowledged powers; that these powers, judicial and legislative, are not defined by Acts of Parliament, but are to be learned from the standards and practices of the Church; and that even should it be found that in passing the Veto Law the Church had exceeded her statutory powers, the only competent legal remedy is the alienation of the temporal parts of the benefice—the stipend, manse, and glebe—'that is the peculiar civil remedy which is given for the civil wrong.'

The majority of the judges, however, set aside these arguments, denied 'any right in the congregation, or any part of it, to interpose themselves between the patron and the Presbytery,' affirmed that the law 'gives no authority for calls, or for approval or disapproval, either with or without reason;' that the Act of Queen Anne restoring patronage left neither 'assent nor dissent' to the people; that

the call is 'a mere piece of form,' of necessity in contradiction to patronage. On the other hand, the minority of the Court were of opinion that the Act restoring patronage expressly declared, that 'the admission of ministers was to take place in the same manner as persons presented before the making of this Act ought to have been admitted.' And they argued that the uninterrupted and unvarying usage of the Church in maintaining the call even under the Act of Queen Anne, and that without challenge for a hundred and fifty years, made the call 'as completely and effectually part of the law of the land as if such form had been inserted expressly in the Act of the 10th of Queen Anne' itself. Pointed reference was made to the numerous instances in which presentees had been rejected on the ground of the insufficiency of the call, while in no instance had there been any challenge by patrons or presentees or a civil court either of such rejection, or of the form requiring a call as a condition superadded to the presentation.

With regard to the question of jurisdiction the Lord President first of all laid down the principle, that 'in every civilized country there *must* be some court or other judicature by which every other court or judicature may be either compelled to do their duty, or kept within the bounds of their own duty.' 'Without this,' he added, 'the greatest public confusion must follow, and often great injustice to individuals.' Having enunciated this sweeping declaration he went on to affirm that the Court of Session 'has exercised jurisdiction over Presbyteries when exceeding their powers, or when in the course of their proceedings they encroached on civil and patrimonial interests.' 'It is certainly singular enough,' it was remarked, 'that after this peremptory assertion his lordship should have failed or forgotten to adduce so much as one solitary example to make it good, the fact being that no such case exists. He further asserted that the Act of 1592,

while it ratifies the Church's liberties, does not by any means ratify them as 'liberties which are acknowledged as belonging to the Kirk *suo jure*, or by any inherent or divine right, but as given or granted by the King or any of his predecessors,' while the Act itself expressly declares the contrary. 'The collation of ministers,' it affirms—the very matter out of which the Auchterarder case arose—'is the privilege which God has given to the office-bearers of his Church.' The summary which the President enunciated of his views on this point gave great offence at the time. 'That our Saviour,' he said, 'is the Head of the Kirk of Scotland in any temporal, or legislative, or judicial sense, is a position which I can dignify by no other name than absurdity. The Parliament is the temporal Head of the Church, from whose Acts, and whose Acts alone, it exists as the national Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers.'

The opinions of the minority of the judges on this point were clearly expressed by Lord Jeffrey, who repudiated altogether the claim put forth by the Lord President on behalf of the Court of Session, to the possession of any 'supereminent and peculiar power of correcting the errors or excesses of power of other independent judicatures.' 'In our judiciary system,' he said, 'I take it to be clear that no tribunal has either on review or originally an unlimited jurisdiction over all the rights and interests of the subject. On the contrary, I think we recognize in our judiciary establishments several supreme courts of co-ordinate and independent jurisdiction, each of which has a specific and well-defined province within which alone it has any authority or power of acting, and beyond which it has in no case any right to transgress, so as to encroach with effect upon the province or jurisdiction of another. This court, in particular, possessing within its own province as large powers both in law and equity as any court can possess, has by no means an unlimited or universal

jurisdiction even in questions of civil right. Till very lately it had no original jurisdiction in proper consistorial cases, which belonged to the commissaries; nor in proper maritime cases, which were for the admiral; and even now it has no jurisdiction whatever in proper fiscal or revenue cases, which are exclusively for the Court of Exchequer; nor can it take cognizance even of ordinary actions of debt, unless the sum is above £25, or the question is with one of its own members. But at all events it has no proper jurisdiction except *in civilibus*. With a few exceptions not affecting the principle, it has no jurisdiction in crimes; and with no exceptions at all it has none whatever in matters properly ecclesiastical, and especially none as to the examination, ordination, or admission of ministers, which are not only in their own proper nature ecclesiastical proceedings, but are expressly declared by the Acts of 1567 and 1592 to be exclusively for the church judicatures.'

It had been alleged by some of the other judges that, though the proceedings complained of were ecclesiastical, they affected civil and patrimonial interests. Lord Jeffrey, in commenting on this plea, observed, 'Though what the Presbytery did or refused to do may in its consequences affect the civil interests of the pursuers, this can obviously afford no ground for saying that they adjudicated upon such interests, or that a civil court may therefore interfere with proceedings which were in other respects within their proper ecclesiastical province. There can hardly be any proceeding of any court which will not in this way affect the civil interests of the parties concerned. Take the case of a court of criminal jurisdiction, for example. Is there any punishment which it can award that will not most deeply affect the patrimonial interests of the culprit and his family? If a father is transported, are not the patrimonial interests of his children affected as well as his own? But does the Court of Justiciary therefore adjudicate on civil

interests? Or can this court be called on to consider whether its sentences were illegal because a strong civil interest might be advanced by finding that they were? In the same way when the General Assembly deposes a clergyman for a gross immorality, his civil interests and those of his family necessarily suffer to a pitiable extent. But is the act of deposition the less an ecclesiastical proceeding on that account? Or can it therefore be subjected to question before your Lordships?’

With respect to the oft-quoted maxim of the Dean of Faculty, that there can be no wrong without a remedy, Lord Jeffrey said, ‘The truth is, that no system of mere jurisprudence can ever afford redress for such occasional errors or excesses of power by supreme courts while acting within their several departments. When they trespass on the province of other courts the remedy is for these courts to disregard the usurpation, and to proceed with their own business as if no such intrusion had occurred.’ To talk of there being no wrong without a remedy, and to assume that the only way to secure the remedy is to give a right of review to a civil court, is neither more nor less, as Lord Fullerton pungently remarked, than ‘to reverse the ancient error, and to provide against the possible fallibility of the Church by the supposed infallibility of the Court of Session.’

Considerable obscurity rested on the decision of the court as to its effect upon ulterior proceedings. It declared that though the Presbytery had followed the explicit instructions of the supreme ecclesiastical court, it had done an illegal act in refusing to take Mr. Young upon trial on the ground that he had ‘been vetoed by the parishioners.’ But it had not said that in case of the Presbytery’s refusal to take the necessary steps for the ordination of the presentee, it was prepared to enforce obedience to its edict by fine or imprisonment. Taken by itself it might mean nothing more than that the court would interfere only with the appropriation of the stipend, and

that the temporalities of the benefice would be forfeited if the Church should persist in rejecting the presentee. In order to test the question, whether this must be the result, the General Assembly resolved at its meeting in 1838 to appeal the case to the House of Lords. Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, expressed his approval of this step, but at the same time insisted that ‘when any law is declared by the competent civil authorities to affect civil right, the Church cannot set aside such a law.’ The Non-intrusion party resolved that there should be no misunderstanding as to the position which the Church intended to assume towards the civil courts; and by a majority of 183 to 142 they adopted the following resolution in vindication of the distinct and exclusive spiritual jurisdiction of the Church:—

‘That the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland having heard the report of the Procurator on the Auchterarder case, and considered the judgment of the House of Lords affirming the decision of the Court of Session, and being satisfied that by the said judgment all questions of civil right, so far as the Presbytery of Auchterarder is concerned, are substantially decided, do now, in conformity with the uniform practice of this Church, and with the resolution of last General Assembly, ever to give and inculcate implicit obedience to the decisions of civil courts, in regard to the civil rights and emoluments secured by law to the Church, instruct the said Presbytery to offer no farther resistance to the claims of Mr. Young, or of the patron, to the emoluments of the benefice of Auchterarder, and to refrain from claiming the *jus devolutum*, or any other civil right or privilege connected with the said benefice. And whereas the principle of Non-intrusion is one coeval with the reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of its constitution, embodied in its standards and declared in various Acts of Assembly, the General Assembly resolve that this principle cannot be abandoned, and that no presentee

shall be forced upon any parish contrary to the will of the congregation. And whereas, by the decision above referred to, it appears that when this principle is carried into effect in any parish, the legal provision for the sustentation of the ministry in that parish may be thereby suspended, the General Assembly being deeply impressed with the unhappy consequences which must arise from any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and holding it to be their duty to use every means in their power not involving any dereliction of the principles and fundamental laws of their [church] constitution to prevent such unfortunate results, do therefore appoint a committee for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national establishment, and the harmony between Church and State, may remain unimpaired, with instructions to confer with the Government of the country if they see cause.'

It was not until after the lapse of nearly a year that the appeal to the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case was disposed of. On the 2nd and 3rd of May, 1839, the decision of that tribunal was delivered by Lords Brougham and Cottenham, dismissing the appeal and confirming the deliverance of the Court of Session. The two learned lords agreed in holding that the qualifications of a presentee included nothing but doctrine, literature, and life; and consequently that excepting for heresy, ignorance, or immorality the Church cannot legally reject a presentee.* This opinion was at variance with the theory of Dr. Cook as well as of Dr. Chalmers, and indeed with the laws and the entire procedure of the Church for centuries. The conviction that this was the case was held by all parties without distinction. In a discussion on the Veto Law in the Assembly of 1833, Dr. Cook affirmed that 'the Church regarded qualification as in-

cluding much more than learning, moral character, and sound doctrine—as extending, in fact, to the fitness of the presentees in all respects for the particular situation to which they were appointed.' It was not without good reason that Lord Cockburn remarked, regarding the decision of Lords Brougham and Cottenham on the Auchterarder case: 'There never was a great cause adjudged in the House of Lords on reasons more utterly unworthy of both. A case about a horse or a £20 bill of exchange would have got more thought. Brougham declared that his only difficulty lay in finding out what the difficulty was, which perhaps was a correct account of his own state and that of his learned compeers. The ignorance and contemptuous slightness of the judgment did great mischief. It irritated and justified the people of Scotland in believing that their Church was sacrificed to English prejudices. The successful party laments that the mere affirmation is all that it has gained.'

The opinions thus expressed by Lords Brougham and Cottenham struck at the very foundation of the constitution and polity of the Scottish Church. Instead of possessing, as she had always imagined, all freedom except that which statute specifically withheld, the Church was now informed that she had no freedom except that which statute specifically granted. Not only were the church courts informed that they must not set aside a presentee because he had been rejected by the congregation, but they were warned that they must not take into account his fitness for the particular parish to which he had been appointed. Their own judgment in regard to that point was held to be as illegal as the objection of the people. Not only would the Non-intrusion principle be thus swept away, but the entire spiritual independence of the Church would be overturned.

The leaders of the Non-intrusion party would have been quite willing to abandon the Veto Law and fall back upon the intrinsic powers of the Church to prevent the

* It is noteworthy that Lord Brougham, when he held the office of Lord Chancellor, in his place in the House of Lords spoke of the Veto Act as a wise and beneficent measure—in every respect more desirable than any other course that could have been taken

intrusion of presentees upon reclaiming congregations; but the declarations which Lords Brougham and Cottenham had ultroneously put forth respecting the duties of Presbyteries and the powers of the civil courts, made it evident that the repeal of the Veto Law would be of no avail in preventing a collision between the Court of Session and the Church, unless she were prepared to abandon entirely the fundamental principle that no minister shall be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation.

When the Assembly met, a fortnight after the decision had been given by the law lords, three motions were submitted. Dr. Cook proposed in effect that the Veto Law should be held as abrogated, and that the church courts should proceed as if it had never existed. Dr. Chalmers moved that no further resistance should be made to the claims of Mr. Young, or of the patron, to the temporalities of the benefice of Auchterarder; but that the principle of Non-intrusion is coeval with the origin of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland, and forms an integral part of the constitution, and cannot be abandoned. Dr. Muir proposed a kind of middle motion, but which was identical in principle with that of Dr. Cook. The speech of Dr. Chalmers in support of his motion occupied three hours, and was one of the most magnificent ever delivered by that illustrious orator and divine. His defence of the veto of a congregation without their reasons being regarded was singularly effective, and had a powerful influence on the mind of Sir Robert Peel, causing him to waver in his opinion respecting the powers of the Church, though it ultimately failed to convince him. At the close of the prolonged debate the motion of Dr. Chalmers was carried by 36 over that of Dr. Muir, and by 49 over the motion of Dr. Cook.

It soon became evident that the opinions expressed by Lords Brougham and Cottenham had emboldened the Moderate party to make other appeals to the civil courts, and thus to aggravate the collision between

the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1835 the Crown, as patron of the parish of Lethendy, presented a Mr. Clark to be assistant and successor to the aged minister of the parish. The presentee and his habits were well known to the parishioners, and he was at once vetoed by the heads of families. The presentation was set aside by the Presbytery of Dunkeld, and their judgment was confirmed on appeal by the General Assembly. Mr. Clark, who was quite well aware that his character would not stand investigation, appeared at first to have acquiesced in this decision; but in March, 1837, he was induced to follow the example of the Auchterarder presentee, and raised an action against the Presbytery in the Court of Session. Shortly after the case was brought into court the minister of the parish died. Mr. Clark had not received any regular deed of presentation, and the sign-manual formerly given to him, not having taken effect during the life of the late incumbent, was held to be null and void. The Crown in consequence issued a new presentation, in favour of another preacher, Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the congregation. The Presbytery were on the eve of ordaining him when an interdict was served upon them at the instance of Mr. Clark, prohibiting the ordination. The Commission of Assembly to whom the case was referred, following the course recommended in that case of Cadder in the previous year, by Principal M'Farlane of Glasgow and Dr. Cook, the two most eminent leaders of the Moderate party, decided that, as admission to the pastoral office is entirely an ecclesiastical act, subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, the Presbytery should proceed without delay to the induction of Mr. Kessen upon the call in his favour.

This decision was carefully framed for the purpose of indicating that the Church declined to interfere with the civil question of the comparative validity of the two competing presentations, but directed Mr. Kessen's settlement to take place solely

upon the call of the congregation. The interdict, however, only forbade the Presbytery to proceed on the presentation, and therefore a second interdict was asked and obtained, prohibiting the settlement of Mr. Kessen on any ground whatever. This new action of Mr. Clark was referred by the Presbytery to the Commission of Assembly. A motion that the Presbytery should be directed to ordain Mr. Kessen without delay was seconded by Mr. Buchanan of Strathblane, an influential member of the Moderate party, and was supported by the Rev. Dr. Brunton, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh, and Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of that city, who was also strongly attached to that party. 'He regretted,' he said, 'that the necessity of deciding in this case had been thrust upon them, but still he felt the necessity existed. They had instructed the Presbytery to do a purely spiritual act—to ordain Mr. Kessen as minister of the parish—and for this they were interdicted. It might happen that the temporalities of the parish would not go to the minister in this case, but he thought that was exceedingly unlikely. He for one would never consent to delay, nor would he consent to go into a civil court to plead this cause. He knew his own province, and on that province he would stand or fall.' So strong and general was the conviction that the Court of Session had made an unwarrantable invasion of the rights and liberties of the Church, that the minority against the motion to proceed with the ordination consisted of no more than six individuals, and only one of these was a minister.

The Presbytery, thus authorized by the supreme court of the Church, lost no time in carrying out its instructions; and though the Dean of Faculty, the prime instigator of the whole proceeding, declared that 'the members of Presbytery will most infallibly be committed to prison' if they should set the interdict at defiance, they obeyed the injunctions of the ecclesiastical court, and ordained Mr. Kessen to

the pastoral charge of the congregation of Lethendy. A complaint was of course immediately lodged against them for a breach of interdict, and they were summoned to appear at the bar of the Court of Session on the 14th of June, 1839. But the sympathy which had been excited on behalf of the ministers, who for conscience sake had braved this trying ordeal, was so deep and wide, that the hostile majority of the judges were afraid to carry into effect the prediction of the Dean of Faculty, and they contented themselves with administering a rebuke to the Presbytery, accompanied with a threat of imprisonment against any Presbytery that should follow a similar course. Prominent notice was taken of the fact that the court did not yet attempt to annul Mr. Kessen's ordination, and that the Moderate party in the Church did not venture to condemn the breach of interdict, and to declare the ordination void. In no long time, however, these steps were deliberately taken by both.

The General Assembly, at its meeting in 1839, had appointed a committee to confer with the Government, and to take such other steps as might appear advisable, in order to prevent any further collision between the civil court and the ecclesiastical authorities. But the opponents of the Non-intrusion party were determined to put forth their utmost efforts to prevent any peaceable settlement of the contest. The Dean of Faculty wrote a bulky pamphlet, in which he attempted to show that the Non-intrusion party wished to establish a spiritual despotism, dangerous alike to the civil and religious liberties of the country. Dr. Cook, at the meeting of the Commission in August, exerted all his strength of argument to prove that the decision of the Court of Session had erased the Veto Law from the statute-book of the Church. But a much more formidable blow was dealt to the Non-intrusion party by the step now taken by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, in ordaining a presentee in defiance of the authority of the supreme

ecclesiastical court. In 1837 a preacher of the name of John Edwards was presented by the trustees of the Earl of Fife, the patron, to the church and parish of Marnoch. Mr. Edwards had officiated for three years as assistant to the former incumbent: but his services were so unacceptable to the people, that at their urgent and almost unanimous request, their aged pastor removed him from the situation. It was therefore no matter of surprise that, though the parish contained about 2800 souls, his call was signed by a solitary member of the congregation—the keeper of the inn at which the Presbytery were wont to dine. Out of 300 heads of families who were communicants, 261 tendered their dissent against his settlement. Mr. Edwards was in consequence rejected by the Presbytery, and the patron presented another preacher to the charge. Mr. Edwards, however, did not acquiesce in his rejection, having good reason to believe that he was not likely ever to receive a presentation to any other living. He therefore applied to the Court of Session, and readily obtained from it an interdict prohibiting the Presbytery from proceeding with the settlement of the second presentee; and, secondly, a declaration similar to that issued in the Auchterarder case, that the Presbytery were bound to take him on trial, with a view to ordination. The General Assembly of 1839 had instructed the Presbytery to suspend all further proceedings in this case till the following meeting of the supreme court; and the Commission expressly prohibited them from taking any steps towards the settlement of Mr. Edwards. But Aberdeenshire has always been a stronghold of Moderatism, and the majority of the Presbytery of Strathbogie were staunch adherents of the extreme Moderate party; and though they had not been ordered by the Court of Session to proceed, they ultimately determined to set at defiance the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors.

The majority of the Presbytery, seven in number, in compliance with a summons

from the Commission, appeared before that body on the 11th of December, 1839, by their counsel; but they resolutely refused to reconsider their resolution, or to suspend proceedings in the case until next meeting of Assembly, or to give any promise that they would not proceed to ordain Mr. Edwards to the pastoral charge of the parish of Marnoch. The Commission therefore resolved to suspend them from their office. Under the guidance of the Dean of Faculty they determined to hurry on the crisis which was now impending, and applied to the Court of Session for protection against their own ecclesiastical superiors. They petitioned that court not only to ‘suspend the resolutions, sentence, and proceedings’ of the Commission, but also to prohibit the ministers who had been appointed by the Commission to assist the minority of the Presbytery (four in number) ‘from intruding into their parishes,’ or from preaching even in private houses or in the open air, in any part of the district in which the suspended ministers were settled. But the Court of Session, though prepared to go great lengths against the Non-intrusion party, thought it unsafe and illegal to grant a demand so broad and startling as this. ‘In this case,’ said the Lord President, ‘the court are prepared to grant the interdict, but not to the full extent prayed for. The complainants prayed the court to interdict and prohibit the parties complained of from preaching in these parishes. Any one might preach in the open air, for instance. The court had jurisdiction only over the parish churches, the churchyard, the school-room, and the bell.’ An interdict to this extent was accordingly granted by the court.

The Church at once yielded obedience to this prohibition, and made no attempt to intimate the sentence of the Commission, or to preach in the church, or churchyard, or glebe, or school-room. Though the season was the dead of winter the members appointed to carry out the sentence of the

Commission either preached in the open air or in some barn or shed, surrounded by crowds of attentive hearers, who listened with deep interest to the doctrines of the gospel, which it was alleged had been very rarely taught in the parishes of the suspended ministers. These proceedings were necessarily as distasteful to the ministers as they were gratifying to their parishioners, and they applied once more to the Court of Session for deliverance from this grievous annoyance. The majority of the First Division of that court, consisting of the Lord President, Lord Gillies, and Lord Mackenzie, had by this time obtained new light on the subject, and were no longer of opinion that 'the court could not prevent any man preaching in these parishes.' They not only made the previous interdict perpetual, but prohibited all ministers of the Established Church, except the seven suspended incumbents, from preaching or performing any other ministerial duty either in the churches or anywhere else within these seven parishes.

The three judges who issued this extraordinary interdict soon discovered that they had completely overshot the mark, and that in their anger at finding that their fulminations had no effect upon the Non-intrusion party they had miscalculated their powers. Even the *Quarterly Review*, the leading Conservative organ, said 'that the granting of the latter of these prohibitions was a flagrant outrage on the principles of ecclesiastical liberty cannot be denied.' An eminent Conservative statesman said to a friend in regard to this interdict, 'I suppose that according to the law of this country any man that pleases may preach in Strathbogie. I suppose any minister of any sect whatever might go and preach there. I suppose that any Chartist or Infidel might go and preach there. And how it can be lawful to hinder the ministers of the National Church—the very ministers who have been expressly intrusted by the nation itself with the religious instruction of the

people from going to preach there—how in this free country it can be lawful to prevent them from doing what may be done by all other men besides, is what I don't profess to be able to comprehend. In fact, I have written to the Dean of Faculty to tell him that, in my opinion, he has brought the Court of Session into a great scrape.'

There can be no doubt that his lordship judged rightly in regard to this matter, and it is more than probable that the significant hint which he had conveyed to the prime mover, aided by the state of public feeling in regard to this most unwarrantable stretch of authority on the part of the Court of Session, made the judges afraid to proceed further in this perilous course. The interdict was unhesitatingly violated by the clergymen who were appointed by the Assembly to preach in Strathbogie. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Candlish, and other leading men, shared the peril, and took a prominent part in discharging the duty, in order that they might encourage their brethren by their example to set the interdict at defiance. The Lord President, in administering a rebuke to the Presbytery of Dunkeld, had loudly threatened that if another breach of interdict should take place it would be visited with imprisonment; but these threatenings remained unexecuted. Now that a 'cloud of witnesses' hastened to Strathbogie in defiance of the court, to testify on behalf of 'Christ's Crown and Covenant,' and returned with interdicts in their pockets, all duly signed, sealed, and served, and as duly broken—not a single step was taken to vindicate the authority of the Court of Session and to avenge the broken interdicts—a clear indication that the judges were well aware that they had been guilty of a rash and imprudent, if not an unconstitutional act, which was calculated seriously to impair the authority of the courts of law.

The General Assembly of 1840 declared that the seven ministers of Strathbogie

had been duly suspended by the Commission, and continued the suspension. The First Division of the Court of Session, on the other hand, interdicted the ecclesiastical courts from executing the order of the Assembly. In other words, the civil court assumed the power to reverse a judgment of the supreme church court relating to the discipline of ministers—an entire subversion of the spiritual authority of the Church. It was not merely, as Lord Cockburn remarked, a decision to the effect that what the Church was about to do should have no patrimonial consequences, but that the act should not be done. The Court of Session, by this procedure, assumed that it had the right to order the Church to do or to undo the most purely spiritual acts, to ordain or not to ordain, to suspend or depose or not to suspend or depose from the office of the ministry, and to continue men in the exercise of the ministry when suspended or deposed by the Church. If this action on the part of the civil court was legal and constitutional, it follows that the enactment by statute that the ordination or deposition of ministers belongs to the Church by divine right is a mere dead letter.

As might have been expected, the Strathbogie ministers persisted in the course on which they had entered. On the 19th of February, 1840, they took Mr. Edwards on trial, and declared him to be qualified. The Court of Session next issued a decree ordering the Presbytery to ordain and admit him as minister of the church and parish of Marnoch, and they unhesitatingly resolved to obey this injunction.

The parish of Marnoch, which has obtained such celebrity in Scottish ecclesiastical history, is a quiet secluded spot in the southern part of Banffshire, on the banks of the Deveron. The parishioners, far removed from the centres of political and ecclesiastical agitation, were only bent on obtaining a pastor whom they could respect, and from whose ministrations they might

obtain spiritual instruction and direction. They were too well acquainted with the character and conduct of Mr. Edwards, to expect that they could receive any benefit from his teaching or example; but as he was intruded on them by the decree of the civil court, through the instrumentality of seven men whom the supreme court of the church had suspended from the office of the ministry, nothing remained for them to do but to protest publicly against this proceeding. The seven ministers had appointed the ordination to take place on the 21st of January, 1841. A heavy fall of snow on the previous day had blocked up the roads leading to Marnoch. But notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, bands of men from all the neighbouring parishes might be observed wending their way to the church, until at least 2000 persons were seen standing round the kirk. After some delay the doors were opened, the building was instantly and densely filled; the lower part being reserved for the parishioners and the galleries for strangers, great numbers of whom were unable to obtain admittance.

The moderator, Mr. Thomson, of Keith, commenced the proceedings with prayer. One of the elders of the parish then demanded by what authority the seven ministers had met, and whether they appeared there by the authority of the General Assembly or against that authority. But the only answer he could obtain was that they were sent there by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and under the protection of the law of the land. The agent for the elders, heads of families, and communicants of the parish, then read a solemn protest signed by the members of the Kirk Session, and another signed by 450 communicants, repudiating the authority of men suspended from their offices by the supreme court of their church, and deprecating as unlawful and sinful the act which they were about to commit. They would take no further part, he added, in these unconstitutional proceedings.

The people of Marnoch then rose in a body, 'old men with heads white as snow, the middle-aged, and the young, and gathering their Bibles and Psalm-books they left the church, many in tears, all in grief.' 'Will they all leave?' said one of the Intrusionists. 'Yes, they all left, never to return.' Their places were immediately taken by a crowd of strangers, mostly young lads who, up till that time, had not been able to obtain admittance. They pelted the suspended ministers with snowballs, and assailed them with hisses, shouts, and groans. The members of Presbytery and their legal agent sat 'cowering and shivering in their pews, staring at one another with pale faces, miserably afraid to remain where they were, but far too frightened to rise and go away.'

This discreditable scene was at length terminated, and peace restored by the interposition of Mr. Stronach, a county magistrate, and a Non-intrusionist who had been sent for to quell the disturbance. The ordination was completed. Mr. Edwards declared, with all the solemnity of an oath, that zeal for the glory of God, love to the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, and not worldly designs and interests, were his great motives and chief inducements to enter into the office of the ministry. The crowded audience were awed into silence and seriousness for the time at a spectacle unparalleled in the history of the Church—'an ordination performed by a Presbytery of suspended clergymen, on a call by a single communicant, against the desire of the patron, in the face of the strenuous opposition of a united Christian congregation, in opposition to the express injunction of the General Assembly, and under the sole authority of the Court of Session.'

The General Assembly of 1839 had appointed a committee to confer with the Government, with the view of inducing them to bring forward a measure to terminate the strife which had arisen in the Church, and the contest between the civil and ecclesiastical courts. But after some

hesitation Lord Melbourne refused to interfere at present. Thus repulsed by the Whig Ministry, which was then tottering to its fall, the Non-intrusionists turned to the Conservative party, which was supported by the great body of the clergy, and entreated their assistance. The application was at first cordially welcomed. Lord Aberdeen had publicly expressed his conviction that the principle of Non-intrusion had always existed in the Church of Scotland, and had always been recognized, and that 'the will of the people had always formed an essential ingredient in the election to the pastoral office.' He therefore undertook to prepare a measure which he expected would have the effect of healing those dissensions that were threatening to rend the Church in pieces.

The professed object of the Bill which Lord Aberdeen now prepared was to prevent the intrusion of a presentee on a congregation who refused to receive him as their minister. He at one time expressed himself inclined to require that a call should be given to the presentee by a majority of the congregation, as being the true old constitutional usage of the Church of Scotland. He was in any case prepared 'to recognize a presbyterial instead of a popular veto,' and to empower the church courts to reject a presentee, on the ground of the continued opposition of the people, although they personally might not approve of the reasons assigned for that opposition. His Lordship, however, before introducing his Bill into the Upper House, thought fit to communicate with certain persons 'with whom he was in the habit of acting'—the Dean of Faculty being no doubt one of that number; and the result was that he not only abandoned altogether the proposal to insist upon a call, as 'quite impracticable,' but also so restricted the grounds on which the Presbytery could reject a presentee as to put it out of their power to do so on the ground of his being unacceptable to the people. It was therefore at variance with the principles of the Non-intrusion party. The measure

no doubt permitted the parishioners to state objections of all kinds to the presentee, and the Presbytery to take all these objections into consideration; but they were allowed to give effect to them only when personal to the presentee, when legally substantiated, and when sufficient in the judgment of the Court to warrant his rejection. To the people it altogether disallowed unacceptableness as a disqualification. It refused to the Presbytery the power of giving effect in any instance to the opposition of the congregation simply as such, no matter how general or how strong that opposition might be. That which the veto law said should be done in every instance, Lord Aberdeen's Bill said should be done in none. Above all, it offered no protection against the aggressions of the Court of Session. It was nominally as a remedy for an existing evil that the Bill was introduced, yet it left that evil just where it found it. On these and other similar grounds the Bill was condemned by the General Assembly, 27th May, 1841, by a great majority, and was ultimately abandoned by its author.

The Strathbogie ministers meanwhile persevered in the course on which they had entered. They disowned the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and at every step asked and obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against the proceedings of the Assembly. Some even of the most highly-respected laymen of the Moderate party, like Sir George Clark and Mr. Pringle of Whytbank, declared that their contumacy was inexcusable. But they were not to be deterred from carrying out their determination, and the Assembly was at length constrained to depose them, on the ground that they had, in defiance of the Supreme Court of the Church, exercised a ministry from which they had been suspended, and had applied to the civil court to interfere with the discipline of the Church, and to prevent the performance of its purely spiritual duties.

At this critical juncture Lord Melbourne's ministry were expelled from office, and the

Conservatives came into power. This change of Government seems to have emboldened the Moderate party to press matters to an extremity. They evidently imagined that the Non-intrusionists, it firmly dealt with, would give way. Their leaders intimated to the new administration their intention to defy the sentence of the Assembly, and appealed to the new premier and his colleagues for protection against the consequences of such a step. They recommended that Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, and the other ministers who had preached in Strathbogie, should be prosecuted for breach of interdict by the law officers of the Crown, and declared their conviction that if this were done they and their friends would have much reason to be satisfied, and the present temporary excitement would soon pass away. They followed up this declaration by holding ministerial intercourse with the deposed ministers, and assisting them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Another forced settlement took place on the 11th of November by the majority of the Presbytery of Garioch, who ordained a Mr. Middleton, a person sixty years of age, to the pastoral charge of the parish of Culsalmond, in spite of the opposition of the congregation, who, besides the veto, brought special objections against him, which they were prepared to make good, and of an appeal by the minority of the Presbytery to the Supreme Church Court. The Commission of Assembly prohibited Mr. Middleton from officiating in the parish of Culsalmond until the appeals and protests connected with his case had been disposed of. The sentence was exclusively spiritual; it touched no civil right, and carried with it no civil consequences, but it was nevertheless suspended and interdicted by the Court of Session.

The practical result of all this, as Lord Cockburn remarked, is that 'as a separate and independent power the Church is altogether superseded. It is difficult to fancy any act which it can do or can refrain from doing without being liable to the review of the Court of Session. The Established

clergy of Scotland are reduced by these judgments to the same state as the Established schoolmasters. The principle of the judgment in the Culsalmond case,' he adds, 'does expressly and directly subject the Church, in every sentence it can pronounce, to the review of the civil court.'

When such powers had been assumed by the Court of Session it was to be expected that application should be made to them for interdicts to arrest the decisions of the church courts in other matters. One Presbytery, while proceeding with the trial of a minister who was charged with several acts of fraud, were ordered by the Court of Session 'to suspend the whole proceedings,' and were 'prohibited and interdicted, and discharged from taking cognizance of the pretended libel.' Another Presbytery were about to depose a minister who had been found guilty of four separate acts of theft, and might have been found guilty of many more, when he raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session, and obtained an interdict against their proceeding further in the case. Mr. Clark, the presentee to Lethendy, who was living in the manse, of which he had taken possession, was accused of repeated acts of drunkenness, which the Presbytery of Dunkeld were about to investigate when they were interdicted by the Court of Session.*

Matters were now rapidly coming to a crisis. On the one hand the Non-intrusion party instructed their several Presbyteries to take into consideration the conduct of the ministers who had held communion with the suspended Strathbogie clergymen. On the other hand the Moderate leaders intimated their intention 'to take such steps as may appear most effectual for ascertaining from competent authority' whether they and their friends or their opponents were 'to be held by the Legis-

* After the Disruption the Established Presbytery of Dunkeld, instead of proceeding to ordain Mr. Clark to the pastoral charge of the parish of Lethendy, as the Court of Session had prescribed, found it necessary to deprive him of his license. He died in Glasgow in great poverty and wretchedness.

lature of the country as constituting the Established Church, and as entitled to the privileges and endowments conferred by statute on the ministers of that Church.' The Government, alarmed at the internecine strife which threatened the destruction of the Establishment, began at length to bestir themselves to effect a settlement of the case; but as they showed undisguised reluctance to go beyond the limits of Lord Aberdeen's Bill, the negotiations were protracted for a considerable period without coming to any definite issue. At this critical juncture an incident occurred which gave the final blow to all hope that the impending disruption of the Church would be averted. A section of the Non-intrusion party, commonly designated 'the Forty,' because they claimed to amount to that number, opened private negotiations with the Government, and intimated their willingness to accept a measure which was identical in principle with Lord Aberdeen's Bill. This movement led the Ministry to believe that the Non-intrusion party was at last breaking up, and induced them to lay aside the intention which they had begun to entertain of bringing forward a measure that might heal the divisions of the Church. They fancied that the great body of the supporters of the Non-intrusion policy sympathized with the views of the insignificant 'Forty'—that if they stood firm and declared their resolution to support the decisions of the Court of Session, the number who might secede would be only a few of the leaders, and that their followers would surrender at discretion. Private members of the Legislature, like the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Campbell of Monzie, made strenuous attempts to get a measure passed which would protect the rights and privileges of the Church and the people, but without effect. The Government contrived to frustrate all such efforts, and would neither legislate themselves nor allow others to do so.

At the meeting of Assembly in 1842 the members nominated by the deposed Strath-

bogie ministers claimed a right to a seat in the court, and the representatives of the minority, whom the supreme court alone recognized, were interdicted by the Court of Session from taking their places among its members. The claim of the former was peremptorily rejected, while the latter were cordially welcomed. The other interdicts of the Court of Session were treated in the same manner.

It had now become evident, even to those who did not regard the system of patronage as unscriptural, that it was the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church was involved; and it was resolved by a majority of 216 to 147 that 'patronage is a grievance, has been attended with much injury to the cause of true religion in this Church and kingdom, is the main cause of the difficulties in which the Church is at present involved, and that it ought to be abolished.'

This resolution, though it simply renewed the protest which for more than half a century after the restoration of patronage the General Assembly had annually made against this grievance, would probably not have been adopted at this time, had it not been clear that it was hopeless to appeal any longer to the Parliament and the aristocracy, and that the Church must henceforth rely upon the support of the people. But the most important step taken by this Assembly was the adoption of what was termed 'The Claim of Rights,' recapitulating the doctrines embodied in the Confession of Faith respecting the constitution of the Church, recognized, ratified, and confirmed by repeated Acts of Parliament, and especially in the Treaty of Union; setting forth the recent violations of these rights by the Court of Session, in direct opposition to former decisions of that court; and appealing to the Legislature against the usurpation of the courts of law. Whatever may be thought of the principles embodied in this masterly document, no one can deny that it is well entitled to the commendation bestowed on it as 'the clearest and most consecutive, the most

condensed and most comprehensive statement of the great principles which the Church asserted; of the scriptural, constitutional, and legal grounds on which these principles rested; of the violence done to them by the civil court; of the wrongs which the Church had consequently sustained, and the claim for protection which she put forth.' The Lord High Commissioner was requested to transmit this paper to Her Majesty, and it was ordered to be 'circulated as extensively as possible throughout the bounds of the Christian world.'

The Assembly which adopted this Claim of Rights also carried, by a large majority, a motion resolving to petition the Legislature in favour of the abolition of patronage, as the fruitful source of all the dissensions that had taken place in the Church. It suspended from their judicial functions till the meeting of the Commission in March, 1843, those clergymen who had preached for the seven deposed ministers of Strathbogie. It deposed the minister of Stranraer, who had been found guilty of 'fraudulent and reckless extravagance in the contraction of debts,' but who had obtained an interdict from the Court of Session against further proceeding in his case. The minister of Cambusnethan, who had been found guilty of theft, and had appealed to the civil court for protection, shared the same fate. The induction of the minister of Culsalmond was declared to be null and void. The rejected presentee of Lethendy was deprived of his license, and the ordination of the minister of Glass, who had been ordained by the suspended ministers, was cancelled. In a word, the Church stood firmly upon her border, and, as Dr. Chalmers said, 'gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour,' to the encroachments upon her spiritual province.

It was evident that the final issue of this protracted conflict was near at hand. Sir James Graham, in acknowledging the receipt of the Claim of Right and the petition against patronage, forwarded to

him by the Lord High Commissioner, stated, 'If the presentation of these documents to the Queen implied in the least degree the adoption of their contents, I should not hesitate to declare that a sense of duty would restrain me from laying them before Her Majesty. But as the language used in the two addresses is respectful, and as the inclosure purports to be a statement of grievances from the supreme ecclesiastical authority in Scotland, I am unwilling to interrupt their transmission to the throne. I shall therefore lay before the Queen your lordship's letter, with all the documents accompanying it, declaring at the same time that this act is not to be regarded as any admission whatever of the Claim of Right, or of the grievances which are alleged.' This reply of the Home Secretary made it clear that the Government had resolved to resist the claims of the Non-intrusion party, and that the door of hope was thus closed.*

Events were now rapidly bringing affairs to a crisis. The lawsuits against the Church already amounted to thirty-nine, and were almost daily increasing. Lord Kinnoull and Mr. Young had raised a second action against the Presbytery of Auchterarder, to recover damages which were laid at £16,000, as compensation for the injury inflicted on the presentee in consequence of his rejection. The Court of Session decided in Mr. Young's favour, and their decision was confirmed on appeal by the House of Lords on the 9th August, 1842. It was thus declared by the supreme court that the obligation to 'receive and admit a presentee was a civil obliga-

tion, the violation of which was to be punished as a crime committed against the common law of the country.'†

As the disruption of the Church was evidently approaching, preparations began to be made for that momentous event, and it was resolved to hold a convocation of the ministers belonging to the Non-intrusion party. It met in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, and was attended by 465 ministers, gathered out of every county from Wigton to Caithness. The meetings were held in private, and none but ministers were allowed to be present. The proceedings lasted for a week, and ended in the adoption of two sets of resolutions. The first protested against the invasions of the rights of the Church by the courts of law, as subversive both of authority in matters purely spiritual and of the ratified constitution of the Church of Scotland. The second set referred to the remedy for these grievous wrongs, and declared that if the Legislature should refuse redress, and thus sanction the aggressions of the civil courts, the subscribers would feel constrained to secede from the Establishment. The first series was subscribed by 423 ministers, the second by 354. 'This band,' says Lord Cockburn, 'contains the whole chivalry of the Church.' These proceedings were followed by a great public meeting held in Edinburgh on the 24th November, at which a memorial prepared by the instructions of the convocation was addressed to the Government, embodying the resolutions adopted by it, and setting forth the inevitable result of a refusal to redress the grievances of which the Church complained.

* Sir James Graham was undoubtedly the member of the Government who was mainly responsible for the dogged and almost scornful refusal to interfere for the preservation of the church. He contemptuously said that it was not for him to build a bridge of gold for the threatening Seceders to pass over. He lived, however, to repent bitterly of his refusal after it was too late.

† Dr. Cunningham, in the second edition of his 'Church History of Scotland,' ii. 521, affirms that the penalty might have been avoided if the Presbytery had taken Mr. Young on trial and rejected him. 'It might,' he says, 'have disposed of the presentee

as it pleased—found him qualified or found him not—and no court could have interfered except to protect it in the discharge of its duty.' The learned historian has, however, overlooked the important fact that Lords Cottenham and Brougham had emphatically declared that the want of acceptability to the congregation was not a legal ground of rejection. If the Presbytery had rejected Mr. Young on that ground their decision would at once have been set aside by the law courts; and it would have been dishonest to have set him aside on any other plea, while the real ground of rejection was the fact that he was not acceptable to the people.

'They feel,' said the memorialists, 'that the time is come when the final determination of this question can be postponed no longer; and as they cannot disguise from themselves, so neither would they deem it right to conceal from the Government and the country, the inevitable result of a continued refusal, on the part of the Legislature, of that indispensable measure of relief which they find they have a good right' to ask and good reason to expect.'

It might have been expected that after 333 ministers, men of spotless character and unquestionable integrity, had thus deliberately and solemnly appended their names to a document pledging themselves to secede from the Church unless their grievances were redressed, the Government, whether resolved to grant or reject their claims, would at least have given these men credit for common honesty, and have believed that they would keep their word; but like the dissolute courtiers and the bishops in the days of Charles II., the Ministry continued obstinately incredulous that any considerable number of the clergy would resign their livings and abandon the Establishment. They afterwards pleaded, in extenuation of their wilful blindness, that they had been misled by the leaders of the Moderate party, whose scornful disbelief in the integrity and veracity of their brethren was utterly without excuse. A circular had been addressed to certain members of the party, on whose judgment the Government placed the greatest reliance, inquiring whether in the event of the Claim of Rights being rejected, a secession would take place; and if so, what would be the probable number of the seceders? The individuals consulted all concurred in the opinion that the leaders of the Non-intrusion party must throw up their livings, but the estimated number of their followers varied from ten to forty. The Rev. Dr. Cumming of London, who made great pretensions to the gift of expounding the meaning of unfulfilled prophecy, thought fit to interpose in the contest at this

juncture, and publicly declared he was not satisfied that any would secede; and a considerable number of the most prominent Dissenters expressed opinions equally uncharitable and erroneous. Thus encouraged the Gallies of the Ministry, who 'cared for none of these things,' resolved that they would allow matters to take their course.

The answer of the Government to the Claim of Rights and the Memorial of the Convocation was conveyed in a letter from Sir James Graham, dated January 4th, 1843, and addressed to the Moderator of the General Assembly. It has been designated 'an able and statesman-like document,' but certainly not with good reason. 'It cannot be described,' said the *Quarterly Review*, 'as either a very logical or a very courteous document. It took no notice whatever of the Memorial; but adverting to certain addresses which the General Assembly had transmitted to the Crown, entered into a detailed examination of occurrences long gone by, and wound up with declaring that to yield to the Church's demands would "lead directly to despotic power."' It failed to state the Church's claim correctly, and it did not fairly meet the pleas urged in its support. It mixed up the address of the Assembly praying for the abolition of patronage, with the address claiming that the spiritual independence of the Church should be secured, and by this dexterous though discreditable manœuvre contrived to gain an apparent advantage in regard to the demands of the Non-intrusion party. It mis-stated as well as repudiated the Claim of Rights, which it declared to be unreasonable, and intimated distinctly that the Government could not advise Her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands. So far therefore as the Ministry were concerned, no relief was to be granted either as to patronage or as to the encroachments of the Court of Session.

A few days later (January 20th) the decision of the Court of Session in regard to the Chapel Act virtually placed the entire government of the Church under

civil control. In 1833 the ministers of the forty Parliamentary churches, as they were called, were admitted into the church courts with the unanimous approval of both parties in the Assembly. In the following year the ministers of Chapels of Ease were also recognized as members of church courts, and had districts and kirk-sessions assigned them. The new churches which had been erected by the Church Extension funds were placed in the same position in 1837, and two years later the Secession Chapels which were united to the Established Church were also put on the same footing. All civil rights and interests were carefully reserved. Men of the most opposite opinions, Moderate and Evangelical alike, concurred heartily in these measures. With such unanimous approval were the ministers of the Chapels of Ease, the Parliamentary, and the *Quoad Sacra* Churches admitted as members of the church courts that Dr. Norman Macleod, senior, though only the minister of a Gaelic chapel in Glasgow, was chosen by the Moderate party in 1836 to fill the office of Moderator of the Assembly. So effective had the Chapel Act proved, that before the Disruption it had been the means of adding to the Establishment no less than 214 churches, each with a district, a minister, and a kirk-session. 'The effect of this over the country,' says Lord Cockburn, 'may be judged of from its operation in two places. St. Cuthbert's parish in Edinburgh, instead of having one parish church with two ministers and one session, aided by three chapel ministers without sessions or districts, for 70,000 people, obtained nine churches with ten ministers, each of the nine having a session and a district. The Barony parish of Glasgow, which used to have one church, one minister, and one session, eased by four chapels, for about 80,000 souls, obtained eighteen churches and eighteen ministers, each with its district and session.'

The ministers of these chapels, as a body, were zealous Non-intrusionists, and as the contention between the two parties waxed

hotter and hotter 'the suppression of the *quoad sacra* ministers—in other words, the extinction of above 200 hostile votes—became the object of the very party that had assisted to rear them. And they had not far to go to get them set aside.' A congregation of the Associate Synod in the parish of Stewarton—a body which had recently been reunited to the Church—was assigned by the Presbytery of Irvine, in which that large parish is situated, a district *quoad sacra* and a session, and its minister was at the same time admitted to a seat in the ecclesiastical courts. This step in no way affected the civil rights and interests of the objectors; but the heritors thought fit to apply to the Court of Session for an interdict against the procedure of the Presbytery, and of course obtained it. The question at issue was debated at great length before the whole court; and the judges, by the old majority of eight to five, interdicted the *quoad sacra* ministers from sitting in the church courts, the Presbytery from allocating a *quoad sacra* district, the new kirk-session from exercising discipline, and all the parties complained of 'generally from innovating upon the present parochial state of the parish of Stewarton as regards pastoral superintendence.' 'There was no peculiarity in this parish,' says Lord Cockburn, 'and therefore the decision virtually smites down the whole *quoad sacra* churches in Scotland. Yet this blow is immaterial compared with the principle upon which it has been struck. The principle is that *wherever* the Church commits what the Court of Session thinks an error in law, or at least an abuse, the court has jurisdiction to correct that error or abuse; in other words, the Church has no independent jurisdiction whatever.'

It only remained that the decision of the Government on the Claim of Rights should be sanctioned by the Legislature to make the way clear for the Evangelical party to secede from an Establishment thus subjected to the domination of the civil courts. A petition was accordingly presented to both

Houses of Parliament laying before them the Claim of Rights, and praying them to grant the redress and protection therein sought. On the 7th of March the petition was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by Mr. Fox Maule (afterwards Earl of Dalhousie), who moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee for the consideration of this important question. Mr. Campbell of Monzie, Sir George Grey, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. P. M. Stewart ably supported the motion. It was strongly opposed by Sir James Graham, who called upon the House to put an extinguisher at once upon the expectations of the Church, 'because he was satisfied that such expectations could not be realized in any country in which law, or equity, or order, or common sense prevailed.' Lord John Russell, though he spoke in a more guarded and temperate manner, coincided in Sir James Graham's decision; while Sir Robert Peel expressed his hope that 'an attempt would not be made to establish a spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy above the other tribunals of the country, and that, in conjunction with increased attention to the duties of religion, the laws of the country would be maintained.' The debate occupied two nights, but the result was never for a moment doubtful. Mr. Maule's motion was lost by a majority of 135, the numbers being 76 for and 211 against it. But out of thirty-seven Scottish members who were present at the division twenty-three voted in favour of the motion. The voice of Scotland therefore, as expressed by her own representatives, was overborne by the votes of English and Irish members, most of them Episcopalians and Roman Catholics.

The Government were still remarkably incredulous that the *threat*, as they styled it, of the Non-intrusion party would be carried into effect, and remained so until the disruption had actually taken place. 'While Dr. Cumming,' said the *Quarterly Review*, 'wrote pamphlets to prove that there would be no secession, or that if it

did occur the number of seceding ministers would be very small—while Dr. Leishman (the leader of "the Forty") assured Lord Aberdeen that the whole affair would end in smoke—while those apparently best informed even among the citizens of Edinburgh affirmed "that not forty would go out"—little short of 400 brave hearts set themselves to prepare for an issue which they felt to be inevitable. Each explained to his congregation the point at which the controversy had arrived, and prayed for Divine support. But forthwith, under the guidance of Chalmers, a machinery of wider agitation was prepared. Associations were entered into and public meetings held, collectors appointed, and six months before the Free Church had any existence considerable funds had been gathered in both for the erection of places of worship and the maintenance of ministers. And then, and not till then, Chalmers and his friends of the Convocation drew breath, like men ready for the final act of all.' Writing to a correspondent in America, on the 19th of April, 1843, he says—

'Our crisis is rapidly approaching. We are making every effort for the erection and sustentation of a Free Church in the event of our disruption from the State, which will take place, we expect, in four weeks. I am glad to say that the great bulk and body of the common people, with a goodly proportion of the middle classes, are upon our side, though it bodes ill for the country that the higher classes are almost universally against us. Notwithstanding this, however, we are forming associations for weekly payments all over the country, and I am glad to say that they amount by this day's post to 408. We expect that by the meeting of our General Assembly the country will be half organized, and are looking for a great additional impulse from the disruption when it actually takes place. I am hopeful that ere the summer is ended we may number about 1000 associations, or as many as there are parishes in Scotland; so that unless there be an attempt to crush us by prose-

cution, I have no fear of our getting on. But the Lord reigneth, and He alone knoweth the end from the beginning. Let us look to His providence and grace, without which there can be no security from without nor vital prosperity within.' Subscriptions were indeed pouring in at the rate of £1000 a day, so that by the time the General Assembly met 687 associations had been organized for collecting contributions for the Sustentation Fund, and upwards of £104,000 was available for the erection of churches.

The day of trial and decision at length arrived. The Assembly met, according to appointment, on the 18th of May, in St. Andrew's Church. The retiring Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Welsh, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh, took the chair, and opened the proceedings with a deeply impressive prayer. And now expectation, which had already been wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, became positively painful, when the Moderator, amid breathless silence, rose and addressed the Court in the hearing of the crowded audience. According to the usual form of procedure, he said the time had come for making up the roll, but in consequence of the infringement which had been made on the constitution of the Church they could not now constitute the Court without a violation of the union between Church and State, and must protest against their proceeding further. He then read the famous Protest against the wrongs inflicted by the civil power on the Church, specifying in detail the various encroachments of the courts of law on its spiritual jurisdiction and authority, and disclaiming all responsibility for the enforced separation of the subscribers—203 in number, a majority of the members of Assembly—from an Establishment which they loved and prized, 'through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church.'

Having finished the reading of this Protest, Dr. Welsh laid it upon the table, turned, and bowed respectfully to the Commissioner, the Marquis of Bute, left the chair, and proceeded along the aisle to the door of the church. He was followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane of Greenock, Dr. McDonald, Sir David Brewster, Mr. Campbell of Monzie, and other leaders of the party, and then the numerous sitters on the thickly-occupied benches behind filed after them in long unbroken line. 'The effect upon the audience was overwhelming. At first a cheer burst from the galleries, but it was almost instantly and spontaneously restrained. It was felt by all to be an expression of feeling unsuited to the occasion; it was checked by an emotion too deep for any other utterance than the fall of sad and silent tears.'

The effect which this scene produced upon the Moderate party was peculiarly striking. Up to this moment they had deluded themselves into the belief that only the leaders of the popular party would abandon the church of their fathers; but in the words of their historian, 'when almost the whole Non-intrusion party which occupied the left side of the Moderator's chair rose in a mass, and began to move towards the door, there was profound astonishment, dismay, even alarm. . . . When they were all gone one side of the House was nearly a blank, and those who remained sat for a time silent and half stupefied at the lamentable secession which had taken place,' and for which, it might have been added, they were mainly to blame. 'Thus was consummated at once,' says a Conservative organ, 'the greatest and most eventful schism that perhaps ever occurred in any national church since the foundation of Christianity in our land.'

When the seceding members, of whom 123 were clergymen and seventy-six elders, emerged from the church, the effect on the multitude who thronged the streets was most thrilling. The air rent with the shout of admiration with which the men who had sacrificed their all for conscience sake were

welcomed. But 'amidst this exaltation,' says Lord Cockburn, 'there was much sadness, and many a tear, many a grave face, and fearful thought; for no one could doubt that it was with sore hearts that these members left the Church, and no thinking man could look on this unexampled scene, and behold that the temple was rent, without pain and forebodings.' They were constrained by the pressure of the crowd to form a procession three deep, which, with the Moderator, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon at its head, moved through the lane opened for them by the surging throng of excited but profoundly respectful spectators who filled the streets between St. Andrew's Church and the hall at Canonmills that had been prepared for their reception. It was capable of containing at least 3000 persons, and with the exception of the area, set apart for members, was crowded in every part with the enthusiastic admirers of the seceding clergy. After the usual preliminary services there was then constituted, with Dr. Chalmers as its Moderator, the first Assembly of the 'Free Protestant Church of Scotland.' The ministers who had seceded, together with the other Convocationists and adherents, amounting altogether to 474, signed a formal deed of demission, resigning all the emoluments and privileges belonging to their office. They were joined by the whole of the foreign missionaries who had been connected with the Established Church, and the great majority of the theological students. But, as Lord Cockburn remarked, 'the most extraordinary and symptomatic adherence was by about 200 probationers, who extinguished all their hopes at the very moment when the vacancies of 450 pulpits made their rapid success almost certain.'*

Steps were immediately taken to carry

* Lord Jeffrey was sitting reading in his quiet room when a friend burst in upon him and exclaimed, 'What do you think of it? more than 400 of them are actually out.' The book was flung aside, and, springing to his feet, Jeffrey exclaimed, 'I'm proud of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done.'

out the scheme propounded by Dr. Chalmers at the Convocation, for the purpose of providing adequate support for the ministers who, for conscience sake, had thus sacrificed their all. A common fund was adopted as the essential principle of their financial system, to the support of which all the congregations were to contribute, and in the benefits of which all the ministers were to share. A building fund was instituted to defray the cost of erecting churches, manses, and schools, and a fund for the erection of a theological college for the training of candidates for the ministry. Provision was also made for the support of the parochial teachers who had seceded, for home and foreign missionaries, for aged and infirm ministers, for expenses of management, and other necessary matters. The whole arrangements for the organization of the new church were made with remarkable sagacity, and proved completely successful.

As soon as the seceding ministers quitted the place of meeting, the old Moderate party resumed their ascendancy, and took charge of the business of the Assembly. Principal Macfarlane, of Glasgow, was chosen Moderator. The Marquis of Bute presented his commission, and the Queen's letter was read. This document had been looked for with considerable curiosity by the 'Forty,' as well as by a small number of waverers, who 'hoped against hope' that it might contain some concessions which would justify their continuance in the Establishment. It had been composed, however, under the belief that the Secession would be small and unimportant, and it brought no comfort to those who had abandoned their principles to preserve their livings; while, as Lord Cockburn says, 'several who, to the great risk of their reputation, adhered to the old firm till the oracle spoke, immediately after joined the swarm at Canonmills.'

The Assembly, on being formally constituted, immediately set itself to undo the whole work of the last nine years, in spite of the piteous protests and entreaties of

the 'Forty.' The sentences of suspension and deposition pronounced upon the seven Strathbogie ministers were pronounced *ab initio* null and void by a majority of 148 to 33. Though Mr. Story, of Roseneath, and other ex-Nonintrusionists warned the Moderates of the danger this motion might involve, and professed to anticipate another Secession, the veto law was not rescinded, but merely set aside as having been declared by the Court of Session an illegal act from the beginning. Mr. Story pleaded that 'the act was an ecclesiastical act, and must be cancelled ecclesiastically,' and the Rev. Norman Macleod, who was of the same opinion, 'wished to repeal the veto constitutionally.' All in vain; the Moderates knew their power, and were determined to exercise it with inflexible rigour. The settlements of Mr. Edwards at Marnoch and of Mr. Middleton at Culsalmond were recognized and confirmed, and Mr. Clark, the Lethendy presentee, had his license restored. The Acts by which the ministers of the Chapels of Ease and of the Parliamentary and Extension Churches had been admitted to the church courts were expunged from the records of the Assembly, and finally the Act was rescinded which opened the pulpits of the Establishment to the ministers of other churches. They twice attempted, and twice failed, to answer the Protest of the Seceders. A third attempt was made, but proved equally unsuccessful. A satisfactory answer was to have been forthcoming at the meeting of the Commission in August, but nothing more was ever heard of the matter.

There is no doubt room for diversity of opinion respecting the policy which terminated in the Disruption, but no leal-hearted patriotic Scotsman could, without emotion or regret, contemplate the rending asunder of the Church of John Knox and Andrew Melville, of Robert Bruce and Alexander Henderson. 'It is perhaps idle to speculate now,' says Lord Cockburn, 'on what might have been done to avert the irrecoverable step. But some things are tolerably clear. It was the duty of Government to endeavour

to adjust claims which it clearly could not crush, and which in every view, either as advanced or as resisted, were alarming. I consider it *nearly certain* that these claims might have been adjusted, and even without much difficulty, if either the Whig or the Tory Government had interfered *sincerely and intelligently in due time*. The question of patronage might have been settled, if not to the entire satisfaction yet with the acquiescence of all parties, by any real check, however mild, on its abuse. A statute doing *clearly and honestly* what Lord Aberdeen's vague Bill pretended to do, would have at least set the matter at rest till the next generation. . . . But the truth is that, notwithstanding a world of professions, Government was never duly anxious to compose these differences. The Whigs in general had no love of Churches, and it was only for its patronage and for the politics of the Moderate party that the Tories in general loved the Church of Scotland. Neither Government understood the subject, and both trembled for Church of England questions, and for the Dissenters. Their ignorance, which no doubt has all along been profound, is but a poor apology for their infatuation. . . . The fact that the coming catastrophe, though at last as certain as the rising of the next day's sun, was not believed by the Government, is of itself sufficient to prove their indifference. How *could* they be *truly anxious* for adjustment when they saw no danger! No men could be more strongly admonished. But they opened their ears and their eyes only to one side, and these *friends of churches* have blown up the best ecclesiastical establishment in the world.'

The Government were very deeply mortified at the result of their wilful blindness, which they now saw clearly would be most injurious to their party in Scotland; and they vented their anger in the first instance on the Moderate clergy, who had helped to mislead them; none of whom were now consulted in regard to the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown. But they were

much less excusable in manifesting as they did a vindictive feeling towards the Seceders. Dr. Welsh, of course, resigned the professorship of Ecclesiastical History, which he held in the University of Edinburgh; but he was deprived by Sir James Graham, who was extremely bitter against the Free Church, of the office of Secretary to the Bible Board, which was not legally restricted to clergymen of the Established Church, and is at the present moment held by Sir Henry Moncrieff, a distinguished Free Churchman. The ministers who adhered to the Church complained, not without reason, that they were nicknamed Residuaries and Erastians, and denounced as men unfaithful to 'the Crown Rights of the Redeemer.' At the same time great allowance should have been made for the exasperation produced by the protracted life and death struggle between the two parties; and right feeling, and even worldly prudence, to say nothing of Christian principle, should have prevented the remanent clergy from countenancing in any way the treatment which the Free Church received from not a few of the landed proprietors. Not contented with expelling the parochial teachers who had joined the new Church, they were so unwise as to make an attempt to remove from office the professors who had taken this step, while they had never made any complaint respecting the numerous Episcopalians who, not unfrequently, by their aid occupied chairs in the National Universities. Sir David Brewster, the Principal of the United College of St. Andrews, and one of the most illustrious men of science Scotland has ever possessed, was singled out for the most violent assault of the Church Courts, and the Home Secretary seemed not disinclined to aid and abet their proceedings. But the attempt ignominiously failed, partly in consequence of the difficulty of finding any method by which Sir David could be legally removed from his office, but mainly on account of the outburst of public indignation with which the proposal was greeted.

The lairds, however, and among them some of the highest rank and most extensive estates, attempted to crush the Free Church by measures utterly indefensible in themselves, and which were certainly not calculated to gain the end in view. In the county of Sutherland, which belongs almost exclusively to one proprietor, the Toleration Act might be said to have been repealed. No site could be obtained either for a church or a manse. 'One venerable minister,' says Dr. Hanna, 'had to send his wife and children away to a distance of seventy miles—not a house or hut nearer being open for their accommodation—and he had himself to take a room in the only inn which the district supplied.' Another—the minister of Lairg, a man far advanced in years—was asked by his widowed daughter to share a cottage within his parish in which she lived, but the noble proprietor (or perhaps his factor) interfered. She was warned that if she harboured her own parent in her house she would forfeit her right to her dwelling, as it was not desired that any house on this estate should be 'a lodging-place for Dissenters.' Father and daughter were accordingly obliged to leave the county. 'A third, driven from one of the loveliest homes, compelled to study in a wretched garret, and to sleep often with nothing between him and the open heavens but the cold slate covered with hoar frost—his very breath frozen upon the bed-clothes—sunk into the grave. From the manse of Tongue the patriarchal clergyman and his son, who was his assistant and successor, separating themselves from their families, retired to a very humble abode. The exposure and privation were too much for them; they both caught fever and they both died.' 'The ministers of the county of Sutherland,' says Lord Cockburn, 'having suffered most, were each asked lately (by the Free Assembly) to say whether there was anything, and what, in his circumstances which gave him a claim for consideration in the distribution of the Sustentation Fund. There is nothing more honourable

to Scotland, and little more honourable to human nature, than the magnanimous answers by every one of these brave men. Not one of them made any claim. Each abjured it. One of them stated that though he had been turned out of a hovel he had got into last winter, and had been obliged to walk about thirty miles over snow beside the cart which conveyed his wife and children to another district, and had nothing, he was perfectly happy, and had no doubt that many of his brethren were far better entitled to favour than he was. These are the men to make churches! These are the men to whom some wretched lairds think themselves superior.'

In other districts of the country the same intolerant course was followed. No site for a church or manse could be obtained on the extensive estates of the Duke of Buccleuch. At the mining village of Wanlockhead, 1500 feet above the level of the sea, the adherents of the Free Church were compelled to worship in the open air during successive winters amid frost and snow. A canvas tent was at one time erected, but it was torn to pieces by the violence of the wind. In Canonbie, a parish which is exclusively the property of the Duke of Buccleuch, the people erected a tent on a bare moor, in which to conduct their religious services; but they were speedily driven from it by a legal interdict, and compelled to worship on the public highway. Their clergyman, a young man of eminent piety and zeal, died in consequence of his exposure to the severity of the weather. When Dr. Guthrie preached there to a large congregation, the elders had every now and then to draw the edge of their hands across the plate to clear away the snow. At Thornhill, near the Duke's mansion of Drumlanrig, a site for a Free Church was of course refused; but a poor woman named Janet Fraser, a member of the United Secession Church there, had a small plot of ground which in this emergency she offered to hand over to the congregation as a free gift. As soon as her intention became known, a sub-factor

of the Duke of Buccleuch offered her an extraordinary price for the plot; but the tender was firmly refused. 'Na!' said the spirited old woman, 'it cam frae the Lord, and the Lord wants it again, and he shall hae't!' It was finally arranged that Janet should receive a small rent for it during her life, and that on her death it should become the property of the congregation. Upon the ground thus bestowed the Free Church of Thornhill has been erected. It has one rather significant peculiarity. The south wall has a deforming bend which interferes with the symmetry of an otherwise goodly edifice. Eighteen inches more of ground would have made the wall straight. But these eighteen inches would have encroached on the Duke's boundary, and so the wall is crooked!

In Argyleshire the owners of extensive districts of moorland would not allow even a tent to be pitched on a Saturday night, though it was to be removed on the Monday morning. A floating church had to be erected and stationed off the coast at Sunart, because Sir James Miles Riddell, the chief proprietor of the district, refused to grant a foot of land for a site. In the adjoining Highland county of Inverness matters were still worse. Dr. McPherson, a professor in the University of Aberdeen, proprietor of Eigg, declined to grant a site either for a church or a manse to the minister of the parish of Small Isles, who had seceded at the Disruption, though one had been given to the Roman Catholic priest, and the whole Protestants on the island, with three exceptions, had joined the Free Church. The minister was in consequence obliged to send his family to Skye, and to take up his own residence on board a small yacht called the *Betsy*, which conveyed him from island to island to minister to his flock. The minister of Kilmallie, near Fort William, and his people, were subjected to equally severe privations. The wretched accommodation with which he was content, in order that he might remain among his congregation,

was again and again taken from him, and he was compelled to change his temporary place of residence no less than five times. He was at length driven to Fort William, over an arm of the sea, which he had to cross in an open boat on every occasion on which he visited his people. In consequence of the hardships which he endured, he was laid prostrate with a dangerous illness from which he never thoroughly recovered.

With regard to the Highlanders who inhabited the parish of Kilmallie, a large portion of whom belonged to the clan Cameron, the treatment they received from their chief, Cameron of Lochiel, closely corresponded with that which was meted out to their pastor. Like him they were driven from place to place by interdicts of the heritors, instigated by the Established Presbytery of the bounds, and were obliged for a good many months to worship upon the sea shore within high-water mark. On this spot they held their first communion after the Disruption, on the 30th of July, 1843. 'We attended,' wrote Hugh Miller, 'the public service of a Communion Sabbath in Lochiel's country. The congregation consisted of from 3000 to 4000 persons, and never have we seen finer specimens of our Highland population. We needed no one to tell us that the men at our side—tall, muscular, commanding, from the glens of Lochaber and the shores of Lochiel—were the descendants, the very *fac-similes* of the warriors whose battle-cry was heard furthest amid the broken ranks at Preston, and who did all that almost superhuman valour could do to reverse the destinies of Culloden. And yet here they were assembled as if by stealth—the whole population of a whole district—after being chased by the interdicts of the proprietor from one spot of ground to another. . . . They had gone first to the parish burying-ground. It was the resting-place of their brave ancestors. One family had been accustomed to say, "This little spot is ours," and another, "This little spot is ours;" and

they reasoned, rationally enough, that as the entire area belonged to them in its parts, it might be held to belong to them as a whole also, and that they might meet in it therefore to worship their God over the ashes of their fathers. Alas! their simple logic was met by a stringent interdict. . . . As we stood and listened to the rippling dash of the waves, mingled with the voice of the preacher, and there, half on the beach and half on an unproductive strip of marginal sward, did meet to worship God, patient and unresisting, though grieved and indignant, from 3000 to 4000 of the bravest hearts in Scotland.'

A companion picture to this sketch of a Highland communion in the open air in summer is furnished by a scene vividly described by the Rev. Eric Findlater, the son of the 'outed' minister of Durness, in Sutherland. The Seceders there, as in the neighbouring parishes of this county, were forced to worship under the shelter of one of those canvas tents which were sent from Edinburgh to various places where sites had been refused. 'In calm weather they did tolerably, but their continued exposure to wet, and especially the gales of that climate, soon began to tell on them, for there, especially in winter, Boreas reigns. The one at Durness was pitched in a gravel-pit, in a central part of the parish. On the north-west side it was sheltered by a Gaelic school-house which belonged to the people, and on the west by a high wall which they themselves built, in order to break the force of the prevailing winds—the west and south-west. In the centre of it stood the wooden box from which the minister used to address them on the hill-side—it was, in short, a movable pulpit. In it I was preaching on the 18th of February, 1844. When about the middle of my sermon, which was in Gaelic, there came a snow-shower, accompanied by a fierce blast from the north. The consequence was that the cloth gave way—it was rent from top to bottom. The people sat still while a few of the more active

young men, expert at the furling of sails from their intimacy with the sea, in fewer minutes than I take to describe it, laid hold of the fluttering mass and secured it to the poles with its own cords. I then turned my back to the blast, and having covered my head with a handkerchief, went on and finished my discourse. The people crouched a little closer to each other, and adjusted their cloaks and plaids, and then continued to listen as if nothing had happened. If they thought of their ill-advised landlord it was but for a moment, for they seemed to feel as if their business was with One, from listening to whose message not even the wrath of man ought to move them.

‘The scene where this incident occurred lies about a quarter of a mile from the sea-shore, but overlooking the ocean. On a fine day it is a fair prospect that presents itself to the eye. In the foreground there are some high rocks; further in the distance the Whiten Head stands majestically forth, as if doing homage to the northern ocean, as the rays of the evening sun fall upon its venerable but wrinkled face; while in the distance appear the storm-swept Orcades, their dissolving blue commingling with that of the sky. But on such a day as that it was a far different picture. The shore was one continued line of foam and spray. The multitudinous waves lifted up, not only their crests, but their voices. The Whiten Head looked sullen from under a cloud, while the Orkney Islands were hid in the womb of the storm. Yet while we were worshipping under such circumstances the lord of the soil on which we stood was perhaps worshipping the same God under the roof of some aisled and groined cathedral, in his cushioned pew—his eyes delighted with dim religious light, and his ears regaled with the sounds of the solemn organ.’

The consideration of the fact referred to in the closing sentence of this vivid description of a Communion Sabbath in Sutherlandshire, undoubtedly added bitter-

ness to the feelings of the sufferers from such discreditable treatment. The Dukes of Sutherland and Buccleuch, the Earl of Seafield, Lords Macdonald and Panmure, Sir James M. Riddell, Colonel Campbell of Possil, and other great site-refusers were almost to a man Episcopalians, and in dissenting from the Established Church had claimed for themselves a right which they peremptorily refused to their tenantry and the population on their estates. The case was well put by the servant of a widow lady who possessed a large estate in the south of Scotland. He was a forester who had been born and brought up on the property, and was the special favourite of her late husband, by whom he was respected and trusted in everything. He was informed by the factor that the step he had taken in joining the Free Church had excited the deepest displeasure of his employer, and that if he did not return to the Establishment he would certainly lose his place. ‘This comes well from her,’ was the rejoinder of the sturdy, resolute forester, ‘who is a Dissenter herself, and doing more to ruin the Establishment by building an Episcopalian chapel than any one else. But you may tell her, if she thinks I will make a worse servant by trying to be a servant to God according to my conscience, I am as ready to part with her as she can be to part with me.’

The dismissal of servants was a common mode of petty persecution followed by the landlords, who, though they had themselves quitted the Establishment, were bent, on political grounds, on upholding it by all the means in their power. Teachers too were dismissed, even in private establishments. Free Church tenants were informed that their leases would not be renewed. In some places heritors and kirk-sessions even refused relief from parochial funds to the adherents of the Secession. ‘And they imagine,’ wrote Lord Cockburn, ‘that this hurts the Free Church! They are so ignorant as not to know that the best thing that could happen to it would be to have some

of its best men burned.' Like the Israelites in Egypt, the more the Seceders were oppressed the more they multiplied and grew.

The Free Church, however, had a work of unexampled magnitude and difficulty to perform. Everything requisite for the equipment and maintenance of the Church had to be provided at once. 'Possessing adherents,' as Dr. Buchanan remarked, 'more or fewer, not only in every county, but in every parish in Scotland, and formally claiming to represent the national Church, necessity was laid upon it to set up and sustain the whole equipment of a Church all over the length and breadth of the land.' Provision had accordingly to be made, not only for the religious instruction of the immense multitudes in all the cities and towns, and in nearly all the rural parishes of the Lowlands, but also for the population of the Highlands and Islands, who had in a body cast in their lot with the 'Free Protestant Church of Scotland.'

The difficulties which the adherents of the Free Church had to encounter in organizing their financial system were very great—not a few thought them insuperable; but they set themselves to work with a stout heart and a resolute will. The backbone of their financial system was the plan of a common fund, of which all the ministers should obtain an equal share. In 1843–44 the income of this Sustentation Fund, as it was called, amounted in round numbers to £61,513; in 1853–54 to £97,352; in 1863–64 to £117,590; in 1881–82 it had risen to £174,880. In 1843–44 the fund yielded £100 to each of 474 ministers. In 1869 the number of ministers had increased to 900, each of whom drew from the Sustentation Fund the sum of £150. In 1881 the equal dividend from the Sustentation Fund amounted to £160, and was shared by 1000 ministers. In addition 781 ministers received, some £22, others £11 each, from what is called the Surplus Fund. These sums are exclusive of the stipend paid by the various congregations to their respective ministers. The number of churches which

have been erected, including double churches for several congregations in the Highlands, is 1090. Between 1843 and 1875 the sum of £1,986,430 had been expended in buildings. The local building fund in 1881–82 amounted to £80,446, while £11,792 was raised for church extension building; and the revenue of the aged and infirm ministers' fund was £10,574. The aggregate congregational funds between 1843 and 1875 amounted to £3,318,725; the home and foreign mission funds to £1,511,165. In 1881–82 the former for that year were £197,202, the latter, £94,968. The three theological colleges in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen are conducted by thirteen professors, and have about 250 students in attendance. The sum expended on the colleges and education between 1843 and 1875 was £610,350. One of these colleges (Glasgow) has an endowment from donations, subscriptions, and legacies amounting to £35,000. The other two, though not endowed, enjoy an equal revenue.

It was confidently asserted at the formation of the Free Church that the large sums contributed through the enthusiasm of its adherents would speedily fall off; but it is an instructive fact that they have, on the contrary, steadily increased. The average contributions of the first five years amounted to £318,086 (the building fund in 1843–44 was £227,837); of the second five to £285,683; of the third five to £305,029; of the fourth five to £333,803; of the fifth five to £369,618; of the sixth five to £426,643; and of the seventh five (to 1878) to £542,524. In 1881–82 the revenue of the Free Church amounted to £607,680, making the total amount of its free-will offerings since 1843, £15,262,438.

The party who adhered to the Establishment were at first apparently paralyzed by the secession of such a large body of the most active, zealous ministers and people, and spent their strength in angry controversies with their opponents rather than in judicious and energetic efforts to repair the

breaches of their Zion. The proceedings of the Government and of their other friends in Parliament did their cause no good. Two months after the Disruption Lord Aberdeen's despised and rejected Bill was passed into a law—'a piece of ill-timed folly,' says Lord Cockburn, the anticipated and realized results of which were 'great discontent among the people, great caprice and tyranny in the Church Courts, great grumbling among patrons, yet no regular or effective check on the exercise of patronage. The substance of it is this:—It declares something to be law which the whole law lords, except the Chancellor Lyndhurst, declared not to be law; and Brougham, Cottenham, and Campbell said that if this were the law the Auchterarder case was wrong decided. . . . It was vehemently opposed. The leading objections to it were—1st, that, as urged by the true Moderate party, it recognized a right in the people to state other objections, besides the old ones, to the morals, literature, or orthodoxy of the presentee, and thus gave them too much power; 2nd, that, as urged by the popular party, it gave the people no real power at all, but only insulted them by permitting them to state objections which the Church was entitled to trample upon, and that the condition of acting within their competency legalized the constant control of the civil court; 3rd, that, as urged by all reasonable men, it conferred great power on the Church, to which it gave that very *liberum arbitrium* which every party in the Church had of late denounced as new and dangerous; 4th, that, as urged by all except its authors, by making the characters of the objectors a subject of relevant inquiry, it immensely enlarged this ecclesiastical despotism, and in truth established something like a clerical inquisition. . . . The Court of Session invented one new Church, and now Government has made Parliament invent another, not aware that nothing disparages ancient systems more than superseding them by offensive mushrooms. One hundredth part of the zeal for appeasing the Church that has been shown by Gov-

ernment lately, if exerted a year ago, would have avoided the whole Secession. Having first broken the fabric by refusing to repair it, they now undermine what remains by attempting to prop it.'

In the course of time a more liberal and active spirit began to influence the councils of the Established Church as the old Moderate party passed away. Missionary enterprises, both home and foreign, were resumed and carried on with spirit, and new life and vigour were inspired into all its schemes. Since 1843 312 *quoad sacra* churches have been built or acquired by purchase or gift, with a minimum endowment of £120 a year, besides in many cases a manse; making in all 1276 churches belonging to the Establishment, of which 876 receive from the teinds an average annual stipend of £270, besides a manse and in most cases a glebe. By Act of Parliament 190 parishes, where the stipends are under £150, receive from the Exchequer an average annual grant of £57 each. By a subsequent Act forty-nine churches erected in 1826 in destitute localities in the Highlands and islands receive a stipend of £120 each from the Exchequer. In forty-one parishes in burghs the stipend of the ministers is derived from burgh funds or old local endowments. There are 156 non-parochial churches, and 120 preaching and mission stations, connected with the Established Church. The expense incurred in building and endowing the 312 *quoad sacra* churches has been estimated at upwards of £2,000,000. During the nine years ending 31st December, 1880, the Established Church collected for all purposes, home and foreign, £2,588,702, giving an average amount of £287,633. The amount for 1880 was £319,847, exclusive of £57,912 for seat rents, making a total of £377,760. In 1881 the Church contributed for all purposes, including collections for infirmaries, the poor, &c., by church door collections, subscriptions, donations, and legacies, and £5867 for seat rents, the sum of £340,177. The unexhausted teinds in the hands of the

heritors or landowners amount to £140,000 per annum.

The example of the Free Church has had a powerful influence on the United Presbyterian Church, the third largest religious body in Scotland, which had not previously been very exemplary in the support afforded to its ministers. It consists of 551 congregations, with 174,557 members in full communion. The large amount of debt on its buildings, which, prior to 1843, was a heavy burden, especially on poor congregations, has been most part paid off by means of a debt liquidation fund raised by the wealthier members of the Church. By the aid of a Manse Fund a comfortable residence has been provided for nearly all the ministers in rural districts. A stipend augmentation fund, in aid of the amount paid by congregations for the support of their ministers, has had the effect of raising the average annual stipend to £267 18s. 2d. The ministers in town congregations receive

stipends varying from £400 to £1000, and there are very few now in any district of the country whose stipends fall below £200 a year, with a manse. A fund for the support of aged and infirm ministers has also been instituted. The Theological College has four professors and a lecturer, who have 121 students under their charge. The contributions of the denomination have for a good many years been steadily on the increase. The total income of the United Presbyterian Church for the year ending 31st December 1881 was £388,730, which is £46,991 above the income for the year 1879. The amount contributed for all purposes for the ten years ending at 31st December, 1880, has been £3,709,462, being £58,554 above the income for the ten years ending at 31st December, 1870, and giving an average annual income for each of these ten years of £370,946. The total amount raised by this Church from May, 1843, to December, 1881, has been £9,302,700.

CHAPTER III.

Origin of Railroads—George Stephenson's Locomotive—The Darlington and Stockton Line—The Liverpool and Manchester Railway—Competition for the best Engine—The 'Rocket'—Multiplication of Railway projects—Opposition of the Landlords and their rapacity—Joint-Stock Companies—Railway Mania in 1845—Enormous Speculations—Attitude of the Legislature—Immense expenditure on the Trent Valley Railway and the Great Northern—Parliamentary and other preliminary expenses—Jobbery of the Railway Companies—Collapse of the Speculations—Present State and Statistics of the Railways of the United Kingdom—Influence of the Railway System—The Belgian Railways—The method of their construction—Superiority of their system—The Railway Systems of Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and the United States of America—Statistics and present condition of the American Railroads.

THE period of which we have been writing was not only fertile in political and ecclesiastical controversies and changes, but witnessed also social improvements of momentous importance. Conspicuous among these was the railway system, under which the whole country has been intersected by a network of iron roads, along which hundreds of millions of travellers are every year conveyed. Railways, or as they were first called, tramways, had been employed for at least 200 years in the north of England collieries, but it was not until the year 1800 that the principle of what is now distinctively called a railroad dawned on the ingenious mind of Dr. James Anderson, whose experiments and writings contributed not a little to the improvement of agriculture in Scotland. He proposed that a line of railways, for the draught of heavy loads, should be carried along the sides of the existing turnpikes. His scheme does not appear to have attracted much attention at the time; but in 1801 an Act of Parliament—the first of its kind—was passed for making an iron railway running from Merstham in Surrey to the Thames at Wandsworth, on Anderson's plan, and another Act was passed in 1809 for a similar railroad between Cheltenham and Gloucester. These local projects, however, were merely intended to facilitate the draught of heavy loads by horses; but meanwhile experiments were being made for the application of steam to the purposes of locomotion by land, which ultimately contributed greatly to expedite the construction of railroads. The inventors

who at this time constructed a locomotive engine intended to use it on ordinary roads. Mr. Murdoch, of Soho, a Cornish engineer, who was the first to illuminate his house and offices with gas, was probably the first Englishman who formed the model of a steam-engine. In 1802 Richard Trevithic, one of Murdoch's pupils, took out a patent for a steam-carriage to travel on the turnpike road, which attracted considerable attention, but was not carried out or perfected, mainly in consequence of the inventor having turned his attention to the making of another steam-engine, to run, not upon a road, but upon rails. After a short trial it was regarded as a failure, and was forgotten.

In 1813 a locomotive engine was constructed by the celebrated George Stephenson, the son of a Northumbrian collier, and at this time engine-wright to the Killingworth colliery; and to him, without doubt, belongs the credit of combining Trevithic's travelling engine with Anderson's project of a turnpike railroad for travelling purposes. It had hitherto been taken for granted that the smooth-tired wheels of the machine would not adhere sufficiently to the smooth surface of the rail, and speculators threw away a great deal of pains, money, and time in trying to surmount an imaginary difficulty. Stephenson, instead of relying on abstract theories, made the experiment which proved completely successful. In 1813 he took out a patent for his engine, which continued to work on the Killingworth Railway, but only in drawing heavy

loads at a slow rate of speed. He constructed a second and improved engine in 1816, and in 1819 he was employed by the proprietors of a colliery in the county of Durham to lay down a railway as a substitute for the waggon road on which their coals had hitherto been drawn to the river. It was completed in 1822, and five locomotives, framed under his own superintendence, were employed on the new line.

The progress of the locomotive had hitherto been very slow, but in 1821 it took a great onward start. In that year Mr. Edward Pease, a colliery proprietor near Durham, succeeded in obtaining an Act for making a railway—the first of the modern travelling class—between Darlington and Stockton. George Stephenson was appointed engineer to the new railway, and by his advice power was taken to work it by means of locomotive engines. The line was opened on the 27th of September, 1825; but the passenger traffic was at first moved by horses, one horse drawing with great ease, at the rate of ten miles an hour, twenty-six passengers, and sometimes more. It was not until the following year that Mr. Stephenson was allowed to employ his locomotive engines in this service, and even then the public were not satisfied of their general fitness for the work.

In 1825, a year fertile in projects, a company was formed for the purpose of connecting the two great towns of Liverpool and Manchester by a railroad similar to the Darlington and Stockton line. Their Bill was at first rejected, mainly through the influence of the Earls of Derby and Sefton; was renewed in the following year, with some alterations and concessions to remove the objections of landowners and ignorant and prejudiced but influential members of both Houses; and became law in 1826. Stephenson was appointed engineer; but though his locomotives had been working for ten years at Killingworth, the company were by no means certain that it would be expedient to introduce them on their railroad. He planned and executed with

consummate skill the works on this line, which he had to carry over Chats Moss, that a man could not walk upon; and at the Liverpool end he had to carry through a tunnel under the streets of that city. In 1829 the success of the railway was assured and the works so far advanced, as to require that the directors should decide the question whether the engines employed on it should be stationary or locomotive. They were induced by Stephenson to offer a reward of £500 for the best locomotive engine that could be made. Four different inventors sent engines to compete for the prize, on the 8th of October, 1829; but the 'Rocket,' constructed by Robert Stephenson, the son of the engineer, was the only one that fulfilled all the conditions of the contract, and was the undisputed winner of the reward. The double success of the railroad and the locomotive was now—under the united genius of the Stephensons, father and son—complete; and from the day of this competition may be fairly dated the accomplishment of the most important discovery of modern times. Even yet, however, the idea which had from the first suggested all the railroad projects, namely, the conveyance of goods, was still uppermost in men's minds; and no one seemed to have any notion that eventually the greatest value and surest profits of the railroad would be derived from the acceleration and cheapening of passenger travelling. 'It is a singular fact,' says Mr. Porter in his 'Progress of the Nation' (1838), 'that of all the railways constructed or contemplated up to the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line, not one was undertaken with a view to the conveyance of passengers.'

Railway schemes, however, now began to increase rapidly in number. Even while the Liverpool and Manchester line was still in progress twenty-four Acts for new lines had been obtained; then followed, between 1830 and 1836, twenty-six; in 1836, twenty-nine; and in 1837, fifteen. There was then a lull for two or three years; but the spirit of enterprise revived in 1843, when

twenty-four Railway Acts were passed; and in the course of that year seventy railroads, constructed at an outlay of £60,000,000, conveyed 25,000,000 passengers 330,000,000 miles at the average cost of $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ a mile, and with but one fatal passenger accident.

As soon as it became evident that efforts were about to be made to extend the railway system over the kingdom obstruction of a formidable kind was brought into operation, and every scheme had to be battled through the committees of both Houses of Parliament at an enormous cost of time and money; and a spirit of litigation, extortion, jobbing, bribery, and extravagance, disgraceful in its details and deplorable in its results, was brought into play.

There was at this time throughout the country a general hostility to railroads, the result of unreasoning prejudice and of dense ignorance as to their real nature and the ends they were intended and fitted to accomplish. The fact that the projected Stockton and Darlington line was to pass near one of Lord Darlington's fox covers raised the opposition of that powerful nobleman, and insured its rejection until the line was altered. Motives of a similar kind induced the Earl of Derby and other territorial Lancashire magnates to oppose the original scheme for a railway between Manchester and Liverpool, and compelled the directors to carry their line across an apparently impassable morass. Oxford and Eton, too, united in resisting the Bill for the construction of the Great Western Railway, and would not permit it to pass without the insertion of special clauses to prohibit a branch to Oxford and a station at Slough. Even after the line had been made, when the directors caused the trains merely to stop for the purpose of taking up and setting down passengers at Slough, they were interdicted by a Chancery order from making any pause where there is now one of the finest and best-frequented stations in England—honoured by the habitual use of the Sovereign. Proceedings of this kind were by no means peculiar to the seats of

education and learning; for in almost every district of the country the mere proposal to bring a railroad within five miles of a particular neighbourhood was sufficient to excite a hostile petition to Parliament, and even to draw forth a subscription to oppose such an obnoxious project.

Some allowance may be made for these foolish but honest prejudices, the result of sheer ignorance; but the superadded obstructions of cupidity and jobbery deserve the severest condemnation. The railroad companies seem to have been regarded as the lawful prey of every individual whose property they approached. The directors, as a general rule, were disposed to treat fairly, and even liberally, the landowners whose property was required for their works; but they were almost always met in a spirit of unreasonable opposition and unjustifiable extortion. In numerous cases the companies thought it prudent to submit to the most unwarrantable demands rather than venture into collision with the interests of powerful proprietors, especially members of either House of Parliament, either before committees or juries. Sums of money, varying from £5000 to £120,000, were given in numerous instances ostensibly for strips of land, but in reality for the purpose of buying off opposition. Some of the most flagrant cases of this kind obtained publicity, and drew down public reprobation. In one narrow neighbourhood it was found expedient to buy off opposition at a price which it was calculated would oblige the company to raise £15,000 per annum of additional tolls. As a general rule, the expense of obtaining land required for a railroad has been, at least, double the estimate and much more than double the fair price of the soil. On the South-Western Railway this head of expense, estimated at £90,000, actually amounted to £250,000, and this case was by no means singular.

At this period money was abundant in England, and it was difficult to find profitable employment for the rapidly-accumulating wealth of the country. The crisis of

1825-26, which brought ruin on so many individuals and mercantile establishments, had convinced people of the folly of investing their money in foreign speculations, which, in most cases, proved to be only a gigantic swindle. The capital risked and lost on foreign loans was computed at not less than £121,000,000, to which must be added £6,464,000, paid upon foreign money speculations described on high authority as being, with one or two exceptions, utterly worthless. The attention of capitalists was, therefore, turned to investments at home. Joint-stock companies were formed for every sort of undertaking; for the manufacture of cottons, for tanning, for the manufacture of glass, pins, needles, soap, turpentine, &c., for dealing in coals, for raising sugar from beetroot, for making railways in Hindostan, for loans to agriculturists, for the prosecution of the whale fishing, for trading and founding settlements on the south-east coast of Africa, and other projects of a similar kind, for which it would have been worse than absurd to have expected success. About £4,500,000 were subscribed and paid to establish British mining companies, which were designated by a competent judge as not only complete failures, but memorable proofs of the folly and cupidity of British capitalists on the one hand, and of the knavery of their projectors on the other. It was calculated by Mr. Poulett Thomson that so numerous and extensive were the joint-stock companies at that time on foot, that a capital of nearly £200,000,000 sterling, or about twenty times that of the Bank of England, would be required to carry them into effect.

The railroad system was thus inaugurated at a most favourable period, when a superabundance of unemployed capital was leading people into the 'wildest, the silliest, and the most ruinous speculations.' The work of forming railroads came, too, when it was most wanted—in the crisis of the Poor Law transition; and it speedily extended over the whole face of the country, visiting every district throughout England and

Scotland, and embracing every rank and interest from the mansion to the manufactory, from the palace to the cottage. As was justly remarked by Mr. Walpole, 'the investing classes found a new, safe, and illimitable field for the investment of their money; the labouring classes found a new sphere for the employment of their labour; and the country not only derived benefit from the freer circulation which railways produced, but also from the wider employment of labour and capital.'

As long as the new railway schemes were brought forward in moderate numbers, and were projected for the construction of railroads that were really necessary, they were productive of benefit both to the subscribers and to the public. But in no long time speculators of every kind and degree flocked to the scene, and an apparently uncontrollable mania for gambling in railway shares seized upon the public. In 1844 the number of projects in respect of which plans were lodged with the Board of Trade was 248, but in 1845 they had increased to 815. The most desperate exertions were made to get the plans ready in time, to be deposited before the expiry of the period fixed for their reception. Lithographic draughtsmen and printers were compelled to exert themselves to the utmost, and they had frequently to remain at work night after night, snatching a hasty repose for a couple of hours on lockers, or benches, or the floor. In some cases the contract could not be executed within the specified time, in others the work was done very imperfectly. One of the most eminent lithographers was compelled to bring over 400 workmen from Belgium, and even with the aid of this reinforcement he failed in completing some of his plans. Post-horses and express trains to bring to town plans prepared in the country, were sought in all parts. Horses were engaged days before, and kept under lock and key, to be ready to start at a moment's notice. Some railway companies exercised their power of refusing express trains for rival projects, and clerks were

obliged to make sudden and embarrassing changes of route in order to travel by less hostile ways. Up till midnight on the last day on which the plans of the new projects could be deposited with the Railway Board, crowds of messengers bearing the requisite documents were seen hurrying to the office, and some of them arrived after the time had expired and the door was shut. Upwards of 600 plans were duly deposited with the Board. The sum of 10 per cent. on the capital of each company was required, by a resolution of the Lords, to be lodged with the Accountant-General seven days from the assembling of Parliament. It amounted at this time to £59,136,300, being 10 per cent. on the enormous capital of £563,208,000, and 5 per cent. for Parliamentary expenses.

The wild and irrational passion for speculation in railways, which at this time spread over the whole country, affected every class of society, from the peer to the peasant. The excitement was unparalleled and quite uncontrollable. Scarcely anything else appeared to be thought of than applications for shares in new schemes, and speculations on the rise or fall of their price. A return was ordered for an alphabetical list of the names of all persons in the United Kingdom who had subscribed towards the railways sanctioned in 1845 for sums less than £2000—a sort of postscript to the return of all subscribers to railways above that sum. The return included upwards of 20,000 persons who had subscribed for an aggregate amount of £21,386,703. Among the names were to be recognized many of the leading nobility, partners in the largest manufacturing and mercantile firms, and men eminent in literature and science, in juxtaposition with multitudes belonging to the humblest ranks of society. The same columns presented a combination of peers and printers, members of Parliament and messengers, principals of colleges and their janitors, vicars and vice-admirals, professors and chimney-sweepers, half-pay officers and carpenters, queen's counsels and cooks,

spinsters and special pleaders, Roman Catholic priests and coachmen, attorneys' clerks and college and court waiters, relieving officers and excisemen, barristers, book-sellers, and butchers, editors and engineers, dairymen and dyers, braziers, bankers, beer-sellers, and butlers, domestic servants, footmen, and mail guards, with a multitude of other callings not recorded in the Book of Trades.

The supply kept pace with the demand. A powerful body, consisting of local solicitors, engineers, and contractors, to say nothing of speculators, had a strong personal interest in the formation of new lines, and even in originating projects which were not expected to be carried into effect. Schemes which looked most plausible on paper were formed for the extension of existing railroads and the construction of subsidiary branches and feeders, until the map of England and Scotland was intersected in almost every part, however remote, by projected lines promising liberal dividends. The owners of large estates, who were at one time the greatest obstructives to railway enterprise, were now among its chief promoters. A marked change of policy had taken place since the time when the Liverpool and Manchester line was first defeated by the opposition of the landlords of the district, and succeeded in carrying its second Bill only by keeping out of sight of all mansions and avoiding all game preserves; and when the London and Birmingham Company, after seeing their Bill thrown out by a Committee of Peers who ignored the evidence, had to 'conciliate' their antagonists by raising the estimate for land from £250,000 to £750,000. The extraordinary advantages which landowners had derived, both directly and indirectly, fairly and unfairly, from a railway passing through or near their estates, gave a powerful stimulus to the formation of new schemes. When it became known as an incontrovertible fact, not only that estates had been greatly enhanced in value by the proximity of railways, but that 'compensation' was given to

their owners for alleged injuries which were never really inflicted—that the companies usually paid for land and ‘injury to amenity’ extortionate sums, varying from £6000 to £8000 per mile—that in one case £120,000 was given for land said to be worth only £5000—that in addition large bonuses, in the shape of preference shares and the like, were bestowed to buy off opposition—it was not surprising that landlords should have become active supporters of schemes to which they were once the bitterest opponents. It was no uncommon occurrence indeed for the local nobility and landowners themselves to take the lead in projecting a line for their own advantage and convenience. It was even hinted that an extensive landowner used his influence as chairman of a board of directors to project a branch running for many miles through his own estate, and put his company to the expense of a Parliamentary contest to carry this line; and that a line was proposed by a large capitalist for the purpose of effecting desirable communication with his own property. Stories were told and believed of landowners soliciting interviews with the engineer of a projected railway, urging him to bring the line through their district, promising support if he did, and threatening opposition if he did not, dictating the course to be followed on their estates, and hinting that a large price would be expected.

There can, of course, be no doubt that the great change in the attitude of the Legislature towards railways, from ‘the extreme of determined rejection or dilatory acquiescence to the opposite extreme of unlimited concession,’ was in a great measure due to the change that had taken place in the feelings of the landlords, who form so large a portion of both Houses of Parliament. Taking into account their private interests, both as owners of land and shareholders in railway companies, it was scarcely probable that they could be free from personal bias. A return ordered by the House of Commons showed that in 1845 there were 157 members of Parliament whose names were on

the registers of new companies for sums varying from £291,000 downwards. It was only what in these circumstances might have been expected, that the projectors of new schemes should boast of the number of votes they could command in either House, and that members and peers should be personally canvassed for their support. It was publicly complained in the Upper House that ‘it was nearly impossible to bring together a jury, some members of which were not interested in the railway they were about to assess.’ Directors and chairmen of companies eagerly sought to obtain—often at a great cost—a seat in Parliament for the express purpose of carrying out the extension of their lines; and even members who had no connection with railroads had powerful influence brought to bear upon them to give their support to railway enterprises. The inhabitants of unaccommodated districts were naturally urgent with their representatives to assist them to obtain a line. ‘Even where there was no political pressure,’ said a writer on ‘Railway Morals and Railway Policy,’ ‘there is the pressure of their leading political supporters; of large landholders whom it will not do to neglect; of the magistracy, with whom it is needful to be on good terms; of local lawyers, important as electioneering friends, to whom a railway always brings business. Thus, without having any immediately private ends, members of Parliament are often almost coerced into pressing forward schemes which, from a national or from a shareholder’s point of view, are very unwise ones.’

Owing to the concurrence of these and other kindred causes, the number of new railway projects which were brought before Parliament in 1845 was out of all proportion to the immediate requirements of the country. Not a few of them were pure bubble schemes, never intended to be carried into effect. Others, though safe enough in themselves, were quite premature. A number were rival projects, contending for possession of the same districts.

Not a few were subsidiary lines intended solely for the benefit of some great landlord or small pocket borough, which the directors of an adjacent trunk railroad were compelled to take up to prevent them from falling into the hands of their rivals. There was scarcely, in fact, a practicable line between any two considerable places, however remote, that was not at this time taken up by a company; and frequently two, three, and sometimes as many as four projects of rival lines between the same places, were submitted to the consideration of the public and the judgment of Parliament.

Railway legislation at this period had become a mere scramble, conducted on no system or principle. Sound and judicious schemes were rejected on merely technical grounds of the most frivolous kind, while others of an inferior character were sanctioned after enormous Parliamentary costs had been incurred. The expenses, direct and incidental, of obtaining an Act of Parliament to construct a railway were almost always excessive, and in many cases enormous. Even an unopposed line was heavily mulcted, and the opposition of a rival company was sure to bring a rich harvest to counsel, solicitors, engineers, and witnesses; and after all this lavish expenditure, often of thousands of pounds, had been incurred, it was by no means unusual for the measure to be rejected, not on account of any essential ground of objection, but frequently from some such trivial cause as that the notice to the proprietor of a small piece of waste land was left at No. 23 instead of No. 24 in a given street.

Mr. Stephenson mentions an instance of the hardship entailed on railway companies by this most unwise and oppressive system of legislation. The Trent Valley Railway was originally proposed under other titles in 1836. It was, however, thrown out by the Standing Orders Committee in consequence of a barn of the value of £10, which was shown upon the general plan, not having been exhibited upon an enlarged sheet. In 1840 the line

was again brought before Parliament. It was opposed by the Grand Junction Railway Company, now part of the London and North-Western. No less than 450 allegations were made against it before the Standing Orders Sub-Committee, which was engaged twenty-two days in considering these objections. The Bill was, however, allowed to proceed. It was read a second time, and then went into committee, by whom it was under consideration for sixty-three days, and Parliament was prorogued before the report could be made. Such was the enormous expense, to say nothing of the delays which the forms of the House occasioned in this case, that it is probable that the ultimate cost of constructing the whole line was not much more than the amount expended in obtaining permission from Parliament to make it. Another example mentioned by the same authority will show the absurdity and oppressiveness of the expensive formalities, the delays and difficulties, with which the wisdom of Parliament surrounded railway legislation. In 1845 a Bill for a line now existing went before Parliament with eighteen competitors; nineteen different parties being thus condemned to one protracted course of contentious litigation. They each and all had to pay, not only the costs of promoting their own line, but also the cost of opposing eighteen other bills.

But the most conspicuous example, which overshadows all others, of excessive expenditure in Parliamentary litigation, as well as in land and compensation, is supplied in the history of the Great Northern Railway Company. The preliminary expenses of surveys, notices to landowners, &c., commenced in 1844, and the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in 1845, when it was opposed by the London and North-Western, the Eastern Counties, and the Midland railways. It was further opposed successively by two other schemes, called the London and York, and the Direct Northern. The contest lasted eighty-two days before the House of Commons, more

than half the time having been consumed by opposition to the Bill, which, after all, was allowed to stand over till next year (1846), when, on account of the magnitude of the case, it began before the Committee of the House of Lords where it left off in the Lower House in the year 1845. It was before the Upper House between three and four weeks, and was at length passed in the same session. The promoters of the rival projects were bought off, and all their expenses paid, including the costs of the opposition of the neighbouring lines already mentioned, before the Great Northern Bill was passed; and the 'preliminary expenses,' comprising the whole expenditure of every kind up to the passing of the Bill, at the end of two years' litigation, was £590,355—the greater part incurred needlessly. Since the passing of the Act an additional sum of £172,722 has been paid for 'law and engineering expenses in Parliament' to 31st December, 1857, which has been expended almost wholly in obtaining leave from Parliament to make various necessary alterations. Thus, it would appear that a sum total of £763,077 was spent as Parliamentary charges for obtaining leave to construct 245 miles, being at the rate of £3115 per mile.

During the same period the payments made by the Great Northern Railway Company for 'land and compensation' amounted to £1,901,371, or nearly two millions sterling, at the rate of £7760 per mile. The Parliamentary and land and compensation charges together make a sum of £2,664,448, or £10,875 per mile of the original line. The total payments on capital account were £11,299,300, and of this amount these items constitute the formidable proportion of twenty-three and a half per cent.; being nearly one-fourth of the capital forestalled before the ground was broken.

Though the Great Northern Railway was the most flagrant it was by no means the only case which illustrates the absurdity of the system of railway legislation—the costly and harassing manner in which

railway Bills have to be fought through competition and opposition in Parliament. It has been found that legal and Parliamentary expenses have varied from £650 to £3000 per mile. In one contest £57,000 was spent among six counsel and twenty solicitors. The sums expended by one company alone in nine years in legal and Parliamentary expenses reached £480,000, averaging £53,000 a year. In more recent times the cost of railway making has greatly diminished; but the average capital expenditure in railways has been nearly maintained by otherwise excessive expenses at the same high rate having amounted in the end of 1857 to £35,000 per mile. The reduction of dividends in many cases to one-half their original amount has made the shareholders realize the folly of needless and fruitless litigation, and of the multiplication of unnecessary and unremunerating branch lines.

It was estimated by Mr. Laing (and Mr. Stephenson thought he had not overstated the case) that 'out of the £208,000,000 raised before 1854 for the construction of our railways, £70,000,000 had been needlessly spent in contests, in duplicate lines, in 'the multiplication of an immense number of schemes prosecuted at an almost reckless expense;' and Mr. Stephenson believed that this sum is 'a very inadequate representation of the actual loss in point of convenience, economy, and other circumstances connected with traffic, which the public has sustained by reason of Parliamentary carelessness in legislating for railways.' In 1855 it was shown by a return ordered by the House of Commons, which, however, was far from complete, 'that the amount expended by existing railway companies in obtaining the Acts of Parliament by which they were incorporated was no less, in Parliamentary, legal, and engineering costs, than £14,000,000 sterling. By a return made four years later, it appeared that the Parliamentary expenses alone incurred by railway companies owning £263,000,000 capital amounted

to about £8,500,000 sterling, or thirty-two per cent. A considerable portion of the expenditure thus incurred proved in the end to have been completely thrown away, so far as the interest of the railway companies was concerned; for, prompted by jealousy and antagonism, they obtained at this time powers for 2000 miles of railway which they never made. The millions thus squandered in surveys and Parliamentary contests—‘food for lawyers and engineers’—would nearly all have been saved, and so would the reduction on the original trunk lines, if the Government and the Legislature had exercised a proper superintendence over the railway Acts. The result was that the various companies, after battling their way through Parliament at an enormous expense and paying exorbitant compensation to landed proprietors and others, had at last their own way, and were in a condition to make reprisals upon the public for all their unnecessary expenses and vexations.

It must, however, be admitted that the railway companies did not go before Parliament with clean hands. It was notorious that men of straw held shares amounting to £100,000 and even £200,000—that numerous directorates were filled by the same persons, one individual having a seat at twenty-three boards—that subscription contracts were made up with signatures at ten and even four shillings apiece. It transpired that some boards kept their books in cipher, made false entries, and took prudent care not to record their proceedings in minute books; that in one company £500,000 capital was set down to fictitious names; that in another, directors bought for account more shares than they issued, and so forced up the price; and that on many others they re-purchased for the company their own shares, paying themselves with the depositors’ money.

In not a few instances railway management was quite in keeping with the manner in which railway companies had been insti-

tuted and railroad Acts sanctioned. The published report of an investigation committee brought to light the discreditable conduct of the directors of one of the English lines, who allotted among themselves 15,000 new shares then at a premium in the market, showed that they used the company’s funds in order to pay the deposits on these shares, and that one of their number thus accommodated himself in meeting both the deposits and calls to the extent of £80,000. The report also showed that certain of the directors took loans to themselves out of the company’s floating balances at a low rate of interest when the market rate was high, and paid themselves larger salaries than those assigned, entering the difference in an obscure corner of the ledger under the head of ‘petty disbursements.’ The mode in which boards contrived to carry contested measures was, if possible, still worse. To say nothing of garbled statements and ‘cooked accounts,’ issued for the purpose of misleading shareholders and ‘making things pleasant,’ and of proxies given for a specific purpose having been used for other and different purposes, the managers of one railway company were convicted of having carried their own schemes by the aid of preference shares standing in the names of station-masters, and of being aided by the proxies of the secretary’s children, too young to write.

For a brief space the speculations in railway construction and in railway shares were successful beyond the most sanguine expectations; and large fortunes were supposed to have been gained by the speculators who had embarked in them at the risk of their whole fortune, and not unfrequently a great deal more. But in due time the inevitable revulsion came, hastened and aggravated, if not produced, by the famine in Ireland. Mercantile disasters speedily followed, bringing destruction and dishonour to thousands. The disasters of 1847 not only swept away all the gains of most of the deluded gamblers in railway shares, whom the eager haste to be rich had led

into temptation, and snares, and fraud, and ruin, but brought severe suffering on vast multitudes who were free from all complicity in their offences. The progress of railroad construction was suddenly arrested; not a few schemes that had absorbed large sums of money were of necessity abandoned; and the profits which even the best lines had yielded were reduced by a half or even two-thirds. In time railroad property recovered from this depression, and a judicious and steady rate of progress was established and continued. In 1880 there were nearly 18,000 miles of railway in the United Kingdom open for traffic. At the close of 1881 they had increased to 18,176, and the total length constructed during the previous ten years was 2799 miles.

The paid-up capital of the railways in the United Kingdom at the end of that year was £745,528,162, or £41,019 per mile of line open. It is noteworthy that the proportion of paid-up capital to mileage is steadily increasing. In 1871 it was only £35,943 per mile of line. The increase of £5076 per mile is not owing to an advance in the cost of construction, but is partly due to a large nominal increase in the capital of some of the companies, caused by the consolidation of their stocks; partly to the fact that enormously expensive metropolitan lines have been undertaken within the last few years. Some part also of the increase may probably be due to the extent to which iron rails have been replaced by steel—an expenditure that will of course be ultimately compensated by the diminished cost of maintaining the permanent way.

The gross receipts of all the railways in the United Kingdom in 1881 amounted to £66,557,442. This is the largest gross sum ever earned in one year by our railroads, being equal to £3662 for every mile open. The receipts from traffic were £63,908,237, or £3516 per mile open, and 5s. 1½*d.* per train mile run; and this is the lowest amount per train mile that has been earned since 1870. In other words, if the railways

have earned more money than ever before, they have given for it more work in proportion to receipts than in any previous year. They carried in 1881, exclusive of season-ticket holders, 623,047,787 passengers, or about 19,000,000 more than in 1880; but the receipt per passenger in that year was rather more than 10¾*d.* against less than 10½*d.* in 1881. This reduction must mean, either that fares have been lowered, or that railway travellers have been more economical. The working expenditure was £34,602,616, or 52 per cent. of the gross receipts, while in 1880 it was only 51 per cent. Thus the proportion of net earnings to paid-up capital was only 4·29 per cent. in 1881, against 4·38 per cent. in 1880, though the gross receipts were larger by upwards of £1,000,000 sterling.

With regard to the railway systems of each of the three kingdoms, the paid-up capital of the English railways at the end of 1881 was £616,437,449; of the Scottish railways, £94,819,089; and of the Irish railways, £34,271,624. The proportion of paid-up capital per mile of line open was in England, £48,211; in Scotland, £32,394; and in Ireland, £14,040. The difference is no doubt partly owing to the fact that 12,087 miles of the English railways, out of 18,176 miles, or nearly two-thirds, are of double line, while Scotland has only 1134 miles of double line out of a total of 2927, and Ireland only 568 miles out of 2441. But the greater cost of land in England, and the very large expenditure consequent on the incessant Parliamentary strife among the companies, also go a long way to account for the much greater capital outlay in that country. In respect of net earnings, after deducting working expenditure, the English lines received 85·3 per cent., the Scottish 11·1 per cent., and the Irish only 3·6 per cent. The proportion of working expenditure to gross receipts was in England 52, in Scotland 51, and in Ireland 56 per cent. The heavy expense incurred in working the Irish railways no

doubt arises from the fact that with an aggregate capital which is scarcely a third of that of a single English railway—the London and North-Western—they have a most disproportionate array of boards of directors, general managers, and separate working staffs, constituting a heavy charge on their receipts, a great part of which might be saved under a judicious scheme of amalgamation.

Of the 623,047,787 passengers, exclusive of season-ticket holders, conveyed by all the railways of the three kingdoms in the year 1881, the English lines carried 558,193,078, or $89\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole; the Scottish railways conveyed 47,211,449, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; while only 17,643,260, or less than 3 per cent., were carried by the Irish lines. These numbers give for every inhabitant of England and Wales 21·5 railway journeys during the year; for every inhabitant of Scotland 12·7 journeys; and for every inhabitant of Ireland 3·4 journeys—facts which throw considerable light on the relative condition and means of the respective populations of the three kingdoms. In England the proportion of first class passengers was 5·6 per cent., of second class 6·5 per cent., and of third class a little more than 84 per cent. In Scotland the first class passengers were 10·3 per cent., the second class 6·5 per cent., and the third class 83·2 per cent. In Ireland the proportions were—first class 9·5 per cent., second class 22·8 per cent., and third class 67·7 per cent. The great number of sportsmen and wealthy tourists who travel from the south through Scotland no doubt accounts for the large proportion of first class passengers who travel on the Scottish railroads; but it is difficult to account for the extraordinary excess of second class passengers in Ireland over those in England and Scotland. The average receipt per passenger in England in 1881 was rather more than $8\frac{3}{4}d.$, in Scotland it was $11\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in Ireland a fraction over $1s. 4d.$ It is evident from these details that fares are much lower in England than in the other two kingdoms,

and this fact accounts for the much greater development of the passenger traffic there than in either Scotland or Ireland.

The total quantity of minerals and merchandise carried by the English railways during the year 1881 was 207,477,468 tons, or 16,200 tons per mile of line open. On the Scottish lines the quantity conveyed was 33,939,472, or 16,595 tons per mile of line; and on the Irish railroads there were carried only 3,572,658 tons, or 1463 per mile of line—a striking proof of the insignificance of Irish commerce and industry as compared with those of the sister kingdoms. The receipt per ton carried was in England nearly 3*s.*, in Scotland 2*s.* $6\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in Ireland 6*s.* 7*d.*—which shows both that much higher rates are levied on the Irish railways and that they carry an inconsiderable quantity of minerals, which are always charged at a comparatively low rate.

The influence which the railway system, notwithstanding the grievous defects attending its organization, has exercised on the various interests of the United Kingdom has been in the highest degree beneficial. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce have all felt the impulse given to them by the improved means of communication. They have enabled man to triumph over space and time. The increased facilities of intercourse have not only increased the traffic which originally existed, but created traffic then unknown, and have led to the most extraordinary development of trade and manufactures that has ever been seen. They have greatly promoted the development of the natural resources of the country, and have contributed largely to the improvement of agriculture by cheapening the cost of land drainage and the conveyance of artificial manures, and by opening a ready and rapid access to distant markets for the productions of the most remote districts of the kingdom, especially for such perishable articles as milk, cream, fresh butter, vegetables, and dead meat. The value of land has been raised in the more distant places, and both the rent of the

landlords and the profits of the farmers have been increased by the rapid and comparatively cheap communication which railways have established between the capital and the great central towns and the outlying rural and pastoral districts. One of the chief advantages of railway travelling, as Sir Robert Peel remarked, is the facility it affords to those whose capital consists in labour, and the excursion trains which enable the artisan to leave the crowded city, to refresh his mind and body by breathing the pure air of heaven, are most important elements in the moral as well as in the physical improvement of the working classes. Railways have thus not only powerfully contributed to increase the wealth of the country by economizing time, by cheapening conveyance, and by enabling branches of industry to be pursued which without them would have been impossible, but they have conferred most important indirect benefits on the community, by diffusing knowledge and intelligence, establishing bonds of commercial and friendly intercourse, and removing mutual antipathies between distant nations, the result, to a great extent, of mutual ignorance. The comfort, cheapness, and speed of railway journeying has enormously increased the facilities of travel through our own and foreign countries; and this freedom of intercourse has already dispelled many previously inveterate prejudices and contributed to the maintenance of those 'friendly relations which are the best security of mutual advantage, of common knowledge, and of general peace.'

'In considering the history of railway legislation,' says an Edinburgh Reviewer, 'it is impossible to look back without humiliation and dismay at the conduct of Parliament, and, we must add, of many of the statesmen who ought to have guided the decisions of Parliament on those questions. No general principle has ever been consistently adhered to. No general plan or system, embracing the railway communications of Great Britain, was ever conceived. Everything has been done piecemeal; every

scheme has been alternately opposed by factious or rival interests, and promoted by petty and personal interests. Enormous sums have been wasted in these disputes. Sums not less enormous have been extracted from the pockets of shareholders and the public for wild and worthless purposes. And all this has occurred because no resolute attempt was made by the Government to assert some principle of authority, and to rescue railway speculation from the anarchy into which it had been allowed to fall.' Speaking of this question, the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, in his Address delivered to the Institution of Royal Engineers, in January, 1856, said, 'If, instead of leaving the decision of these subjects to inexperienced tribunals, a mixed commission could be organized of practical men of acknowledged legal, commercial, and mechanical ability, there might be hope for us. What we want is a tribunal upon these subjects competent to judge, and willing to devote its attention to railway subjects only. We do not impute to Parliament that it is dishonest, but we impute that it is incompetent. Neither its practical experience, nor its time, nor its system of procedure is adapted for railway legislation. What we ask is knowledge. Give us, we say, a tribunal competent to form a sound opinion. Commit to that tribunal, with every restriction you think necessary, the whole of the great questions appertaining to our system. Let it protect private interests apart from railways; let it judge of the desirability of initiating measures of all proposals for purchases, amalgamations, or other railway arrangements; delegate to it the power of enforcing such regulations and restrictions as may be thought needful to secure the rights of private persons or of the public; devolve on it the duty of consolidating, if possible, the railway laws, and of making such amendments therein as the public interests and the property now depending upon the system may require; give it full delegated authority over us in any way you please: all we ask is that it shall

be a tribunal that is impartial and that is thoroughly informed; and if impartiality and intelligence are secured, we do not fear for the result.'

This earnest appeal on the part of the most eminent railway authority of the age was made in vain. The Government and the Legislature declined to interfere or to lay down any definite principle on which railway legislation should be based; and the companies were left to fight their way through the opposition or the unscrupulous greed of landowners, the wranglings of the bar, the contradictions of men of science, and the complicated intrigues of lawyers, engineers, contractors, and local solicitors. The antagonism fostered by this culpable negligence on the part of the Government has led to the waste of enormous sums of money in useless Parliamentary contests, and to the loss of an almost incredible amount of national capital in the making of railways which were not needed at the time, and for many of which there is even yet no due requirement; and has reduced the investments of shareholders to less than half the amount which they ought to have yielded, and would have yielded under a proper system of legislation.

The contrast between the plan acted upon in Belgium and in Great Britain, and their respective results, is striking and instructive. Belgium was the first State in which the construction of railways was adopted as a measure of public policy, and it was due to the foresight and the firmness of King Leopold. He had scarcely been installed sovereign of his new kingdom in 1831, when he directed the attention of his ministers to the construction of railways as one of the most effective means of developing the resources of the country. In England at that time (the birthplace of the railway and the locomotive) the proposal to extend these 'tram roads,' as the Duke of Bridgewater termed them, was encountered by obloquy, denunciation, and resistance. It is not therefore surprising that the rural deputies in the Belgian Chambers looked upon the

scheme of their sovereign with considerable apprehension. The sagacity and perseverance of the King, however, well supported by his ministers, overcame all resistance; and in May, 1834, powers were granted to construct an almost complete system of main lines throughout Belgium, connecting the principal towns and cities of the kingdom with each other. The end aimed at was not the gain of the individual, but 'the extension of the traffic and communication of the country, to the utmost limits of the public capabilities, at the lowest rate of charge at which the original outlay can be reimbursed.'

It is impossible to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by the manner in which the preliminary steps toward the construction of a railway are taken in Belgium compared with those taken in Britain. Every one is familiar with the mode in which the plan of a railway originates in the latter—its promoters, its capitalists and associates, its engineers and solicitors and salaried agents, its prospectuses and advertisements, its Parliamentary struggles and the harpies who prey upon it at every stage, to say nothing of the claims for the land required to form it, and for compensation for alleged injury to amenity, for all of which the public must ultimately pay. 'The first step,' says the report of the Minister of Public Works, 'which the Belgian Government took for the accomplishment of its object, was to employ a number of competent engineers to survey the kingdom, and to determine the main lines with reference not only to the general features of the country, but also to the interests of the several large towns, and to their internal and foreign relations.' The report goes on to say that, as the result of this mode of proceeding, 'the people have had the advantage of a much earlier introduction of this important means of communication than if the undertaking had been left to private speculation—without risk to individuals—without the interference of private interests—on lines, perhaps,

which of themselves would have offered no temptation to private enterprise, but which, as part of an extensive system, will repay, either directly or indirectly, the money expended upon them.' If a similar system had been followed by the British Government, the Parliamentary costs, amounting sometimes to £1000, rarely to less than £500, a mile, might have been saved. The flagrant extortion of landed proprietors, amounting sometimes to £10,000 a mile, might have been prevented, and the result would have been that the average cost of the lines executed in England and Scotland, instead of from £30,000 to £40,000 a mile, would have been, as in Belgium, only about £8526 a mile. The greatest expense incurred in the construction of any portion of the Belgian line is about £10,000, equal to the lowest sum incurred in the construction of the cheapest line in England, while it does not amount to one-fourth of the expense which hundreds of miles in England have cost—all of which, of course, ultimately falls upon the public.

It was in May, 1834, that the law authorizing the Government to carry out their scheme was passed, and the works were carried out with such promptitude that the first portion of the public railway from Brussels to Malines was finished and opened for traffic on the 3rd of May, 1835. Successive additions were afterwards made to the Belgian railway system, until eventually 347 miles of public lines were constructed at a total cost of £8,410,128. In addition to the State railroads, 900 miles of railways, principally branches, were constructed by private companies, to which concessions had been made by the Government. Of these lines 117 are worked by the State, and 783 by the companies themselves, making the total of railway accommodation of Belgium 1247 miles, or one mile of railway for every ten square miles of territory. Even in the case of private companies the railroads virtually belong to the Government, for their management and the profits derived from their working are merely con-

ceded for a limited period to the companies, and by a gradual process of redemption will ultimately become the unburthened property of the State.

The results of this arrangement have been in the highest degree satisfactory. 'Every year's expenditure,' says the 'Compte Rendu' of 1862, 'demonstrates that the patriotic law of the 1st of May, 1834, is worthy of the warmest sympathies of the nation, continuing as it does to take the very first rank among the great things that independent Belgium has been able to accomplish.' When M. Fassiaux, Director-general of the Posts, Railways, and Telegraphs in Belgium, was asked before the English Royal Commission, 'Does experience show the expediency of the railways belonging to the Government?' his reply was—

'The experience obtained in Belgium of the working by the State of at least a portion of the railways existing in that country is entirely in favour of that system. The results are better in a financial point of view, and notwithstanding this superior financial result the lines worked by the State are those kept in the best order. The working of them gives the greatest satisfaction to the commercial world, and to the public in general, as regards regularity of conveyance, cheapness of transit, and comfort of passengers. The State not being solely guided by the prospect of financial gain, but having constantly in view the interest of the public which it represents, is in a better position than private companies to introduce all desirable improvements, not only as regards the efficient performance of the service, but also as respects the cost of conveyance, without, however, altogether disregarding the increase of revenue which its operations may bring into the public treasury.'

The profits on the capital expended on the line between Brussels and Malines amounted in the first year to 8 per cent., and those on the line between Brussels and Antwerp to 16. Taking all the Belgian lines overhead, in

1858, the net profits, after providing for all interests and outgoings, was $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the capital expended; in 1860 it was $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and now it is 7 per cent. In eight years (1856-64) the charges on goods were lowered an average of 28 per cent. The public despatched 2,706,000 tons, or 72 per cent. more, while they economized by the reduction of rates the sum of £800,000, and the profits realized by the public treasury were £231,240 more than before cheaper transport was adopted.

The average cost of establishing the system of Belgian lines was £16,600 per mile, considerably less than one-half the expense of constructing the lines in our own country. The expense of working the railroads is much less, and is diminishing from year to year. That the fares of railway travelling in England should greatly exceed those in Belgium is a necessary consequence of the difference of outlay expended in their construction. The latter, taken overhead, are less than one-fourth of the former. 'Travellers from London to Brussels,' says the *Quarterly Review*, 'are readily enabled to compare the working of the Belgian with the English system. In making their journey between the two cities the distance travelled on English ground is 78 miles, and on Belgian 89 miles. On the English side are two well-appointed railways, the property of private companies, both running trains between London and Dover, each with its separate chairman and board of directors, general manager, staff, and working plant. On the Belgian side is a single railway, the property of the nation, worked by government officials, responsible to the administration for the time being. Of the two railways on the English side the one most recently constructed was authorized by Parliament in order to give the public the benefit of "competition" by railway. But Parliament in its wisdom does not seem to have provided for the emergency of the new company combining with the old one, and rendering "competition" impossible. The companies *have* combined,

and now see the advantage which the public has derived from the competition policy so much favoured by Parliament. First take express trains. While the fare by both the English lines to Dover for 78 miles is 20s. first class, and 15s. second class, or over 3*d.* and 2*½d.* per mile respectively, the fares charged by the Belgian State railway for the journey of 89 miles is only 5s. first class, 3s. 4*d.* second class, and 2s. 6*d.* third class, or less than seven-tenths of a penny per mile first class, less than five-tenths of a penny second class, and a little more than three-tenths of a penny third class, or about one-fourth the rate of travelling in England. In the case of ordinary trains the fares charged for the 78 miles run on the two English lines is 18s. 6*d.* first class, 13s. 6*d.* second class, and 6s. 6*d.* third class, while that charged for the 89 miles run on the Belgian State lines is equivalent to 4s. 2*d.* first class, 2s. 9*½d.* second class, and 2s. 1*d.* third class. Nor is there so much difference in the speed as might be supposed. The English express trains perform the journey of 78 miles in two hours and twenty minutes, and the ordinary trains in a little over three hours; while the Belgian express trains perform the journey of 89 miles in two hours and twenty minutes, and the ordinary trains in little less than four hours.' The Belgian Minister of Public Works was fully justified in saying 'that facility and cheapness of travelling are in principle as fruitful of benefits to all classes of society as the economical transport of goods can be for the producers and for the consumers.'

The extraordinary increase of railway passenger traffic on the Belgian railways is one of the most striking features of the system. Before the establishment of these lines of communication the number of passengers between Brussels and Antwerp per annum was 75,000. In the first eight months, after the opening of the railways, the number was 541,129; and afterwards the number of travellers between these

cities amounted in 1857 to 1,145,467, and has since been largely augmented. The passengers by railway between Liverpool and Manchester in 1836 amounted to only 522,991. On an average, therefore, each inhabitant may be supposed to take one trip a year. The population of the three Belgian towns, Mechlin, Antwerp, and Brussels, did not amount in 1837 to one-half of that on the English line, and neither the population nor the commercial activity of the surrounding districts can be compared with those of its competitor; yet the intercourse in 1857 was more than twice as great, and with reference to the difference of population was four times as great, the average number of trips to each inhabitant having been five per annum.

The example of Belgium, with reference to the construction and working of railways, was shortly after generally followed by the other continental sovereigns and governments. In some cases the State took the initiative, projecting and constructing the railways, and retaining the working of them in their own hands. In others, the plans of the proposed lines were submitted to and approved by the ministers of state, and concessions were granted to private companies to construct and work them, subject to the control and approval of Government. The King of Holland was naturally anxious that his kingdom should share in the advantages of railway communication enjoyed by its nearest neighbour; but the Dutch Chambers were by no means as keenly sensible of the advantages as their sovereign, and declined to give the required legislative encouragement to such enterprises. In these circumstances King William gave his personal guarantee to a company, which undertook the line from Amsterdam to Rotterdam, fifty-three miles in length, and completed in 1844. Owing to the nature of the ground, which requires no difficult or costly engineering works, it was constructed at little more than £5000 per mile, exclusive of the stock. The line from Amsterdam to the frontier of Prussia

cost £15,000 per mile. It was constructed by the State, but was afterwards leased to an Anglo-Dutch company. A complete system of railways has since been established in Holland, surveyed and laid out under the immediate superintendence of the Government, but constructed by private companies, to which special privileges were granted for the purpose. In Prussia about one-half of the railroads were constructed and are worked by private companies. Of the other half, a society was formed at the expense of the State, and is worked by a Government staff. The remainder were constructed by private companies, under concessions, and are also worked by Government. In 1863 the State lines yielded a profit of $7\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on the capital expended in their construction, the other lines worked by the Government yielded 5 per cent., and the lines worked by private companies $8\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., though some companies have divided over 20 per cent.

The large profits yielded by these railways are no doubt due, in great part, to their cheap original cost. As Mr. Mulvany stated before the Royal Commission on Railways, 'the various expenses of one class and another accompanying the passing of railway bills in Britain, before a sod was cut, would amount to something very nearly like the cost of the whole Prussian railway system.' Care has also been taken to prevent their depreciation as a property by the setting up of competition between rival lines, while at the same time the public are protected from the exaction of too high fares. The Government sees to it that these are sufficiently low to suit the means of the travelling portion of the community, and especially of the poorer classes. A certain portion of the net earnings of the lines constructed and worked by private companies is set apart for the redemption of the share capital, after which these lines become the property of the nation.

The same policy has been adopted by the minor German States, in some of which the railways contribute largely toward the public

revenue. Thus in Baden the State railways yield a profit upon the capital expended on them of not less than 15 per cent. Although the Germanic States were united by community of manners, race, and language, yet at the time the railway system was inaugurated they were governed by different sovereigns and subject to different administrations, and in consequence there was a want of unity in their proceedings. 'Each government acted for itself, independently of the others. Nevertheless, partly from the physical character of the countries, and partly from the distribution of the population and seats of industry, and a consequent harmony of interests, these separate and independent measures have of themselves assumed a considerable uniformity of plan,' and the Germanic States are now overspread by one of the most magnificent systems of interior communication of which Europe can afford any example. It consists of 7600 miles of railway, which have absorbed £74,793,600, being very nearly at the rate of £10,000 per mile.

The railway policy of France has been of a somewhat similar character. When public railways were first introduced in that country in 1836, the Government undertook to assist in their formation, by granting sums in aid and by constructing earthworks and bridges. But owing to the distractions to which the Government had been exposed, and the engrossing nature of the political questions which occupied the French Chambers at that time, it was not until 1842 that the Government formally resolved that a system of railways should be planned and executed which should connect the capital with those points of the frontier, by land and sea, that should best serve the purposes of foreign commerce, at the same time taking into account the requirements of the interior in the course which these lines should follow. The plan then formed has been fully carried out by the construction of six great lines, issuing from the capital and connecting it with the Belgian frontier, Germany, and Spain, and

with the ports of the Channel and the Atlantic. The French lines are for the most part leased to six great companies for a period of ninety-nine years. A portion of the profits is reserved for the redemption of the capital, after which the railroads become, as in the case of those of Germany and Belgium, the absolute property of the State. Nearly all the French lines pay large dividends to their proprietors.

The financial condition of Austria rendered it impossible for its Government to raise money direct for the construction of railways. It had therefore to adopt the plan of granting concessions to private companies, whose proceedings, however, are under the control of the Administration, which guarantees a certain rate of interest. At the end of the lease, which in no case exceeds ninety years, the property in the railways and their appurtenances passes to the State. Meanwhile they yield an average profit of $7\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on the working.

The Austrian Government, no doubt actuated by other motives than those of a desire to promote the wellbeing of the people, extended the benefits of railway communication to the territories which at that time it possessed in Italy, and constructed a line nearly 200 miles in length, traversing the Lombardo-Venetian territory, and connecting Venice with Milan. The advantages which this railroad has conferred upon the kingdom of Italy may serve to compensate to a certain extent the Italian people for their sufferings for upwards of forty years from Austrian domination.

Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, have all established railways in their respective territories on what may be called the Continental in opposition to the British system, and have all reaped important advantages from their mode of construction, combining as it does the advantages arising from private enterprise with sufficient security for the public against the abuse of the powers intrusted to the railway companies. But it is in the United States of America that the railway

system has been carried out to the greatest extent. As soon as the result of the operations in Britain became known, the enterprising spirit of the Americans was directed to the establishment of a system of steam communication by land throughout their vast territories. The progress was so rapid that in 1846 the New England states were in every direction intersected by railways; nearly 1000 miles of railroad had been constructed in the State of Pennsylvania, and an equal length in the State of New York. Altogether 4500 miles of railway were in operation at that early period in the United States. Every year witnesses the construction of new lines on a large scale; and from the main lines which traverse the country in every direction, at every point diverge innumerable ramifications either by branch railways, or by tributary navigable rivers, or by common roads; and now the native forests, where until within a few years human foot never trod—the vast prairies and solitudes, the silence of which was never disturbed even by the red man—are traversed by these iron roads.

The extension of railways in America has been greatly facilitated by the cheapness of their construction. Not only is the ground obtained without payment, but in a good many instances the State Legislatures have given large grants of land bordering the railways, as a contribution towards the cost of these undertakings, to induce companies to form lines through their territories. With a few exceptions the tracts of country over which these railways pass form nearly a dead level; there is therefore but little earthwork to construct. Low embankments and shallow cuttings, and these only occasionally, are all the difficulties the engineer has to surmount. Of works of art, such as viaducts and tunnels, there are almost none. Where the lines have to be conducted over streams or rivers, bridges are built in a rude but substantial and secure manner, of timber which is supplied from the forests at the

road side, subject to no other cost save that of hewing it. The station houses, booking offices, and other buildings are likewise slightly and cheaply constructed of timber. A further and much larger saving is effected, as compared with European lines, by the method of construction. As they are formed to supply a very limited amount of traffic in proportion to their length, the American railways are generally single lines. The structure of the roads themselves has been carried on upon a most economical scale, the average cost of the passenger lines being only about £9000 per mile, and the working of the lines is conducted in a similar inexpensive manner. It is evident, however, that the American lines have to a large extent been formed in an imperfect and temporary manner, requiring constant reconstruction and repair; for in 1881 more than £20,000,000 sterling was expended on the permanent way of existing railroads in the States, exclusive of the ordinary charges for maintenance.

A report issued by Mr. West, the British Minister at Washington, shows that at the close of the year 1881 there were 104,813 miles of railways open for traffic in the United States, of which 9358 miles were opened in the course of that year. Since 1870 there has been added 51,899 miles of line to the previously existing roads, so that during twelve years the extent has been nearly doubled. But the British system is far larger in proportion to the area to be served: for while in the United Kingdom there is a mile of railway for every $6\frac{2}{3}$ square miles of country, the States have only one square mile of line for every 29 miles of area. The estimated cost of the additions made to the American railways last year was £48,739,000, or £5208 per mile. The total capital and funded debt of the American lines at the end of last year was £1,043,831,000, or £10,913 per mile, while that of the British railways was £745,528,162, or £41,019 per mile. The gross receipts of the British lines in 1881 were £66,557,442, or rather less than 9

per cent. on the stock and loan capital, while those of the American railways amounted to £151,109,399, or nearly 14½ per cent. on their capital and funded debt. In other words, they have earned in the gross twice as much as ours, but then their mileage is nearly six times as great. We have 1939 persons for every mile of railway open, while the Americans have only 507 inhabitants for every mile. In Britain the railways earned in 1881 £3662 per mile; in the United States the earning only amounted to £1599 per mile on the railways worked during the year. The working expenditure of the British lines was £34,602,616, or 52 per cent. of the gross earnings; with the Americans it was £93,659,598, or 62 per cent. of the gross earnings. There do not appear to be any returns of the amount of passenger traffic on the American lines; but the estimated

amount of merchandise carried during 1881 was 350,000,000 tons, which is equal to 3811 tons per mile of line actually worked, while the goods carried on the British railways amounted to 244,989,958 tons, or 13,479 tons per mile of line open. The net receipts devoted to the payment of interest on the funded debt of the American railroads was £26,851,459, and £19,446,708 was available for the payment of dividends. The total net receipts were equal to 4·43 on the capital and funded debt. The net earnings of the British railways were £31,954,826, equal to 4·29 per cent. on the stock and loan capital. But the rate of interest which the American companies have to pay on loans is much higher than that which most of the British railway companies have to pay, so that the profits of the American shareholders must be proportionately smaller.

CHAPTER IV.

The New Ministry—Their difficulties—Condition of Ireland—The Potato Failure—Starvation and Mortality among the Peasantry—Measures of Relief adopted by the Government—The Public Works Bill and its injurious effects—Failure of the Measure—A change of System tried—Its results—Amount of Relief granted by Parliament—Extensive voluntary contributions at home and abroad—Activity and zeal displayed by the public officers—Enormous diminution of the population of Ireland by emigration and death—Money lent by the Treasury for Public Works, the improvement of Estates, and Irish Railways—Condition of many of the Irish Landlords—The Encumbered Estates Act—Its effect—Potato blight in the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland—State and habits of the Peasantry—Report of Sir John McNeill—The Crofters and Cottars—Position and liberal measures adopted by the Landlords—The Destitution Fund—Its influence on the habits of the people—Need of Emigration—Commercial distress in England and Scotland at this time—Measures taken by the Government to restore public confidence—Last speech of O'Connell in the House of Commons—His death at Genoa.

ON the resignation of Sir Robert Peel (June 29th, 1846), Lord John Russell was intrusted by Her Majesty with the formation of a new Administration, which was now effected without difficulty. Lord Russell was, of course, first Lord of the Treasury; the Marquis of Lansdowne became Lord President; Lord Cottenham, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Minto, Privy Seal; Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Palmerston resumed his former office of Foreign Secretary; Earl Grey, who had in some way got over his objections to this arrangement, was appointed Secretary for the Colonies; Sir John C. Hobhouse returned to the Board of Control; the Earl of Clarendon became President of the Board of Trade; Lord Campbell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; the Marquis of Clanricarde, Post-master General; the Earl of Auckland, first Lord of the Admiralty; the Earl of Bessborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr. Labouchere as Chief Secretary.

The new Ministry entered upon the duties of their office in very critical circumstances, and they were at once called on to grapple with the famine that was commencing its ravages in Ireland. The Irish people had for generations been always on the brink of famine. The Irish peasantry were usually dependent on the potato, which furnished them with the bare means of subsistence. A population whose ordinary food is bread and butcher meat can

retrench in periods of scarcity, and resort to cheaper kinds of food, such as barley, oats, rice, and potatoes; but as the Irish people were habitually and entirely fed upon potatoes, they lived upon the extreme verge of human subsistence; and when they were deprived of their accustomed food, there was nothing cheaper to which they could resort. They had already reached the lowest point in the descending scale, and there was nothing beyond but starvation or beggary. A failure of the potato crop had repeatedly occurred in Ireland, involving the population in great privation and suffering, and requiring liberal assistance to save them from starvation. 'There never was a country,' said the Duke of Wellington in 1838, 'in which poverty existed to so great a degree as it exists in Ireland. I held a high situation in that country thirty years ago, and I must say that from that time to this there has scarcely been a single year in which the Government has not, at certain periods of it, entertained the most serious apprehension of actual famine. I am firmly convinced that, from the year 1806 down to the present time, a year has not passed in which the Government has not been called on to give assistance to relieve the poverty and distress which prevailed in Ireland.'

The potato disease which now occurred was incomparably more severe and extensive than any of the previous failures. It began in the autumn of 1845, and though

the early crop of potatoes, which is generally about one-sixth of the whole, escaped, the late, or what is commonly called 'the people's crop,' was very seriously affected. But the attack was partial, and although the destruction of human food was, on the whole, very great, a considerable portion of the produce was saved. But in 1846 the blight on the potatoes took place earlier, and was of a much more sweeping and destructive character. On the 27th of July, wrote Father Mathew, 'I passed from Cork to Dublin, and this doomed plant bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on the 3rd of August I beheld with sorrow one wild waste of putrefying vegetation. In many places the wretched people were seated on the fences of their decaying gardens, wringing their hands and wailing bitterly the destruction that had left them foodless.' In less than a week from the time when the first symptoms of the disease appeared, the face of the whole country was changed, the fields assumed a blackened appearance, as if they had been burned up, and the growth of the potatoes was arrested when they were not larger than a marble or a pigeon's egg. 'Distress and fear,' said Captain Morris, 'were pictured in every countenance, and there was a general rush to dig and sell or consume the crop by feeding pigs and cattle, fearing that in a short time they would prove unfit for any use.' The most skilful men of science were completely baffled in their efforts to discern the origin of the disease, and they found themselves equally unable to devise a remedy for its ravages. The anticipated result speedily took place. On the 5th of December the news from Skibbereen was — 'Hunger, nakedness, sickness, and mortality, almost equal to the ravages of an epidemic disease, are the prevailing feature of the dwellings of the poor. Fever afflicts hundreds of them, and dysentery, produced by cold and want of nutritious food, is equally common. The workhouse contains 900 paupers; the fever hospital, built to accommodate forty patients,

contains 161. The deaths in the infirmary were eighty-seven; in December they amounted to 135. The mortality is very great among the poor, and the aspect of the burying-grounds is assuming a new form. In many cases the dead are buried without coffins, and instances are known where they are not even brought to a burial-ground, but are interred in the fields.' On the 17th of February it was reported, 'Day by day the accounts that reach us are becoming more horrifying. There is scarcely a county in Ireland—unless Kildare may be an exception—in which the people are not dying of starvation. Within one week there have been no less than ninety-five deaths in the Union Workhouse of Lurgan, being nearly an eighth part of the entire inmates. In Fermanagh destitution is rapidly extending, and, we are sorry to add, crime has greatly increased. In Sligo, so rapid has been the mortality, that the coroners are totally unable to perform their duties; in one place there were forty dead bodies waiting inquests.' So far as could be ascertained the workhouse mortality in Ireland for the first week of January was 1405 out of 108,500 receiving relief, and in the second week 1493 out of 110,561.

From Mayo it was reported that the gaunt and long-dreaded scourge of famine had at length broken out. At Clonmell the mob broke into every baker's shop in the place, and took out all the food they could lay their hands on. At Carrick-on-Suir the populace rose and broke into all the meal and provision stores, and afterwards into the shops generally. A boat proceeding from Limerick to Clare was attacked by a body of starving peasants, and plundered of her cargo of corn and Indian flour. Similar famine riots broke out in the various towns in the south and west of the country.

It was evident that the immediate interposition of the Government and the Legislature was required to save the peasantry from starvation; but it was very difficult to devise a remedy that would

be at once adequate and safe. Sir Robert Peel's Administration, alarmed by the first serious failure of the potato crop in 1845, had privately imported Indian corn to the amount of £185,000; £70,000 was granted in aid of subscriptions for relief; the execution of various public works, consisting principally of roads, was authorized; and funds were voted to a considerable extent, making up a total expenditure of rather more than £852,000, one half of which was given as a loan. The first effect of these measures seemed to be beneficial; distress was relieved and suffering was postponed. But as Lord John Russell stated in the House of Commons, in August, 1846, when introducing his Public Works Bill, other and very different results soon began to show themselves. Relief having once been given, the people immediately concluded that it would be continued as long as the distress lasted. It was found impossible to apply the labour test effectually; the tillage of the land was neglected; the peasants who were employed on the improvements in the Shannon and the arterial drainage left these works, where they were earning 1s. 6d. a day, to dawdle on the Relief roads, where they could only obtain 9d.; and numbers who had been in the habit of repairing to England and Scotland, to assist in the labours of the harvest at high wages, now preferred to remain at home. A rush took place from all quarters upon the Relief fund, and the special object of relieving the distress of the people who were suffering from the failure of their accustomed food, was to a great extent lost sight of in the general fear of being deprived of what they called 'their share of the grant.'

This system of Relief works was brought to a close on the 15th of August, 1846, but the new and more extensive failure of the potato crop called for greater exertions to meet the necessities of the case. The measure now introduced by the Prime Minister empowered the Lord Lieutenant to summon a meeting of any county or

barony in which scarcity of employment was represented to exist, and authorized and required that meeting to order the execution of public works of the kind most needed in the locality, and of an extent proportioned to the deficiency of employment. In order to check the exorbitant demand which had been made during the preceding season, the whole of the expense of these works was made a local charge or loan to bear interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and to be repaid in ten years. The works were to be carried on under the superintendence of officers appointed by the Government Board of Works. It was determined that the wages given in the Relief Works should be somewhat below the average rate of wages in the district, and that the labourers employed should as far as possible be paid in proportion to the work actually done by them. In cases where the locality in need of assistance was so poor as to be unable to bear the interest and repayment of a loan, grants might be given; and the sum of £50,000 was agreed to be voted during the present session to meet such cases.

The Relief Committees of the preceding season were reorganized, the rules under which they had acted were carefully revised, they were instructed to furnish lists of persons requiring relief, which should be strictly scrutinized by the officers of the Board of Works, and inspectors were appointed to superintend their proceedings. With these precautions the scheme might have answered its purpose if the resident gentry and ratepayers, who had the requisite local knowledge, had done their duty and taken pains to ascertain as far as possible the probable amount of destitution in their neighbourhood, the sum required to relieve it, and the works upon which that sum could best be expended. But according to their use and wont, the country gentlemen, magistrates, guardians, and overseers did nothing, and contented themselves with devolving their duties upon the officers of the Board of Works, who were strangers

to the district. They had in addition to 'advance the funds; to select the labourers; to superintend the works; to pay the people weekly; to enforce proper performance of the labour; if the farm works were interrupted, to select and draft off the proper persons to perform it; to settle the wages to be paid to them by the farmers, and see that they were paid; to furnish food not only for all the destitute out of doors, but in some measure for the paupers in the workhouse.' The Board of Works became the centre of a colossal and unmanageable organization; 5000 separate works had to be reported upon; an army of superintendents, amounting at one time to 12,000, had to be appointed. Their letters averaged upwards of 800 a day, and sometimes reached to 5000 and even 6000.

The superintendents were undoubtedly men of ability and indefatigable industry, but the task was soon found to surpass human capacity. The number of persons employed upon the works increased with portentous rapidity. The utmost exertions of two sets of inspecting officers were insufficient to revise the lists or to exclude those who had no just claim for such employment. The attraction of the 'Queen's pay,' as it was popularly called, led to a general abandonment of other descriptions of industry. The peasantry flocked in a body to the public works—many who could have found employment elsewhere—many who needed no employment at all. 'Landlords competed with each other in getting the names of their tenants placed on the lists; farmers dismissed their labourers, and sent them to the works; the clergy insisted on the claims of their respective congregations. The fields were left untilled, and the farmers could neither sow nor reap; the fisheries were deserted; and to such an extent had the population of the south and west of Ireland turned out upon the roads, that it was often difficult even to get a coat patched or a pair of shoes mended.' Instead of the Irish labourers migrating to England and Scotland in great numbers, as in former years,

they actually flocked home from both these countries. But the preference of employment as alms to independent labour was not the worst fault exhibited by the Irish in their new condition of able-bodied paupers. The Government superintendents were bullied, robbed, and murdered by the objects of their charity; and all this time the deposits in rural and in savings banks increased at an unprecedented rate, so did the consumption of whisky, and the gun-trade never was so brisk.

It had been resolved that no relief should be given to able-bodied men except in return for work performed, and that they should be paid in proportion to their work. But the Irish peasantry had been poorly fed, and were incapable of sustained and heavy toil. Having no strong motive to exertion, they had been accustomed to a life of indolence, and it was soon found impossible to exact from the multitudes employed on the roads an amount of labour which would act as a test of destitution. One of the officers of the Board of Works, observing the emaciated condition of the labourers, reported that, as an engineer, he was ashamed of allotting so little task-work for a day's wages, while as a man he was ashamed of requiring so much. Huddled together in masses there was no means of distinguishing the indolent from the diligent, or of knowing who did a fair proportion of work and who did not, and the difficulty was aggravated by the habitual collusion between the labourers and the overseers who were appointed to measure their work. The Irish peasant had been accustomed to remain at home covering over his turf fire during the inclement season of the year, and exposure to the cold and rain on the roads, without sufficient food and clothing, greatly contributed to the prevailing sickness. To obviate this as far as possible, orders were issued that, in case of snow or heavy rain, the labourers should merely attend roll-call in the morning, and be entered in the pay-list for half a day's pay.

In such circumstances as these it was to be expected, as a matter of course, that an immense and rapid increase should take place in the number of persons employed in connection with the Relief Works. In October the average number of persons employed was 114,000, in November 285,000, representing a million and a half of the population; and the expenditure was £117,000 a week, or at the rate of nearly £6,000,000 a year. In January, 1847, the number of pauper workmen reached 570,000, and the expenditure was £250,000 a week. In February the persons daily employed became 708,000, and in March they amounted to the enormous number of 734,000, representing, at a moderate estimate of the average extent of each family, upwards of 3,000,000 persons.

A change of system had become inevitable, not only on account of the enormous pressure on the springs of national industry by the support of so large a portion of the Irish people at the public expense, but in consequence of the disastrous neglect of tillage which was threatened. It had become quite evident, that so long as the people were retained on the public works their lands would remain uncultivated. Orders were issued by the Government that, on the 20th of March, 20 per cent. of the persons employed should be struck off the lists, and successive reductions were made until, by the end of June, the number was reduced to 28,000. The expenditure was limited to £100,000 a month for June, July, and the first fifteen days of August, when the Act expired. This monstrous system was thus brought gradually and quietly to a close. The necessary labour which had been withdrawn was returned to agriculture in time to lay the foundation for the abundant harvest in Ireland of 1847, which contributed greatly to stay the downward progress of that country.

The system of public works having thus completely broken down under the pressure of the famine, it was determined to give relief to the needy by the distribution of

food on the basis of the Poor Law—the expense of which was to be borne either immediately or ultimately out of the rates. An Act was accordingly passed for this purpose, constituting in each electoral division a Relief Committee, composed of the magistrates, one clergyman of each persuasion, the Poor-Law Guardians, and the three highest ratepayers. A Finance Committee was formed to control the expenditure in each union. Inspecting officers were appointed, and a Commission sitting in Dublin superintended the whole system. The expense was to be defrayed by payments out of the rates, and when this fund was insufficient, as it always proved to be, it was reinforced by loans to be repaid by rates subsequently levied. Grants were also made in aid of the rates in those unions in which the number of destitute poor was largest compared with the means of relieving them; and when private subscriptions were raised, donations were made to an equal amount.

The provision that the expense of this system of relief should be borne by the rates exercised a most salutary influence on its administration. The Relief Committees remembered that it was their own money they were now distributing, and the lists of persons claiming to be relieved were revised and purged of those who were not entitled to relief. The personal attendance of all persons requiring relief was insisted on, exceptions being made in favour of the sick, the impotent, and children under nine years of age. It had been discovered that the meal previously distributed to the indigent had frequently been disposed of, even by the most destitute, for tea, tobacco, or spirits; and the relief was therefore now directed to be given only in the shape of cooked food, usually made of Indian meal and rice steamed, distributed in portions declared by the best medical authorities to be sufficient to maintain health and strength. This regulation, while it proved quite effectual to prevent any attempt on the part of the recipients to convert the food into

money, also proved quite adequate to overtake all who really required relief, including the helpless portion of the community, who had been neglected under the former system. In the month of July, 1847, when the new system had reached its highest point, no fewer than 3,020,712 persons received separate rations, of whom 2,265,534 were adults and 755,178 were children. When the season of harvest came, and there was a general demand for labour, new supplies of food became available. This multitude were gradually thrown on their own resources, and relief entirely ceased on the 12th of September. This system of relief had thus proved quite effectual. As an eye-witness wrote, 'The famine was stayed. The "affecting and heart-rending crowds of destitutes" disappeared from the streets; the cadaverous, hunger-stricken countenances of the people gave place to looks of health; deaths from starvation ceased; and cattle-stealing, plundering provisions, and other crimes prompted by want of food, were diminished by half in the course of a single month.' 'This enterprise,' said the last Report of the Relief Commissioners, 'was in truth the grandest attempt ever made to grapple with the famine over a whole country. Organized armies, amounting altogether to some hundreds of thousands, had been rationed before, but neither ancient nor modern history can furnish a parallel to the fact that upwards of 3,000,000 persons were fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes by administrative arrangements emanating from and controlled by one central office.'

In the Commissariat branch of operations the work was carried through with great assiduity and success. The whole world was ransacked for supplies. Enormous quantities of Indian corn were imported, until the Irish market was completely glutted with this article, and the price fell in the course of six months from £19 to £7 10s. a ton. In the first six months of 1847 no less than 2,849,508 quarters of corn were imported into Ireland, worth, at the

then current prices, £8,764,943, and the Irish market was, in the words of the Lord Lieutenant, 'freer, cheaper, and better supplied than that of any country in Europe where distress prevailed.' Upwards of 300,000 quarters of corn were purchased from time to time to supply the Government depôts on the western coast of Ireland, and large stores of biscuit and salt meat, which had been laid up at the different military stations in the year 1843, were now applied to the relief of the people. As the means of grinding were seriously deficient the Admiralty mills at Deptford, Portsmouth, Plymouth, and even Malta, besides two large hired mills, were constantly employed in grinding the corn bought by the Commissariat. Thirty-four large depôts were established on the western side of Ireland, and several ships of war were moored in convenient stations and used as store ships. The largest war steamers were appropriated to the conveyance of the meal from the mills in England to the depôts in Ireland, and every other available steamer—not excepting the Admiralty yacht—was employed in making the necessary transfers between the depôts, and in conveying the supplies which the Relief Committees had purchased. As many as 1097 Relief Committees were established, under the superintendence of the Commissariat, while £199,470 was subscribed by private individuals, upon which Government donations were made (making together £389,384) in support of these operations. Other considerable sums, however, were raised by local Irish subscriptions, through the medium of some of the Relief Committees, of which no account was furnished to the Government. Large funds were also administered by private individuals quite independently of the local Relief Committees. The sum provided by Parliament, which was expended in the distribution of food and in medical relief, was £1,676,268, of which £961,739 was to be repaid, and the remaining £714,529 was a free grant. The sum was moderate, compared with the mag-

nitude of the object. The sum expended under the first Relief Works Act was £476,000, one half of which was a free grant, and the other half was to be repaid by twenty half-yearly instalments. The expenditure under the second Act was about £4,850,000, half of which was remitted, and the other half was to be repaid by similar instalments of £145,500 each, including interest. The cost of the staff of the Board of Works and of the Relief Commission, the Commissariat staff, and the heavy naval expenditure was defrayed out of the public treasury, without any demand for repayment; and so were the freight and charges (exceeding £50,000) on the supplies of food and clothing sent to Ireland from the United States and Canada and by charitable societies and individuals in Great Britain.

The voluntary contributions of private individuals formed no unimportant portion of the assistance rendered to the sufferers from this terrible calamity. A powerful and tender sympathy for them pervaded every class of society, and from the Queen on the throne down to the humblest cottager, expenses were curtailed and privations were endured to swell the subscriptions for the starving Irish. The London season was noted for the absence of expensive entertainments, and the opera, the fashionable ball, and the fancy bazaar contributed their share. The Society of Friends, as usual, led the way in this benevolent work, and opened a subscription in London in November, 1846. The 'British Association for the Relief of extreme distress in Ireland and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland' was instituted on the 6th of January, 1847, with Mr. Jones Lloyd as chairman, and Mr. Thomas Baring and Baron Rothschild among its members. A week later a Queen's letter was issued with the same object, and the 24th of March was appointed by proclamation for a general fast or humiliation before Almighty God 'on behalf of ourselves and of our brethren who in many parts of this kingdom are suffering extreme famine and sickness.' The sum collected under

the Queen's letter was £171,533. The amount separately contributed through the British Association was £263,251, and this aggregate amount of £434,784 was divided in the proportion of five-sixths to Ireland and one-sixth to Scotland. There were numerous Ladies' Associations formed in Scotland and England, to collect small weekly subscriptions and to make up clothes to send to Ireland. From every part of the British empire—the remotest stations in India, the most recent settlements in the backwoods of Canada, the West India islands and Nova Scotia, from British residents in St. Petersburg, Constantinople, and the city of Mexico—came expressions of sympathy and contributions to the charitable fund. The feeling among our kinsmen in the United States of America was strong and universal, and the manifestations of sympathy most generous and munificent.

In Ireland itself the exertions made for the relief of their fellow-countrymen were most praiseworthy. Independently of local subscriptions, which were very considerable, £9888 was contributed through the 'General Central Relief Committee for all Ireland,' of which the Marquis of Kildare was the chairman. The sums received by this committee from British North America, the United States, British India, the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, South America, &c., amounted to upwards of £50,000. Another committee, established in Dublin, under the name of the 'Irish Relief Association for the Destitute Peasantry,' had funds placed at their disposal amounting to nearly £42,000. But the most considerable of the Dublin charitable committees was that composed of members of the Society of Friends. The contributions intrusted to them, in money and provisions, were to the amount of upwards of £168,000, of which no less than £108,651 was the estimated value of provisions consigned to them from the United States of America, along with the sum of £15,567 in cash. In addition to these large donations of money and food, consignments of clothing were received from

England and America. It was estimated that altogether the sum contributed by public grants and private subscriptions from all quarters for the relief of Irish distress amounted to upwards of £18,000,000—an effort without parallel in ancient or modern history.

It is gratifying to be able to add that Sir R. Rough, Sir John Burgoyne, Colonel Jones, Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Bromley, who were intrusted with the management of the various departments, displayed administrative ability of the highest order, and that the zeal, unanimity, and self-denial with which the large body of officers under them devoted themselves to their onerous and responsible duties deserve the most cordial commendation. Not less praiseworthy was the manner in which the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy vied with each other in their personal sacrifices and in their exertions for the famishing and fever-stricken people; and in numerous instances their lives became a sacrifice to the discharge of their exhausting, harassing, and dangerous duties.

As was almost inevitable, the mortality in Ireland during the famine was frightful. In 1841 the population amounted to 8,175,124. Taking into account the natural increase, it must in 1846 have reached 8,379,500. At the next census in 1851 it had fallen to 6,515,794—a diminution of 1,863,706 in five years, or 372,740 per annum, while on an average of the three years preceding the famine the annual mortality of Ireland amounted to only 77,754. Even this statement does not give an adequate idea of the rate at which depopulation in Ireland had proceeded during this period. The rate of increase since 1831 had been 5 per cent. in Connaught and 8 per cent. in Munster. In 1846 the population in Connaught amounted to 1,454,330; in 1851 it had dwindled down to 1,011,917—a decrease in five years of 442,413. In Munster there was in 1846 a population of 2,492,000; in 1851 it had

diminished to 1,831,817—a decrease of 660,183. In other words, nearly one-third of the population of Connaught (30·4 per cent.), and more than one-fourth (26·5 per cent.) of that of Munster, was swept away in five years. In the Union of Skibbereen nearly the whole population, consisting of 11,000 persons, perished of famine, and the deaths in the workhouses were 140 in a single month. ‘Every circumstance of horror and dismay that could attend an enfeebled population overtaken by a calamity for which they were wholly unprovided, was illustrated in the ghastly story of Ireland during that year; and the hearts of the British nation were duly wrung by narratives, “nothing exceeding which,” to use the language of Lord Brougham, “is to be found in the pages of Josephus, or on the canvas of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante.”’

It is not easy to ascertain with precision what proportion of this appalling diminution—unparalleled in history—is due to actual mortality and what to emigration, but it is possible to arrive at a near approximation. Early in the year 1847 the roads to the Irish sea-ports were thronged with families hastening to escape the sufferings of impending starvation. The emigration continued with accelerated rapidity throughout the whole year. At its close the total number of emigrants from the United Kingdom was found to have amounted to about 250,000, nearly double that of 1846. It was above that number in 1848, and in 1849 it reached 300,000, and was still increasing. Of these 300,000 about 39,000 went to Australia and other parts; the residue, 361,000, went to the United States and the North American provinces. In all probability the number of Scottish and English who emigrated to America will be nearly balanced by the Irish who emigrated to the Australian colonies. To the emigrants from Ireland to foreign ports must be added the emigrants to England who took up their permanent residence there. From the 13th of January to the

1st of November 278,005 immigrants arrived at Liverpool from Ireland, of whom only 122,981 sailed from that port to foreign countries. The influx of poor Irish into Scotland by way of Portpatrick, Ardrossan, and Glasgow, and into Wales by Bristol, was also very large; 5000 Irish paupers were relieved in Manchester in the last week of February, and this was the average rate for several weeks following. Nearly 90,000 destitute and disabled Irish, including women and children, received parochial relief in Scotland, at an expense of about £34,000. The entire emigration from Ireland to all quarters could not have been less than 250,000 per annum, or 1,250,000 during the five years. This would leave a balance of 613,706 as the amount of this diminution of population due to increased mortality.

Wherever these wretched emigrants went they carried with them the seeds of fever and other virulent diseases, and so formidable did the influx of this mixed multitude prove to the health of the people of Liverpool that it was found necessary to station quarantine ships in the Mersey to receive the infected, and to hire or construct extensive premises for the purpose of being used as temporary fever hospitals. Nineteen relieving officers died at Liverpool alone, of fever caught in the execution of their duties. Quarantine arrangements had to be made in the Clyde also, similar to those at Liverpool. There was a frightful amount of mortality among the Irish emigrants to Canada. There were 3900 deaths on the passage, and in addition 5734 died during detention at quarantine or at the Marine Hospital—making a total of 9634.

As soon as the plague was stayed, it became necessary for the Legislature to adopt measures to prevent the recurrence of such a terrible calamity. The Irish Poor Law was amended and extended; but as it was impossible that the Poor Law could bear alone the whole weight of the pauperism which at that time existed in Ireland, its unproductive expenditure had to be

supported by adequate industrial efforts, in order to prevent all classes of society from being involved in one common ruin. The Treasury was therefore empowered to lend money to the extent of £1,500,000, on moderate terms, to landlords for the general improvement of their estates, including drainage, subsoiling and trencheding, irrigation, the embankment of lands from the sea, inclosing or fencing the fields, the reclamation of waste land, the making of farm roads, and other similar works of a permanent and productive character, to be executed by the proprietor. The Treasury was also authorized to make advances for the construction of works of public utility, such as the Shannon navigation, the construction of new floating docks and markets at Limerick, works at Hawlbowl, the construction of three new colleges and of several prisons and lunatic asylums, and the repair and construction of fishery piers. A proposal, made by Lord George Bentinck, to lend £16,000,000 to the Irish Railway Companies on favourable terms was resisted by the Government, on the ground that while it was inadequate as a measure of relief it was too large and indiscriminate when viewed as a measure for the promotion of public works; and with the powerful help of Sir Robert Peel it was rejected by a majority of 214. But at a later period the sum of £620,000 was voted by Parliament to be lent to railways which had paid up half their capital. Sanguine expectations were entertained that by thus affording employment with fair wages to the Irish peasantry there would in a short time be seen among them 'more industry and exertion, less politics and more ploughing, less argument and more action, less debating and more doing.'

The famine which had so largely diminished the population of Ireland led in no long time to the utter ruin of a large number of the landowners. The embarrassments which a long course of carelessness and extravagance had brought upon the Irish gentry, as a body, were matters of notoriety. It was well known that large

numbers of them had been habitually living beyond their income, had borrowed money from generation to generation, and mortgaged their property time after time as security for their loans, and had thus in many cases become little more than nominal owners of the patrimonial estates they held. But no one was aware until now of the extent to which this system of spending and borrowing and mortgaging had gone. The potato failure brought matters to a crisis with this thriftless and thoughtless class. They were now receiving little or no rent, and had no means either of subsistence or of meeting the interest of the mortgages on their property. To complete their ruin, the Poor-Law rates and the interest on the money lent by Government to feed the starving peasantry had to be paid. A proprietary so helpless and indebted could do little or nothing for the peasantry whom they had allowed to crowd their estates, and to divide and subdivide the land until the holdings were in many cases reduced to such small patches as to be incapable of producing sufficient food for the tenant cottars if they had even held them rent free.

The condition of the Irish landlords at this time has been thus depicted by a writer who was intimately acquainted with the state of the country—'Proprietors of estates are but too often only mere nominal owners, without influence or power over the persons holding under them. Their real condition is often pitiable; nor is it possible, in the great majority of cases, to relieve the estates. The burden of debt or the evils of improvident leases are fastened upon the land in such a manner as to convert the owner into a mere annuitant, often glad to obtain from a good estate a scanty annuity (after payment of the encumbrances thereon and the public burdens) for his own subsistence. Proprietor and tenant are equally powerless for good, and the whole kingdom suffers from the disorders which have resulted from this state of real property in Ireland.'

The author of another valuable publica-

tion on the same subject remarked at this time, respecting the landlord even of an unembarrassed estate, 'The possessor of the property is not in reality the owner; he cannot deal with it as an owner; he is merely a trustee for others; he has no interest in its future thorough permanent improvement except so far as he may wish to benefit his successors—he can never reap the benefit himself; he cannot sell; he cannot dispose of a part even though the alienation of a part might greatly enhance the value of the remainder; he holds it during his lifetime as his predecessor held it—unaltered, unimproved—to transmit it to his heir clogged with the same restrictions, alike injurious to him and to his country. This is the case of an unembarrassed landlord.' The case of an embarrassed proprietor is much worse. He is 'owner for life of a large tract of country, with a long rent-roll, but in fact a small property. Of course he cannot afford to lay out anything on improvements; on the contrary, though perhaps naturally kind-hearted and just, his necessities force him to resort to every means of increasing his present rental. He looks for the utmost amount; he lets to the highest bidder without regard to character or means of payment. If his tenants are without leases he raises their rents. If leases fall in he cannot afford to give the preference to the last occupier. Perhaps with all his exertions he is unable to pay the interest, or put off his creditors. Proceedings are commenced against him, and the estate passes during his lifetime under the care of the worst possible landlord—a receiver under the Court of Chancery.' In the year 1843 the number of such cases was 764. The rental of the estates thus thrown into Chancery was £563,022. The arrears of rent when the receiver was appointed amounted to £27,243, but by 1847 these arrears had risen to £290,292. On an average of the three years, 1841–42–43, the number of cases was 686; the rental was £570,147; the arrears when the receiver was appointed

were £27,243, and when he last accounted they were £312,357.

It became indispensably necessary to provide a remedy for this most unsatisfactory state of affairs. It was evident that the master-key to unlock the field of industry in Ireland was to facilitate the sale of the encumbered estates, to provide a simple, cheap, and secure system of transfer in lieu of the existing barbarous, unsafe, and exciting system, so that land could be bought and sold with as much freedom and security as linen and bacon. The present owners were known to be incapable of making a proper use of their property, or of discharging the duties of landowners either to their tenants or to the State. It was confidently believed, on the other hand, that the purchasers would be improvers; that they would give extensive and permanent employment to numbers of people around them in carrying out the improvement of their newly-acquired landed property; that they would promote industry everywhere, and would greatly increase the value of land generally. Employment with regular wages must be had for the peasantry, and a large number of the landowners were unable to provide it. Capital was indispensably necessary for the improvement of the land, and they did not possess it. It was impossible that Government should continue to supply the capital required, not as a loan upon an emergency, but as part of its regular system of action. It was therefore evident to all thoughtful men that the land must pass into the hands of those who do possess the means of employing the people—of men who will carry on agriculture as a business, and will bring to their occupation the capital, the habits of business, the energy, and the intelligence which are necessary to make it profitable to the owner and beneficial to the people in his employment.

The Government, being deeply impressed with the importance of these views, introduced a Bill into Parliament in 1847 for the purpose of enabling the owners of en-

cumbered estates in Ireland to sell the whole or a portion of them after the circumstances of each estate had been investigated by a Master in Chancery, with a view to secure the due liquidation of every claim upon it, and to take care that the first encumbrance should be paid in full. The Bill passed the House of Lords, but was withdrawn in the Commons owing to the opposition of some of the Irish proprietors, who were unwilling to be denuded of their heavily mortgaged estates, and of the great Insurance Companies, who were the principal lenders on Irish mortgages, and did not wish that their investments should be disturbed. But the evils of the existing system speedily became so flagrant and intolerable that an effectual remedy had to be provided without delay. In May, 1848, the Government introduced into the House of Lords a Bill for the establishment of an 'Encumbered Estates Court,' to facilitate the disposal of encumbered land in Ireland on application from the owner or his creditors, expeditiously and on inexpensive terms. The Bill passed through both Houses without opposition, and became law at the close of the session.

The first petition was filed in this court on the 25th of October, 1849, and others rapidly followed. Among the petitioners were a marquis, thirteen earls, three viscounts, four barons, five honourables, twenty baronets, five knights, seven members of the House of Commons, and five who had sat in previous parliaments. The number of petitions for the sale of estates presented in the course of two years, down to September 23rd, 1851, was 1945, of which only 212 were dismissed by the Commissioners. The total number of proprietors in Ireland (omitting the mere forty shilling freeholders who still remained) was estimated at 8000, so that even at that period nearly one-fourth of the whole landowners in Ireland were under notice of enforced sale on account of their encumbrances. Four hundred and forty estates had already been sold by decree of the court, realizing

£3,654,500. It was found that in these 1954 cases the interest on the encumbrances at five per cent. swallowed up the whole rental, so that the nominal proprietors had not only been hampered and mortgaged to a degree which left them no power of doing justice to land, labourers, or tenants, but they did not really own a single acre of the property of which they were the ostensible possessors. The net annual rental of these estates was £1,141,090—a little more than £586 a year each—while the annual interest on the encumbrances amounted to £1,122,928, leaving a surplus of only £18,162, or less than £10 apiece, which was all that these 1945 landowners had to live upon after paying the interest of their debts. At twenty years' purchase—the usual price which the encumbered estates sold by authority of the court brought at that time—their total value was £22,821,800; while the total amount of the encumbrances on these estates was £22,458,576, leaving a surplus of £363,204, or about one-sixtieth of the whole (£181 each), to be divided among the *proprietors* after all debts were paid, even if, as was probable, the whole of this surplus were not eaten up by the costs of the sale. The spectacle of men who had at one time held a good position in the country reduced to absolute destitution was sad in the extreme. Among other numerous instances of a similar kind, a gentleman who had at one time filled the office of High Sheriff of his county was fain to accept the situation of a javelin man in the train of his successor in order to save himself from starvation.

The Encumbered Estates Court continued its melancholy but necessary work with unabated vigour and speed. The number of estates disposed of up to 9th of August, 1852, was 777, in 4083 lots, producing a total of £7,353,736. When its operations were brought to a close, 31st of August, 1858, it was reported that there had been sold through its agency 11,024 lots, representing a money value of £23,161,093. The total number of petitions presented, includ-

ing those for partition and exchange, was 4413, and the number of conveyances executed by the Commissioners was 8364.

It was confidently expected and predicted that the stupendous eleemosynary assistance given by the people of Great Britain at home and abroad, supplemented by the contributions of the United States and Canada, followed by inducements held out to the Irish to help themselves, and by the transference of a large portion of the soil from impoverished owners to landlords who possessed the requisite capital for its proper cultivation, along with the energy and intelligence to turn it to account, would have redeemed and regenerated Ireland. But experience has shown that while the measures adopted by the British Legislature and people for staying the plague, undoubtedly mitigated much misery and kept many alive who would otherwise have perished, they yet brought the Irish through the crisis with their numbers fearfully thinned, their character lamentably demoralized, and their habits of recklessness and of helpless dependence upon extraneous aid confirmed and extended. It is painfully evident that the root of Ireland's malady has not yet been reached—possibly that malady lies beyond the reach of any remedy that can be externally applied.

The potato blight, which in the years 1846–47 fell upon Ireland with such appalling severity, visited the Hebrides and the Western Islands, but in a form less severe. The inhabitants, like the Irish, are a somewhat indolent and unenterprising race, and like them are constantly on the brink of destitution, and at any moment an unfavourable season may plunge them into severe distress. The population in these districts consists mainly of 'crofters,' who hold small plots of land, and 'cottars,' who hold no land, but earn a scanty subsistence by labour or fishing, receiving frequently as part of their wages permission to cultivate for their own use a small patch of land belonging to their employer. In Skye, the largest of the Western Islands, these two classes amounted

at this time to 19,000 out of a population of 22,500, or 3645 families out of a total of 4335. The land of the crofter—seldom more than eight acres—and the labour of the cottar usually failed to supply subsistence for them and their families for more than half the year. The almost invariable custom was for the head of the family, as soon as the ground was dug and sown in spring, to set out from home in search of employment, returning in June for the harvest; and he generally contrived, by assisting in the herring fishing on the north-east coast or by agricultural labour and employment on the railways, to earn enough to purchase clothing and to buy meal for his family, and to pay a portion of his rent.

Sir John McNeill, who at the time of the potato failure was chairman of the Poor-Law Board of Scotland, and undertook a personal investigation into the state of the inhabitants of the Hebrides and Western Highlands, says that, 'with rare exceptions, to whatever distance they may have gone they return home for the winter and remain there, nearly altogether idle, consuming the produce of the croft and the proceeds of their own labour, till the return of summer and the failure of their supplies warn them that it is high time to set out again. Those whose means are insufficient to maintain them till the winter is past, and who cannot find employment at that season at home, are of course in distress, and having exhausted their own means are driven to various shifts and forced to seek charitable aid. The tenacity of their attachment to their native soil, and their repugnance to a residence in parts of the kingdom where they are foreigners, is great. Years of intercourse with the more advanced districts seem to produce no desire to change their condition. For twenty successive years one of the crofters had worked for the summer six months in East Lothian for the same master, from whom he had a certificate of character and conduct such as any man in his position might be proud of. At the commencement of each winter he returned to his

small croft at the northern extremity of Skye, for which he paid a rent of £5 a year. He travelled about 600 miles and worked hard for six months every year that he might continue to enjoy his croft in comparative idleness for the other half year in Watrnish. And such was the feeling of every one.'

About the beginning of the century, when the old system of joint occupation was generally abandoned in the Highlands and Islands, the crofts were divided in suitable portions among the occupiers, who had hitherto held them in common. The rents then fixed were seldom raised, and the tenants as rarely dispossessed. They descended from father to son as long as the stipulated rent was raised. But unfortunately in these districts, as in Ireland, the process of subdivision went on as the population increased, until the original croft was cut down to a very small plot.

'As originally allotted,' says Sir John McNeill, 'the crofts appear to have been quite sufficient to afford maintenance to a family and the means of paying the rent; but when kelp was largely manufactured, when potatoes were extensively and successfully cultivated, when the fishings were good, and the price of cattle high, the crofter found his croft more than sufficient for his wants, and when a son or daughter married he divided it with the young couple, who built themselves another house upon it, lived upon the produce, and paid a part of the rent. Thus many crofts which still stand in the rent roll in the name of one occupant, who is held responsible for the whole rent, are in fact occupied by two, three, or even four families. On some properties an effort was made to prevent this subdivision. The erection of an additional house on any croft was prohibited, and the prohibition was enforced; but the evil was not thereby arrested. The married son or daughter was received into the house of the original occupant, and if the land were not actually divided it was not the less required to support two or more families.

Attempts were in some cases made to put an end to this practice; but they were found to involve so much apparent cruelty and injustice, and it was so revolting to the feelings of all concerned that children should be expelled from the houses of their parents, that the evil was submitted to and still continues. The population was progressively increasing, and a large part of the increase was accumulated upon the crofts. Other circumstances contributed to the same results. The manufacture of kelp, which at one time brought to the proprietors in these districts a revenue equal to that derived from the land, gave employment to a great number of the inhabitants; but as that employment was only for six weeks or two months, and it was necessary to provide for the manufacturer the means of living during the whole year, small crofts were assigned to many persons in situations favourable to the manufacture, which was not alone sufficient to maintain a family, but which with the wages of the manufacturer were sufficient. When a change in the fiscal regulations destroyed this manufacture, these crofters, though deprived of a chief portion of their maintenance, did not seek refuge in emigration, but clung all the more closely to their small crofts, which were now insufficient to support them.'

In the manner thus clearly and strikingly described the population in the Hebrides and Western Highlands continued steadily to increase, while the means of subsistence continued as steadily to diminish. Even before the potato failure the people suffered frequently from scarcity, and were almost constantly on the verge of it. Their means in ordinary years were only just sufficient to afford them a bare subsistence, and of course the unfavourable season of 1846 plunged them at once into the severest distress. The potato failure found them in their usual state of poverty and privation, and even a much slighter pressure would have brought them to the utmost extremity of wretchedness.

So far there was a close resemblance between the circumstances of the Highlanders and of the Irish; but in one point there was fortunately a marked contrast. Nearly the whole of the encumbered estates in the districts where the greatest amount of poverty and distress existed, had some years before the occurrence of the potato blight been sold either by the embarrassed proprietors or their creditors, and had been purchased by gentlemen of great wealth and enterprise, who spent enormous sums of money in improving their estates and giving employment to the crofters and cottars. Sir James Matheson purchased in 1844 the island of Lewis, an old possession of the Seaforth family. It contains about 400,000 acres, of which 10,000 are arable, and the population amounted to nearly 20,000. He immediately commenced improvements on an extensive scale, under the superintendence of men of great ability and of long experience, with the view chiefly of giving employment to the inhabitants. In six years he expended on works of various kinds, executed by the people, £101,878, besides donations of £5892 for purposes of education and charity—or £67,980 (exclusive of cost of management) more than the whole revenue derived from the property in three years, deducting taxes and public burdens; but the result was most unsatisfactory. Mr. Rainy, the resident proprietor of the island of Raasay, expended between 1846 and 1850, in draining, trenching, road-making, and other improvements for the benefit of his people, the sum of £1672 in addition to his entire revenue from the estate. In the end he had spent upon it a sum equal to the price which he paid for the island. In the parishes of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, in the isle of Mull, the stipulated rental of which is £4371, the Duke of Argyll expended, between 1846 and 1852, the sum of £1790 in addition to the whole revenue derived from the property. Mr. Clark of Ulva, in the four years succeeding 1846, expended on wages of labour and

gratuities not only the whole revenue derived from this estate, but £367 from other sources. The proprietors of Sorne, Coll, and Harris made similar sacrifices for the benefit of the crofters and cottars on their estates; and Colonel Gordon, the proprietor of South Uist and Barra, during the seven years between 1845 and 1852, expended no less than £19,752 in labour and relief, and during the last four the expenditure exceeded the revenue by £4834. The disheartening result in all these and other similar instances was that, notwithstanding the large outlay on wages and the extensive improvements effected, the condition of the people continued to decline.

In addition to the efforts of the proprietors to check the increasing poverty of the people, and to relieve their distress, a 'Destitution Fund' was raised by voluntary subscription in Scotland, England, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries, on the failure of the potato crop, and the general dearth of food in 1847. It was administered by two committees—one sitting in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow—who undertook the care of different districts. They employed paid agents to take charge of the distribution of their bounty on the spot, who seem to have discharged with prudence and fidelity the duty intrusted to them during the four years over which the fund was extended. Stringent regulations were rigidly enforced in order to obviate the danger that the relief provided by the Poor Law for one class of destitute persons, and that provided by voluntary charity for another, might be confounded together by the working population in remote parishes. The labour test was applied, and at the same time the amount of relief was reduced to a bare subsistence. The experience of several years enabled the administrators to mature their system, and correct, under the local superintendence of paid officers, whatever had been found defective. 'Yet,' says Sir John McNeill in his Report, 'men of all classes and denominations concur almost unanimously in the opinion that the relief

thus administered had a prejudicial effect on the character and habits of the people; that it induced them to misrepresent their circumstances in order to participate in it, and caused them to relax their exertions for their own maintenance. The extent to which they had become demoralized frequently extorted from the old inhabitants expressions of bitter lamentation. This effect is attributed not only to the relief from the Destitution Fund, but also to the change in the laws for the relief of the poor; but whatever may be the cause, the fact is unquestionable, that a people who some years ago carefully concealed their poverty have learned to parade and, as a matter of course, to exaggerate it.' So completely had the people been demoralized by the charitable assistance given to them from time to time, that numbers of the men who were at work in the Lowlands, and were in the receipt of good wages, threw up their employment and returned to the Highlands, in order that they might obtain a share of the eleemosynary aid administered at their homes.

The almost unanimous testimony of the persons best fitted to form an intelligent and impartial opinion on the subject shows, that the charitable aid administered for so many years exercised a pernicious influence on the people, in sapping their self-dependence, in relaxing their exertions, in checking the regular stream of emigration which had set in before the famine, and even in diminishing the number of those who used to go south in summer for employment. So long as an eleemosynary supply of food, even though scanty, could be obtained, they would make no effort to earn their own bread. It was positively declared by many that 'there were able-bodied men in Lewis who would starve, and allow their families to starve, rather than earn their subsistence by daily labour.'

'The inhabitants of Lewis,' says Sir John McNeill, 'appear to have no feeling of thankfulness for the aid extended to them, but on the contrary regard the exaction of

labour in return for wages as oppression. Yet many of these very men, on a coast singularly destitute of safe creeks, prosecute the winter cod and ling fishing in open row-boats, at a distance from the land that renders it invisible unless in clear weather, and in a sea open to the Atlantic and Northern Oceans, with no land beyond it nearer than Iceland or America. They cheerfully encounter the perils and hardships of such a life, and tug for hours at an oar, or sit drenched in their boat without complaint; but to labour with a pick or a spade is to them most distasteful. It was even found necessary to bring labourers from other districts to execute part of the work, because the inhabitants could not be induced to engage or to persevere in it.

Sir James Matheson, whose princely liberality was met by the most disheartening ingratitude, offered the most liberal aid to all who were willing to emigrate. 'He proposed to cancel all arrears of rent, forgive them all debts, purchase their cattle if they could find no other purchasers, provide them with a free passage to Canada, and even, if a sufficient number went, to send a pastor of their own persuasion with them at his expense. But few were found to take advantage of such offers. The like offer was made to the inhabitants of Harris, with the further boon of being settled in Canada on the property of the same noble family under whom they lived at home. Not one family would accept; nor were they disposed to seek employment nearer home.'

'It is not easy,' says Sir John McNeill, 'to determine how much of this indisposition is to be attributed to ignorance and want of previous intercourse with other places, and how much to the efforts which have been made to support them at home. They have certainly considered not only the relief from the Destitution Fund, but also the wages and gratuities furnished by the proprietor, too much in the light of assistance to which they had a right, and which would therefore be permanent.'

It is evident that a permanent improvement of a population such as this can only be brought about by a total change of their condition, as well as of their state of feeling, and by their means of subsistence and their numbers being brought into harmony. The first step, and indeed the grand pre-requisite towards this most desirable consummation, is the extensive and speedy removal to our colonies of all who cannot find full employment and a comfortable sustenance at home; and the second is by the gradual operation of education, and other concurring influences, to strengthen the character and to essentially improve the habits of the people.

At the time when the Government and the Legislature were called upon to grapple with the calamity of famine and pestilence which had fallen upon Ireland, and, though in a less destructive form, also upon the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland, the country was passing through a period of severe commercial distress, the result of the extravagant speculations of the year 1845. Employment had grown scarce, wages had fallen, the crops had failed throughout the greater part of Europe, and in consequence our trade with the continental countries had greatly diminished. Bankruptcies were increasing in number, and the working classes, pinched by poverty, had grown discontented and restless. In February, 1847, the price of wheat rose to 102s. a quarter, and it rose still higher in the following months. A heavy cloud hung over the land, and it became denser and darker as the year advanced. The monetary confusion became so great that the trade and enterprise of the country were for a time at a stand-still. Day after day tidings of gigantic failures poured in. It was stated that in Lancashire alone these amounted to nearly £16,000,000, and Birmingham, Glasgow, and other great towns were in the same deplorable condition. The reckless speculations in railway shares were answerable for not a little of the ruin which now fell on the commercial classes; but a variety of other causes contributed to that

result. Great bodies of shareholders in sound railways were obliged to sell out at a ruinous loss. The immense fall in the price of corn made many of the largest houses bankrupt. Several considerable banks stopped payment. A panic arose which reached a crisis when it was found that on the 21st October the reserve in the Bank of England had sunk to £1,600,025. Credit was suspended, and the whole trade of the country seemed about to be paralyzed. The pressure of the great London banking houses at length induced the Government in this emergency to authorize the Bank of England on the 25th October to issue notes beyond the amount prescribed by the Bank Charter of 1844, on the ground that 'the time had arrived when they ought to attempt by some extraordinary and temporary measure to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community.' The good effect of this step was immediately felt. Confidence was restored, gold began to pour in, the coffers of the bank were speedily replenished, and by the end of January, 1848, the rate of interest had fallen from eight to four per cent. It is much to the credit of the Government and the Legislature, and especially to the great body of the people of England and Scotland, that embarrassed as they were with these financial difficulties, and straitened in their own circumstances, not only were the immense sums of public money given without a murmur, but private subscriptions were made on an unprecedented scale of liberality to relieve the sufferings of their Irish fellow-subjects.

It is noteworthy that the last time the great Irish agitator, Daniel O'Connell, addressed the House of Commons (8th February, 1847), was on the subject of the distress which at that time prevailed so widely in Ireland. His health had for some time been failing, and the sufferings of his countrymen had completely crushed his spirit. His voice was now sunk almost to a whisper, but the members from all sides of the House

gathered round the eloquent orator to listen to the last words delivered by him in the House of Commons, which formed an appropriate close to his career there.

'I am afraid,' he said, 'that the House is not sufficiently aware of the extent of the misery; I do not think that its members are sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland. I do not think they understand the miseries, the accumulated miseries, under which the people are at present suffering. It has been estimated that 5000 adults and 10,000 children have already perished from famine, and that 25 per cent. of the whole population will perish unless the House will afford effective relief. They will perish of famine and disease unless the House does something speedy and efficacious—not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but by some great act of national generosity, calculated on a broad and liberal scale. If this course is not pursued Parliament is responsible for the loss of 25 per cent. of the population of Ireland. I assure the House most solemnly that I am not exaggerating. I can establish all I have said by many and many painful proofs, and the necessary result must be typhus fever, which in fact has broken out and is desolating whole districts. It leaves alive only one in ten of those whom it attacks.'

With the hope that change of climate and relief from the distressing scenes which he witnessed at home, might restore his health and reinvigorate his constitution, O'Connell resolved to pay a visit to Rome. The Pontiff, Pius IX., who was at that time pursuing a course of popular measures soon to have a painful termination, was preparing, with the cordial approbation of his subjects, a triumphal reception for the man who had done so much for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, when the tidings reached him that the Liberator's illness had terminated somewhat suddenly at last, at Genoa, on the 15th of May, in the seventy-second year of his age. His heart was

embalmed and carried on to Rome; his body was conveyed back to Ireland, and interred with great pomp and ceremony in the cemetery of Glasnevin, near Dublin. In 1869 his remains were removed from the vault where they had lain twenty-two years, and placed in a new tomb erected in the same cemetery. No one will question the vast importance of the services which O'Connell rendered to his own countrymen, though the drawbacks were not inconsider-

able. If the moral qualities of 'the Liberator' had been equal to his intellectual powers, his reputation as a patriot would have been held in as great respect among Englishmen and Scotsmen as it once was among his own countrymen. But the agitators who since his death have acquired a predominant influence in Ireland, have been of such a character as to make O'Connell regretted even by those who in his lifetime were most strongly opposed to his policy.

Wm. B. B. B.

CHAPTER V.

Dissolution of Parliament and the new Election—Anarchy and crime in Ireland—Coercion Bill—State of affairs in Spain—Intrigues of the Queen-Mother—Proposals for the Marriage of the young Queen and her Sister—Demands of the French Ministry—Statement of Lord Aberdeen—Louis Philippe's pledge to Queen Victoria—Policy of M. Guizot—Intrigues of M. Bresson—Marriage of Isabella and the Infanta—Breach of faith on the part of the French King—Its effects on his character and position—Annexation of Cracow by Austria—Condition of Portugal—Civil war between the Government and the Junta—Unsatisfactory state of affairs in Spain—Dissensions in Switzerland—War between the Sonderbund and the Diet—Pope Pius IX.—His reforms and character—Influence of his policy on the other Continental States—Lord Minto's Mission—Alarming state of France—Submission of Abd-el-Kader—Unpopular policy of Louis Philippe—The Reform Banquets—The last of them prohibited by the Government—Riots in the streets—Resignation of the Ministry—Conflict between the Troops and the Populace—M. Thiers appointed President of the Council—Abdication of the King—Failure of the attempt to appoint the Duchess of Orleans Regent—Dissolution of the Chambers—Storming of the Palais Royal—The Republic proclaimed—Flight of the King and Queen—Their escape to England.

THE Parliament was dissolved in the month of July, 1847, and the writs for the new election were made returnable on the 21st of September. The adoption of Free Trade had removed the main question on which the two political parties had for some years contended, and there was no subject of any great importance to excite popular feeling. The recent split in the Conservative party had greatly impaired their strength, and the supporters of Sir Robert Peel were much more friendly to the Government than to the Protectionists, who looked to Lord Stanley, Lord George Bentinck, and Mr. Disraeli as their leaders. On the whole, the Government gained by the elections. The city of London returned three Liberals, with Lord John Russell at the head of the poll, and one Conservative, who gained his seat by only three votes. Westminster sent De Lacy Evans and Lushington, and the other metropolitan burghs returned Radicals rather than Whig candidates. Roebuck was ejected from Bath, which he had represented for fifteen years. Edinburgh, to the surprise and regret of many, showed its resentment at Mr. Macaulay's votes in favour of the Maynooth grant by placing him third on the poll. Mr. Villiers, the veteran leader of the Free Trade party in the House of Commons, was returned for South Lancashire, as well as for Wolverhampton, which he had repre-

sented since 1835; and Mr. Cobden was elected both for the West Riding of Yorkshire and for Stockport. Mr. Gladstone's seat for Oxford was vigorously but unsuccessfully assailed by a Mr. Round, a champion of the No-Popery party. Sir John B. Hobhouse, however, was defeated at Nottingham by a combination of Protectionists and Chartists; and by an equally unnatural alliance of Orangemen and Repealers Mr. Reynolds was returned for Dublin along with Mr. Grogan.

The Ministry, however, had not gained much strength by the election, and their stability was dependent on the divisions among their opponents rather than on the cordiality of their supporters. They found it necessary to summon the new Parliament to meet on the 18th of November, in consequence both of the commercial distress prevailing throughout England and Scotland, and the distracted and dangerous state of affairs in Ireland. In that unhappy country no gratitude had been either expressed or felt for the munificent aid which England and Scotland had so readily given to the Irish people in the time of their distress. The increase of crime kept pace with the progress of the famine. The new Ministry, on their accession to office, proposed the temporary renewal of the Arms Bill; but in consequence of the dissatisfaction which this proposal caused among their

supporters, they were obliged to drop the measure. It speedily became apparent, however, that extraordinary powers were necessary for the repression of crime in Ireland. The outrages upon life and property, as Lord Stanley remarked, had made the state of the country that of civil war. 'One by one,' he added, 'the best members of society fall victims of assassination, and it is now an admitted fact that it is safer in that island to violate than to obey the law.' Adequate powers to grapple with this state of anarchy and crime could no longer be delayed, and by rejecting the Coercion Bill the Government had now to pay the merited penalty of their union with the Protectionists to overthrow the Peel Ministry. They found themselves compelled to come with a very bad grace to Parliament, and to solicit from it powers even greater than those which they had assisted in refusing to their predecessors.

On the 28th of November, six days after the Parliament met, Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, introduced a Coercion Bill for the purpose of repressing assassination, attempts on life, incendiarism, and robberies of arms in Ireland. These crimes had more than doubled in the course of a few months. In the month of October the total number had been 195; 139 had occurred in the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary. In the six months ending October, 1847, the number of homicides was 96; the number of attempts on life, 126; the number of firings of dwellings, 116; and the number of robberies of arms, 530. Even in the face of these facts there were found some members who resisted coercion in every shape, and taunted the Ministry with the adoption of the policy which they had opposed when brought forward by Sir Robert Peel—to whom, an Irish member said, reparation was due for having turned him out of office on a Coercion Bill. But that noble-minded statesman, casting aside all personal feelings of resentment, gave his hearty support to the measure introduced by Sir George Grey, and declared

that 'now the best reparation that could be made to the last, was to assist the present Government in passing into a law the measure they had brought forward.' The Bill was carried through the House of Commons by overwhelming majorities, and passed the House of Lords without a division.

The state of affairs on the Continent at this time, and especially in Spain, was causing no little uneasiness to the British ministry. That country was in its chronic state of dissension, and almost anarchy. A military revolution, which broke out at La Grange, a summer palace at which Queen Christina was then residing, expelled the *Moderados* from office, and the *Progresistas* or Liberal party came into power, organized a National Guard throughout the towns, and established municipal corporations on a popular basis. The civil war, which had so long raged in Spain between the Carlists and the Christinas, terminated successfully for the Queen Regent, mainly through the support given to her cause by the National Guard and the popular corporations. But she had never forgiven the insult she had experienced at La Grange, and encouraged by the *Moderados*—the aristocratic party in Spain—she determined to make an attempt at remodelling the constitution. The first blow was aimed at the corporations; but they saw their danger, and the National Guard took up arms in their behalf. Everything at such a crisis depended on the army, and Queen Christina resolved to try the effect of her personal charms and eloquence on General Espartero, the commander-in-chief, who had acquired extraordinary influence in the country by his success in bringing the civil war to a termination. She left the capital and repaired to the camp in the neighbourhood of Barcelona. But the honest soldier was proof against all her arguments and blandishments; and finding that she could not carry out her policy, the Queen sought refuge in France, and was succeeded in the Regency by the

general whom she had failed either to convince or seduce from duty. This result was the reverse of agreeable to Louis Philippe and his ministers, who had relied on Queen Christina to maintain a French party at the Spanish court; and they thought fit to impute both the insurrection at La Grange and the overthrow of the Queen Regent's rule to the influence of British gold and of the resident minister at Madrid. They therefore did not hesitate to give underhand encouragement to the various intrigues and plots against Espartero's government. At length an extensive rising of the *Moderados* took place in 1843, aided by a dissatisfied section of the *Progresistas*, which was brought to a successful issue by the landing at Valencia of General Narvaez, a *Moderado* officer of repute, who had been for some time an exile in France. Marching rapidly on the Spanish capital, he defeated a considerable body of troops in its vicinity, and entering the city at once established his authority. General Espartero was forced to embark for England. Queen Isabella, who was in her thirteenth year, was immediately invested with the royal authority, and her mother returned to Spain and married a young officer of the Royal Guard named Muñoz, to whom she had already borne several children. The obnoxious corporations were remodelled, the National Guard was suppressed, and a law which had been passed while the *Progresistas* were in power, requiring the Queen to seek the sanction of the Cortes to the husband she might select, was abolished.

These sweeping changes prepared the way for resuming and carrying into effect plans which had long been contemplated, for making such arrangements for the marriage of the young Queen and her sister as should be fitted to perpetuate both the interests of France in Spain and the influence of the *Moderados* on Spanish affairs. The French court and ministry, of which M. Guizot was the head, were bent on making these marriages subservient both to political and dynastic interests. So far back as 1840,

when the two princesses were mere children, Guizot said to Lord Palmerston, 'The Queen will marry Cadiz, and then Montpensier will marry the Infanta.' The evident objections to a scheme which might not improbably have seated a French prince on the Spanish throne, and made France the predominating power in that country, were at once stated by the British minister; but there is good reason to believe that M. Guizot never lost sight of the idea. It has transpired that the Queen-Mother had gone much further, and had made proposals to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, which would have united Queen Isabella to the Duke D'Aumale and the Infanta to the Duke de Montpensier. But the French king, though ever on the watch to promote the interests of his family, and by no means scrupulous as to the means he employed for that purpose, saw clearly the imminent dangers which such a step would involve, and declined the proposal. He went further, and declared both to the English ministers and the Queen that he would give his consent to no arrangement which would have the effect of placing the crown of Spain upon the head of any of his sons.

In return for this concession he urged upon the British Government to give their assent to a stipulation, that the young Queen's choice of a husband should be limited to a member of the Bourbon family descended from Philip V. of Spain. The proposal was both unjust in itself and insulting to the dignity of the Queen and the Spanish nation, and the British Government steadily refused their consent to it. The reply of Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, always was, 'The Queen, being absolutely free, and Spain independent, no other Power could pretend to dictate upon such a subject. If Spain, however, decided to accept a Bourbon within the limitations mentioned by the King of the French, Great Britain would readily acquiesce, all the more because of the positive exclusion of his sons pronounced by the King of the French.' Lord Aberdeen ought to have

adopted a bolder course, and to have insisted that the offensive restriction should be withdrawn; and there can be no doubt that the mild tone of the British Foreign Secretary emboldened the French king to persist in his underhand intrigue for the marriage of the Infanta to his son the Duke de Montpensier. Meanwhile, however, this purpose was carefully kept out of sight, and when it was ultimately avowed in 1845 Louis Philippe assured Lord Aberdeen, during the visit which the Queen paid to him at Eu, that he had resolved not to proceed with the match until Queen Isabella should be married and *should have children*. On the same occasion he gave a voluntary pledge to Queen Victoria that 'he never would hear of Montpensier's marriage with the Infanta of Spain until it was no longer a political question, *which would be when the Queen is married and has children*.'

Meanwhile the Queen-Mother had indirectly intimated her desire that the hand of her daughter should be given either to the reigning Duke of Coburg, Prince Albert's brother, or his cousin Prince Leopold, brother of the King of Portugal and third son of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg. The proposal, however, met with no countenance from the British Ministry, though there is good reason to believe that it would have been highly acceptable to the poor young Queen herself, whose personal happiness was about to be ruthlessly sacrificed for selfish and sinister purposes by her mother and the French king; and the French Government were made distinctly aware that Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues had resolved to give no encouragement to the Coburg match.

The restriction of the Queen's hand to a Bourbon of the line of Philip V., strenuously insisted on by Louis Philippe, left Isabella a very limited and by no means an acceptable choice. The only qualified candidates, in the estimation of the French king, were Count Montemolin, the son of Don Carlos; the Count de Trapani, the youngest brother of the King of Naples

and of Christina the Queen-Mother, and consequently Queen Isabella's uncle; and the two sons of the Infant Don Francisco de Paula the Queen's uncle—Don Francisco de Assis, Duke of Cadiz, and his younger brother Don Enrique, the Duke of Seville. The son of Don Carlos was not to be thought of. The Count de Trapani was most unpopular in Spain, and was detested by the Queen-Mother. The Duke of Cadiz was every way, intellectually and physically, a poor creature; and there were reports, which Queen Christina herself believed to be true, that it was most improbable that the young Queen would have any children to him if he became her husband. Don Enrique, again, was obnoxious both to the Queen and the Government, on account of his personal arrogance as well as of his political opinions, and he was at this time actually an exile on account of his supposed complicity in the plots of the *Progresistas*. M. Guizot himself admitted that the Bourbon candidates had little chance of success. In a memorandum sent by him to the French ambassador in London, in February, 1846, and read to Lord Aberdeen, he said—

'The Count de Trapani is greatly compromised. 1. By the demonstration which has been made against him. 2. By the fall of General Narvaez.

'The sons of the Infante Don François de Paul are greatly compromised; by their mistaken conduct; by their intimacy with the Radical and the antipathy of the Moderate party; by the dislike of the Queen-Mother and of the *young Queen herself*.

'The sons of Don Carlos are for the time out of the question. 1. By the opposition, loudly proclaimed, of all parties. 2. By their exclusion formally pronounced by the Constitution. 3. By their own proceedings, which have always been very remote from conduct which could alone give them a chance.

'The actual situation of the descendants of Philippe V. in the question of the marriage of the Queen of Spain, has therefore become bad.'

The Count Trapani had hitherto been the favourite candidate of the French Government; but their persistent efforts to force on a marriage between the young Queen and her own uncle had completely failed. The sons of Don Carlos 'were out of the question.' There remained therefore only the Dukes of Cadiz and Seville, whom Guizot admitted were disliked both by the Queen-Mother and her daughter; and yet after this acknowledgment he had the effrontery to say, that 'the English Cabinet must take active steps in concert with us to press home the claim of one of the descendants of Philip V., *no matter which*, and to arrange his marriage with Queen Isabella, and in the meanwhile to prevent the marriage of the Infanta either with Prince Leopold or any other prince not a descendant of Philip V.' And this statement was accompanied by the assertion of the monstrous proposition that 'France shall consider herself absolved from all her engagements, either as to the Queen or the Infanta, if their marriage either 'to Prince Leopold, or any other prince not a descendant of Philip V., shall become probable and imminent.'

Now that the chances of the Bourbon candidates seemed desperate, it appears that the court and the Government of Madrid once more turned their thoughts towards Prince Leopold, who as a Roman Catholic, and a young, active, intelligent, and good-looking person, seemed likely to make a good husband to the Queen and a good king to the country. 'The Government of England,' said Sir Henry Bulwer (afterwards Lord Dalling), who was at this time British Minister at Madrid, 'could have no possible reason for pushing forward this alliance, the Government of France no plausible reason for opposing it. The only objection that could be taken was the family one of Louis Philippe, viz., that the proposed husband was not a Bourbon. But when the tranquillity of Spain, and the happiness of its sovereign, and the concord of Europe were all concerned in not carrying to an

extreme a most absurd pretension of family pride, there was no irrational hope that this pretension would be ultimately laid aside if Spain acted resolutely and asserted her rights. This was the Queen-Mother's opinion. She determined therefore on addressing a letter, containing the proposal for a marriage between Queen Isabella and Prince Leopold of Coburg, to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, then at Lisbon; and she requested Sir Henry Bulwer to allow this letter to go, as her letters and the despatches of the Spanish Government could always go, by his messenger. She told him, however, what the letter contained. Sir Henry would not refuse a letter from the Queen-Mother to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg. He would not argue against a Coburg marriage, because his Government had said that the Queen of Spain was free to marry whom she thought proper; but he said to the Queen-Mother, what he had formerly said to Count Bresson, that a Coburg marriage was not an English one, and that he saw no reason for supposing that the English Government would support it if it were.'

Sir Henry Bulwer remained to the last under the conviction that the Queen-Mother had made this proposal in all sincerity; but facts were subsequently brought to the knowledge of our Government, which led them to believe that it was merely a trap which had been devised in the hope that it would be countenanced by Lord Aberdeen, and would thus afford a plausible plea for the renunciation by Louis Philippe of his pledge to postpone the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier until the Queen had married and had children. The Duke of Saxe-Gotha, however, after ascertaining the opinions of his own family, including the King of the Belgians, and also those of Lord John Russell's Cabinet, declined the proposal, mainly on the ground of the injury likely to result to Spain from a marriage contracted in opposition to the views of the French King and his Ministers. Of this fact both Louis Philippe and M. Guizot were made aware, and the latter

acknowledges in his 'Memoirs' that he was thoroughly convinced of the perfect sincerity of the Prince and the Ministry, both in their intentions and their words.

In the meantime, however, M. Bresson, the French Minister at the Court of Madrid, acting under the instructions of M. Guizot, had zealously pressed his negotiations with the Queen-Mother and the Government, and on the 12th July, 1846, he announced to the French Prime Minister that he had obtained their consent to the simultaneous marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Cadiz and of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. It is only a bare act of justice to Louis Philippe to say that when information of this arrangement was communicated to him he expressed his strong disapproval, and wrote to M. Guizot, 'It is indispensable that the Queen be made aware that Bresson was forbidden to say what he has said, and that the simultaneity is inadmissible.' There is no reason, however, to believe that the disavowal was ever made, and Bresson was not recalled, but remained at the Court of Madrid to carry out the 'inadmissible' arrangement. Guizot was not to be diverted from the policy on which his heart was set, and he seems to have found no great difficulty in reconciling the King to the breach of his word. A pretext to justify this immoral conduct was discovered in a despatch of Lord Palmerston, in which he spoke of the candidates for the Queen's hand being reduced to three, 'namely, the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg and the two sons of Don Francisco de Paula. As between these three, Her Majesty's Government have only to express their sincere wish that the choice may fall upon the one who may be most likely to secure the happiness of the Queen and to promote the welfare of the nation.'

Although the very despatch which contained this statement spoke of Don Enrique as 'the candidate who appeared to us the most eligible, because the most likely to prove acceptable to the people of Spain,'

the French King and his Minister professed to have inferred from it that the Coburg marriage had become 'probable and imminent,' and that France was therefore liberated from its engagement. But, as Queen Victoria remarked, 'the very danger which the French declared would absolve them of their promise, viz., Leopold's marrying the Queen, was put an end to by the Queen's marrying Don Francisco! Why then join on the marriage of the Infanta?' Nothing more was necessary to expose the hollowness and insincerity of the pretext put forth as an apology for Louis Philippe's scandalous breach of faith; and the elaborate defence of his conduct which he sent to his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, for the perusal of our Queen, elicited a crushing reply which not only stripped off the flimsy and dishonest allegations by which he sought to shift the imputation of want of sincerity from himself to the English Government, but made him aware, to his great alarm, that his trickery had lost him both the confidence of the Queen and the friendship of the country.

Louis Philippe deluded himself with the notion that the people of Great Britain were wholly indifferent as to the subject of the Spanish marriage. It was a private affair, he said everywhere, between Lord Palmerston and himself, and would therefore entail no political consequences. M. Guizot boasted that he had achieved a great political triumph over England. 'The affair of the Spanish marriages,' he said, 'is the first grand thing that we have effected, completely single-handed, in Europe since 1830.' He admitted to Lord Normanby, the British ambassador in Paris, that it would create a bad feeling in Britain, but 'nothing that will last.' The French monarch and his Minister were, however, speedily undeceived in regard to this point. Apart from the flagrant breach of faith which the transaction involved on the part of Louis Philippe, merely for the purpose of promoting his family interest,

the haughty heartlessness with which the feelings, affections, and happiness of the young Queen had been sacrificed was an outrage to the public feeling of Europe. The language of vehement condemnation was heard on every side. The leading statesmen of both parties in Britain felt deeply, as Lord Aberdeen said, 'the breach of the engagement.' 'Everybody,' said the calm and judicious Lord Lansdowne, 'must now see the necessity of turning over a new leaf with Louis Philippe, whose conduct will not increase his power, *which after all must be chiefly made up of opinion*, though it may imperil the relations hitherto subsisting between States.' 'You cannot represent too strongly to the King and Queen my indignation and my sorrow at what has been done,' wrote Queen Victoria to her uncle, King Leopold, Louis Philippe's son-in-law. 'Prince Albert felt the blow as a man must,' wrote Stockmar, 'as unrighteous in its essence, as a national insult in the shape it took, and a personal wrong.'

The absolute sovereigns on the Continent and their Ministers saw with great satisfaction the dissolution of the '*entente cordiale*' which had existed since 1836 between Great Britain and France; but at the same time they made no secret of the unfavourable opinion they had formed of the transaction. 'Tell M. Guizot from me,' said Prince Metternich, 'that one does not with impunity play little tricks with great countries. He knows I do not think much of public opinion; it is not one of my instruments, but it has its effect. The English Government have done their best to establish Louis Philippe in public opinion. They can withdraw what they gave; and I have always said the moment he loses that, he is on the very verge of a war, and his is not a dynasty that can stand a war.' Baron Stockmar, writing to the Queen (15th September, 1846), said that the transaction would appear in the eyes of Europe 'a piece of selfish and wicked policy, from the scandal of which the King's fame will never recover.'

The two marriages were celebrated at the same time, on the 10th of October, which was Queen Isabella's birthday; and the French king and his minister congratulated themselves and the French people on the success of their long-cherished project, which they deemed a masterpiece of policy, although both were well aware that it had been purchased by the loss of the friendship of the British Government and people, which, however, they imagined would only prove temporary.

The coolness which had taken place between Great Britain and France was matter of great satisfaction to the arbitrary continental powers—Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and they immediately took advantage of it to suppress the Republic of Cracow, which the Treaty of Vienna had declared to be 'a free and independent city.' When a Polish insurrection broke out in Silesia, in February, 1846, a revolutionary Provisional Government was installed in Cracow. The insurgents were, however, speedily defeated, and the city was occupied by the allied forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who stipulated that the militia of the Republic should not be reorganized, and that the town should be occupied alternately by the troops of the three Powers. This step was admittedly a violation of the Treaty of Vienna, and it naturally excited the suspicions of both Britain and France, who agreed in declaring that that Treaty must be upheld. Lord Palmerston, at the close of the session, significantly expressed a hope 'that the Governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia would recollect that if the Treaty of Vienna was not good on the Vistula, it might be equally invalid on the Rhine and on the Po.' If the two Western Powers had remained united, the other three parties to the Treaty would in all probability not have ventured to go further. But, emboldened by their knowledge that a coldness had arisen between Britain and France, they ventured to annihilate the last shred of Polish independence. Without any previous communication

with these two Governments, Austria proclaimed, on the 11th of November, that with the concurrence of the other protecting Powers—Russia and Prussia—she had annexed the city and territory of Cracow, and incorporated them as an inseparable portion of the empire. Formal protests were separately made by France and England against the annexation of Cracow, but these were of course disregarded, as the Northern despots were well aware that they would not be followed by any aggressive measures. The high-handed proceedings of the allied Powers, however, were as unwise as they were immoral, and they were speedily followed by merited retribution.

The alienation between the two constitutional Governments of Europe seemed likely to exercise a more injurious influence upon the affairs of Portugal. Though the young Queen had been indebted to Britain for the possession of her throne, she had fallen under the influence of the French Court and Ministry, who had laboured to weaken British influence in her kingdom. Yielding to the suggestions of unprincipled advisers, she had been guilty of various arbitrary and unconstitutional actions, and had deprived her subjects of a portion of their just rights. Civil war had in consequence broken out between the Government and the Junta. The British Minister had warned her, but without effect, that 'a throne whose stability rests on the point of the bayonet has a very ticklish and uncertain basis,' and that Britain would neither support her nor allow Spain to give her assistance in continuing a system of misgovernment. But encouraged by France, Donna Maria and her Prime Minister, the Marquis of Saldanha, who was also commander-in-chief of the army, disregarded these remonstrances, and even proposed to call in a Spanish force to crush the Liberal party. The civil war continued some time longer, but Saldanha proved unable to suppress the insurrection, and was forced to resign. Upon this the Queen accepted the

offers of the British Ministry to mediate between her and the insurgents, upon the terms suggested by Lord Palmerston. The Junta, however, were now unwilling to accept these terms, and at last the British Government was obliged to interpose, and, in conjunction with Spain, brought matters to a specific settlement. Their intervention brought upon them a fierce attack from the united forces of the Radicals and the Protectionists in the House of Commons, which perilled their existence; but with the powerful support of Sir Robert Peel they weathered the storm.

In Spain affairs were in a most unsettled state. Ministry followed ministry in such rapid succession that no fewer than six were formed and dissolved in the course of a few months, after the Queen's marriage. Like dissolving views they appeared on the scene one after another for a brief space, and then disappeared without any intelligible reason. Court intrigues and royal scandals were the engrossing themes of public interest. As had been confidently anticipated, the Queen and her husband speedily became completely estranged from each other, and neither appeared together in public nor had the slightest communication in private. At this juncture she retired to Aranjuez, leaving the King-Consort in Madrid, and urged upon her Ministers the necessity of taking immediate steps to procure a divorce. She was on no better terms with her Government than with her husband. The differences between them reached such a height that an abdication was imminent, and was being pressed by the French partizans in the country, though Louis Philippe himself was opposed to that step. In the beginning of October, Narvaez was made President of the Council, and the Queen-Mother a few days after quitted her asylum in France and returned to Madrid—events of evil omen to the stability of the throne and the peace and prosperity of the country.

Switzerland was on the brink of a civil war, which soon after broke out between

the seven Roman Catholic cantons, the Sonderbund, and the other fifteen cantons under the Diet. The dispute was mainly caused by the conduct of the canton of Lucerne in seeking to promote an Ultramontane policy, not only within its own territory, but in the neighbouring cantons, which had the effect of stirring up strife amongst their citizens, and insurrections against the local Government. A revolution which took place at this time in the Canton Vaud and in Berne and Geneva, and substituted a Radical for a Conservative Government, contributed greatly to fan the flame which had been kindled by Lucerne. The Jesuits had long been established in the Valais, Friburg, and Schwytz, with control over the education both of the clergy and of the people; but they now began to manifest unusual activity, perambulating the Roman Catholic cantons as missionaries and special preachers, and denouncing the Liberal Governments as injurious and hostile to religion. The irruption caused by these proceedings was greatly increased by the Grand Council of the canton of Lucerne in adopting a resolution, on the 24th of October, 1844, to invite the Jesuits into Lucerne, and to confide to them the education of the people. Great numbers of those who showed dissatisfaction with this resolution were arrested and imprisoned, and a still greater number fled from the canton to escape similar treatment, so that during the winter of 1844-45 there were not fewer than 1100 exiles from Lucerne scattered throughout the neighbouring cantons. Organized bands of volunteers from Berne, Soleure, Basle-Campagna, and Argau, in conjunction with the exiles, made an attack upon the town of Lucerne; but with the help of contingents from Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden, the citizens defeated and drove out the assailants with considerable loss.

These events contributed to increase the existing hostile feeling against the Government of Lucerne. The Great Council of the canton of Argau had previously proposed in the Diet, on July, 1844, that the

Jesuits should be expelled from Switzerland, but had received scarcely any support. The proposition was renewed in the Diet of 1845, and obtained the votes of ten cantons and two half cantons; nine cantons voted against it. The question in dispute was complicated by the formation early in the year 1846 of the armed separate league, called the Sonderbund, between the cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Friburg, Zug, and Valais. It was alleged to have been instituted exclusively for purposes of common defence; but the members of the league not only bound themselves to furnish contingents of men and money, and to obey a common military authority, but proceeded at once to arm and organize themselves though no attack on them was threatened. On the 20th of July the Diet resolved that the alliance of these seven cantons was incompatible with 'the essential dispositions' of the Federal Compact of 1815, and declared it to be dissolved. The Diet also reserved to itself, should circumstances require, to adopt ulterior measures to enforce obedience to its decree.

On the 3rd of September the Diet decreed that the existence and the secret practices of the Jesuits are incompatible with the order and peace of Switzerland. The cantons in which the Jesuits were established were invited to expel them from their territories, and the admission of the members of the order into any of the cantons was forbidden. The cantons of the Sonderbund protested against both of these decrees as a violation of the rights of the Federal compact, and immediately commenced preparations for war. Commissioners appointed by the Diet visited each of the leagued cantons, and endeavoured to persuade the authorities to submit, but without effect. An attempt at mediation by the canton of St. Gall proved equally ineffectual. Nothing remained, therefore, but an appeal to arms to settle the quarrel.

Accordingly, on the 11th of November, General Dufour, the Commander-in-chief of the Federal forces, appeared before

Friburg at the head of a strong and well-appointed force. The town capitulated on the 13th of that month. On the 22nd his army reached the vicinity of Lucerne, the capital of the Sonderbund, which he attacked on the following day. After a gallant but ineffectual resistance the city surrendered at discretion. The remaining cantons of the Separatist League soon afterwards sent in their submission. Meanwhile the five great Powers had agreed to tender their joint offices as mediators, in order to prevent the effusion of blood; but their tardy proposal came too late. Before their collective note was presented to the Diet the war was at an end, and the Sonderbund was dissolved. The offer of their mediation was therefore declined. It was fortunate that the contest had terminated so speedily, for great apprehensions were entertained that, had it continued much longer, Austria would have interposed on behalf of the Roman Catholic cantons—a step which would in all probability have led to a European war.

Austria, however, had her hands full at home, and was in a state of great apprehension respecting the security of her Italian dominions. The whole of the Peninsula, indeed, was in a state of great political excitement, and a strong feeling pervaded the people that they ought no longer to endure the arbitrary domination of the governments that had so grievously oppressed and degraded them. They were especially determined to throw off the hated yoke of the foreigners, and to compel their native rulers to grant them liberal institutions and a constitutional Government. This movement was greatly accelerated and strengthened by the election to the Papal chair, on the 16th of June, 1846, of Cardinal Mastai, who assumed the name of Pius IX.—an ecclesiastic who was believed to entertain enlightened and liberal views. He immediately published a general amnesty for political offences, and inaugurated several much-needed and highly popular reforms.

At this juncture the British Government

resolved to send the Earl of Minto, Lord Privy Seal, as their confidential representative at Rome, with the view of strengthening the hands of the Pope in the course of action on which he had entered. He was instructed to keep strictly in remembrance that the object of his mission was to assist in securing 'the independence of each State within the proper limits, and the perfect liberty of each Sovereign to undertake any reform he pleased.' He was charged with the task, as Prince Albert said, of 'confirming the Pope and the other Italian Princes in the resolution *themselves* to undertake the most necessary reforms, and not to be afraid of their subjects, to preach to the people confidence in the Government and the intentions of their rulers, and to assure both of the moral protection of England against *foreign* disturbance in the necessary but ticklish process of regeneration.' The liberal movement commenced by the Pope in nominating a Council of Ministers, organizing a National Guard, and commencing various local reforms, had made his name a watchword of freedom and hope throughout the rest of Italy, and induced various other Princes to follow his example in liberalizing their institutions. But unfortunately the Pontiff was not fit to control the movement which he had set on foot. He was exceedingly impulsive, had little firmness or acuteness of intellect, and, like all persons of his class, was very accessible to outward influences. He not only wished to keep the control of the movement in his own hands, but insisted that he alone possessed the right to direct the movement, as it emanated from him, and to say 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further.' It very speedily, however, passed beyond his management. The mission of Lord Minto was regarded by an excitable population unaccustomed to liberty, and inflamed by revolutionary publications and emissaries, with whom Italy was swarming, as an undoubted indication of the sympathy of Great Britain with the demand for a united and independent Italy; and thus

encouraged, as they fancied, they made no secret of their determination to expel the Austrians from the country. Lord Minto was everywhere received with courtesy, and by the revolutionary party with enthusiasm. The Pope treated him with the respect due to the representative of Great Britain, and conversed freely with him; but His Holiness must by this time have become seriously apprehensive that the popular movement was carrying him much further than he intended, or than his own judgment approved. By the republican party the arrival of Lord Minto was hailed as a great triumph; a crowd loudly cheered him on the Piazza de Spagna, while from the windows of the Europe Hotel he made a short speech in favour of Italian independence. He was entertained at a grand banquet, at which not only the ministers of the Council of State were present, but 'the Modern Rienzi,' Cicerovacchio, one of the leaders of the extreme republican party; and no step was left untaken to impress upon the populace the notion that the British Government sympathized with their views.

While Italy, Germany, and Switzerland were in such a state of commotion, the political atmosphere in France was lowering, and threatening an impending tempest. The alienation of England had left the King and his Government without an ally in Europe. The accusations of duplicity and breach of faith which the English journals had brought against Louis Philippe and M. Guizot had been eagerly turned against the Ministry by the Liberal party in France; and they and their master having sown the wind were now about to reap the whirlwind. The murder of the Duchess of Praslin by her husband, followed by his suicide, had given fresh point to the charges of immorality brought against the Court. The lamentable disclosures that had taken place in the affair of MM. Teste and Pellapra had brought to light the discreditable fact that some of the highest officers of the State had been guilty of gross

corruption, that contracts had been procured, spoliation of the public stores connived at, and even high honours conferred for the sake of a bribe. The Government, though mistrusted by the nation, no doubt still possessed a large majority in the Chambers; but it was commonly believed that that majority had been secured by the most prodigal expenditure of public money. The basis of the electoral constituency was so narrow, and the franchise so limited, that it was everywhere said the Government and not the nation were represented in the Chambers. The public finances, too, were in a state of disorder, and the annual deficit was steadily increasing. Want of employment had produced great suffering, and consequently great discontentment among the working classes, and Socialism was widely spread among the artisans of the capital and the other large towns of France. Prince Albert, with characteristic sagacity and foresight, wrote to Baron Stockmar about the close of 1847—'In foreign politics the state of France is the most critical. The proceedings in the law courts have laid bare a state of internal corruption that is frightful, and the effect of these revelations on the mass of the people will be immense. Communism is in the ascendant, and a Parliamentary reform will probably be carried before long, if it be possible for the French to do anything without tumult and insurrection.'

There was a growing conviction in France that the 'King of the Barricades' had systematically violated the principle on which his throne was professedly based—that of a limited monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions; and that he had deliberately recurred to the old Bourbon policy, both at home and abroad. His Ministers had exerted their influence in Switzerland and Italy in favour of the Absolutist party, and it was suspected at the time, and has now been proved beyond a doubt by the revelations of Count d'Haussonville, one of the Ministers, that in consequence of the encouragement given by the British

Cabinet to the Constitutional movement in Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Italy, France had actually settled the terms of an alliance with Russia, Prussia, and Austria against Great Britain. This proceeding was all the more dangerous to the throne that in general estimation the policy of the Cabinet, both domestic and foreign, had become personally identified with the sovereign, who was believed to have reversed the favourite maxim of the Liberal party in France, 'The king reigns, but does not govern.' In consequence, the general dislike towards the Government was extended to the King himself, and ultimately to the Orleans dynasty. Louis Philippe and his Ministers, however, were apparently quite unconscious of the perilous position in which they stood, and were lulled into a false security by the support which their measures commanded in both Chambers; and the opening of the year 1848 was signalized by an occurrence which, throwing lustre on the French arms, seemed likely to give additional strength to the Government. Abdel-Kader, the indomitable antagonist of the French dominion in Africa, at last yielded to their superior power, and voluntarily surrendered himself to General Lamoricière, on condition of being sent to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre. An agreement to this effect was formally made in writing by General Lamoricière, and was solemnly ratified by the Duke d'Aumale, the King's son, the Governor-General of Algeria. But to the great discredit of Louis Philippe and his Ministers, it was deliberately violated by them, and the brave chief was sent to France, where he was detained a prisoner, first at Toulon, and afterwards in the Château d'Amboise. After the lapse of several years he was at length set at liberty by Louis Napoleon, and took up his residence in Syria.

A strong desire for reform of the representative system of France was cherished by all the most thoughtful and patriotic members of the community, and the narrow and restricted character of the franchise was

quite indefensible. But the Ministry most unwisely treated the demand as if it were intended to bring about, not the reform of abuses, but the overthrow of the constitution and the monarchy. In vain were they warned by M. Mesnard, a distinguished member of the Conservative party, that the desire for reform had taken deep root in the public mind, that it was the only subject of conversation and discussion, and had in fact become with the public a sort of necessity, which it would be most dangerous to slight. M. Guizot and his colleagues obstinately adhered to the policy which they had adopted, and treated the moderate reformers as a faction 'who were to be silenced, not by the removal of unquestionable abuses, but, if necessary, by force.'

During the autumn of 1847 a number of Reform banquets, as they were called, were held in different parts of France, at which the conduct of the Ministry was denounced in no measured terms. These banquets, however, had failed to excite public attention or to serve the ends of their promoters. M. Regnault, the 'Secretary of the Central Committee of Reformers,' frankly admits that 'after six months' advertisements, correspondence, meetings, harangues, and all kinds of provocations, the total number of persons throughout the whole of France who took part in these banquets never amounted to 17,000, and towards the close of the year the device was so worn out and discredited that the Central Committee declined at first to sanction the banquet which was intended to be held on the 22nd of February, 1848.'

The banquet referred to was proposed and prepared by the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, and it was the original intention of the Government not to prohibit and prevent it by force, but to protest against the proceedings, and afterwards to try the question of their legality in a court of law. M. Odillon Barrot and the other constitutional reformers had concurred with the Ministry in this arrangement, but the revolutionary party, who, in the words of

their Secretary, 'took electoral reform as a watchword, but abstained from stating their real object,' refused to acquiesce in this course; and to defeat this pacific policy, and render the forbearance of the Ministers impossible, M. Marrast, the editor of the *National*, drew up the *programme* of the banquet in such a form as to give it the air and spirit of an incendiary proclamation. 'With a tone of authority' it called out the National Guards, assigning to each legion the place where it was to assemble, and invited the young men of the University and schools to join the movement. This illegal proceeding, which was intended as an audacious defiance of the Ministry, made the more moderate portion of the Opposition aware of the danger of the course they were following in conjunction with such allies, and determined the Government to prohibit the banquet.

On the evening of the 21st of February there was a meeting of Opposition deputies, journalists, and electors, at which M. Odillon Barrot proposed to adjourn the intended demonstration, and to try the question of the legality of the banquets before the judicial tribunals. This pacific proposal was opposed by Lamartine, Duvergier de Haurane, and Marrast, who taunted the moderate reformers with their cowardly attempt to escape from the responsibility of a crisis which they themselves had created. But prudence prevailed, and Barrot and the great majority of the parliamentary opposition relinquished the public conflict, and contented themselves with bringing before the Chamber an impeachment of the Ministers for the measures which they had adopted.

On the morning of the 22nd the people, excited by the Radical journals, and ignorant that the deputies had withdrawn from the movement, crowded the streets of Paris in a tumultuous manner, and even made some attempts to erect barricades in the most populous parts of the city; but the troops tore them down, removed the materials, and dispersed the mob.

Matters had now assumed a serious aspect. Exclusive of the Legitimists and Bonapartists, who had not yet taken any part in the agitation, there were three distinct parties who had coalesced against the Government—the Parliamentary Opposition, who simply wished to drive M. Guizot and his colleagues from office; the party of the *National*, who were bent on expelling the Orleans dynasty; and the Secret Societies and Communists, who hoped to establish the Red Republic on the ruins of the Monarchy. In this alarming position of matters, when the Chamber of Deputies met on the 23rd, M. Guizot announced the resignation of the Cabinet, and mentioned that the King had sent for Count Mole, and had intrusted him with the formation of a new Ministry. The people had meanwhile assembled in great crowds in the streets, and had erected barricades in various places. Numerous collisions took place during the day between the populace and the troops, but the former gave way whenever they were charged, and but few lives were lost. The most ominous circumstance was the evident reluctance of the National Guards to act against the mob. The announcement, however, in the course of the afternoon, of the resignation of the Ministry was received with enthusiastic delight, and for a time it appeared as if all disturbance was at an end.

In the evening an immense body of the working classes, headed by men who carried blazing torches, marched along the Boulevards. At the hotel of the Minister of Foreign Affairs a strong body of troops was stationed. A man of the name of Lagrange deliberately shot the officer in command dead on the spot. The troops then immediately fired a volley and killed several persons in the crowd. It afterwards transpired that the murder of the officer had been planned by Lagrange and some of his confederates, in order to provoke the troops to fire upon the crowd; and these associates were actually waiting in an adjoining street with tumbrels on which to

place the bodies of those who might lose their lives by the expected volley of the soldiers, and parade them through the streets, and thus rouse the mob to avenge their death.

The news of this occurrence, in the most exaggerated form, spread rapidly through the city, and next morning it was seen that the demands and the attitude of the mob had undergone a serious change. More barricades were erected in the principal streets, and it was evident that, unless the troops and the National Guards were prepared to unite in acting promptly and vigorously, Louis Philippe's throne was placed in imminent danger. Meanwhile, Count Mole had found it impossible to form a Ministry. M. Thiers was therefore sent for by the King in the course of the night of the 23rd, and accepted the office of President of the Council. But the concession came too late. The crowds in the streets received the announcement with shouts of *Vive la République!* and rushed in great numbers towards the Tuileries, where the Ministers were assembled in earnest consultation with the King. At this stage, when all was utter confusion and dismay, the proposal that Louis Philippe should abdicate was first mooted. M. Emile de Girardin, the editor of *La Presse*, hastened to the palace, and on the plea that the Monarchy was placed in imminent danger, urged that the King should at once abdicate the throne in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris. In the course of the morning one of the guard-houses of the Municipal Guard was stormed by the mob, and the soldiers were all massacred on the spot. Soon after, several regiments of infantry of the line, and a body of the National Guards, allowed the mob without resistance to seize their ammunition and cannon.

Early in the afternoon proclamation was made that Louis Philippe had abdicated the throne in favour of his grandson, but this step came too late to preserve the throne. The Republicans and the Com-

munists were now bent on the expulsion of the Orleans dynasty, and by terrorism and chicanery they succeeded in accomplishing their purpose. At one o'clock on the 24th the Chamber of Deputies assembled, and the Duchess of Orleans and her two sons, accompanied by her brothers-in-law, the Dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, were admitted into the hall. Although there seems to have been a good deal of noise and confusion, the proposal that the Duchess of Orleans should be appointed Regent during the minority of her son was favourably received, and would no doubt have been carried if the question had been speedily put to the Chamber; but the Red Republicans had resolved to provide against this contingency. Regnault states that early in the morning it was arranged between MM. Ledru-Rollin and Caussidière that the latter should collect the armed portion of the Secret Societies, march against the Chamber of Deputies, and collecting all the bodies of insurgents by the way, force an entrance into the Assembly and expel the members. But this movement had been somehow delayed; a great portion of the day had passed and still there was no appearance of the expected auxiliaries. Ledru-Rollin mounted the tribune to create delay. He opposed the regency and denied the right of the Chamber to confer it, in a speech which he spun out designedly to give time for the arrival of Caussidière and his confederates. M. Berryer, impatient of his long harangue, cried 'Question! come to a point.' But the Red Republican orator was far from wishing to come to a point; he only wanted to waste time. At last, seeing that M. Lamartine showed a desire to speak, he made way for him. Lamartine pursued the same subject, and at last, in the middle of his speech, arrived Caussidière and his associates, who burst open the outer doors and filled the galleries and the body of the house with an armed and turbulent mob. The President and the great majority of the members fled. A few devoted friends

carried off the Duchess and her children, who were with great difficulty rescued from the infuriated populace. The deputies who were favourable to a revolution remained, and united with the intruders in preparing a list of a Provisional Government, consisting of MM. Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, and Garnier Pages. After the names had been read out, Ledru-Rollin said, 'We must now close the sitting and proceed to the seat of Government.' Upon this announcement the whole body, amidst loud shouts, rushed to the Hotel de Ville. Here was exhibited a scene of wild and tumultuous violence. The hall was filled with a mob in a violent state of excitement, demanding with terrific cries the proclamation of a Republic. Their imperious demand was obeyed; the Republic was proclaimed, and the rule of the Orleans dynasty terminated.

In the meantime a sanguinary conflict had been going on at the Palais Royal, which was occupied by a company of troops of the line. The National Guards had ranged themselves on the side of the insurgents, and the conflict raged with great fury for about two hours. At last a body of the National Guards, conspicuous among whom was Arago, the celebrated astronomer, carried the palace by storm. Before this took place, however, Louis Philippe and the royal family had made their escape. The Duke de Nemours had assumed the command of the troops, which were drawn up in the courtyard of the palace, and there is every reason to believe that they were ready and willing to act against the insurgent populace, but they were reduced to a state of inactivity by the prohibition issued by Thiers and Odillon Barrot, when they were commissioned to form a Ministry, against the troops using their arms. In consequence not a shot was fired, and the troops remained inactive while the mob thronged the courtyard and swarmed round the entrance to the palace. Along with the King and Queen were the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, the Duke and Duchess

de Montpensier, and the Duke and Duchess Auguste of Saxe-Coburg, surrounded by a large number of friends, among whom were the Duke de Broglie, M. Thiers, and many of the principal members of both Chambers.

It had evidently become necessary to take immediate steps to protect the royal family from the imminent danger to which they were exposed. As soon as the resolution to abdicate was taken, the royal carriages were ordered to proceed to the *Grille*, or iron gate of the Tuileries gardens, opening into the Place Louis XV. But as they were crossing the Carrousel they were arrested by the mob there, the outrider that was directing them was wantonly and brutally murdered, the horses were killed, and the carriages themselves were set fire to and burned. The Duke of Nemours, who was stationed in the front court of the Tuileries, which was separated from the Carrousel by the high and massive *Grille*, could do nothing to prevent this outrage. But there happened to be standing in the front court two of those little one-horse carriages called 'Broughams,' and a two-wheeled cabriolet, and the Duke ordered them to proceed to the spot where the travelling carriages had previously been ordered. Under the escort of a body of cavalry, opportunely brought up by General Dumas, the three little carriages were taken to the centre of the Place to which the royal party had made their way through a hostile crowd. Into these carriages, constructed to carry six persons, fifteen were crowded. Some shots were fired at the King after he had got into the first carriage. Escorted by the second regiment of Cuirassiers and a detachment of the cavalry of the National Guard, the dethroned monarch and his family proceeded to St. Cloud, where the escort left them. He thence repaired to Trianon, and in the evening to the old Château of Dreux, where he spent the night.

The royal family, consisting of about twenty persons, found it absolutely necessary to separate, and made their escape literally north, east, south, and west, in

five or six different batches. The King and Queen had intended to proceed to the old Château of Eu, in Normandy, a favourite residence which he had repaired and embellished. But at Dreux he learned that the proposal of a regency had failed, that the Chamber had been dissolved and the monarchy overthrown, and that Paris was in a state of anarchy. This unexpected turn of events made it evident, that nothing remained for the royal pair but to reach some point off the coast of Normandy and embark for England. They accordingly procured disguises, and before daylight next morning set forward on their journey to the coast, travelling chiefly by night. As the roads and railroads were closed against them by the order of the Provisional Government (in all probability by Marrast), they were obliged to travel through byways, and they narrowly escaped interruption near Pacy and arrest at La Roche St. Andre. They reached Honfleur early on the morning of Saturday, the 26th of February, but were prevented from embarking at Trouville, about fifteen miles west of that town, by an order sent from Paris to 'embargo the coasts.' The boisterous state of the weather compelled them to remain there till the following Thursday, though they were in imminent danger of discovery and narrowly escaped arrest. In the meantime arrangements had been secretly made with the commander of the *Express* steamer, which plied between Havre and Southampton, to convey the royal party to England. Louis Philippe, in order to facilitate his escape, obtained a passport made out in the name of 'William Smith,' and contrived to pass through Honfleur in disguise, along with the Queen and attendants, and by means of a fishing boat to reach Havre without being discovered. The *Express* was lying at the quay with her steam up, and the King and Queen at once stepped on board. An official who recognized the King wished to stop the vessel, but she immediately put to sea; and the King and Queen, together with Generals Dumas and Ru-

migny, who had accompanied them in their flight, were landed safely on the following morning (March 3) at Newhaven, on the coast of Sussex. The Duke and Duchess of Nemours, the Duchess of Montpensier, and some other members of the royal family, had already found an asylum in England; and others came, as Prince Albert said, 'one by one, like people shipwrecked.' The Duchess of Orleans, who at this crisis displayed the greatest courage and presence of mind, found an asylum in Germany, where she remained during the rest of the year in a state of privacy and seclusion.

After the flight of the royal family the mob, as we have seen, forced their way into the Palace, and filled it to overflowing from hall to attics. Devastation and destruction seemed at once the order of the day, and plunder was carried on to an immense extent. Mr. T. Palgrave Simpson, an eye-witness of the scene, mentions that in the state-room the throne was pulled down and carried away, the curtains were torn to the ground, the lustres and candelabra smashed, the busts broken, the pictures riddled with balls; everywhere thronging, yelling, half-intoxicated crowds. In the king's private apartments the scene was, if possible, more disorderly still. There everything was recklessly destroyed, papers were hurled about in showers like a snow-storm. Furniture, dresses, papers, curtains were flying out of every broken window, and heaped upon bonfires made of the royal carriages. Jewels and bank-notes, spoons, objects of art, cups, gold fringes, and other articles of value were eagerly seized and carried off by the plundering *patriots*, while bottles of wine protruded out of almost every pocket. It was interesting and instructive to observe that though the crowd in the apartments of the Duchess of Orleans was as great as anywhere, they gazed only with curiosity, but handled nothing, so favourable was the impression which the courageous conduct of that noble lady produced on the minds even of the dregs of the population of Paris.

The destructive propensities of the Provisional Government were much more dangerous than those of the mob. Proclamation followed proclamation, abolishing all the ancient titles of nobility, prohibiting the meeting of the *ex*-Chamber of Peers, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, engaging to guarantee the subsistence of the workman by his labour, and to guarantee work to all citizens. National workshops were declared to be open for those who are without work; and the articles pledged at the Mont-de-Piété, on which not more than ten francs had been lent, were to be restored at the public expense. Royalty under any form was declared to be abolished; and so determined were the new rulers of France to sweep away every vestige of monarchy that the names of journals, streets, and public buildings, which had any reference to royalty, were immediately changed.

'Liberty, equality, and fraternity' was adopted as the motto of the new Republic; but liberty was understood by the mob to mean license, and the power of compelling the whole nation to adopt their views. Every new concession only served to elicit new and more preposterous demands; and it was owing to the courage and eloquence of Lamartine that France was not subjected at once to another revolution at the hands of the Red Republicans. Outrages, indeed, took place in various parts of the kingdom. Bands of men traversed the country, burning or laying waste and plundering the mansions of the landed proprietors, destroying portions of the railroads in order to intercept communications, and setting fire to the stations. The royal château of Neuilly was attacked by one of these mobs and burned to the ground. These and other excesses, however, of the lawless rabble were promptly suppressed by the Provisional Government; but in no long time they had to encounter a much more formidable rising among the workmen and the populace of the capital.

Great surprise has often been expressed that a Minister of the experience and

sagacity of M. Guizot should have been so blind to the signs of the times as to have persisted in carrying out a policy so repugnant to the feelings of the people, and so utterly at variance with the Liberal principles which he had always professed. It was a matter of still greater surprise that a sovereign so sagacious, and with such experience of life as Louis Philippe, should have supported and encouraged his Ministers in a policy at once so arbitrary and so dangerous; and that he should have abandoned his throne in such a manner, at the dictates of a Parisian mob, without an effort in defence either of his crown or of that social order which it was his first duty to maintain. It is only fair, however, to give Louis Philippe's own defence of his conduct. When informed by M. Lemoine, who visited him at Claremont, that his friends complained that he gave up the game too soon, he exclaimed, 'Never was there a more unfounded reproach. They don't know, then, what really happened. They don't know, then, that everybody—Ministers, friends, servants—*everybody*, I repeat, told me, "If you yield not a drop of blood will be shed!" They don't know, then, that it was by this persuasion that I was at first induced to change the Ministry. They don't know, then, that it was by this persuasion that my abdication was obtained. Could I, ought I to have done, in opposition to everybody, otherwise than I did? It was urged upon me that we were on the brink of a civil war. They told me, "The National Guard demand reform; if it is refused them blood must flow—the blood not of the agitators only, but of the National Guard, the well-disposed workmen, the real people; all these are bent, rightly or wrongly, on reform; give them a reforming Ministry and all will be settled—*all*; not a shot will be fired." You know how this promise was kept. The same persons soon returned to tell me that the National Guard was exasperated; that it would be no longer satisfied with a Thiers-Barrot Ministry;

that my own abdication was now the ultimatum. They added that it was true that resistance was still possible—that the troops would be eventually successful; but that it would cost dear, and be the commencement of a civil war.’

These statements tend to confirm the belief that Louis Philippe’s action was paralyzed by his determination that no blood should be shed in defence of his dynasty, as he was not on the throne by hereditary right but by the voice of the people, and that if they turned against him he would not remain. But it has been justly said, ‘When a nation places a monarch on the throne, they have a right to expect that he shall maintain himself there unless they have declared in unmistakable terms that they accept a revolution, with its inevitable disasters, in preference to retaining him. This was just what France had not declared, and the fact is remembered there to this hour with peculiar bitterness.’

There can be no doubt that the revolution was not contemplated or expected, and that it took every one by surprise—especially Odillon Barrot and his associates, who had taken a lead in the agitation for reform. They wished to overturn the Ministry, but not the constitution or the throne. A timely change of Ministry might have averted the catastrophe, and if the first outbreak on the part of the populace had been firmly dealt with, the rising would

have been speedily suppressed. But ‘the action of a reckless mob bent on the gratification of selfish or vindictive passions, and instigated by leaders prompt to turn to profit the confusion into which both sovereign and subjects had been suddenly thrown, and who were ready at a moment’s notice to tear down all existing institutions for the purpose of recasting them in moulds of their own devising, was mistaken for the movement of a nation deliberately resolved to substitute for a monarchy of which it was weary that ideal republic of which it had long dreamed.’ At the same time it cannot be denied that the selfish apathy and timidity of the middle classes in Paris contributed not a little to the overthrow of the government and the dynasty, and a righteous retribution speedily overtook them. But a still more unfavourable idea of public morality in France at this period is given by the manner in which distinguished generals, including Marshal Bugeaud; eminent public functionaries; heads of the law like M. Seguin, *Premier President* of the High Court of Appeal, and M. Dupin, *Procureur-Général* of the Court of Cassation, the confidential law adviser of Louis Philippe; dignitaries of the church, among whom the Archbishop of Paris was conspicuous for his abject subserviency; Legitimist and even Orleans deputies—hastened in the most fulsome terms to give in their adhesion to the new Republic ‘Verily they had their reward.’

CHAPTER VI.

Character of the Austrian Government in Lombardy—Its treatment of the Milanese—Insurrection in Milan—General Radetzky driven back to Verona—Risings in Venice, Lucca, Modena, and Tuscany—Appeal of the Lombards to the King of Sardinia—His Position and Motives for taking up Arms against the Austrians—Supineness of the Milanese, and perversity and folly of the Republicans—Energy and skill displayed by Radetzky—Junction of Nugent's corps with his forces—The Papal army beaten—Conduct of the Pope—The Neapolitan troops withdrawn from the Italian army—Negotiations for the surrender of Lombardy—Radetzky's vigorous movements—He defeats the Piedmontese and compels them to retreat to their own territory—Armistice between Austria and Sardinia—Revolution in Sicily and Naples—Concessions of the King—Their rejection—Suppression of the Insurrections in the Two Sicilies—Condition of affairs in the Papal States—Murder of Count Rossi—Flight of the Pope—Revolutionary movements in the German States—Tumults in Vienna—Metternich's resignation and flight—Policy of the Austrian Camarilla—Feebleness of the Emperor—Futility of his concessions—His departure from the Capital—Agitation among the Slavonians—Clubs formed in Prague—An insurrection of the populace suppressed by Prince Windischgrätz—Outbreak at Vienna—Murder of Count Latour—Bombardment of the City—Its surrender—Execution of Deputy Blum and the Commandant of the National Guards—Formation of the Schwartzberg Ministry—Abdication of the Emperor in favour of his Nephew—Revolution in Berlin—Ordinances issued by the King of Prussia—His vacillating and imprudent conduct—Collision between the Populace and the Military—Concessions of the King—Injurious effects of his policy—Revolutionary conduct of the Assembly—Outbreaks of the mob—Appointment of the Brandenburg Ministry—Adjournment of the Assembly to Brandenburg—Foolish and violent conduct of the Majority—Their expulsion from the Chamber—Dissolution of the Assembly—Proclamation of a new Liberal Constitution—Insurrection of the Poles in Posen—Sanguinary conflicts between them and the Germans—Suppression of the Insurrection.

THE sudden and formidable convulsion which had taken place in France acted like fire set to heather, among the inflammable materials with which Europe was at this time filled. The news of the revolution operated like an electric shock upon Italy, and every one expected that the Lombards would at once make a vigorous attempt to throw off the hated yoke of Austria. For upwards of a quarter of a century they had been subjected to oppression in its most galling form. They were harassed by the brutal force of military despotism, and ruled at the point of the bayonet. Laws of the most arbitrary character were thrust upon them, and administered by foreign functionaries who were ignorant both of the statutes and customs of the people, and enforced by the prison, the pillory, and the gallows. All classes suffered alike; but the oppression was most keenly felt by the higher and more educated classes, who were deprived of all that freemen most value—especially of the right of free thought and of free speech. Civil rights they had none, and every man held his personal liberty and his property at the discretion of an inquisitorial political police and subservient or corrupt magistrates, aided by an organized army of

spies. The development of the commerce and industry of the country was restricted, to favour the interests of other provinces of the empire and of government manufactories. Even religion was enslaved by the Austrian despots, and turned into an engine of government.

To crown all, it was by Austrian power that the other bad governments of Italy were upheld. Some of them were prohibited by direct engagement from conceding a constitution to their subjects, and every attempt on the part of the people in any of the Italian states to improve their system of government was suppressed by force of arms. The Government of Austria was justly termed 'the great insurance office for the otherwise dangerous speculations of tyranny.' As an indication of their feeling towards the Austrian rule, which had become intolerable, and also for diminishing the revenue, the Milanese resolved to give up the use of tobacco; and on the 2nd of January the only smokers in the streets were the police and a few persons who were not aware of the public determination. The smokers were hissed, and the soldiers began to insult and ill-use the people. The Austrian authorities resolved to avail them-

selves of the opportunity to excite an insurrection, which would afford them a pretext for measures of the utmost severity. On the 3rd they spread a report among the soldiers that a conspiracy to murder them had been discovered, and a printed hand-bill, which undoubtedly originated with the police, was circulated among them, of a kind calculated to rouse their worst passions. A liberal allowance of brandy and cigars was then distributed among the soldiers, and thus excited they were permitted to go about the streets in parties of thirty or forty, without officers, insulting and annoying peaceful citizens. Towards evening these licensed bandits drew their swords and fell indiscriminately on the unarmed inhabitants who chanced to come in their way. In this manner sixty-one persons were murdered, some of them with shocking barbarity, and forty-two were severely wounded. No attempt was made to repress these disorders, and Radetzky, when appealed to, merely said, 'the *injured* troops cannot be restrained;' and the Emperor was made to sign a letter to the Viceroy of Lombardy, not only approving what had taken place, but threatening worse for the future. Two letters were intercepted from the Archduke Rainer, the Viceroy's son, expressing his hope that 'at least 500 Milanese have been killed on the spot. . . . The soldiers,' he added, 'will have shown little moderation; so much the better.'

Notwithstanding these cruel outrages, no rising took place among the Lombards until tidings reached them that a revolution had broken out in Vienna, and that Prince Metternich, the author of the Austrian policy in Italy, was a fugitive. On the 18th of March the citizens of Milan rose in insurrection, overpowered the guard, took the Vice-governor O'Donnell prisoner, hoisted the Italian tricolor on the Viceroy's palace and on the cathedral, and after several days' desperate fighting compelled Radetzky to evacuate the city. He retreated towards Lodi with the intention

of occupying the line of the Adda, and renewing his attack on Milan. By this time, however, the revolt was universal. The Austrian general was in consequence obliged to retreat to the line of the Mincio, and to take up a position in front of the strong fortress of Verona.

The citizens of Venice, who had felt with especial bitterness the pressure of the Austrian domination, following the example of Milan, established a Provisional Government, and pledged themselves by proclamation, on the 26th of March, to join with the Milanese in discussing the most suitable form of Government 'when the hallowed soil of the country should have ceased to be sullied by the foot of the foreign oppressor.'

In the previous year the inhabitants of the Duchy of Lucca demanded in a peaceful yet significant manner that a National Guard should be constituted, and that some patriots who had been arrested should be set at liberty. The Duke at once intimated that he would follow the example of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and would grant the liberty of the press, a National Guard, and the liberation of the prisoners. But he repented of these concessions almost as soon as they had been made, and fled to the Modenese territory. On the following day, however, he returned to Lucca, at the request of a deputation of his subjects. His unfitness for his office had become apparent to all, and to the great delight of the people an amicable arrangement was made for the annexation of Lucca to the Duchy of Tuscany, to which a new and popular constitution had been granted by the Grand Duke. The same spirit of abhorrence of Austria as pervaded Lombardy and the Venetian territory spread throughout the Tuscan States. The Duke of Modena, who had been the willing tool of the Viennese Cabinet, and had the management of their police system in Italy, was driven from his dominions. The Duke of Parma shared his fate, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany was obliged to yield to the pressure of his subjects, and

to join in the national movement against Austria.

Earnest appeals had for some time been made by the insurgent Lombards to the King of Sardinia, who had promulgated a new constitution to his own subjects, to come to their assistance in the struggle for Italian unity; but he long hesitated as to the course which he should follow. His previous career, indeed, had not been calculated to inspire much confidence in him as a supporter of liberal institutions; and though he no doubt felt a generous sympathy with the cause of Italian independence, at this juncture he was mainly influenced by personal considerations in the policy which he ultimately adopted. He was well aware that his own crown would be endangered, if he turned a deaf ear to the clamorous demands of his subjects that he should assist in expelling the obnoxious foreigners from the Italian territories. He also knew that if he did not at once lend his aid to the Milanese to vindicate their independence, they might, with the aid of France, establish a republic at his own doors, and such a step would undoubtedly expose the throne of Piedmont to serious peril. On the other hand, he was by no means blind to the danger he might incur from the displeasure of the other Powers of Europe, if by invading the Austrian provinces in Italy he were to be the first to violate the settlement made by the Treaty of Vienna. In the end the instinct of immediate safety from the revolutionary storm, combined with the ambitious hope that he might annex the rich province of Lombardy to his own dominions, and become the sovereign of a kingdom of North Italy, if he should give effectual aid to the Lombards in achieving their deliverance from the detested Austrian yoke, turned the scale in favour of intervention; and on the 23rd of March he issued a proclamation to the 'peoples of Lombardy and Venice,' offering the help which 'brother expects from brother and friend from friend,' and announcing his resolution to advance with his army into

the Milanese territory, bearing 'the arms of Savoy above the Italian tricolor flag, for the purpose of more fully showing by external signs the sentiment of Italian unity.'

Towards the end of April Charles Albert put his army in motion, and crossed the Mincio at the head of 90,000 men; but of these only 5000 were Lombard volunteers, although the freedom of their country was the prize that was at stake in the contest. With a mixture of supineness utterly without excuse, and a rash confidence in the result, they left the King of Sardinia almost unaided to fight their battle, and to fail when their prompt and vigorous assistance might have secured him victory. The inefficient support of the Milanese, who fancied that the expulsion of the Austrians was already accomplished, was not the only cause of Charles Albert's failure to vindicate the independence of Italy. The perversity of the Republican party contributed largely to this result. Mazzini, their zealous but violent and injudicious leader, at this crisis was at Milan, where the dissensions of the Republicans and the Moderate Provisional Government were extreme. There was sent to him from the camp an 'old friend and loyal patriot,' proposing that the Republicans should heartily support the King and the fusion of Piedmont with Lombardy, and that they should in return have influence in framing the constitution of North Italy. Mazzini's reply was that the Republicans had three ideas—first, the independence of Italy; next, its unity; third, the Republic. The Republic they were willing to postpone; but they required that Charles Albert should explicitly declare for unity, and break avowedly with all the governments of Italy. If he would do this, they would 'use every effort to raise in his aid all the revolutionary elements of Italy.' In other words, they insisted, as the price of their assistance, that the king should make a declaration of hostility to all the existing governments, whether vacillating, neutral, or friendly; a step which would, of course

have at once provoked their hostility, and in particular would have transferred the Neapolitan army of 80,000 men, which was on the Italian side, to the Austrian ranks. General Pepe, himself a Republican, has animadverted not more severely than justly on the conduct of these perverse and intolerant friends of liberty. 'The only one,' he says, 'of the princes of real Italian dynasty, and able to dispose of an army of 100,000 valiant men, warmly embraced the national cause. This circumstance would have been sufficient to insure the success of Italy, if the valorous prince who had the generosity to hasten to the aid of the intrepid Lombards had not been perpetually thwarted by a proud and poor aristocracy, by his Jesuit clergy, and by *no small number of patriots*, some of whom, through ignorance, others through self-interest, acted to the prejudice of Italy by giving themselves up to the most senseless anachronisms, since they were more impatient to obtain liberal institutions than to drive away the foreigner, whose presence signified slavery. Had it not been for these misfortunes, this Prince would have redeemed Italy.' There can be no doubt that, in spite of errors and evil fortune, and the defection of false and half-hearted friends, the independence of Italy must have been achieved had those who really desired it but had the common and obvious prudence, at a time when imprudence was a crime, to postpone other questions for the moment, and strive with one will for the one object of making her so. It has been explicitly stated, indeed, by a leading member of the Revolutionary party, that they wished rather to hinder than to promote the efforts of Charles Albert to drive out the Austrians, as they cherished the confident belief that on the failure of his enterprise the French would interpose and assist the Italians in establishing a Republic.

In the critical position of the Austrian empire at this time everything depended upon Marshal Radetzky, a veteran soldier, the idol of his army, who though eighty-

three years of age, was still alert and vigorous, and determined to do his duty, whoever might fail in theirs. He was master only of the ground held by his forces, but he was resolved sternly and tenaciously to maintain what he believed to be the rights of his sovereign over Lombardy. He had concentrated his forces in front of Verona, and there he stood firm, and waited for reinforcements from the Tyrol, but much more anxious for the junction of the corps advancing to support him through the provinces of Friuli. The Italian army was meanwhile engaged in besieging Peschiera, one of the strongholds of the celebrated Quadrilateral, and the key of an extensive district. At the end of May Radetzky attempted to relieve the fortress by a fierce attack on the Sardinian lines. There was sharp fighting on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May; but on the last of these days Radetzky suffered a severe defeat, and Peschiera immediately surrendered. General Pepe was of opinion that the success was dearly bought, for the capture of the fortress cost more time than it was worth.

While Charles Albert was pressing the siege of Peschiera, General Nugent was leading his corps down from the passes of Friuli through the Venetian provinces. It was the duty of the Papal troops under General Durando to prevent the junction of Nugent and Radetzky; but he was not hearty in the cause, obstinately refused to risk an engagement, and retired before the Austrian forces. In consequence before the end of June the main body of Nugent's corps, consisting of 15,000 men, had joined Radetzky at Verona, leaving the reserve before Vicenza, in which General Durando had shut himself up with his troops, 15,000 in number. There had previously been some hard fighting between the octogenarian Austrian Marshal and the Sardinian forces, in which the latter on the whole had the advantage. But while Charles Albert was engaged in strengthening his position at Rivoli, which he had just carried, Radetzky

suddenly withdrew from Verona with the greater part of his forces, fell upon Durando at Vicenza, and after bombarding the town for eighteen hours, compelled the Papal General to capitulate on the terms of retiring from Lombardy, and of taking no part against the Austrians for three months. The old Marshal then hurried back with his troops to Verona, which he entered almost at the moment when the King of Sardinia was about to occupy it, believing it to have been abandoned. The result of this signal success was to place Treviso, Padua, and all the other Venetian provinces, with the sole exception of Venice and the Lagunes, again under the Austrian rule, and to reopen Radetzky's communications with Vienna, through the passes of the Tyrol.

At this critical period the Pope inflicted a severe blow upon the Italian cause by uttering, in the Consistory of Cardinals, the famous 'Allocution,' in which he took, for the first time, a decided stand against liberal opinions and the war with Austria. The King of Naples at the same time ordered the troops which he had sent to the assistance of the patriots to return home. If his army had not been withdrawn it would have been united with the corps of Durando, forming together a force of well-nigh 40,000 men, which would in all probability have prevented Radetzky's attack upon Vicenza, and would have had an important influence on the state of affairs in the Venetian provinces.

In the meantime the attention, both of France and Great Britain, had been attracted to the contest between the Austrians and the Italians. The French armies were mustered on the frontier, with the avowed intention of passing the Alps—a step by no means desired by the Piedmontese, who dreaded with good reason that its object was not so much to assist them in expelling the Austrians as to 'rectify the frontiers' of France, as Lamartine expressed it, at the expense of Piedmont. England, though sympathizing with the Italians, had through

her Minister at Turin expressed formally to the King of Sardinia her disapprobation of his attack on Austria. Occupying thus a kind of neutral position, her mediation was solicited by the Austrian Government about the end of May, 1848. They declared their readiness to give up the whole of Lombardy, first to be governed by an Archduke belonging to the house of Hapsburg; and when this proposal met with no favour, they were willing to allow Lombardy to become independent, free to choose its own governor, or even to unite with Piedmont. But Lord Palmerston unfortunately was under the impression, that as the Italians believed they could expel the Austrians completely from Italy, they would not be satisfied with Lombardy alone. Accordingly, 'the evacuation of Italy, combined with pecuniary arrangements for transferring a proportion of the public debt of Austria to the separated provinces, were the only terms which, in the view of the British Cabinet, could be proposed with that chance of success essential to justify interference.' Austria, however, insisted on retaining for herself the line of the Adige, and the Venetian provinces under a separate government, which it was promised should be one of the most liberal kind. The negotiations for a compromise therefore came to nothing. But similar terms were again offered by Austria about the middle of June, 1848, as the basis of a negotiation, to the Provisional Government at Milan; but this offer was at once rejected by them. 'The Sybil's books of fair promise were all burned; the tide had *not* been taken at the flood, and fortune was already out of reach.' Charles Albert, however, on the 7th of July, addressed a confidential letter to Mr. Abercromby, stating that he personally was willing to treat on the basis of the retention by Austria of the line of the Adige; but after the course adopted by the Milanese he did not venture to make such a proposal publicly or directly to the Austrians.

The line of the Piedmontese army at the beginning of July extended for about thirty

miles, from Mantua on the right to Rivoli on the left, and, as if unable to advance and unwilling to retire, for some time remained in front of Radetzky, amid unheeded warnings from its friends. It was engaged in pressing the blockade of Mantua when suddenly, on the 22nd, 'in the midst of a dreadful thunder storm and a deluge of rain, in the darkest night,' Radetzky broke up from Verona. The weather aided the surprise. He assaulted with his main force the strong central position of the Sardinian lines at Somma Compagna. The action lasted the whole day, and the result was still doubtful when the Austrians were reinforced by a body of 20,000 men, drawn chiefly from the garrisons of the Venetian territory. Charles Albert's right flank was turned, and the assailants were completely victorious. At the same time the Sardinian lines at Rivoli were forced by General Aspré, and the troops were compelled to retreat across the Mincio to Vallegio. One fierce action followed another, and the contest raged for several days in the country that lies between the Adige and the Mincio. Though surprised and overmatched, and very inefficiently supported by their Italian auxiliaries, the Piedmontese yet made desperate efforts to regain the ground which they had lost, but without effect. On the morning of the 27th they prepared to recross the Mincio, but found a strong body of the Austrians drawn up at Valta, on the other side of the river, to intercept their retreat. A battle ensued, the result of which was on the whole favourable to the Sardinians, who were enabled to pass Valta and to continue their retrograde march. Every post on the Mincio except Peschiera was now abandoned by the King, and he retired on Cremona. But the victorious Austrian General gave him no pause. He followed the beaten, disorganized, starving Piedmontese from the Mincio to the Oglio, and from the Oglio to the Adda. On the 3rd of August Charles Albert entered Milan with his fugitive troops. The populace were in a state of

mingled fury and terror at a catastrophe which they had done nothing to avert. The Republican party, who had contributed so much to bring about the failure of the effort to vindicate the independence of Italy, passionately clamoured for resistance and the erection of barricades in the streets of the city. But the Piedmontese troops, exhausted more by hunger than defeat, felt indignant at the conduct of the Lombards, who had not only left them almost single-handed to fight their battle, but had even failed to send them supplies of provisions; and now when they had reached the city they found the magazines empty and no adequate supply of victuals, or even of ammunition, forthcoming. The King, however, was still willing to make a stand at Milan, if the citizens had shown any corresponding disposition to defend the city. But a few hours after he had intimated to the chiefs of the Committee of Public Safety that, if his army alone were left to bear the brunt of the contest Milan would soon be carried, these noisy patriots, without his knowledge, despatched negotiations to Radetzky's camp to treat for a separate capitulation. The veteran general, however, honourably refused to accept the offer unless ratified by the King, who was thus made aware of a negotiation which, if it had been concluded without his knowledge, would have exposed his army to utter annihilation and Charles Albert himself to captivity. Although, as he cuttingly told them, he could not defend them in spite of themselves, the populace, excited to fury by the demagogues at the prospect of being delivered to the Austrians, not merely menaced and insulted the King, but fired shots at him; and he only escaped assassination by the devotion of his body-guard, who cut a way for him through the streets of Milan to his indignant and famishing army. On the first hint of a capitulation, Mazzini, the evil genius of the struggle for Italian independence, fled from Milan and joined the legion of Garibaldi, which never accepted the armistice. A few months

later he made his way to Rome, where he took the lead in the defence of that city against the French.

At this juncture England and France offered a joint mediation between the Emperor of Austria and his revolted subjects, and an armistice was concluded by which it was agreed that the fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Ango, and Osappo, which were still held by the Piedmontese, should be given up, along with the material of war belonging to Austria, but that the garrisons should take with them their own arms, ammunition, and stores; that Charles Albert's troops should evacuate the States of Modena, Parma, and the city of Placentia, and should also withdraw from the city of Venice and the Venetian territories and forts; and that the two armies should remain within the boundaries of their respective States.

The Government of the Two Sicilies was the most despotic in Europe, and the perverse obstinacy of the King in refusing to grant any of the much-needed reforms demanded by the people had already brought matters to an extremity. On the 12th of January, 1848, an insurrection took place in Palermo. The royal troops made scarcely a show of resistance. The authority of the Government ceased altogether to be recognized by the citizens, and in a short space the whole island broke into revolt. The insurgents demanded the re-establishment of the constitution of 1812, which had been given to the Sicilians by Lord William Bentinck, and the immediate convocation of the Sicilian Parliament at Palermo.

The King had despatched 6000 men from Naples to re-inforce the local garrison, but they failed to arrest the popular movement. The Viceroy sent immediate notice to his sovereign how matters stood, and the King lost no time in despatching to the island four decrees of a liberal character—the last of them appointing his brother, the Count d'Aquila, Lieutenant-General of Sicily, with a special administrative council. But these

concessions came too late. The Sicilians persisted in their demand for the former constitution and a Parliament at Palermo. By this time the popular feeling in Naples ran strongly in favour of the insurgents, and the King found it necessary to dismiss his Ministry, who were known to be in favour of violent measures, and to appoint a new Ministry, composed of men who entertained liberal opinions. They, however, declared that they could not retain office unless a constitution were granted; and as the aspect of affairs became every hour more serious, a decree was signed by the King on the 28th of January by which he promised to concede a constitution to his subjects. An amnesty for all political offences was granted on the 1st of February, and the King, whether by accident or policy, suddenly and at once conceded more than any other Italian or indeed Continental potentate, had hitherto granted. The Neapolitans were in 'a tumult of delight' with the liberal constitution which their sovereign had now proclaimed. As an additional proof of his accession to the national cause he sent a numerous and well-appointed army to take part in the war of liberation. In all 41,000 men were to be employed in the campaign, of whom 17,000 actually marched under the command of General Pepe, who had for many years been in exile for his liberal opinions, but who had now been permitted to return to Italy.

The Deputies who had been returned to the Neapolitan Chambers met on the 14th of May, and a violent dispute immediately broke out between them and the King. The nominal ground of their quarrel was the terms of the oath to be taken by them. The King wished it to be framed so as to bind them to be faithful to the constitution already granted; but they insisted upon swearing fidelity to the king and the constitution 'without prejudice to the changes which the Chamber might think fit to introduce into it.' As neither party would give way, disturbances immediately arose. The accidental discharge of the musket of

a National Guard led to a sanguinary conflict in the streets of Naples, which ended in the defeat of the insurgents. Martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard was suppressed, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved. It was a great crime, and an act of inexcusable folly on the part of the Republicans, to have forced on this miserable conflict; and it need excite no surprise that the King, after defeating them, at once followed the course for which they had furnished him with a plausible excuse.

The Sicilians were still discontented. The new constitution failed to satisfy their expectations. They insisted that none but Sicilian soldiers should be employed in the island; and when this demand was refused, they determined to continue the struggle for the Constitution of 1812. A sanguinary conflict ensued both at Messina and Palermo. At the latter the garrison capitulated on honourable terms; but at Messina the royal troops retained possession of the citadel and Fort Salvador, and on the 2nd of May an armistice was agreed to, which lasted till the middle of August—a fatal step on the part of the Messinese, who might have won the citadel and their permanent liberty if they had resolutely continued the contest. The Sicilian Chamber proclaimed on the 13th of April that Ferdinand had forfeited the crown, and they proceeded to offer it to the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, who, however, prudently declined the perilous gift. Ferdinand drew up a formal protest against this proceeding, declaring it 'illegal, null, and of no effect,' and followed it up, after the armistice expired, by despatching, on the 29th of August, an expedition to reduce his revolted subjects to obedience. A body of 14,000 soldiers were conveyed in two frigates and twenty steamers to Messina, where they joined the troops in the garrison. On the 2nd of September a simultaneous attack was made upon the city by the Neapolitan fleet in the harbour, the garrison, and a strong body of the forces which had landed on the shore. The citizens fought with

desperate courage, but their supply of ammunition was soon exhausted; and after a bombardment which lasted four days and nights, and was continued for a whole day after resistance had ceased and the city was in flames from one end to the other, they were compelled to surrender. The people deserted the town in a body, and the greater part of it was reduced to ruins. The contest was marked on both sides by circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

The revolutionary Government at Palermo, however, was in no way intimidated by this disaster, and the most vigorous preparations were made by them for resistance to the Neapolitan troops. The National Guard was mobilized, and seven military camps were formed in different parts of the island. In the beginning of March, 1849, the King of Naples issued a proclamation to the Sicilians, in which he offered them a 'Statute' based on the Constitution of 1812 with some modifications, on condition that they would lay down their arms. The British and French Ministers at Naples exerted all their influence to induce the Sicilians to accept the offer, but in vain. At the end of March an expedition was sent under General Filangieri to reduce them to obedience. Catania was taken by him, after a bombardment which laid a great part of the city in ruins. Shortly after Syracuse surrendered without resistance; and on the 22nd of April a deputation from Palermo gave up the keys of the city to General Filangieri, and offered unqualified submission to the King's authority.

In the Papal States the control of the reforming movement had by this time passed out of the hands of the Pontiff. On the 14th of March, 1848, he had granted a new constitution to his subjects, bestowing on them 'the benefits of a representative system not merely consultative but deliberative.' But the populace refused to wait for the proceedings of a popularly-chosen assembly, and preferred to carry their measures by riots and murders. Pius IX. was naturally unwilling to engage in hos-

tilities against Austria, always a devoted friend to the Papal See. But a body of Roman volunteers had already joined the forces then in the field under the King of Sardinia. The Pope had authorized their march, and had blest their banners. He had sent his own troops to the frontiers, which he was quite well aware they would cross. He had even allowed orders to be sent to General Durando, their commander, to operate with Charles Albert. But their action in crossing the frontier was subsequently disavowed by the Pope, who affirmed that it had been done contrary to his orders. The populace, enraged at this disavowal, crowded the streets, and with loud cries and menaces called for a declaration of war. An encyclical letter, containing a statement of the Pope's reasons, was pronounced re-actionary, and was attributed to the influence of the Cardinals; and they were impeached by the Democratic Club, and confined and guarded in their own apartments. The Pope at length yielded to the popular clamour, and on the 1st of May issued a declaration of war against Austria.

A new Ministry of a liberal character was now appointed. Count Rossi, the Minister of Justice, who was intimately acquainted with the different parties in the Papal States, and was moderate and cautious as well as resolute, inspired great hopes in the well-disposed portion of the community; and for a time these hopes were not disappointed. He restored tranquillity to the streets, imposed decency on the Clubs, repressed the license of the press, and appealed to the honour and fidelity of the troops to support the Government in the preservation of the public peace. His determination to preserve order and to repress alike the violence of the anarchists and the intrigues of the priests, made him obnoxious both to the placemen of the old system and the democratic agitators of the new, and his death was decreed by the Clubs. He was assassinated by one of their emissaries on the 15th of November, as he was about to enter the Chamber of Deputies, and no

attempt was made by the mob who crowded around him to seize the murderer. Indeed the populace in the course of the afternoon paced the streets with colours flying and singing hymns in honour of the assassin, who was carried in the midst of the procession on the shoulders of his partisans.

On the following day an immense multitude proceeded to the Quirinal with a petition to the Pope requesting the appointment of a democratic ministry. The Swiss Body-guard closed the doors and refused to admit them, but the Civic Guard, the Gendarmerie, the Line, and the Roman Legion joined the mob and commenced to fire, as these had done at the windows of the palace. Cardinal Palma, the secretary of the Pontiff, was shot through the head by a bullet which was believed to have been destined for his Holiness himself, and another prelate was killed in the Papal chamber. Deserted by his troops, Pio Nono was obliged to submit to his besiegers, and to give his consent to the appointment of a Ministry composed of Liberals of a somewhat extreme character, with Mamiani at their head. On the 24th of November the Quirinal was again assailed; the mob broke into the Pope's bed-chamber after he had retired to rest, and extorted his consent to the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. The life of the Pontiff was now evidently in danger, and in the course of the evening he disguised himself in the costume, first of the servant, and next of the chaplain, of the Bavarian Minister, who accompanied him; and passports having been previously obtained he drove rapidly away from Rome and arrived the following day at Gaeta, a town in the Neapolitan territory.

The flight of the Pope caused great astonishment and consternation at Rome. It was the signal for the departure of those cardinals and nobles, who had lingered on in the city in the hope that their presence might help to restrain the excesses of the Revolutionary party. Until the Constituent Assembly could be elected the Government was carried on in the name of the Legis-

lative Chambers, and was conducted by the new Ministers, all 'very far advanced in liberality,' as Lord Minto expressed it, and all 'men of literature'—poets, pamphleteers, and journalists.

While the Italians were thus struggling to secure the expulsion of the Austrians from the Peninsula, the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburg dynasty were in the throes of a most perilous revolution. It had long been the opinion of Prince Metternich, who had for many years administered with almost absolute authority the affairs of the scattered and unwieldy Austrian empire, that the tranquillity which Europe enjoyed was no more than a truce, and that although the Continental powers were in outward appearance solid and stable, they were nearly all undermined by the spirit of anarchy and socialism. 'After me the deluge!' was a common remark of the veteran statesman; but the inundation took place sooner than he had expected. The revolutionary movement which originated at Paris passed over Europe as 'a hurricane strikes a fleet of fishing boats,' and Germany received the first and most violent commotion. The demands for constitutional reforms, which were instantly made by the well-affected and moderate members of the community, were enforced by armed and tumultuous crowds, stirred up by the agents of the Secret Societies by whom the Germanic States were honeycombed, whose object was to provoke violence and bloodshed. On the 29th of February Baden extorted from its Ministry freedom of the press, trial by jury, and the right of bearing arms. In Stuttgart, on the 2nd of March, the same demands were made and granted. The example thus set was followed by Nassau, Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Hanover, Brunswick, Saxony, Hesse Cassel, and Weimar. In Bavaria the popular discontent with the existing constitution was aggravated by disgust at the conduct of the old King in living openly with a mistress bearing the name of Lola Montes, but who was in reality the discarded wife of an English

officer. He had created her a countess by the title of Gräfin de Lansfeldt, and was believed to be completely under her influence. Although by his enlightened patronage of the Fine Arts and in other ways he had done much for the welfare of his people, and was long highly esteemed by them, his conduct had now completely forfeited their confidence and esteem. Tumults broke out in Munich, his capital; and though he yielded to all the demands of the people, tranquillity was not restored until he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew.

In Germany, as in Italy, the ruling powers bowed like grass to the wind, and the shock drove with augmented violence against the Austrian empire, where there was nothing to resist it. The fabric which Metternich had so laboriously reared, and buttressed with such care and pains, fell to the ground in a moment like a house of cards. The outworks of the structure tumbled down at the first touch; and the contest with the revolutionary force began once for all 'in the streets of the capital, in the seat of government, in the very chambers of the palace.'

On the 6th of March an address was presented by the Trades Union of Vienna to the Archduke Francis Charles and Count Kolowrat, which was the first indication the authorities received of the dissatisfied feeling existing among nearly all classes in the city. A petition was next addressed to the Estates of Lower Austria from the citizens, demanding the establishment of a representative system of government. On the 12th of March a more decided warning that a storm was impending was given by the students of Vienna, who represented to the Emperor that in the present critical state of the Continent it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the empire and the establishment of confidence between prince and people, that they should obtain freedom of the press and of public speech, improvement of popular instruction with liberty of teaching, equality of religious sects in civil rights, and oral procedure with pub

licity in the law courts. These demands were in themselves all just and expedient, and if they had been conceded when the empire was in the enjoyment of external peace, would, even in the midst of this revolutionary hurricane, have made it as secure as was Belgium and Holland.

Next day (March 13th) the Rector Magnificus of the University, as the head of the Academic Senate, presented a petition that arms should forthwith be delivered to the students out of the Imperial arsenal. With almost incredible folly this request was granted by the Archduke Louis, the real ruler of the empire, and thus 2000 young men who had been most active in the insurrection were furnished with the means of overturning the Government. No sooner had this concession been obtained than a cry arose for liberty of the press. In the state of the city, and the strange apathy displayed by the Ministry, resistance was impossible. There was disaffection in the palace itself; and when Prince Metternich retired to another room to write out a decree in favour of the liberty of the press, a cry was raised by the turbulent crowd for his removal from office. He saw clearly that the Court was quite prepared to purchase security for itself by getting rid of an obnoxious servant, of whom the royal family stood somewhat in awe. 'If Emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves,' were Metternich's significant words on resigning into the hands of the Archduke Louis, as representing the Emperor, the office he had so long monopolized as leader of the Imperial councils.

The Court certainly displayed great shortsightedness, cowardice, and ingratitude in the critical circumstances of the empire, for which it paid a severe and merited penalty. But on the other hand, it must be admitted that the Government, of which Prince Metternich was the head and soul, showed a great want of vigour and promptitude in dealing with the revolutionary movement. They seemed,

in short, to be utterly paralyzed by the sudden and unexpected outbreak which had prostrated the ruling powers on the whole Continent. Prince Metternich's life was not safe in a city crowded with Red Republicans, Socialists, and members of secret societies and democratic clubs. In the evening a band of miscreants, who were roving about the city, attacked and sacked his private residence in the suburbs; but the aged ex-Minister effected his escape to Bohemia and thence to England, in disguise, with a price set upon his head.

The Austrian revolution might now be regarded as consummated; and the result had clearly shown that concessions made, not to the claims of justice, but to popular clamour, only serve to give rise to fresh demands. The conduct of the revolutionary party had imperiled even the salutary reforms which the sovereign and his advisers were willing to grant; but still the weak and facile Emperor could not be prevailed on to resist their demands. For some time the country remained without a Government; but at last a Cabinet was reconstructed out of the materials of the edifice which had been overthrown, and was so framed as to compromise nothing, yet to help to save appearances. The substance of power was retained, though some changes had been made in the mechanism of administration. Metternich was succeeded, in the department of foreign affairs, by his friend and former associate Count Ficquelmont; and the other Ministers, the presidents of the old bureaucracy, remained in office. Subsequently, however, growing discontent and continual outbreaks on the part of the populace compelled the Court to make new ministerial arrangements, but Pillersdorf, Dobblhof, Schwarzer, and others who replaced the ministers of the Metternich school, though they enjoyed some degree of popularity among the citizens, had neither the confidence of the Court nor direct communication with the Emperor. The Camarilla were merely waiting a favourable moment to neutralize the con-

stitution and restore absolutism. 'Old things had passed away, yet nothing had become new; and Metternich's policy was pursued by his disciples with formularies as barren and with a hatred to independent nationalities as active as his own.'

The more popular Ministers were not possessed of much ability, and were quite unfit to control and direct the revolutionary movement. The Emperor proclaimed a new constitution establishing a Constituent Assembly of two chambers, and granting freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, petition, and public meeting; but every new concession seemed only to call forth new demands, enforced by fresh outbreaks. At length, on the 17th of May, the Emperor quitted the capital, accompanied by the Empress and other members of the imperial family, and repaired to Innsbruck, in the Tyrol. The long existing national antipathies between the German and the Slavonic races now broke out into open hostilities in Bohemia. Hungary was on the eve of revolt. The Diet of Transylvania decreed the union of that province with the kingdom of Hungary. Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, summoned a Diet to meet at Agram for the triple kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia; and in short it appeared as if the cumbrous and disjointed Austrian empire was about to be resolved into its elements.

The Bohemians caught the revolutionary spirit which was sweeping over the whole Austrian empire. In Prague a committee was elected, at a meeting of the lower grade of the citizens, to take charge of the movement in favour of popular representation and a responsible Bohemian Ministry. These demands were at once acceded to by Baron Pillersdorf, the Austrian Prime Minister. A National Guard was formed with the Bohemian cockade. Labour and wages were promised to the working classes. Committees were appointed to prepare extensive reforms for the approaching Diet, and were subsequently formed into one body—a sort of

National Committee, which was recognized by the Governor. A congress was summoned of representatives of all the Slavonian provinces of the empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st of May, to 'take counsel for the interests of their race, and especially to counteract the absorbing influence of the Germanic body about to meet in Frankfort.' In order to promote these objects and to resist any attempt to identify the Slavonians with the German empire, a Club which assumed the name of the 'Swornost' was formed of members of the National Guard; and another Club called the 'Slavonska-Lipa' was formed for the same object. At the opening of the congress the old hymn of St. Wenceslas was sung round the relics of the Bohemian martyrs, and the utmost excitement prevailed in the picturesque old capital of Bohemia. In these circumstances Prince Windischgrätz, who commanded the military forces at Prague, deemed it necessary to take military precautions against an insurrection; and in consequence a large meeting of the people, on the 7th of June, resolved to petition the Emperor for his removal. On the 10th a vast assemblage, in a building of the University called the Carolinum, because founded by the Emperor Charles IV., agreed to demand the withdrawal of the troops from certain strategic points which they occupied, and to require a battery of six guns, 2000 muskets, and 80,000 rounds of ball cartridge for the use of the citizens. Both requests were refused. On the 12th a procession of the Swornost proceeded with revolutionary songs and tumult to the headquarters of the staff, and overpowered the sentinel. A shot was fired from a house opposite the mansion of Prince Windischgrätz, which unfortunately struck his wife, and killed her on the spot. This was the signal for the commencement of a battle, which lasted two days, and ended in the submission of the town, the dissolution of the National Committee, and the postponement of the projected Diet of Bohemia.

On the 22nd of July the Constituent Assembly or Diet of Austria was opened at

Vienna by the Arch-duke John, and on the 12th of August the Emperor returned to Vienna, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the citizens and the Diet. But this state of concord was not of long duration. The invasion of Hungary by the Croats, who were secretly encouraged by the Court, and the declaration of martial law in that country, brought matters to a crisis. On the 6th of October the National Guard and the students rose in arms to prevent the departure of the troops which were ordered to march against the Hungarians, and a portion of the soldiers themselves made common cause with the insurgents. Fighting took place on the streets; the gates of the town were seized; the cathedral of St. Stephen's was stormed, the War Office captured, and Count Latour, the Minister of War, was murdered in the most brutal manner, and his body suspended for a whole day upon a gibbet. The arsenal was bombarded, and after a stubborn resistance the garrison was obliged to surrender on the morning of the 9th. The Diet showed that it warmly sympathized with the insurgents, and on the evening of the 5th of October it sent a deputation to the Emperor to demand the formation of a new and popular Cabinet, the removal of Jellachich from the Governorship of Hungary, the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians, and an amnesty for those who had been engaged in the riots.

It was evident that with the city in the hands of a bloodthirsty mob, the person of the feeble Emperor was no longer safe there; and on the 7th before daybreak, escorted by twenty companies of infantry, six squadrons of cuirassiers, and eight guns, the Court retired with precipitation from Schönbrunn to Olmutz. On the 20th an Imperial proclamation was issued transferring the seat of the Austrian Diet from Vienna to Kremnitz, and directing the deputies to meet there on the 15th of November.

A body of troops 20,000 strong, under

the command of Count Von Auersperg, was stationed in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace outside the walls of Vienna, and they were speedily joined by the Croatian forces commanded by their Ban. Prince Windischgrätz arrived from Bohemia at the head of another body, and assumed the chief command of the army by which Vienna was now beleaguered. Terms were offered by the Prince, which the Diet declared to be illegal and unconstitutional, and refused to accept. On the 28th of October the bombardment of the city began, and was carried on without cessation throughout the day, laying a considerable portion of the buildings in ruins. On the evening of the 29th the insurgents solicited and obtained an armistice; but tempted by the arrival of a Hungarian army which had marched to their relief, they renewed their resistance in the hope that the Magyar forces would turn the scale in their favour. These auxiliaries, however, met with a signal defeat, and the insurgents were compelled on the 31st to surrender on far worse terms than had been previously offered. Blum, a journalist of Leipsic, one of the members of the German Parliament at Frankfort, and Messenhauser, commandant of the National Guards, who had taken an active part in the defence of the city, were put to death by orders of Prince Windischgrätz. The National Assembly at Frankfort unanimously adopted a solemn protest against the arrest and execution of Blum as a glaring violation of the Imperial law, and called for the punishment of those parties who had been guilty of the crime. A new and powerful Ministry was formed at Vienna, of which Prince Felix Schwarzenberg was nominated Foreign Minister and Premier, with Count Stadion, Baron Kraus, and Dr. Bach as his principal colleagues and coadjutors in his efforts to restore order and to unite the distracted sections of the empire into one integral state. On the 2nd of December the Emperor, who was almost imbecile, was made to resign the Imperial crown in favour of his nephew

Francis John, a youth of eighteen years of age, whose father renounced his claim to make way for the youth whom the Camarilla thought it expedient to place on the throne.

The revolutionary wave soon reached Berlin, and in February, 1847, Frederick William, King of Prussia, published a series of ordinances granting a constitution to his kingdom, and correcting and regulating the proceedings of the United Diet. But the measure was unsatisfactory to all parties. It merely erected an assembly for consultation only, but possessing no power either of initiative or control, and dependent even for being convoked on the mere will of the sovereign. The old Junker party disapproved of any change, the supporters of genuine parliamentary reform found that they were mocked by the offer of a mere shadow of what they desired, and the enemies of monarchy referred to the new scheme as a proof that no real concession of popular rights was to be expected from the King. While the Prussian people were in this state of feeling, tidings poured in of what had been done and was doing in other parts of Germany, as well as in France, to obtain constitutional government, and stimulated them to demand similar concessions from their facile and vacillating monarch. A great reform meeting was held in Berlin on the 13th of March, 1848, at which a tumult arose, and a collision took place between the military and the populace. During the ensuing week the city was the scene of much excitement and disorder, and it was obvious that the people were resolved to be no longer put off with vague and ambiguous promises which might never be fulfilled. The king was not slow in reading the signs of the times, and he resolved to place himself at the head of the movement, which he was well aware he was unable to withstand. He, therefore, issued a proclamation on the 18th of March, in which he granted the liberty of the press, abolished the censorship and all the laws connected with it, and declared his adherence to the move-

ment for the 'transformation of Germany from a Confederation of States into one Federal State, with one flag, one army, one fleet, one customs-law, and one central authority.'

Unfortunately on that same day a collision took place between the citizens and the military, which ended in bloodshed. Delighted at the concessions they had obtained, the people assembled in a dense crowd in the square before the palace to express their gratitude to the King, who came out on the balcony to receive them. A squadron of dragoons took up a position close beside the people under the windows of the palace; and the officer in command losing his temper at the jeers uttered by the mob, ordered the soldiers to advance. They moved forward with unsheathed swords to clear the square; but at this moment two shots were fired by the infantry. No one was hurt, but a cry of "treachery" was immediately raised by the crowd, who flew to arms, and erected barricades in all the principal streets. A sanguinary conflict ensued, which was carried on during the night. Sixteen of the soldiers and 216 of the people were killed in this unfortunate struggle, besides a large number who were dangerously wounded. By nine in the morning the insurgents were surrounded by the military, and must soon have surrendered, when an aide-de-camp brought an order in the King's name (it is alleged by mistake) that the troops should cease firing and withdraw.

During the night the kind-hearted but irresolute monarch, shocked at the slaughter of his subjects, dictated an appeal to his 'beloved Berliners,' entreating them to return to peace, to remove their barricades, lay down their arms, and to send to him 'men filled with the generous ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your King.' If this were done, he pledged his word that 'the streets and squares should be instantly cleared of the troops.' This appeal was not unnaturally regarded as a proof that the populace had been

victorious, and that the revolution had triumphed. Next day the Ministry resigned, and were replaced by men of known liberal opinions, with Count Arnim as President. An amnesty for political offences was then proclaimed, the doors of the State prisons were thrown open, the Poles who had been incarcerated there were set at liberty, and Mieroslawski, the most distinguished of their number, was drawn in triumph to the palace, where the King appeared upon the balcony in answer to the cheers of the crowd. A Burgher Guard was organized, to be equipped and armed at the expense of the city, and this was speedily followed by an order for the military to quit Berlin. Count Schwerin, the new Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, proclaimed it to be his Sovereign's intention to 'take the lead of Constitutional Germany. He will have liberty and a constitution; he will originate and form a German Parliament; and he will head the progress of the nation.' Next day the King himself appeared in the streets on horseback, 'wearing round his arm the ancient and respected colours of the German nation,' viz., black, red, and yellow. He issued proclamations and made speeches in his characteristic effusive style, in which, while professing to claim 'nothing but German liberty and unity,' he plainly indicated that he was in his own estimation the fittest person under the new order of things to be the future 'leader of the German people, the new King of the free regenerated German nation.' This vain-glorious and imprudent procedure, while it could not fail to give deep offence to the Emperor of Austria and the other German rulers, failed to gain the confidence of the moderate German Liberals, who were well aware that Frederick William was a man of words rather than of deeds, and that he could not be relied on to follow a steady and consistent course of policy. 'The poor King of Prussia has made a sad mess,' wrote Baron Stockmar. 'Never has he made a move or a concession but it was too late; nay, when it would have been better had

he done nothing. Metternich and the Russian Emperor were the bane both of him and of Germany. Had he, listened to Prince Albert's letter of 1846, how simple, how easy would it have been for him to have taken another course in the Cracow affair, and how safe, how glorious, how great would his position have been at this moment—master of a power sufficient to uphold all Germany! In Germany no one will hear of him now. "Rather the Emperor of Austria or the King of Bavaria."

After the events of the 18th of March five different administrations followed each other in rapid succession, each more pliable to democratic clamour than its predecessor. The United Diet of Prussia and her provinces was opened on the 2nd of April for the purpose of determining the new electoral law under which a National Assembly was to be convoked. As soon as this task was accomplished it was dissolved for ever, and a National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage. It was opened on the 22nd of May by the King in person, and immediately commenced the consideration of the draught of the new constitution which had been prepared by the Ministry. But its deliberations were repeatedly interrupted by the intrusion of an armed mob, whenever its decisions did not meet with the approbation of the populace. 'Trade was at a stand-still, the chief manufactories were closed, and distress added to the numbers of desperate men, with whom revolution was a trade, who thronged the streets and were intent on subverting all existing institutions. Riot and rapine made life in the capital a burden, and the Assembly, emboldened by the feebleness of the Executive, had, by the 31st of October, got the length of resolving "that neither privileges, titles, nor rank were to exist in the State, and that nobility was abolished." After such a declaration a denial of the supremacy of the Crown was obviously not far off. The red flag was hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the mob, who had many sympathizers

within the Chamber, had even broken into the Hall of Assembly equipped with ropes, nails, and nooses, threatening the Conservative members with death, and even handling roughly some of their own party whom they suspected of having grown lukewarm in the popular cause.' The Burgher Guard with some difficulty expelled the mob from the Chamber, but several lives were lost in the affray.

Matters had evidently come to an extremity. The system of granting concession after concession had failed even to conciliate the populace, and had brought the royal authority into contempt, and the country to the brink of ruin. The Ministry of General Von Pfuel, the fourth since March, finding itself unable to meet the difficulties of the crisis, insisted on resigning; and the King, now driven to adopt a different policy, called to his counsels Count Von Brandenburg, whose principles were avowedly hostile to the opinions of the Liberal party. The action of the new Minister was prompt and decided. On the 9th of November, the very day on which his appointment to the office of President was announced, Count Brandenburg appeared in the Assembly. When he rose to address the House he was stopped by the President, on the ground that he was not a member. Upon this he sat down, and handed in a royal decree. It was read amid violent exclamations and protests. After alluding to the display of Republican symbols, and to demonstrations of force to overawe the Assembly, it stated that the transfer of the sittings from Berlin to Brandenburg, where they would be free from intimidation, had become a matter of necessity, and declared 'the sittings of the Constituent Assembly to be prorogued' to the 27th of the month.

The deputies were thrown into a paroxysm of rage by the reading of this decree. Cries of 'Never! never! We protest! We will not consent! We will perish here sooner!' resounded through the hall. In the midst of the tumult Count Branden-

burg rose, and having in the name of the King summoned the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and adjourn to the time and place named in the royal decree, he left the Chamber, followed by his colleagues and fifty-nine of the members.

The members who remained passed a series of resolutions defying the decree, and declared that they would sit in permanence. The President and thirty of their number remained in the Chamber all night. On the following morning the rest of the body returned to the place of meeting, but found the building surrounded by a strong body of troops under the command of General Von Wrangel, who informed them that those who were in the House might leave it, but that no one should go in. 'How long do you mean to keep your troops here?' the General was asked. 'A week if necessary; my men are used to bivouacking.' Clearly nothing was to be made of this plain-spoken and resolute soldier. The President directed the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere next day. They then left the Chamber attended by the Burgher Guard, which had warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning (the 11th) they met to the number of 225 in the hall of the Schützen Gild, protected by a strong body of the Burgher Guard, and cheered by the mob. Addresses of sympathy were presented to them from the Town Council and other public bodies. In the course of the day a proclamation was issued dissolving the Burgher Guard, and calling on them to give up their arms. They intimated their intention to disobey this order, and it was repeated on the following day in more peremptory terms; but as they still disregarded it, General Wrangel, who was now at the head of 30,000 soldiers, declared the city in a state of siege.

Next day (the 13th) the refractory members of the Assembly, still bent on carrying out their own views, met again in the Schützen Hall, but they were summoned by one of General Wrangel's officers to disperse, as being 'an illegal assembly.' The

Vice-President, who was in the chair, refused to move, and the Deputies shouted, 'Never! never! until forced by arms.' Two or three officers now entered the hall, followed by a body of soldiers, and repeated the summons. It was answered as before with vociferous cries. The soldiers then advanced, and lifting the chair in which the Vice-President was sitting, carried him and it into the street. The members followed, protesting all the way against this outrage. On the 15th they met again—this time in the hall of the Town Council, but they were once more dislodged by the soldiers. They re-assembled the same evening at a café. But while they were engaged in discussing a resolution that the Ministry is not authorized to levy taxes until the National Assembly could safely resume its sittings in Berlin, the military once more appeared on the scene and commanded them to dismiss. They obeyed the order, but not until they had by acclamation adopted the resolution against the payment of taxes.

The resolution was as futile as it was unwise. It was promptly denounced by the Diet at Frankfort as having 'deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia and with it Germany to the verge of civil war.' In Prussia itself the resolution was condemned by the Liberal party, and was entirely disregarded: the taxes were paid and collected as though it had never been passed. Although the Burgher Guard refused to deliver up their arms, they submitted to be disarmed. A considerable number of the leaders of the recent disturbances were arrested, confidence was restored, and Berlin began to recover from the paralysis of industry which the political agitation of a few months had brought upon it. Frederick William 'seemed at least to have learned that his attempts to cultivate a mob popularity by grandiloquent and delusive phrases about freedom and equality, only endangered the stability of his throne' and the safety and prosperity of his kingdom.

Nothing remained but to get rid of the Assembly which had now, by its extreme and violent proceedings, and its utter want of business habits, forfeited the confidence of the public. When it resumed its sittings at Brandenburg on the 27th of November, the refractory members refused to attend for some days, so that a House could not be constituted. They at last entered the Chamber, in order to make a trial of strength; but being defeated on a vote, they at once retired, and the Assembly, in consequence of the paucity of its members, adjourned till the 7th of December. In the meantime, however, on the 5th of that month, to their indignation and dismay, they were dissolved by royal proclamation. On the same day the draft of a new constitution which had been prepared by the Ministry was promulgated. As it was in all its essential provisions identical with that of Belgium, it gave satisfaction to the great body of the Liberal party in Prussia. The Rump of the Assembly sunk into contempt; tranquillity was restored to the capital; and notwithstanding the fickleness and feebleness of the sovereign, his authority was re-established in the country.

The Grand Duchy of Posen, which formed part of the territory allotted to Prussia in the infamous partition of Poland, was the scene at this time of peculiarly shocking atrocities. A large German and Jewish population had grown up there since it was included in the Prussian dominions, although the great bulk of the natives were still Poles who cherished a bitter hatred of the Germans, by whom they were systematically insulted and ill-treated. After the revolution of the 18th March had occurred at Berlin, a deputation of the Poles waited upon the King, and obtained from him the promise that several much-needed reforms should be carried into effect, and in particular that the Duchy of Posen should be divided into two parts—the one Polish and the other German—and that each should obtain a separate local administration. This arrangement, however, was

postponed, and the Poles throughout Silesia rose in arms and inflicted the most shocking cruelties on their German neighbours, who were not slow to retaliate by perpetrating similar atrocities. The contest was carried on with a ferocity before which humanity shudders. Mieroslawski, who had shortly before been released from prison and amnestied by the Prussian King, headed the insurgents, whose numbers rapidly increased until they swelled into a formidable army. A powerful body of

troops was sent against them from Berlin, and after a severe and sanguinary struggle, in which the rebels suffered several defeats, they were compelled to surrender at discretion. After this formidable rebellion was suppressed, General Von Pfuel, who commanded the Prussian troops engaged in this service, made a division of the district, so as to separate the Polish from the German portion, and keep the rival nationalities as far as possible asunder.

CHAPTER VII.

Effect on Germany of the French Revolution—Desire of the German people for Unity—The 'Vor Parlament'—The National Assembly—The Archduke John of Austria chosen Vicar—Unwise conduct of the Assembly—Attack on Denmark—Armistice of Malmoe—Opposition to it in the Assembly—Riots in Frankfort—Murder of Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald—Proposed constitution for the German Empire—The King of Prussia elected Emperor of Germany—He declines the office—His reasons—Dissolution of the Assembly—Insurrections in the Germanic States—Condition of France—The Ateliers—Elections to the National Assembly—The Red Republicans—Louis Napoleon—Insurrection in Paris—Sanguinary street fights in Paris—Cavaignac appointed Dictator—Suppression of the Insurrection—Louis Napoleon chosen President—Italian Unity—Renewal of the war between Sardinia and Austria—Defeat of the Sardinians at Mortara and Novara—Abdication of Charles Albert—Amnesties between Sardinia and Austria—Venice—Its noble defence by Manin and General Pepe—Appeals of the Italians to other countries for help—Position of the Pope at Gaeta—His measures—A Republic established in Rome—The Pope's appeal to the Roman Catholic Powers—The French intervention—Its pretences—Its failure—State of feeling in Rome—The French Expedition—Siege of Rome—Garibaldi's Legion—Its exploits—Rome taken by the French—Garibaldi's escape to Venice—Restoration of the Papal Government.

THE revolutionary whirlwind that swept over Europe in 1848 was strongly felt in that large assemblage of States which bore the general designation of Germany, for nowhere were men's minds more bent on securing the advantages of popular institutions and responsible government. The promises of free constitutions which the sovereigns of these states had made to their subjects, to induce them to take up arms against the oppressive domination of Napoleon, had been shamelessly violated; and though in some states the arbitrary authority of the sovereign was slightly concealed under the veil of constitutional forms, the people had in reality no share in the government, and no control over the acts of the ruler and his advisers. But although the continental despots seemed perfectly secure on their thrones, their authority had in reality been undermined by an under-current of democratic agitation which was secretly leavening the community with its speculations; and the great body of the German nation were only waiting for an opportunity to translate their cherished theories into action. On a people in such a situation, the French revolution operated with the instantaneousness and force of an electric shock. 'Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers' were scattered by it like leaves before a storm in autumn. In the first wild outbreak of the German people,

society was upheaved to its lowest foundations. Class was arrayed against class—the populace against the nobles, the burghers against the army; and a war of opinion as well as of the sword commenced, which threatened the overthrow of all authority, and the total ruin of the best interests of the community.

There was one marked and important difference between Germany and France, which exercised a salutary and to some extent a conservative influence in the former country. There was an intense desire among the whole German people for national unity. The different States of Germany were, in one form or other, the scene of revolutionary agitation; but all cherished the idea that a great central authority ought to be established, which should bring the whole German empire under one system of administration. Accordingly, at the popular assemblages in all the States throughout Germany—Baden, Nassau, Hesse Cassel, Hanover, Bavaria, Saxony, and others—a strong opinion was expressed in favour of the formation of a great German Confederation, in which all the States throughout the country should be represented. A movement to that effect was initiated on the 5th of March by fifty-one influential persons, including the most distinguished members of the Opposition of the different chambers of Prussia, Bavaria,

and other States, who held a meeting at Heidelberg, and appointed a committee to draw up the plan of a new German Parliament.

A preliminary meeting, or *Vor-Parlament*, as it was termed, was convoked for the 30th of March at Frankfort. It consisted of 400 members, who declared that there was an imperious necessity for the appointment 'of a representative assembly chosen by all the German States in proportion to their numbers, as much for the purpose of averting all danger in external or internal affairs as for developing the energy and prosperity of the country;' and they immediately set themselves to determine the basis upon which the representation of the various German States should be founded, and the mode in which the representatives should be elected. They first of all directed the Chamber of Deputies in the Duchy of Schleswig, which for 200 years had been incorporated with Denmark, to send deputies to the approaching National Assembly, which, of course, led to hostilities with Denmark. They next resolved that the old obstructive and absolutist Diet should be superseded by a central authority as the head of an imperial Diet, to be composed of an Upper and Lower Chamber. The leaders of the extreme party made a strenuous effort to carry a vote in favour of a great German republic, but they were defeated by large majorities. They then, under the command of two democratic leaders—Hecker and Struve—tried to excite insurrections in the south and west of Germany in support of their views. Riots, in consequence, took place in Stuttgart, Bamberg, Cassel, and Mannheim; but the insurgents, ill disciplined and badly led, were speedily and easily defeated. 'The miserable, cowardly behaviour of the Free-Corps,' says Wolfgang Menzel, 'who were only good for making rows, for shouting, swilling, and pillaging, but who would not fight, made the Republic from the outset at once impossible and ridiculous.' The old federal Diet had contributed not a little

to conciliate the popular party by their prompt acquiescence in the proposal to convene a National Assembly, and by determining that the several States should be represented at their deliberations, each by a separate deputy. The Diet, at its best, as Stockmar said, had been since 1815 'a wretched machine, despicable and despised,' which the governments had one and all used as 'the instrument of a policy false and dishonourable in itself, and ruinous at once to princes and people.' Its very constitution made 'national activity and energetic consistent measures impossible.' That such a body should now have unanimously decreed the election of the National Assembly of Germany, is a remarkable proof of the change which the general excitement and apprehensions had brought about in the minds of all classes in the country.

On the 18th of May the first German National Assembly met at Frankfort. It was felt at the outset that some central executive power should be created to administer such affairs as affected the nation generally. Some weeks were spent in discussing the nature and limits of the authority which it was necessary to lodge in the executive. At length the Assembly decreed, on the 28th of June, that this power should be confided to a vicar of the Empire, and the Archduke John, uncle of the then reigning Emperor of Austria, was appointed to the office by a large majority. Prussia was deeply offended at this step, and the other sovereigns held aloof. But the Diet voted an address to the Archduke, stating that even before the choice of the Assembly was made, they had been instructed by their respective governments to declare in favour of the election of his Imperial Highness.

On the 12th of July the Archduke was solemnly installed at Frankfort as Vicar or *Reichsverweser* of the Empire. The Diet sent a deputation to invite him to appear among them 'in order that they might place in his hands the functional discharge of the constitutional rights and

duties which had belonged to the Diet, and which were now in the name of the German Governments to be transferred to the Provisional Central Power.' The Vicar of the Empire accepted the invitation, and the dissolution of the Diet was immediately thereafter pronounced with all due solemnity.

About the beginning of August the first Ministry of the Regent of the Germanic Empire was appointed, with Prince Leiningen, the half-brother of Queen Victoria, at the head of the Department of Foreign Affairs. But the great majority of the Assembly soon showed that they entirely mistook their position. They had no material sources at their command—no army, and no means of raising one. They had consequently no power to enforce their decrees; but they thought fit to act as if they could compel both sovereigns and people to obey their mandates. The real character of the Assembly is tersely and graphically described by Menzel. 'In Frankfort sat a feeble old man among 500 talkers as powerless as himself, who unfortunately did all they could to destroy as quickly and as completely as possible their moral power, the only one they had.'

The Assembly was very soon taught to feel its own impotence. The *Vor Parlament* had issued a decree, as we have seen, incorporating Schleswig with the German Confederation, and a Prussian army was sent to enforce that decree. The Danes fought gallantly against the invaders of their territory, but were obliged to retire before a superior force from the mainland to the neighbouring islands of Alsen and Fünen. A division of the Prussians then advanced into Jutland, a province purely Danish. This unwarrantable proceeding caused Sweden to interpose and to land a considerable force on the island of Fünen, while a Russian fleet was ordered to cruise along the Danish coast, and if necessary to assist the Danes. These prompt measures caused the Prussian forces to withdraw from Jutland; and through the mediation of Great

Britain, Sweden, and Russia, an armistice was concluded at Malmö on the 26th of August, which was to last for seven months.

The question of the armistice was brought before the Frankfort Assembly on the 5th of September. Its terms were denounced as a compromise of German honour, and an abuse of power on the part of Prussia; and it was resolved, by a majority of 238 to 22, that it should not be ratified. This vote was followed by the resignation of the Ministry; but Dahlmann, the leader of the hostile majority, who was intrusted with the formation of a new Cabinet, could find no one to join him in the attempt to carry out his aggressive policy. Meanwhile the violent conduct of the revolutionary party in the Duchies themselves had contributed not a little to alienate their friends in the German Parliament; and on the 16th of September, after a long and stormy debate, they reversed their former resolution by 257 votes to 236. So soon as it became known that the Assembly had resolved to support the armistice the extreme revolutionary party held monster meetings, at which the majority of the Assembly who had ratified the 'infamous armistice of Malmö' were declared to have been 'guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people.' Inflammatory speeches were addressed to the mob by these reckless and unprincipled demagogues, whose real object was to overturn the Government. In this emergency the Vicar persuaded Von Schmerling, the former Minister of the Interior, to resume office; and seeing clearly that both the safety of the Assembly and the public peace were in imminent danger, he hastily summoned detachments of Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops from the neighbouring fortress of Mayence to protect the city. On the 18th a large and excited mob advanced to the Paulus Church, where the Assembly held its meetings, for the purpose of storming it, but found it protected by the soldiers. The rioters then began to throw stones at the troops, and to erect barricades in the streets;

but after a sharp encounter, which lasted till midnight, they were defeated at all points with the loss of only eight of the military. Two of the most eminent members of the Assembly, however, Prince Lichnowski and Major Auerswald, while attempting to reason with the insurgents, were murdered with circumstances of brutal ferocity.

These shocking atrocities, and the danger they had so narrowly escaped, had a sobering effect even on the Radical members of the Assembly; and they set themselves in earnest to discuss the articles of the proposed German Confederation. According to the draft of the Constitution, which was prepared by a committee, and substantially adopted by the Assembly, the countries then comprising the Germanic Confederation, including even their non-Germanic territories, together with Schleswig and the provinces of Eastern and Western Prussia, were to be fused into one 'grand, free, fraternal empire,' the existing sovereignties being limited and subordinated to this end. The office of Emperor was to be hereditary, and Frankfort was to be its capital. A civil list was to be voted by the German Parliament for the support of the Imperial dignity. The executive in all the affairs of the empire was to be vested in the Emperor. He was to appoint all officers of the State, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the National Guard. He was to be intrusted with the charge of all negotiations between Germany and foreign states, with authority to conclude treaties, with the disposal of the army, and with power to declare war and make peace. The Imperial Parliament was to consist of two Houses—the Upper composed of the thirty-three reigning sovereigns or their deputies, by a deputy from each of the four Free Towns, and by the addition of as many Imperial councillors with certain qualifications as would raise the whole Chamber to the number of 200 members. The Lower House was to consist of representatives elected by the people in fixed proportions, but by methods to be arranged

by the respective States. The Constitution thus proposed for the new Germanic Empire was certainly of a most imposing character. 'All the hereditary estates of Austria, all the hoarded acquisitions of Prussia, all the accumulations of territorial capital, all the fragments of impoverished patrimonies comprised within the provinces bearing the German name, were to be fused anew into a political creation of the most imposing grandeur, whose constituent States were to be guaranteed by the supreme Imperial power all those privileges which had hitherto been so vainly promised by their respective sovereigns—representative assemblies, responsible Ministries, rights of self-taxation, freedom of the press, independent judicial tribunals, and trial by jury.' But based as it was upon universal suffrage, and placing the control of both the Upper and Lower Chamber in the hands of the people, it was really what it was termed, a republic in disguise, and was consequently not likely to be regarded with favour by the crowned heads of Germany.

The next and most important step was the choice of a head to the new Executive. At one time the feeling was strong and prevalent that the King of Prussia could not be relied on, and that his professed sympathies with constitutional reform would in all probability evaporate in sentimental speeches and proclamations. But it had of late become evident that Austria need not be expected to take any part in promoting German unity. Her Prime Minister, Prince Schwartzberg, had announced his intention to consolidate the empire as it stood with reference to purely Austrian interests, and she had thus voluntarily withdrawn herself from the German Confederacy. It was therefore argued with great force that Germany should act upon the same principle, and consolidate her purely German States with an exclusive reference to the welfare of the German Empire. That empire should therefore consist of purely German elements, and her Imperial interests be intrusted to the hands of a purely

German sovereign. The Prime Minister, Von Gagern, recommended the Assembly, in keeping with these views, to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederation, but to regard her as not included in the new Federal Constitution. It was evident, therefore, that it was to Prussia they must look for the central power which should take the place of that provisionally occupied by the Regent. Twenty-eight of the smaller States had expressed themselves willing to concur in this proposal; but the reigning sovereigns of Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hanover, protested against any measure which should place them under the authority of the Prussian monarch.

Notwithstanding the opposition of these Powers the requisite majority was gained over by a compact which Von Gagern made with the democratic deputies, pledging himself to consent to no material alteration of the Constitution. On the 28th of March, 1849, the King of Prussia was elected by the Assembly Emperor of Germany by 290 votes in a House of 538 members. When the news reached Berlin it was received by the two Chambers, as they said, 'with feelings of exultation,' and they immediately voted addresses earnestly entreating the King to accept the Imperial crown. On the 3rd of April the deputation appointed by the Frankfort Assembly to tender the crown of Germany to the King waited upon him for that purpose, but the offer was declined. He could not, he said, accept the high office they proposed to confer upon him, 'without the voluntary assent of the Crowned Princes and Free States of our Fatherland'—a statement which could not fail to give great offence to a body who were not inclined to leave their hard-won rights at the mercy of princes swayed exclusively by a regard to their own privileges, and not to the welfare of their subjects. There can be no doubt that the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria had by this time come to an understanding that the old obstructive Diet should be restored, and

that Germany and Austria should retain their former connection; and Frederick William was quite well aware that the 'Crowned Princes' to whom he referred would certainly refuse their consent to his assumption of the Imperial crown.

In answer to an appeal made to them, Austria, Hanover, Bavaria, and Würtemberg explicitly refused their assent to the acceptance of the Imperial crown by the King of Prussia, and the Parliament at Frankfort declined to make the alterations which he insisted on in the Germanic Constitution. He therefore intimated to the Assembly, in distinct and unequivocal terms, that he could not accept the crown, which without the consent of these powers was 'an unreal dignity,' and the Constitution itself only 'a means gradually and under legal pretences to set aside authority and to introduce the Republic.'

The breach between the Assembly and Prussia rapidly widened. On the adoption of the resolution, on the 2nd of March, to offer the Imperial crown to Frederick William, the Austrian deputies were ordered to leave the Assembly; and on the 14th of May a royal ordinance was issued enjoining the Prussian deputies to abstain from taking any further part in its proceedings. The Assembly retaliated by passing violent resolutions against the Prussian Government. Thinking itself no longer safe in Frankfort, which was surrounded by the military forces of Prussia, it resolved, on the 30th of May, to remove to Stuttgart. The great body of the more moderate and judicious members of the Assembly had already retired, and a portion remained at Frankfort along with the Regent and the Ministry. At this juncture the plenipotentiaries of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony issued a draft of an Imperial Federal Constitution which they had prepared for the formation of a great German empire. Austria, however, declared in decided terms her disapproval of the scheme, and Bavaria declined to join the combination. It was denounced also by the Rump of

the Assembly at Stuttgart, who on the 6th of June passed a series of violent resolutions deposing the Regent, appointing five extreme Republicans to carry on the Government, decreeing a general arming of the people, and the levying of a heavy subsidy in men and arms on the State of Würtemberg. On this the Würtemberg Government took possession of their place of meeting with a file of soldiers, and dispersed the members, who never met again.

The great body of the German people were deeply disappointed at the failure of the attempt to form a Confederation of all the States throughout the empire, consequent on the refusal of the King of Prussia to accept the Imperial crown; and as had been predicted, it was immediately followed by fresh insurrections in the smaller States. The refusal of the King of Saxony to acknowledge the Frankfort Constitution led to a rising in Dresden, which compelled the King to take refuge in the fortress of Königstein. A Provisional Government was formed, with a Polish refugee at its head. Several desperate conflicts took place in the streets, and it was not until a detachment of troops arrived from Berlin to the assistance of the Saxon forces that the city was retaken and the revolt finally crushed. Similar risings took place at the same time in Cologne, Elberfeld, Crefeld, Neuss, Hagen, Düsseldorf, and Iserlohn, and were not suppressed without a great deal of bloodshed. The insurrections in the Palatinate and the Duchy of Baden were much more serious, for there the troops made common cause with the insurgents. And as the Regent had not sufficient forces at his command to suppress these revolutionary excesses, the Bavarian Government, notwithstanding their jealousy of Prussia, were obliged to invoke the aid of Frederick William to restore order in the Palatinate. A strong body of Prussian troops, under General Herschfield and the Prince of

Peucker. The insurgents, who were led by Mieroslawski, a Pole who had been prominent in the risings in Posen and Sicily, made a stout resistance, and on more than one occasion nearly worsted the Prussian and Federal forces; but in the end they were defeated, and their leader with a portion of his followers took refuge in Switzerland. Those who remained threw themselves into the fortress of Rastadt, where they were starved into a surrender.

While the revolution in Germany had thus run its course, and 'the wheel had come full circle,' France was in the throes of a bloody civil war. At the very outset the Provisional Government had to direct their attention to a most difficult problem—the support of the unemployed multitudes of Paris. They issued a proclamation declaring that it was time to put an end to the long and iniquitous sufferings of the workmen of Paris, and they appointed a permanent Commission to take charge of the organization of labour. National workshops, called *Ateliers*, were opened by the Government, where two francs a day were paid to the workmen; and as it was impossible to give employment to the crowds who applied for admission to the *Ateliers*, one franc a day was given to those for whom work could not be immediately provided. As might have been foreseen, this arrangement had a most injurious effect. The great body of the operatives preferred the smaller pay and idleness to higher wages and work, and the *Ateliers* were in consequence almost deserted. The greatest hostility was displayed against the English workmen employed on the railroads and in the different manufacturing establishments. Their masters were therefore everywhere obliged to dismiss them, and in many places they had to flee for their lives—an instructive example of the 'fraternity' proclaimed as one of the three watchwords of the Republic.

The Communists or Socialists were a more formidable source of danger than

even the idle workmen of Paris. In their eyes the possession of property was a crime, and their object was to overthrow all existing institutions, and to establish the dominion of an unbridled democracy. Their leaders, Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, at the instigation of Ledru-Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, who was intriguing against the more moderate of his colleagues, assembled the mob on the 17th of March, to the number of 150,000, and besieged and menaced the Government, whose Ministers very narrowly escaped destruction at their hands. A second demonstration of a similar kind, on the 16th of April, intended to overthrow and remodel the Government into the old type of a Committee of Public Safety, was defeated without bloodshed through the masterly dispositions of General Changarnier, whom in this extremity M. Marrast had called to the aid of the Government.

It had already become evident to all who had anything to lose that the institutions of the country, and all property, private as well as public, were in imminent danger from the designs of the Red Republicans, and a powerful reactionary feeling began to pervade all the respectable classes of the community. When the election of Representatives to sit in the National Assembly took place, by universal suffrage, on the 23rd and 24th of April, the leaders of the Communists were at the bottom of the poll. In the capital itself they met with a signal defeat. Lamartine, who stood at the head of the list, and was elected for eight other places, received nearly double the number of votes given for Ledru-Rollin; and Dupont, Carnot, Arago, Cavaignac, and other candidates of the same class, obtained a large measure of support, to the great indignation of the populace, who broke out into serious riots when they found that their favourite candidates had not been returned.

The National Assembly commenced its sittings on the 4th of May. After proclaiming the Republic with great formality and pomp, arrangements were made for conduct-

ing the business of the Chamber in an orderly manner, and an Executive Committee was chosen by ballot. A Ministry was appointed on the 11th, and a great Feast of Fraternity was in preparation, at which all the citizens of Paris were invited to attend, when on the 15th of May an immense mob, headed by Barbès, Raspail, and Blanqui, suddenly invaded the Chamber, burst open the doors, filled the interior of the building, and, amid indescribable uproar and confusion, declared the Assembly dissolved. They then hurried off to the Hotel de Ville and proclaimed a Provisional Government, consisting, with one or two exceptions, of Red Republicans. But Lamartine, accompanied by a strong body of National Guards, forced his way into the building, arrested Barbès, Blanqui, Albert (who had been a member of the Provisional Government), Sebrier, and Raspail, the leaders of the mob, and sent them prisoners to the Castle of Vincennes.

The Assembly, thus victorious over the populace, proceeded with its reconstructive labours, and appointed a committee to draw up the plan of a Constitution. A decree of perpetual banishment against Louis Philippe and his family was adopted by a majority of 695 to 63. At this stage an ominous interruption of their proceedings occurred in connection with Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the late Emperor Napoleon. He had been taken prisoner at Boulogne in a ridiculous attempt to overthrow Louis Philippe's throne with a handful of followers and a tame eagle, and was confined in the fortress of Ham for six years. On the 25th of May, 1846, he made his escape from the castle in the disguise of a workman, and succeeded in reaching England, where he was residing when the French Revolution broke out and the Orleans dynasty ceased to reign. He came over to Paris when the Republic was proclaimed, but, acting upon the advice of the Provisional Government, he quietly retired from France. He had been elected a member of the National Assembly by no less than four constituencies, and a vehement

and angry debate took place on the question whether he should be allowed to take his seat. His admission was carried, but the opposition was so violent that he sent a letter to the Assembly tendering the resignation of his seat. A significant indication however of coming events was given by the facts that some regiments were said to have shouted 'Vive Napoléon Louis!' in reply to the exclamation of the National Guard, 'Vive la République!'—that the same cry had been heard in the streets, and that within four days three journals had been established for the purpose of advocating the candidature of Louis Napoleon as President. In some cases also there was reason to believe that the name of Napoleon had been used as a pretext for disturbances.

Meanwhile the masses of workmen whom the Government had been feeding for months were ready to break out into open revolt. They had calculated on the fulfilment of the promises made to them in the early days of the Revolution, and they were now quite well aware that the privileges they had enjoyed were about to be withdrawn. It was indeed impossible to carry on longer a system which would very soon have devoured the whole revenue of the State. The Ateliers, as Victor Hugo said, had squandered uselessly the resources of the country, had degraded the working classes, deprived them of all taste for labour, and demoralized them to such a degree that they no longer blushed to beg in the streets. M. Leon Faucher said that very soon not a single manufacture would be in operation in Paris, and the one-half of the city was relieved by the other half.

The Government, therefore, found it absolutely necessary to reduce the number of workmen who were receiving public relief in the Ateliers, and on the 22nd of June they issued an order that 3000 of those who came from the provinces should return to their respective homes. They were supplied with money and tickets to enable them to procure provisions and lodgings on their journey. They left the city in sullen dis-

content, but a considerable number of them immediately returned and joined their comrades in the different faubourgs, where a plan of insurrection had already been fully organized. On the following day the whole north and east of Paris was covered with barricades, some of them of enormous strength. The houses on each side were pierced with loopholes, and passages were cut through the party-walls, so that when one was taken the insurgents might retire to the next house, and there continue the fight. 'Do not deceive yourselves,' said Lamartine to the other members of the Government; 'we do not advance to a strife with an *émeute*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence, and its force should be disposed not only here but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars, which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces.' Society was saved, but not until the streets of Paris and other towns were deluged with blood, and atrocities perpetrated which make the heart sicken.

The conflict began on the morning of the 23rd, and raged during the whole day with the utmost fury. Fears were entertained respecting the fidelity of the Garde Mobile, which was composed of men of the same class with the insurgents; but they behaved admirably, and fought with the most determined bravery and zeal, side by side with the troops of the line and the National Guard. A considerable number of the barricades were carried, after a severe struggle and at a great loss of life; but on the following morning it was discovered that many of them had been re-erected during the night. The insurgents had arranged their plans with great care and no small skill, and had regular officers appointed beforehand, who assumed the chief command in three organized districts—the north, south, and the centre, where was the post of their commander-in-chief.

Matters had now assumed a very serious aspect, and in the course of the morning the Executive Committee resigned their functions, and General Cavaignac, the Minister of War, was appointed Dictator. The forces under his command were reinforced by large numbers of the provincial National Guards, who now poured into Paris, and the contest was renewed with redoubled fury. The insurgents had entrenched themselves in the most densely populated parts of the city, and had constructed formidable barricades of paving stones of a hundredweight each. The houses commanding these obstructions were loopholed and manned with practised marksmen. Mattresses were placed against the windows, behind which they could take secure and deliberate aim; and women were actively employed in casting bullets and supplying arms, as well as in tending the wounded insurgents.

The struggle continued throughout the whole of the 24th and the 25th. The insurgents fought with desperate courage, but were driven back step by step. As soon as one barricade was carried they fell back upon another, fortified in the same manner, while a galling fire was opened from the houses on both sides of the street upon the troops as they advanced to attack the next stronghold. In this way every inch of ground was contested; but the dispositions of General Cavaignac were of the most masterly kind, and the cannon, mortars, and howitzers brought into play demolished the fastnesses reared by the populace, and opened a way for the troops and the National Guards to bayonet or capture the defenders. On the 25th the Archbishop of Paris nobly attempted to act as mediator between the combatants. Clad in his sacerdotal robes, and attended by his two Grand Vicars, he proceeded towards the Faubourg St. Antoine, so notorious in the history of Parisian disturbances. His progress was arrested by a strong barricade, which had been erected at the foot of the column of the Bastille, where firing was actively going on, but he

bravely ascended the barricade and addressed the insurgents on the other side. The firing ceased meanwhile, and the prelate's address was apparently producing some effect, when suddenly a drum-roll was heard, a shot was fired, and the contest was at once renewed. The venerable Archbishop was mortally wounded by a ball which struck him in the loins, and was carried by the insurgents into an adjoining house, where he calmly breathed his last.

About noon on the 25th the Faubourg St. Antoine, the stronghold of the insurrection and the last which held out, capitulated, and General Cavaignac was enabled to announce to the National Assembly the complete suppression of the revolt. But the victory was dearly purchased. Among the large numbers who fell on the side of the Government in this miserable conflict were many distinguished generals, along with thousands of the troops and the National Guards. No accurate estimate could be formed of the losses incurred by the insurgents, but they must have amounted to many thousands; 15,000 were taken prisoners, a considerable number of whom were shot, while 3000 of those who were spared died of jail fever, brought on by overcrowding of the prisons. Well might Stockmar say, 'What misery have not Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, &c., &c., brought upon their country!' France paid a heavy penalty in this 'Parisian massacre' for the revolution which the apathy of the middle classes had allowed the Republicans and Communists to inflict upon them, and a heavier still was in store for them before the cup of retribution and suffering which divine Providence presented to their lips was drained.

On the suppression of the revolt General Cavaignac resigned the extraordinary powers which had been intrusted to him, but he was immediately and almost unanimously appointed by the Assembly President of the Council. A committee, nominated to inquire into the insurrections

which took place in the months of May and June, brought to light important facts, which clearly showed the complicity of Caussidière, Prefect of the Police, in the schemes of the Communist clubs—the main authors of the Parisian revolt—and implicated also Ledru-Rollin, the Minister of the Interior, in their plots. Inflammatory documents had been issued by Government agents; influential members of the clubs, invested with unlimited powers, had been sent to the provinces with money taken from the funds of the Ministry of the Interior to foment a new revolutionary movement; manufactories of powder and arms upon a large scale had been carried on in Paris; and a military organization formed, preparatory to the insurrection, with the full knowledge of Caussidière and the connivance of the Minister of the Interior. In consequence of these revelations authority was given by the Assembly to the Procureur-Général to prosecute Louis Blanc and Caussidière, but they both succeeded in making their escape, and found refuge in England.

The national workshops were now suppressed—indeed, in the existing state of the public finances it was impossible to carry them on longer. The expenses of the year of revolution amounted to the enormous sum of 1,802,000,000 francs, while the revenue was only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 419,000,000. No less than 270,000,000 francs were absorbed by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and the National Assembly. After months of debate the Assembly, on the 4th of November, adopted a Constitution embodying universal suffrage and vote by ballot, freedom of the press and the abolition of capital punishment for political offences, the toleration of all religious systems and the payment by the state of their ministers. There was to be only one Chamber. The Republic was to be presided over by a President, who was to be a French citizen, and was to be elected, not by the Assembly, but by the nation at large.

The candidates for the office of President

were Louis Napoleon, who had meanwhile been returned as deputy by no fewer than four departments, Generals Cavaignac and Changarnier, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Raspail. The election took place on the 10th of December, and resulted in an immense preponderance of votes for Louis Napoleon, who received 5,334,226, while General Cavaignac, who stood next on the list, notwithstanding the eminent services which he had rendered to the Republic and the country, failed against the single claim advanced by his competitor in 'the great name,' and obtained only 1,448,107 votes. Ledru-Rollin followed with 370,119; the Socialist Raspail had 36,226; Lamartine, 17,910; and General Changarnier, only 4700. It was thus made evident that France had already had more than enough of a revolutionary policy, and was determined to intrust the government of the country to men who had some respect for law and order, and might be expected to give stability to the new institutions. On the 20th of December the Prince was proclaimed President, and took the oath of fidelity to the constitution. On the evening of the same day the list of a new ministry was published, consisting of moderate Liberals, with Odillon Barrot as President of the Council.

The reaction which in the course of a few months had taken place in France, the cradle of the revolutionary outbreak that had spread over Europe, was still more strongly felt in other parts of the Continent. The cause of Italian unity was for the present lost. By the terms of the armistice concluded between Austria and the Italian army of independence the King of Sardinia became bound to withdraw his troops within his own boundaries, and of course vacating Parma, Modena, and Venice. The foot of the hated 'Tedeschi' was on Italy once more. Tuscany was preserved from invasion by the mediation of the British minister. But the Austrians restored the expelled and defeated Duke of Modena, and sent a detachment of troops to Parma to undertake the temporary govern-

ment in the name of the Duke, thus once more proclaiming and confirming the connection between foreign domination and petty native tyrannies. An attempt was made at this juncture to mediate between Austria and Italy, with the view of effecting a final arrangement which might be beneficial to both. But Austria, successful in the field, was no longer willing to concede the terms which she had offered in the depth of her distress, and it speedily became evident that she was determined to maintain her Italian provinces by force of arms.

The Sardinian monarch was now placed in a very difficult and critical position, for both external and internal pressure was coercing him into a renewal of the war. The English Government, warned by Mr. Abercromby, the British Minister at Turin, months before the armistice was broken, that this result was highly probable, earnestly pressed upon the Sardinian Government not to take the imprudent step of recommencing hostilities, but without effect. Frequent disputes arose on the terms of the armistice, and various irritating questions sprung up to keep alive the angry feeling between the two recently belligerent powers. The Italian demagogues were clamorous for a renewal of the attempt to expel the foreigner from the peninsula. Bologna, Leghorn, Rome, and especially Genoa, resounded with appeals to popular passions and denunciations of a pacific policy. The severity of the military rule which Radetzky imposed upon Milan, the heavy contributions, the seizure of arms under the penalty of death for their concealment, and all the rigours of martial law, which made the yoke more oppressive than ever on the necks of the Lombards, contributed greatly to strengthen the war party in Piedmont, and added weight to their urgent demands that the contest should be renewed. To impartial spectators it seemed inexcusable to renew a war undertaken to procure for the Italians an independence which they had shown themselves unable to maintain, and institutions of which they had proved them-

selves unworthy. But, as Mr. Abercromby wrote on 8th March, four days before the denunciation of the armistice, 'The deplorable infatuation which prevailed upon the questions of the realization of the kingdom of Upper Italy, of fighting the Austrians and driving them from Italy, has completely warped judgment and good sense.' The position of the Sardinian Government was one of almost inextricable embarrassment, and of great danger whichever course was adopted. Retreat was very difficult and perilous to the King's own throne; but it was the safer course of the two, for the army did not share the infatuation of the Sardinian Chamber, and would have suppressed any attempt to overthrow the Government at home. If Charles Albert had waited and watched events, the Austrian defeats in Hungary would have afforded him some chance of success in the new campaign. As matters stood the case was hopeless from the first.

On the 12th of March, 1849, the formal announcement of the cessation of the armistice was made to Marshal Radetzky, and was met by a proclamation couched in a tone of scornful defiance and anticipated victory. Leaving only a garrison of 4000 men to preserve tranquillity among the disarmed and cowed population of Milan, the veteran general marched with all his forces to the frontier. The Sardinian army was under the command of General Chrzanowsky, a Polish officer, and Charles Albert accompanied it merely as a general officer at the head of the brigade of Savoy. The hostile armies crossed the Ticino, the river that separates Lombardy from Piedmont, nearly at the same time of the same day (20th of March). General Ramorino had been ordered to prevent the passage of the Austrian army, but he offered no resistance to their march; and by an act at the time inexplicable, and for which he was afterwards tried by a court-martial and shot, he withdrew the division under his command from its position and retired behind the Po. The Austrian General was thus en-

abled to attack and defeat at Mortara other two divisions of the Piedmontese army, which were taken by surprise, and had barely time to occupy Mortara before they were attacked. Their dispositions were imperfect; some of the troops and a great part of the artillery had not arrived when the battle commenced. The Piedmontese army, reduced in numbers and dispirited by such severe and sudden losses, now concentrated itself, on the 23rd, in a strong position around Novara, and there waited the attack of the enemy. Radetzky marched at once to give it battle, and on the 24th an engagement took place which decided the fate of the campaign. Great courage and skill were displayed on both sides, and the contest was protracted and keen. The Piedmontese artillery maintained the high reputation which it had won, and the King throughout the day exposed his life with a bravery which bordered on rashness. The division of the Austrian army under General D'Aspre, which, coming up first, attacked the Piedmontese early in the day, met with a resistance that as Radetzky admits 'made the result of the battle doubtful for some hours.' But the Austrian general brought up his reserves against the wearied Piedmontese, and kept them at bay until the arrival of his fourth corps from Vercelli, cutting off the natural line of retreat, converted failure into a total rout. The principal positions of the Piedmontese were stormed by the Austrians at the point of the bayonet, and at nightfall the field was in complete possession of the conquerors.

Charles Albert had thus lost the great stake for which he had played; and feeling that he could not make peace with the Austrians, nor they with him, he resolved at once to abdicate the throne, and to give to his son the task which he could not himself accomplish. He lost no time in carrying this resolution into effect, and quitting his capital, 'surrounded and followed by respectful regrets' he hurried rapidly to Nice, and thence to France, where he soon

after died, deeply regretted by his people as 'the first constitutional king of Piedmont, and the champion and martyr of Italian freedom.'

An armistice preparatory to a peace was arranged at once between the young King and Radetzky, on terms as favourable to Piedmont as could have been expected. The rapidity with which the war had been brought to a close prevented a projected rising in Lombardy; but the citizens of Brescia, which was to have been the centre and headquarters of the insurrection, unfortunately flew to arms, drove out the Austrian garrison, and under resolute and skilful leaders, resisted for a considerable time the forces employed against the town with a desperate courage which elicited the admiration even of their enemies. The Austrian general who commanded the besiegers—the infamous Haynau—bombarded the city until the greater part of it was laid in ruins, and then carried the barricades at the point of the bayonet. The cruelties which he inflicted on the citizens when resistance was at an end were fit preursors of his career in Hungary.

The Genoese, who cherished a hereditary jealousy towards Piedmont, were induced by some worthless agitators to protest, by an insurrection, against the peace with Austria, and were very unwisely recognized as allies by the Republican Government at Rome; but the revolt was speedily suppressed by General Marmora.

Austria had now acquired possession of all her Italian territories with the exception of Venice. A Provisional Government had been formed in that city in March, 1848, which hastened to express its sympathy with the efforts of the Lombards to throw off the Austrian yoke. The Piazza of St. Mark heard the Republic proclaimed once more by the voice of Manin. The example was speedily followed by the other towns of the Venetian provinces. Venice passed under the authority of the commissioners representing the monarchy which Charles Albert had assumed when the Italian revolution was at its height; but four days

after this had taken place, news arrived of the armistice which the King of Sardinia had concluded with the Austrian marshal. Utter anarchy now threatened Venice, but Manin at once came to the front and informed the crowd which filled the Place of St. Mark with passionate and menacing clamours, that the rule of the Commissioners was at an end, and that an Assembly should be summoned within forty-eight hours. 'In the interval,' he added, 'I govern.' His self-constituted dictatorship was ratified by universal consent, and he certainly did all that any man could have done to preserve the freedom and independence of the famous city of the Lagoons. The armistice had the effect of partially suspending the attacks of the Austrians, who contented themselves with placing the city in a state of close blockade. But when the armistice was broken, and Charles Albert driven from the field, Venice had nothing to look for but the full brunt of their displeasure at its result. 'You have heard the tidings,' said the President Manin to the representatives of the people; 'what do you now wish to do?' The Government, it was replied, should take the initiation. 'Are ye disposed to resist?' 'We are.' 'Will you, then, give me unlimited powers to conduct the resistance without question?' 'We will.' Pressing round their noble-minded and indomitable leader, and grasping his hand, they passed in two clauses a decree as significant as it was brief—'Venice will resist the Austrians at whatever cost. For this purpose the President Manin is invested with unlimited powers.' It has been well said 'its ancient spirit was not dead in the city of Dandolo.'

When the King of Naples resolved to recall his army from the war against the Austrian domination in Italy (22nd May, 1848), he sent orders to its commander, General Pepe, either to lead back the troops from Bologna to Naples or to resign the command for that purpose to General Statella. The General obeyed the order so far as to resign his command, but with

the troops that adhered to him—between 2000 and 3000 in number—he made his way to Venice, where the Provisional Government appointed him at once Commander-in-chief. In that capacity he conducted the defence of the city—a defence which the advantages of the position and the steady endurance of the inhabitants for fifteen months enabled him to protract until August, 1849. His efforts to preserve order and discipline, as well as to encourage enterprise, are deserving of the highest commendation, while at the same time he inculcated subordination and patience on the citizens and soldiers alike as essential to a patriotic defence of their rights. In the month of June, 1849, a vigorous bombardment commenced, which, however, did little mischief, as the balls fell short of the inhabited part of the city. At length Fort Malghera, the most important point in the Venetian defences, fell into the hands of the Austrians after a defence which is thus characterized in the *Augsburg Gazette*:—'To honour praise should be given. The garrison of Malghera behaved most valiantly, and here every one acknowledges that no troops could have resisted longer.' The endurance of the inhabitants paralleled the courage of the soldiers.

Appeals were made by the Venetian President to every quarter whence help could be expected. It was impossible for Great Britain to interfere, and Lord Palmerston, no doubt with great pain, could only recommend the Venetians to accommodate matters with Austria. The intervention of France at Rome had destroyed the aid the Venetians might have expected from Central Italy. Kossuth, to whom they appealed, was in the midst of the life and death struggle with Austria for Hungarian independence, which the interference of Russia destroyed. Assailed at once by the arms of a powerful army and by disease, famine, and failure of ammunition, Venice at last capitulated on honourable terms on the 28th of August, 1849. The chief leaders, President Manin, General

Pepe, and others, escaped on board a French steamer. The 'Austro-Lombardo-Venetian' kingdom was thus completely reconstructed. The struggle for Italian freedom and unity had ended, for the present, in the restoration of the hated rule of Austria in Lombardy, and her supremacy in Italy. It would have been well for Austria herself, if it had ended otherwise. In later and better times, and under abler leaders, the struggle was renewed, with a more successful and satisfactory result than had been hoped for by the most sanguine friends of Italian freedom.

While the Austrian Emperor and the Italian sovereigns whom he supported on their thrones had thus succeeded in re-establishing their authority, the Pope was still an exile and his capital in the hands of the Republicans. Once in safety at Gaeta, the Pontiff denounced the Ministry whom, in compliance with the demands of the people, he had appointed before his flight, and instituted a temporary Commission who alone were authorized to regulate public matters during his absence from Rome. He could scarcely expect that this attempt to govern by proxy would be successful, and the members whom he had named, in fact, refused to act. Every effort was made on the part of the Ministry and others to induce the Pope to return to the Vatican, but without effect. He absolutely declined all communication with those whom he persisted in regarding as his revolted subjects. He continued to protest against every act of the Ministry as 'null and of no effect, and illegal,' and he commenced the New Year with the threat of an excommunication which caused great excitement and indignation among the Roman population. On the 8th of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly adopted a decree formally abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and establishing a Republic in Rome, at the same time declaring that the Roman Pontiff shall enjoy all the guarantees necessary for the exercise of his spiritual power. Mamiani voted against this decree,

and he retired from the Assembly on its being carried. The Pope of course issued a protest against the institution of a Republic to the representatives of the different Roman Catholic States, assembled at Gaeta for the purpose of negotiating his restoration to his dominions. And finding that his spiritual weapons had failed to bring his subjects to give absolute submission to his decrees, he made formal application, under date of February 18th, to these powers to aid him against 'an ungrateful people whom he had loaded with his benefits,' and who, his secretary Cardinal Antonelli declared, had been guilty of 'the blackest villainy' and the 'most abominable impiety.'

The Roman Catholic powers were ready and indeed eager to comply with this demand, and both Spain and Austria had previously issued a manifesto in favour of the Holy Father; and on the 18th of February a body of Austrian troops, under General Haynau, crossed the Po and entered Ferrara, on which he levied heavy exactions. A month later the Cabinet of Vienna proposed that the Governments of Austria, France, and Naples should make known to the Provisional Government of Rome their determination to take immediate steps for the restoration of the Pope to 'the full rights of the sovereignty to which he is entitled.' The Romans, however, were no way intimidated by this threat. They had on the 12th of February invited Mazzini, the celebrated democratic leader, to Rome. The title of citizen was conferred upon him, and he was proclaimed a member of the Constituent Assembly. For the purpose of insuring vigour and unity of action it was resolved that the whole executive power should be intrusted to a Triumvirate, consisting of Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, who made vigorous preparations for the defence of the city against the expected attack of the Austrians. At this stage the French Government interposed in a manner for which they received no credit from any party. They resolved to send an expedition

to Civita Vecchia, with what object it is even now difficult to explain or understand. M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, made a vague statement respecting the 'necessity to maintain the legitimate influence of France in Italy, and to obtain for the Roman population a good government founded on liberal institutions;' but the public saw in the expedition only the attempt of a Republic, established by a revolution, to suppress another Republic instituted in a similar manner and on far more justifiable grounds. Louis Napoleon and his Ministry undoubtedly expected to effect their object without violence; and they were mortified and angry that the Romans did not show the favourable or timid dispositions upon which they had counted, and that they were obliged in the face of Europe to overcome by force the resistance which they had hoped to overawe by a mere display of their power. In direct contradiction therefore to every profession made by the Assembly and Government in behalf of freedom and national independence, they despatched a French army to Rome to restore a government of priests.

The Triumvirs, however, were not at all disposed to submit to the unwarrantable interference of the French, or to the combined attacks of the Austrians and Neapolitans; and they prepared to offer a determined resistance to any and all. They levied troops, they raised money, they formed defences, and prepared the city to meet hostile assaults from whatever side they might come. Much has been said, and justly, against their political principles and not a few of their actions; but as citizens of Rome they maintained the right of the people to repudiate a bad government and to resist its restoration by foreign power. No doubt the defenders of Rome were not all Roman citizens; but they were mostly Italians, and their cause was still the cause of Italy. It was not very consistent in those who saw nothing wrong in the Pope relying for support on a French army, and the King of Naples surrounding himself by

highly paid Swiss regiments, to regard it as an inexpressible sin in the Triumvirs availing themselves of the assistance of Garibaldi and his band. This celebrated 'Free Lance Captain,' whose exploits read more like a romance than sober history, had hastened to Rome at this crisis as the last centre and stronghold of liberty in the Italian peninsula. He had under his command a motley host, composed of about 2000 men from various lands—Poles and Germans, but mostly Italians—including not only fierce and reckless adventurers, but many young men of noble and rich families, who were willing to hazard and sacrifice their lives for the cause of Italy. The conduct of the defence was committed to him, though he had no scientific knowledge of military art; and the fortifications raised on the side of the garrison were all constructed by French or Polish officers. But he was adored by his followers, and he had the art of gaining the confidence and obedience of the miscellaneous host who had repaired to Rome to defend the city and the Republic against the armies of the Catholic powers now marching to assail them. The strict discipline maintained by this adventurous leader gave, as was universally admitted, no cause for complaint respecting the conduct of his irregular forces towards the inhabitants.

The French troops destined for the expedition to Rome, consisting of about 6000 men under the command of General Oudinot, disembarked on the 25th of April at Civita Vecchia, which they immediately occupied. The French general seemed not to know whether he was likely to encounter the Austrians or Italians, and was apparently trusting to the chapter of accidents to decide. He sent forward to Rome friendly but indefinite messages, accompanied, however, with a definite request which the Government could not but regard as hostile. His mission, he said, was to protect the rights of the Roman people, to enable them in real freedom to choose a Government for themselves, and to secure them

from the attacks of reactionary enemies. For these purposes he demanded admission into the city. He was told in reply that the people needed no protection, that they had already made a free choice of a Government, and that the forces of a foreign power could enter Rome only as allies or as enemies.

Protesting that his intentions were of the most friendly nature Oudinot pursued his march, evidently under a complete delusion as to the nature of the reception that awaited him. On the 29th he arrived at the gates of Rome, where to his astonishment and grievous annoyance he found, instead of a welcome, well-levelled cannon, loop-holed houses, and formidable barricades, surmounted, it was said, as if in bitter irony, with the French declaration of the respect due to independent nationalities. His advanced guard was so gallantly attacked by the volunteers and Garibaldi's legion, that after a sharp conflict of some hours he was compelled to retreat with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, besides a considerable number of prisoners. 'To us citizens of Rome,' said the chief of the barricade commission, 'this is no surprise, but it will astonish Paris.' It did indeed. The vanity of the French was wounded to the quick, and Paris resounded with clamours of indignation. The Constituent Assembly declared by a vote that Oudinot had gone beyond the instructions with which they had authorized the expedition. The Government, however, though they now saw the false position in which they had placed themselves, were afraid to recede. They could not deny that the Romans had as much right as Frenchmen to bring about a revolution, and to choose a Republican Government; but the affront to the French arms must be wiped off, and therefore their troops must force their way into Rome if admission should still be refused. But in their awkward dilemma, between national pride and a violation of principle, they despatched M. Lesseps, as the plenipotentiary of France, to attempt an amicable solution of the difficulty.

While Oudinot was waiting for reinforcements M. Lesseps was straining every nerve to induce the Republican Government to allow the troops to enter without force; and so far did he carry his concessions that he gave his assent to a convention agreeing to acknowledge the Roman Republic and place it to a degree under French protection. The French troops were to be at liberty to choose any salubrious place in which to encamp, but Rome should be 'sacred.' Oudinot, however, refused to ratify this convention, and declared that it was contrary to his instructions, which ordered him to obtain military occupation of Rome. The French Government supported the general; the convention was disowned, and the attack on the city resumed on the 3rd of June.

While these negotiations were pending, the Neapolitan army, consisting of 15,000 men, with twenty pieces of cannon, was advancing on Rome. A detachment, with the King at their head had advanced as near the city as Albano, when they were attacked and defeated by Garibaldi. The Neapolitan king, proclaiming that he had gained a victory, ordered a *Te Deum* to be performed at Naples to celebrate his success, and fell back on the main body of his army at Velletri. Garibaldi followed him to that place, and with an inferior force of irregular troops inflicted upon the Neapolitan forces a second defeat, so complete as to make it impossible, even for the King, to offer a second thanksgiving for a fictitious victory. The Neapolitan army fled across the frontier in such confusion and terror that if Garibaldi, who followed the fugitives to the banks of the Volturnus, had not been recalled to meet the expected renewal of the French attack, there is great probability that he would have made his way to Naples.

The French general was charged by the Romans with a breach of faith in recommencing the attack before the truce was at an end. They made a determined resistance, but they must have known from the first

that it was hopeless. The environs of the city suffered severely in the desperate struggle. The Villa Borghese, the place of common recreation for the Roman people, with its beautiful grounds, was laid in ruins, and so was the Villa Pamphili-Doria, even more beautiful in position and more elaborately decorated, which was taken and retaken several times, and at last destroyed by fire. The soft brick walls which guarded the hill called Mount Janiculum—a large space of ground covered with vineyards and gardens—were shattered by the heavy battering cannon of the besiegers, and the breaches were pronounced practicable. On the 23rd the assailants succeeded in establishing themselves on two points in the wall of Aurelian where it follows the slope of Mount Janiculum down towards the Tiber. On the 29th they stormed, after a fierce and sanguinary struggle, the batteries close to the San Pancrazio gate, on the very crest of the hill—the highest ground in Rome. In these desperate contests great loss of life was suffered by both sides. In one bastion 400 of the defenders, including some of their best officers, lay slain on the spot, and 120 were taken prisoners. The French loss at this spot was 60 killed and 120 wounded. As the city now lay open and completely exposed to the shells of the enemy, further resistance would have only led to its total destruction. The Republican Government therefore rightly intimated to the French General that it ceased from a defence which had become useless. On the 3rd of July, after a siege of sixty-nine days, General Oudinot entered Rome, without a capitulation, but unresisted. As a writer bitterly hostile to the Romans admits, the French ‘could scarcely be said to have taken possession of the city as conquerors. The honour of their arms has been tarnished, and the besieged derived more credit from their defeat than the besiegers from their success.’

As they entered on one side Garibaldi, with whom they declined to make terms, withdrew on the other. That famous

guerilla leader, for whom a brilliant destiny was in store, made his adventurous way through and across Central Italy. Foiling his French pursuers he threaded the Apennines from Tivoli to Terni, and from Terni to Arezzo, levying rations and contributions in spite of the Austrian pursuing columns, who repeatedly assailed, but failed to crush his small band of followers. After hardships and dangers almost incredible he reached Venice—worn out with toil and almost alone—in time to accept a command in the final struggle for Italian freedom and independence.

General Oudinot, on taking possession of the city, issued a proclamation dissolving the Assembly and abolishing the Government, and declaring all the powers of the State to be vested in the military authorities. The Pope did not return at once to Rome, but sent three Cardinal-Commissioners who issued his decrees dissolving all provincial municipalities, restoring the tribunals abolished by the Provisional Government, dismissing all public servants appointed by the Republican Government, and reinstating the old officials. His Holiness some time after issued a proclamation declaring his intention to establish institutions calculated to insure to his subjects ‘suitable liberties,’ and promising to grant an amnesty ‘with certain restrictions.’ When the amnesty was published it did not increase the popularity of the Pope and his advisers, as the ‘restrictions’ consisted in excepting from its benefits the members of the Provisional Government, of the Constituent Assembly who took part in its deliberations, the Triumvirate, the members of the Republican Government, the heads of the military corps, and all persons who, having been already amnestied, had taken part in the ‘late political disorders.’ Nine months elapsed before the Pope quitted his place of refuge and returned to his capital. There was little manifestation of feeling against him personally, and still less in his favour, as he made his way to the Vatican through streets lined with

foreign troops. The institutions he had promised had no effect in conciliating his subjects or in solving the difficult problem of the future government of the Papal territories. It was confidently asserted at the time by intelligent Englishmen of all parties, who were eye-witnesses of the state of matters, 'that the willing acquiescence of the inhabitants of the Roman States in a government of priests was over.' 'French protection,' it was added, 'Austrian

dominion, anything that can render itself respected through sheer force, if not otherwise, may be permanent while the force lasts; but a *régime* of cardinals is not to be borne. Rome now obeys not the priest but the soldier. Let the soldier withdraw and what would become of the priest?' Twenty years later, when merited retribution had overtaken the French ruler and his subjects, this pertinent question was answered in the way so confidently anticipated.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Hungarian Revolution—Constitution of the Kingdom—Constant attempts of the Austrian Rulers to destroy it—Policy of Francis I.—Its ingratitude—Kossuth's career—Imprisonment—Election to the Diet and great influence—Concessions made to the Hungarians by the Emperor Ferdinand—Insincerity of the Austrian Court party—Count Batthyáni's Ministry—Intrigues of the Camarilla with Jellachich—The Croats invade Hungary—Their defeat—Murder of Count Lamberg—Conduct of the Austrian Government—Outbreak in Vienna—Measures of defence adopted by the Diet against an Austrian invasion—Physical Conformation of Hungary—Its means of defence—Arthur Görgei—His Military talents and exploits—Austrian invading army—Prince Windischgrätz—The Hungarian Forces and Generals—Their skilful strategy—Two Parties among the Patriots—Abdication of Ferdinand and elevation of Francis Joseph to the throne—Görgei's Declaration at Waitzen—His famous Retreat to the Upper Theiss—Dembinski made Commander-in-Chief—His removal—Is replaced by Görgei—Hungarian Victories—The Austrians driven out of Hungary—New Constitution promulgated by the Austrian Government—The Hungarian Diet declare that the House of Hapsburg has forfeited the Crown—Dissatisfaction of Görgei and the officers of the Army—General Welden appointed to the command of the Austrian forces—His incapacity—Is succeeded by Baron Haynau—Russian intervention—The Hungarians outnumbered—Movements of Dembinski and Görgei—Defeat of the Hungarians at Temesvár—General Bem—Görgei appointed Dictator—His surrender to the Russians—The Fortress of Comorn surrendered by Klapka—Atrocities perpetrated by Haynau—Eleven Generals and Count Batthyáni put to death—Kossuth and others take refuge in Turkey—Austria and Russia demand their Extradition—The Sultan's refusal—He is supported by Great Britain and France—The demand withdrawn.

OF all the movements that had taken place in Continental Europe during the year 1848, the Hungarian revolution was the most important, and had excited the deepest interest in Great Britain. After the battle of Mohacs (A.D. 1526) had extinguished the royal line of Jagellon, the Hungarians elected Ferdinand I. of Austria as their sovereign; but before his coronation with the crown of St. Stephen he took a solemn oath to preserve and transmit unimpaired the immunities of the Hungarian people. This coronation oath was renewed in 1687, when the elective crown was entailed on the house of Hapsburg. It was fully recognized by the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723, when the right of succession to the Austrian domains was extended to the heirs female of Charles VI. It was imposed in 1790, with fresh guarantees, upon the Emperor Leopold; and by the tenth article of the enlarged compact entered into between the Hungarian people and Leopold, it was declared that 'Hungary was a country free and independent in her entire system of legislation and government; that she was not subject to any other people or any other State; but that she should have her own separate existence and her own constitution, and should be governed by kings crowned

according to her national laws and customs.' The twenty-five articles of the 'Diploma of Inauguration' in 1790, after generally affirming the independence of the crown, the laws, and the privileges of Hungary, proceed to decree, among other enactments, triennial convocation of the Diet, exclusion of 'foreigners'—that is, of Austrians—from the government, and the residence of the emperor-king during a portion of every year in his Hungarian dominions. They declare that the king can neither make laws nor impose taxes without the consent of the Diet, and that royal proclamations, unless countersigned by one at least of the heads of the Hungarian government, are null and void. The Hungarian institutions, as old as the connection of Hungary and Austria, have been solemnly recognized and renewed at every election or succession to the throne.

The House of Hapsburg, however, with their usual disregard of their most solemn oaths and promises, have time after time attempted to convert the constitutional kingdom of Hungary into an Austrian dependency. Although the Hungarians have repeatedly saved the monarchy from destruction, especially in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, and have shed

their blood like water in defence of their sovereign at most critical times, yet the Austrian emperors have systematically misgoverned the country, and have never ceased in their efforts to destroy its national rights and privileges. Five times in the course of a single century—from 1606 to 1701—were the Hungarian people compelled to rise in defence of their constitution and of their liberty of conscience, when threatened by the Austrian sovereigns. At the same time they not only submitted to repeated and exorbitant demands for men and money, but when the empire was in difficulty and distress they even abstained from exacting, in return for their generous support, a redress of their grievances. Francis I. repeatedly attempted to change the relations between Austria and Hungary, and yet when the victories of Napoleon were shattering the unity of Austria and threatening the dissolution of the empire, the appeals of their ungrateful sovereign for help were answered by the Hungarians with enthusiastic devotion to their country's cause. During the twenty years of nearly incessant war which followed the first French Revolution, Hungary was the foremost bulwark of the Austrian empire, and furnished her best troops, her commissariat, and her magazines.

Hungary was rewarded for these services and sacrifices with the characteristic ingratitude of the Austrian Government. On the restoration of peace in 1813, Francis I., under the guidance of Metternich, and unmindful of his coronation oath and solemn compacts, made systematic endeavours to abridge or cancel the undeniable immunities of the Hungarian monarchy. The great object of the Austrian Prime Minister was to degrade the kingdom into a subject province, and to place it upon the same footing with the hereditary States of the empire. For this purpose a Court party was sedulously fostered in the country and the Chambers, and a number of the magnates were gained over by the flattering

attentions of the Court. Hungarian regiments were put under the command of Austrian officers, the censorship of the press was rigorously enforced, the currency was depreciated, and heavy and vexatious imposts and absurd fiscal regulations were imposed on the trade of the country, in order, it was said, that Hungary might be smothered in her own fat. For twelve years no meeting of the Diet was held, and nearly every article of the constitution of 1790 was either openly violated or craftily evaded. In 1822 and 1823 the Viennese Cabinet attempted, in the most arbitrary manner, to levy taxes and raise troops in Hungary, in express violation of the nineteenth article of the 'Diploma' of Leopold II., and of many preceding charters; but the imposing attitude taken up by the Diet in 1825 compelled the Emperor not only to withdraw and apologize for the illegal attempt, but to pledge himself by three additional articles to observe the fundamental laws of his Hungarian kingdom, to convoke the Diet at least once in three years, and not to levy subsidies without its concurrence. The Austrian Government, however, did not relinquish their attempts to set aside the Hungarian Constitution, and to obstruct all attempts to improve the condition of the people; but they were obliged to carry out their policy in a more covert and insidious manner.

At this period the celebrated Louis Kossuth came to the front, and assumed the position of leader of the movement in Hungary for carrying out and improving its constitutional requirements. This popular leader, whose career has been so largely interwoven with the efforts to promote free institutions on the Continent, was born on the 27th of April, 1806, at Monok, in the district of Zemplin. His father was of noble birth, but not in affluent circumstances, and he acted as Procurator-Fiscal to Baron Vecsey, who took charge of the education of young Louis and sent him to college. He was a diligent student; but a knowledge of the history of Hungary roused his

indignation against Austria, and with his characteristic impetuosity he denounced the tyranny of the Government in such vigorous terms that the public service was closed against him, and he resolved to follow the profession of his father. In the year 1832 a public career opened to him, and he became delegate for the Countess Szàpary in the Diet of Presburg. He now resolved to make use of the press for the purpose of giving expression to his opinions, and commenced a lithographed journal in which he gave an account of the proceedings of the Diet. This journal was soon prohibited by the authorities; but other means were found to circulate information on public affairs, and Kossuth established a system of correspondence which grew into national importance. Again the authorities interfered; and Kossuth, affirming that there was no legal censorship of the press in Hungary, sought the protection of the municipal council of Pesth. He was in consequence arrested and conveyed to the fortress of Buda. His trial was suspended for more than a year, during which he was kept in solitary confinement and prohibited from holding any communication with his relatives or friends. In 1839 Kossuth was condemned by a court-martial to four years' imprisonment. He was, however, allowed the choice of books, provided that they had no political tendency; and he selected the works of Shakspeare, for the purpose of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English language. In 1840 the elections to the Diet were favourable to the popular party, and a powerful opposition claimed justice for the political prisoners. The Government were compelled to yield, a general amnesty was granted, and Kossuth was set at liberty. He now undertook the management of a journal called the *Pesth Hirlap*, which started on January 2nd, 1841, with sixty subscribers. Two months later it had reached a circulation of 6000. Kossuth's articles showed that he was first of all Hungarian, and then Liberal. So far from

cherishing democratic views he announced to the nobles that the national party were quite prepared to act with them, and under their orders, if the nobles were willing; but that progress must be made, whether the nobles were willing or not. After conducting the journal for three years and a half, Kossuth was deprived of the editorship by the proprietor, through an intrigue of the Chancellor, and devoted himself to the establishment of national societies for the encouragement of home industry. Count Casimir Batthyányi was the president of the first of these societies, which in the autumn of 1846 consisted of about 154 members, representing various parts of Hungary. Through the influence of these societies, trade and commerce received a powerful impulse. New establishments were opened in every district of the country, and home manufactures everywhere replaced foreign productions. In order to suppress the spirit which had originated these operations, the Government resolved to supersede the Lord Lieutenants of the counties—usually influential noblemen—by a class of officials called administrators, who were appointed to preside at the county meetings, to watch their proceedings, and to employ bribery and corruption, as well as intimidation, to prevent the adoption of any measure hostile to the designs of the Court. This measure excited great alarm among the friends of constitutional government, and was keenly discussed both in the county assemblies and in the press.

In the year 1847, when the new elections were to take place, the National party resolved to return Kossuth for Pesth; and so strong was the hold his principles had obtained on the citizens that he was elected by nearly 3000 votes against 1300. At the period when Kossuth took his seat in the Diet, Europe was in a state of great disquietude; and in the course of a few months the French Revolution, as we have seen, sent a wave of turmoil and tumult over nearly the whole Continent. Hungary at first was tranquil;

but the National party were not disposed to lose the opportunity of obtaining the constitutional reforms which they had long solicited, but without effect, from the Austrian Government. In March, 1848, Kossuth moved that the Diet should demand from the Emperor the emancipation of the serfs, with compensation to the nobles for the loss of their services, equality of duties and privileges among all classes, a free and unbiassed representation of the people, and a separate Hungarian Ministry, responsible to the Diet alone, with the Palatine as Viceroy. These proposals were carried by acclamation. A deputation, headed by Count Batthyáni, and consisting of eighty deputies, proceeded to Vienna for the purpose of submitting their requests to His Imperial Majesty. They were welcomed with enthusiasm by the citizens of the capital, their petition was after some delay acceded to by the Emperor, and Count Batthyáni was appointed the first President of the Ministry, which consisted of Prince Esterhazy, Count Szechenyi, Baron Eötvös, Francis Deak, Kossuth, and other men of high character and position in the country, who were all steady supporters of the connection between Austria and Hungary. But the Austrian Camarilla, with the hereditary and apparently ineradicable faithlessness and dishonesty which from the earliest period have characterized the House of Hapsburg,* had no intention of keeping their pledges, and only waited for the first convenient opportunity of violating them. It appears from a letter from the Palatine, the Archduke Stephen, to the Emperor, dated the 24th March, 1848, that the royal word was not intended by the imperial advisers to be a real security for the fulfilment of these promises. The Viennese Cabinet secretly reserved the liberty of retracting its concessions on the first opportunity, and accordingly the Archduke proposes in that letter three methods of abrogating the Hungarian immunities—a peasants' war to be excited against the

nobles, a commission to be armed with martial law, or a temporary compromise with Count Batthyáni, the head of the Hungarian Ministry. These proposals were quite in keeping with the character and policy of the Austrian Court; but they were not then prepared to adopt the more violent alternative, and they were already preparing a fraudulent scheme of their own devising, by which they hoped in the end to nullify the concessions which the Emperor had made to Hungary and to the other provinces of the Empire.

The new Diet, under the guidance of the new Ministry, lost no time in effecting a number of much-needed reforms. They passed laws abolishing all feudal privileges, establishing general and equitable taxation for all classes, the extension of the franchise to the common people, the equality of all religious bodies, the reunion of Transylvania with the mother country, liberty of the press, and trial by jury. A law had been passed too precipitately by the Diet in 1843, requiring that the Magyar language should be used in the central courts of administration, in the public schools, and in the Diet. The Croatian deputies, however, were exempted from using the Hungarian tongue in the Diet for the next six years; but notwithstanding this concession the enactment gave rise to a feeling of deep animosity among the Croats, and helped to excite them to take up arms against the Hungarian Government. The policy of the Camarilla, however, had not yet been made apparent, and on the 11th of April, 1848, the Emperor, in the character of King of Hungary, repaired to Presburg and closed the Diet, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.

The policy of the Austrian Cabinet at this period was to gain time, and to patch up such a Ministry as should really compromise nothing, and yet help to save appearances. The old absolute monarchy had indeed been just converted into a constitutional one. The veteran Metternich was in exile, and Count Sedlnitzky,

* See Shakspeare's 'King John,' Act iii.

the obnoxious Minister of Police, had been obliged to flee for his life. But no change had been made in the spirit of the Government, and the substance of power still remained in the hands of the Court party, who were merely waiting and watching their opportunity to neutralize the new constitution, and to restore absolutism. Meanwhile they set themselves to excite the jealousy of the other races in Hungary against the Magyars, and to stir them up to rise in arms against the Government at Pesth. This diabolical scheme originated with the Archduchess Sophia, the mother of the present emperor—a woman of unbounded ambition, who by her ability and determination had gained the reputation of being the *only man* of the Hapsburg family. The Greek priests and officers in the Austrian army were the chief instruments employed in carrying out her nefarious policy. In Transylvania the Wallachs were stimulated to take up arms by Colonel Urban, and, inflamed against their former feudal lords, they destroyed the Magyars and everything belonging to them with indiscriminate fury. In the military frontier and the Banat the Servians were instigated, or rather betrayed, into revolt by their Archbishop, Rajachich, aided by Stratimirovich, an Austrian officer; while Croatia was forced into rebellion by another military officer, the notorious Jellachich, who carried out his plans by packing a Diet, and excluding from it the legal members and county magistrates. He summoned a Congress or Diet to meet at Agram on the 5th of June, for Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. The Austrian Government declared that the meeting would be illegal, and the Ban was summoned by the Emperor to repair to Innsbruck, where the Court was then residing, to give an account of his conduct. He refused to obey the command, and the Congress of the 'Croatish-Slavonic nation' was held in defiance of the Imperial prohibition. The deputies formally invested Jellachich by their own authority with the office of Ban, which he

had hitherto held under the grant of the Emperor. In consequence of these proceedings, Jellachich was proclaimed a rebel, and was by a royal decree stripped of all his offices and titles.

The Croatian leader had good reason, however, to believe that his contumacious conduct was regarded with approbation by the Court party, and in the course of a few weeks it was proclaimed that the Emperor was satisfied of his fidelity to the throne. A meeting was held at Vienna between the Ban and Count Batthyáni, with the view of making an amicable arrangement; but as Jellachich 'limited his demands,' as he said, 'to the fusion of the war, financial, and foreign departments of the Hungarian Government with the administration of the whole empire at Vienna,' no agreement could be made, and the Croatian chief declared his determination to appeal to the sword. Meanwhile an incident had occurred which greatly strengthened the hands of the Hungarian Ministry in the struggle which was impending. The Diet of Transylvania had come to a vote decreeing the union of that province with the kingdom of Hungary, and the surrender without reserve of their own independent rights. By this important step the Magyar inhabitants of Hungary received a reinforcement of 1,500,000 men.

The Hungarian Diet was convoked at Pesth on the 2nd of July, with the avowed object of making vigorous preparations to meet the invasion of the savage Croats whom Jellachich was bringing into the field. In his speech from the throne the Palatine, who opened the Diet as vice-regent, declared the determination of the King to protect the integrity of the Hungarian Constitution, though he was at that moment engaged in the plot for its destruction. The secret object of the Austrian Camarilla in convoking the Diet at this time, was the hope of obtaining from it fresh levies of troops for the war in Italy. This preposterous idea was not likely to be realized at the moment when Hungary

itself was about to be invaded by the Croats and Rascians, at the instigation of the Viennese Cabinet. The Hungarian treasury was empty; but the Diet decreed an issue of paper money to support the expenses of the war—an act, however, which was disallowed by the Imperial Government. At the same time considerable sums were voluntarily contributed by the people, who brought not only money, but jewelry, gold and silver ornaments, and other articles of value to replenish the national treasury; many poor women gave their wedding rings, the only precious metal in their possession. Early in the month of August the Croatian troops entered the Comitatus of Torontó, and laid siege to Grand-Beeskerik, one of the most important cities of Hungary. The country on the Lower Theiss and the Danube, a district which was called the granary of Hungary, was laid waste by these rude and ruthless marauders, and some of the regiments sent to oppose them, being composed of Slaves, refused to act against the invaders. In this emergency the Diet, on the 5th of September, sent a deputation of Hungarian magnates and deputies to wait upon the Emperor at Vienna to represent to him the position of affairs—the safety of the kingdom threatened by insurgents, whose leaders declared that they were in arms on His Majesty's behalf, and its integrity assailed by men under pretence of upholding the royal authority. They called upon the Emperor to put an end to these disorders, to disregard the reactionary counsels of his advisers, to sanction the measures voted by the Diet, and to come to Pesth, where his presence was necessary to save the country.

The poor Emperor, however, was not permitted to respond to this address in a straightforward and satisfactory manner. An evasive and hollow reply was put into his mouth, which caused deep disappointment to the deputation, and was received by the citizens of Pesth and the Diet with strong expressions of resentment. It was

resolved on September 17th to make an appeal to the National Assembly at Vienna for aid against the Croatian invasion, which had now almost reached their doors. Jellachich, who had been greatly encouraged by the Archduchess Sophia, and had received supplies of artillery and ammunition from Latour, the Minister of War, had crossed the Drave, the boundary between Hungary and Croatia, and marching rapidly across Southern Hungary had reached Stuhlweissenburg, within a short distance of the capital. On crossing the frontier he had issued, on the 11th of September, a proclamation declaring that his taking up arms was 'inspired only by pure love of his country and fidelity to our King.' His object, he said, was to 'deliver the country from the yoke of an incapable, odious, and rebel Government'—a Government, however, which had been appointed by the Emperor himself, and was acting under his authority. The Hungarian Ministry responded to this proclamation on the 14th of September by a levy *en masse*, and everything indicated the approach of a mortal struggle between the Croats and the Hungarians. An interview between the Palatine and the Ban was to have taken place on a steamer on the Lake Balaton; but when the vessel bore down Jellachich refused to go on board, on the plea that the Imperial colours were not displayed. He evidently fancied that the Hungarian capital would surrender to him probably without resistance.

At this critical moment the news reached Pesth that the National Assembly at Vienna had, mainly through the influence of the Bohemian members, by a majority of 186 to 108, refused to receive the Hungarian deputation. The affront was keenly felt by the Diet, and helped not a little to strengthen the existing feeling against Austria. Strong suspicions had all along been entertained that the Ban had invaded Hungary with the connivance and approval of the Austrian Camarilla; but letters were now intercepted, and published in Vienna, which placed this

beyond a doubt, and showed that the Imperial Government had secretly supplied him with large sums of money. An attempt had even been made to compel all the commanders of the Hungarian garrisons to submit to Jellachich, but without success; and the commander of Comörn had received orders from Latour to surrender to the Ban, which, however, he refused to obey. The discovery of this treacherous conduct excited the deepest indignation among the Hungarians of all classes. The Archduke Stephen, the Palatine, who had throughout secretly promoted the intrigues of the Austrian Court, now fled to Vienna, expressing his deep regret for the fate which he saw impending over Hungary and the Monarchy; Count Batthyáni resigned his office; and the Diet in this extremity intrusted Kossuth with full powers to provide for the defence of the country.

On the day after the Palatine returned to Vienna Count Lamberg, a nobleman of large possessions in Hungary and Carinthia, was appointed by the Emperor generalissimo of all the forces in Hungary, with power to act as the Viceroy of that kingdom. On the 27th of September the Diet declared that Lamberg's commission was illegal, as it had not been countersigned by any Minister, and intimated that his mission would expose him to serious danger. Two days later Count Lamberg arrived at Buda. He had imprudently travelled without any military escort, and refused contemptuously to avail himself of the protection offered him on his arrival. The streets were thronged with excited crowds, and breathless messengers rushed in with the news that an action was at that moment going on at Stuhlweissenburg, about six hours' ride from the capital, and that the Ban had met with a defeat. Lamberg, in the midst of this uproar, was proceeding to place himself under the protection of the Diet, which was sitting in Pesth, and had reached the middle of the bridge across the Danube, which separates the two cities, when his carriage was stopped by an infuriated mob, who murdered him.

When the news of this shocking catastrophe reached Vienna the Court and Cabinet at once threw off the mask, and by an Imperial decree, dated the 3rd of October, it was announced that all the troops in Hungary and the adjoining lands were placed under the command of Lieutenant Field-Marshal Baron Joseph Jellachich, with whom the Cabinet, as we have seen, had been in close communication throughout; that martial law was proclaimed in Hungary; and that the Ban 'is hereby appointed Commissary-Plenipotentiary of our Royal Majesty, with full and unlimited powers.' It was declared at the same time, by another proclamation, that the Hungarian Diet was dissolved, and that all the acts done by it without the sanction of the Emperor were void.

The publication of these edicts caused a great excitement in Vienna, which was already on the brink of a convulsion. The Richter battalion of grenadiers, which for many years had been quartered in Vienna, was ordered on the 5th of October to march to Hungary. The order was received on the evening of that day with strong indications of dissatisfaction, and a numerous deputation of students and National Guards marched down to applaud them. A peremptory order was issued that they should start at four o'clock on the morning of the 6th, but they were with difficulty induced to begin their march, and an immense crowd collected and blocked the suspension bridge across the Danube which led to the railway station. The tocsin now rang through the city; every minute the excitement increased, and the mob assumed a more threatening aspect. An attempt to capture a gun led to a collision between the populace and the Nassau regiment of the line, and the streets became the scene of a sanguinary conflict, in which all ranks and all classes—National Guards, citizens, and even soldiers fighting on both sides—took part, and which terminated, as we have seen, in the temporary triumph of the insurgents.

The insurrection was ultimately most

injurious to the cause of constitutional freedom and order, as well as to the interests of the Viennese; but it had the effect of procuring a respite of some months for the Hungarians, and afforded them time to organize a vigorous defence of their rights and privileges. On the 8th of October Kossuth was appointed by the Diet President of the kingdom of Hungary, and at once adopted the most vigorous measures to repel the Austrian invasion, which he was well aware would take place as soon as the Viennese Cabinet could make the requisite preparations. An army of 200,000 men was levied and organized. Powder-mills, cannon foundries, manufactories of muskets, percussion-caps, and saltpetre sprang up with marvellous rapidity; and before the Austrian Camarilla had succeeded in suppressing the insurrections in their own dominions, Hungary was in a condition to hold her own against any force that the Imperial Government was prepared to bring against her.

The physical conformation of Hungary, as well as the numbers, the character, and the training of its inhabitants, afford peculiar facilities for defensive warfare. The Carpathian Mountains, which form its northern bulwark, extend from Presburg and the Danube to Transylvania, a space of 400 English miles, broken by only three considerable passes, while the continuation of this lofty barrier is crossed by only four narrow defiles to the east and south—the approaches to Bukovina, Moldavia, and Wallachia. On the south the Carnian Alps and the rivers Saave and Danube afford a frontier almost equally impracticable to an invader; but the plains and hills on the west, towards the Styrian Mountains, are more adapted to the action of large bodies of troops, and therefore less capable of defence. Hungary is divided by the Danube, the Drave, and the Theiss into three portions of unequal extent, and the course of these great rivers very materially affected the military operations which were about to take place. The Danube enters the king-

dom at Presburg, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, where it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course as far as the confines of Slavonia, where it is joined by the Drave and resumes its easterly direction, and flows on till it reaches the Black Sea. The other great river of Hungary is the Theiss, which rises in the north-east, and for the greater part of its course flows nearly due south, until it joins the Danube, between Peterwardein and Belgrade. The country is bounded on the north by Moravia and Galicia, on the south by Croatia and Slavonia and the Banat, on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina, and on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. It is thus entirely surrounded by other provinces of the Austrian empire.

But notwithstanding this disadvantage, the character of the country, its fortresses, its great rivers (which sometimes hurry in rapid torrents and sometimes stagnate in lakes and morasses), and the nature of the roads, which in many districts are little better than driftways and tracks, bad in all seasons, and nearly impassable in autumn and winter, afford great facilities for defence against an invading army unacquainted with the country and encumbered with baggage and artillery. The Austrians no doubt had a great advantage at the commencement of the contest in the possession of a numerous, well-disciplined, and efficient army. But on the other hand, it was no easy task to attempt the subjugation of a population of at least 14,000,000, eminently warlike in disposition, who had almost all received some military training, and were determined to strain every nerve to maintain the constitution of the kingdom and their personal rights and liberties against the centralization and despotic rule of the Austrian Government.

The commencement of the contest in the field brought to the front Arthur Görgei, who had hitherto lived in obscurity, but whose name is indelibly associated with the Hungarian war, and whose ex-

plots show him to have possessed military talents of a very high order. He was born in 1818 at Topportz, an estate of his family, in the county of Zips, in the north of Hungary. His ancestors had for centuries distinguished themselves in the Imperial armies. He was educated at Eperies, and afterwards at the Military College of Tuln, whence he entered the Hungarian Noble Guard at Vienna. He was promoted within four years to a lieutenancy in the Palatine Hussars; but on his marriage he quitted the service, and withdrew into the country to devote himself to the study of chemistry, in which he is said to have attained remarkable proficiency. He was in this retired situation when the quarrel began between the Austrian Camarilla and the Hungarian Government.. He at once joined the National Militia, and at the commencement of the war held the post of a major in the 5th battalion of Honvéds, and was employed in drilling them into a regular force. When the corps of Roth and Jellachich was menacing the Hungarian capital, Görgei was sent with his small contingent to the isle of Czepele, below Pesth, with orders to hinder, if possible, the junction of these commanders; but especially to prevent their crossing the Danube. His skilful assistance brought the operations of Moriz Perczel's corps against the rear of the Croats, commanded by General Roth, to a speedy and successful termination, in spite of the blunders and resentment of Perczel himself. The whole of the Croatian corps, consisting of 10,000 men, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Meanwhile a battle had taken place on the 29th of September, at Pákozd, about 25 miles from Pesth, between the main body of the Croat forces, under Jellachich, and the Hungarians, in which the invaders were defeated. The Croatian leader fled towards the Austrian frontier during a three days' armistice which was granted him, and united his forces to those of Prince Windischgrätz, who was preparing to besiege Vienna.

The war had now begun in earnest; and Görgei, whose ability and firmness in presiding on the court-martial which condemned Count Zichy to death as 'a traitor to the fatherland,' had attracted the attention of the Committee of Defence, was despatched to the main body of the army, then commanded by General Móga, on the Leitha, which forms the extreme frontier of the kingdom of Vienna. It was proposed that the Hungarians should advance to the relief of the capital, which was then blockaded by Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich; but Móga was an incapable general, and besides was not hearty in the cause, and remained for a fortnight in a state of indecision and inactivity. He at last (October 30th) advanced to the aid of the insurgents, but committed a series of blunders which were fatal to the movement, and was ignominiously defeated at the battle of Schwechat. Fortunately the enemy did not follow up their success, otherwise the Hungarian army might have been completely destroyed. Matters were in a very critical state, for Windischgrätz would obviously soon be in a condition to follow up his victory, and no systematic defence had as yet been arranged. It was in these urgent and perilous circumstances that the command of the defeated army was offered to Görgei, and accepted by him.

As soon as the city of Vienna had been stormed and taken by Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich, the Austrian Government resolved to invade Hungary and suppress the Government at Pesth. For this purpose they mustered at Vienna an army of 49,118 infantry, 7236 cavalry, and 258 guns. Prince Windischgrätz, the commander-in-chief, took the field with about 37,000 foot, 6200 horses, and 216 guns. A second body of troops, under General Nugent, was stationed on the frontiers of Styria. A detachment of 7000 men, commanded by General Schlick, was to operate in Austrian Silesia and Galicia. Another force of about 5000 Croatian troops was posted in the Banat, and there was

also a division in Transylvania, under General Pückner and Colonel Urban.

The principal army of the Hungarians was on the Upper Danube, under Görgei, and appears to have been composed of about 28,000 men and seventy or eighty guns. Bem, a Polish officer of great military skill and experience, who had just escaped from Vienna—it is said in a coffin—was sent to take the command of a body of troops stationed in Transylvania, where his brilliant successes fully vindicated the wisdom of his appointment. Guyon, an Irish soldier of fortune, was despatched against the Austrian general Simunich, who headed a detachment of troops which had already penetrated as far as Tyrnau in the north. A levy of 200,000 men had, as we have seen, been decreed by the Diet on the 11th of July, and the formation of Honvéd corps had been conducted with the utmost activity and speed; but meanwhile the defence of the country depended mainly on the regular forces in Hungary, which consisted of some of the finest troops in the Imperial service. At the commencement of the war 2402 pieces of ordnance fell into the hands of the Committee of National Defence, 872 of which were field-pieces fit for service; and, under the management of the 5th Regiment of Artillery, contributed not a little to the successes of the patriotic army.

In the month of December, 1848, the Austrian forces, estimated in all at 130,000 men, moving concentrically from nine different quarters, passed the frontiers of Hungary. Prince Windischgrätz left Schönbrun confident of returning with victory and the title of the conqueror of Hungary. He sent before him a proclamation, bearing the king's signature, which was dispersed in great numbers by his agents, calling upon the people to submit at once to his authority, and threatening with immediate death any person taken with a weapon of any description in his possession. He seems to have expected that the patriots would make an uncondi-

tional surrender. Meanwhile, in accordance with a plan proposed by Görgei for concentrating the defence of the country behind the Theiss, the Government retired to Debreczin. The district in which Debreczin is situated, lying beyond the Theiss and to the north of the Maros, is for many reasons the strongest position in Hungary. These rivers are broad, sluggish, and deep. The Theiss flows between a vast expanse of marshy banks, insomuch that there are only six places between the mountains and the Danube where it can be crossed at all, and of these only two are in Upper Hungary. Debreczin was therefore beyond the reach of the invading armies; and during the remainder of the war was the headquarters of the Hungarian Government, while the General was left either to fight a battle at Ofen or to convey his army to the left bank of the Danube, where the strong fortress of Comorn afforded him a secure position. Windischgrätz set out from Vienna on the 23rd of December, and advanced without opposition to the vicinity of Raab, where the Hungarians, who had no intention of defending that place, contrived to detain him nearly a week—a delay of great importance to their operations; and then after a skirmish with the invaders they retreated unmolested, carrying off all their guns and military stores. On the 4th and 5th of January Görgei passed the Danube at Waitzen, and on the same day at Pesth the Austrians crossed the river upon the ice, which was sufficiently thick to support even their artillery, and took possession of the capital.

Indications had already been given of a serious difference of opinion among the Hungarian patriots respecting the object of the contest with Austria. Kossuth and a Republican party, including a considerable number of Poles and other foreigners, wished a complete separation from the Austrian empire, and the establishment in Hungary of a Democratic Republic. Görgei, on the other hand, and all the moderate Hungarian leaders were contend-

ing for the recognition of their ancient constitutional liberties. They had no desire to expel the Hapsburg family from the throne, or to make an attack on the existence of the united Austrian monarchy; and, in order to retain the regular troops for the Hungarian cause, Görgei issued at Waitzen an explicit declaration to that effect. 'The Hungarian armed rising,' he said, 'was purely monarchical-constitutional, and herein lay its strength, for it was to this circumstance alone that it owed the co-operation of the regular troops. In 1848 the agitations in favour of the arming succeeded only when they were attempted in the name of the King.' The ground taken up at first, and held throughout by Görgei and the other members of the moderate section of the Liberal party in Hungary, was that the court had behaved to them with duplicity and treachery, had attempted to destroy the fundamental rights of their ancient constitution, had instigated the Croatian resistance to the Hungarian Government, and had made the opposition of the Diet to these unjustifiable proceedings a pretext for absorbing the kingdom of Hungary into the empire of Austria by the destruction of all that was independent in its institutions.

The justice of these declarations could not be gainsaid, and the position of these moderate Liberals was greatly strengthened by the abdication, or rather deposition, of the poor Emperor, who had sufficient intellect to plead the oath he had sworn to maintain the Hungarian Constitution. 'But my oath! my oath!' exclaimed the weak but upright monarch, when urged to give his assent to a decree abolishing that Constitution. It became necessary, therefore, to remove him from the throne, and the Camarilla (the chief member of which was the Archduchess Sophia, his sister-in-law—'the modern Agrippina') resolved to place the crown on the head, not of her husband, but of her son Francis Joseph, a youth not yet twenty years of age, as if 'a constitutional throne were a

mere matter of family arrangement.' This step was a flagrant violation of the Hungarian Constitution, which expressly declares that 'the King cannot be discharged from the duties of sovereignty without the consent of the nation;' and until Francis Joseph's coronation took place at Presburg, with the ancient crown of Stephen, he was neither *de jure* nor *de facto* King of Hungary. As if to strengthen the case against Austria, and to show how completely the councillors of the young Emperor disregarded the rights of the various provinces of the empire and the most solemn obligations to maintain them, they represented to him that Austrian unity required the abolition of the laws and immunities which his predecessors had sworn to maintain, and they issued, on the 7th of March, 1849, what was termed the *Charte Octroyée*, the composition of Count Stadion and the ex-advocate Bach, which cancelled all the peculiar laws and privileges of the various provinces, abolished the Hungarian Constitution, and placed the whole empire under one form of government, under which mere empty forms were accorded to the people, and all real power was reserved for the Cabinet at Vienna.

It would appear that a part of the regular troops in Hungary had at this time some misgivings as to the lawfulness of resistance to the royal authority, and for the purpose of satisfying their scruples, as well as of defining the position which he and the other leaders of the Constitutional party occupied, Görgei issued at Waitzen, in the month of January, a 'Declaration' to the effect that 'the Corps d'Armée of the Upper Danube remains faithful to its oath to fight resolutely against every external enemy for the maintenance of the constitution of the kingdom of Hungary sanctioned by King Ferdinand V., and to oppose with the same resolution all those who may attempt to overthrow the Constitutional Monarchy by untimely Republican intrigues in the interior of the country.' If the Viennese Cabinet had

even at this stage recognized the difference between the Constitutional and the Republican party in Hungary, and had guaranteed to the former the ancient laws and immunities of the kingdom, the war would in all probability have terminated in an amicable arrangement. But the Camarilla persisted in their short-sighted and arbitrary policy, and the general whom they had intrusted with the prosecution of the war was not qualified to conduct with effect either military affairs or civil negotiations. He discouraged by his obstinacy and sanguinary threats the moderate Liberals who might have been disposed to treat, and by his protracted delay of nearly two months, spent at Pesth in total inactivity, he gave the Hungarian Government time to complete their preparations, and in the spring to take the field in a high state of efficiency.

The division of the Hungarians which was commanded by Dembinski was allowed to retire across the Theiss with little molestation and no loss; but Görgei had a much more difficult task to perform in conveying the main body of the Magyar troops from Waitzen to the reserves at Debreczin. In order to accomplish this strategic movement it was necessary to traverse the mountainous tract between the valleys of the Gran, the Waag, and the Neutra, extending to the mining towns of Schemnitz and Kremnitz, and along the spurs of the Carpathian Mountains. He was closely followed by a superior force under Marshal Schlick, which was strengthened at Kremnitz by a junction with a detachment under General Götz. In the rigorous climate of Hungary the mountain valleys through which Görgei had to make his way were either encumbered with snow or rendered still more impassable by sudden thaws, and the roads were mere mountain tracks in no degree adapted to the transport of artillery. But in spite of all these impediments Görgei manœuvred through these defiles with consummate dexterity and success. His forces suffered a reverse at Hodnics, and they were so hard pressed by the enemy that in

order to make their way from Kremnitz to Neusohl it was found necessary to follow a steep mountain track over the highest ridge of the chain, which is only passable in winter by taking the slight sledges of the country to pieces. In one part this track is carried through a cleft in the rock, forming a kind of tunnel. Yet even through this passage, part of which had fallen in, Görgei contrived, with immense labour, to convey his artillery and his troops, followed by a division of the Hungarian army under General Aulich. He thus succeeded, by one of the most masterly retreats in modern warfare, in concentrating his army again at Neusohl, and thence continued his march towards the Upper Theiss. On the 5th of February General Guyon compelled Schlick's column of 10,000 men to evacuate its position at Branyiszko, and retreat upon Eperies—a most important success. It was followed by the army of the Upper Danube, which pursued the defeated enemy, and compelled him to evacuate Kaschau without striking a blow. Görgei was thus once more placed in communication with the Upper Theiss, and with the reinforcements which awaited him there.

At this critical point in the war (14th February), when the Hungarian general had with such remarkable skill and energy extricated the army from the difficulties in which it was placed, the Committee of Defence, no doubt through Kossuth's influence, most unwisely and ungratefully superseded Görgei, and nominated the Polish General Dembinski to the chief command of the army. This was, in every aspect of the case, a most injudicious step, for not only was the new general greatly inferior in military talent to his Hungarian predecessor, but the appointment was regarded as irritating and insulting by the Magyar officers and soldiers. Görgei himself believed that Dembinski was placed over his head in order to punish him for the monarchic spirit of his Waitzen proclamation. It speedily appeared that Dembinski's Republican opinions made his nomination to

the chief command distasteful to the army; but Görgei resolved to set the soldiers an example of submission to the superior authority of the new general-in-chief, and published an order of the day to that effect. On the 26th of February, however, Dembinski allowed himself to be surprised by the Austrians, and was worsted at Kapolna on the 2nd and 3rd of March, after an engagement which lasted two days, and was one of the most important of the whole war. He fell back across the Theiss, but the order to recross that river was so ill-received by the troops under Klapka and Görgei that the authority of the commander-in-chief was at an end. Szemere, the Government Commissioner with the army, was compelled to suspend him, and the command was given for a short time to Vetter, an able and experienced general. On his falling ill it was again restored to Görgei. He subsequently informed Kossuth that the chief cause of the demonstration which his corps d'armée, without his participation or knowledge, proposed to make against Dembinski at Kaschau was their anxiety lest, in losing Görgei, they should lose a commander who respected their military oath. There can be no doubt that this wide difference of opinion and feeling between Kossuth and Görgei contributed to the failure of the Hungarian struggle, though after the intervention of Russia its failure was inevitable.

At this period, however, the prospects of the Hungarians had greatly improved. Their main force, amounting to 42,000 men with 140 guns, occupied a strong position on the Theiss. The Polish General Bem had, by a succession of brilliant achievements, succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Transylvania, although they were assisted by a corps of 10,000 Russians, and an important victory had been gained by Damjanics at Szolnok. The left flank and rear of the army were therefore secure. Vetter, who was a skilful tactician, proposed a regular plan of operations for clearing the road to the capital, and a rapid series of clever, well-fought, and successful actions

carried it into effect. On the 2nd of April Marshal Schlick's division was encountered and defeated by Görgei at Hatván, and this success was followed on the 6th by a still more brilliant victory won by the gallantry of Görgei, Damjanics, and Aulich at Isaszeg, within five miles of the capital. Instead of covering the road to Waitzen on the Danube with the bulk of his forces, as he should have done at all hazards, the incapable Austrian General retreated on Pesth. Damjanics promptly took advantage of this gross blunder, and hastening to Waitzen with the 3rd corps d'armée stormed the position and defeated the division of General Götz, who was taken prisoner, and died shortly after of his wounds. Windischgrätz imagined that Görgei's first aim was to re-enter the capital; but the Hungarian General had a much more important object in view—viz., to relieve Comorn, which the Austrians had besieged for some time, and to make this impregnable fortress the basis of his own future operations. Following a circuitous route through the mountains, he without resistance crossed the Gran, on the 1st of April, with his right wing between Kalna and Szecei, about twenty-four miles above its junction with the Danube. On the 20th Damjanics and Klapka defeated a strong column of the Austrians at Kémend, and forced them to retire to the right bank of the Danube by the bridge of boats under the town of Gran. A bloody battle was fought at Nagy-Sarló, in which Damjanics was again victorious over the 4th Austrian corps d'armée under General Wohlgemuth, and on the 22nd Comorn was relieved. This brilliant series of achievements cleared the left bank of the Danube completely of the enemy.

The main army of the Austrians, under Prince Windischgrätz, now again evacuated Pesth, and took the high road to Vienna. Opposite Comorn it effected a junction with the forces which had very unwisely continued to invest the outworks of that fortress on the right bank of the Danube, though the besiegers had been compelled

to evacuate the left bank, on which both the town and the citadel stand. A *tete-de-pont* had been constructed on the right bank, which had been strengthened by some field-works, and the whole connected with the fortress by a flying bridge. On the night of the 25th April a strong column of the Hungarian infantry crossed the Danube by this bridge and attacked the Austrian intrenchments; and such was the ardour of the troops that in a few hours the greater part of the army had passed the river and joined in the assault. Klapka commanded the left wing, Damjanics the centre, and Görgei the right. The action was very severe, but it ended in the total defeat of the Austrians. 'We had taken,' says Görgei, 'the fortified camp, together with the enemy's trenches, the equipment of a besieging battery, and considerable stores of pioneers' tools and projectiles, nay, even the tents of the hostile camp, and had completely delivered the fortress; while the enemy, far from disputing with us the possession of all this, contented himself with the hurried protection of his retreat from the field of battle by Raab to Wieselburg. With the complete deliverance of Comorn the execution of the plan of operations projected in Gödöllő—after the battle of Isaszeg—by our chief of the general staff, had satisfactorily succeeded—thanks to the unshaken firmness of General Damjanics during the battle of Nagy-Sarló, as well as to the admirable perseverance and rare masterly skill with which General Aulich knew how so long to fetter the Austrian principal army concentrated before Pesth, and to deceive it as to our real strategic intentions until the subsequent perception of them appeared to be only the more calculated to lead our bewildered adversary to the disgraceful defeat at Nagy-Sarló.' With this combat the first campaign ended in the total discomfiture of the invading army.

Shortly before this (22nd April) Prince Windischgrätz was recalled, though in every way a fit representative of the Viennese

Cabinet. A writer who cherished a bitter feeling of hostility against the Hungarian Government says of him, most justly, 'As a negotiator he had been stern and unbending—as a soldier, feeble and imprudent; and in both capacities he left the Hungarian insurrection far more formidable than he found it six months before, when after the battle of Schewechat all resistance seemed to melt before him.'

Other events, however, much more important had in the meantime occurred on both sides. On the 4th of March the Austrian Cabinet had promulgated the new Constitution for the whole empire, abolishing all the ancient provincial rights and liberties of the kingdom and the relations which had existed under the Pragmatic Sanction of 1720 between Hungary and the house of Hapsburg. This arbitrary and utterly unjustifiable step closed the door against all attempts to negotiate peace on the basis of the Hungarian Constitution. On the 7th of April, when Görgei was at Gödöllő, Kossuth had proposed to him to answer the Imperial Constitution by the separation of Hungary from Austria. He had persuaded himself that 'England, France, Italy, Turkey, even all Germany itself, not excepting Austria's own hereditary States, were waiting only till Hungary should proclaim itself as independent to impart to it their material aid, and that the Poles would speedily follow the example of Hungary, who would find a powerful ally also in the Porte.' Görgei remonstrated strongly against this proposal, and insisted on the injury it would do to their cause in the estimation of the European Powers. 'It would force the old soldiers,' he said, 'to violate their oath, and thus morally shake them.' They were now fighting for their legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the Constitution, against Francis Joseph, whom they regarded as a usurper; but 'the separation of Hungary from Austria would no longer be a just cause, and the struggle for this would be a struggle not *for* but *against* the law.' Görgei's remonstrances, however,

were unheeded; for on the 14th of April the Diet, through Kossuth's influence, was induced to declare that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine had forfeited its right to the throne of Hungary. The future form of government for Hungary was to be an open question, and for the present it was to be governed by a President, assisted by a Cabinet of Ministers. This ill-advised step, though certainly provoked, produced none of the advantages which Kossuth had so confidently predicted; and it further caused hurtful dissensions among the Hungarians themselves, while it lost them the sympathy of the friends of monarchy throughout Europe.

General Welden, who had succeeded to the command of the Austrian armies, was not a more capable soldier than his predecessor. He proved quite unable to resist the 'villainous miscreants, the scum of all people,' as in his proclamation to his troops he termed his opponents; and he found it necessary to withdraw the whole of the forces to Presburg, on the confines of the Hungarian territory, in order to protect the approach to Vienna. The danger to the capital was indeed thought by Prince Schwarzenberg at this time to be so great that on his urgent request a column of 13,000 Russian infantry, with forty-eight guns, was despatched by the Prince of Warsaw by railroad for its protection. But Görgei was convinced, from the dissatisfaction which the deposition of the Imperial family had produced among the troops, that it would be impossible to induce them to invade the Austrian territory. He therefore resolved to adopt a plan recommended by Klapka, and to lay siege to Buda, which stands opposite Pesth and completely commands the capital. The siege commenced on the 4th of May. The old Turkish fortress was gallantly defended by General Hentzi, and held out for seventeen days. It was stormed on the night of the 20th, after a desperate resistance, in which Hentzi was mortally wounded.

Hungary was now completely cleared of

its invaders; and as between them and the Austrian Camarilla, who had sought to destroy the constitution of the kingdom and to deprive the Hungarians of their ancient rights and privileges, they had won the victory and had shown that they were able to maintain their position against all the assaults of the imperial forces. The Vienna Cabinet virtually acknowledged that they were worsted in the conflict by appealing to Russia for help to suppress the insurrection. The Czar readily responded to the appeal, for a free Hungary would have been a dangerous spectacle to Poland and the other oppressed provinces of his vast and unwieldy empire. It is probable that Kossuth, whose sanguine temperament made him underrate the difficulties with which the Hungarians had to contend, may still have believed that it was possible for them to offer a successful resistance to the combined Austrian and Russian invasion; but the generals had begun to despair of their cause. Klapka repeatedly expressed his opinion that nothing could save Hungary but a foreign intervention opposed to the adverse intervention of Russia; and Görgei declared that he counted the existence of his country by weeks, and that the only question to be determined was how to destroy the greatest number of their enemies and to finish the contest with the greatest honour.

Welden had by this time resigned his command; and the chief direction of the Austrian forces was transferred, on the 30th of May, to Baron Haynau, who was recalled from the siege of Venice for that purpose. The new commander had already earned an unenviable notoriety by the cruelties which he had committed at the storming of Brescia, and he seems to have entered upon his Hungarian campaign with the determination to show no mercy to any of the patriots who fell into his hands. One of his first acts was to put to death two prisoners of war whom Windischgrätz and Welden had kept five months in confinement, and he conducted his proceedings

throughout with a savage brutality that was a disgrace to humanity.

The Austrian army under Haynau, which commenced its operations on the 9th of June, consisted of 66,670 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 324 guns. The total amount of the Russian forces employed in Hungary amounted to 162,951 men, with 528 guns. The main army, commanded by Prince Paskiewitch, took the field on the 17th of June.

The Hungarians, completely outnumbered, feeling unable to cope with these enormous armies in the western district of the country, resolved to make a general concentration of their troops on the Lower Theiss and the Maros, about Szegedin, and there to make a final stand. One division of the army under Dembinski made good its retreat to this place without much molestation; but Görgei, who was stationed at Comorn, had a very difficult task to perform in his attempt to conduct his forces to Southern Hungary. The direct road on the right bank of the Danube was in the hands of the enemy. No course remained, therefore, but to take the circuitous northern road by the mountainous regions he had passed six months before. It was both a difficult and a dangerous route, for the Russians, as he knew, were advancing in that direction; and, indeed, the outposts of their cavalry had taken possession of Waitzen before the Hungarians reached that town.

Leaving 20,000 of his troops with Klapka to hold the fortress of Comorn, Görgei, on the 8th of July, set out on his perilous march at the head of 27,000 men. The direct road from Comorn to Waitzen, along the left bank of the Danube, is little more than a dangerous towing path; but he succeeded in bringing his artillery through the defile to Waitzen, where he made an unsuccessful attempt to drive back the right wing of the Russian army, which blocked the straight eastern road through Gödöllő. Under cover of the night he passed between the main body of the enemy and their base of operations, and

after a march of eighteen days over a most difficult country, during which he traversed 400 miles, from Comorn to Szegeden, in presence of several hostile armies of superior force, he succeeded in reaching Arad, where communication was reopened with the Government and the forces at its disposal, but too late to effect a junction with the division under Dembinski, Vetter, and Guyon.

While these operations were going on in the north, Haynau had marched direct to the relief of Temesvár, which was still held by an Austrian garrison, and against the forces assembled at Szegedin. Dembinski unaccountably evacuated the lines he had constructed there without firing a shot. The Austrians crossed the Theiss at Alt-Szegedin, and defeated Dembinski in a series of engagements, the last of which took place in the vicinity of Temesvár on the 9th of August, the day on which Görgei arrived on the Maros, thirty miles from the battlefield. If the Polish general, in evacuating Szegedin, had retreated on Arad instead of on Temesvár the junction of the two armies might have been effected before the decisive action was fought; but in no case, owing to the overwhelming force of the enemy, could the final catastrophe have been long averted. The entrance of a body of 60,000 Russians into Transylvania had completely turned the tide of affairs in that province, and after a series of severe actions, in which he was completely over-matched by the united forces of the Austrians and their potent auxiliaries, Bem, on the 6th of August, made his escape into the Banat, and hastened thence, a distance of 200 miles, which he traversed in three days, to join Dembinski at Temesvár. He arrived in the midst of the action, and exerted himself with his characteristic gallantry to arrest the progress of the enemy, but in vain. The Hungarian loss in killed and wounded was not great, but their army was totally dispersed, and thousands of prisoners fell into the hands of the Austrians.

In the course of the night of the 10th of August, a despatch arrived at Arad from Guyon, stating that Dembinski's army no longer existed. On the afternoon of that day, some hours before the arrival of this intelligence, a private conference had taken place between Kossuth and Görgei in the fortress of Arad, at which the General explicitly declared that if the Austrians had been victorious at Temesvár he would lay down his arms. Görgei affirms that at this time Kossuth agreed with his resolution to follow this course. On the following day the Provisional Government formally transferred the supreme civil and military power to Görgei. They must have had a distinct knowledge of the course he intended to pursue, and though Kossuth vehemently resisted the proposal to surrender, the officers present at the council agreed that the struggle was now hopeless. The army, disheartened and reduced in numbers, with no basis of operations, was surrounded by overwhelming forces, and the continuance of the contest could only issue in their destruction without promoting in any way the welfare of the nation. The charge of treachery so loudly and persistently brought against Görgei was absolutely without foundation. He was shut up to the course which he adopted. He opened negotiations with the Russian Commander-in-chief, and on the 13th of August, with 30,000 troops and 138 pieces of artillery, he surrendered at Vilagos to the Russian General Rudiger.

The fortresses of Comorn and Peterwardein, however, still held out. The former, which was regarded as impregnable, lies on a low tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Waag and the Danube; and as these two broad rivers describe an acute angle at this spot, the place is unapproachable on its two principal sides by the ordinary methods of engineering. It is strengthened by formidable fieldworks on the opposite bank of the Danube, where the Austrians had been so signally defeated by Görgei in the month of April. The for-

tress was under the command of Klapka, a Hungarian general of great ability and experience, and was garrisoned by 20,000 men well provisioned and equipped. Görgei, on intimating his own surrender at Vilagos to Klapka, had ordered him to give up Comorn to the Austrians. This, however, the commander refused to do, except on condition that a complete amnesty should be granted to all the Hungarians; that the garrison should be allowed to retain their arms, and to retire to some neighbouring country; and that an independent Ministry should be granted to Hungary. Haynau insisted upon an unconditional surrender, and made preparations to lay siege to the fortress. In the end honourable terms of capitulation were offered to the commander and accepted by him, and the surrender of the fortress on the 1st of October brought this memorable struggle to a close.

The Viennese Cabinet used their victory most mercilessly, and in Haynau they found an instrument after their own heart. His flogging of women and other savage brutalities have stamped his memory with indelible infamy, and reflect deep disgrace upon his employers.* Görgei was protected by an

* Haynau's atrocities brought upon him great odium, even in Austrian society at Vienna, and the Government sought to get rid of the disgrace of employing him by dismissing him from his office—'a broken tool whom tyrants cast away.' In the autumn of 1850 he paid a visit to London, though warned by Metternich not to do so. He professed to think that his presence in England would turn public opinion in his favour. On the 5th of September he went to visit the brewery of Barclay & Perkins, accompanied by two friends. As soon as his presence was known a number of the draymen turned out, armed with brooms and other missiles, and assailed him with abusive epithets and shouts of 'Down with the Austrian butcher!' His hat was knocked over his eyes, he was pelted with mud, and his coat was torn. He and his friends at length made their escape from the brewery, but only to fall into the hands of the populace, who had meanwhile collected outside. He was surrounded, pelted, and dragged along the road by his long moustaches. With the mob at his heels he at last found refuge in the upper room of a public-house by the river-side, till the police came to his rescue, and took him away in a police galley to a place of safety. Haynau was recommended to prosecute the draymen; but he prudently declined to do so, knowing that the defence of the accused would necessarily be a minute recapitulation of all the barbarities committed by him in Italy

agreement with the Russian Field-marshal, and received a pardon from the Emperor; but the other officers, who believed that they too were safe, were delivered up to the tender mercies of Haynau. All below the rank of a general, if not consigned to prison, were compelled to serve as privates in the Austrian army. The generals were brought to trial before a court-martial, and were all condemned to death. General Kiss and other three officers were shot, but Count Leiningen, a cousin of Queen Victoria, Generals Aulich, Nagy Sándor, Lahner, Poltenberg, Knezich, Vecsey, Damjanics, and Colonel Kazenczy all died upon the gibbet. The executions lasted from seven in the morning till ten, and the officers who last suffered were compelled to witness the death of their comrades.

This merciless treatment of men who had fought in defence of the ancient constitution of their country excited a feeling of deep indignation throughout Europe, which was greatly increased by the execution of Count Louis Batthyáni, whom the Emperor had appointed Prime Minister of Hungary. He had always advocated moderate counsels, and he resigned his office on discovering the treachery of the Austrian Government, and their connivance with Jellachich. He was seized and detained by Prince Windischgrätz when he accompanied a deputation commissioned to carry a message from the Diet to that incompetent and relentless commander. He had ever since been kept in close confinement, and was now brought to trial before the Central Committee of Inquiry—an illegal and in-

and in Hungary. 'I must own,' wrote Lord Palmerston to Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, 'that I think Haynau's coming here, without rhyme or reason, so soon after his Italian and Hungarian exploits, was a wanton insult to the people of this country, whose opinion of him had been so loudly proclaimed at public meetings and in all the newspapers. But the draymen were wrong in the particular course they adopted. Instead of striking him, which, however, by Koller's account (the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires) they did not do much, they ought to have tossed him in a blanket, rolled him in the kennel, and then sent him home in a cab, paying his fare to the hotel.'

competent tribunal. His trial was conducted with an entire disregard of equity and even common decency. His demand for legal assistance was denied, and the witnesses whom he wished to adduce that they might give testimony in his behalf were refused by his judges. He was condemned to be hanged, but in order to escape this ignominious death he wounded himself so severely that the officials were obliged to cause him to be shot. His estates were forfeited to the crown, and his wife and children were left to poverty and exile. In no long time merited vengeance overtook the perpetrators of these cruel deeds; and the boy-emperor, who was the mere puppet of Schwartzenberg, Stadion, and the other leaders of the Court party, discovered to his cost that the policy they had forced him to adopt was as ruinous as it was wicked.

On the downfall of the Hungarian cause Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles fled for refuge to Widdin, within the Turkish dominions. A formal demand was made by Austria and Russia that the fugitives should be delivered up. The Sultan and his Ministers, however, gave a firm refusal, on the ground that as Kossuth and his friends had not violated any Turkish law, or used their asylum for purposes hostile to either Austria or Russia, it would be dishonourable to the Porte and a violation of the most sacred laws of hospitality to surrender them. As no threats could shake the resolution of the Ottoman Government, the ambassadors of the two aggressive powers intimated the suspension of diplomatic relations between their own courts and that of the Sultan. This imperious behaviour excited deep indignation among the people of Great Britain and France; and when the Sultan, thus threatened by the two arbitrary Governments, appealed for protection to the British and French Governments it was at once given in the most effective manner. The former not only addressed a remonstrance to Russia,

but directed our Mediterranean fleet to move towards the Dardanelles to be ready if necessary to support Turkey. The Czar was very indignant at this movement, but neither he nor the Emperor of Austria were in a condition to quarrel with Great Britain and France, and their insolent and unrighteous demand was withdrawn. The Sultan undertook to keep the refugees under some restraint, and nearly two years elapsed before Kossuth and several of the more conspicuous of their number were allowed to emigrate to other countries.

The whole conduct of the Austrian Government in the contest with Hungary, their treacherous and illegal assault on the constitution of that kingdom, and the merciless severity with which they hunted down the Hungarians at the close of the struggle drew upon them the obloquy of all Europe, and greatly affected the stability of the empire. 'The Austrians,' Lord Palmerston wrote (9th of September, 1849) to Lord Ponsonby, our ambassador at Vienna, 'are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men. Their atrocities in Galicia, in Italy, in

Hungary, in Transylvania, are only to be equalled by the proceedings of the negro race in Africa and Haiti. . . . The rulers of Austria (I call them not statesmen or stateswomen) have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the Emperor holds his various territories at the good-will and pleasure of three external Powers. He holds Italy just as long and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive Austria out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. The first quarrel with Russia will detach these countries from the Austrian crown. He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent, in a great degree, upon feelings and opinions which it will be difficult for him and his Ministers either to combine with or stand out against.' These prophetic words were in no long time strikingly fulfilled in the ignominious expulsion of Austria from Italy, Venice, and Germany, and in the present unstable condition of the remaining provinces of the empire.

CHAPTER IX.

The Chartist Agitation in Great Britain—Its Leaders—Feargus O'Connor—The Moral and Physical Force Chartists—Arrest and Punishment of J. R. Stephens—Chartist Convention—Riots at Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, &c.—Arrest of Henry Vincent—Outbreak at Newport—Arrest and Trial of Frost and his accomplices—The 'Sacred Month'—Trial and Punishment of the Chartist Leaders—O'Connor's Land Scheme—His Election for Nottingham—Meeting on Kennington Common—The Monster Petition—Exposure of its Character—Illegal Clubs suppressed by the Government—Seizure of Arms—Arrest and Sentences pronounced on the Members—Collapse of the Chartist Organization—State of Affairs in Ireland—The Young Ireland Party—W. Smith O'Brien, Mitchel, and Meagher—Riot at Limerick—Measures taken by the Government—Conviction and Banishment of Mitchel—Rebellion of his Confederates—Its ridiculous Collapse—Punishment of the Leaders—Their ultimate career and fate.

ON the continent of Europe, Belgium and Holland remained unaffected by the revolutionary shock which overturned the thrones of so many despots; but the tranquillity of Great Britain was for a few months disturbed by the intrigues and tumults of the Chartists and the Irish Home Rulers. The Reform Bill of 1832, extensive and salutary as were the changes it produced in the representation of the country, failed to give satisfaction to the advocates of universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments. They were silenced for the time by the popular enthusiasm for the 'Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;' but in the course of a year or two they commenced an agitation in favour of their political creed. In 1838 Mr. Duncombe, one of the members for Finsbury, brought the question of the adoption of the ballot, and the shortening the duration of Parliaments, before the House of Commons; but only twenty members voted for the amendment which he proposed to the address. Shortly before this a 'Working Men's Association' had been formed for the purpose of promoting Radical views; and a conference between six of the members of this society and six of Mr. Duncombe's supporters in Parliament, issued in the preparation of a document called the 'People's Charter,' containing the well-known 'six points'—universal or manhood suffrage; annual Parliaments; vote by ballot; abolition of the property qualification then

required for the English and Irish representatives in the House of Commons; the payment of members; and equal electoral districts. Some of the leaders of this association were mere mercenary traders in agitation; but others were undoubtedly both honest and able men, though extreme and violent in their opinions and speeches. The most prominent of the Chartist agitators was an Irishman named Feargus O'Connor, who was originally a Dublin barrister and a follower of O'Connell. Clever, needy, vain, unprincipled, and unscrupulous, he was eagerly welcomed by the Chartists, who belonged almost exclusively to the working classes, and the management of the agitation fell mainly into his hands. Newspapers to advocate the cause were started in London, Birmingham, and other large towns; paid orators were employed to itinerate the country, harangue public meetings, and organize branch societies in the towns and mining and manufacturing districts. The violent language employed by these demagogues naturally produced great excitement among the ignorant multitudes whom they addressed, denouncing the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel as 'knaves by whom the people were kept down.' Some of them openly advocated the adoption of physical force in order to obtain what they regarded as their rights. Others strove to excite popular feeling against the new Poor Law, declared that it was a system

of wholesale murder, and that no one could blame the poor man who should 'stab the workhouse official that attempted to part him from his wife.' The manufacturers were the special object of the detestation of this class, who denounced them as devils that caused children to be tortured in factories for their own amusement, and hinted not obscurely that these bastiles deserved to be burned to the ground. These were the men who moved the adoption of the Charter at anti-corn law meetings, and who declared that the repeal of that law was sought by the manufacturers merely in order that wages might be reduced and their own gains increased. Men of this stamp were not excited to violent measures by any pressure of want or personal wrong. On the contrary, they were in the receipt of excellent wages; and if they had exercised prudence and practised economy might have saved money to provide against a time of distress, and might at the same time have enjoyed the franchise as £10 householders. But in a time of prosperity they squandered their earnings on foolish and mischievous indulgences; and then when they were overtaken by adversity, for which they had made no provision, and they were hungry and idle, they at once poured out their maledictions on those masters who by prudence and self-denial had risen from the ranks, and spoke and acted as if the comforts of the employers had been obtained by robbing their workmen.

There were no doubt some among the Chartist leaders who were judicious, intelligent, well-informed, and honest, and were anxious for the extension of the franchise and the possession of political power in order that they might assist in redressing social wrongs and promote the instruction and training of the working classes, so as to fit them for the discharge of their duties. But persons of this class—the moral-force Chartists, as they were called—were comparatively few in number, and they were speedily overborne by the extreme and violent members of the body, conspicuous

among whom were the Rev. J. R. Stephens, a Methodist minister of Ashton-under-Lyne; Richard Oastler of Leeds, an ignorant and furious demagogue of the Tory class; and O'Connor himself, who was quite well aware of the impossibility of success in any physical force movement, but found that he could maintain his authority with his party only by chiming in with their violent language and extreme measures.

The Chartist meetings were now more frequently held, and were attended by much larger numbers than at the commencement of the agitation. The language employed by the speakers had also become more violent and threatening. At one of the torchlight meetings Stephens, at the close of a long and furious harangue, intimated that the multitude present should take care to come to such meetings armed. At another he denounced a millowner of Aston-under-Lyne as 'a devil's magistrate,' and prophesied that his house would soon be too hot to hold him; and this gentleman's factory was set on fire one night soon after, while Stephens was holding forth to a torchlight assemblage.

The Government had hitherto shown the greatest forbearance towards these incendiaries and their wretched dupes, and had in consequence incurred a good deal of blame. But they now felt that lenity had been carried to its utmost limits, and had in fact led men of the Stephens and O'Connor class to imagine that the Ministers were afraid of them. Lord John Russell was convinced that the safety of society required the adoption of more rigorous measures. A royal proclamation was issued in December, 1838, enjoining all persons to desist from holding torchlight meetings. Stephens was arrested and brought to trial at Chester, on the 15th of August, 1839, and was condemned to be imprisoned for eighteen months.

The punishment of this firebrand had, however, no effect in moderating the violence of his associates, who continued to provide themselves with firearms and pikes,

to be in readiness for a rising when the time to take the field should arrive. A monster petition, said to have been signed by upwards of 1,200,000 persons, had been presented to the House of Commons on the 14th of July by Mr. Attwood, one of the members for Birmingham, who was permitted, contrary to rule, on presenting it, to advocate the plea of the petitioners for the 'recovery of those ancient privileges' which, they alleged, were 'the original and constitutional rights of the Commons of England.' But a motion, on the 12th of July, that a Committee should be appointed to consider the changes prayed for in the petition, was rejected by a majority of 189 in a House of 281.

A Convention of Chartist delegates had for some time been holding its sittings in London, for the purpose of promoting the adoption of the Charter and calling the House of Commons to account for its neglect of the working classes. The physical-force members completely outnumbered the more reasonable and moderate delegates, who withdrew from the assembly, finding it hopeless to resist the violent proceedings of the majority. After making themselves ridiculous by their absurd speeches and their violent proposals, the members of the Convention were induced by Mr. Attwood to adjourn to Birmingham, where their behaviour was so outrageous that the authorities of that town were obliged to suppress the meeting. A riot in consequence broke out on the 4th of July, and a collision took place between the police and the mob, which was not quelled until a troop of cavalry was called in. On the 7th the populace stopped the service at St. Philip's Church, and next day the police and the military had to disperse a meeting. On the 8th another riotous assemblage was held in the open air, but when a troop of dragoons came down upon the mob they at once took to flight. On the 15th, when the inhabitants were indulging the hope that these disturbances were over, they were suddenly renewed with redoubled violence.

The rioters began by smashing street lamps and windows; they then proceeded to tear up the iron palisades in front of the houses, which they forced open. The warehouses were next pillaged and bonfires made of the contents, and finally a number of the houses were burned. The appearance of the military at this moment prevented still more serious mischief. As it was, the damage done by the populace was so great that the Duke of Wellington stated in the House of Lords that in all his military experience 'he had never seen a town carried by assault subjected to such violence as Birmingham had been during an hour by its own inhabitants.'

After this disgraceful riot was quelled the delegates returned to London to resume their deliberations there. Meanwhile the example set by the Birmingham mob had been followed at Sheffield, Manchester, Stockport, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places. At Sheffield the mob, not content with breaking windows and street lamps and pelting the police and the soldiers, planned the murder of their most eminent and benevolent townsmen. At Manchester they extorted money or goods from the shopkeepers by threats and violence, and, in short, conducted themselves everywhere in a manner which alienated their best friends. They tried in every way to make themselves offensive to all respectable and right-thinking persons. Among other expedients for that purpose they attended the cathedrals and other places of worship in great numbers, and wearing a badge expressive of their opinions. Five hundred of them went one day in August in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, London. On the next Sunday the Norwich Chartists crowded the cathedral of that city. At Manchester they took possession of the Old Church, but speedily quitted it in a body when the preacher, instead of the text they had prescribed for him, read out the words—very appropriate to their depredations in that town—'My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.'

They soon abandoned this mode of action, finding that it led to no disturbances and did not promote their cause.

One of the expedients that had been proposed in the Convention was an entire cessation from labour during a whole month, in the hope that the upper classes would in this way be compelled to concede the Charter. At that time, owing to the depressed state of trade, this preposterous project, if it could have been carried out, would have been a benefit rather than an injury to the capitalist, but to men who had never saved a shilling it would have simply brought starvation. After the rejection of the Chartist petition by the House of Commons, this mischievous proposal was urged with great vehemence by a person of the name of Lowery, one of the most violent of the physical-force party. 'It is useless,' he said, 'to expect anything more from the House of Commons. Belgium and America did not obtain their liberty till they took it, nor will the people of this country. I have been in Scotland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the people are of opinion that the best time for commencing the sacred month will be when the potatoes are in the ground.' Lowery's motion that 'the people should work no longer after the 12th of August, unless the power of voting for members of Parliament to protect their labour is guaranteed to them,' was adopted by the Convention, notwithstanding the opposition of Attwood, Fielden, and other comparatively moderate leaders. But a Committee of five was appointed to determine as to the time at which the 'sacred month' should commence, and on their advice it was decided to abandon it for the present. The dissolution of the Convention speedily followed.

The Government was now thoroughly alarmed at these foolish and mischievous schemes, and resorted to vigorous measures for the suppression of the revolutionary agitation. A number of the most violent of the Chartist leaders were apprehended, tried, and sentenced to periods of imprison-

ment which varied according to the degree of their guilt. Henry Vincent, the most eloquent and popular of their number, was imprisoned at Newport in Monmouthshire, and it was reported that he had been treated with great severity by the prison authorities.* The Chartists in that quarter, consisting mainly of rude and ignorant miners, determined to make an attempt to release him by force. Their leader was a linen-draper of the name of Frost, a magistrate of the borough of Newport, who had been called to account by the Home Secretary for his violent language at a public meeting in February of this year. By an undue and ill-advised stretch of lenity he had been allowed to remain in the magistracy; but so far from feeling grateful for the forbearance shown him, he now put himself at the head of a body of miners, whom he brought down from the hills in arms to attack the town on the evening of 3rd November, 1839. They were arranged in three divisions—one under the command of Frost, another led by Zephaniah Williams, a beerhouse keeper, and the third under the direction of a watchmaker of the name of William Jones. They were to meet at midnight at a public-house near Risca, and thence to make a combined march upon Newport. It appears that the liberation of Vincent was only a part of their plan. They intended to break down the bridge over the river Usk, in order to prevent the mail from going to Birmingham, and its failure to arrive there at the usual time was to have been the signal for a rising in that town also. Fortunately, a heavy rain delayed so long the divisions under Williams and Jones, that Frost, after waiting a considerable time at the place of rendezvous, started with his own division alone for Newport, which he did not reach until nine instead of two in the morning.

The rioters were men of great physical

* Vincent was an honest as well as an able man. After the bursting of the Chartist bubble he devoted himself to education, on which he held enlightened views, and conducted successfully a private academy in the vicinity of London.

strength, and were not deficient in courage. They were armed with guns, swords, pikes, and bludgeons, and if the three divisions had unitedly assailed the town, in all probability they would have overpowered the small force mustered for its defence. The magistrates, who had received notice of the approach of the rioters, assembled at the Westgate Hotel, in front of which they had stationed a party of police and special constables, while a company of the 45th Regiment were placed out of sight within the building. Frost and his followers made a vigorous attack upon the hotel, but after a sharp though brief encounter they were repulsed with the loss of ten killed and about fifty wounded. On their retreat from the town they met with the other divisions, which on learning the defeat of their associates at once dispersed and fled.

Frost, Williams, and Jones were arrested and brought to trial. They were found guilty of high treason and condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to transportation for life. A considerable number of those of their associates who were most deeply implicated in the Chartist plots and riots, were apprehended and imprisoned during periods which varied from one month to two years. These vigorous measures prevented outbreaks which had been concerted in different parts of the country, and had the effect of making the Chartist leaders more moderate in their language and more cautious in their proceedings. But the feelings of discontent in which the movement had originated still smouldered, and from time to time showed themselves in disturbances of a violent character both in England and Scotland.

As soon as the imprisoned Chartist leaders, O'Connor, O'Brien, M'Doual, and others, regained their liberty it was determined to reorganize the body, and in the end of July, 1840, a number of delegates assembled in Manchester resolved to form a confederation, to be called the National Chartist Association, and to renew the agi-

tation in favour of the Charter. O'Connor dictated a policy to his party which was as foolish as it was unprincipled, and led to serious divisions in their own ranks. His followers gave their support to Conservative candidates at the elections, in order to weaken and spite the Whig party, and they violently opposed the efforts of Cobden and Bright to abolish the Corn Laws. The project of a 'sacred month' was revived, and in August, 1842, Chartist mobs traversed the country, forced their way into mills and factories, destroyed the machinery, and compelled the operatives who were still at work to turn out and take part in their riotous proceedings. At Preston, Burslem, and Manchester several of the rioters lost their lives, and many were wounded in a collision with the soldiers. For fifty miles around Manchester there was nearly a total cessation of labour, and attempts were made to compel the operatives in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Wales, and Ireland to join the turn-out. Meetings were held (August 22) at Paddington and Kennington Common to incite the working men of London to follow the example of the working men of the north. A proclamation against these proceedings was issued by the Government; and all the troops that could be spared from London were despatched to Manchester by railway. Stockport, Macclesfield, Bolton, and Dudley were kept in a state of great alarm by turbulent mobs. 'The evil spirit,' wrote Sir Robert Peel, 'has spread into the West Riding of Yorkshire; Huddersfield has been attacked by the mob, and other towns are threatened.' The movement originated in an agitation for a rise of wages; but the Chartists had laid hold of it and given it a political direction which rendered it dangerous. The Government acted promptly and firmly. They arrested no fewer than twenty of the most active leaders at the two London meetings, and their followers, cowed by this step, returned to their work; and in a very short time the strike, which threatened great

danger to the public peace, came to an end. One of the ringleaders was transported for life. Thomas Cooper, whose character afterwards underwent a great change, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and two of his associates each to one year. Several others were convicted and punished. O'Connor and fifty-eight of his followers were tried at the Lancashire assizes for 1843, and found guilty; but owing to an unpardonable oversight on the part of the legal advisers of the crown, the indictment omitted to mention the place in which the offences had been committed, and in consequence O'Connor and his friends sued for a writ of error, and they were never brought up for judgment.

In 1843 O'Connor launched his notorious land scheme for the purchase of estates to be cultivated by working men who had taken shares in the venture. The most respectable of the Chartist leaders denounced the scheme both on public and personal grounds, and declared that O'Connor was deeply in debt, and that he had appropriated to his own use a portion of the funds which had been raised for the support of the Chartist newspaper, the *Northern Star*. There is no reasonable doubt that these charges were well founded; but such was the confidence which a large body of the working classes placed in their worthless leader that they contributed the money which he required to inaugurate his scheme, and implicitly believed that it would realize the immense benefits which he assured them it would produce. At the general election of 1847 they succeeded in returning him for Nottingham by a majority of 1257 votes against 893 given to his opponent Sir John C. Hobhouse, a member of the new Whig Ministry. They raised money to purchase a second estate. The land fund at this time was said to amount to the large sum of £50,000, all of which was under O'Connor's control; and the deluded contributors obstinately refused to give any credit to the well-founded charges of embezzlement and mismanagement which

a section of their own party persistently brought against him. No more striking proof can be given of the tenacity with which the people cling to those who have gained their confidence, and made real or supposed sacrifices in their behalf. It is matter for regret that in this instance, as in many others, their confidence was bestowed on one so unworthy of it. 'The charge which may with justice be brought against the common people,' says Macaulay, 'is not that they are inconstant, but that they almost invariably choose their favourites so ill that their constancy is a vice and not a virtue.'

The revolution of February 24th, 1848, in France, as might have been expected, gave an enormous impulse to the Chartist agitation in England and Scotland, and the populace in London and other large towns seemed to fancy that a street riot would lead to the overthrow of the Government in Britain as it had done in France. On the 6th of March a mob meeting against the income-tax was convened in Trafalgar Square by a vain, silly fellow of the name of Cochrane, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for Westminster at the election in the previous year. The noisy assemblage was dispersed by the police; but for some days turbulent crowds collected in the streets, obstructing the thoroughfares, breaking windows, and causing great annoyance to shopkeepers and their customers. A much more serious riot broke out in Glasgow on the 5th of March. A mob of about 5000 persons assembled upon the Green, on the banks of the Clyde, tore up the iron railings on its northern boundary, and armed with these entered the city, and attacked and plundered about forty of the gunsmiths and jewellers' shops before the police could be concentrated and the military summoned to put a stop to their depredations. Next day not less than 10,000 men, many of them armed, assembled again on the Green, and proceeded to carry out the resolutions they had adopted, to turn out the workmen in the adjoining

factories, to cut the gas-pipes, to break open the jails, to sack the shops, and set fire to and plunder the city. But meanwhile the citizens had enrolled themselves in great numbers as special constables, the Pensioners mustered of their own accord, and a body of 2000 soldiers was collected in the city in the course of the night. As the mob were on their way to renew their work of destruction they came into collision with a small detachment of Pensioners, fourteen in number, whom they assailed and compelled to fire on them in self-defence. Infuriated at this resistance, the mob rushed upon the veterans, and would have overpowered them; but at this critical moment a troop of dragoons rode up to the rescue, followed by a strong body of cavalry. At the sight of this formidable reinforcement the mob fled in all directions, leaving two of their number dead on the street and three wounded. The spirit and energy shown by the citizens, as well as by the military, saved the whole of the west of Scotland from serious outrages, for the success of the insurrection in Glasgow was to have been the signal for similar risings and similar pillage in Paisley, Greenock, and the other manufacturing towns in the district, where no troops were stationed for the protection of the public. Outbreaks of the same character were attempted by the dregs of the population in Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester, and other places; but they were suppressed without difficulty.

Outrages perpetrated by a lawless mob bent on plunder were easily dealt with; but the renewed agitation of the Chartists was much more dangerous to the public security. The dismissal of the Ministry, the dissolution of the Parliament, and of course the enactment of the Charter, were the demands now put forth by their leaders. At their meetings in all parts of the country the most intemperate language and violent threats were employed by the speakers. The revolution in France was referred to on all occasions as a good example for the people of Great Britain, and

the Charter or a Republic was the alternative proposed. A new Convention assembled in London on the 6th of April for the purpose of making arrangements for a monster meeting on Kennington Common, on the 10th of that month, and for the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons, which had been preparing throughout the country for some weeks, and was expected to surpass all previous petitions in the number of signatures attached to it.

It was the object of the physical-force Chartists, who had now obtained undisputed command of the body, to intimidate the Government and the Legislature by such a display of their numbers as would demonstrate the impossibility of refusing their demands. They accordingly resolved to assemble in vast numbers on Kennington Common, and to march with their petition to the House of Commons in a procession which they gave out would comprise 500,000 persons. The concentration in the capital of such an immense multitude, largely composed of the lowest of the rabble, including all the dangerous classes in London, and their march through the crowded streets and past splendid shops, in which the most costly wares were displayed, would evidently have placed the safety of the citizens and the security of their property in imminent peril. It was therefore resolved to take prompt and active measures for their protection. The police force was greatly strengthened. The well-disposed citizens enrolled themselves to the number of not less than 170,000 as special constables, of whom it was noted that Louis Napoleon was one. The officials of the Post Office were supplied with arms in case of an attack on that establishment, and the Bank, the Admiralty, and the Tower were carefully prepared for resistance. The Government called in the Duke of Wellington to their counsels, and that illustrious soldier took charge of all the arrangements for guarding the public buildings and defending the metropolis generally, which were carried out in the most complete

manner. 'Your Grace will take us all in charge, and London, too, on the 10th,' said Chevalier Bunsen, an evening or two before, to the Duke of Wellington, at Lord Palmerston's. 'Yes,' was the reply of the cool and sagacious veteran; 'we have taken our measures; but not a soldier or piece of artillery shall you *see* unless in actual need. Should the force of law, the mounted or unmounted police, be overpowered or in danger, then the troops shall advance—then is their time! But it is not fair on either side to call on them to do the work of the police; the military must not be confounded with the police, nor merged in the police.'

The demonstration which had excited so much alarm proved a contemptible failure. The Chartists were allowed to hold their meeting on Kennington Common as they had proposed. But instead of the 500,000 that had been so confidently expected, only about 20,000 persons at the utmost appeared on the ground, of whom a considerable proportion came there as mere spectators. Colonel Mayne, the head of the police, told O'Connor that the procession would not be permitted, and if any disturbance took place he would be held responsible for the consequences. The Chartist leader and his associates were thoroughly frightened, and earnestly recommended their followers to be peaceable and orderly. No attempt was made to form a procession, but some of the more extreme members of the party expressed in very strong language their disappointment, and their contempt for their pusillanimous leaders. The baffled physical-force men had to find their way to their homes, in broken and disheartened groups, as they best might; and the more moderate and reasonable of the party, feeling keenly the lesson they had been taught of their own insignificance, abandoned the movement, and devoted themselves to peaceful and industrious pursuits.

The great commander whose masterly arrangements had contributed so much to this desirable consummation was most gratefully

commended for the result. 'The Duke must be happier to-day, I think,' Sir Robert Gardener wrote to the Prince Consort on the 10th, 'than ever he was after any of his victories.' Next day the Queen wrote to her uncle, King Leopold, 'Thank God! the Chartist meeting and procession have turned out a complete failure. The loyalty of the people at large has been very striking, and their indignation at their peace being interfered with by such wanton and worthless men immense.' 'We had our revolution yesterday,' wrote the Prince, 'and it ended in smoke. London turned out some hundreds of special constables; the troops were kept out of sight, to prevent the possibility of a collision, and the law has remained triumphant. What a glorious day was yesterday for England! How mightily will this tell all over the world!'

The great Chartist petition, which was to have produced such a deep impression on the House of Commons, proved even a more ridiculous failure than the demonstration on Kennington Common. Instead of being triumphantly borne in procession to Palace Yard, followed by 500,000 devoted adherents of the Charter, it was despatched thither, by back streets, in three common cabs, and presented in the usual way by O'Connor, who asserted that it had received 5,706,000 signatures. It was referred to the Committee on Public Petitions, and on the 13th Mr. Thorneley, the chairman, reported to the House that thirteen law stationers' clerks were employed to make a careful examination of the signatures, and that the number attached to the petition was only 1,975,469; that many of these were evidently fictitious, such as Victoria Rex, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, &c., all repeated many times over; and in other instances they consisted of ridiculous designations, such as Cheeks the Marine, Pugnose, Flatnose, Woodenlegs, &c.; that eight per cent. were those of women; and that whole sheets of signatures were in the same handwriting. It had been asserted that the

document weighed five tons; its real weight was only five hundredweights and three quarters.

The overwhelming ridicule which these disclosures brought upon the authors of the petition was fatal to their agitation. They had been an object of alarm; they were now regarded with utter contempt. They fell out among themselves, and their vaunted National Convention was dissolved amid mutual recrimination and dissension. There were riots in various towns in Lancashire. At Manchester a considerable number of members of illegal clubs were arrested. At Ashton-under-Lyne a collision took place between the police and a body of Chartists armed with pikes and guns, and a policeman was brutally murdered by the mob. At Birmingham, Liverpool, and Bradford a quantity of pikes was discovered, and a number of arrests made. In London the police received information of a projected rising, and succeeded in capturing the ring-leaders in a tavern, where a large quantity of pistols, pikes, daggers, spear-heads, and swords, and tow balls to be employed in setting fire to the public buildings, were found. Similar arrests were made and quantities of arms seized in some private houses. The most secret deliberations and plans of the Chartist leaders were constantly betrayed to the Government by their most trusted associates; and in consequence of the information thus communicated the most conspicuous of their leaders were arrested, brought to trial, and punished. The most prominent of their number was Ernest Jones, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

O'Connor made strenuous efforts to revive the Chartist organization and to renew the agitation, but without effect. His influence was gone; his land scheme, as had been clearly foreseen and confidently predicted, proved a discreditable failure, and he ended his days in a lunatic asylum.

In communicating to Baron Stockmar the welcome news that the Chartist attempt at a revolution had ended in smoke, Prince

Albert added the significant words, 'Ireland still looks dangerous.' The old Repeal party, under the leadership of O'Connell, had now been replaced by the Young Ireland party, mainly composed of hot-headed young men, some of them possessed of considerable powers of eloquence both in speaking and writing, but vain, conceited, and ambitious, and prepared to go all lengths in the prosecution of their revolutionary schemes. The excitement caused by the French Revolution turned their heads, and they seem to have deluded themselves into the belief that with the help of France they would succeed in throwing off the supremacy of Great Britain, and in establishing a republic in Ireland. They had recently received the adhesion to their ranks of Mr. William Smith O'Brien, a gentleman of ancient family, possessed of a large property, the representative in Parliament of the county of Limerick, but a weak, vain man, utterly unfit for the leadership of any important movement. His support, however, gave a decided impulse to the Young Ireland movement among the lower classes of the Irish people, who believed that he was descended from the celebrated Irish king, Brian Boru, and termed him the King of Munster.

The foolish and infatuated leaders of the party made no secret, either of their intentions, or of the means which they meant to employ in carrying them into effect. Their Dublin organ, the *United Irishman*, edited by Mr. John Mitchel, published time after time earnest exhortations to its readers to make all necessary preparations for a rising in arms against the Government, along with minute directions how to maim the feet of the cavalry horses, and to overwhelm the soldiers with missiles, molten lead boiling water, and vitriol. At a meeting of the Irish Confederation in Dublin Mitchel declared, in the most unequivocal terms, that it was his intention to commit treason, and he called upon the whole meeting to follow his example. The Confederation sent a deputation to France, with Smith O'Brien at their head, to wait upon Lamar-

tine at Paris, to claim what 'they boasted they were sure to obtain—the assistance of 50,000 troops for Ireland.' And though their hopes were greatly disconcerted by the calm declaration of the French statesman that France was at peace, and wished to remain so, 'with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only,' they did not relinquish their cherished project to attempt the establishment of an Irish republic.

The Government were reluctant to take active measures against the Irish fomenters of sedition so long as the preservation of order seemed to be secure, but forbearance had now reached its utmost limits. A Bill was introduced into Parliament for the more effectual repression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. Certain offences which had hitherto been punishable as treason were to be dealt with merely as felony, and for two years all persons who, by publishing or printing any writing or by open speaking, should excite to insurrection, were to be subjected to the penalties of felony. Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the Bill, said, with the cordial applause of the whole House, 'Of the first part of this Act I cordially approve. I think it is right that men who have not the dignity of traitors shall not cover themselves with the illusion that they are so. I wish to reduce them to the position of felons.' The Bill passed rapidly through both Houses, and immediately received the Royal assent. Before it became law, however, the Government had taken proceedings against the three ringleaders of the Irish physical-force party, O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel; and on the 15th of April true bills were found against them for seditious practices tending to the disturbance of the public peace. They were released on bail, and in order to show approbation of their conduct they were invited to a soiree by the Sarsfield Confederation Club at Limerick, on the 29th of April. The result was amusing to the public, but very mortifying to the Young Ireland leaders who were breathing

out 'threatenings and slaughter' against the British Government. Limerick was at that time a stronghold of the Old Irelanders or O'Connell party, who advocated the employment of moral force alone to attain the object they had in view; and their indignation had been roused against their rivals by an article in the *United Irishman*, which reflected severely upon the character of the *Liberator*. They therefore resolved to prevent the soiree from taking place. They accordingly made a violent attack upon the store in which it was held, broke the windows, smashed in the doors, and finally procured tar-barrels and set fire to the building. For this exhibition of physical force directed against themselves the Young Ireland advocates of pike manufacture and vitriol throwing were by no means prepared; and Messrs. Mitchel, O'Brien, and Meagher were so roughly handled by their moral-force rivals that it was only by the assistance of the 'Saxon police,' whose destruction they had planned and recommended, that they were enabled to escape with their lives from the scene of conflict, bearing, however, in their tattered and torn garments and blackened eyes, unmistakable tokens of the severity of the fray. Poor O'Brien was so disgusted with the ungrateful usage which he had received that he immediately resigned his seat for the county.

About a fortnight after this very Irish occurrence, O'Brien and Meagher were brought to trial under the recent Act for the repression of seditious writing and speaking; but in both instances a single jurymen held out against the other eleven, although the clearest evidence was adduced in proof of the guilt of the accused, and the juries had in consequence to be dismissed. Mitchel, however, who was certainly the most criminal of the three, was less fortunate than his two associates. He had, as we have seen, preached up the casting of bullets, the erection of barricades, and the throwing of vitriol, and had boasted that he was determined to commit treason. These undeniable facts were so strong that

even an Irish jury could not resist them, and a unanimous verdict of guilty was returned. He was sentenced (27th May) to transportation for fourteen years, and the same evening was sent off by sea to Spike Island, in the Cove of Cork, to await the arrival of the convict ship which was to convey him to Bermuda.

Mitchel had courted an arrest and trial, in the belief that his conviction would be at once followed by an insurrection. So confident was he that his followers would rise in arms for his rescue, that he wrote from his cell that he could hear around the walls of his prison every night the tramp of hundreds of sympathizers, 'felons in heart and soul.' But the other leaders of the Young Ireland party were cowed by the energy of the Government. Many of the wretched crew were quite well aware of the hopelessness and folly of their plans, though they indulged in alternate boasting and threatening as long as they considered it safe. The author of a 'History of Our Own Times,' though himself a Home Ruler, affirms that 'some were jealous of Mitchel's sudden popularity, and in their secret hearts were disposed to curse him for the trouble he had brought on them. But they could not attempt to give open utterance to such a sentiment. Mitchel's boldness and resolve had placed them at a sad disadvantage. He had that superiority of influence over them that downright determination always gives a man over colleagues who do not know what they would have. One thing, however, they could do, and that they did. They discouraged any attempt to rescue Mitchel.' And so it came to pass, that when the editor of the *United Irishman* was convicted and banished, not the slightest commotion took place among the Irish people.

The more reckless of the English Chartists had resolved to attempt an insurrection at the time when the expected rising in Ireland would have required the presence there of all the troops then in the United Kingdom. But the very men who were to have been generals and presidents of the

future movement, as volunteer informers made the Government acquainted with the whole proceedings from time to time; and the contemptible plotters were not only arrested and brought to justice, but were made a laughing-stock to the whole country.

A similar fate speedily overtook the Irish conspirators. They were too deeply committed to take warning from the punishment of Mitchel. Indeed, it was impossible for them to retreat from the position which they had taken up, without utter loss of reputation and influence among their own party. They became more violent than ever in their denunciations of the Government and their exhortations to the Irish people to prepare for open rebellion. The *United Irishman* was suppressed, but was succeeded by a journal appropriately termed the *Irish Felon*. The *Nation* and the *Tribune*, the two other Dublin organs of the party, openly advocated rebellion and the establishment of an Irish republic. Clubs were organized throughout the country with the avowed object of preparing for a general insurrection. Pikes were manufactured and muskets purchased and distributed in large numbers, and many thousands of the ignorant and deluded peasantry assembled in remote places, and were drilled during the night in the use of arms. Mr. Smith O'Brien went about the country holding reviews of the 'Confederates,' and it really seemed, as one of their countrymen affirms, that they actually fancied the Government, with an English love of fair play, would allow them to go on making all the preparations they pleased for rebellion without any interference until they announced themselves ready to take the field. The Government, however, did not look at the matter quite in this light. Industry was paralyzed, trade was at a stand-still, and great numbers of the people were in consequence suffering severe privations and distress. It became an imperative duty to put an end to this state of affairs, which threatened the mercantile classes with bankruptcy and ruin; and on the 21st

of July Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons, amid loud chœurs, that he should next day ask leave to bring in a bill to authorize the Lord Lieutenant 'to apprehend and detain, until the 1st of March, 1849, such persons as he shall suspect of conspiring against Her Majesty's Government.' The bill was passed through all its stages in the House of Commons in one day (Saturday), with only eight dissentients. On the following Monday it was sent up to the House of Lords, where it was passed with equal rapidity, and next day it received the royal assent.

The new Act was put in force at once with the vigour and promptitude which the exigencies of the case demanded, and warrants were immediately issued for the arrest of Messrs. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, Dillon, and others of the more prominent leaders of the 'Confederates.' A proclamation was issued on the same day declaring the clubs illegal, and ordering them to be dissolved. These proceedings were received by the Young Irelanders with an outburst of anger and surprise, as if they had confidently counted on being allowed to go on 'playing at preparations for rebellion so long as they liked to keep up the game.' They were at their wits' end what course to pursue. The preparations which the Government had made rendered it hopeless for them to raise the standard of rebellion; and the indifference with which Mitchel's transportation had been received showed them clearly that if they should all meet the same fate the Irish people would not stir hand or foot in their behalf. One thing only was certain, that Dublin was no place of safety for them, and they fled from it with all speed down into the country. Dublin and the districts adjoining—Kerry, Galway, Wexford, and other six counties—were proclaimed under the Crime and Outrage Act, and steps were taken to disarm the inhabitants. These measures appear to have precipitated the rising of the Confederates. Smith O'Brien had gone down to Cork and the south of Ireland, the others to different districts; but

they found that out of the many thousands who had purchased pikes and attended the midnight drills, only a comparatively small number were now prepared to encounter the perils and pains of actual rebellion. On the 28th of July the 'King of Munster' advanced towards the town of Ballingarry, in Tipperary, at the head of between 2000 and 3000 men. Here they came into collision with a body of forty-seven police who had marched out to meet them. The inspector, finding the insurgents in such force, withdrew his men into a small house occupied by a widow of the name of Cormack. The insurgents attacked them from the cabbage garden outside, but were received so vigorously that, after firing a few volleys, which were returned by the police, they withdrew and dispersed in confusion, leaving two of their number killed and several wounded. None of the police were injured. In this ignominious manner the rebellion came to an end. Poor Smith O'Brien, after wandering about the country for several days, was recognized and taken at the railway station in Thurles, as he was buying a ticket for Limerick. A few days afterwards Meagher and two of his associates—O'Donaghue and Leyne—half dead with hunger, exposure, and fatigue, were arrested by a police patrol on a public road; and nearly all who had taken a prominent part in the rising soon after fell into the hands of the authorities. The rebellion, which at one time looked so formidable, thus expired amid general ridicule and contempt.

Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and MacManus were in September brought to trial on a charge of high treason, before a special commission held at Clonmell, in Tipperary. They were all found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, and quartered, according to the old brutal formalities. But it had been known from the first that the sentence would not be carried into effect, and it was commuted, as much from feelings of contempt as from leniency, into one of transportation for life. It is a curious manifestation of the Irish character, that the

convicted rebels, instead of feeling grateful for the mercy shown them, insisted that they must either be set at liberty or hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to the sentence of the court. The Government, however, refused to gratify their morbid vanity by raising them to the dignity of martyrs, and they were all sent to Australia. A few years after Mitchel contrived to make his escape by a Jesuitical breach of his parole, and was followed by Meagher. They made their way to America, where Mitchel settled in Richmond, became a vehement advocate of slavery, and a supporter of the South in the Civil War. After the termination of that struggle he returned to Ireland, where, owing to some flaw in the criminal law, he could not be arrested. Some of the more extreme and ardent Home Rulers tried to make a hero of him, and he was returned for an Irish county. His election was, however, declared null and void, and a new writ was issued. He was returned a second time, but at this point his sudden death put an end to the turmoil and annoyance. Meagher, who served with distinction in the army of the American Federal States, accidentally fell overboard a steamer on the Missouri in a dark night and was drowned. A better fate befel Charles Gavan Duffy, the editor of the *Nation*, who was twice brought to trial after the suppression of the insurrection, but escaped on both occasions by the refusal of the jury to return a verdict of

guilty. He became a member of the House of Commons, and afterwards emigrated to Victoria, where he attained the position of Prime Minister, and conducted the affairs of the colony with such ability and discretion that he received the honour of knighthood and a pension. Thomas Darcy McGee, another of the Young Ireland leaders, went to Canada, where he became a member of the Colonial Ministry, and proved himself a most loyal supporter of the British connection. His untimely death by the hand of an assassin was deeply lamented both in Canada and in this country. Smith O'Brien, like a man of honour, refused to have anything to do with any plot for escape while he was on parole. A pardon was afterwards bestowed upon him, on condition that he should not return to the United Kingdom; but this condition was ultimately withdrawn, and he returned to Ireland. He died in Wales in 1864. After the bursting of the Young Ireland bubble a number more of the young and ardent spirits, who had been induced to take part in the movement, settled down and prospered in various departments of life. Some of them, as we have seen, became members of the House of Commons, where they proved useful and were respected. Such were the beneficial results, both to the country and to the Young Irelanders themselves, of the combined firmness and clemency evinced by the Government.

CHAPTER X.

Opposition to Dr. Hampden's appointment to the See of Hereford—The Gorham Case—Debate in Parliament on the treatment of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay by the Greek Government—Lord Palmerston's Defence—Its powerful effect on the House—Adoption of Roebuck's Motion—Death of Sir Robert Peel—His Character—Papal Aggression—Public excitement regarding it—Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Defeat of the Government on Mr. Locke King's Motion—Their resignation—Their resumption of office—The Great Exhibition—Its brilliant success—Opening ceremony—The results of the Exhibition—Lord Palmerston's dismissal from office—Its alleged grounds—Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill—Their resignation—Formation of Earl Derby's Administration.

THE Chartist and Irish insurrections were not the only troubles which the Government had to encounter at this time. They had appointed Dr. Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, to the bishopric of Hereford, and thus raised a storm both among the ritualistic and the orthodox High Church party. Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures had been regarded as unsound, though they were correctly described as only unintelligible; and a majority of the Convocation of the University of Oxford had in consequence deprived him of the privilege, which had always been connected with the Regius Professorship, of granting certificates of attendance at his lectures to students of theology as a necessary qualification for their admission to holy orders. When, therefore, Lord John Russell advised the Crown to nominate Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford, a great outcry was made both by the High and the Low Church party against the appointment. The Bishops of London and Winchester, and several other prelates, and various dignitaries and leading clergymen, signed a remonstrance to the Prime Minister against the appointment, but without effect. The farce of an election, in which the electors were required to choose the nominee of the Crown under the penalties of *præmunire*, was gone through; and though an appeal was ultimately made to the Court of Queen's Bench Dr. Hampden's appointment was duly confirmed, and his consecration was

performed in the proper order. But the excitement caused by this affair annoyed and weakened the Government, which on other grounds was in an unstable condition.

Another ecclesiastical case which caused a good deal of annoyance, and ultimately led to the secession of a number of influential members of the Church of England, arose out of the conduct of Dr. Phillpotts, the turbulent Bishop of Exeter. He refused to induct the Rev. Mr. Gorham, who already held the vicarage of St. Just in the diocese of Exeter, into the living of Bamford Speke. Phillpotts was a prelate of great ability and learning, and a most accomplished debater, but did not carry much weight in the Church or the country. He thought proper to decide that Mr. Gorham did not hold the doctrine of baptismal regeneration as laid down in the standards of the English Church, and therefore declined to give him institution. The case was ultimately carried before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and was decided in Mr. Gorham's favour. This decision raised a great ferment in the Church of England. Some of the more advanced of the ritualistic party, including Mr. Hope Scott, the eminent lawyer who had married Sir Walter Scott's granddaughter, went over to the Roman Catholic Church. Others raised an outcry for an alteration of the tribunal of ultimate appeal. Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop of London, who had given his opinion decidedly in favour of the Bishop of Exeter, introduced a Bill into the House of Lords,

on the 3rd of June, 1850, for the establishment of a new tribunal for ecclesiastical appeals. But after a keen debate, in which the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Brougham, the Bishop of Oxford, the Earls of Derby and Carlisle, and other leading peers took part, the Bill was rejected by a considerable majority.

A discussion of much greater importance was raised in connection with the foreign policy of the Government, as represented by Lord Palmerston. A Portuguese Jew, but a British subject, of the name of Don Pacifico, had his house pillaged and gutted in open day by a Greek mob, headed by the sons of the Minister of War; and during three years Mr. Wyse, the British Minister at Athens, had pressed his claims for compensation without success. Mr. Finlay, a Scotsman, the historian of Greece, had some of his land taken from him for the purpose of making an addition to the palace gardens of King Otho, and no payment could be obtained from the appropriators. Ionian subjects of Great Britain had been systematically treated in a high-handed and lawless manner, and a midshipman of Her Majesty's ship *Fantôme* had been arrested on landing from a boat at night at Patras. The Greek authorities refused or delayed to give redress to the complainants in these and some other similar cases, and Lord Palmerston, who was under the impression that the French Minister at Athens was secretly encouraging King Otho and his advisers to resist our claims, at length ordered the British fleet to proceed to the Piræus, and lay an embargo on the Greek vessels that were found within the waters. Otho, the 'spoilt child of Absolutism,' as Lord Palmerston termed him, appealed to France and Russia, as Powers united with Britain in the treaty to protect the independence of Greece. These two Powers were quite ready to give him their countenance in the dispute in which he was involved, as they were displeased because they had not in the first instance been consulted. The French Minister at Athens behaved in a

very foolish and angry manner, and encouraged Otho to refuse compliance with the demands of the British Ministry; and the Russian Foreign Minister wrote an offensive remonstrance against their action. The French Government, too, were unreasonable and angry; but finding that the British Foreign Minister was not to be intimidated by any threatenings on the part of the other Powers, they began to fear that the affair should be settled without their having any share in it. They accordingly proffered their good offices, which Lord Palmerston accepted, on the distinct understanding that they were to be limited to an endeavour to prevail upon the Greek Government to agree to our demands. But Baron Gros, the mediator despatched to Athens by the French Ministry, 'was perpetually trying to slide out of his character of organ of good offices and to place himself in the position of arbiter.' Finding that this would not be permitted he threw up his office as mediator, and thereupon Mr. Wyse renewed the embargo, and seized anew several vessels. This at length brought King Otho to more reasonable terms, and he finally agreed to make an apology for the affair of the *Fantôme*, and to pay a sum of 180,000 drachmas as compensation for the wrongs done to Don Pacifico and to Mr. Finlay.

The French Government, who, as Lord Palmerston says, evidently thought that a quarrel with us would be useful to them at home, were exceedingly annoyed that the dispute should have been settled without their intervention, and they recalled their ambassador, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, from London. They had no desire, however, to carry their displeasure further, and official intercourse was speedily resumed. Lord Palmerston adroitly contrived to soothe the irritated susceptibilities of the French Ministers by engaging their good offices in making investigation into the amount of Don Pacifico's claims, which were ultimately reduced to about one-thirtieth of the sum he had originally demanded.

This trumpety affair seemed to the Opposition in Parliament to afford a favourable opportunity for attacking the whole of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, of which they strongly disapproved; and on the 17th of June, 1850, Lord Stanley moved in the House of Lords a resolution expressing the regret of the House to find that 'various claims against the Greek Government, doubtful in point of justice or exaggerated in amount, have been enforced by coercive measures directed against the commerce and people of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with foreign powers.' This resolution was supported with great energy and spirit by Lord Aberdeen and Lord Brougham, and was carried by a majority of thirty-seven.

'What the Commons may do,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'remains to be seen, but I greatly doubt the Protection party there venturing to propose resolutions similar to those of the Lords. If they do I think we know pretty well what the result would be.' No adverse motion was made in the House of Commons, but on the 24th of June Mr. Roebuck moved as a rejoinder to the vote of the Lords the following resolution:—

'That the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government have been regulated have been such as were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of this country, and in times of unexampled difficulty to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world.'

The resolution was very dexterously framed, so as to draw away the attention of the House from the course followed with reference to the Greek claims, of which many sound Liberals disapproved, and to fix it mainly on the general policy of the Government in regard to foreign affairs. A debate of four nights' duration followed, in which all the leading members of the House took part. It was one of the most memorable discussions that ever took place in Parliament, both for the eloquence and the intellectual power which it called

forth. Lord Palmerston spoke on the second night. Without a note or a pause, or hesitation, or sign of fatigue, he delivered a speech occupying four hours and a half, and embracing the whole foreign policy of the country, which has been ranked both by friends and foes amongst Parliamentary masterpieces, though it hardly ever rose to what is popularly called eloquence. Mr. Gladstone, whose speech Palmerston declared to be 'a first-class performance,' said, 'No man had listened with greater admiration than himself, while from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next, the Foreign Secretary defended his policy before a crowded House of Commons in that gigantic intellectual and physical effort.' And Sir Robert Peel went out of his way to describe Lord Palmerston's defence as that 'most able and most temperate speech, which made us proud of the man who delivered it, and in which he vindicated with becoming spirit, and with an ability worthy of his name and place, that course of conduct which he had pursued.'

Palmerston, who was not sparing of his commendation of the other speakers—even of those hostile to him—says, 'John Russell's speech last night was admirable and first-rate, and Peel and Disraeli both spoke with great judgment and talent with reference to their respective positions.' But it was admitted on all hands that the palm of eloquence was carried off by Sir Alexander Cockburn (afterwards Chief-Justice of England), who spoke on the fourth night of the debate. Palmerston said of his speech, 'I do not know that I ever in the course of my life heard a better speech from anybody, without any exception;' and Sir Robert Peel, who followed him, said, 'At the conclusion of Cockburn's speech one-half of the Treasury benches were left empty, whilst honourable members ran one after another, tumbling over each other in their haste to shake hands with the honourable and learned member.' Although Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Cobden, and the other members of the Manchester school, united with the

Conservatives in opposing Mr. Roebuck's motion, it was carried by a majority of 46—310 having voted in its favour and 264 against it. 'We defeated the whole Conservative party,' wrote Sir George C. Lewis, 'Protectionists and Peelites, supported by the extreme Radicals, and backed by the *Times* and all the organized forces of foreign diplomacy.'

It was the general impression, as Sir George C. Lewis indicates, that the ambassadors and agents of the Continental powers had combined with the leaders of the Conservative party to make this attack upon Lord Palmerston, with the hope of overturning the Government. The Foreign Secretary himself entertained that conviction, as he clearly indicated in the most dexterous part of his speech, in which he referred to 'a knot of foreign conspirators cavilling against a Minister for no other reason than that he had upheld the dignity and interests of his own country.' And in a letter to his brother at this time he says, 'The attack on our foreign policy has been rightly understood by everybody as the shot fired by a foreign conspirator.' There is good reason, however, to believe that Lord Palmerston was mistaken in supposing that the agents of the Continental despots, though they 'hated him with a perfect hatred,' had any connection with the leaders of the Conservative party, who only expressed the views which they sincerely entertained regarding his policy. But they had afforded him an opportunity of achieving an extraordinary success, and had rendered him for the present the most popular Minister that for a very long course of time had held his office.

The debate on Roebuck's motion was the last in which Sir Robert Peel took part. It did not terminate until five o'clock in the morning (29th June). He attended at twelve a meeting of the Royal Commission on the Great Exhibition, where he examined and was delighted with the plan of the building proposed by Sir Joseph Paxton. A great outcry had been made by interested

parties against the choice of a place in Hyde Park, and he undertook to take the lead in defending the decision of the Commissioners before the House of Commons. In the afternoon, while riding up Constitution Hill, he was thrown from his horse and his left collar-bone was broken. After lingering in great pain for some days he died on the 2nd of July, 1850. A public funeral in Westminster Abbey would have been given him, and a peerage would have been conferred on Lady Peel: but in his will he had left precise directions that his funeral should be of the simplest kind; that he should be buried in the parish church of Drayton, where his father and mother were interred; and that no member of his family should accept, if offered, any title, distinction, or reward in respect of any service which he might be supposed to have rendered to his country. Lady Peel, in consonance with his wishes, declined a peerage offered her by the Queen. 'Her own wish,' she said, 'was to bear no other name than that by which Sir Robert Peel was known.' The House of Commons, however, resolved, on the motion of Lord John Russell, that a monument to the great statesman should be erected in Westminster Abbey.

The sudden and premature death of a man who had acted such an important part in public affairs, and was regarded by all parties with profound respect, made a deep and sorrowful impression on the whole nation. 'The sorrow and grief at his death,' wrote the Queen to King Leopold, 'are most touching. The country mourns over him as over a father. Every one seems to have lost a personal friend.' Prince Albert, who felt he had been bereaved of a second father, said, 'We have lost our truest friend and trustiest counsellor; the throne its most valiant defender; the country its most open-minded and greatest statesman.' The Ministerial leaders in the Houses of Parliament—Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne—expressed in generous and glowing terms their sense of the void which the death of

'a great man and a great statesman had created in the Council of the nation.' But of the many eloquent tributes paid to Peel's memory there was none that produced so powerful an impression as the few words in which the Duke of Wellington, with visible and deep emotion, expressed his admiration of the friend whose public and private worth he had reason to know so well. 'In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel,' he said, 'I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth, and I never saw in the whole course of my life the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not believe to be the fact.'

Sir Robert Peel was not an eloquent orator or a man of original genius, but he was a great administrator, a great debater, a great member of Parliament—perhaps the greatest that our country has produced—and a constitutional statesman of a very high order. As he advanced in his career he made important changes in his policy, for which at the time he incurred great odium from the violent Tory party, but which no one now doubts were thoroughly conscientious, and required him to make great and painful sacrifices. Roman Catholic emancipation, freedom for Dissenters, free trade, great reforms in police, criminal laws, currency, finance, the Irish Encumbered Estates Act, and numerous other improvements, if not originated, were carried by him into practical effect. Of all he did nothing has been undone, but every reform which he made laid a secure foundation for other and more extensive changes for the better. The loss of such a man in the full vigour of his intellectual powers, and with all his ripened experience, was considered as a great national calamity, as was clearly shown by the 'tributes of re-

spect and gratitude paid to his memory—paid by Sovereign, by Parliament, by public men of all parties, by the country, by the press, and above all by the great towns and the masses of the people to whom he had given "bread unleavened with injustice."'

An incident occurred at this time which, though of no great importance in itself, excited an extraordinary ferment in the public mind throughout England and Scotland. On the 24th of September, 1850, the Pope published a Bull, 'under the seal of the Fisherman,' by which he set aside the Vicars Apostolic, who had exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the Roman Catholics in England since the Reformation; and 'decreed the establishment in the kingdom of England of a hierarchy of bishops, deriving their titles from their own sees.' It divided the kingdom into dioceses, which were placed under the control of an archbishop and twelve suffragans. And this was avowedly done on the assumption 'that every day the obstacles were falling off which stood in the way of the extension of the Catholic religion.' The feeling which this ill-advised document was fitted to excite was greatly strengthened by the pastoral 'given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome,' on the 7th of October, by Cardinal Wiseman, who had been appointed the head of the new Papal hierarchy, under the title of Archbishop of Westminster and Administrator Apostolic of the diocese of Southwark. This document, 'framed in the most inflated language of ecclesiastical bombast,' roused the indignation of the people, both by its absurd and arrogant assumption, and its designating as 'blessed martyrs' the men whom Englishmen of all parties and denominations regarded as the great enemies of their freedom, both political and religious.

The notion that 'Catholic England had been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and began now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre, the source of jurisdiction, of

light, and of vigour,' at the mandate of a man who had but recently been a fugitive from his own city, and who had been restored and was still retained there by French arms, was simply ridiculous, and might have excited contempt rather than anger. But various circumstances had recently occurred which had aroused the jealousy and indignation of the people against Romish aggressions. The national system of education in Ireland, which had been cordially supported by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in that country, had fallen under the ban of the Papal Court on the initiation of its Ultramontane policy. It had in consequence been recently condemned as irreligious by the synod of the Roman Catholic clergy at Thurles; and the members of their Church who took advantage of the means of education provided by the State were threatened with the penalty of excommunication. But what still more roused the suspicion of the English people was the conviction that the Papal claim of spiritual jurisdiction in England had been put forward mainly in consequence of the stealthy inroads which the Tractarians had, for some years, been making upon the creed and ritual of the Established Church, and the conversion of a number of its leaders to the Romish faith.

The indignation which the Papal manifesto excited among all classes throughout the country was greatly increased by the publication, on the 4th of November, of Lord John Russell's letter, in reply to one from the Bishop of Durham. In this celebrated document, after styling the aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and referring to his own efforts to promote the just claims of the Roman Catholics, the Premier went on to say, 'There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome, a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with

the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Even if it should appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke on our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion—civil, political, and religious.

'Upon this subject, then, I will only say that the present state of the land shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumption of power deliberately considered. There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than the aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitions of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it was written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself? I have but little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course, but I rely with

confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or life so long as the glorious principles and the noble martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.'

In the excited state of the public mind at this time Lord John's letter acted like 'fire to heather set.' The day after it appeared was the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, and all over the country effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, in his red robes, took the place of those of Guy Fawkes; and after being paraded through the streets of the metropolis and of other large towns, were committed to the flames amidst squibs, crackers, and rockets in the usual way. Crowded meetings were held of laymen of all classes and of all Christian denominations, at which indignant speeches were delivered denouncing the invasion of the Royal supremacy, and addresses to the Crown adopted, calling for decided measures to oppose the pretensions of the Pontiff to exercise authority in England. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Corporation of London, sent numerous and influential deputations to Windsor Castle with similar addresses to Her Majesty. The Oxford address was presented by the Duke of Wellington, and the Cambridge address by Prince Albert, in their official capacity, and to each of these replies were returned by the Queen in person, 'with great deliberation and with decided accents.' The Bishop of London delivered a charge to his clergy, condemning in strong terms the Papal rescript, and most of the other prelates of the Established Church followed his example. The clergy indeed of all grades and parties, as might have been expected, took a prominent part in the agitation. The English Roman Catholics themselves felt deeply aggrieved by the injudicious and offensive action

of the Papal court, which, much to their annoyance had, as might have been foreseen, provoked a display of an intolerant spirit and much violent abuse of their religion. But the mischief was done, and even if the Pope and his presumptuous and ill-informed advisers had been willing to retrace their steps the agitation would not have been allayed. Father Gavazzi, an Italian Republican, who had been a Roman Catholic priest but had renounced Popery, visited England at this time, and delivered in London and other large towns a series of lectures against the Papacy, characterized by great eloquence and power, which contributed to augment the torrent of angry feeling against the Pontiff and the Court of Rome.

There were not wanting at the time remonstrances against the violent and intolerant language employed respecting the Roman Catholics. It was pointed out that the Papal Bull, though foolish and insolent, was really harmless. It was a matter of indifference whether the chief administrator of the Romish Church in England was designated Archbishop of Westminster or Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*. He had no more authority over his co-religionists in the one case than in the other. They might call him 'His Eminence' or 'His Grace,' or give him any other designation they might think fit. Cardinal Wiseman had no legal right to the high-sounding titles he had assumed, and the law gave no ecclesiastical position or dignity or authority of any kind. In the prevailing excitement throughout the country these remonstrances were unheeded, and indeed they failed to affect the real grounds of the feeling which the Papal rescript had roused against the Roman hierarchy and its arrogant pretensions.

The Parliament met on 4th February, 1851, and was opened by the Queen in person. It was a matter of course that her speech should contain some reference to the question which was agitating the whole country. 'The recent assumption'

she said, 'of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign Power has excited strong feelings in this country, and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachments, from whatever quarter they may proceed. I have at the same time expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country.' There was certainly no inclination on the part, either of the Queen or her Ministers, to adopt any measures dealing unfairly with the Roman Catholics; but the arrogant and aggressive conduct of the head of their Church had rendered it impossible for any Government who refused to deal with it to maintain their position for a week.

A few days before the opening of Parliament Lord Palmerston wrote a letter to his brother, which explains in clear and temperate language both the position of the Ministry with reference to the question and the grounds of the public displeasure at the conduct of the Papal court. 'The Papal aggression question,' he said, 'will give us some trouble and give rise to stormy debates. Our difficulty will be to find out a measure which shall satisfy reasonable Protestants without violating those principles of liberal toleration which we are pledged to. I think we shall succeed. The Pope, I hear, and the people about him, by whom at present he is guided, affect to treat lightly the excitement which his measures have produced in this country, and they represent the clamour as a thing got up by the Church—a parson agitation. They deceive themselves. The feeling is general and intense all through the nation, and the sensible Catholics themselves lament what has been done. The thing itself in truth is little or nothing, and does not justify the

irritation. The Catholics have a right to organize their Church as they like; and if staff-officers called Bishops were thought better than staff-officers called Vicars Apostolic, nobody would have remarked or objected to the change, if it had been made quietly and only in the bosom of the Church. But what offended, and justly, all England was the Pope's published Allocution and Wiseman's announcement of his new dignities—the first representing England as a land of benighted heathens, the second proclaiming that the Pope had parcelled out England into districts—a thing that only a sovereign had a right to do—and that he (Wiseman) and others were sent and to be sent to govern these territorial districts with titles belonging thereto. This could not and would not have been done in any other country without the consent of the government. We must bring in a measure; the country would not be satisfied without some legislative enactment. We shall make it as gentle as possible. The violent Protestant party will object to it for its mildness, and will endeavour to drive us further.'

Three days after the meeting of Parliament Lord John Russell brought in his promised Bill to prevent the assumption of territorial titles by Roman Catholic bishops. The introduction of the measure was keenly opposed, but after a discussion which was protracted through several nights its opponents mustered only 63 votes against 395. Meanwhile, however, the Ministry, though supported by the Peelites, had escaped defeat only by a majority of 14 in a House of 545 members on a motion of Mr. Disraeli, that it was their duty to introduce without delay such measures as might be most effectual for the relief of the agricultural interest. The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave great dissatisfaction, and if his proposals were persisted in they were certain to be rejected. The feeble condition of the Government did not prevent their own supporters from pressing on them a reform which

it was manifestly impossible for them to carry; and a motion of Mr. Locke King for leave to bring in a Bill to assimilate the county franchise to that of the boroughs was carried (20th February) against them by a majority of nearly two to one. So careless and indifferent had the supporters of the Ministry become that only fifty-two of their number mustered on the occasion, while a hundred voted for the motion.

To have attempted to retain office after such an ignominious defeat would have been dishonourable as well as unwise, and on the 22nd Lord John Russell formally tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues. Lord Stanley was sent for by Her Majesty; but it was evident that a Protectionist Ministry, even if one could be formed, would be utterly unable to hold its ground. He therefore recommended that an attempt should be made to strengthen the present Government by a union with the followers of the late Sir Robert Peel. This, however, was rendered impossible by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which the Whigs could not withdraw and the Peelites would not support. Lord Aberdeen was constrained to decline the task of forming an administration, from a conviction that no Ministry could stand which refused to deal with the Papal aggression, as he and his friends were firmly resolved not to do. Lord Stanley was again appealed to in this emergency; but the statesmen to whom he applied for help—Mr. Gladstone, Lord Canning, Lord Ellenborough, and others—all declined to form part of a Protectionist Ministry, and he was therefore compelled to abandon the undertaking. In this critical state of affairs Her Majesty summoned the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Lansdowne to her aid. By their advice Lord John Russell and his colleagues consented, at the request of the Queen (3rd March), to resume their offices, and the dead lock into which the political machine had been brought was thus removed. The supporters of the Government had been taught a much-needed lesson, and when Mr. Locke King

moved the second reading of the Bill which had 'upset the coach,' it was rejected by a majority of 216 in a House of 382 members.

But the ill-fated Ecclesiastical Titles Bill had still to be disposed of, and in order to facilitate its progress through the House the more stringent clauses were withdrawn by the Government, and it was limited to a mere declaration that the titles assumed by the Roman Catholic prelates were illegal. In this form it pleased no party. The expectations which had been raised in the minds of the high Protestants by the Durham letter were miserably disappointed by such a feeble result, while the Roman Catholics still regarded the Bill as an insult to their church. The debate on the second reading was protracted over seven nights, and the measure was vigorously opposed by Sir James Graham, Gladstone, Cobden, Bright, Roundell Palmer, Roebuck, and other prominent Liberals, but they could only muster 95 votes against 438. The Roman Catholic members obstinately resisted the Bill in its subsequent stages, but when Sir F. Thesiger moved a series of resolutions to render it more stringent they walked out of the House, and allowed three of them to be adopted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government. The third reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 217, the opponents of the motion amounting to only 46, while it was supported by 263. In the House of Lords, after two nights of debate, the second reading was carried by 265 votes against 38. The Bill was finally passed, without alteration, on the 29th of July, and in due course received the Royal assent.

Earl Russell, in his 'Recollections and Suggestions,' published in 1875, says, in vindication of the course adopted by the Government in dealing with this question, 'The object of the Bill was merely to assert the supremacy of the Crown. It was never intended to prosecute any Roman Catholic Bishops who did not act in glaring and ostentatious defiance of the Queen's title to the Crown. Accordingly a very clever artist represented me in a caricature as a

boy who had chalked up "No Popery" upon a wall and then run away. This was a very fair joke. In fact, I wanted to place the assertion of the Queen's title to appoint Bishops on the statute-book, and there leave it. I kept in the hands of the Crown the discretion to prosecute or not any offensive denial of the Queen's rights. My purpose was fully answered. Those who wished to give the Pope the right of appointing Bishops in England opposed the Bill. When my object had been gained I had no objection to the repeal of the Act.'

Lord Russell mentions that during his temporary resignation of office in February, 1851, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham tried to persuade him not to persevere with the Bill, but to be satisfied with Parliamentary resolutions asserting the rights of the Crown. He did not like, he says, to retire from the position he had assumed; but he admits that in substance the course suggested by Lord Aberdeen would have been as effectual and less offensive than that which he took. There can be no doubt that this would have been the case, but as Sydney Smith remarked, 'a peculiarity of the Russells is that they never alter their opinions; they are an excellent race, but they must be trepanned before they can be convinced.' The Bill which caused such dissension among the Liberal party was a dead letter from the first, and was repealed in 1871.

In the midst of these political and ecclesiastical squabbles, and the annoyance and trouble which they caused both to the sovereign and the country, a most memorable event occurred, which was as pleasant as it was profitable—the opening of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations. The project originated with Prince Albert, and it was owing to his influence and unwearied exertions that it was successfully carried into execution. He was President of the Society of Arts, and at a meeting in Buckingham Palace on the 30th of July, 1849, he propounded his views on the subject to four of its most active members, and proposed that the Society should take the

initiative in the promotion of an exhibition which 'would afford the means of showing what every country was able to produce in the shape of raw materials, in machinery and mechanical inventions, in manufactures, and also in sculpture, in plastic art, and generally in art as applied to manufactures.' The proposal was cordially entertained by these associates, the leading manufacturers throughout the kingdom took it up with warm interest, the sympathies of our colonies and of the East India Company were enlisted, communications were opened with Continental States, and most of them, following the lead of France, promised their active assistance. At the beginning of 1851 a Commission was appointed 'for the promotion of the Exhibition of the Works of all Nations,' to be held in the course of that year. Prince Albert was appointed President of the Commission. Steps were next taken to raise the money to carry out the project; £64,000 was subscribed, and a guarantee fund of £200,000 was ultimately secured.*

On the 21st of February, 1850, the first of the great public meetings on the subject was held, and in addition to Lord Brougham, Lord Morpeth, the Bishop of Oxford, and other eminent Englishmen who took part

* There was great backwardness at first in raising the necessary funds. The various towns appealed to sent no end of advice, objections, and queries, but little or no money. The constant demands on a nearly empty exchequer to meet the large and growing calls were a source of painful uneasiness to the Commissioners up till the very opening of the Exhibition, and until the large subsequent receipts relieved all anxiety on this score. The writers in *Punch*, for some reason or other (probably personal pique), joined loudly in the outcry against the Exhibition being in Hyde Park, and lost no opportunity of making fun of the project. 'The backwardness of the subscriptions was of course a good point for them to handle, and one of Leech's cartoons represented the Prince as "The Industrious Boy," cap in hand, with "Please to remember the Exhibition" inscribed under it, and followed by some verses, of which the first will serve to show the general character—

"Pity the troubles of a poor young Prince,
Whose costly scheme has brought him to your door,
Who's in a fix—the matter not to mince;
Oh help him, and with commerce swell your store!"

The Prince, who had the rare quality of enjoying a joke none the less for being the subject of it, has preserved this cartoon among his records of the Exhibition' ('Life of the Prince Consort,' ii. 298).

in the discussion, France, Prussia, America, and Belgium were represented by their respective ambassadors at the British Court. It was followed by a banquet, given upon a magnificent scale, at the Mansion House, on the 21st of March, to which the principal officers of State, the Foreign Ambassadors, the Royal Commissioners for the Exhibition, and the chief magistrates of more than 200 towns were invited, for the purpose of interesting them in the scheme. Prince Albert was present, and explained with great clearness and effect the purposes of the Exhibition. 'It was,' he said, 'to give the world a true but a living picture of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind had arrived, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions.'

Strange to say, the scheme met with great opposition in various quarters from which support might have been expected, and difficulties arose concerning the site and the plan of the structure which it required no small amount of energy and tact to overcome. The Royal Commissioners had fixed upon Hyde Park as the best site for the great building in which the Exhibition was to take place. A fierce outcry, however, was raised against what was ridiculously termed 'the profanation of the Park,' and it was confidently asserted that the Park would be utterly spoiled by the crowds who would resort to the Exhibition. Sir Robert Peel, at the meeting of the Commissioners on the day on which he met his fatal accident, had agreed to defend in the House of Commons the selection of the site, and the knowledge of this fact helped considerably to abate the violence of the opposition. 'If we are driven out of the Park,' wrote the Prince Consort, 'the work is done for.' Happily this danger was averted. In the House of Commons the Opposition were defeated by a very large majority, and in the Upper House the hostile motion was withdrawn.

A suitable plan for the building had yet to be selected, and this was found to be no

easy matter. Two hundred and forty designs were sent, but the Building Committee were unanimously of opinion that 'there was no single one so accordant with the peculiar objects in view as to warrant them in recommending its adoption.' Finally, they seemed to be shut up to the acceptance of one—a huge but low structure of brick-work—immensely long and wide, like an enormous railway shed, with a dome of light sheet iron 200 feet in diameter. In this extremity, when the constructive talent of Europe seemed to be exhausted and in vain, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Paxton came to the rescue. He was the constructor of the large and splendid conservatory in the Duke of Devonshire's garden at Chatsworth, and it suddenly occurred to him that a structure might be constructed exclusively of glass and iron large enough to contain all the articles that were likely to be sent to the Exhibition, which would admit a sufficient quantity of light, be at once beautiful and inexpensive, and could with facility be prepared, erected, and removed. Mr. Paxton's ingenious and exquisite design was accepted by the Commissioners on the 16th of July. The construction of the building was intrusted to Messrs. Fox and Henderson. An army of 2000 men were employed in rearing the fabric. In spite of the difficulties with which the contractors had to contend—arising out of the shortness of the time allowed, the unusual wetness of the season, and the combinations of the workmen—with a rapidity wholly unexampled, in seven months they reared an edifice which, by the common consent of the immense multitudes who visited it, was of a more wonderful character than any of the varied wonders which it included, and was of itself one of the chief objects of attraction.* Lord

* Thackeray, in his 'May Day Ode,' has happily expressed the prevailing feeling on the subject

'But yesterday a naked sod,
The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,
And cantered o'er it to and fro:
And see 'tis done!

As though 'twere by a wizard's rod,
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun.'

Palmerston, writing to Lord Normanby on the day after the opening of the Exhibition, said, 'The building itself is far more worth seeing than anything in it, though many of its contents are worthy of admiration.' It covered a space of twenty acres, and the sum agreed to be paid for a year's use of the materials was £78,000.

As the building approached completion influential exhibitors from all the large towns in the kingdom applied for space. Similar applications poured in from our colonies and from the United States, as well as from nearly all the countries of Continental Europe. As might have been expected, difficulties arose in assigning to each country its proper place and limits, owing to their mutual jealousies. This troublesome question was settled by the felicitous idea of a geographical arrangement according to the terrestrial position of each State. It was decided that the transept should be assumed as the equator, and that the various countries which furnished contributions should have their places assigned according to Mercator's projection. This equitable device solved many difficulties; but a great deal of tact and prudence was necessary to remove petty jealousies and make matters proceed smoothly. Spain actually refused to exhibit unless provided with an entrance distinct from that of Portugal; and the 'transposition of the Imperial furniture of the Court of Austria from a southern to a more northern latitude seemed pregnant with consequences as grave as those attending the transfer of the Court of the Emperors from Rome to Byzantium, and actually led to a blockade of the Austrian consignments for a week in the port of Hamburg.' A difficulty arose in securing the services of a sufficient number of persons acquainted with foreign languages who could act as interpreters between the English authorities and the exhibitors who came from all parts of the world, and spoke no language but their own native tongue. At any other time this difficulty would have been insurmountable;

but the recent convulsions on the Continent had compelled a large number of political refugees to seek an asylum in England, and they were glad to give their services for a very moderate remuneration. 'It is at once a curious and an instructive fact that the vast majority of those who formed the immediate *entourage* of the royal personages visiting the Exhibition consisted of men who, having been condemned for democratic opinions in their respective countries to imprisonment for life or even to death, had eluded the violence of the laws and the vigilance of the police.' They, however, conducted themselves on this occasion with perfect propriety and strict regard to law and order.

The opening of the Great Exhibition had been looked forward to by many persons with serious apprehensions. Not a few shared with the eccentric Colonel Sibthorp a distrust of all foreigners, and seemed to think that a swarm of Communists and Red Republicans would avail themselves of the gathering to plunder and burn the metropolis. Others dreaded an outbreak of the Chartists, who had so recently threatened the peace and safety of the community. The Duke of Cambridge, it appears, participated in these apprehensions. The Continental sovereigns regarded the project with great uneasiness. Their subjects, as they well knew, were sullen and discontented at the reaction that had taken place, and the manner in which their promised rights had been withheld; and they were evidently apprehensive that contact with Englishmen and English institutions might make those of them who were attracted to the Exhibition more eager to throw off the yoke of arbitrary power by which they had been so long galled. The King of Prussia was in such a state of alarm at the danger which he fancied would be caused by the presence of Red Republicans whom the Exhibition would draw to London, that at first he prohibited his brother—then Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany—from

accepting the invitation of our Queen to be present at the opening ceremonial. This prohibition was finally withdrawn, as Bunsen states, 'rather in consideration of the decided wish of the Prince to make the proposed visit, than in consequence of the arguments and the evidence which Bunsen forcibly brought before His Majesty to prove the tales of conspiracy to be wholly fictitious which in Continental Courts were received as credible.' 'The opponents of the Exhibition,' wrote Prince Albert, 'work with might and main to throw all the old women here into a panic, and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision.'

Although the Continental Powers looked so coldly on the Exhibition, yet as the object was not a British but an International one, as half the building was in charge of foreign authorities, and half the collection the property of foreign countries, Prince Albert proposed that an opportunity should be offered to the Corps Diplomatique to take a part in the proceedings of the opening day by presenting an address to Her Majesty. M. Van de Weyer, the senior member of the Corps, was commissioned to lay the proposal before his colleagues. They severally and individually expressed their approval of the idea; but at the meeting held to consider the proposal, Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, whom M. Van de Weyer did not find at home, worked so strongly on their fears that by a majority of three they decided to decline presenting an address. The Queen, on learning this result, intimated to them that she had intended to pay them a compliment, but she would not urge them to accept as a

civility what others had been willing to receive as a favour. They had by this time begun to repent of their foolish and discourteous vote, and ultimately Brunnow's remained the only dissenting voice. But as unanimity was required, it was decided by the Foreign Office that no address should be presented by the Corps Diplomatique, and that 'they,' said Van de Weyer, 'as mute as fish, should pass before the Queen, make their bow, and stand on the side of the platform, where they certainly did look like fish out of the water. I must add that on reflection they were thoroughly ashamed of what they had done.'

The opening ceremony took place on the 1st of May, 1851, and was in every way a most brilliant success. The day was bright and genial. Not less than 25,000 spectators were within the building, in which the flags of all nations were floating, with the royal standard rising majestically above them, and it was calculated that 700,000 persons lined the route between it and Buckingham Palace. The Green Park and Hyde Park in particular were one densely crowded mass of human beings, all in the highest good humour and most enthusiastic. 'The shock of delighted surprise,' says the Prince Consort's biographer, 'which every one felt on first entering the great transept of Sir Joseph Paxton's building was a sensation as noble as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the park, which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage as free and unconfined as if there was nothing between them and the open sky. The plash of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich dyes of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art. One general effect of beauty had been produced by the infinitely varied work of

the thousands who had separately co-operated towards this marvellous display; and the structure in which it was set, by its graceful lines and the free play of light which it admitted, seemed to fulfil every condition that could be desired for setting off the treasures thus brought together.' The description given of this magical scene by Her Majesty herself, in language glowing with emotion and thankfulness, is singularly vivid. 'The glimpse of the transept,' she says, 'through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. . . . The sight as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband, the author of this "Peace Festival," which united the industry of all nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever.'*

On entering the transept the Queen took her place upon the dais, surrounded by the

* It has been well remarked by Sir Theodore Martin that 'in reading this vivid description, so glowing with an emotion that speaks directly to the heart, we are again reminded of Thackeray's "May Day Ode"—

'I felt a thrill of love and awe,
To mark the different garbs of each,
Tho' changing tongue, the various speech,
Together blent;
A thrill methinks like his who saw
"All people dwelling upon earth
Praising our God with solemn mirth
And one consent."

Behold her in her Royal place!
A gentle lady; and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!

ladies of her suite, the most illustrious statesmen and warriors of the age, the heads of the Church, and the foreign ambassadors. The organ pealed forth the well-known notes of the National Anthem, and 'a multitude of voices, like the sound of mighty waters, poured forth the grand old hymn.' Prince Albert then descended from the dais, and at the head of the Commissioners, 'a curious assemblage,' the Queen says, 'of political and distinguished men,' read the report of the Commission, to which she returned a brief answer. The Archbishop of Canterbury next offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the Hallelujah Chorus. The procession, which was beautifully arrayed and of great length, then began, consisting of the eminent individuals who had been stationed on the dais, headed by Her Majesty, the Prince Consort, and their eldest son and daughter. They walked through the whole length of the building, in the midst of continued and deafening cheers. The illustrious and venerable Duke of Wellington, the 'observed of all observers,' walked arm in arm with his old fellow-soldier the Marquis of Anglesey. On their return to the dais the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Lord High Steward, declared the Exhibition open, and the announcement was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering.

The most perfect order was preserved throughout the whole proceedings, and not a single accident occurred, or one police case connected with the vast assemblage, to mar the delight which this magnificent

Soft is the voice and fair the face;
She breathes amen to prayer and hymn;
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!

Swell, organ, swell your trumpet blast!
March, Queen and Royal pageant, march,
By splendid aisle and springing arch
Of this fair hall!

And see above the fabric vast
God's boundless heaven is bending blue
God's peaceful sun is beaming through,
And shining over all!

spectacle produced. 'It was impossible,' wrote Lord Palmerston, 'for the invited guests of a lady's drawing-room to have conducted themselves with more perfect propriety than did this sea of human beings.'

The subsequent history of the Great Exhibition was in keeping throughout with the success of the opening day. The internal arrangements of the different departments were of the most complete and satisfactory character. It had its post-office, its branch bank, its telegraph, its miniature railroad, its little army of police, and its *cafés* and *table d'hôtes* to provide daily for the wants of a constant population equal to that of a populous city. In order that all classes might partake of its benefits and enjoyments, the price of admission was gradually reduced till it reached sixpence, and the public were twice admitted free. On one day £5078 was drawn at the doors, and there were seventeen days in which sums varying from £3797 to £3006 were received for admission. In all the receipts at the doors down to the 25th of September amounted to £304,018. As many as 100,000 people were within the building at one time, and altogether it was visited by 5,000,000 persons. The guarantee fund was not required, for the undertaking not only paid its own expenses, but left a balance in the hands of the Commissioners of nearly £250,000, which was devoted to the establishment of the National Museums at Kensington. The Exhibition was closed to the general public on the 11th of October, and on the 15th it may be said to have been formally brought to a termination by Prince Albert, when the awards of the prizes were made known in the presence of a large concourse of people. As few designs ever awakened more alarm at the outset, or ever inspired greater apprehensions for the result, so few have ever been attended with such complete success. It proved to millions a source both of instruction and enjoyment. Similar exhibitions have since

followed in Dublin, Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, and other places, but the impression produced by the Grand Exhibition of 1851 was quite unique. It tended to promote peace and goodwill among nations who were inclined to regard each other with jealousy and dislike. It made the institutions of Great Britain better understood and appreciated by foreigners, and taught them that freedom is perfectly compatible with a due regard to law and order. It fostered a healthy emulation among the manufacturers of different countries, and showed them both where the best materials could be procured and how the processes of manufacture might be improved; and though it failed to realize the expectations that it had inaugurated—a reign of peace—it was certainly calculated to promote harmony among the nations of Europe. In our own country all classes, by means of this Exhibition, increased their stock of knowledge, enlarged the sphere of their enjoyments, cultivated new and instructive relations, exercised their national hospitality, and confirmed their loyalty to their sovereign, who so heartily rejoiced in their joy.

Very shortly after the gratifying termination of the Great Exhibition the country was startled by the news that Lord Palmerston had been dismissed from office. The Foreign Secretary was regarded as the mainstay of Lord Russell's feeble administration, and his removal was considered, not without reason, to be the knell of the Government. The cause assigned for this unusual step was an opinion which Lord Palmerston had expressed to Count Walewski, the French ambassador, respecting Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, the day after that event took place, that the President had acted in self-defence, and that what he had done was in the circumstances of the case the best thing for France. It turned out, however, that there were other causes of alienation of some standing, not so much between the Foreign Secretary and the Premier as between the former and the

Court. Lord Palmerston's sympathy with the European nations who were struggling for their liberties against their Governments, had made him both feared and hated by the Continental despots, and he was at no pains to conceal his dislike and contempt for them. He was quick in forming his judgment of men and things, and impatient of delay in action when his mind was once made up; and the Queen complained that he was in the habit of acting on his own independent judgment and authority, without submitting the matter to her consideration, or even consulting his colleagues. Prince Albert, who was slow and cautious in forming his judgments, and whose natural sympathies were more inclined to favour the authority of the rulers than the complaints of the people, distrusted Palmerston's policy, and disliked the mode in which he treated the Continental sovereigns and their Ministers.

So far back as 1849 the Queen reminded the Foreign Secretary that his office was constitutionally under the control of the Prime Minister, and that the despatches submitted for her approval should therefore pass through the hands of Lord John Russell. The Premier approved of this arrangement, but hinted that the Queen on her part should attend to the draft despatches as soon as possible after their arrival, which it is evident Her Majesty had not always done. In fact, as Lord Russell must have known, his colleague had complained of the serious injury done to the public service, especially in the case of the Spanish marriage, of which Guizot took advantage, by the long delays caused by his being obliged to wait for Her Majesty's approval of his despatches before they could be sent off. Lord Palmerston, on his part, readily agreed to this arrangement, and seems for a time to have acted upon it. But ere long things went on in the old way, and the Queen prepared a Memorandum, prescribing in very sharp language the exact rules which the Foreign Secretary was bound to observe in his official intercourse with her, and

requiring that when her sanction had been given to a measure it should not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; that she should be made acquainted with what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; and that 'she should receive foreign despatches in good time, and have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off.' Lord Palmerston felt this reprimand very keenly, but he received it with great self-control and good temper, and informed the Premier that he would not fail to attend to the directions given him.

The policy of the Foreign Secretary, however, continued to be as distasteful as ever to the Court; and his colleagues, though they substantially agreed with him as to the end to be aimed at, were frequently dissatisfied with what they regarded as 'violations of prudence and decorum' in his mode of action. The Austrian Government were angry and alarmed at the reception given to Kossuth by the citizens of London on his release from his captivity in Turkey. It was 'gall and wormwood to them,' as Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother; and though he declined to receive a visit from Kossuth in person, there were expressions in the answer which he returned to the Metropolitan deputations who presented addresses to him, thanking him for the influence which he had exerted in preventing the surrender of Kossuth to Austria, that gave great offence to the Queen and Prince Albert. This incident was immediately followed by the discovery that the Foreign Secretary, without consulting his colleagues, had expressed to the French ambassador in London his approval of what Louis Napoleon had done. On the 4th of December, in accordance with the wish of the Queen, the Cabinet had formally resolved that our ambassador at Paris should be instructed to remain entirely passive, and to be careful

to say no word that could be misconstrued into an approval of the *coup d'état*, and they were naturally surprised and displeased when they learned that their colleague had anticipated and frustrated their decision. It appears, however, that Lord John Russell himself had, on two different occasions at private parties, expressed to Count Walewski approval of the Prince President's conduct*—a fact of which Lord Palmerston was quite aware—as well as that Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Charles Wood, and Lord Grey had concurred in this view. The Foreign Secretary rested his defence on a justification of the course which Louis Napoleon had adopted, asserting he had only anticipated the plots of the Orleans family and the plans of the Assembly for his overthrow. Lord John insisted that the point at issue was not the action of Louis Napoleon, but the conduct of Lord Palmerston himself in expressing approval without the knowledge of the Queen and the Cabinet. Believing as he did that this proceeding was quite unjustifiable, he intimated to him that he had come to the conclusion that the conduct of

foreign affairs could no longer be left in his hands with advantage to the country. But in his anxiety to conciliate his powerful colleague, who he well knew would prove a most formidable enemy, he, unluckily for himself, proposed that the dismissed Foreign Secretary should accept the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This offer, almost ironical in its character, was of course civilly declined, but it laid the Premier open to the telling retort from his late colleague, 'I do not admit your charge of violations of prudence and decorum, and I have to observe that the charge is refuted by the offer which you made me of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, because I apprehend that to be an office for the due performance of the duties of which prudence and decorum are qualities that cannot well be dispensed with.'

In the discussion which ensued in the House of Commons on Lord Palmerston's dismissal, the Prime Minister treated the ex-Secretary very unfairly, by dragging the Queen's name into the dispute, and reading the Memorandum, which Lord Palmerston said he had no reason to suppose would ever be seen by or known to anybody but Her Majesty, Lord Russell, and himself. The production of this document placed him at a great disadvantage, as a feeling of delicacy and a regard for the honour of his sovereign necessarily made his defence incomplete. Some of his friends disapproved of his reticence; but he remarked, with great good sense and good feeling, that by pursuing the course which they thought he ought to have followed, he should have been bringing for decision at the bar of public opinion a personal quarrel between himself and his sovereign—a step which no subject should take if he could possibly avoid it, for the result of such a course must be either fatal to him or injurious to the country. If he should prove to be in the wrong, he should be irretrievably condemned; if the sovereign should prove to be in the wrong, the monarchy would suffer.

The conduct of Louis Napoleon was

* 'On Friday, the 5th of December, Count Walewski dined with Lord John,' wrote Lord Palmerston to Lord Lansdowne, relating a conversation he had with the Duke of Bedford, Lord Russell's brother, 'and met there some other Ministers of the Cabinet; and "that evening," said Count Walewski to Lord John, "upon that very sofa (pointing to one in the room) you expressed opinions if anything stronger than what Lord Palmerston had said to me on the Wednesday (3rd December); and whereas I had contented myself with reporting what Lord Palmerston had said in a private letter to M. Turgot, I made what you said the subject of an official despatch." Count Walewski said to me that after this Lord John asked him whether he had told all this to me, and Count Walewski said that having recently passed a day at Broadlands, he had talked over with me the circumstances connected with my dismissal from office, and that he had stated to me all that he had then repeated to Lord John. "But," said Lord John, "does Lord Palmerston mean to say all this in the House of Commons?" "Of that," said Count Walewski, "I know nothing." Lord Palmerston was quite warranted in saying as he did to the Duke that the ground on which Lord John Russell had placed his dismissal was destroyed by this statement, which showed that he had done and said no more than Russell himself had said and done; and he justly complained that, finding his original ground thus rendered untenable, he very unfairly adopted in his speech other and quite different grounds.

almost universally condemned by the people of the United Kingdom, and great astonishment was expressed that Lord Palmerston should have indicated in any form, and to any extent, his approval of it. At the same time the dismissal from office of the Minister whose Continental policy was applauded by the great body of the people, was generally regarded with deep regret and disapprobation. No one doubted that his dismissal rendered it impossible for the feeble and tottering Russell Ministry to hold its ground, though characteristically, the Premier himself was of a different opinion. He speedily discovered his mistake.

Lord Palmerston believed that the real reason of his removal from office was 'a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family of Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and in some degree also of the Prussian Government, who had for a long time past effectually poisoned the mind of the Queen and the Prince against him.' There is abundant evidence that an unfriendly feeling was entertained at the Court towards the powerful and popular Minister; but there is no reason to believe that foreign intrigues had anything to do with it, though he was both hated and dreaded by the Continental despots. No better proof could be given that Lord Palmerston was indeed what Lord John termed him in the Pacifico debate, 'the Minister of England'—a terror to crowned evil-doers—than the fact that all over Europe his removal from office was regarded as a triumph for Absolutism, and a blow to the Liberal cause. The Liberal party in Austria considered it as the utter annihilation of their hopes, while the Absolutists were in a perfect frenzy of delight. 'It will hardly be believed,' wrote the British ambassador at Vienna, 'that these arrogant fools here actually think that *they* have overthrown Lord Palmerston, and the vulgar triumph of Schwarzenberg knows no bounds. Not content with placarding the news with lying comments of

all sorts, and despatching couriers into the provinces to circulate the most monstrous fictions about the "victory of Austrian policy," his bad taste has actually gone far enough to make him give a ball in consequence.*

When Louis Napoleon had succeeded in arresting, imprisoning, banishing, or shooting his principal adversaries, and had obtained from the French people the office of President for ten years, he had expressed his determination that France should remain at peace with the other nations of Europe, but no confidence was placed in his declaration. He evidently intended to restore the Napoleonic Empire, and it was generally believed that he had served himself heir to the ambitious designs of his uncle, among which war with Great Britain was included. There is no reason to believe that he ever seriously contemplated any such desperate step, but at the time of the *coup-d'état* it seemed by no means an improbable event. It was evident that no reliance could be placed on his most solemn assurances; and it was generally believed that if he had imagined that a war with our country was necessary to the stability of his throne or his dynasty, he would have undertaken it without scruple. A feeling in consequence arose in the country that the national defences were inadequate, and that there was no provision to repel any sudden descent of an invader upon our shores, which might inflict serious injury and still more serious disgrace. A demand was therefore made that our naval force should be augmented, and the defences of our coasts increased and strengthened. In order to satisfy this demand the Government resolved to bring before Parliament a scheme for the re-

* Schwarzenberg had a bitter grudge against Palmerston, on account of his having warned Lady Ellenborough against his intrigues. He induced that misguided and unfortunate lady to elope with him, and afterwards deserted her in the basest manner. He never again ventured to set foot in England. It is to be regretted that the heartless villain had gone to his account before his hated adversary was appointed Prime Minister, and ruled the country for ten years with general and cordial approbation.

establishment of a militia. During the French war the militia had been a numerous and powerful force, but it had been allowed to fall into decay, and was indeed almost entirely disorganized. An outline of a plan for the establishment of a local militia was accordingly prepared and submitted to the Queen in the usual way. It was introduced into Parliament on the 16th of February, but met with very little favour. It was well known that the Duke of Wellington disapproved of the scheme, which, he warned the Government, was open to very grave objections, and recommended the restoration of the old regular militia. Lord Palmerston followed the same line, and pointed out that while the ordinary militia could be taken anywhere, the local militia could not be moved out of their counties, and could not therefore be made readily available in the case of an invasion. Moreover, in many counties there were no barracks where the local militia could be assembled and drilled. The cordial reception which the House gave to these and other serious objections to the Government scheme, satisfied Lord Palmerston that Parliament not only disapproved of the proposal to establish a local militia, but was by no means anxious to retain Lord John and his colleagues in office. When, therefore, a few nights afterwards, the Committee reported that leave should be given 'to bring in a Bill to amend the laws respecting the

local militia,' he moved that the word 'local' should be omitted, and with the aid of the Peelites and Protectionists he carried his motion by a majority of eleven. The Ministers regarded this adverse vote as an indication that they had lost the confidence of the House, and next day they placed their resignations in the hands of the Queen.

'I have had my tit-for-tat with John Russell,' wrote Lord Palmerston to his brother on the 24th of February, 'and I turned him out on Friday last. I certainly, however, did not expect to do so, nor did I intend to do anything more than to persuade the House to reject his foolish plan and to adopt a more sensible one. I have no doubt that two things induced him to resign. First, the almost insulting manner towards him in which the House by its cheers went with me in the debate; and secondly, the fear of being defeated in the vote of censure about the Cape affairs (the Caffre War), which was to have been moved to-day.'

Such was the inglorious termination of the first Russell Ministry, which for some time had existed on mere sufferance. It was indeed feeble from its birth onwards, its career was not distinguished by any important or useful measures, and it died unlamented. The reins of Government were intrusted to Lord Derby and a Cabinet of Protectionists, whose term of office, however, lasted only a few months.

Donald Brown

CHAPTER XI.

Reactionary movements on the Continent—Arbitrary conduct of the Austrian Court—Opposition to German Unity—Unsuccessful attempt of Prussia to establish an Imperial Federal Constitution—Interference of Austria in Hesse Cassel—Quarrel between Austria and Prussia—The Olmutz Conference—Shocking cruelties of the King of Naples—Their exposure by Mr. Gladstone—Position of France—Its Republican Constitution—Conduct of Louis Napoleon—His attempts to gain over the Army—Composition of the National Assembly—Policy of the Majority of the Members—The President's extravagance—His demands for larger Allowances—Power of the Assembly over the Army—Opposition to Universal Suffrage—Louis Napoleon's associates and tools—Preparations for the overthrow of the Constitution—The *Coup d'État*—Seizure of the leading Generals and Deputies—Violent expulsion of the Assembly—Massacre of the Parisians—Arbitrary proceedings of De Morny at the Home Office—Imprisonment and Transportation of innocent persons to Cayenne—Election of Louis Napoleon to the Presidency by Universal Suffrage—He becomes Emperor of the French—General distrust of his Schemes—Death of the Duke of Wellington—His Character and Services to the Country.

THE reactionary movement on the continent of Europe had now run its course. Revolutionary agitation had been everywhere suppressed; but the sovereigns had, as usual, broken the promises which they made to their subjects in the time of danger and difficulty, and had in consequence sown the seeds of bitter disappointment and burning animosity throughout their dominions. The people were quiet, but their tranquillity was not that of loyalty and contentment, but of exhaustion and despair, that felt itself powerless before the overwhelming forces which the Governments had at their command. The Continental rulers showed that they had learned nothing from the era of danger and humiliation through which they had passed, and they used the power which they had regained with so much difficulty in the most arbitrary and oppressive manner. 'In Germany,' said Prince Albert, 'statesmanship is being again introduced from the steppes of Russia, and the Emperors will present it to the bureaucrats with orders and snuff-boxes.'

The constitution of the Austrian empire had undergone a radical change since the revolutionary storm of 1848. Formerly the different provinces were governed by their own laws, though, with the exception of Hungary, they were dependent on the Viennese Cabinet in regard to their general administration. But under the system

of centralization devised by Stadion and Bach, and proclaimed in March, 1849, all the provinces, without exception, were now governed by uniform laws promulgated by the Emperor, and were all alike placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Ministry at Vienna. Even this arbitrary and illegal destruction of the peculiar institutions and privileges of the various provinces of the empire did not satisfy the autocratic designs of the Austrian Camarilla, and they next proceeded to abolish the very form of a representative constitution. By letters, dated the 20th of August, 1851, addressed to Prince Schwarzenberg, as Minister President, and to Baron Kübeck, President of the Reichsrath, the Emperor declared that henceforth his Ministers should be responsible solely to the Crown, as the centre of all authority; that for the future the Reichsrath was to be considered, not as the council of the empire, but as the council of the throne, and that measures of administration or legislation were consequently to be no longer presented by the Cabinet to the Reichsrath for its opinion, but always to the Emperor. By this decree the vaunted constitution of 1849 was completely set aside, and, as Prince Albert remarked, 'Absolutism was formally proclaimed, and the Ministers were set above all responsibility.' The youthful Emperor was thus made formally to set at nought

his repeated and solemn assurances that Austria should be transformed into a constitutional monarchy; and his equally solemn assurances that the different nationalities of the empire should enjoy the same privileges, proved to amount to nothing more than that all should alike be subjected to the arbitrary regulations of the Viennese Cabinet and to martial law.

Schwarzenberg and his colleagues, not contented with establishing absolute authority over the Austrian empire, were bent on the restoration of the former state of matters in Germany. They resolutely opposed all attempts to establish German unity, as well as any reform in the constitution of the minor German States. The King of Prussia, as we have seen, refused the Imperial crown tendered to him by the Federal Parliament at Frankfort, on the ground that the sovereign Princes of Germany were opposed to his acceptance of it; but now at this inopportune moment he was guilty of the almost incredible folly of attempting a united organization of a part of Germany, 'with the free consent of its sovereigns.' The failure of such a project, at a time when royal prerogative was again in the ascendant, and all apprehension of immediate danger had passed away, was inevitable. The Governments of Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover prepared a draft of an Imperial Federal Constitution, which they proposed for the acceptance of the other German States, having for its object, they said, the mutual protection of its members against external and internal foes. Those States which declined to enter into this Confederation were to retain unchanged the 'rights and duties created by the treaties of 1815.' The Imperial Government was to be vested in a President of the Empire and a Council of the Princes, and the King of Prussia was to be perpetual President. An Imperial Diet was to be instituted, consisting of two Houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives; and minute regulations were laid down for the appointment of the Senate and the election of the

House of Representatives, and for the manner in which their respective duties were to be discharged. As might have been clearly foreseen, Austria declared at once unequivocally her dissent from any such scheme; and the Bavarian Government, after a little consideration, declined to join the Federal Constitution. Hanover and Saxony soon after withdrew their assent, which they had at first given to it, and the scheme ignominiously collapsed.

The Austrian Government were not contented with this triumph over their Prussian rival. The next step for the Emperor to take in his character of President was to resuscitate the defunct Diet, and to summon the members of the old German Confederation to meet at Frankfort for the transaction of business. The usual recognition of foreign Powers was demanded, but was withheld for a time, even by Russia. But at this stage an event occurred which tended not a little to confirm the assumed authority of Austria, and to test the real strength of its opponents. The small State of Electoral Hesse had enjoyed since the year 1832 a moderately liberal representative constitution, which had worked well and had contented the great majority of the people. The Elector himself was a worthless creature, and his chief Minister, M. Hassenpflug, whose conduct had earned him the designation of *Hass* and *Fluch* (hatred and execration), was so detested that his banishment was thought necessary for his personal security. At this juncture he was suddenly recalled, and intrusted once more with the conduct of affairs. In direct opposition to the desires both of the people and the soldiers, he annexed Hesse to the revived Confederation. The next step of this detested Minister was, without vouchsafing any explanation or laying down any budget, to demand a simple vote of a specified sum of money. It was refused, as had been anticipated and desired. On this ground alone, without any other colour of provocation, martial law was proclaimed and the Constitution suspended. The people of

Hesse Cassel, from the highest to the lowest, from the noble to the peasant, rose as one man against their Government, and expelled Hassenpflug, the main source of their discontent. The Elector fled to Frankfurt, where support was readily afforded him by the revived Diet, and Hesse was occupied by the Federal troops. Austria of course sided with the oppressor, and Prussia with the oppressed. Constitutionalism and Absolutism were on the point of coming to a fair stand-up fight. The Prussian *Landwehr* were called out, and all classes and parties at once enthusiastically rose to arms to resist the reimposition upon Germany of a Federal power, dependent on the will of the Cabinet of Vienna. War seemed imminent between Austria and Prussia, when the Cabinet of Berlin lost heart, influenced not so much by the fear of a single-handed conflict with Austria as by the menacing attitude of Russia in the background. The war party was outvoted; the Hessians were compelled to take back the detested Hassenpflug; and Prussia, at the Olmutz Conference, submitted to every demand of Austria with regard to the German question and Schleswig-Holstein, as well as in the case of Electoral Hesse.

The despotic conduct of Austria, however, was far outshone by that of the Neapolitan Government, whose tyranny and cruelty were unparalleled at that time in any part of the globe. Mr. Gladstone, who spent the winter of 1850-51 in Naples, discovered with mingled horror and indignation that Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, who had destroyed the Constitution which he had solemnly sworn to observe, and abolished the Chamber of Deputies, had either driven its most distinguished members into exile or had put them in prison—that there were from twenty to thirty thousand political prisoners at that moment in the kingdom—that many of these were gentlemen of eminent station and unimpeachable loyalty—that few or none of them had been legally arrested or

brought to trial—that they were confined for months and years in loathsome dungeons and in irons, and were enduring the greatest sufferings from filth, foul air, hunger, and sickness—that, in short, the Government had become ‘the negation of God erected into a system.’ Having verified this state of matters by personal examination, Mr. Gladstone published ‘Two letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government,’ describing the scenes he had witnessed, and appealing to the European public on behalf of these unhappy victims of a stupid and savage despotism. These letters obtained an enormous circulation, and produced an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe. About twenty editions of them were sold in a few weeks, and Lord Palmerston sent a copy of the work to each of our ambassadors and envoys to be communicated to the courts to which they were accredited. Such a storm of indignation was thus raised in every European country that the infamous Neapolitan tyrant and his Ministers were fain to make some relaxation of their cruel despotism.

The reactionary spirit which prevailed in Germany, Austria, and Prussia was exhibiting itself in France also. The Ministry, with the concurrence of the Assembly, suppressed the political clubs, and placed restrictions on the liberty of the press and individual freedom, quite as great as those which had existed under the rule of Louis Philippe. The Red Republicans attempted to arrest these proceedings by a sudden rising in arms against the Government, but the insurrection proved utterly abortive through the masterly arrangements made by General Changarnier; and Ledru Rollin and other leaders of the insurgents took to flight. The dangers which thus still continued to threaten the public peace contributed not a little to strengthen the power of the military, and to promote the designs of the Prince President.

There can be little doubt that from the first Louis Napoleon had resolved to employ

every art to make his official position permanent; but in carrying out this design he had to encounter difficulties apparently insuperable. His tenure of office was limited to four years, and he was by the Constitution not eligible for re-election. A general desire, however, had risen throughout the country, and was shared by a large majority of the Assembly, that the President should be quietly re-elected. But their wishes were baffled by a questionable provision of the Republican Charter, which laid it down that no constitutional change should take place without the sanction of three-fourths of the Assembly, and this could not be obtained. It had therefore become evident that the President could not carry out his ambitious scheme without violently changing the Constitution.

Probably in anticipation that such an attempt might be made, the framers of the Constitution had jealously provided that the President should never have any personal command of the army. But Louis Napoleon very soon began to show an earnest desire to ingratiate himself with the troops. He exhibited himself constantly in a military uniform, surrounded himself with a military staff, was accompanied everywhere by military escorts, and reviewed the troops and distributed orders and honours with exactly the same forms that his uncle and the Continental sovereigns used to employ. He soon began to treat the members of his Cabinet in the most autocratic and imperious style; and the patience and forbearance which they showed in return for his arrogant pretensions emboldened him, on their first slight indications of dissatisfaction with his proceedings regarding the occupation of Rome, to dismiss them in an abrupt and ignominious manner. He announced the event to the Assembly in a haughty message, containing this significant passage—'A whole system triumphed on the 10th of December [the date of his election to the office of President], for the name of Napoleon is a complete programme in itself.' The next step in carrying out his

intrigues for the overthrow of the Constitution was to restrict the freedom of the press. The *Constitutional*, a journal devoted to Louis Napoleon's interests, was already advocating the prolongation of his Presidency. Some of the most moderate and respectable journals in Paris argued against the proposal, and were immediately seized, and their editors threatened with 'a lodging in the Conciergerie.' This arbitrary procedure was followed by a denunciation of the press in general by the *Bulletin de Paris*, one of the President's periodical organs. It announced 'the well-considered and resolute determination of the Government to force the press of all sides to respect scrupulously the Government and the law, by inflicting severe punishment on any organ of the press that should violate this double duty.'

The attempt to debauch and gain over the soldiers, which was carried out persistently, was a much more dangerous game. On the 3rd of October, 1850, an army of 20,000 men was assembled on the plains of St. Maur, a few miles to the eastward of Paris, where they were reviewed by the President, surrounded by a brilliant staff. After the manœuvres were completed, the troops were refreshed with a gratuitous distribution of provisions and wine. The attempt, however, failed. No doubt General Changarnier, who commanded in person, would have repressed any breach of discipline had it occurred, but nothing like a desire to transform the President into an Emperor was shown by the troops. The permanent Committee of Assembly felt it necessary to ask some explanations from the Government respecting this irregular and improper conduct; but they were assured by the Minister at War that 'the circumstances complained of were merely accidental, and should not happen again!'—a promise which a few days after was broken by another and more flagrant attempt on the fidelity of the army.

A still more extensive demonstration of military force was announced to take place

on the 10th of October, at Savory, near Versailles, on the opposite side of Paris from the last review. It was intimated that 30,000 men were to take part in the display, and during the interval the public mind was agitated by rumours as to the intentions of the President, and the expected results of this manœuvre. It was reported that it was the subject of bets in Paris whether the President would not return to the Tuileries Emperor. The 30,000 men were duly assembled at the appointed place. The President once more appeared on the scene in gorgeous array with his bedizened staff. The cold collation, sausages, cigars, and champagne, were liberally served out; but General Changarnier also was present, and his subordinate officers were faithful to their trust. Some of the President's aides-de-camp were seen to ride from his side, and endeavour to stimulate the troops to cry, 'Vive Napoleon!' and even 'Vive l'Empereur!' But though two or three colonels set an example of this breach of discipline, it failed of any serious effect. The great mass of the troops, and especially of the infantry, indicated not only no disposition, but a decided reluctance, to countenance the attempt. The result of these two demonstrations showed the President and his fellow-conspirators that the time had not yet arrived to carry the meditated *coup d'état* into execution, and the design was adjourned to a more convenient season.

The National Assembly, which Louis Napoleon regarded as the chief obstacle to the gratification of his ambition, consisted of 750 members, representing all shades of opinion in the country. The great majority were Legitimists, Orleanists, Constitutionals, and Moderate Republicans. Only 200 were set down as Republicans of the Mountain and Socialists. A considerable number, led by such men as MM. de Broglie, Berryer, Molé, de Montalembert, Thiers, Odillon Barrot, &c., consisted of the 'gentry not merely of birth, but of intelligence, property, public service, and public character,' and had no sympathy with

republican opinions and projects. Their eulogists speak of the gallant stand which they made against anarchy, even to the sacrifice of personal interests and popularity; the perseverance with which they laboured gradually to extirpate the passions and prejudices which opposed the re-establishment of order and sound principles; their steady maintenance, with some fatal exceptions, of principles of international right abroad, financial credit and legal justice at home. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that they had been so alarmed and disgusted with the scenes that followed the downfall of Louis Philippe that they readily combined with the President to harass and oppress the Republicans, and to crush Republican feeling. In league with him they planned and carried out the expedition to Rome, degraded the University, committed the education of the people to the Jesuits, and consigned the primary teachers to beggary. They cordially united with him in restricting the franchise by which they themselves had been elected, because the electors of Paris, indignant at their reactionary measures, had given a vote against them. They sanctioned the President's iniquitous abuse of preventive arrests and arbitrary imprisonments, and his partial and oppressive treatment of the public journals, and co-operated with him in keeping whole departments of France for nearly three years in a state of siege on the most frivolous pretences. In short, the majority of the Assembly distrusted and detested the Republic, and would quite readily have substituted for it the monarchical form of government. They no less distrusted and feared the President, but were unwilling to come into open collision with him, or to do anything that might impair his lawful authority.

It was no doubt owing to this feeling, as well as to a want of union among the various sections of the Assembly, that they so readily complied with his demands for an increase of salary. The Constitution, which evidently contemplated a President without a Court,

provided that 'he should be lodged at the public expense, and that he should receive a salary of 600,000 francs (£24,000) a year.' This sum the Assembly liberally, though unconstitutionally, not only consented to double by an additional grant of 600,000 francs, under the good-natured pretext of 'expenses of representation,' but added 150,000 francs (£6000) for charities, making, with some other small additions, his salary 1,625,000 francs, besides all the expenses of furnishing, decorating, lighting, warming, and serving his palace—above 1,000,000 francs more than the Constitution warranted. But it was soon discovered that this allowance, liberal though it was, did not meet the expenses of the magnificent Prince President, with his quasi-imperial state and household, his costly banquets, and his splendid staff of courtiers, civil and military. So early as June, 1850, the President induced his Ministry to ask of the Assembly a large supplementary addition to those official allowances of no less than 1,400,000 francs. They could not fail to perceive the object which such a large sum of money was intended to serve, but through timidity or a desire to conciliate the chief ruler of the country they voted the allowance, chiefly on the persuasion of General Changarnier. The President's necessities, however, seemed to grow in proportion to the increase of his salary, and in February, 1851, he made another demand for a grant of 1,800,000 francs. It was at the same time avowed that he expected his annual income to be permanently raised to 3,452,000 francs (about £140,000), above five times the sum established by the Constitution, and it was openly stated in debate by his partisans that these sums were to promote ulterior views. By this time, however, the seizure of the journals, the reviews of St. Maur and Savory, and the studied insults and reiterated provocations offered to the Assembly itself, had opened the eyes even of the most moderate and unsuspecting members to the President's 'ulterior' designs; they felt

that they could not consent to what would have been 'a mark of approbation for the past and the means of aggression for the future,' and they accordingly refused the grant.

This check—the only one ever given him by that over-patient body—to the greedy and insolent encroachments of the President no doubt served to confirm his resolution to overthrow the Constitution and get rid of the National Assembly. Changarnier and the other generals who were known to be faithful to the Constitution were one by one, under various pretences, dismissed. The principle of selecting Ministers from and responsible to the Assembly was boldly repudiated. 'Men of straw became men of red-tape and court embroidery,' the progresses of the President in the Departments, his bearing, his addresses, were those of an aspirant to the Imperial throne, and his whole conduct showed that he was determined to make his own will the supreme will of his government. Emboldened by the timidity displayed by the Assembly under these ominous proceedings, he now ventured to make a more formal inroad on the constitutional independence and the security of the Legislature. In order to guard against a treasonable attempt to dissolve the Assembly by force of arms, the Constitution had declared by its 32nd Article that 'the National Assembly fixes the amount of military force necessary for its own security and directs it;' but it omitted to state how the power of the Assembly was to be exercised. There was indeed an antecedent decree of the Constituent Assembly which declared that the necessary authority was in the hands of the President of the Assembly, and to obviate all possible misconception a copy of this decree was posted up in all the quarters and barracks of the troops. The President professed to be deeply indignant at this step, complained that it was an aggression of the Assembly on his authority, and a libel on his intentions; and the decree, with his approval, was torn down from the barrack

walls by the mere authority of the Minister of War. In this state of affairs the Questors—a committee of four members charged with the police of the Assembly—proposed to convert the existing decree into a formal enactment; but the Assembly, with an almost incredible want of courage and foresight, by a majority of 400 to 308, rejected the proposition of their own Questors, and thus deliberately left themselves and the country at the mercy of their deadly enemy.

While this unequal struggle was going on, another manœuvre of the President, of a different kind but tending in the same direction, greatly increased the apprehensions of the Assembly. In May, 1850, he took advantage of the general alarm caused by the elections of some Socialists to propose a restriction of the franchise, by requiring from each elector a residence for three years in his district. All sections of the Assembly, with the exception of the Red Republicans, cordially supported the alteration of the law proposed by the President. It was at once carried into effect, and cut off no less than 3,000,000 voters. In October, 1851, looking forward no doubt to the scheme which he intended to propound for his own election to the Imperial dignity, he made the long-expected appeal to the democracy in a Bill for the restoration of universal suffrage. The rejection of this measure served his purpose even better than its acceptance. The Assembly fell into the trap which he had laid for them, and in spite of all warning and all entreaties Berryer and Thiers induced the majority to throw it out, though only by two doubtful votes, in the fullest house that had ever voted. The President, of course, made the most of this rejection of a Bill intended to confer political power on the populace; and the Assembly, terrified at the consequences of their own blunder, availed themselves of the opportunity of a municipal bill then in progress to make an important concession by reducing the term of electoral domicile to a single year. But while this Bill was still under discussion

the Constitution was overthrown, and the Assembly dissolved.

Though Louis Napoleon had always wished to bring about a change in the Constitution, he had originally hoped to effect this in a peaceful way. The prolongation of the Presidency would have served his purpose, as it would have given him time and opportunity to mature and carry out his plans for attaining the Imperial dignity. But the statesmen and eminent generals whom he sounded refused to entertain his overtures. There was indeed a general feeling among them that the safety and prosperity of the country would be promoted by the substitution of a monarchy for the republic; but they seem to have thought that the President was not qualified to occupy the position of permanent ruler of France.

Though he met with this rebuff from the leading statesmen of the country, he did not at once relinquish his desire to effect his purpose by peaceful means. Petitions were got up in the usual way, and the prefects did what force and fraud could do to promote the movement, and not without a considerable amount of success. The majority of the Assembly were willing to comply with the request of the petitioners, but they failed to obtain the support of the three-fourths which were required to carry the repeal of the law that forbade the re-election of the President. From the moment the revision failed Louis Napoleon's mind was made up to attempt the overthrow of the Constitution by violence. He had always about him a number of reckless adventurers who were willing to partake his fortunes, and there were three of this class—men of desperate fortunes, daring and unscrupulous—who were the main agents in the conspiracy now formed against the Assembly and the Constitution: Count de Morny, a noted speculator in the funds; Major Fleury, a bold and resolute soldier who had risen from the ranks; and M. Persigny, who was descended from an ancient family, but began life as a non-

commissioned officer, and was a zealous Bonapartist. They laid their plans with remarkable caution and cunning. No expedients were left untried to bring the Assembly into contempt. It was distracted by Ministerial crises, and defied and menaced by the Ministerial journals. Reports of *coups d'état*, never intended to be carried into effect, were spread to lull the Assembly and the public into a false security. Regiments whose officers were believed to be favourable to the President's policy were retained in Paris or drawn to it, while those that were regarded as friendly to the Republic were drafted to the provinces or despatched to Algeria. No pains were spared to inflame the garrison of Paris against the citizens, whom they termed 'Bedouins,' so that they might be willing to act against them when the time for action came. General St. Arnaud, an unscrupulous adventurer, who was sounded by Fleury and found willing to enter into the plot, was recalled from Algeria, and made Minister of War on the 27th of October. Maupas, a thorough rogue, was suborned and made Prefect of Police. The appointment of a person named Vieyra, of a most disreputable character, to the office of Chief of the Staff of the National Guard led, as was intended, to the resignation of its commander, General Perrot, a man of high honour, and he was replaced by General Lawæstine, on whom the conspirators could rely to obey their orders. The forces in Paris and its neighbourhood were placed under the orders of General Magnan, who was willing to go all lengths with the President and his associates, but declined to risk his own safety by avowedly joining in their plot. 'He expressly requested not to be apprised until the moment for taking the necessary dispositions and mounting on horseback.' On the 27th of November, however, he went so far as to assemble twenty generals whom he had under his command, and announced to them that it was probable they might soon be called upon to act against Paris and

against the Constitution—an intimation which was received by them with great cordiality and promises of unhesitating obedience.

While these preparations were thus fur-
tively made for the overthrow of the Constitution, the members of Assembly, though seriously alarmed, were paralyzed by mutual distrust, and took no steps either for their own protection or the preservation of the Republic. They almost seem to have imagined that legality would prove an adequate defence against conspiracy and violence. A man of honour, indeed, would have shrunk with horror from committing the combined crimes of perjury and treason, of which the President must be guilty before he could usurp the permanent sovereignty of France. On taking office he had thus solemnly sworn to maintain the Constitution: 'In the presence of God and the French people here represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the one indivisible and democratic Republic, and to fulfil all the duties imposed on me by the Constitution.' On two different occasions he volunteered to renew that sacred pledge, and on a third he declared in a message to the French people that he should 'set his honour' on the keeping of it. But the past history and personal character of the President did not warrant the Assembly to place implicit confidence either in his honour or his oaths, and they might have foreseen that both would be thrown to the winds the moment that it suited his purpose to do so. There was also an article in the Constitution which declared that 'any measure by which the President of the Republic should dissolve the Assembly, or prorogue it, or interpose any obstacle to the exercise of its functions, is a crime of high treason.' 'By this mere act the President is deprived of all his functions, the country is bound to refuse him obedience, and the executive power passes at once and by right into the hands of the National Assembly; the Judges of the High Court of Justice are bound, on



Engraved by W. Holl. from a Photograph.

NAPOLEON, III.

penalty of forfeiture of their office, to assemble immediately, to summon a jury in the place which they shall designate, and proceed immediately to the trial of the President and his accomplices.' It is evident that the framers of this Constitution anticipated very sagaciously its most probable danger, and also provided an adequate remedy. Unfortunately it was impossible for them to secure that it should be promptly and properly applied.

As by the Constitution Louis Napoleon's presidency would legally expire in March, 1852, and he was not eligible for re-election, no time was to be lost in carrying out the designs of the conspirators, which had been laid with consummate craft. The 1st of December, 1851, had been fixed for the election of a member to fill a vacant seat in the Assembly. Before that day arrived despatches were sent to all the Prefects to be prepared for a Socialist outbreak in the capital on the occasion of the declaration of the poll. Additional bodies of troops were concentrated in its neighbourhood under the same pretence, and the garrison was ordered to be in arms. No Socialists appeared or had ever been expected. The election passed off in perfect peace and order. Night came and Paris slept, and before it awoke on the 2nd of December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the *coup d'état* was struck, and, in the words of an eloquent writer, 'a self-convicted perjurer, an attainted traitor, a conspirator successful by the foulest treachery—the purchase of the soldiery and the butchery of thousands'—was master of France.

On that memorable night the President held his weekly assembly at the Elysée. It began to disperse at the usual hour, and by eleven o'clock only three guests remained—Morny, Maupas, and St. Arnaud. Vieyra, who had left some time before, had undertaken that the National Guard should not beat to arms that night. The conspirators proceeded to carry out their arrangements. Colonel Beville, an orderly officer of the President, who had been initiated into the

secret, was sent with a packet of manuscripts, comprising the proclamations for next morning, to the State Printing Office, where they were put in type—a battalion of gendarmerie meanwhile surrounding the building to prevent any one from going out until the work was done. These proclamations declared that the Assembly was dissolved, pronounced for universal suffrage, proposed a new constitution, and placed Paris and the twelve surrounding departments under martial law. Maupas meanwhile made arrangements for the arrest of the most distinguished generals of France and several of her leading statesmen, who were to be seized at a quarter past six in the morning. At six o'clock four brigades of infantry, with a strong body of cavalry, took up positions which enabled them both to overawe the city and to protect the Elysée, where the President and his fellow-conspirators passed the night.

The orders of Maupas were carried out with perfect success. Generals Changarnier, Bedeau, Lamoricière, Cavaignac, and Leflô were seized in their beds, handcuffed like robbers, and thrown into prison. At the same time the police laid violent hands on Thiers, Miot, Baze, and other leading members of the Assembly—seventy-eight in all—and carried them also off to a place of confinement. Morny, escorted by a body of infantry, took possession of the Home Office, and issued a circular to the Prefects, informing them that the Assembly had been dissolved amid the applause of the whole population of Paris.

The astounding intelligence of the foul deed that had been perpetrated under cover of the darkness, was made known to the citizens of Paris next morning by the proclamations on the walls. When the Deputies learned the arrest of their most influential colleagues they hastened to the Assembly. They found the doors shut and guarded by a detachment of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, a corps of soldiers recently returned from Africa, and long accustomed to the barbarities of Algerine warfare, who moreover,

were stimulated by a donation of five francs distributed to every soldier in Paris that day. The representatives were driven back at the point of the bayonet, but they obtained an entrance into the chamber by passing through one of the official residences, which formed part of the building. They were expelled, however, by the soldiers, and twelve of them were seized and carried off prisoners.

Driven from their chamber, the Deputies assembled at the Mayoralty of the 10th arrondissement to the number of 300. There, on the motion of M. Berryer, they passed a decree that Louis Bonaparte was deprived of all authority as President of the Republic, and directed the Judges of the Supreme Court to meet and proceed to the judgment of the President and his accomplices. The decree received 230 signatures, comprising the most distinguished men of all classes and parties in the Assembly. They then appointed General Oudinot commander of the public forces. These decrees had scarcely been signed when a band of soldiers, headed by their officers, appeared at the door, without, however, entering the apartment. One of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly ordered them to retire. The officers, pale and hesitating, appeared to feel the hatefulness of the task imposed upon them, declared they should go for further orders, and accordingly retired. Several battalions of the line, under the command of General Forey, came up at this juncture, and the soldiers soon reappeared at the door, preceded by two Commissaries of Police, who summoned the Deputies to disperse. 'We are here by lawful authority,' said the President, 'and sole representatives of law and right. We will not disperse.' The Commissaries hesitated and hung back, but at length an aide-de-camp of General Magnan came with a written order to the officer commanding the troops, directing him to clear the chamber by force if necessary. The whole Assembly declared that they would not obey this command, unless compelled.

After a good deal of hesitation the Commissaries of Police caused the two Vice-Presidents, one of whom was presiding over the Assembly, to be seized by the collar and led out. The whole Assembly followed, two and two, and were marched through the streets between files of soldiers, under the command of General Forey. When the people who happened to be in the streets at the moment saw the most illustrious Frenchmen of their time dragged through the mud of Paris like a gang of malefactors they were deeply affected, but no attempt was made to rescue them. They were conducted into the barrack of the Quai d'Orsay, where, after waiting two hours in the open air, they were shut up all the day without fuel or food, with nothing but the bare boards to lie on. In the course of the evening other fifteen Deputies were brought to the barrack, so that their numbers were raised to 234. Among these were twelve ex-Ministers, nine of whom had served under Louis Napoleon himself, and eight members of the Institute; the Dukes de Broglie, de Luynes, and de Montebello, two of the three Vice-Presidents of the Assembly; Odillon Barrot, Dufaure, Berryer, de Rémusat, de Tocqueville, Duvergier de Hauranne, de Falloux, Gustave de Beaumont; Admirals Cécille and Lainé; Generals Oudinot, Lauriston, and Radoult la Fosse, and others, illustrious for their rank, talents, and political experience and services. Two hours before midnight a large number of the windowless vans, in which felons are conveyed to prison, were brought into the court of the barrack; and into these the members of the Assembly were thrust, as if they had been criminals of the lowest grade. They were carried off, some to the fortress of Mount Valerian, some to the prison of Mazas in Paris, and the remainder to Vincennes. The treatment of the generals arrested in the morning was still more disgraceful—Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Changarnier—the conquerors of Africa—were shut up in these infamous cellar-vans, which are

always uncomfortable, and become intolerable on a lengthened journey. In this manner they were conveyed to the fortress of Ham, where Louis Napoleon himself had at one time been imprisoned.

The duty of taking cognizance of offences against the Constitution was intrusted to the Judges of the High Court of Justice. It was to their honour that they at once obeyed the decree of the captive Assembly. These five judges, sitting in the midst of Paris, crushed by an overwhelming military force, and in the face of martial law, had the courage to assemble at the Palace of Justice, and to issue a judicial order for the impeachment of the President. They were driven from the bench by an armed force, accompanied by a Commissary of the Police; but before they were expelled they formally adjourned the Court to a day 'to be named hereafter,' and ordered a notice of the impeachment to be served upon the President at the Elysée.

The great body of the Parisians had no inclination at this time to appeal to arms in defence of the Constitution. The Red Republicans had been crushed by the sanguinary conflict of 1848, and were without arms or leaders; the middle classes had a dread of insurrection; and the action of the National Guard had been completely arrested by the cunning device of the conspirators of the Elysée. But there was still a small section who were prepared to resist the proceedings of Louis Napoleon and his associates. Among these were Victor Hugo, Baudin, Duval, and some of the other members of the Assembly who had escaped arrest, along with several persons connected with the Democratic press. They formed themselves into a Committee of Resistance on the 2nd of December, and threw up a slight barricade at the corner of the Rue St. Marguerite. They were attacked by a battalion of the 19th Regiment, and after a brief conflict, in which Baudin and another deputy lost their lives, the barricade was taken. During part of

the night, barricades, of no great strength, were erected in the crowded streets between the Hôtel de Ville and the Boulevard; but they were carried without difficulty by the troops, and it became evident that the attempt at insurrection had proved a failure.

For some reason, apparently unaccountable at the time, the troops at this stage relaxed their efforts, and during the night of the 3rd and the whole forenoon of the next day they made no attempt to prevent the formation of barricades in the centre of the city. It is generally believed that they were ordered to abstain from action in order to find a plausible excuse for the massacre which took place on the 4th of December. At two o'clock of that day the troops were ordered to advance, and they marched towards the advanced post of the insurgents, which was covered by a small barricade across the Boulevard. It was defended by only twenty men. A few musket shots were exchanged between this handful of insurgents and the head of a vast column of troops, 16,000 strong, about 150 yards distant, but no one was wounded. Numbers of spectators, including many women, had taken up their places on the foot pavement in the space between the soldiers and the barricade; and from the head of the column westward to the Madeleine the windows and balconies of the houses, as well as the foot pavements, were crowded with spectators who were gazing at the military array, which they evidently regarded as merely an interesting spectacle. Suddenly, as if by some common impulse, the soldiers turned towards the houses and fired point blank, both at the spectators on the foot pavement and in the crowded windows and balconies. Volley upon volley, in hot haste, was poured into the defenceless mass for fifteen or twenty minutes; and when the firing ceased a Colonel Rochefort, of the Lancers, made a charge upon the crowd, and cut down thirty persons, almost all of them in the dress of gentlemen. The soldiers followed those who tried to find refuge in the houses,

and slaughtered without mercy not only the fugitives but all the inmates, hunting them from floor to floor till they caught them at last and put them to death. 'There was no fight, no riot, no fray, no quarrel, no dispute. What happened was a slaughter of unarmed men, and women, and children.' The foot pavement was strewn with dead bodies, which lay heaped one on the other. In front of one shop no less than thirty-three were counted, and thirty-seven were found in one little peaceful court called the Cité Bergère. 'The Boulevards and the adjacent streets,' says an English officer who was an eye-witness of the shocking scene, 'were at some points a perfect shambles.'

While this wholesale massacre of innocent and defenceless persons, of both sexes and all ages, was proceeding on the Boulevard, four brigades were attacking the barricades which had been constructed in other streets. The resistance was so feeble that they were carried without difficulty; but not satisfied with killing all whom they found in arms, the soldiers, who had been ordered to give no quarter, put to death every one who came in their way. The converging movement of the troops prevented escape, and forced the people into streets barred by the soldiers at both ends, and then, whether they were combatants or inoffensive onlookers, they were shot down to a man. 'This killing,' says Mr. Kinglake, 'was done under so stringent orders, and yet in some instances with so much of deliberation, that many of the poor fellows put to death were allowed to dispose of their little treasures before they died. Thus one man, when told that he must die, entreated the officer in command to be allowed to send to his mother the fifteen francs which he carried in his pocket. The officer consenting, took down the address of the man's mother, received from him the fifteen francs, and then killed him. Many times over the like of this was done.' Great numbers of prisoners were brought into the Prefecture of Police, driven with their

hands tied into one of the courts of the building, and there knocked on the head and felled with a loaded club like bullocks. During the night of the 4th and the night of the 5th prisoners were shot in batches by platoons of infantry, and thrown into pits. The number of persons put to death in these horrible massacres cannot be ascertained with certainty, but must have been very large. The colonel of one of the regiments engaged in this slaughter stated that his men alone had killed 2500 men. Of the soldiers employed in this butchery only twenty-five lost their lives.

Paris was now prostrate at the feet of the conspirators, but their work was only half completed. On the morning of the 2nd December De Morny, under cover of darkness, took possession of the Home Office, and issued orders to the Prefects throughout the country that the *juges de paix*, the mayors, and other functionaries who refused to give immediate adhesion in writing to 'the great measure which the Government has just adopted,' should be instantly dismissed. This imperious mandate was implicitly obeyed; but though the great majority of the rural population remained quiescent, partly from apprehensions of an outbreak on the side of the Socialists, partly from ignorance of the real character of the *coup d'état*, there were insurrections in various places against the usurped authority of the President. These risings were mercilessly suppressed by the soldiers in the provinces, who closely imitated the ferocity of the army of Paris. The Departments in which the people seemed dissatisfied were put under martial law, and not only were all who were alleged to have taken up arms against the Government tried by court-martial, but 'those whose Socialist opinions were notorious' were ordered to be transported, and had their property sequestered at the mere pleasure of the Administration. Commissaries were sent into the provinces by Morny, armed with the most extensive arbitrary powers, to search out and punish all who were

supposed to be disaffected to the Government, and the spy system in its most hateful form was brought into full operation. All who suggested doubts as to the sincerity of the Government or any of its acts, or who interfered in an election in a commune in which they did not reside, or who spread rumours or suggested doubts tending to unsettle people's minds, or who carried weapons unless specially authorized, were declared enemies of their country and subjected to military execution; also all persons distributing written or printed papers, and all who should assist or receive, or even supply with food, any persons pursued by the authorities.

The Parisian massacres and provincial slaughterings had not freed the conspirators of the Elysée from all those whose hostile influence they dreaded, and on the 8th of December Prince Louis Bonaparte issued a decree by which everybody whom the police authorities chose to designate as having belonged to a Secret Society was liable to be transported, without trial, either to the penal colony in Algeria, or to Cayenne, in French Guiana—one of the most unhealthy places on the globe, where there were no barracks, or even prisons, to receive the unhappy exiles, or wholesome and suitable food provided for them, and the pestilential climate would speedily destroy them. The execution of this atrocious decree was pressed by Morny and Maupas with such unrelenting severity that in the course of a few weeks (as Granier de Cassagnac, a panegyrist of the President, admits), no fewer than 26,500 persons were seized and transported. A single Department—the Nièvre—furnished more than 1000. An Englishman travelling through the central provinces of France in the latter part of February, 1852, found the roads swarming with prisoners on their way to the coast—some in long strings on foot, others piled together in diligences, in caleches, and in carts. These unhappy victims of the most cruel tyranny had been condemned to exile worse than death, without trial, without

public, or, as far as is known, without even private inquiry, on the evidence of secret informers, not improbably of private enemies, or debtors, or others who would profit by the banishment of those whom they denounced. The story of one of the sufferers from deportation was told by an English writer of high character, who was personally acquainted with the circumstances. It is that of Hippolyte Magen, the young author of the successful tragedy of 'Spartacus.' He was arrested on the 2nd of December, but his friends were told not to make themselves uneasy, that his liberal opinions were known, and that he was imprisoned merely to prevent his compromising himself. Week after week went on, however, during which his place of confinement—the *casemates* of Fort Bicêtre—was gradually filled with 3000 prisoners. His friends were thinking with great anxiety of the influence which the cold of a Parisian winter, endured in damp dark vaults, and the pestilential air produced by the crowds which had been thrust into them, might have on a constitution unaccustomed to hardship. At length they found that he had quitted Fort Bicêtre, but that he had quitted it on his road to Cayenne—untried, indeed unaccused, but sentenced to a death in comparison of which the Noyades were merciful.

In addition to those who were transported to Algeria or Cayenne, there is good reason to believe that 100,000 more—that is, about one in ninety of the adult males of France—were confined in the vaults and *casemates* which the French dignify with the name of prisons, often piled, crammed, and wedged together so closely that they could scarcely change their positions. Over every one of these sufferers the sentence of deportation was suspended. Upwards of 3000 had disappeared from Paris alone—their fate utterly unknown to their families and friends. A great part of the persons on whom these horrible sufferings were inflicted had spent their lives in literary or professional pursuits—as authors of well-

known works, editors of newspapers, lawyers, and physicians. Those of their number who were released at the end of three months were so completely broken down in health and changed in their appearance by what they had undergone, that they could scarcely be recognized.

One of the decrees issued by Louis Napoleon on the 2nd of December appointed a new election of a President by universal suffrage. He was willing, he said, to submit himself again to the people to choose or to reject him in favour of another candidate, if they should think fit to do so. No such alternative, however, was really offered. The electors were only permitted an affirmative or a negative vote, and every precaution was taken to secure an immense majority in Louis Napoleon's favour. First of all, thirty-two departments were placed under martial law. Then all means of concerted action on the part of the opponents of the President were forbidden. They were not allowed to hold any meeting for the purpose of consultation. All journals opposed to his claims were silenced—(forty-nine were swept away in the departments, and twelve disappeared in Paris).^{*} Even the printing and distributing of negative voting tickets were made penal, so was any attempt to persuade others to vote against the President, or an endeavour to 'propagate an opinion,' or to throw a doubt on the loyalty of any of the acts of the Government, or suggesting fears tending to disquiet the people. Still further to terrify the electors, the army were ordered to vote (and to vote openly without ballot) within forty-eight hours from the receipt of a despatch of the 3rd of December, while the 20th or 21st of that month were the days appointed to receive the votes of civilians. The soldiers, of course, voted in a body for Louis Napoleon, and

thus set an example which the people were required at their peril to follow. There was no opportunity afforded of verifying the accuracy of the returns, no scrutiny, no guarantee that they had been honestly and correctly made. The whole arrangements were in the hands of the creatures of the Government.

Apart from the coercion employed by Morny and Maupas, there was no doubt powerful influence exerted on behalf of Louis Bonaparte. The priests in a body supported him, followed by the peasantry, on whom they fastened tickets, marked 'Yes,' and drove them in flocks to the poll. The Jesuits, grateful for the important concessions made to them in regard to education, marched with 'reverted cowls and unfurled banners to the ballot;' and the Orleanists, who formed the bulk of the mercantile class and of the shopkeepers, 'rallied with alacrity to the standard of expediency and fear.' In such circumstances as these the wonder is, not that the Bonapartists should lay claim to having polled for their candidate 7,439,216 against 640,737 who voted 'No,' but that any party should have had the courage to vote against the election of Louis Napoleon as President for two years, with power to form a new Constitution. When the result of the plebiscite was declared, the re-elected President, surrounded by his fellow-conspirators, proceeded in great state to the Church of Notre Dame, where he was received with all due solemnity by the bishops and other dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, in the presence of an immense crowd who filled every corner of the cathedral. The 'Te Deum' was then sung as the thanksgivings of the nation for the new and signal mercy vouchsafed to them by Almighty God. 'Moreover, the priests lifted their voices and cried aloud, chanting and saying to the Most High, "Domine! salvum fac Ludovicum Napoleonem." (O Lord! save Louis Napoleon!)

The same day a decree was published by the President restoring the French eagle to

^{*} 'The editors of the strangled Paris papers are in concealment, flight, or prison, deported to Algeria, driven to Belgium or to London, or emigrants to the United States. Their families are plunged in misery and want, and their working staff are rotting in hospitals or starving on the *pave*.'—Letter in the *Times*.

the standard of the army, and a few days after he decreed the confiscation of the estates of the Orleans family, and restored titles of nobility in France. It was taken for granted by every one that in no long time the title borne by his uncle would be assumed by the present ruler of France; and the Senate which he had created, as in duty bound, pressed upon him the Imperial crown. Another national vote (25th November, 1852) confirmed the proposal, and on the first anniversary of the *coup d'état* (2nd December, 1852) the Prince President of the French Republic became Napoleon III., Emperor of the French.

The overthrow of constitutional freedom in France, and the violent means by which it was accomplished, excited throughout Europe deep distrust of the new French Emperor. It was generally thought that in order to maintain his position he would find it necessary to seek active employment for his army, and to gratify the ambition and vanity of the French nation by successful intrigues and enterprises abroad. It was supposed by some that Switzerland was menaced by his schemes; others alleged that he would endeavour to extend the frontier of France to the Rhine; while the Belgian King and his Ministers entertained serious apprehensions that an attempt would be made to recover possession of their territory, which it was well known the French people had long coveted. In Great Britain, as we have seen, the *coup d'état* had led indirectly to the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the office of Foreign Minister, and to the downfall of the Russell Administration. The people and the press had not hesitated to express in very explicit terms their abhorrence of the deviser and agents of the *coup d'état*, and their contempt for the people who had tamely submitted to such injury and insult at their hands. A good deal of irritation was in consequence felt both by the new Emperor and his subjects, and a general impression prevailed that it was not at all unlikely that an attempt would

be made, by an invasion of England, to revenge the great defeat of Waterloo. Louis Napoleon had indeed publicly declared that 'the Empire is peace;' but no one was inclined to put any confidence in the assurances of a man who had deliberately violated his most solemn oath to maintain the Republican Constitution, and whom it was believed no pledges would bind. A kind of panic, therefore, seized the public, and a loud clamour was raised for the adoption of prompt and vigorous measures to strengthen the national defences.

At this juncture in our country's history the Duke of Wellington passed away, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, just when the long era of peace which his great victory over the first Napoleon had procured for Europe was about to come to an end. Ever since the overthrow of the Peel Ministry in 1846, and the consequent disorganization of the Conservative party which followed the adoption of a Liberal commercial policy, the Duke had retired from political life, and except on military questions had ceased to take any prominent part even in the debates in the House of Lords. But his interest in everything relating to the service of the sovereign and the welfare of the country was in no degree abated; and his memorable letter to Sir John Burgoyne on the defenceless state of the country, and his masterly arrangements for the preservation of the peace on the memorable 10th of April, are satisfactory proofs both of his unremitting and unselfish devotion to the safety and well-being of the community, and of the vigour and activity of his mind, even in extreme old age. Though not one of 'Her Majesty's advisers' by office, he was incontestably so in fact, for no man was ever summoned more frequently to give counsel to royalty in straits. 'Whether the embarrassment was a sudden resignation of the Ministry, or an imperfect conception of an administration, or a bedchamber plot, or a dead lock, it was invariably the Duke who was called in—sometimes as a man who could do and say

to others of all ranks and parties what could be said or done by no other person living, sometimes as an arbiter in whose decision all disputants would concur, sometimes as a pure political fetish to get the State out of trouble, nobody could tell how.' He had, in fact, become a distinct power in the State, and always exercised his vast influence solely for what he deemed the public good. His popularity among all classes of his countrymen was something wonderful and quite unique. Wherever he appeared 'the Great Duke' was received with enthusiastic and affectionate greetings, and his sayings and doings and quaint and amusing letters were regularly recorded by every newspaper in the kingdom. Titles, offices, and rewards were showered upon him from every quarter at home and abroad, and both the Crown and the Parliament exhausted their powers to do him honour. He was not only Commander-in-Chief of the army, but Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, Governor of the Tower, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Thus loaded with honours, dignities, and estates, in the enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his sovereign and the veneration of his countrymen of all ranks and parties, and surrounded by troops of devoted friends, the old age of the great warrior wore tranquilly away. The end came at last somewhat suddenly. He was residing at Walmer Castle, when, on the morning of the 14th September, 1852, he complained that he felt unwell. Medical assistance was immediately summoned, but proved unavailing, and at seven in the evening the Duke breathed his last, so calmly that his attendants could scarcely tell the precise moment when life became extinct. His remains, after lying in state in the Royal Military Hospital at Chelsea, were deposited in their last resting place in St. Paul's Cathedral, there to lie by the side of Nelson, amid demonstrations of deep sorrow on the part of the whole nation, and with the utmost pomp and magnificence of ceremony, in which the

rank, talent, and official station of Great Britain, and the representatives of all the great Powers of Europe—Austria alone excepted—took part.*

The universal testimony of his contemporaries has pronounced the Duke of Wellington to have been one of the greatest generals of our own or of any country. In quickness of observation, tenacity of memory, powers of calculation, coolness, forethought, self-possession, fertility of resources, strength of will, and sterling good sense, he has rarely been equalled—probably never surpassed by any commander either in ancient or modern times. His genius was equally conspicuous in the creation and in the employment of his materials. He carefully provided against every contingency, left nothing undone that was necessary to gain his ends, and his plans were in consequence almost invariably crowned with success. He showed himself master both of offensive and of defensive tactics, and he was victorious against all kinds of enemies and in all kinds of warfare. On no other general of his times—not even on Napoleon himself—can the same commendation be bestowed. 'There was something,' says Southey, 'more precious than his military successes, more to be desired than the high and enduring fame which he had secured by his military achievements—the satisfaction of thinking to what these achievements had been directed; that they were for the deliverance of two most injured and grievously oppressed nations; for the safety, honour, and welfare of his own country; and for the general interests of Europe and of the civilized world. His campaigns were sanctified by the cause; they were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes; the chariot-wheels of his triumphs have been

* 'There is but one feeling of indignation and surprise,' wrote the Queen to King Leopold, 'at the conduct of Austria in taking this opportunity to slight England in return for what happened to Haynau because of his own character.' There was, however, a fitness in the absence of the representatives of the patrons of Haynau the Butcher, at the funeral of the great general who fought for the oppressed.

followed by no curses; his laurels are entwined with the amaranths of righteousness, and upon his deathbed he might remember his victories among his good works.'

The Duke of Wellington was called by circumstances to serve his Sovereign in the Cabinet as well as in the field; and in the administration of civil affairs he almost always displayed sagacity, good sense, firmness, and energy. But he explicitly disclaimed all pretensions to the character of a statesman, and none saw more clearly than himself that the higher and more comprehensive duties of statesmanship required a kind of training which he had never received, and for which it is possible he was not eminently qualified. But he was endowed with administrative talents of a very high order, and in his own opinion was peculiarly fitted to deal with financial matters. He was a singularly expert calculator, and used to say that his true genius was rather for the Exchequer than the War

Office. The most prominent feature of his moral character was his setting the fulfilment of duty before all other considerations. As was said in the general order issued to the army, 'The greatest commander whom England ever saw has left an example for the imitation of every soldier, in taking as his guiding principle in every relation of life an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty.' 'He was,' said the Queen, 'the guide and good genius, as it were, of this country—the most loyal and devoted subject, and the staunchest supporter the Crown ever had. He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser.'

'Full of years beyond the term of mortality, and of honours almost beyond human parallel,' the great Duke descended to the grave, 'like a shock of corn fully ripe.' He was one of the wisest and most loyal and faithful subjects that ever graced and supported the British throne, and one of the greatest and truest men whom modern times have produced.

CHAPTER XII.

Lord Derby's Administration—Their difficulties—Dissolution of Parliament—Mr. Disraeli's Budget—Defeat of the Government—A Coalition Ministry—Its Members—Lord Aberdeen Premier—Mr. Gladstone's Financial Measures—Disputes between the Greek and Latin Monks respecting the Holy Places—Policy of France and of Russia—Prince Mentschikoff's Mission—Sir Stratford Canning's good offices as Mediator—Their success—Settlement of the Question of the Holy Places—Ultior designs and demands of Russia—The Russian Embassy leaves Constantinople—Memorandum sent by the Czar to the British Cabinet—His conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour—Count Nesselrode's Circular—Its mendacious character—The Czar's Manifesto—The Vienna Note—War declared against Russia by the Porte—Views of the four Great Powers—State of opinion in the British Ministry—Feeling of the People—The 'Massacre of Sinope'—Its effect—Lord Palmerston's position—Mistaken notions of the Czar—The Peace Party—War declared by Great Britain and France—Their Treaty with the Porte.

ON the resignation of the Russell Ministry Lord Derby was intrusted by the Queen with the task of forming another Administration. Lord Palmerston declined the offer of office on highly advantageous terms made to him by the new Premier. The followers of the late Sir Robert Peel also refused to join a Ministry, the head of which talked of Free Trade as only an experiment that might be set aside if a new election should enable him to do so. Lord Derby was therefore obliged to form an Administration composed entirely of Protectionists, most of whom had no official training or experience. Lord Palmerston described it as containing two men of merit—the Premier and Mr. Disraeli, who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer—and a number of ciphers.* Lord Derby was a debater of the highest order, but he was no statesman; and at the outset he stated (27th February) that the agriculturists were suffering from unequal taxation, and had a right to expect remedial measures. 'When the entire supply of an article comes from abroad,' he

said, 'the whole increase of the price falls on the consumer, but that is not the case when the article is partly of foreign and partly of home supply; and I will not shrink from declaring my opinion, that there is no reason why corn should be the solitary exception to the rule.' Earl Grey at once protested against this doctrine, and the Earl of Aberdeen declared that as the friend and colleague of Sir Robert Peel he would resist the attempt to impose any duty whatever on corn, whether for revenue or protection. Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Ministry in the House of Commons, was somewhat more guarded than his chief; and in reply to questions put to him on the subject, he stated that the Government did not intend to propose any return to the Protective system during the present session, nor at any future time, unless at the new election, which he intimated would take place in autumn, a decided majority of members favourable to that policy should be returned to Parliament.

The Free-Trade party took the alarm at the Premier's announcement, and arrangements were at once made to resuscitate the Anti-Corn Law League, and to renew the agitation throughout the country, in case any serious attempt should be made by the new Ministry to reverse the Free-Trade policy which had been adopted by the Legislature.

As Lord Derby was in a minority in the House of Commons and held office merely

*It was termed in derision the 'Who-who Ministry,' in consequence of a question said to have been asked by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Derby was mentioning to the Duke in the House of Lords the names of his colleagues, and as each name was given, the Duke, who had clearly never before heard of them, exclaimed, 'Who?' 'Who?' The conversation was overheard, and the story having gone about procured for the new Cabinet the soubriquet of the 'Who-who Ministry.' Lord Derby said to a political friend that the Ministry were all in a great mess, but 'Benjamin's mess (Disraeli's) was five times as much as that of his brethren.'

on sufferance, he brought forward only such measures as were likely to meet with the approval of the House. A Militia Bill was introduced and passed with the assistance of Lord Palmerston, in spite of the injudicious opposition of Lord John Russell, and a constitution was granted to the colony of New Zealand. Mr. Disraeli not having had time, as he alleged, to make a complete re-examination of the financial affairs of the country, a labour which he said he was quite willing to undertake if opportunity were afforded him, proposed to continue the system that was in operation when he and his colleagues came into office, and to continue the income tax for another year. In the beginning of July Parliament was prorogued and then dissolved.

The Government were placed in a very awkward position. On the one hand the great body of their supporters confidently expected that they would propose to restore at least some portion of the abolished Protective duties on corn, while it speedily became evident that any such attempt would prove fatal to the existence of the Ministry. They were, therefore, obliged to speak with 'two voices.' Mr. Disraeli deprecated the idea of returning to an 'exploded policy,' while on the other hand several of his colleagues and leading members of the party expressed their belief that Lord Derby would procure for the agriculturists the restoration of the system of Protection.

The new elections made no material change in the relative strength of the two parties. Lord Palmerston wrote his brother: 'We have lost some good men in this new Parliament—George Grey, Cardwell, Mahon, Grenfell, and several others; but then we have got rid of some bad ones—George Thompson, Urquhart, and the like.' Lord Palmerston omitted to mention that the electors of Edinburgh had spontaneously returned Macaulay to the seat from which they had ejected him in 1847. Mr. Robert Lowe was returned for the first time to the House of Commons at this election. The

Government were still in a minority, and when the Parliament reassembled in November they were compelled to give their assent to a resolution, pledging the House of Commons to the 'policy of unrestricted competition firmly maintained and prudently extended.' They were only saved, by the interposition of Lord Palmerston, from a kind of censure on those who had hitherto failed to recognize its justice and importance. Mr. Disraeli's budget sealed their fate. He proposed to make a reduction of the malt tax, and a slight diminution of the duty on tea; and in order to supply the deficiency thus created in the revenue the house duty was to be doubled. The scheme was not satisfactory to either party. The farmers, who expected something much more favourable to them, did not care about the reduction of the malt tax, while the project was vigorously opposed by the Liberals and Free Traders. The debate upon the budget, which was exceedingly keen as well as able, lasted four nights, and nearly all the leading members on both sides of the House took part in the discussion. It was understood that Mr. Disraeli, who rose late on the fourth night, was to close the debate; but he attacked so bitterly the leaders of the Opposition, and especially Sir Charles Wood, his predecessor in office, that Mr. Gladstone, who did not intend to take part in the debate, replied. 'This speech,' he exclaimed, 'must be answered, and answered at the moment. The character of England is involved in that of her public men—the character of England is at stake.' After indignantly repelling Mr. Disraeli's charges and invectives, he ended a masterly analysis of the budget by describing it as based on principles against which all true Conservatives stood pledged. The defeat of the budget, by a majority of 305 to 286, was followed by the immediate resignation of the Ministry.

In the prospect of this result the leaders of the Liberal party had for some time been making arrangements for a new Ad-

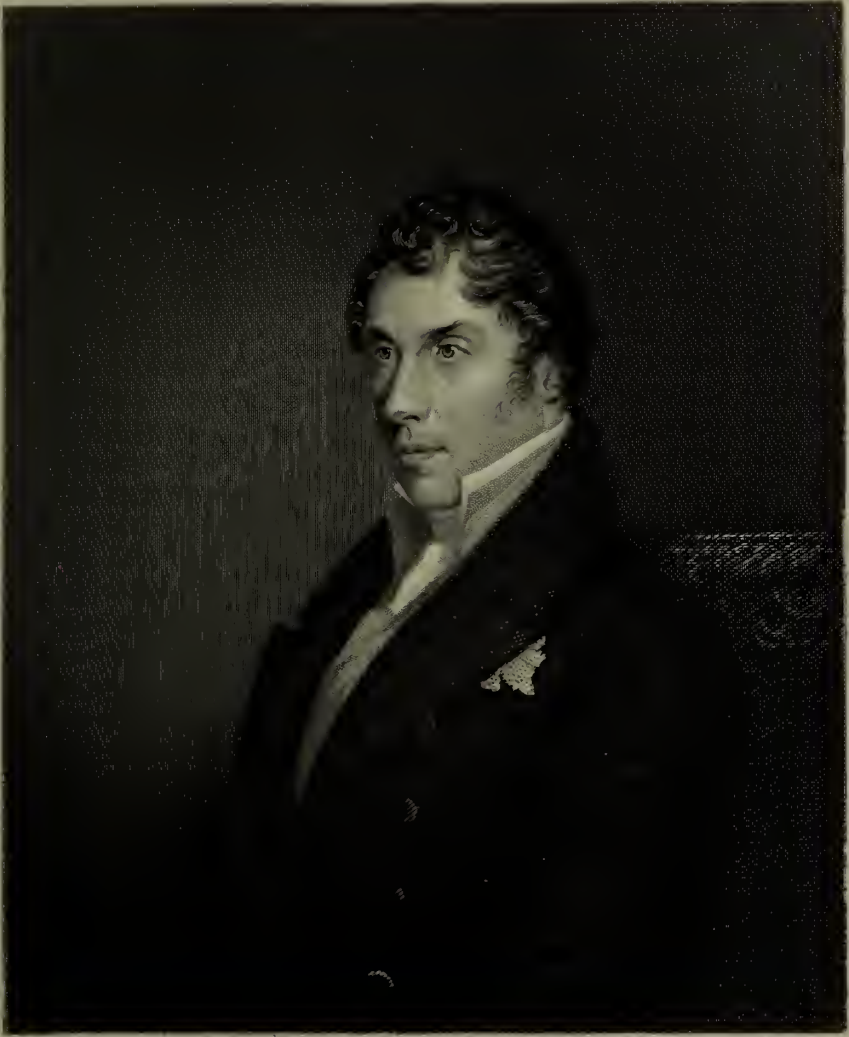
ministration. Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother—‘John Russell clings pertinaciously to his former position of Prime Minister, and will not serve under any other chief. On the other hand, the Whig and Liberal party have greatly lost confidence in his capacity as a leader, and he would find it very difficult to form such a Government as would be strong enough to stand. I do not think the Peelites would join him. I certainly would not serve under him again, though I might serve with him under a third person.’ This was the arrangement which was ultimately carried into effect. Lord Aberdeen was charged with the formation of a new Government. He at once sought the co-operation of Lord Palmerston, and offered him *carte blanche* as to departments. The ex-Foreign Secretary at first declined the flattering offer, on the ground that he was unwilling to share the responsibility of a Cabinet of whose foreign policy he might probably disapprove. But he was indispensable. The venerable Marquis of Lansdowne, in whom he had great confidence, urged him strongly to join the Government; and learning that the Foreign Office would be intrusted either to Lord John Russell or to Lord Clarendon, who had both concurred in his policy, he yielded to Lord Lansdowne’s advice, and accepted the office of Secretary for Home affairs, which was his own choice.

The new Government combined almost all the men of talent and experience in the House of Commons except Disraeli. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary; Sir James Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War; Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control; and Sir William Molesworth, First Commissioner of Public Works: while in the House of Lords the Ministry was represented by the Premier, Lord Aberdeen; Lord Cranworth, the Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary; Earl Granville, President of the Council; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy

Seal; and the Marquis of Lansdowne, who occupied a seat in the Cabinet without office.

The new Administration set to work vigorously to carry out the various domestic reforms which the Premier announced in the House of Lords when he entered upon the duties of his office. The abatement of the smoke nuisance in the metropolis, the cessation of intramural interments, the extension of the Factory Acts, the institution of the somewhat hazardous ticket-of-leave system, were among the improvements adopted in home affairs; while a bill was passed modifying and improving the government of India, and an important measure dealing with the clergy reserves of Canada, in accordance with the recommendation of the Colonial Legislature, was carried through both Houses after a keen discussion and contest.

The great financial abilities of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer were previously known to his political associates, but he now for the first time had an opportunity of displaying them before the public. His budget, which was brought forward on the 18th of April, was a masterpiece both for its principles and the lucid manner in which they were expounded and applied. His financial statement—certainly the ablest and most closely reasoned which had ever been laid before the House—occupied five hours in the delivery, and was listened to from its commencement to its close with marked attention and unflagging interest. While he and his colleagues, he said, had sought to do justice to the great labouring community of the United Kingdom, by furthering their relief from indirect taxation, they had not been guided by any desire to put one class against another; and had felt that they should best maintain their own honour, and meet the views of Parliament, and promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, and by adopting it as a sacred aim



W. Roffe.

W. Roffe.

RIGHT HON. GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON,
EARL OF ABERDEEN.

to diffuse and distribute the burdens with equal and impartial hand. In accordance with this declaration he brought forward his 'Succession Duty,' which boldly announced and successfully carried out the principle that all classes are henceforth to be regarded as equal in the eye of the law, and that the feudal immunities of the landed proprietors were to be at an end. The abolition of the Corn Laws had declared that no taxes should henceforth be levied for the benefit of a section of the community. The Succession Duty declared the logical converse, that no portion of the community able to contribute should be exempt from taxation. What the Succession Duty declared with respect to classes the extension of the Income Tax to the Irish people ratified with regard to countries, and put an end to the unfair exemption previously enjoyed by the richer classes in Ireland. At the same time the duties on soap were entirely abolished. A uniform penny receipt stamp was substituted for stamps varying according to the sum received. The duty on apprenticeship was lowered from 20s. to 2s. 6d., and on advertisements from 1s. 6d. to 6d. Reductions were made altogether on 133 articles, including tea, horses, dogs, solicitors' certificates, and articles of apprenticeship, on hackney and other carriages, &c.—amounting in the aggregate to £5,384,000.

Mr. Gladstone's elaborate and magnificent financial scheme was received with extraordinary approbation both by the House and by the country, and the various parts of it were considered and discussed in the most painstaking manner. His proposals were, almost as a matter of course, opposed by the leader of the Protectionists, on the plea that they were conceived in a spirit of injustice to the land, but they were supported by a large majority in the House; and 'wafted forward by a favourable breeze of popular confidence,' they were carried triumphantly over all opposition. It was felt by all classes throughout the country that its financial operations were directed

by a master-hand; and that the Free-Trade policy which Sir Robert Peel had inaugurated in the Legislature was being carried out by his favourite pupil with a bold originality of conception, and a felicity and eloquence of diction which secured its complete success.

The Ministry were strong, both by the great ability and experience of its members and the confidence of the nation. The agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country were flourishing in almost every department, the revenue was good and increasing, and the nation seemed to be entering on a period of great prosperity and progress. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was believed to have inaugurated a period of unbroken peace; but this fair prospect was suddenly overcast by a dark cloud which had arisen in the East. At first no bigger than a man's hand, it ultimately covered the whole horizon, and was fated to burst eventually into a fierce and sanguinary war between Russia and Turkey supported by France and Britain.

It arose out of a trumpety squabble between the Latin and the Greek monks respecting the Holy Places in Palestine. The Russian Czar was the protector of the Greek Church, and the kings of France had long been the patrons of the Latin Church, and supported its claims. France had in 1740 obtained from the Sultan certain Articles or 'Capitulations,' securing to the Latin Church in Palestine various privileges in connection with the Holy Shrine; but for a considerable time no pains had been taken to assert the rights thus conceded to them by the Porte. Meanwhile the Greeks, supported by Russia, had obtained several firmans that had been long acquiesced in, granting them advantages which infringed on the Latin Capitulations, and led to incessant disputes and the most disgraceful conflicts between the Latins and Greeks. In 1847 an event occurred which inflamed still further their mutual animosity. A silver star suspended in the sanctuary, and claimed by the Latins, marked the supposed

spot of the Saviour's birth. On the 1st of November it was secretly removed, as was alleged, by the Greeks. Complaint of the outrage was made to M. de Lavallette, the French ambassador at Constantinople, a man of an intriguing and ambitious character, who availed himself of the opportunity to reopen the whole question concerning the Holy Places, and to demand that the grants to the Latin Church should be strictly executed. This, however, was impossible without annulling some of the privileges which the Greek Church had long enjoyed. Lord John Russell wrote to the British ambassador at Paris, 'that Her Majesty's Government cannot avoid perceiving that the ambassador of France at Constantinople was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin and Greek Churches were not very active, but without some political action on the part of France these quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly powers. If report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country.' Louis Napoleon, who had just succeeded in obtaining the Imperial dignity, was anxious to divert the attention of Frenchmen from their domestic thralldom to some stroke of foreign policy that might gratify their national vanity; and the controversy between the Latin and the Greek monks in the East seemed to afford him an opportunity of exerting his influence in behalf of the Church of the West without incurring much risk or responsibility.

The main object of dispute was the possession of the key of the great door of the Church at Bethlehem, which was claimed by the Latin monks, along with one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred manger. They also contended for the right to replace a silver star, adorned with the arms of France, in the grotto in which it was alleged that the Saviour was born; to worship once a year at

the shrine of the Virgin Mary in the Church of Gethsemane; and to have a cupboard and a lamp in her tomb. The cause of the Greek monks was of course zealously supported by Russia, and the Russian Envoy strenuously insisted that the firmans in their favour should remain in force. There is no reason to suppose that the rival Governments cared anything about such a miserable squabble, but it became a test of pre-eminent influence at the Ottoman Court, and both parties felt that they could not yield without a loss of prestige and of power. The Sultan and his advisers were perfectly indifferent as to the point in dispute, but were afraid to offend either of the powerful rivals. They did what lay in their power to please both, and, as might have been expected, ended by giving satisfaction to neither party. Lord Palmerston tried to throw oil on the troubled waters, and remonstrated, not without some effect, with the French Government respecting the imperious conduct and the violent and menacing language of their ambassador at the Ottoman Court.

The ulterior designs of the Russian Czar, however, went far beyond any question connected with the Holy Places, and he resolved to avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded him to obtain from the Porte not only a satisfactory settlement of the points in dispute, but to extort from him enlarged authority over the Greek Christians in Turkey. With this view he despatched as his ambassador-extraordinary to Constantinople Prince Mentschikoff, a nobleman of high rank belonging to the old Russian party, fierce and imperious in his character, and rough in his manners, to enforce his demands. At the same time, with a view of striking terror into the Sultan and his Ministers, the Russian fleet was manned and victualled for sea, and a powerful body of troops was collected in Bessarabia.

The ambassador made his entry into Constantinople with great pomp, accompanied by a general officer, an admiral, and

a numerous suite, and at his disembarkation a large concourse of Greeks were assembled through the exertions of the Russian mission. He conducted himself in the most offensive and insulting manner, paid his visit of ceremony to the Grand Vizier in plain clothes, and rudely turned from the door of Fuad Effendi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon whom, according to custom, he was bound also to have called. In consequence of this insult the Minister resigned his office, and was succeeded by Rifaat Pasha. The first communication made by Prince Mentschikoff consisted of a note addressed to the Porte on the 16th of March, in which the Ministers of the Sultan were accused of having acted in direct violation of the firmans issued in favour of the Greeks, and redress of these grievances was demanded. His next step, in reliance on the alarm created by his mission, was secretly to demand that the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection, without any reference to the Porte. He insisted that the greatest secrecy should be maintained in regard to this demand, and that should it be made known to the representatives of Great Britain and France he would consider the disclosure an act of hostility to the Emperor, and he and his mission would instantly quit Constantinople.

At this critical juncture Sir Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), the British representative at Constantinople, was in England, but he was now (25th February, 1853) directed to return to his post. He was instructed to protect the independence of the Porte, but at the same time to warn the Turkish Ministry that the Ottoman Empire was in a position of peculiar danger, owing mainly to the maladministration of its own affairs and the grievances suffered by its Christian subjects, and he was directed to press upon the Sultan the adoption of the reforms imperatively required for the safety of the empire. The arrival of the British ambassador on

the 5th of April at the British Embassy, Mr. Kinglake says, 'spread a sense of safety, but also a sense of awe.' The Turkish Ministers were afraid to make known to him the full extent of the Czar's demands, and it was only by slow degrees that the whole truth was disclosed to him. With his characteristic directness and clearness of view, Sir Stratford saw at a glance the importance of keeping the question of the Holy Places clear of all the other subjects raised by Prince Mentschikoff. That question had placed the Porte in a difficult and dangerous position. Ostensibly it involved only a matter of sectarian feeling between the members of the Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches, but in reality, as we have seen, it was a struggle between France and Russia for predominant influence in Turkey. In regard to the Holy Places, the vacillation of the Porte had given to Russia some grounds of complaint; but as the Czar had committed himself to the public avowal that he had nothing else to complain of, the settlement of the question of the Sanctuaries would leave him without any plea for ulterior demands.

If the representative of Russia had been a skilful and experienced diplomatist he would have foreseen this result, and would have declined to negotiate for the removal of his grievance apart from the purposes which it was intended to serve. But Prince Mentschikoff had not been trained to diplomatic pursuits, and his intellectual abilities were not of a high order. He was vain, presumptuous, and overbearing, and quite unfit to contend with an adversary of the skill and great experience of the British Minister. Dealing temperately and delicately with the Russian envoy, he succeeded in inducing him to assent to a compromise regarding the Holy Places, to which the new French representative, M. de Lacour, ultimately acceded. It was settled that the Latins should retain possession of the key of the Church of Bethlehem, which had been handed over to them by the Sultan;

the Porte itself consented to replace the missing star: but these concessions were to confer no new rights on the Latins; the doorkeeper of the Great Gate of the Church was always to be a Greek priest; and the Greeks were to have the privilege of worshipping first at the tomb of the Virgin Mary, on the ground that the habit of early prayer prevailed in the Oriental churches. With regard to the cupola of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which both parties claimed the right to repair, it was agreed that it should be repaired by the Sultan in such a way as not to alter its form. All these arrangements were to be embodied in firmans, addressed by the Sultan to the Turkish authorities at Jerusalem. In the course of seventeen days after the return of the British ambassador to Constantinople the dispute, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed with anxiety and apprehension, and which had engaged the attention of European diplomatists for nearly three years, was amicably settled; and for the part which he had taken in this affair, Sir Stratford received the thanks of the Turkish Government and of the Russian and French ambassadors.

This result, however, was far from satisfactory to the Russian Emperor. He seemed to have imagined that as the instructions of the British ambassador did not authorize him to be more than a mere peaceful negotiator, he could strike terror into the Divan by threats of employing force, and thus coerce them to yield to his demands. Prince Mentschikoff was therefore directed at once to press his demands for what was virtually an exclusive Protectorate over the whole Greek population, their clergy, and their churches, including not only their spiritual privileges, but all the other rights, privileges, and immunities of those professing the Greek faith, and of their clergy, dating from the most ancient times; and if this should be refused, to bring his mission to a close, and to quit Constantinople with his suite, carrying away with him the whole staff of the Russian Legation

The instructions of the Czar were obeyed by his representative, both in the spirit and to the letter. Language of a most offensive and peremptory nature was employed by the Russian envoy, and the ulterior consequences of a refusal were depicted in violent terms, but all in vain. The Sultan and his Ministers stood firm. Prince Mentschikoff now discovered, apparently for the first time, that he had really to deal with the formidable and dreaded enemy of Russia—the man who was called in St. Petersburg ‘the English Sultan.’ ‘People who knew the springs of action in the Russian capital used to say at that time that the whole Eastern Question, as it was called, lay inclosed in one name’—the name of Sir Stratford Canning. It was the great Eltchi alone who in the space of forty-five days brought to a satisfactory settlement the vexed question of the Holy Places, baffled all the efforts of Russia to encroach upon the sovereign rights of the Porte, and imbued the Turkish Ministers with courage and firmness to resist the imperious and unwarrantable demands of the Czar, and yet at the same time to temper their refusals with such courtesy and moderation, and such expressions of a willingness to make concessions as far as they could do so with honour and with safety, as to place their enemy completely in the wrong, and to commend their own cause to the approbation of the whole civilized world. It was the knowledge of this fact which inflamed the mind of the Czar almost to madness, and contributed not a little to drive him to the adoption of a course of action which ruined his reputation for honest and straightforward dealing, and cost him his life.

The demand of the Czar was courteously but firmly refused by the Sultan and his Ministers, with the full approbation of the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and France, as well as of Britain. On this Prince Mentschikoff angrily declared his mission at an end, formally announced that the relations of Russia with the Porte were broken off, and quitted Constantinople.



S T P E T E R S B U R G .

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW

Donald Ross

On the same day the arms of Russia were taken down from the palace of the Imperial Embassy. The Turkish Ministers crowned their triumph by issuing firmans confirming all the accustomed privileges of the Greek Church, and sent copies of these documents to the Court of St. Petersburg, along with a courteous note to the Russian Chancellor, assuring him that they confirmed the privileges of the Greek Church in perpetuity. 'This was doing exactly what Russia ostensibly required; but it was also doing exactly that which the Czar most abhorred, for to his mind it indicated nothing less than that the Greek Church was passing under the protection of Lord Stratford.'

It was well known to the British Ministry, and was generally suspected by the public, that the Czar had long entertained hostile designs against the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. It subsequently transpired that when he visited England in 1844 he had several conversations with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Secretary, about Turkey and her prospects, and what should be done in the case of her dissolution. After his return to his own country he caused Count Nesselrode, his Chancellor, to draw up a memorandum embodying the views which he had expressed to the British statesmen with whom he had conversed on this subject. While expressing the Emperor's wish that the independence of Turkey should be maintained, the document affirmed that it was impossible to conceal the fact that the Ottoman Empire contained within it many elements of dissolution, and that unforeseen events might at any time bring about its fall. But it was added, 'the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. The understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria, between

whom and Russia there already exists an entire accord.' This important document was preserved in the archives of the Foreign Office in London; but it is to be regretted that Lord Aberdeen did not at once disclaim any intention on the part of the British Government to enter into any combination for the purpose specified. As the memorandum was received and retained, and no reply returned, the Czar seems to have taken up the notion that our Ministry concurred in the ideas which he had expressed.

When Lord Aberdeen became Premier, in January, 1853, the Emperor resumed the discussion of the subject which he had so much at heart in several conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British representative at the Russian Court. On the 9th of January he again expressed his anxiety to be on the best terms with Britain, and his conviction that the Ottoman Empire was in a critical state. 'The affairs of Turkey,' he said, 'were in a very disorganized condition. The country itself seems to be falling to pieces; the fall will be a great misfortune; and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding on these affairs, and that neither should take any decisive step of which the other is not apprised.' Sir Hamilton expressed his concurrence in this view of the subject. The Emperor then proceeded to say, in words which became very memorable in the light which they threw upon his designs: 'Stay; we have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements are made.'

On two subsequent occasions the subject was resumed by the Emperor in the same strain. On the 23rd of January, after speaking of the millions of Christians in the Turkish Empire whose interests he was called upon to watch over, he went on to say: 'Turkey, in the condition which I have

described, has by degrees fallen into such a state of decrepitude that, as I told you the other night, eager as we all are for the prolonged existence of the man (and that I am as desirous as you can be for the continuance of his life, I beg you to believe), he may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot resuscitate what is dead. If the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more; and I put it to you, therefore, whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency than to incur the chance of confusion and the certainty of a European war, all of which must attend the catastrophe if it should occur unexpectedly and before some ulterior system has been sketched. This is the point to which I am desirous you should call the attention of your Government.'

The British ambassador referred to the aversion which his Government always entertained to the plan of undertaking engagements upon possible eventualities, and hinted that they would be disinclined to the idea of disposing beforehand of the succession of an old ally. The Emperor, however, continued to press his notion that it was of great importance that the British Government and he should understand each other, and not allow events to take them by surprise. On the 20th of February he said to Sir Hamilton, 'If your Government has been led to believe that Turkey retains any elements of existence, they must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding.'

The next day the Czar returned to the subject, and at last expressed explicitly the views he had previously hinted at. 'The Principalities,' he said, 'are in fact an independent state *under my protection*; this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria; there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand

the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say that if, in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia; that island might suit you, and I do not know why it should not become an English possession.' In a previous conversation with the British ambassador respecting Constantinople, the Czar had stated that he would not allow the British Government to establish themselves there, and he was disposed to engage not to establish himself there as proprietor, 'but he would not say as occupier.'

'As I did not wish,' wrote Sir Hamilton Seymour, 'that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country. The Emperor replied that he wished the Government to write more fully upon these subjects. He did not ask an engagement or convention; he merely wished a free interchange of ideas, and in the case of need the word of 'a gentleman.' That is enough, he said, between us.

The British Government, on being made aware of these notions and wishes of the Czar, disclaimed all idea of taking possession of any part of the Sultan's dominions, expressed their conviction that the extinction of the Ottoman Empire was not so near at hand as the Czar alleged, and refused to enter into any kind of secret engagement with Russia in regard to this matter.

Before his departure from Constantinople, Prince Mentschikoff offered to accept a Note signed by the Turkish Minister, instead of a mutual treaty. But this document was more exacting than even the proposed Convention, for it not only stipulated for those professing the Greek faith the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges, and of those granted to other sects, but insisted

upon their also participating in all the advantages which may hereafter be conferred, even by special favour, upon the foreign legations accredited to the Sublime Porte. Compliance with this demand would have virtually invested the Czar with the sovereignty of all the members of the Greek Church within the dominions of the Sultan. The proposition was, of course, rejected.

On the 31st of May Count Nesselrode, the Russian Chancellor, made another and final effort to intimidate the Sultan and his Ministers, and to induce them to accede to these demands. He addressed an autograph letter to Rishad Pasha, in which he formally announced that in a few weeks the Russian troops would receive orders to cross the Ottoman frontier, not to make war, but to obtain 'a material guarantee' as a security for the rights demanded by the Czar. In order to render this strong step unnecessary, the Turkish Minister was called on to sign without delay, and without any change whatever, the note delivered by Prince Menschikoff before leaving Constantinople.

To this violent and arbitrary demand the Porte returned a temperate but firm refusal; and the Russian Chancellor, finding that nothing could be made of the Turkish authorities, considered it necessary to make an attempt to justify the Emperor's proceedings to the European public. He accordingly addressed, on the 11th of June, a circular to the agents of his Government, to be communicated to the Courts to which they were respectively accredited. This document, which was pronounced a gross insult to the common sense of Europe, was full of deliberate falsehoods and of the most extraordinary contradictions; and surprise was expressed that a statesman so respectable as Count Nesselrode, who had always been regarded as a man of honour and integrity, could affix his name to statements which bore on their very face the impress of most palpable falsehood.

On the 27th of June appeared in the *Official Gazette* of St. Petersburg the celebrated Manifesto of the Czar, announcing

to his subjects that the Russian troops had entered the Danubian Principalities, and declaring that if the Porte still persisted in its blind and obstinate resistance to his just demands he should call God to his aid, and leaving to Him to decide upon the question in dispute, and relying upon His all-powerful arm, should march to the defence of the orthodox faith. This Manifesto was followed (2nd July) by a second circular from Count Nesselrode, which contained the astounding assertion that the occupation of the Danubian Principalities had been decided upon *because* the allied fleets had proceeded to the anchorage of Constantinople—an assertion contradicted by Count Nesselrode's own note of the 31st May. The glaring falsehood of this statement was at once indignantly exposed by the Governments of France and England, who at the same time pointed out that there was no resemblance between a direct and hostile violation of the territories of a neighbouring State and the anchorage in an open bay of the fleets of friendly powers, whose presence there 'violated no treaty nor territory, nor infringed any international law.'

There is reason to believe that if the British Government, on the receipt of Count Nesselrode's note of 31st May, had declared formally and emphatically to the Czar that the entry of the Russian troops into the Principalities would be considered as a *casus belli*, the Czar would not have allowed his forces to cross the frontier, and peace would have been maintained. But the Porte was advised by the British Ministry not to treat the occupation as an act of war. The Dardanelles were in consequence closed by treaty against the vessels of war of foreign powers, and the Emperor thought himself warranted to issue manifestoes to his subjects, in which he announced that Turkey had forfeited the sympathy and support of her allies. It must be admitted that the conduct of our Ministry was fitted to encourage the Czar in the belief that they had no serious intention to afford the

Sultan any effective resistance against Russian aggression.

It would appear that Lord Aberdeen and the majority of his Cabinet still cherished hopes of being able to prevent an open rupture between Russia and the Porte; and a conference was held at Vienna of the representatives of the four great Powers—Austria, Prussia, Britain, and France—at which a document was framed known to Europe as the ‘Vienna Note.’ It declared that the Government of His Majesty the Sultan would remain faithful to the letter and the spirit of the stipulations of the Treaties of Kainardji and of Adrianople, relative to the protection of the Christian religion. It was readily accepted by Russia: it entirely suited the Russian policy; and the four Powers unanimously agreed to recommend its adoption by the Sultan. The Turkish Ministers, however, saw that these words embodied the claim which they had all along rejected, and would be so construed as to support the demand of the Czar to exercise a Protectorate over both the spiritual and temporal rights of the Greek Church; and they proposed to strike them out and to substitute the following—‘To the stipulations of the Treaty of Kainardji, confirmed by that of Adrianople, relative to the protection by the Sublime Porte of the Christian religion;’ thus indicating that the only Protectorate exercised over the Christians of Turkey is that of the Sultan himself. The representatives of the four Powers were greatly displeased at the refusal of the Turkish Ministers to accept the Note unless with this modification, and even Lord Clarendon remonstrated against the obstinacy of the Turks in a matter so critical. But the Russian Chancellor frankly avowed that his master had attached to the Note the very interpretation which the sagacity of the Sultan’s advisers had fastened upon it, and he refused to accept it in its altered form, on the very ground that the words proposed by the Turkish Ministers denied to the claims of Russia that satisfaction which the representatives

of the four Powers had recommended. Europe was in consequence compelled to acknowledge that the Divan were in the right, and had discovered that, as the Prince Consort said, the Note was a trap laid by Russia through Austria. What Russia still required, and what the Porte still refused to grant, was the protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey.

Meanwhile a warlike feeling had been rising among the people in the Ottoman Empire, and was daily increasing in strength. The Mahometan Moolahs were preaching a holy war against the infidels who were seeking to subjugate their country and to destroy their religion, and at length the religious enthusiasm of the Turks had risen to such a height that the Turkish Government had to choose between war or a revolution. ‘The war frenzy and fanaticism of the Turks,’ Lord Aberdeen wrote to the Queen, ‘have passed all bounds, and threaten the safety of the Sultan and of the Christian inhabitants of the capital.’ At length, with the advice of a Great Council, attended by 172 of the most influential men of the empire, the Porte determined upon war. On the 4th of October the Porte sent to Prince Gortschakoff a summons by letter to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days from its receipt, intimating at the same time that the Prince’s refusal would be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war on the part of Russia, and that hostilities would be declared thereupon by the Porte. The Prince did not comply with this demand, and on the 23rd of October Russia and Turkey passed into a state of war. The Czar, who was by this time in an almost frenzied condition, issued a proclamation to his subjects, couched in language of a most extraordinary kind, expressing his ‘confident reliance upon God’ in the struggle in which he was about to engage, and his firm conviction that ‘our faithful subjects will join the fervent prayers which we address to the Most High that His hand may be pleased to bless our arms in the holy and just cause

which has ever found ardent defenders in our pious ancestors;' and concluding with words which in the circumstances cannot be regarded as other than blasphemous: 'In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted; let me not be confounded for ever!'

The conduct of the Czar was condemned by all the four great Powers, and especially by France and Great Britain, in which there prevailed a feeling of strong indignation against Russian ambition and insolence. It may seem at first sight strange that this should have been the case, for Austria and Prussia had a much stronger interest in resisting the aggressive policy of Russia than France or Britain. But the King of Prussia, who was an amiable but weak and impulsive dreamer, was nearly related to the Czar, and was completely under his influence. After concurring in the protest of the other Powers against the demands of the Russian autocrat, and in the other measures adopted by them with the view of averting hostilities, he suddenly deserted them, declaring that the interests of Prussia did not require or allow him to engage in a war. Austria was deeply interested in preventing the Danubian provinces of the Turkish Empire from becoming part of the vast dominions of Russia, but she was afraid to take part in the contest without the co-operation of Prussia; and when after a while the Czar was compelled to withdraw his troops from the Principalities, she had no longer any direct interest in the struggle. The case was different in France and Britain. In both countries a strong feeling had been roused against the attempt of Russia to destroy the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. Louis Napoleon had personal reasons for cherishing a grudge against the Czar, who consented with manifest reluctance to acknowledge his dynasty, and alone of all the great Powers had absolutely refused to address him like other sovereigns as 'Mon Frère.' It was his interest and his earnest wish to cultivate amity and a close

political alliance with Great Britain, and he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to do so afforded by the arrogant and arbitrary conduct of the Russian Emperor. The hostile feeling of the French people towards their old adversary, though as yet not strong, ultimately outstripped even the wishes of their ruler.

Among the people of the United Kingdom there had long existed a jealousy of the aggressive spirit of the Russian Government, and distrust of its honesty and veracity; and the attempt of the Czar to bully and rob 'the sick man' had excited deep indignation among all classes and political parties. This feeling was so strong and so universal that Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues would at once have been expelled from office if they had refused to support the Sultan against the imperious demands of the Czar. The Premier was strongly averse to war, which he justly regarded as one of the greatest evils, and was resolved to exhaust every means in his power to prevent it; and he clung to the hope that an amicable settlement of the dispute between the Czar and the Porte might yet be effected, even after the Russian army had crossed the Pruth. The feelings of Lord Aberdeen were shared by Mr. Gladstone, but Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were of opinion that prompt and decided measures were necessary to prevent the spoliation of the Turkish Empire.* These differences of opinion in the Cabinet kept them in a state of hesitation and uncertainty, and made it very difficult for them to decide what course to take. A small but highly respectable section of the community strongly disapproved of our interference in the dispute between Turkey and Russia, and especially condemned the proposal to go to war for the

* There was a widespread belief that if Lord Palmerston had been at the Foreign Office the war would have been prevented. Of this the Prince Consort was aware. On the 19th of October he wrote to Baron Stockmar, 'The Palmerstonian stocks have gone up immensely, people saying that if he had been at the Foreign Office he would by his energy have brought Russia to reason.'

protection of the Porte against its powerful and unscrupulous adversary. But the great body of the people were impatient at the hesitation and delay of the Government, and were clamorous for the adoption of vigorous measures against the aggressor in the quarrel.

While matters were in this unsatisfactory state, and the country was gradually though insensibly drifting into war, an incident occurred which roused the people almost to fury. A Turkish squadron, consisting of seven frigates, a sloop, and a steamer, were lying at anchor in the harbour of Sinope, on the southern shore of the Black Sea, while a Russian fleet of six ships of the line and some steamers had issued from Sebastopol, and were cruising about that sea. The Turkish commander, apprehensive that he might be attacked by this overwhelming force, earnestly solicited reinforcements, but no attention was paid by the Government to his representations. On the 30th of November the Russian fleet suddenly bore down on the Turkish vessels at Sinope. Though the contest was hopeless the Turks fought with desperate valour against this fearful odds, until the whole squadron except the steamer was destroyed. Upwards of 4000 of the Turks were killed, and of the survivors, only 400 in number, every man was wounded. A great part of the town was also battered down by the Russian cannon.

The tidings of this disaster—the ‘massacre of Sinope,’ as it was called—excited a perfect storm of indignation, grief, and shame in Britain; and the conduct of the Russian emperor was denounced, though unreasonably, as a deliberate act of treachery and of shocking barbarity. A meeting of the Cabinet was held as soon as the news arrived, to consider what should be done. Lord Palmerston had repeatedly urged that two squadrons should be sent to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, but the Premier could not be brought to see the propriety of such a proceeding. Even yet he declined to take any decided or vigorous

step; and provoked at this hesitating policy Lord Palmerston resigned his office on the 15th of December, on the ground of a difference with his colleagues on the question of the Reform Bill which Lord John Russell was about to introduce into Parliament.* But it soon became evident that the country would not tolerate his withdrawal from the Government at this critical moment. As Mr. Kinglake says, he was gifted with the instinct which enables a man to read the heart of a nation, and he felt that the people would never forgive the Ministry if nothing decisive was done after the disaster at Sinope. His colleagues were constrained to yield to popular opinion, and as he says, took ‘a decision on Turkish affairs in entire accordance with opinions which he had long unsuccessfully pressed upon them,’ and he withdrew his resignation and resumed his seat in the Cabinet. The decision referred to was a resolution of the Cabinet to send the fleet to Constantinople, with instructions to the admiral ‘to protect the Turkish territory against any overt act of hostility against Turkey by sea.’ If the Russian fleet left the harbour at Sebastopol, to which it had retired after the affair of Sinope, the British and French squadrons were then to pass through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea.

Russia was anxious to delay hostilities until the spring, to afford her time to muster an overwhelming force in support of the troops she had thrown into Wallachia; but the suspense had become intolerable to

* Mr. Kinglake is of opinion that in Lord Palmerston’s mouth this explanation was a fair one, because the ‘difference’ in question had been *brandished* against him in such a way as to compel him to retire from the Government. There was a strong but erroneous impression at the time that Lord Palmerston’s resignation was brought about by an intrigue of the Court, and the Prince Consort’s letters show quite unequivocally the dislike which he entertained towards that powerful and popular Minister. Mr. Kinglake says, ‘In the midst of these anxious December days, when England was fast driving towards war, how came it to happen that a difference on the then flat subject of poor old “Reform” was so used as served to become the means of driving Lord Palmerston from office?’ He insinuates that it was owing to the action of some members of the Cabinet.

Turkey, which had to bear the large expense of what was really war without the opportunity of attacking the invader before his reinforcements could be brought into the field. War was therefore formally declared, as we have seen, by the Porte, to commence on the 23rd of October; and Omar Pasha, at the head of a considerable army, occupied the line of the Danube, and placed the Balkan in a state of defence.

The Emperor Nicholas had up to this period apparently flattered himself with the belief that the British Ministry would not have recourse to arms in defence of Turkey, but would confine their interposition in her behalf to diplomatic notes and protests. Lord Aberdeen's known aversion to war, the reliance placed on the supposed influence of the Peace party in England,* and the powerful remonstrances of Messrs. Cobden and Bright against the policy which seemed likely to lead to active hostilities between our country and Russia, induced him to believe that if he should persist in his resolution to compel the Porte to accede to his demands the British Government would not actively interfere to prevent him. He was confidently assured by his advisers, and he readily believed, that England's fighting days were over, and that her sons cared too much for money and their own ease to risk either in a European quarrel. His surprise and anger may be conceived when on the 12th of January, 1854, he received official notice that if his ships of war should venture to leave Sebastopol they would be compelled to return to port by the combined fleets of the Western Powers. On this he withdrew his representatives from London and Paris, and the Governments of Britain and France of course followed his example. On the 27th of February Lord Clarendon conveyed the

ultimatum of the British Government in a letter to Count Nesselrode. It declared that they had exhausted all the efforts of negotiation to obtain a satisfactory settlement, and were now compelled to announce that if Russia should decline to restrict within purely diplomatic limits the discussion with the Porte, and should not at once intimate her intention to evacuate the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia by the 30th of April next, the British Government must consider the refusal equivalent to a declaration of war, and will take its measures accordingly.

The Russian Czar, however, was imperious to all arguments and appeals. He had indeed raised among his own subjects a spirit of eagerness for war, which he could not now allay even if he had wished to do so, after declaring to them that 'France and England have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith.' He persisted in the course which he had marked out for himself in the same haughty and imperious manner in which he had entered upon it. In his reply to a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by the Emperor of France, he justified every step he had taken; declared that the adoption of the construction which he had put upon the Treaty of Kainardji, as to the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, formed the only opening for friendly discussion; and reminded the Emperor of the disasters of his uncle when he invaded Russia in 1812—a taunt which had the effect of rousing the indignation of the French people, among whom up to this time a war with Russia was far from popular. He submitted to the Conference which was still sitting in Vienna, as the only basis on which he could allow discussion, certain conditions which were found to be a considerable increase upon the first obnoxious demands by Prince Mentschikoff, and which were declared to be utterly inadmissible; and with regard to the ultimatum submitted to him by France and

* A deputation from the Society of Friends, who had been prominent members of the Peace party, proceeded to St. Petersburg and requested the Emperor to preserve Europe from the calamity of war. He received them very courteously, and of course declared that he was most anxious to meet their wishes.

Britain, he intimated through his Chancellor that he did not think it fitting that he should make any reply. This decision reached London on the 24th of March. Four days later a formal declaration of war, on the part of the Queen, was read by the Sergeant-at-Arms, accompanied by some of the officials of the city, in front of the Royal Exchange. The reasons for this momentous step were set forth in an official document in the *London Gazette*. After narrating clearly and succinctly the progress of the Eastern question; the demands made by the Czar; the studious concealment, in the first instance, of his most important claims; and the various attempts that were made by the Queen's Government, in conjunction with the other three great Powers, to settle the questions at issue upon a just and moderate basis, and the persistence of Russia in her unwarrantable demands, the document concluded by declaring that Her Majesty felt called upon 'by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognized as essential to the peace of Europe; by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong; by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties and defies the opinion of the civilized world—to take up arms in conjunction with the

Emperor of the French for the defence of the Sultan.'

On the 27th of March the Emperor of the French addressed a message to the Corps Législatif, announcing 'that Russia, having refused to reply to the summons of France and Britain, was thereby placed with regard to France in a state of war, the whole responsibility of which rested upon Russia.'

A considerable body of the troops destined for action in the East had already taken their departure, and on the 11th of March the magnificent fleet which was assembled at Spithead, consisting of twenty iron steamships, carrying 2000 guns and 21,000 men, set sail for the Baltic. On the eve of its departure for its destination Her Majesty wrote Lord Aberdeen, 'It will be a solemn moment! Many a heart will be very heavy, and many a prayer, including our own, will be offered up for its safety and glory.'

Shortly after France and Britain entered into a treaty with the Sultan, by which they engaged to defend his dominions until a peace was concluded guaranteeing the independence of the Ottoman Empire. On the 10th of April a treaty of alliance was signed between the two Western Powers, binding themselves to employ all their land and sea forces in order to expel the Russian forces from Turkey, and for the re-establishment of peace upon a secure and equitable basis.

CHAPTER XIII.

Military System of Britain when the War broke out—Commanders of the French and British armies—Plan of the Campaign—Position of the Russians in the Principalities—Movements of Omar Pasha—Siege of Silistria—Its Failure—Defeat of the Russians at Giurgevo—Occupation of the Principalities by Russia—Bombardment of Odessa—Condition of the allied troops at Varna—Resolution to attack Sebastopol—Landing of the Allies at Eupatoria—Battle of the Alma—The Flank March—State of Sebastopol—Objection of the French to an immediate assault—Arrangements for the protection of the French and British armies—Great efforts of the Russians to defend the Town—Its Bombardment by the army and the allied fleet—Its Failure—Critical position of the allied armies—The battle of Balaklava—Defeat of the Russians—Charge of the Heavy Brigade—Charge of the Light Brigade—Attack upon the British—Its Failure—The Battle of Inkerman—Defeat of the Russians—Heavy losses on both sides—Barbarity of the Russians—A Winter Campaign undertaken.

AFTER forty years of peace, during which our military establishments had been suffered to decline considerably below those of the secondary Continental states, Britain was not in a condition to enter promptly and vigorously upon a war. The party in the House of Commons and in the country who were the strenuous advocates of economy and peace had time after time insisted on the reduction of these establishments, and successive administrations had yielded as far as possible to their demands. It thus came to pass that when war with Russia broke out an army had virtually to be created, and the commissariat, the transport, and other important departments, which had been reduced by improvident economy to a state of great inefficiency, had all to be reorganized. The country, in short, was quite unprepared for war; and as the Premier continued to cherish the hope that hostilities might be averted long after peace had become hopeless, it was determined to make only a small increase of the army. Even when war had been virtually commenced loud complaints were made that sufficient activity had not been displayed in raising recruits and making the necessary preparations for the great struggle that was impending.

The first division of the British army left London 28th February, 1854, and on the 31st of March they sailed from Malta for Gallipoli, where they landed on the 8th of April. The first division of the French army

left Marseilles on the 19th of March, and arrived a short time before our troops. The British army which was despatched on this service consisted of five divisions of infantry, of six battalions each, and one of cavalry. The artillery mounted fifty-six field-guns, and the whole force might be reckoned in round numbers at nearly 30,000 men. It was expected that the French army would amount to double that number, and it was supposed that the Turks could supply at least 25,000 more of efficient troops. The effective strength of the French forces, however, seems to have fallen short of the number intended by the Emperor. The command was intrusted to General St. Arnaud, who as Minister of War had taken a prominent part in the *coup d'état* and in the Parisian massacres. He was a person of considerable ability and extraordinary spirit, had shown himself a brave and skilful officer, but was reckless, profligate, and unprincipled. Though a good soldier, his fitness for the chief command of an army was doubtful, and the Emperor took care to surround him with generals who were supposed to be able to guide him with their counsels. Lord Raglan—long known as Lord Fitzroy Somerset—the commander of the British contingent, was the fifth son of the Duke of Beaufort. He had served with great distinction under the Duke of Wellington, and had displayed not only great bravery, but a remarkable talent for organization. He was wounded at Basaco, and

was foremost in the breach at the storming of Badajoz. At Waterloo he lost his right arm by a stray shot when he was riding with the Duke of Wellington near La Haye Sainte. He held the office of military secretary to the Duke both during the war and afterwards at the Horse Guards, and thus passed a great part of his life under the immediate guidance of that illustrious commander. On the death of the Duke he was made Master General of the Ordnance, and was raised to the peerage. He was a man of the highest honour and integrity, and a skilful soldier—clear-headed, cool, and resolute. Though now sixty-six years of age, he was still vigorous and alert in all his movements, and capable of performing much work and enduring great fatigue.

The plan of the campaign, as sketched by the Ministry, was 'first to secure the Dardanelles, next to defend Constantinople; next, that capital being safe, to defend the lines of the Balkan; and lastly, to be ready to attempt to strike a blow at some vital part of the Russian Empire.' But though waggons were as necessary as swords and muskets to carry out this plan, no attempt had been made to supply them. The Government had been warned by Mr. Layard that our army would find no means of transport in Bulgaria. None had been provided, and in consequence when the army arrived at Varna it was incapable of moving, and our soldiers were condemned to inaction when their presence was urgently required at the seat of war.

The position of the Russian army in Wallachia was regarded as very unsafe, in a military point of view, as it lay open to the attack of Austria in the rear, as well as of the Turkish army in front. Five days after the declaration of war, Omar Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman forces, having secured and fortified Widdin, a town on the right bank of the Danube in Bulgaria, crossed that river and entrenched himself at Kalafat, on the left bank, confronting the extreme flank of the Russian army. This

position effectually prevented the Russians from turning the left of the Turkish army, or operating on the Balkan by the route through Sofia. In the beginning of January, 1854, General Aurep made a vigorous assault upon this position, but after a struggle which lasted four days he was compelled to retreat. All through the winter Omar Pasha made attacks upon the posts of the enemy along the whole line of the Lower Danube from Widdin to Rassoava, and thus both harassed the intruders and gave confidence to his own troops. Prince Paskievitch, a distinguished veteran general, whom the Czar now called into his councils, recommended that the Russian forces should cross the Danube where it bends towards the north, make themselves masters of Silistria, then assail and carry the entrenched camp at Shumla, where Omar Pasha had established his headquarters, and thus clear the way for an advance through the passes of the Balkan to Adrianople and the shores of the Bosphorus, as he had done in the campaign of 1829.

The Russian army crossed the Danube on the 23rd of March in front of Brailow and Galatz. The Turkish fortresses of Isákitcha and Matchin fell with little resistance, and the Dobrudscha was invaded. These successes, however, were not followed up with the activity and rapidity which such a campaign required, for more than seven weeks elapsed from the passage of the Danube before a regular attack was made on Silistria, though the capture of that fortress was indispensable towards carrying out the plan devised by Prince Paskievitch. It was not until the middle of May that Silistria was invested. The siege, once begun, however, was pressed with the utmost vehemence. The fortress was weakly garrisoned, and its speedy fall was confidently expected; but fortunately two young officers, an Irishman and a Scotsman, Captain Butler of the Ceylon Rifles and Lieutenant Nasmyth of the East India Company's service, had thrown themselves into the place, and animated by their example and counsels the Turkish and

Egyptian troops who formed the garrison fought with the most heroic courage. The siege is not less memorable in the science of war than for its political results. A mere detached earthwork, called the Arab Tabiah, soon to become famous in Europe, over which a dragoon might have leaped his charger, kept the whole force of the Russians at bay. 'By diligent fighting on the hill side, by sapping close up to the ditch, by springing mines which more than once blew in the counterscarp and levelled the parapet, by storming it in the daytime, by storming it at night, the Russians strove hard to carry the work; but when they sprung a mine they ever found that behind the ruins the Turks stood retrenched, and whether they stormed it by day or by night their masses of columns were always met fiercely, were always driven back with a cruel slaughter.' General Cannon, an officer of our Indian army, with a brigade of irregular light infantry, succeeded in throwing himself into the place, and contributed greatly to strengthen and encourage the garrison. In the course of the siege Captain Butler received a wound, of which he died; but his place was supplied by another young officer, Lieutenant Ballard, of the Indian army. After a siege which lasted forty days, and cost the Russians 18,000 men and most of their generals, Prince Paskievitch, who was himself severely wounded, was compelled to retreat. This extraordinary and most unexpected event changed the whole character of the war, and put an end to all schemes for the invasion of the Sultan's dominions in Europe.

The deliverance of Silistria was quickly followed by an important success obtained by an inferior Turkish force stationed at Rustchuk over twelve battalions of Russians posted at Giurgevo, on the left bank of the Danube, mainly by the advice and assistance of General Cannon and several young English officers, who had found their way to the Turkish army. By Cannon's advice, and under his leadership, a body of the Turks crossed the river, and succeeded in effecting

a lodgment upon a strip of ground on its left bank. They were immediately attacked by a body of Russian infantry, whom they repulsed. Two battalions of the Turks passed the Danube further up, and fought their way to the same place. Fresh troops crossed the river at the point opposite to the landing first seized, and at length a force of 4000 men established themselves on this spot. They were four times assailed by a strong body of Russian infantry, who came down upon their flank, and four times were the assailants repulsed with great slaughter, and compelled to retreat, fiercely pressed by the victorious Turks. On the third day after this engagement Prince Gortschakoff himself came up with an army of 60,000 or 70,000 men, who must have completely overwhelmed the comparatively small body of Turkish troops on the right bank of the Danube; but at this critical moment some British gunboats appeared on the scene, with thirty seamen and a like number of sappers, under the command of Lieutenant Glyn of the *Britannia*. He promptly placed these boats in a narrow loop of the Danube, which divided the Turkish forces from the Russians. The British sappers, with the aid of the sailors and the Turks, promptly constructed a bridge of boats across the main stream of the river, and thus opened a communication with the Turkish forces stationed at Rustchuk. Prince Gortschakoff, in these circumstances, did not venture to assail the detachment on the right bank of the Danube, and retreated towards Bucharest, leaving to the Turks the undisputed mastery of the Lower Danube.

Meanwhile, an occurrence had taken place which seriously affected the position of the Russian army. On the 14th of June a convention was signed between the Porte and Austria, which had a powerful influence on the subsequent operations of the campaign. Austria, in common with Prussia, had not only declined to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Czar, but had decidedly refused to promise neutrality in the war. The occupation of the Princi-

palities was fraught with great danger to Austrian interests, and at an early period the Emperor proposed to form a league to compel the Czar to retire from these provinces. During the month of February he strengthened his army on the frontier of Wallachia by a reinforcement of 50,000 men, and thus placed the Russian army of occupation in a most perilous position. He now became so impatient of its presence on the Lower Danube that he was prepared, if necessary, to compel it by force to recross the Pruth. The convention now signed with the Porte empowered Austria to take possession of the Principalities in the Sultan's name. This step was a decisive one. On the 26th of June, twelve days after the convention was signed, the Russian forces began their retreat. Before the end of July they had quitted the capital of Wallachia, and on the 2nd of August they recrossed the Pruth.

The declaration of war by the Porte against Russia allowed the allied fleets to pass the Dardanelles and to enter the Black Sea. Their first operations were neither praiseworthy nor very successful. Their bombardment of the town of Odessa, though provoked by the conduct of the Russians, who had fired upon a flag of truce, was ill conceived and only imperfectly executed. The buildings of the town itself suffered severely from the fire of the allied squadrons, but the ships in the harbour and the batteries were only partially destroyed. The Russian ships of war had taken refuge in the harbour of Sebastopol, and did not venture to encounter the allied fleets in the open sea. On the 12th of May the *Tiger* grounded while cruising off Odessa in a thick fog. As soon as she was observed the Russians opened fire upon her with their field guns. Her commander was mortally wounded, and the officers and crew were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The allied armies, which landed at Gallipoli, were ordered to proceed by sea to Varna. No proper arrangements had been

made for their disembarkation, and the want of boats for landing, of a commissariat, and of proper interpreters to communicate with the authorities and the inhabitants of the country, caused great delays and embarrassment. The troops had no means of transport, and though they were within sound of the Russian artillery bombarding Silistria, it was not in their power to move to the assistance of the beleaguered fortress. Their presence at Varna no doubt had a powerful moral influence in encouraging the Turkish garrison to persevere in their heroic defence, but it is matter of deep regret that the neglect of proper arrangements prevented the allied forces from advancing to their aid. The country around Varna was very unhealthy, and the swampy borders of Lake Devna, near which the British army was encamped, were marked in a German map as 'pestilential.' Cholera had accompanied the French forces from home, and when the local fever was super-added the mortality became frightful. The British army for some time escaped the ravages of this dreadful malady, and up to the 19th of July the bodily health of the men was good. The inactivity to which the troops had been subjected no doubt had an unfavourable effect on their condition, and when the cholera did at last break out, both in the camp and in the fleet, great numbers fell victims to its attacks. A division of the French army, under General d'Espinasse, sent out into the Dobrudscha, was almost annihilated by the pestilence without meeting an enemy. The experiment was tried of sending some of the ships to sea, in the hope that its pure breezes would drive away the disease, but the malady broke out with such virulence that the very poultry and sheep died on board. The *Britannia* had 100 men seized in one afternoon, and altogether lost no less than 139. Fortunately the ravages of the pestilence in the ships were not of long duration, and they ceased almost as suddenly as they had commenced.

One part of the operations against Russia

sketched by the Duke of Newcastle was to strike a blow at some vital part of the Russian Empire, and a strong feeling had arisen in Britain that this threatened blow should be directed against Sebastopol—a strong fortress on the south-west side of the Crimea—and that ‘the grand political and military objects of the war could not be attained so long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet were in existence.’ It was ‘the keystone of the arch which spanned the Euxine from the mouths of the Danube to the confines of Mongolia.’ It was the great arsenal of Russia. Its sea forts protected the Black Sea fleet, which had destroyed the Turkish ships at Sinope. Its existence was a standing menace to Turkey and to Europe. If Sebastopol were annihilated, it was said, ‘the whole fabric which had cost the Czars of Russia centuries to raise must fall to the ground;’ and ‘the taking of Sebastopol and the occupation of the Crimea were objects which would repay all the cost of the war, and would permanently settle in our favour the principal questions in dispute.’ The destruction of this fortress, the key of the Russian position in the Black Sea, was sure to be regarded in the East as the most decisive proof that Russia was unable to make head against the Western powers. The Government were therefore supported by public opinion, if not impelled by it, when they resolved to undertake the reduction of this great fortress.

Orders were accordingly sent to the allied generals at Varna to take immediate steps for the invasion of the Crimea. As the French and British ships had undisputed command of the sea there was no difficulty in conveying their troops to the place selected for a landing—Kalamita Bay, on the south-western shore of the Crimea, about thirty miles to the north of Sebastopol. Their disembarkation began on the morning of 14th September, and by the evening of the 18th there were 27,000 British, 30,000 French, and 7000 Turkish soldiers landed without opposition on the

Crimean shore. At daybreak on the morning of the 19th the troops set out on their march upon Sebastopol. The French army formed the right wing, resting on the sea, and attached to them were the Turks under Selim Pasha, while the British forces were on the left, the post of danger, with the light cavalry on their inner flank. In this order they marched over a bare and thinly inhabited country, in which there were no inclosures or villages to impede their progress, but suffering severely from the heat of the sun and the want of water. They had some slight skirmishes with a reconnoitring body of Russian cavalry and Cossacks, but they encountered no serious opposition until they reached the northern banks of the Alma.

The narrow stream of this river was bounded on the south by precipitous cliffs between 200 and 300 feet high. About two miles from the sea they open into a spacious amphitheatre, intersected by deep ravines and narrow ridges. Upon its eastern slope was an earthen battery containing heavy artillery; higher up on the slope was another field battery of twelve guns. Between it and the crest of the hill the Russian army was drawn up, having on its flank a third battery of twelve guns placed behind a breastwork on the heights at the extreme right of the Russian army. The allies bivouacked for the night on the south bank of the Bulganac, a sluggish muddy stream. Their watch-fires on the hillside seemed to be reflected back by the Russian fires on the opposite heights. Owing to the inadequacy of the means of transport the British troops were without tents, and had to spend the night on the ground without cover, exposed to cold and the heavy dews, which, following the oppressive heat of the day, were highly injurious to their health. The strong position which the Russians occupied on the south bank of the Alma was regarded by their commander, Prince Mentschikoff, as impregnable. He expected to bar the progress of the allied armies at this point, and to detain them in front of the Alma

until the reinforcements which he was daily expecting would enable him to take the offensive, and overwhelm the invaders with a greatly superior force. He had a very imperfect idea, however, of the character of the troops by whom he was to be assailed in his apparently impregnable position.

In accordance with the arrangement made by the allied generals, the division of the French army under General Bosquet, on the extreme right, was the first to assail the Russian forces and to turn their left, and was speedily followed by the other divisions under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert. The British troops were to wait in their inland position until their allies had established themselves on the height, and were then to turn the Russian right. These arrangements were carried out with complete success. The enemy fought with stubborn valour, but they were unable to withstand the fierce assaults of the allied forces, who resolutely crossed the Alma and scaled the heights, amid a murderous fire of the Russian artillery. The Highland Brigade, under Sir Colin Campbell, especially distinguished themselves in this encounter; and at last the Russian infantry, panic-stricken, threw away their arms and sought safety in flight. Great numbers of them fell as they fled, under the murderous fire of the French batteries and the British horse artillery. In this fierce encounter, which lasted about three hours, the Russians lost about 8000 men, besides 900 more who were taken prisoners, including two brigadier-generals. The total loss of the allies amounted to 619 killed and 2860 wounded. The British forces lost more in proportion than the French, as they had to attack the centre of the Russian extended position, and to march up in front of the formidable earthwork. They left 362 on the field, and had 1640 wounded. The enemy were permitted to retire unmolested. If they had been promptly and vigorously pursued, as they fully expected and Lord Raglan earnestly

recommended, there seems every probability that the whole army would have been taken prisoners or destroyed, and perhaps Sebastopol might have been captured at once. The French commander, however, refused to agree to this proposal, alleging the want of cavalry, the exhausted state of his troops, and the late hour of the day. Thus early in the campaign did the evils of a divided command begin to show themselves. It is much to be regretted that Lord Raglan's advice was not followed, as such was the panic in the Russian army that on the night after the battle, a false alarm having been spread that the victorious forces were advancing, they precipitately fled from the bank of the river Kataha, where they had bivouacked, leaving their guns behind them. They did not recover from their alarm until they found themselves within the walls of Sebastopol.

On the 23rd the allied armies commenced their march towards the Russian fortress. Cholera had unfortunately broken out afresh among the British forces, much aggravated by the neglect of sanitary arrangements. On the 24th the troops reached the little Belbec river, on the opposite bank of which the Russians had taken up a formidable position. After the battle of the Alma the allied generals had proposed to attack the forts which protect Sebastopol on the north. The town, with its arsenal, its dockyards, and its storehouses, stood on the southern side of a deep inlet of the sea used as a harbour, while on the northern side there were a series of stone forts and batteries defending the entrance of this inlet. Behind them the ground rises into a ridge which commands both the harbour and the town on the south, and the approach from the Belbec on the north. On the summit of this ridge the Russians had recently constructed a considerable fort, known as the Star Fort, which commanded both the town and the approach from the north. Fort Constantine, an old erection, stood at the very mouth of the harbour. A short way off to the north of it was the Telegraph

Battery; and beyond it in a line with the Star Fort, and connected with it by covered ways and embankments, was a square stone tower surrounded by earthworks. On the summit of this tower eight heavy guns were mounted, working on pivots, so as to be turned in every direction upon an assailing force. On account of the damage which it inflicted on our vessels, the sailors named it 'the Wasp Battery.'

Lord Raglan was originally of opinion that Sebastopol should be attacked on the south side; but it is alleged that the day after the battle of the Alma he proposed to St. Arnaud 'at once to advance to the Belbec, cross that river, and then assault the forts,' and that the Marshal answered that his troops were tired, and that it could not be done. It is further affirmed that on the following day, the 22nd, Lord Raglan was again urging on the French general to advance across the Belbec; but again he was met by a refusal, on the ground that the Russians had thrown up strong earthworks on the bank of the river, and the allies could not afford the loss that would be entailed in forcing them. This, it is affirmed, was a grievous error. The allies might at this time have marched upon the north side of Sebastopol without opposition, for as General Todleben has stated, Prince Mentschikoff had not only withdrawn to the south of Sebastopol, but had deliberately renounced the idea of encountering the allies on the north of the roadstead. If, therefore, the French general had consented to follow the advice of Lord Raglan and Sir Edward Lyons, it is alleged they would in all probability have obtained possession of the north side of Sebastopol without serious opposition, and could then have proceeded at once to destroy the Black Sea fleet and the naval establishments of the town. But the obstinate refusal of the French commander to concur in this scheme made it necessary to adopt the only alternative open to the allies, and to assail the Russian stronghold on the south side. On the other hand, it is

asserted on high authority that the project of attacking the south side of Sebastopol had been contemplated from the very first; that Sir John Burgoyne strongly recommended this course; that Lord Raglan coincided in it; that they pressed the plan on Marshal St. Arnaud, who did not follow it at once because he still had some intention of assaulting the north side, from which he was diverted by the discovery of the new works there. The plan ultimately adopted was recommended by the consideration that on the south of Sebastopol comparatively safe harbours and anchorage were to be found in the deep inlet of Balaklava, and in those bays which indent Cape Chersonese. It was also thought probable that the Russians would not be prepared to resist an attack in that quarter, and that it would be possible to take the town at once by assault.

For these reasons the allied generals resolved to change their base of operations, and leaving Sebastopol on the right, to undertake a flank march to the south in order to establish a new base at Balaklava. It was a fatiguing and hazardous movement, as the troops had to traverse thick woods, deep ravines, and precipitous hills before they could reach their destination, all the time in danger of being assailed by the enemy. There can be no doubt that if the Russians had been aware of this movement the allied armies would have been exposed to a fatal disaster. Fortunately they accomplished this long and perilous march without molestation from the enemy, and occupied the heights above Balaklava, while the fleets appeared on the following day (27th of September) in the harbour. During the march from the Belbec Marshal St. Arnaud, who was in bad health when he left France, overcome by long and severe suffering, resigned the command of the French army to General Canrobert, and died a few days after on his passage to Constantinople.

At the time when the allied forces took up their new position on the south of

Sebastopol the town had been left to its own resources. With the exception of 5000 militiamen and one battalion of sappers, Prince Mentschikoff had withdrawn his whole army, 40,000 strong, from the place. Afraid of being cut off from his communications with the interior of the empire, from which alone he could receive reinforcements and supplies, he resolved to move his army towards Simpheropol, and placing them on the high road which leads by Baktchi Seräi to the interior of Russia, he would thus be in a position to be joined by the reinforcements from Odessa as well as those coming up from the neighbourhood of Kertch. Taking it for granted that the allies would attack Sebastopol on the north side, he expected to hang upon their flank and rear, and seriously to hinder their operations. With unpardonable negligence, however, he took no pains to ascertain the movements of the invading forces, and in consequence the rear of his army came suddenly in contact with the advanced guard of the British troops in their flank march from the Belbec, who were equally taken by surprise, and had equally neglected proper precautions to secure their march. The Russians fled panic-stricken by the unexpected encounter, leaving their baggage to become the spoil of our soldiers. Had our cavalry been present a complete rout must have ensued.

When the allied generals, immediately after their troops had taken up their new position, proceeded to reconnoitre Sebastopol they discovered that scarcely any preparations had been made on the south side to resist an assault. The Malakoff, which afterwards became so formidable, was only a half ruined tower. The ranges and tiers of works which so long resisted assault were hardly commenced. The approach of the town from the end of the harbour to the Dockyard Creek was flanked by a round stone tower, armed with heavy guns placed on the summit, without embrasures. A second swept the country from the Dockyard Creek to the sea. On the shore was the Quarantine Fort, and

to the west the town was partly protected by a wall. With these exceptions there were on the land side neither wall, ditch, battery, nor other defence. The garrison consisted of 18,500 sailors withdrawn from the ships; a strong battalion of regular troops which, having lost its way in marching towards Simpheropol, had returned to the town; an imperfect battalion of sappers, and a body of 5000 militiamen. Altogether there appears to have been about 36,000 troops available for the defence of the town when the allied forces sat down before it, and a considerable number more were employed in garrisoning the northern forts and in other services. General Todleben, however, states that in his opinion 'it was absolutely impossible to repel the enemy with only the force the garrison consisted of. So there remained to them no alternative but that of seeking to die gloriously at the post committed to their bravery.' There is reason to believe that if the place had been at once assailed it would have been taken without much difficulty. Lord Raglan himself was in favour of an immediate assault; so was Sir Edward Lyons, who expressed his conviction that unless the place were at once assaulted it would not be taken at all except after grievous loss, and that the men then composing the army 'would not live to do it.' Their opinion was earnestly supported by Sir George Cathcart, and other able and experienced officers. But the proposal was strenuously opposed by General Canrobert and the French officers in the mass, who said 'that their men could not be restrained, and if any check or reverse followed they could not be got together, and the safety of the whole army would be compromised.' It was also pleaded that even if the allies obtained possession of the southern part of the town, they could not hold it for any length of time under the guns from the northern forts and from the ships. They urged, therefore, that an assault should not be made until the fire of the enemy should be first got down by means of heavy

artillery. Sir John Burgoyne, the eminent engineer officer, concurred in this view, which after some consideration and discussion was unhappily adopted.

The allied forces had taken up their position on a high plateau, the eastern sides of which, from the end of the harbour of Sebastopol to the sea, rise almost precipitously from the valley. To the north it slopes gradually towards Sebastopol, the hill-side being cut up into deep ravines, which run far inland, and divide the heights into several distinct parts. To the west the plateau subsides rapidly into the low land which forms Cape Chersonese. The French forces occupied the west or left of the allied line, resting on the sea, and were thus sheltered from molestation on all sides except that of the town. The British army were stationed on the right, the place of danger and of honour, for they had imposed upon them the double duty of carrying on the siege and of defending the allied position at its most vulnerable point. They were secured against attacks in flank and rear by the conformation of the ground, except in one quarter. 'Against any Russian attack upon the north-east of the table-land there was neither the obstacle of the sea nor the barrier of interposed trenches, nor the defence that can be interposed by a corps of observation exclusively charged with such duty.' In these circumstances there was laid upon the British army the additional and separate task of providing for the security of the allied army in what would otherwise have been an undefended part of their position.

As the British army drew their supplies from Balaklava, it was necessary that this port also should be secured, and the troops intrusted with its defences were placed under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, a gallant soldier and skilful general, whose claims to promotion, owing to the want of aristocratic influence and connections, had hitherto been postponed to those of far inferior men. In his hands this important position was regarded as perfectly safe. A

redoubt with a line of breastwork was erected athwart the entrance to the gorge which led to Balaklava, and another line of defence was constructed by throwing up a chain of small redoubts upon the low range of heights which stretches across the plain at a distance of about a mile and a half from the gorge. These redoubts were manned by some bodies of Turkish troops placed under Lord Raglan's orders. On the hills above Balaklava were a few scattered earthworks, held by the marines and sailors. Lord Lucan, with his cavalry and horse artillery, was stationed in the plain to the north of Balaklava. It was not till the 28th and 29th of September that the disembarkation of artillery and stores in the harbour of Balaklava could be commenced. From that date till the 17th of October, when the bombardment opened, a period of only eighteen days, every nerve was strained, and every available man employed, in carrying up to the front the siege artillery and ammunition, and in preparing the batteries and trenches for their reception. The space in front of the French lines permitted the usual process of sapping and trenching to be carried on, but the position occupied by the British was too rocky to admit easily of such works, and was broken by so many ravines that regular approaches were almost impossible. The works in consequence proceeded very slowly, and our batteries were not completed until three weeks after the allied armies had taken possession of the heights. The French batteries were for the most part on a level with the Russian works, while those of the British were at a very considerable elevation above the town.

Meanwhile the Russian garrison, under the command of Admiral Korniloff and Colonel Todleben, aided by the inhabitants of the town, were making unparalleled exertions to strengthen its defences. Men, women, and children were observed working in crowds night and day, bearing earth, gabions, and fascines. All the engines, stores, and materials to be found in the

arsenals and the dockyards were laid under requisition. Waggon and carts, and even carriages belonging to private citizens, were employed in drawing up loads to the batteries. From dawn to sunset between five and six thousand men were toiling eagerly along the lines of defence, and by the help of torches the work was carried on through the night. The mainspring of these efforts, and the soul of the defence, was Colonel Todleben, the young officer of engineers whose skill and energy long delayed the fall of the fortress, and gained for himself a European reputation. The round tower at the extreme left, known as the celebrated Malakoff, was speedily surrounded by substantial earthworks. To the right of it was constructed a formidable redoubt, termed the Redan. Between the Redan and the arsenal at the head of Dockyard Creek were the Barrack Batteries. To the west of the creek, facing the French lines, was the Garden Battery, and beyond it was the Flagstaff Battery, united by a line of strong defences and by a wall to the Quarantine Fort and the sea. Every day fresh earthworks were thrown up, and additional guns of heavy calibre placed in position. The defenders had at their command the immense stores of ammunition and guns which had been accumulated in Sebastopol, and they now turned them to the best account. When the extensive and solid nature of the new works was pointed out to the chief British engineer, he is said to have replied 'that they were only built to be knocked down again;' but it was found ere long that works of earth proved more formidable than those of stone.

It was at length arranged that the attack was to be made on the 17th of October, and that the French and British batteries should open their fire together on the morning of that day. At a council of war it was agreed that the allied fleets should make a simultaneous attack with the land forces. But as the Russians on the 23rd of September had sunk four men-of-war and two frigates across the entrance of the roadstead, it was doubtful

whether the allied ships would be able to approach near enough to the forts to inflict any material injury on the defences. The bombardment began at half-past six, and for some time it seemed to be attended with great success. The Flagstaff Battery suffered severely both from the French and the British guns. The stone-work of the Malakoff tower was rent, and its heavy guns were either dismantled or silent, though the earthworks which covered it still poured forth a deadly fire. The fronting walls of the Redan and the other bastions were in some places destroyed, in others grievously injured, and great numbers of the gunners were killed or wounded. The contest had thus continued with apparent advantage to the assailants, especially on the British side, until about nine o'clock, when a report like that of distant thunder rose above the roar of the artillery. A volume of flame sprung up from the French batteries, and was followed by a thick murky column, spreading far and wide as it rose into the air. A powder magazine had been blown up by a shell from one of the Russian batteries, and had killed about fifty men and disabled a number of guns. This catastrophe produced discouragement and even consternation among the French troops, and the fire of their artillery slackened, and was shortly after suspended. The Russians were thus enabled to concentrate their fire upon the English works, on which they inflicted considerable injury, dismantling and destroying several guns, though the loss in men was much less than might have been expected.

Meanwhile the allied fleets had not been idle, but on either side of the mouth of the harbour there was a long shoal, while the entrance was blocked up by the sunken ships of the enemy. The assailing vessels, therefore, found it impossible to get near enough to the sea forts of Sebastopol to make their broadsides of any real effect. They continued their fire until it was dark, and withdrew about half-past six with a

loss on the part of the British of forty-four killed and 260 wounded, while the French had thirty killed and 164 wounded. The Russians admitted a loss of 500 men in killed and wounded. Among the former was Admiral Nachemoff, who was killed by the fragment of a shell; and Admiral Korniloff, who commanded in the town, was mortally wounded by a shot from one of the batteries. It was these two officers who planned and executed the attack on the Turkish squadron at Sinope. Two of the British and six of the French ships were so seriously damaged, that they had to be sent home for repairs. The broadsides of the French vessels, though delivered at 1500 yards' distance, silenced the fire of Fort Quarantine, and inflicted considerable injury upon the embrasures; and the walls of Fort Constantine were so much shaken by the fire of the *Agamemnon* at 800 yards' distance that they had subsequently to be supported by wooden shores and props, and earthworks were constructed to protect this enormous stone-work. There is every probability that if the depth of the water had permitted her to approach within 300 or 400 yards the fort would have been destroyed. But as matters stood the tremendous cannonade of the allied fleets had not materially impaired the strength of the sea defences of Sebastopol. On the land side the only part of the Russian fortifications completely disabled were the two stone towers. The efficiency of the earthworks that had been raised around them was not materially impaired.

It had thus become evident that the Russian stronghold could not, as had been expected when the expedition was planned, be taken by a *coup de main*. The change which now of necessity took place in the character of the allied operations is thus distinctly stated by Sir Richard Airey:—

'At the time of the embarkation, and from that time until the 17th of October (the day of the first bombardment), there was no expectation whatever of having to winter in the Crimea—no final determination to do so was formed until after the battle

of Inkerman. It was anticipated that during the winter the force would have its headquarters in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus; and I have reason to believe that in the first week of September, and after we had embarked in the expedition, Lord Raglan was corresponding on the subject with the British Ambassador at the Porte. And here too I may be permitted to state my opinion, that the responsibility of the general and officers engaged in the invasion of the Crimea was not a responsibility of the same description which attaches to the conduct of ordinary warfare. Marshal St. Arnaud and General Lord Raglan—under very decisive instructions from one at least of the governments at home—determined to make a descent upon the enemy's coast, and to attempt a rapid military enterprise against the stronghold of Sebastopol; but they never proposed nor intended, and certainly were not prepared, to invade Russia by regular operations in the field, *i.e.* by the advance of an armed body connecting itself by sufficient means of transport with the "base of operations." In that sense the allied forces were not an "army;" they would be more properly called a "movable column."

'A movable column has certain advantages, and especially that of being rapid in its operations; but the well-known drawbacks to the employment of such a force are these: that it is adapted only for temporary use, and that it is exposed to great risk—not to the ordinary risk of mere defects and consequent loss, but to the risk of total destruction. Certainly the expeditionary force which landed on the beach at Old Fort could not have been expected or intended to enjoy that degree of security which belongs to regular operations.'

This authoritative exposition of the designs of the allies shows that they had planned a *coup de main* by 'a movable column,' not a regular siege with 'a base of operations' and all regular supports and resources. This state of things may help to account for most of the privation and suffering that ensued.

On the failure of the cannonade by sea and land to silence the enemy's batteries, the position of the allied forces became exceedingly critical. The works of defence which the Russians had thrown up with indefatigable activity had rendered their position so strong that a siege, and probably a protracted one, was inevitable. But the allies had scarcely enough of men to carry on siege operations, and were entirely with-

out a covering army to protect the troops engaged on the works, or to occupy the roads leading from the entrance to Sebastopol, so as to prevent Russian reinforcements being poured into the Crimea. On the other hand the enemy had not only a garrison in Sebastopol sufficient for the defence of the town, but they had a far larger army outside ready to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to attack the positions of the allied troops. The besiegers were thus compelled to stand on the defensive, and were in imminent danger of being assailed by an overwhelming force, and compelled to make an ignominious and disastrous retreat.

The Russian generals, who could not fail to know that the allies were placed in a most disadvantageous and indeed dangerous condition, were now preparing to make an attack upon the British position at Balaklava, with the hope that by forcing it they would place our army between two fires, in front and rear. On the 24th of October a large body of Russian infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, which proved to be a fresh *corps d'armée* under General Liprandi, just arrived from the Danubian Principalities, was discovered bivouacking at the mouth of a valley through which runs the highroad from Simpheropol and Odessa to Balaklava. At daybreak next morning a body of 80,000 men advanced to assail the British position. They opened fire from a battery of heavy guns upon the redoubts which formed the outer line of defence, and were held by a body of Turkish troops, chiefly Tunisians and militia who had never been under fire before. They maintained a well-directed fire for about twenty minutes, but on the approach of a strong column of infantry, supported by cavalry, the Turks in the first redoubt were no longer able to persist in their defence, but retired in good order, suffering considerable loss in their retreat.*

Those in the second and third redoubts fled in confusion without an attempt to maintain their position. The enemy took possession of the redoubts and deserted guns, which had been spiked, though inefficiently, by the British artillerymen who had been stationed in each. They did not venture to attack the fourth, in which some British troops were placed, and they soon afterwards abandoned the third redoubt.

The redoubts having been carried, the Russian cavalry advanced, supported by a considerable force of artillery. They divided into two bodies. The smaller of the two, consisting of about 400 men, charged down the slope on the 93rd Highlanders, under Colonel Ainslie, who were drawn up in front of the road leading to Balaklava. They were ordered by Sir Colin Campbell to receive the enemy in a line—'the thin red line'—and on the first volley the Russian cavalry fell back in confusion. The stronger body of the enemy, estimated at about 1000 men, turned to the right and advanced towards the camp of the Scots Greys and the Inniskillen Dragoons, whose united strength did not exceed 400. These two gallant regiments were just returning from the position they had at first taken up beyond the ridge to the left of the line of redoubts, and had only time to form and to meet the Russian charge. The memorable scene that ensued has been vividly described by Colonel G. B. Hamley, who was an eye-witness of the fight.

'All who had the good fortune,' he says, 'to look down from the heights on that brilliant spectacle must carry through life a vivid remembrance of it. The plain and surrounding hills, all clad in sober green, formed an excellent background for the colours of the opposing masses—the dark gray Russian column sweeping down in multitudinous superiority of numbers on the red-clad squadrons that, hindered by the obstacles of the ground on which they were moving, advanced slowly to meet them. There was a clash and fusion as of wave meeting wave, when the head of the column en-

* The Turks were much blamed at the time for their failure to hold these redoubts. They were so ill-constructed, however, that the Cossacks had no

difficulty in leaping their horses over them. The French general declared them untenable, and consequently no attempt was made to recapture them.



BALACLAVA
CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE

countered the leading squadrons of our brigade, all those engaged being resolved into a crowd of individual horsemen, whose swords rose and fell and glanced. So for a minute or two they fought, the impetus of the enemy's dense column carrying it on, and pressing our combatants back for a short space, till the 4th Dragoon Guards, coming clear of a wall which was between them and the enemy, charged the Russian flank, while the remaining regiment of the brigade went in in support of those which had first attacked. Then—almost it seemed in a moment and simultaneously—the whole Russian mass gave way and fled, at speed and in disorder, beyond the hill, vanishing behind the slope some four or five minutes after they had swept over it.'

At this period took place that memorable charge of the Light Brigade, which will not be forgotten so long as the British Empire lasts. Owing to a fatal misconception of the meaning of an order from Lord Raglan to Lord Lucan, the commander of the cavalry, 607 men charged the entire Russian army, with artillery in front and upon their flanks.* On they went, under the thunder of the artillery, calmly and deliberately, though apparently going to inevitable destruction, until they could see each man in the lines drawn up before them; then quickening their speed they rushed onward with resistless force, scattering and cutting down the artillerymen. The heavy Russian columns of infantry swerved and made lanes for the impetuous torrent. Regiments of Dragoons and Hussars in vain attempted to check their onward course. They never drew rein until they had broken through the entire Russian army, and no enemy was before them.

They could not, however, remain in that position, and were obliged to return by the

way they had come. Their return was much more perilous than their advance, for not only had they to retreat under the fire of the two captured redoubts on the one side, and of the battery established on the Tchernaya ridge on the other, but clouds of riflemen had gathered on the sides of the hills which flanked the valley. At this critical moment General Bosquet, who had witnessed the heroic charge, exclaimed, 'It is magnificent! but it is not war;' and he nobly did what he could to save the remnant of the brigade from imminent destruction, by ordering a squadron of his Chasseurs d'Afrique to silence the flanking battery on the Tchernaya ridge. The service was most gallantly performed. Forcing their way through thick brushwood and up the steep rocky ridge, these gallant horsemen reached the guns and cut down all who opposed them. But two heavy columns of Russian infantry, emerging from the ravine in which they had been concealed, opened a deadly fire upon them, and compelled them to retire, leaving two of their officers and fourteen of their men dead upon the field. They had, however, obtained a respite for the remnant of the light cavalry, who were struggling through the valley one by one, some on horse, some on foot, and who owed their lives to the generous daring of their allies. The end of the valley to which our gallant horsemen had penetrated was thickly dotted with bodies of men and horses. As the wounded lay writhing on the ground, the Cossacks, who had quailed and fled before the attack of our men, pierced them with their spears, 'but as if fearing them even in death, five or six together were seen to gather round one helpless and dying man—not the only instance of that barbarous cruelty which will remain an eternal stigma upon the Russian name.' At roll-call that evening nearly two-thirds of the Light Brigade did not answer to their names. During the night and the following day others who were wounded and unhorsed, and had crept for safety into the bushes and crevices of

* A long and painful controversy took place as to who was responsible for this fatal order. An attempt was made to throw the blame on Captain Nolan, a distinguished officer, by whom it was carried to Lord Lucan. He was killed by a shell as he was leading the charge. But the fact that the order was *written*, not verbal, relieves him from responsibility. Lord Raglan merely said in his despatch, in his usual gentle manner, 'From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the Lieutenant-General considered that he was bound to attack at all hazards, and accordingly ordered Major-General the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the Light Brigade.'

the rocks, straggled into the camp, and the loss of life was not so great as was supposed at first. But still above 230, of whom fifteen were officers, were either killed or remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Twenty-seven officers were severely wounded, several of whom died.

The plateau, extending between the north of the Woronzoff road and the edge of the hills overlooking the end of the harbour, was occupied by the first and second divisions of the British army, commanded by Sir De Lacy Evans. The importance of protecting this exposed spot by trenches, earthworks, and redoubts had been strangely overlooked, and even the two roads leading up from the Inkerman valley to the rear of our second division had also been left comparatively open. It was pleaded in palliation of this neglect that the time of the troops and the attention of the generals had been engrossed by successive labours of the most arduous kind, connected exclusively with military operations. But the work was done after the fatal results of this oversight had been experienced, and the troops had been greatly diminished in numbers by their losses in the battle of Inkerman. It is impossible to deny that there was a want of due foresight and precaution in not taking measures at the outset for the defence of the divisions placed on this exposed position. Sir De Lacy Evans had, indeed, endeavoured to throw up a few breastworks of stone and earth; but as they were unfinished and close to the camp they afforded little protection. The very next morning after the battle of Balaklava a strong body of infantry, about 8000 in number, accompanied by artillery, issued from Sebastopol, and, ascending the hill, suddenly appeared on the crest that commanded the camp of the second division, which numbered only 1200 men. Our pickets, though taken somewhat by surprise, held their ground firmly against this overwhelming force, and thus gave time to the British general, Sir De Lacy Evans, to draw out his troops and form them in ad-

vance of the camp, and to place his guns in position. The sound of the cannonade brought up the Duke of Cambridge with the brigade of Guards, who took part on the right flank, and General Bosquet, with four French battalions. Sir George Cathcart also hastened to the spot with a regiment of rifles, and Sir George Brown pushed forward two guns to strengthen the left flank of the division. After a brief contest the Russian artillery was driven from the field, and their infantry fell into complete disorder, and were chased over the ridges and down towards the head of the bay, with a loss altogether of about 1000 men, while the British had only twelve killed and about eighty wounded. The enemy, though their attempt was thus defeated, must have ascertained the weakness of our defences.

Meanwhile large reinforcements were pouring into the Crimea, and carts, wagons, carriages, and post-horses—the whole resources of the country, in short—were put in requisition with the utmost activity to bring forward the troops from the Principalities. Prince Mentschikoff resolved to employ at once the powerful force thus placed at his disposal, to make another and much more formidable attack on the unprotected portion of the British army. So confident was he of success, that some days before the execution of his design he wrote to the Czar—‘A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days they will perish by the sword, or will be driven into the sea. Let your Majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched the priceless treasure which your Majesty has intrusted to my keeping.’ The Emperor’s two sons, the Archdukes Nicholas and Michael, reached Sebastopol before the meditated attempt was made.

Shortly after midnight of the morning of Sunday, November 5th, the troops who guarded the trenches heard the tolling of numerous church bells in Sebastopol, and those who were nearest to the city even heard the sounds of chanting and psalmody. It

afterwards appeared that a solemn religious service was performed in order to stimulate the courage of the soldiers, and an abundant supply of ardent spirits was also served out to them. At daylight a body of troops, amounting to at least 50,000 men, suddenly appeared on the crest of the hill in front of the second division of the British army. The pickets, though few in number, boldly resisted and checked the advance of the enemy until compelled to retreat by the masses that pressed upon them. 'These pickets,' said Lord Raglan in his despatch, 'behaved with admirable gallantry, defending the ground foot by foot against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy until the second division, with its field guns, was got under arms and placed in position.' Their gallant and experienced commander, overcome by hard toil, anxiety, and illness, was on a sick-bed at Balaklava,* but his place was well supplied by General Pennefather, who rapidly led out his men towards the crest of the hill to meet the dense masses of the assailants. Although their columns were torn by the deadly fire of the Minie rifles, the Russians pressed forward with loud and discordant yells, with the hope that they would overwhelm our troops by mere force of numbers. Their artillery, which had been brought up noiselessly to the ridge, now opened fire upon our decimated regiments, and at the same time the guns of the town and ships of war in the harbour threw an unceasing volley of shot and shell amongst our troops. While fresh columns continued to ascend the hill in front, others wending round its base threatened our flank and rear, and a large body advanced through a narrow gorge, stretching from Carcening Bay almost into the centre of our position. The right of the British forces was thus threatened on all sides by overwhelming numbers.

* On hearing the firing and learning that a general action had commenced, Sir De Lacy Evans rose from his sick-bed and hastened to the scene of conflict, though he was unable to assume the command, which he left in the hands of General Pennefather, whom, however, he assisted with his advice.

The Grenadier Guards and Scots Fusiliers, who were in the immediate rear of the second division, hastened to their support as soon as they heard the din of the conflict. They were speedily joined by the Coldstreams. On this brigade the brunt of the battle fell, and though they had just returned from the trenches and were benumbed with cold and wet, and had for many hours been without food, they resisted the masses of the Russians with a courage and firmness worthy of their high reputation. They were ultimately joined by the fourth division under Sir George Cathcart, and the second division was reinforced by a brigade of the first, while the batteries of these two divisions took up a position on a rising-ground in front of our lines, and sought to check the heavy fire of the Russian artillery.

The contest which now took place, and raged for seven hours, was of almost unequalled severity. It was justly termed 'the soldiers' battle,' for there was no room for strategy. It was a hand-to-hand fight carried on by a comparatively small body of highly disciplined soldiers against fearful odds, in most discouraging circumstances, and amid a dark and drizzling mist, so that our generals had very great difficulty in discovering what was going on, and the officers fought among the private soldiers with their swords and revolvers. The enemy were driven back times out of number, but constantly reinforced by fresh supplies of men, they returned to the charge, and at times succeeded in pressing back our troops, and even for a brief space obtained possession of some of our guns. But although the Guards had lost two-thirds of their numbers in this desperate struggle, and were at one period completely surrounded by the enemy, they maintained their ground with indomitable resolution; and knowing that the safety of the British army depended mainly on them, when ammunition for a time failed, they disputed every inch of the ground with the bayonet, and even with stones.

The battle had now raged for five hours, and affairs were assuming a gloomy aspect. The ranks of the British regiments had been fearfully thinned by the sanguinary contest. The Russian artillery, under cover of the mist, had drawn nearer to the British camp, and had opened upon our troops with redoubled violence, while fresh bodies of their infantry were at the same time coming over the crest of the hill and up the ravines. But at this critical moment the division of our allies under General Bosquet came to the rescue. At an early hour in the morning the position on the road to Balaklava held by the French had been threatened by the *corps d'armée* under General Liprandi, but after some shots had been exchanged with the Zouaves and French troops defending that position, and between the batteries on both sides, the Russians fell back, though still appearing to threaten an advance. General Bosquet at length came to the conclusion that Liprandi's attack was only a feint intended to keep him where he was. He resolved at once to act upon this supposition, and brought the greater part of his troops to the aid of the British combatants. Halting his men just out of the range of the enemy's guns, he rode himself into the midst of the conflict to see how matters stood. The field artillery on our left was nearly silenced by the superior weight and range of the Russian guns. General Bosquet therefore sent two troops of horse artillery and one field battery to assist our guns. The Russians were still pouring up in great numbers through the ravines in the rear of the second division, where the Guards were engaged in an unequal and deadly struggle. A regiment of Zouaves and of Indigènes or Arabs were ordered to charge the dense mass that covered the sides of the hills. Rushing headlong upon the enemy, these brave and intelligent troops drove them back in confusion. The French regiments of the line moved forward steadily to support the British regiments on the left, which had suffered severely from the incessant and

well-directed fire of the Russian guns and the reiterated charges of the masses of infantry. In marching along the crest of the plateau to their assistance, Bosquet's troops were exposed to such a tremendous fire from the Russian artillery on the ridge as well as from the batteries of the town and ships, that they recoiled in disorder, notwithstanding the exhortations and gallant example of their officers. A second time they advanced, and a second time they were thrown into confusion. At this critical moment two officers of the British staff rushed to their front, encouraging them by words and gestures, and closing their ranks they dashed boldly into the dense masses of the enemy and drove them back with the bayonet. Our disordered regiments, thus relieved, were enabled to form again in perfect order, and when their allies in their turn were overpowered by numbers, our men rushed to their aid. The various uniforms of the two nations thus became intermingled. British and French regiments charged in union, their shouts of defiance and of victory rising together. Their combined charge was irresistible; and the Russian columns, which threatened at one time the entire destruction of the British battalions, were rolled back over the heights.

The Russian artillery, however, still maintained its position, and poured an incessant and destructive fire on the allied forces. The enemy had brought nearly a hundred guns into the field, nearly all superior in weight and range to those possessed by the French and British. The ships and the town batteries also threw a continual volley of heavy shot and shell into our lines. At an early hour Lord Raglan had ordered two eighteen-pounders to be brought up from the siege train; but by a mistake on the part of the bearer of the order it was at first presented to the wrong person, and considerable delay was thus caused in carrying it into effect. Colonel Gambier, who had charge of the siege guns, had already anticipated it, and was prepared

to move at a moment's notice with the ammunition waggons and all the necessary equipments. By the vigorous exertions of the artillerymen, aided by some teams of draught horses who were met coming out of the fight, the heavy guns were dragged through roads deep in mud, and over the rough ground, till they reached a ridge in front of the camp of the second division, and were there placed in position. They were long iron guns, weighing each 42 cwt., having very strong charges of powder, and threw their 18-lb. ball with precision and terrific power. They were exposed to the fire of a large number of guns of equal if not heavier calibre, and a storm of round shot and shell was at once directed against the small band of our artillerymen, 150 in number, of whom seventeen fell in a quarter of an hour. But the well-directed shot of our guns soon began to tell upon the Russian batteries, destroying men and horses, smashing and blowing up tumbrils, and spreading terror and devastation on all sides. The Russian fire was thus greatly diminished, and the British gunners continued with almost entire impunity to ravage the enemy's batteries. The men began to waver, and harnessing their teams, shifted the position of their guns; but they were still within reach, and though they occupied a less exposed position the two eighteen-pounders continued to cover the ground with killed and wounded men and horses, and the wrecks of a disabled artillery. The fire of the Russian batteries slackened, and the heavy columns of their infantry, no longer urged onwards and protected by it, began to fall back on all sides, warmly pressed by the Zouaves and Indigènes.

One of the most formidable of the Russian batteries was attacked at this juncture by a small body of British soldiers led by Lieutenant Acton, while at the same time the shot of the eighteen-pounders plunged among the artillerymen and horses. The officers, dreading the loss of their guns, gave orders that they should

be limbered up in all haste, and though the fire of the British troops told severely on their ranks they succeeded in carrying off the whole of their artillery. When the assailants entered the battery they found only one gun-carriage and a couple of artillery tumbrils; but the crest of the hill on which the Russian batteries had been planted was covered with heaps of dead men and horses, bearing fatal testimony to the destructive effects of the British guns. The whole ground, indeed, which had been the scene of this terrible struggle was covered with heaps of the dead and the dying, perhaps more dreadful than ever field of battle had shown before. Sir George Couper, who was not actually engaged in the battle, but who, being on outpost duty on a redoubt, saw a good deal of the fighting, gives in a letter written at the time a stirring picture of the conflict. 'As I was not engaged, I may say that the behaviour of the men and officers of the Guards was magnificent. I cannot imagine anything more magnificent than the scanty and unsupported line of skirmishers (for they were extended to fill the space) driving that dense mass of Russians back over the hill, not once, but many times, and with fresh foes. It was a beautiful sight, and one I shall not forget. When our men's ammunition failed they fought with the bayonet and butt end, and even with stones. In this scrambling desperate fight every man fought for his own hand, like "Hal o' the Wynd," and Grenadiers, Coldstreams, and Fusiliers got mixed together in the *mêlée*. Our officers could do little more than join in with their swords and revolvers; and our men, often surrounded by the Russians, fought their way out as best they could. Generalship there could be none whatever. British steadiness and bull-dog courage did it. The result was to be seen next day in the fearful mass of Russians dead, which plainly told that it required something more than numbers to beat British soldiers. Our battalion had only about 350 men engaged. They fired 20,000

rounds, and more than half of them were killed or wounded.'

The battle was now over; but a heavy fire from the town and ships still covered the retreat of the Russians. The thousands who had been driven from the heights crowded a small plain beneath, on the opposite side of the river, and the shattered columns, although they were not pursued, were hurrying in utter disorder over the narrow causeway which crossed the marshy valley. Lord Raglan earnestly pressed General Canrobert to bring up the right wing of his army, and with the aid of the British troops in front attack the fugitives as they were crossing the bridge; but he declined, saying it was best to leave well alone. The French general saw and frankly acknowledged his error when it was too late. There can be little doubt that if he had yielded to Lord Raglan's wish, the Russians would have been put in peril of an almost overwhelming disaster. A French battery, however, advanced at full speed to the edge of the overhanging height, and poured its fire upon the panic-stricken crowd.

Early in the day a sortie was made upon the extreme left of the French lines by 5000 men and four guns, under the command of General Timovieff. They succeeded in surprising the outposts and broke into the batteries, overpowered the guards of the trenches, and spiked a number of their siege guns. They were speedily driven out in disorder, however, by General Forey, who commanded the division attached to the siege operations. The French troops, in too keenly pursuing the enemy, drew upon themselves a heavy fire from the batteries of Sebastopol, and General De Lourmel, a soldier of distinguished bravery, fell mortally wounded under the very walls of the town. The sortie was not made with sufficient force to effect its object, and failed to prevent reinforcements being despatched to the assistance of the British troops on Mount Inkerman.

The battle of Inkerman is justly regarded

as one of the most memorable in the annals of war. A body of 7460 British and 6000 French soldiers, in most disadvantageous circumstances—the former exhausted by want of rest and food—sustained for seven hours a hand-to-hand fight against nearly 60,000 men, supported by artillery vastly superior in number and calibre to any that could be opposed to them, and ultimately drove them off the field. This signal victory, achieved against such overwhelming numbers, was undoubtedly owing to the cool, determined, indomitable courage and heroic conduct of our soldiers, led by their regimental officers, for there was little or no opportunity for the display of the strategic skill of their commanders. 'The brilliant feat of arms,' as it was termed by General Canrobert, was not achieved without heavy loss to the allies. The British forces lost in killed or wounded 2357, including officers, of whom 597 were killed; but a great number of the wounded died shortly after at Balaklava, on board ship, or at Scutari. The French lost 1800 in killed and wounded. The Russian official reports place their loss at 11,959 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. But Lord Raglan, on good grounds, estimated their real losses at Inkerman at nearly 20,000 men. They lost altogether 256 officers, among whom were six generals killed or wounded, besides other six who, though not ranked as generals, had held a command over thousands of men. They abandoned a large body of their wounded on the battlefield, and their commander refused to give any assistance in burying their dead.

Of the British officers 91 were wounded and 39 killed, among whom were Generals Cathcart, Strangways, and Goldie, and General Torrens was dangerously wounded. All four were able and experienced officers. The loss of Sir George Cathcart was especially regretted. His experience, genius, and energy had designated him as a man most likely, at no distant date, to have the command-in-chief. He had indeed been selected by the Government as Lord Raglan's

successor in case of an emergency. He was said by the *Times* 'to be that rare and precious character in the British service—a soldier devoted to the science and experienced in the practice of his profession. There was nothing which might not be expected from him.' General Sir George Brown, Major-Generals Bentinck and Codrington, and Brigadier-General Adams were all severely wounded.

The Russians had behaved with great barbarity throughout the whole war, but their inhumanity seems to have been carried to an extreme height at Inkerman. Many ghastly tales respecting their deliberate and brutal slaughter of the helpless and wounded were told throughout the allied camp on the morrow after that eventful day. Many of the officers who were only slightly wounded were shockingly butchered on the ground. Some of them lived long enough to tell how they had been treated. When Sir George Cathcart fell mortally wounded, his faithful and devoted military secretary, Colonel Charles Seymour, sprang from his horse, and with one arm (he was wounded in the other) supported his dying chief. While engaged in this humane and devoted act three ruffians came up and bayoneted him. The two allied generals, after full proof of the truth of the statements respecting the atrocities committed by the Russians, addressed a remonstrance to Prince Mentschikoff. The Russian commander, with the shameless disregard of truth characteristic of the upper classes at least of his countrymen, first of all repudiated the charge as generally unfounded, and then went on to vindicate any individual instances of such brutality 'in the heat of combat' as having been provoked by the conduct of the French, who, he alleged, had pillaged the Church of St. Vladimir, near Quarantine Bay. It was, therefore, according to this worthy specimen of a profligate, mendacious, and unprincipled Russian noble, not owing to the ruthless barbarity of his men, but their outraged piety, that they despatched on the battlefield French or

British soldiers while lying disabled by wounds. But this defence, worthy of its author and of his troops, fails to vindicate the conduct of the Russians in throwing shells at our fatigue parties who were burying *their* dead, or in directing the fire of their artillery on French and British soldiers when they were engaged, as was visible to both armies, in bringing help, not to their own but to the Russian wounded. General Bernard wrote to Colonel Phipps two days' after the battle of the Tchernaya—'The French took in 1800 of the Russian wounded, but were obliged to leave crowds out because the Russians opened a heavy fire on their parties engaged in this merciful and Christian-like duty.' There can be no doubt that the copious draughts of strong drink served out to the Russian soldiers before the battle had a good deal to do with the barbarities which they perpetrated on their British and French foes. Not a few, both of the officers and men, were found drunk on the field of battle.

'The probability of a long struggle now suggested itself,' says Sir Richard Airey:—

'Up to this time most officers had, I believe, anticipated the speedy capture of the place; others less sanguine may have thought that the enterprise would prove to be impracticable, and that the allies would have to embark and winter in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus. Others again may have thought it probable that the forces might hold possession during the winter of a considerable portion of the enemy's territory, as, for instance, the country between Eupatoria and the Belbec; but I never heard of anyone who contemplated beforehand the event which actually occurred—namely, that of camping on the heights before Sebastopol, and being constantly engaged through the whole winter with an enemy vastly superior in force, and at a distance of some miles from our sea communications.

'Now, however, Lord Raglan prepared for the possibility of such an event, and took measures accordingly. On the day after the battle of Inkerman a protracted consultation took place between the allied generals. The result of this consultation was a determination to persevere in holding the ground then occupied by the allies, to fortify our position on the Inkerman heights, to defend the advanced trenches with firmness, and even if possible to carry forward the approaches.

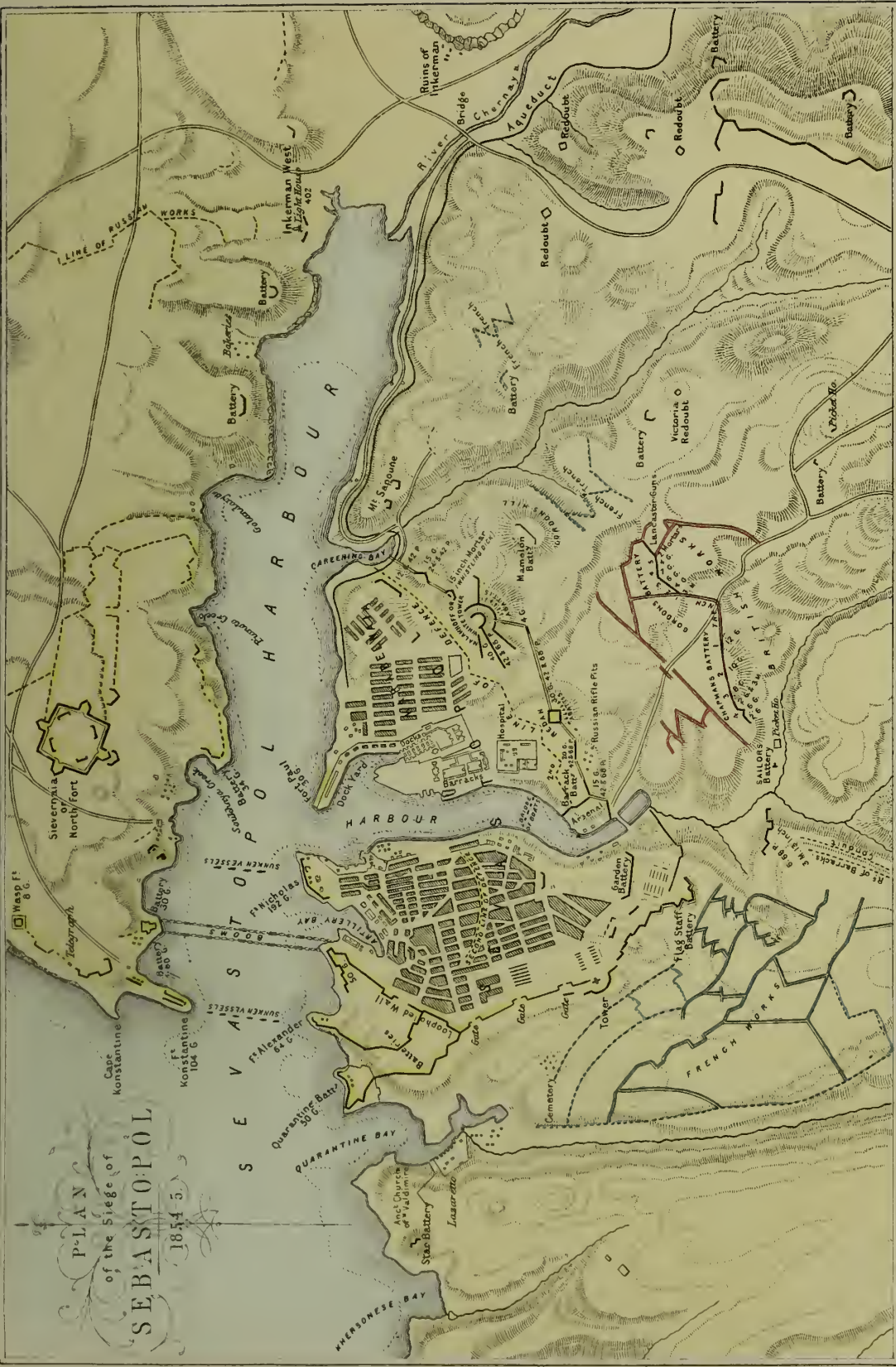
This resolution to hold the advanced trenches, and to maintain an attitude of attack, imposed upon the troops great sufferings, and labour beyond their strength; but I have never yet heard a doubt that it saved the allied armies from a great disaster.

‘Lord Raglan knew but too well the full import of his decision. He knew that it involved great evils, but he chose it, nevertheless, to avoid a greater catastrophe. In the one alternative he saw for his troops a period of conflict by day and by night, great labour and suffering, and heavy losses. In the other alternative he saw how ruin would begin with the loss of our siege guns; how then the enemy, ascending to the present ground of the allied camps, would take up a position on those heights, arm his batteries with the resources of an arsenal containing some 7000 heavy pieces of artillery, and then push forward with a converging fire and overwhelming superiority of numbers upon Kamiesch and our gallant allies, and upon the little basin of Balaklava, and the devoted remnant of the British army. Lord Raglan grieved, but did not hesitate, for there was only one of the alternatives which seemed to consist with the honour of the British arms. Now, then, for the first time, we knew that the army would winter on the ridge.’

The resolution of the allied generals to hold their ground until ‘the movable column’ should grow into a powerful and well-appointed armament, was evidently attended with serious difficulties and dangers. They had to do this in defiance of the rigorous climate of the Crimea in winter, and under daily and nightly liability to attack. The soldiers were as yet without an adequate supply of clothing to protect them against the inclemency of the weather, with scarce sufficient food to sustain them, without an adequate medical staff to care for the wounded and the sick, and without the means of transport and a proper road from the port where all reinforcements and supplies were landed.

As soon as the British Government were made aware that a winter campaign would in all probability require to be undertaken, they despatched the 46th Regiment, along with an ample stock of articles and materials

necessary for the prosecution of the siege and the comfort of the army during the approaching winter. But most unfortunately a hurricane which ravaged the coasts of the Crimea wrecked the magnificent new steamship *Prince*, which had arrived only a few days before with a cargo of these necessary equipments valued at half a million. Of the crew of 150 only six were saved. In the *Resolute*, another of the vessels wrecked, were 900 tons of powder. Two French ships of the line, one of them a three-decker, and twenty-four transports were destroyed by the tempest, and a good many more were seriously damaged. Upwards of a thousand lives were lost, and between four and five hundred of the shipwrecked crews were captured by the Cossacks and carried into Sebastopol. ‘The elements themselves seemed to have expended their worst fury in order to increase the difficulties, already sufficiently great, with which the besieging armies had to contend.’ On land the hurricane swept away the tents, inundated the stores, broke up the roads or converted them into swamps; and besides the food and warm clothing which went down in the *Prince*, and the gunpowder in the *Resolute*, nearly a month’s forage for the horses was lost or spoiled; and all this in the last week of November, with a powerful and active enemy in front and on the flank of the allied position. But still, Sir Edmund Lyons wrote to Sir James Graham, that ‘a hopeful as well as a determined spirit prevailed in both armies. They all feel, and with reason, that everything has been honourable and glorious for the arms of England and France. They have confidence in the support of the two Governments and the two countries, and are resolved, through the blessing of God on a good cause, to conquer.’



PLAN
of the Siege of
SEVASTOPOL
1855

Engraved by Robert W. Allen

Scale

English Miles

Furlongs

CHAPTER XIV.

Contrast between the Preparations for the Campaign made by the British and French Governments—Defective organization of our Military System—Mismanagement on the part of the Commissariat and Transport Departments—Consequent sufferings of the Troops—Their courage and resolution—Miss Nightingale and her staff of female nurses—Their beneficial influence—State of the Hospitals—Effect of their improvement on the health of the Troops—Contracts for the formation of a Railroad between Balaklava and the Camp, and for laying a Telegraph—Return of the Baltic Fleet—State of Feeling in the Country—Resignation of Lord John Russell—Defeat and Resignation of Lord Aberdeen's Government—Lord Palmerston made Prime Minister—Roebuck's Committee—The Peelites withdraw from the Ministry—Commissions sent out to the Crimea—Improved Arrangements—Conduct of the Greeks in assisting Russia—The Sardinians join the Allies—Russian attack on Eupatoria repulsed by the Turks—Illness and death of the Czar—Vienna Conference—Its failure—Lord John Russell's mistakes—Prosecution of the Siege of Sebastopol—Second bombardment of the city—Retirement of General Canrobert—Pelissier succeeds to the command of the French Army—Successful Expedition to Kertch—Third bombardment of Sebastopol—Failure of the attack on the Malakoff and the Redan—Death of Lord Raglan—General Simpson succeeds him—Battle of the Tchernaya and defeat of the Russians—Assault and capture of the Malakoff—Failure of the attack on the Redan—Sebastopol abandoned by the Russians—Dreadful state of the city—Results of the success of the Allies—Inefficiency of their Generals—Expedition against Kinburn—Sir William Codrington appointed to command the British Forces—Sir Colin Campbell—Operations of the Allied Fleets in the Baltic—The Russian attack on a boat's crew carrying a Flag of Truce—Heroic defence of Kars—Defeat of the Russians—The garrison starved into a surrender—The Peace Party and the Peelites—Intrigues of Russian agents in France—The French Emperor and Empress visit England—Our Queen and Prince Albert visit Paris—Policy of Austria and Prussia—Austrian Ultimatum—Peace Conferences—Intrigues of the Russians—Treaty of Peace concluded—Its terms—Reluctance of the Russians to carry them into effect—Comparative condition of the French and British Forces at the close of the War.

THE expedition to the Crimea had turned out quite a different affair from the plan proposed by the Government, and no preparations had been made for a regular siege of the great Russian fortress and a winter campaign. A grievous want of foresight and of organization had been displayed by the authorities, both at home and at the seat of war. The French had foreseen the difficulties and the unavoidable privations and sufferings to which their troops would be exposed, and had made provision for their security and comfort. They had constructed roads between their lines and Kamiesch Bay, their place of disembarkation; had made depots for the commissariat in their camp, so that provisions for the men and provender for the horses were at all times at hand. They had likewise erected large substantial sheds of wood for their sick and wounded, which afforded them shelter till they could be removed to Constantinople, where well-ordered and comfortable hospitals were ready to receive them. They had also obtained the most advantageous *local* situation, both at the Alma and at Sebastopol. On landing in the Crimea the

French commander claimed the *right*, as being 'the post of honour,' and as it abutted on the sea, and was therefore protected by the ships, it was also the post of safety. But after the flank march was made to the south of Sebastopol the *left* attack was conceded to them, and they thus again found themselves nearest to the sea. Their camp was but two miles from the sea; the British camp was seven. They had more than one port, and their principal one, Kamiesch, was much more open and accessible than Balaklava. They had several tracks over turf to their encampment, and when one was cut up they could make another by simply moving twenty or thirty yards to one side. The British troops had but one possible path from Balaklava to the front, and this lay partly through a gorge and partly through what in fine weather was an impalpable dust, and what in wet weather became a deep swamp. At the same time it must be frankly admitted that in many respects our French allies managed far better at first than we did, and that the British arrangements were both defective and inefficient in every department. Lord

Raglan, though able to handle well an army in the field, does not appear to have possessed the power to provide his troops sufficiently with food, clothing, and shelter, and there was a sad want of order and system in all the arrangements for this purpose.* The organization of our military system was indeed defective in the extreme. As Prince Albert remarked, in a carefully-prepared memorandum which 'distinctly hit the blots of the system' as it then existed, 'We have no generals trained and practised in the duties of that rank; no general staff or corps; no field commissariat; no field army department; no ambulance corps; no baggage train; no corps of drivers; no corps of artisans; no practice, or possibility of acquiring it, in the combined use of the three arms—cavalry, infantry, and artillery; no general qualified to handle more than one of these arms; and the artillery kept as distinct from the army as if it were a separate profession.'

There was no proper co-operation, or indeed harmony, between the different departments of the service. This was especially the case with regard to the Commissariat and the Transport departments. The result was that frequently, when abundant stores of food and clothing had been provided at Constantinople, there were no vessels to carry them to the troops; and, on the other hand, when there was a plentiful supply of shipping, either these supplies were not ready or the commissary officers on the spot did not know how to dispose of them. The stores required by the troops were tardily sent out, and, owing to the want of proper supervision after they left our shores, 'they were miscarried, they were lost, they were spoiled, they were

left behind, they were even overlooked and brought back in the hold of the ship which took them out, or being conveyed to the spot where they were to be used were piled or hid away like so much lumber.' An abundant supply of salt meat, biscuit, and rum was sent out from home, but could not be delivered in the camp for want of the means of conveyance. The commissariat had 4000 head of cattle at Constantinople, and 2000 more at Smyrna, but sea transport for them could not be obtained, and the men were in consequence kept on rations of salt pork, and that frequently uncooked for want of fuel. Coffee, which had been ordered as an extra ration, was distributed to the troops in a green state, and as they had no means of roasting or preparing it it was of no use. Large consignments of boots arrived, and were found to be all for the left foot. Many of the agents employed by the Government proved utterly untrustworthy, and the most disgraceful frauds and speculation took place in connection with the contracts. The draught horses and beasts of burden perished through fatigue, the want of proper food, and constant exposure to wet and cold. The cavalry horses had to be employed in doing the work of sumpter mules; and exposed to rain, cold, and snow, overworked and underfed, exhausted by hunger and toil, they fell down by scores and died in the mud. The troops, hard worked, ill fed, ill clothed, and never dry—hardly an officer and not a man having a dry bed to lie down on—began to suffer severely from sickness. Fever and rheumatism became general, but the hospitals were in the same state of confusion and disorganization as the Commissariat and Transport departments. The sufferings of the wounded soldiers were greatly aggravated from the want of lint. It turned out that a large quantity of this necessary article had been sent out by the medical authorities at home, but the lint was consigned to Varna and the wounded to Scutari. Orders had been given that the stores should be removed from the former

* The Duke of Wellington attached great importance to this qualification on the part of a general. On one occasion during the Peninsular War there was some discussion as to the officer who should assume the command of the army, if the Duke should be laid aside. He gave the preference to General Beresford—a good deal to the surprise of the company. Observing that feeling, as displayed by their looks, the Duke said he would select Beresford because he was sure to feed his troops well.

place to the latter at the time when the army embarked for the Crimea, 'but that order, in the hurry and bustle of departure, was never executed.' Smyrna is a great opium depôt, from which large quantities are exported annually to France, Britain, America, and even China, and yet our hospitals were for a long time left unprovided with that indispensable drug. In some cases medical stores sent out from London, instead of being deposited in the most accessible part of the ship, were buried under ordnance stores or other heavy articles, and could not be disembarked when they were most wanted, nor landed at all until all the superincumbent cargo was unshipped. It is impossible to overestimate the fortitude, patience, and unflinching resolution of our troops amid such privations and sufferings. They did not bate one jot of heart, or hope, or confidence in their ultimate success. 'Our position here,' wrote Sir George Couper, 'is very critical, and we are well aware of the difficulties we are likely to have to contend against; still we feel that though inferior in numbers we are more than a match for the enemy, and the idea of the *possibility* of being *beaten* by them never for one instant occurs to any man amongst us.'

A similar feeling prevailed at home respecting the enterprise on which the country had embarked. It was the conviction of all parties and of all classes that we must fight out the contest to the uttermost. 'The fall of Sebastopol could alone save the allied armies, and the object must be attained, cost what it might. To re-embark in the face of a force so powerful as that of the Russians was impossible. Infinite shame as well as infinite loss must have followed on the attempt. The beleaguered city must fall. There could be no going back from the task which we had imposed upon ourselves.' Every effort had therefore to be made to correct the errors which had been committed, to send with the utmost expedition reinforcements to our troops, and an adequate supply of guns,

stores, clothing, and everything requisite for their protection and comfort.

Even before the battle of Inkerman, on the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel, a subscription was opened by the *Times* for the sick and wounded, which in less than a fortnight produced £15,000, and subsequently amounted to £25,462. The Patriotic Fund, 'for relief of the orphans and widows of soldiers, sailors, and marines who may fall in the present war,' was instituted on the 13th of October, and before the end of the year exceeded £500,000, which was ultimately raised to £1,500,000. A still more important step was taken by Mr. Sidney Herbert in organizing a staff of female nurses under the charge of Miss Florence Nightingale—a lady of remarkable natural gifts for organization, who with singular devotion to the work of alleviating the sufferings of her fellowmen, had made herself intimately acquainted with various Continental establishments, and had studied nursing as a science and a system. Accompanied by thirty-seven lady nurses Miss Nightingale proceeded to Constantinople, and reached Scutari on the 5th of November, in time to receive the soldiers who had been wounded at the battle of Balaklava. Under her admirable management the chaotic confusion of the great hospital at Scutari was quickly reduced to order, and 'those tender lenitives, which only woman's thought and woman's sympathy can bring to the sick man's couch, were applied to solace and alleviate the agonies of pain or the torture of fever and prostration.' The tears stood in the eyes of many a veteran as he expressed his gratitude for the service of the ladies who had left the comforts and luxuries of home to tend him in his sufferings. The worshippers of official routine had expressed in no measured terms their disapproval of such an innovation on established usages, but the example set by Miss Nightingale, as Sidney Herbert predicted, has served to 'multiply the good to all time.' The experiment proved so successful that an additional staff of fifty

trained nurses, under Miss Stanley, was sent to aid in the good work which their predecessors had begun. The services which these noble-minded and devoted women rendered in alleviating the sufferings of our soldiers in this terrible war well deserve to be held in grateful remembrance. The masterly vigour with which Miss Nightingale specially carried out her well-arranged plans does equal honour to her administrative abilities and intellectual powers, while her humane solicitude for the relief of sickness and disease has given her an imperishable name amongst the benefactors of mankind.

Before this staff of nurses commenced their labours, the morbid influences which prevailed in and around the hospitals were of the most noxious character. Taking into account the poisonous sewage, the accumulations of filth, vermin, and foul air, the decomposed animal and vegetable matter, the impure water—in the tank supplying which were seen the foul hospital dresses—the absence of proper and cleanly utensils, and the use of the regulation tubs, the effect of which on the atmosphere of the wards was past description, the walls and ceilings saturated with organic matter, the burial of the dead so close to the hospital as to poison the air, and other similar abominations, it is matter of surprise that any who entered within the walls of the building should have left it alive.* Miss Nightingale might well say—

‘The sanitary conditions of the hospitals at Scutari were inferior, in point of crowding, ventilation, drainage, and cleanliness, up to the middle of March, 1855, to any civil hospital, or to the poorest homes in the worst parts of the civil population of any large town, I have ever seen. After the sanitary works undertaken at that period were executed, I know no buildings in the world which I could compare with them in these points, the original defect of construction, of course, excepted.’

The experiment which this gifted lady made on a colossal scale in the Crimean

War has had the effect of completely changing the entire hospital system of our country, and indeed of Europe. Describing the effect of proper nursing and of the sanitary improvements which she introduced, she says—

‘We had, *in the first seven months* of the Crimean campaign, a mortality among the troops of sixty per cent. per annum *from disease alone*, a rate of mortality which exceeds that of the great plague on the population of London, and a higher ratio than the mortality in cholera to the attacks; that is to say, there died out of the army in the Crimea an annual rate greater than ordinarily die in time of pestilence out of the sick. We had, during the *last six months* of the war, a mortality among our *sick* not much more than that among our *healthy* Guards at home, and a mortality among our troops, in the last five months, two-thirds only of what it is among our troops at home.’

Meanwhile the Government were straining every nerve to strengthen the Crimean army, and to promote the welfare of the troops. As the reports from Lord Raglan respecting the condition of the troops were most meagre, and were silent as to their sufferings, while the official returns were barren of the most essential information as to ‘the numbers of the army available and not available for action, the provision made for their shelter, clothing, and food, the supply of horses, and the means of transport,’ it was resolved, on the suggestion of Prince Albert, that in order to cure this radical defect, returns should be made weekly, containing full and minute information on all these important points, so that the home authorities would see at a glance ‘the strength of the available force before Sebastopol, what gaps had to be supplied, what guns, stores, clothing, &c., had to be provided, and above all whether what had been actually provided and supplied from home for the army had been duly forwarded to its destination.’ This was one of the first and most efficient steps towards remedying the flagrant abuses which had caused so much loss and suffering to the British forces. It was resolved to form an army of reserve, amounting to 16,000 men, at Malta. A contract was sanctioned for a

* ‘I am bound to say,’ Miss Nightingale adds, ‘that the military hospitals I have seen in England—Portsmouth, Chatham, Brompton—are almost as much in want of certain sanitary works as Scutari.’

railroad from Balaklava to the camp before Sebastopol, in order to spare the incredible labour necessary to drag the artillery from the coast, which had hitherto been performed by the seamen of the fleet. A contract was also entered into for laying a telegraphic cable, 400 miles in length, at the joint expense of Britain and France, between Varna and Balaklava, in connection with the system of communication by telegraph with our country which already existed. Hitherto the first news of what was passing in the Crimea had reached us through St. Petersburg. From the time the cable was laid, St. Petersburg got its earliest news through London and Paris.

These important improvements, however, required time to complete them, and meanwhile the sufferings and privations of our troops were at their height. Letters written from the camp by officers and private soldiers, and especially by the War Corre-

spondents of the daily journals, depicting the 'horrible and heart-rending' sufferings to which our troops were subjected, had roused a storm of indignation against both the commanders in the field and the Administration at home, who were regarded as alone responsible for the breakdown of our wretched military system. Imputations of supineness, indifference, and neglect of duty, as absurd as they were false, were made especially against the two War Secretaries, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Sidney Herbert. Reports were even industriously circulated, and in the madness of the moment believed by Roebuck and politicians of his class, that Prince Albert had improperly interfered in the negotiations, had hampered the military operations, and had carried on a secret and improper correspondence with the Russian Czar.* The people had been induced to believe that Sebastopol would without doubt be taken

* The satirists of the day reflected public feeling not unfrequently in its most unjust and unreasonable aspects. One cartoon, entitled 'The compliments of the season to my Lord Aberdeen,' represents the Premier with large masses of snow, entitled 'Public Opinion,' falling upon him from the house tops. In another the Sultan is being carried by an English and French officer in a bottomless sedan chair, while the Czar is looking on and saying, 'Well, so long as they help him like that I won't mind.' The Czar asleep in a sleigh, labelled 'Despotism,' is approaching the brink of a precipice. 'Not a nice business' is Aberdeen cleaning the Czar's boots. Palmerston as pointer is represented as saying to an English and French General with guns in their hands, and the double-headed eagle a short way off, 'Now then, gentlemen, come on; don't keep me pointing all day.' *Punch* 'Seeing the Old Year out and the New Year in' represents Aberdeen taking his departure frowned on, and Palmerston coming on cordially welcomed. 'The Dirty Doorstep' of a mansion, with 'Aberdeen, Newcastle, & Co.' on the brass plate. Palmerston (an active lad)—'Well, this is the dirtiest doorstep I ever saw at anybody's door,' with his shovel and brush is sweeping away 'blunders,' 'routine,' 'delay,' 'incapacity,' 'twaddle,' 'disorder;' while 'Little Jack Russell,' looking on with a vinegar aspect, says, 'Ah! I lived there once, but I was obliged to leave, it was such an irregular family.' 'Bursting of the Ministerial pipes' represents Aberdeen with an umbrella over his head, and Newcastle in front of him, with the water pouring in torrents. Lord John Russell, like a frightened terrier, is running away, and the Old Lady of the house is exclaiming, 'Dear! oh, dear! we might have expected this change of weather, and ought to have provided for it.' 'The General Fast—humiliating—very!' represents an old

general fast asleep in his chair, while the ground is covered with snow and the soldiers are perishing. 'The Queen visiting the imbeciles of the Crimea.' Her Majesty, who had recently visited the hospitals for the wounded soldiers, is looking with mingled surprise at three wooden figures labelled 'Medical Department,' 'Routine,' and 'Commissariat,' with green coffee on its breast. 'The Return from Vienna.' Her Majesty to Lord John Russell (as a footman), 'Now, sir, what a time you have been! What's the answer?' Lord John, 'Please'm, there is-is-isn't any answer.' Prince Albert, in the background, is playing and singing a piece entitled 'Vaterland.' 'The English Pacificator' represents Lord Palmerston showing a mortar to Prussia, Russia, and Austria (Prussia, as usual, quite tipsy). 'The Grand Military Spectacle' is 'the heroes of the Crimea inspecting the Field-Marshal's' (old and imbecile). 'The Austrian Thimblery.' Austria, 'Now then, I'll bet any gent a sovereign he don't tell me which thimble the peace is under.' Prussia declares he has just won a bottle of champagne, and it's all fair. 'Negotiation' is a British and French officer confronting Austria, bearing an olive branch with 'Peace if you like, but no tricks this time.' 'Peace on the Cards' is the four powers enjoying a game at cards. Prussia, standing behind Russia, with a glass of champagne in his hand, says, 'What shall you do? Play the knave, of course.' After the treaty had been settled, and Russia tried in a very disreputable way to get rid of some of its restrictions, Leech depicted this proceeding very graphically as 'The Russian Ticket-of-Leave Man before the Beaks'—the Members of Congress—John Bull, with Palmerston as Clerk of Court, 'H'm, here again! well, we must put a stop to this.' There was certainly no lack of scope for satire.

by a *coup de main*, and a rumour had reached this country, immediately after the battle of the Alma, that it had actually fallen. The recoil from these extravagant and groundless expectations had made the nation quite furious, and bent upon punishing all and sundry whom it deemed responsible for its disappointment. These feelings were greatly strengthened by the disappointment of the indeed impossible notions which had been entertained and fostered as to the operations of our fleet in the Baltic. Sir Charles Napier had effected all that was possible with the means at his disposal. He had compelled the Russian fleet of thirty sail to remain in the harbour, had annihilated the Russian commerce in the Baltic, had neutralized and kept in a state of inaction for six months from 80,000 to 90,000 of the Czar's best soldiers, who might otherwise have been sent to the Crimea, and had, with the loss of only two men killed and seven wounded, bombarded and taken Bomarsund, with 200 guns and 2235 prisoners. But these achievements came far short of the unreasonable hopes of the people; and their disappointment, which was strongly expressed, helped to increase the angry feeling against the Government. A small squadron which had been despatched to the White Sea blockaded Archangel, and bombarded and destroyed the town of Novitska, and Kota, the capital of Russian Lapland; but such operations as these had no effect upon the war.

When Parliament reassembled on the 23rd of January, 1855, it was evident that a fierce attack was impending on the Ministry for their conduct of the war, and notice of a motion was at once given by Mr. Roebuck for the appointment of a select committee 'to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.' The Ministry, conscious that they had been straining every nerve to apply the neces-

sary remedies to the existing evils, prepared to resist the motion and to defend the action of those members against whom it was particularly directed; but they were astonished to receive intimation next morning that Lord Russell had tendered his resignation, because 'he did not see how the motion was to be resisted.'

Lord John had been restless for some time under the premiership of Lord Aberdeen, whom, according to his own account, he expected to have made way for his elevation to the chief place in the Cabinet; and the main if not sole object of his resignation thus given, without the slightest notice or warning to his colleagues, could only be to upset the Government. It was justly condemned by all parties, even by his own personal friends. Much to his disappointment, not one even of the Whig members of the Ministry followed his example. His resignation, however, in the circumstances of the case, left them no hope of success in resisting Roebuck's motion, as it could not fail to be regarded as a virtual admission that they had no satisfactory defence to make. It was accordingly carried by a majority of 305 against 148, the whole of the Conservative party and a great number of Liberals having voted for it.

Next day (30th of January) the Cabinet resigned office, and Lord Derby was intrusted by the Queen with the task of forming a Government. He invited Lord Palmerston and the Peelites to join his Administration, but they declined his overtures, and he was therefore obliged to relinquish what he had termed at the outset 'a desperate attempt.' Her Majesty then sent for Lord John Russell, who it seemed was under the belief, which was shared by no one else, that he could form a strong Ministry even without the Peelites. But his recent behaviour had so deeply offended the leading Whig statesmen that none of them would join him, and he was brought to feel that the task which he had undertaken with alacrity was desperate.

The Ministerial interregnum, which had now lasted for nearly a fortnight, was producing a most injurious effect abroad as well as at home. 'I wish to heaven,' wrote Lord Cowley, from Paris, 'that a Government of some sort was formed. I cannot exaggerate the mischief that the state of things is causing to our reputation as a nation, or the disrepute into which it is bringing constitutional government.' In this emergency the Queen had no resource but to appeal to Lord Palmerston, and ask him to 'undertake to form an administration which would command the confidence of Parliament and efficiently conduct public affairs in this momentous crisis.' The whirligig of time brings strange revenges. Palmerston, in 1852, had his 'tit-tat' as he termed it, 'with John Russell;' and now, in 1855, the Queen and her Royal Consort, who had so much disliked him and caused his dismissal from office, were obliged to solicit him to assume the reins of Government, as the only man who at this extremity was designated by the public voice as worthy of the trust. He at once accepted the onerous task committed to him, and was gratified to find that Lord Lansdowne and all the leading statesmen of the Whig party most readily agreed to take office under him. Through the influence of Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle, who both behaved most nobly throughout the crisis, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and the Duke of Argyll, who had at first refused, were prevailed upon to change their opinion and to join the Administration. On 15th February, 1855, Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother: 'A month ago if any man had asked me to say what was one of the most improbable events, I should have said my being Prime Minister. Aberdeen was there, Derby was head of one great party, John Russell of the other, and yet in about ten days they all gave way like straws before the wind, and so here am I writing to you from Downing Street as First Lord of the Treasury.'

The new Cabinet was virtually the same as Lord Aberdeen's. The Premier and Lord John Russell and the Duke of Newcastle were the only members omitted, and the only material addition was Lord Panmure (better known as Fox Maule) as Secretary of State for War. Roebuck and his friends were not conciliated by these changes, and insisted on the appointment of a Committee of Investigation in accordance with the resolution of the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston strove earnestly to induce them to suspend this decision, and assured them that the Government would make all necessary investigations themselves. Roebuck, however, would not give way, and it was evident that he was supported by the country in his demand for inquiry. Lord Palmerston and the majority of the Cabinet yielded on finding resistance vain; but Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert regarded it as a dangerous violation of a great constitutional principle to transfer to a committee of the House of Commons what were strictly the functions of the Executive, and, along with Mr. Cardwell, retired from the Ministry. The Premier, however, resolutely adhered to his post notwithstanding the defection of these influential colleagues, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Lord John Russell, Mr. Vernon Smith, and Lord Stanley of Alderley were selected by him to fill the vacant places. What the reorganized Government lost in intellectual vigour and administrative experience, was compensated to some extent by what they gained in unity of purpose and action—a matter of vast importance at this juncture.

Roebuck's Committee lost no time in commencing their investigations. Every facility was afforded them by the Government for their inquiry. No information which they required was withheld, and every witness whom they wished to examine appeared and gave full and explicit evidence. But it speedily became apparent that the inquiry, though pressed with great

eagerness by 'the positive and irritable' chairman of the Committee, would lead to no practical results. It elicited little or nothing that was not already known, both to the Government and the country. It showed that the blame of the mismanagement of the various departments engaged in the war was due mainly to the system, for which both political parties, and parliament and the nation itself, were responsible, and to the subordinate officials who had been trained under that system, and could not be induced to deviate from the routine to which they had become habituated. It was further made evident that the Aberdeen Ministry had been most unjustly blamed for offences of which they were wholly innocent. So far from being negligent or indifferent in the prosecution of the war, as soon as the nature of the enterprise underwent a complete change from circumstances over which they had no control, they lost not an hour in adapting their measures of supply and co-operation to the emergency. This was fully corroborated by the generous and highly honourable declaration of Lord Panmure in the House of Lords, that almost all the most efficient steps, regulations, or contrivances by which the condition of the troops was so strikingly improved in the spring of 1855 had been ordered or set in motion by his much-maligned predecessor, the Duke of Newcastle.

Among the last acts of the Duke's administration was the establishment of a land transport corps, under the direction of Colonel MacMurdo. Measures had also been taken, as we have seen, by the Duke, aided by Mr. Sidney Herbert, for the reform of the medical department and the hospital service, both at Scutari and Bala-klava. A Commission, at the head of which were Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill, was despatched to the Crimea to inquire into the organization of the Commissariat and other departments which had broken down under the strain upon them. A separate Commission was also sent out to investi-

gate the sanitary condition of the camp and of the hospitals and barracks. In order to prevent the recurrence of the mischievous delays and waste of stores which had arisen from the want of harmonious co-operation among various departments, the Board of Ordnance was abolished, and the whole civil administration of the army was concentrated in the Secretary of State for War, while the military administration was intrusted to the Commander-in-Chief. The adoption of these judicious measures, and especially the knowledge that they would be carried into effect by a Premier who was determined to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour to a decisive close, speedily allayed the public excitement, and revived the confidence of the nation in the Government.

The progress of the war between Russia and Turkey was watched with great anxiety by the Greeks, who showed marked sympathy with the Russians, their fellow-members of the Greek Church. About the beginning of 1854 an insurrection, aided and abetted by the Greek nation, broke out among the Greek subjects of the Sultan, who had good reason to complain of the inequality of rights enjoyed by them in comparison with the Mahometans, and of the oppressive and unjust treatment which they received from the Turkish Pashas. The insurgents were emboldened by a series of early successes, and the movement rapidly gained ground. It was privately encouraged, not only by Russian agents, but by the Greek Court; and numbers of King Otho's subjects, and even soldiers and officers, took part in the insurrection, which they regarded as little less than the commencement of another 'War of Independence.' Recruiting for the insurgent forces was carried on under the very eyes of the Government, and money was subscribed to equip the recruits by the most influential citizens of Athens. Remonstrances addressed to King Otho and his Ministers had no effect in arresting these proceedings, and at length, on the 28th of

March, the Greek Envoy was obliged to quit Constantinople, and all the Greek subjects of Otho were ordered to leave the Ottoman territory in fifteen days. Detachments of Turkish troops were sent to the disaffected districts, and defeated the insurgents in a series of encounters. But a State paper issued by the Czar was circulated throughout the country, and encouraged them to hold out against the Porte. On the 18th of May the allies declared the whole of Greece to be in a state of blockade, and shortly after a body of French and English troops were landed at the Piræus, and put an embargo on the shipping. These energetic measures brought King Otho at once to submit to the terms imposed on him, and to come under a formal engagement to maintain a strict neutrality in the war between Russia and Turkey. The insurrection, thus deprived of external aid, speedily came to an end.

In the beginning of the year 1855 France and Britain received an accession of strength by the adhesion of the King of Sardinia to their offensive and defensive alliance. This step was taken at the instance of the illustrious Italian statesman, Count Cavour, more for the purpose of obtaining for that little kingdom a place in European Councils than with any particular sympathy on the part of her sovereign and his advisers with the quarrel between Russia and Turkey. Victor Emmanuel agreed to furnish and keep up for the war a body of 15,000 men, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. France and Britain, on the other hand, guaranteed the integrity of his dominions during the war. The British Government likewise engaged to provide gratuitously the means of transport for the Sardinian troops, and also to recommend Parliament to advance on loan to the King £1,000,000 sterling, the interest to be at the rate of four per cent., of which one per cent. was to form a sinking fund. As regards Sardinia this convention was a very politic and successful expedient, while its moral influence contributed to strengthen

the hands of the allies in continuing the contest.

The siege of Sebastopol and the offensive operations of the Russians had both been for some time practically in abeyance. The allied forces, weakened by losses and sickness, were only able to hold their own, and their batteries were nearly silent. The Russians, as might have been expected, availed themselves of the enforced inactivity of the besiegers to strengthen the already formidable defences of Sebastopol. They scarpd the ground in front of all their batteries, constructed a strong abattis in front of all their lines, threw up earthworks, and mounted guns on every available point, and made sunken batteries before the Redan and the Malakoff, as well as along the scarps of the slopes. It was confidently believed by the garrison that their stronghold had thus been rendered impregnable, and the Emperor boasted that Sebastopol would never be taken.

The Russian corps, under General Liprandi, abandoned, on the 6th of December, their position before Balaklava, and withdrew towards Mackenzie's Heights. They appear to have remained inactive till the middle of February. At daybreak on the 17th of that month they made an attack, 40,000 strong, with a large number of guns, on Eupatoria, which was defended by a body of Turkish troops commanded by Omar Pasha, and a detachment of the French forces. After a furious cannonade of some duration, the Russians advanced to the assault. The Turkish troops behaved with great gallantry, and made a vigorous defence, and the British men-of-war covered both flanks of their position with great effect. Three times the assailants attempted to carry the town, but were as often beaten back, and were at length compelled to retire with considerable loss. The Turks lost comparatively few men, but Selim Pasha, who commanded the Egyptian brigade, was killed. He was the only survivor of the treacherous massacre of the Mamelukes in Cairo by Mehemet Ali in 1811,

which he escaped by leaping his horse from a bastion of the citadel into the town below.

This defeat of his troops by the Turks seems to have been the last drop which made the Czar's cup of anxiety and disappointment run over. He had for some time been unwell, though no danger was apprehended. In spite of the rigours of the winter, which was almost insupportable at St. Petersburg, he persisted in reviewing his troops, going on the ice to inspect the fortifications of Cronstadt, and exerting himself in every way to the utmost in developing the means of carrying on the war. The influenza had for some weeks been raging with fatal effect at St. Petersburg, and on the 14th of February the Czar was attacked by the prevailing epidemic. His physicians wished him to abandon his out-of-door labours, but to all their remonstrances he merely replied that he had something else to do than to take care of himself. He was persuaded, however, to keep his bed on the 19th, but his state grew daily worse; he no longer slept, his cough was incessant, though still repose was intolerable to him. A review of a corps of infantry of the Guard, which was about to proceed to Lithuania, had for some time been announced; in spite of the intense frost, he persisted in his intention of holding the review on the 22nd. 'Sire,' said one of his physicians, 'there is not in the whole army a military surgeon who would permit a common soldier to quit his hospital in the state in which you are.' 'Tis well, gentlemen,' answered the Emperor; 'you have done your duty, now I am going to do mine,' and upon this he entered his sledge. In passing along the ranks of the soldiers his air of suffering and continual cough betrayed his condition, and on his return he said, 'I am bathed in perspiration.' The imprudence and self-will of the Emperor brought on a severe relapse, and from that time he remained in his little working cabinet, whence for some days he continued to issue orders respecting the

defence of Sebastopol and the other emergencies which arose. But his uneasiness and depression continued to increase, and on the 1st of March, soon after hearing of the unsuccessful attack of the Russians upon the Turks at Eupatoria, he became slightly delirious. In answer to a question which he put to his physician, Dr. Mandt made him aware of his danger. The Czar then requested that his confessor might be called, and on completing his confession he received the communion. He then sent for his children and grandchildren, and took a separate leave of each, and gave them his blessing. He afterwards bade farewell to the Minister of War, the Comptroller of his Household, and Count Orloff, thanking them for their faithful services and tried devotion. He next wished to see his domestic servants and the old Grenadiers of the palace, and addressed words of consolation and encouragement to each of them. He gave minute directions respecting his obsequies and the position of his tomb in the Cathedral of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and ordered that his funeral should be conducted with the least possible display, in order to avoid an expenditure which could ill be spared from the requirements of the war. The son of Prince Mentschikoff arrived at this stage with letters from his father, but he refused to have them read to him. He kept his eldest son for several hours alone near his bed to give him his last directions. On the 2nd of March, about noon, he told him to thank the garrison of Sebastopol in his name for their heroic defence. Nearly the last words he articulated showed his supreme anxiety to secure the continuance of Prussia in the discreditable policy which that Power had pursued. 'Tell Fritz (his brother-in-law the King of Prussia) to remain the same for Russia, and not to forget the words of papa.*' He still retained his consciousness,

* The 'favourable neutrality' of 'Fritz' in this war enabled the Prussians to carry on a most profitable trade in supplying the Russians with munitions of war, and all other articles required by them in the critical state of their affairs.

and began to repeat after his confessor the prayers for the dying, but soon lost the power of speech, and calmly expired a few minutes after noon. He was in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The unexpected death of the man whose boundless pride, ambition, and extravagant vanity had led to so much bloodshed and misery, produced a profound sensation throughout Europe. In our own country the announcement of the event was received with something like awe. Perhaps the most striking delineation of the termination of the career of the Russian Autocrat was the cartoon of John Leech, entitled 'General Février turned Traitor,' referring to the boast of the Czar that Russia had two generals on whom she could always rely, General Janvier and General Février. The sketch of the gifted artist represented General February, a skeleton in Russian uniform, while the snow is falling thick around, laying his bony ice-cold hand on the heart of the sovereign, and betraying him to the tomb. The unexpected death of this powerful monarch, the victim of his own vaulting ambition, 'which had overleaped itself,' and of the bitter mortification and despair produced by broken hopes, and the destruction of his reputation for invincibility and infallibility, is fitted to remind the world of the vivid picture which the Hebrew prophet has drawn of the downfall of the King of Babylon—'the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms, that made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the house of his prisoners,' and whose overthrow made the earth at rest and quiet.

It was expected in some quarters that the death of Nicholas would tend to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, and that his successor Alexander, whose character was supposed to be less imperious and inflexible than his father's, would be more anxious to make peace. But, notwithstanding the difference of character and

position, it is questionable whether the new Emperor would have been able, if he had been willing, to renounce his father's policy and to show himself to his subjects in a less patriotic light than his predecessor. It soon became evident that the contest was, meanwhile at least, to proceed with undiminished bitterness.

On the 15th of March a conference of the plenipotentiaries of the five Great Powers was opened at Vienna, with a view to peace on the basis of the four points which had been communicated the previous year through Austria to the Russian Government, but had then, been peremptorily rejected. It was alleged, however, that Russia was now willing to enter into negotiations on the basis of these preliminaries, which referred to the Russian protectorate over the Principalities, the free navigation of the Danube, the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea, and her claim to an official protectorate over the Greek subjects of the Porte. It speedily appeared, however, that the negotiations were about to prove abortive, as Russia would listen to no proposals for neutralizing the Black Sea or limiting her own naval force there. This decision was formally intimated to the Conference on the 21st of April. Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, declared their powers exhausted, and left Vienna. Austria, anxious to escape if possible from taking an active part in the war, which she was bound now to do under the treaty concluded with the Western Powers on 2nd December, 1854, made another proposition for the settlement of the point in dispute, which, as Lord Palmerston remarked, 'could not be more accurately described than in the concise terms' of a Memorandum prepared by the Prince Consort, 'namely, that instead of making to cease the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea it would perpetuate and legalize that preponderance, and that instead of establishing a secure and permanent peace it would only establish

a prospective case for war.' Through some unaccountable misconception of the true meaning of the proposal, the British and French plenipotentiaries expressed themselves favourable to the agreement. It met, however, with the decided disapproval of their Governments. M. Drouyn de Lhuys immediately retired from office, and Lord John Russell's first conclusion was that that statesman's resignation involved his own. It would have been well for his own reputation had he acted upon this impression. The fact of his concurrence in the views of the French plenipotentiary was dragged to light by the adversaries of the Government; and a vote of censure having been threatened, he was compelled to resign his seat in the Cabinet on the 16th of July. The result of the Vienna Conference made it evident that Russia must be defeated and humbled before her pride would allow her to submit to the terms on which alone the Western Powers could honourably make peace. There is every reason to believe that if the German Powers had gone heartily with France and Britain in resisting the ambitious and sinister projects of the Czar, all the carnage and sufferings of this terrible war would have been prevented. But the timid shuffling policy of Austria, and the cordial though not avowed friendship of Prussia, induced him to persevere in a course which cost the lives of vast numbers of his subjects, to say nothing of the desolation which it caused in many a French and British home, and brought himself prematurely to the grave.*

While the Conferences were proceeding at Vienna the allied forces were actively prosecuting the siege of Sebastopol. The old and almost impassable track-road from Balaklava to the camp had now been re-

placed by a railway, which conveyed regularly and rapidly the ammunition required for the operations in front of Sebastopol, and supplies for the troops. The soldiers engaged in carrying on the siege were in consequence now well fed, well clad, and well sheltered, and in a high state of efficiency. Reinforcements too were rapidly pouring in, and large siege guns were being brought up to the trenches in readiness for the renewal of the bombardment. But the Russians had not relaxed in their exertions to add to the strength of the fortress, and were as diligently occupied as ever in throwing up fresh earthworks. The French unfortunately neglected to seize and fortify the Mamelon, a slight elevation in front of the Malakoff, while it was still free to them to do so. It was suddenly taken possession of on the night of the 9th of March by the Russians, who sunk a number of pits before and on each side of their new acquisition, to serve as a cover for their riflemen. Their fire not only proved a great annoyance to our allies, but on a dark and windy night (22nd March) they made a sally from the Mamelon, drove out the French troops from their trenches, and then made a fierce assault on the flank of our position. They were ultimately repulsed by detachments of the 97th and 77th Regiments, but with a loss to the British of 13 officers (one of whom was Captain Hedley Vicars) and 169 men killed, 12 officers and 361 men wounded, and 2 officers and 54 men missing.

At daybreak on the morning of the 9th April the second bombardment of Sebastopol commenced, and was kept up with great vigour for several days, but without any decisive result. An attempt on the part of the French to carry some new outworks and ambuscades of the Russians was repulsed with great slaughter, but another attempt made on the following night was successful. The Russians were driven out after a sanguinary struggle, and their gabionade was taken possession of by the French, and afforded them the means in future both of shelter and attack.

* 'I have here a statement,' said Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords, 'made on the very highest authority, from which it appears that a few days before the death of the Czar a return was made up, stating that 170,000 Russians had died, and according to a supplementary return made up a few days later, 70,000 were added to the list, making a total loss of 240,000 men.'

General Canrobert, though a brave and intelligent officer and strongly attached to the British officers, was overwhelmed by the sense of responsibility. He wanted the self-confidence necessary for his position, and by his irresolution repeatedly prevented vigorous measures, which there is good reason to believe would have been attended by a successful result. He was conscious of his own defects, and asked to be relieved of the command. His request was complied with by the Emperor, and General Pélissier, a soldier of a very different stamp—firm, resolute, and persistent—was appointed his successor. The difference between the two men, according to Marshal Vaillant, was this: ‘Pélissier will lose 14,000 men for a great result at once, while Canrobert would lose the like number by dribblets without obtaining any advantage.’ In an interview with Lord Raglan, after giving up his charge to Pélissier, Canrobert frankly owned his weakness, and said that the English commander ought to congratulate himself on the change, since he should never have had the moral courage to co-operate in any movement involving extraordinary sacrifices or risks. His heart and soul, however, were in the enterprise, and he continued to give his valuable services at the seat of war as a general of division.

The allied forces, having been largely reinforced, were now sufficiently strong, not only to carry on the siege of Sebastopol, but to strike at the enemy at other vulnerable places. On the 22nd of May an expedition, comprising a large body of troops—British, French, and Turks—amounting in all to about 16,500 men, under Sir George Brown, were despatched to Kertch and the Straits of Yenikale, which lead into the Sea of Azoff; there being every reason to believe that from this part of the Crimea large supplies were regularly sent by a circuitous route to Sebastopol. They disembarked in the neighbourhood of Kertch without opposition, and soon after they had landed a succession of loud explosions made them aware that the Russians

had retreated after blowing up all their fortifications along the coast, spiking all their guns, and destroying immense stores of provisions. Passing into the Sea of Azoff with his squadron of steamers on the 25th of May, Captain Lyons, a gallant young officer, son of Admiral Lyons, found that four war steamers which had escaped from Kertch had been run ashore and burnt to the water’s edge at Berdiansk. The fortress of Anapa, on the opposite side of the Straits of Kertch, which mounted 94 guns, with 14 mortars, was abandoned and blown up by the garrison. Numerous vessels laden with corn and large stores of provisions were destroyed at Genetchi, Berdiansk, Arabat, and Taganrog, on the Don. It was calculated that the stores destroyed at Kertch and in the Sea of Azoff alone amounted to nearly four months’ provisions for 100,000 men, the loss of which must have been a heavy blow to the Russian army in the Crimea.*

The third bombardment of Sebastopol commenced on the afternoon of 6th June, and next evening simultaneous attacks were made by the French, under General Bosquet, upon the Mamelon and the White Works close to Careening Bay, and by the British upon the Quarries in front of the Redan. Both were completely successful, though the assailants were exposed to a terrific fire of artillery and musketry, and a lengthened and obstinate conflict took place within the redoubts before the Russians were driven out. Emboldened by this success, a simultaneous attack upon the Malakoff and the Redan was resolved on. Lord Raglan was of opinion that the Redan could not be taken by direct assault, but if the Malakoff fell into the hands of the allies the Redan would be at the mercy of the besiegers.† Subsequent events

* This expedition was planned by Lord Raglan and Sir Edmund Lyons, but the consent of General Canrobert was reluctantly given, and the troops were once actually recalled and disembarked, so that the great success was in a manner forced upon our allies.

† The Prince Consort said, ‘The attack of the 18th June was a blundering episode, prematurely accelerated by the success of the 7th.’

showed the correctness of this opinion; but the British commander yielded to the urgent request of the French general and agreed that the attack on both should be made at the same time. The result realized his worst anticipations. Partly owing to a serious mistake on the part of General Meyren, who commanded one of the divisions of the French army, the advance of the troops who were to make the attack on the right was made prematurely, and was in consequence not promptly supported. The troops were assailed by an overwhelming shower of ball and grape, not only from the works, but also from the enemy's steamers in the harbour; and the English attack on the Redan having also failed, they were deprived of their simultaneous support, and were compelled to give way. General Eyre, however, at the head of a body of 2000 men forced his way into the town at the head of Dockyard Creek, and held his ground until the evening; but the other attacks having failed, his success was of no avail, and he withdrew his troops unmolested. Our loss in this unfortunate encounter amounted to 165 killed, including Major-General Sir John Campbell, Colonel Shadforth, Colonel Yea, and other 18 officers, while 1126 were wounded and 152 missing. The French had 1598 killed or missing, and 1740 wounded. The Russians, according to their own account, lost during the two days 787 killed and 4029 wounded. This unfortunate reverse had a most injurious effect upon the venerable commander-in-chief of the British army, already worn out by the severity of the winter and the anxieties of the siege. On the 24th he was seized with illness, which, however, did not assume a serious aspect until the evening of the 28th, and on the 29th he died. His death was deeply regretted by the whole army, who were warmly attached to him, and had the utmost confidence in his judgment and experience.

Lord Raglan was succeeded in his command, in right of seniority, by General

Simpson, whose age and infirm health rendered him unfit for such an onerous and responsible position, and who, though a respectable officer, had no claims to it compared with those of Sir Colin Campbell or General Eyre. He was, however, confirmed in his command by the Home Government.

Since the repulse of the 18th of June before Sebastopol, the allied forces had been pushing forward their approaches with so much energy that it was obvious to the Russians that a decisive assault was imminent. On the 21st of July General Simpson telegraphed to Lord Panmure that his advanced trenches were within 200 yards of the Redan, and could not be pushed further owing to the rocky nature of the ground. The daily losses in the trenches were so heavy that the assault could not be much longer delayed. The Russians, who were quite aware how matters stood, had now concentrated the whole military resources of the empire in the Crimea, and were preparing for a supreme effort to compel the allied forces to raise the siege, in the full expectation that they would overwhelm them by their superior numbers. The threatened blow was struck on the 16th of August. In accordance with a plan formed at St. Petersburg, a body of between 50,000 and 60,000 infantry, with 160 pieces of artillery and 6000 cavalry, descended from the Mackenzie Heights and attacked the French and Sardinian lines on the right of the allied position, which were covered along their whole length by the river Tchernaya, and also by a canal or aqueduct. The main brunt of the battle was born by the French. The Russians, whose courage had been stimulated as usual by copious draughts of brandy, made repeated and most furious attacks upon the centre of the French position at the Traktir bridge across the Tchernaya, but were driven back with terrible slaughter, and compelled to retreat with a loss of 3000 killed and 5000 wounded. Four hundred prisoners were taken. On the bodies of the dead were

found four days' rations, but no water, so confident had their generals been of securing their hold upon the river. The French had 9 officers and 172 soldiers killed, and 61 officers and 1163 privates wounded. The losses of the Sardinians did not exceed 200, as their position was only slightly assailed, and the principal part which their troops took in the battle consisted of the fire of their artillery, which was admirably served, and did great execution upon the crowded columns of the Russians.

The French lines had now approached within a few yards of the Malakoff, and on the 5th of September a terrific cannonade was opened and kept up till noon of the 8th, the time fixed for the assault. 'This infernal fire,' says Prince Gortschakoff, 'principally directed against the embrasures, proved that the enemy was endeavouring to dismount our guns, to demolish our ramparts, and to prepare for taking the city by storm. It was no longer possible to repair the damage done to our works, and our efforts were limited to covering the powder magazine and the blindages with earth. The parapets crumbled down and filled up the ravines; it was necessary to continue clearing the embrasures, and the number of artillerymen killed was so great that it was with difficulty we could bring up others to take their place. Our loss at this period of the siege was extraordinary; from the 5th to the 8th of September there were placed *hors de combat*—superior officers to subalterns, 47; and 3917 soldiers, without reckoning the artillerymen who perished at their guns.'

It was arranged that the French were to storm the Malakoff, and as soon as they had made themselves masters of that formidable work, the guns of which completely commanded the Redan, the British troops were to rush upon that redoubt and carry it by assault. General Simpson expressed to Lord Panmure his conviction that a direct attack upon the Redan would fail, and that a combined attack by the French and British on the Malakoff was in

his opinion the only feasible project, that being the key of the position, and at the same time presenting fewer obstacles to an attack. The result proved the soundness of this opinion; but like Lord Raglan, who had expressed the same view, he was obliged to yield to the demand of the French General.

The assault was made at mid-day, as the Russians were in the habit of retiring under shelter at that hour and taking their repast. At noon precisely the firing ceased, and the assaulting party, consisting of 25,000 French and 5000 Sardinians, rushed upon the Malakoff, crossed the ditches with surprising agility, mounted the parapet, and leaped into the work, and after a fierce struggle, which lasted only a quarter of an hour, the tricolor was floating on the parapet of the captured redoubt. The storming party were accompanied by a body of engineers, who instantly proceeded to place the hard-won heights in a position of defence against the anticipated attempt of the Russians to retake it. The enemy speedily returned in dense masses, and made a desperate attempt to drive out the French. But a strong reinforcement was despatched to their assistance by General Bosquet. A tremendous struggle ensued, which lasted for six hours, but terminated in favour of the French, who retained possession of the coveted work.

The hoisting of the French flag on the Malakoff was the signal for the British troops to advance upon the Redan, but they had a much more difficult task to perform. The French were very near the Malakoff, having only a few yards to clear, and its guns were nearly all silenced, but our soldiers had to traverse 220 yards before they reached the Redan. They had to march over this space under a very heavy fire of grape, and it was soon covered with the bodies of the killed and wounded. The assaulting columns consisted of only 1000 men, preceded by a covering party of 200 and a ladder party of 320 men—a force much too small for such a difficult enter-

prise. They were indeed only as one to five of the defenders. The terrible fire of the enemy did not, however, impede their progress. Led by their officers they leaped into the ditch, fifteen feet deep, and, scrambling up on the other side, scaled the parapet of the redoubt. But the Russians, who had flocked to the traverses, kept up such a heavy fire on the assailants that they could not be induced by their officers to make a rush across the open space between the salient and the traverses. No reinforcements were sent to them, and after maintaining for two hours the unequal combat, in which Colonel Windham greatly distinguished himself by his heroic bravery, they were obliged to retire before the vastly superior force opposed to them. As the struggle for the Malakoff was still going on, Pélissier sent a message to General Simpson, begging him to make a diversion in favour of the French by renewing the attack upon the Redan, but the English commander sent back word that the trenches were too crowded for him to do anything. So, as it was remarked, 'the first assault failed because too few took part in it, and a second was impracticable because there were too many present when it should have been made.' The men who now filled the trenches, and were prepared to renew the attack, were the Highlanders under Sir Colin Campbell, and the Third Division under Sir William Eyre; and it was indignantly asked at the time why the troops of the Second and Light Divisions, which had been decimated by their long and laborious service in the trenches, and had their ranks supplied by raw recruits, were selected by General Simpson for the perilous assault, instead of the Highland Brigade, consisting of some of the finest soldiers in the world, who had not been similarly exposed and weakened. There can be little doubt that if Sir Colin Campbell had been appointed Commander-in-Chief the mortifying reverse suffered by the British arms would not have taken place. But it was only the old story—'Superb courage

and skill of officers and men, outrageously bad generalship,' which cost the lives of no fewer than 29 officers and 356 sergeants and privates, while 1886, including 124 officers, were wounded in this lamentable enterprise.

In order to distract the attention of the enemy it was arranged that the French should, simultaneously with their assault on the Malakoff, attack the redoubt called the Little Redan, the Bastion du Mal, and the Central Bastion, on the left. The former was intrusted to the division commanded by General Canrobert, the latter to a detachment from General Levaillant's division. All three attacks were unsuccessful, from causes similar to those which led to the failure of the British attack on the Great Redan, and were attended with a heavy loss of superior officers and men. No fewer than four generals were killed and five severely wounded. Their loss in these attacks and in the assault on the Malakoff amounted altogether to 1489 killed, 4259 wounded, and 1400 missing. The Russians, according to their own account, lost 2684 killed, 7243 wounded, 1763 missing.

General Simpson had resolved to make another attack on the Redan next day, but when the morrow dawned there was nothing to attack. The loss of the Malakoff—the key of Sebastopol—rendered the south side of the town quite untenable. In anticipation of this result Prince Gortschakoff had made preparations to withdraw his troops to the north side. The town was evacuated in the course of the night by means of a bridge of boats which had been constructed across the bay. Terrific explosions made the allied troops aware of what was going on, but they made no attempt to interrupt the retreat of the enemy. It would indeed have been highly dangerous to have entered the place at that moment. The Russians set fire to the town and blew up the buildings in every direction. The ships that still remained in the harbour were either sunk or set on fire. The regular inhabit-



J. Ramage

J. Stoybans

SEBASTOPOL.

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.

ants and a portion of the wounded, as well as the troops, were transferred to the north side, and when all this had been accomplished the bridge of boats was removed, and a deep arm of the sea placed between the Russians and their assailants. 'It is not Sebastopol,' said Prince Gortschakoff in his despatch, 'which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves have set fire to.'

It was by no means safe for the allies even next day to enter the abandoned city, for the arsenals and powder magazines were exploding, and both the public buildings and the private houses were in flames. The Russians had also left numerous mines, some of which exploded by means of wires when unwarily trodden on. The place was a complete ruin. Tokens of the destruction that had been wrought by the terrible bombardment met the eye on every side. The houses were almost all destroyed and stripped of their furniture, and the streets were literally paved with fragments of shells and shot sunk in the earth. A noble building, which had been used as an hospital, presented a shocking sight. Upwards of 1000 dead were found in it, who the day before had been carried into it alive, besides a large number of wounded soldiers who had been left behind when the town was evacuated, and who implored aid, water, or food from their captors. 'In the midst of one of these chambers of horror (for there were many),' says the *Times* correspondent, 'were found some dead and some living British soldiers, and among them poor Captain Vaughan of the 90th, who has since succumbed to his wounds.'

The number of cannon and the quantity of the materials of war found in the town was immense. It appears that the garrison had about 800 pieces of artillery mounted on their bastions and redoubts, and 1500 more remained as the prize of the victors. They set about rendering the destruction of the Russian stronghold complete, by blowing up the forts, docks, and aqueducts, on

which the Emperor Nicholas had expended enormous sums of money. These stupendous works had been constructed with extraordinary care and skill, and such was their solidity that even the force of gunpowder could scarcely suffice to lay them in ruins.

The Russian commander-in-chief in his despatch made a feeble attempt to under-value the effect of the capture of the famous stronghold on the fortunes of the war. 'Sebastopol,' he said to his troops, 'kept us chained to its walls; with its fall we acquire freedom of movement, and a new war commences—a war in the open field—that must be congenial to the Russian soldiers.' It is, however, a gross inaccuracy to speak, as the young Emperor of Russia himself did in his order of the day to his army, of the protracted struggle in front of Sebastopol as 'a siege,' and of the defenders of the town as 'a garrison,' and to say that they will now 'fall back into the ranks of the army.' When a siege and a garrison are spoken of, these terms are understood to describe the defence of a town or fortress by a body of men inclosed within its walls. But Sebastopol was never invested. The allied forces were at no time sufficiently numerous even to close the road by which reinforcements of troops and supplies of food and of every other requisite for the defence of the town were poured into it without hindrance or molestation. The lines of Sebastopol were only the advanced works of the imperial army of Russia, who formed the real garrison of the town. Its defenders were only 'the head of a column, the apex of a pyramid, which had the entire military resources of the Empire behind it. The troops quartered in Sebastopol or on the Mackenzie Heights were in direct communication with the troops massed upon the frontiers of Poland, the reserve corps at Moscow, and the army of the Baltic, and they were incessantly renewed.' It was therefore not a garrison, but a succession of armies that the allied forces encountered and defeated in the Crimea, and the siege of Sebastopol

and the campaign of 1854-55 cost Russia the best half of her army. The duration of the siege, though it led to severe sufferings and required great sacrifices, in the end contributed largely to increase both the political and military results of the victory. If Sebastopol had fallen into the hands of the allied armies by a sudden attack after the battle of Alma, it is clear that the success of such an enterprise would not have had one-tenth part of the same effect on both the resources and the *prestige* of the Russian Empire, or on the opinion of the world, as the laborious and sanguinary triumph the allied generals at last accomplished. Not only was the safety of the Turkish Empire secured, but the maritime preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea was destroyed; and, above all, the capability of Russia to be the bulwark of despotism in Europe, if not altogether brought to an end, was at least materially lessened.

The terrible strain which the defence of Sebastopol had put upon the resources of Russia was now felt in every part of the Empire. Supplies both of men and money were imperatively required for the continuance of the war, but could not be obtained.* With the exception of the first *corps d'armée* and the Guards, and perhaps half of the Grenadiers, the whole of the Russian forces were in the Crimea, and including all arms—infantry, cavalry, artillery, sailors, marines, and 10,000 militia—amounted to only 130,000 men, and these not in the best condition; while the allies could muster 211,000 in a high state of efficiency, of whom 51,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, with 94 field-pieces, were British.

'What we want,' wrote Prince Albert to Baron Stockmar, 'is a united command. I would embark 80,000 men with all possible despatch, and march from Eupatoria upon the Strait of Perekop or Simpheropol, and so either capture the whole disorganized

army or force it to a disastrous retreat. The Russian army is frightfully demoralized.' The leaders of the allied forces, however, were unfortunately not possessed of sufficient resolution or energy for any enterprise of this kind. There can be little doubt that had either Marshal St. Arnaud or Lord Raglan lived to witness the capture of Sebastopol the victory of the 8th September would not have stopped where it did. But their successors were apparently incapable of counsel or of action; they had no plan of operations, and were utterly at a loss how to turn their success to account. 'When General Simpson telegraphed that he must wait to know the intentions and plans of the Russians, the Queen was tempted to advise a reference to St. Petersburg for them.' Pélissier, though an energetic and courageous soldier, was no general. He was devoid of any power of initiating operations himself, and he doggedly refused to adopt any scheme suggested to him by others. After peace was concluded, Sir Edmund Lyons said the Russians 'admitted unhesitatingly that if we had threatened a landing between Sebastopol and Eupatoria after the fall of the south side, they would have left the Crimea by all practicable routes, but Pélissier laughed me to scorn for proposing it.' The allied fleet, however, proceeded to Kinburn, where the united rivers of the Bug and the Dnieper fall into the Black Sea, through a channel protected by three forts. A vigorous bombardment (17th October) silenced the guns of the fort, 70 in number, and compelled the garrison, 1500 strong, to surrender. The Russians on this blew up and evacuated Oczakoff, 24 miles distant on the opposite side of the gulf. The possession of these forts was of great importance to the allies, as they thus commanded the sea approach to Kherson on the Dnieper, and Nicolaieff, the naval arsenal of the Black Sea, on the Bug. On the 29th of the month a strong force of Russian cavalry was defeated near Eupatoria by three regiments of French cavalry,

* *Punch* represents the young Czar kneeling imploringly at the feet of a stalwart capitalist, with Jewish features, who says, 'Want a little money to go on with, eh? Well; but where's your security?'



J. Godfrey

J. Ramsay

K A R S

Donald Ross

supported by a body of Turkish and Egyptian horse. But these minor successes, though they crippled the Russian resources, could not induce General Pélissier to follow up the blow dealt at Sebastopol. General Simpson, feeling more strongly than ever that the burden laid upon him was too heavy for him to bear, resigned the commandership-in-chief. The Government appointed Sir William Codrington as his successor. There was nothing in the past history of the new General to warrant, and nothing achieved by him tended to vindicate, the appointment to this responsible position of an officer who was junior to three generals present with the army, and who had all much stronger claims to the office. Sir Colin Campbell, one of these, shortly afterwards returned to England on leave. If he did not feel the slight the public felt it for him; but the Queen saw him, and having stated how much she wished that his valuable services should not be lost in the Crimea, the gallant soldier replied that he would return immediately, 'for that if the Queen wished it he was ready to serve under a corporal.' The troops went into winter quarters in the Crimea, where they were well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably housed in wooden huts, so that they enjoyed as good health, and on the whole were as well protected from the inclemency of the weather as they would have been at home.

The allied fleet was a second time sent to the Baltic, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dundas and Rear-Admiral Penaud, but the only operation of any importance effected by them was the destruction of Sweaborg, which protects the great naval station of Helsingfors. A bombardment of two days' continuance set the fortress on fire, and the store-houses, magazines, barracks, government establishments, and a great quantity of military stores were all destroyed. The utmost indignation was excited in England by the conduct of the Russians in firing upon a boat's crew carrying a flag of truce. H.M.S. *Cossack*, when

off Hango Head, in the Gulf of Finland, despatched a cutter with a flag of truce to land three prisoners taken on board some merchant vessels. After landing the men the officer in command, along with them, and the ship's doctor, and three stewards, one of whom carried a flag of truce conspicuously displayed, proceeded towards the telegraph station to communicate with the officer there, when some Russian soldiers suddenly rose from an ambuscade and fired upon them. They also attacked the boat's crew of eleven, killed six, and badly wounded four. Prince Dalgorouki, the Russian Minister of War at St. Petersburg, was appealed to for redress by Admiral Dundas, but without effect, and the Admiral was constrained to inform the Prince that he was 'forced to the conclusion that wilful falsehoods had been invented in vindication of a disgraceful outrage.'

A brilliant episode in the war was the heroic defence of Kars by the Turks, under the command of General Fenwick Williams, a British officer who had been sent out by our Government to act as Her Majesty's Commissioner at the headquarters of the Turkish army in Asia. Affairs had gone badly in that quarter during the previous year, in spite of the ability and zeal of M. Guyon, one of the Hungarian refugees, mainly through the wrongheadedness and incompetency of Zenif Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief. The Turks suffered several severe defeats in July and August, 1854, and Kars might have been taken at once if the Russians had promptly followed up their victory. They delayed so long that it was not till the 16th of June, 1855, that they made their first attack on that town. General Williams reached Kars on the 26th of September, accompanied by Dr. Sandwith, a young medical man, and three British officers—Colonel Lake, Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson. He found everything in a state of disorder and confusion, and had to contend against official stupidity, corruption, mismanagement, and procrastination of the most

exasperating kind. On the morning of the 29th General Mouravieff, at the head of an army of 50,000 men, with twenty-four guns, made a vigorous attempt to carry the place by assault. After a desperate struggle, which lasted seven hours, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers, the Russians were completely defeated and compelled to retire, leaving 5000 men dead on the field and carrying off upwards of 7000 wounded. The Russian general, thus baffled in his attack, converted the siege into a blockade, and after enduring all the horrors of famine the heroic defenders of this important town were compelled to surrender on the 20th of November. General Mouravieff showed his appreciation of the gallant efforts of the besieged by the honourable terms which he granted to them. They were allowed to leave the place with all the honours of war, and 'as a testimony to the valorous resistance made by the garrison of Kars the officers of all ranks are to keep their swords.' There can be no doubt that the siege might have been raised but for the culpable neglect of the Porte and its allies to send relief to the starving heroes, by whom 'the bulwark of Asia Minor,' as it was termed by Mouravieff, was so resolutely defended. The news of this close to the splendid courage and endurance displayed in the defence of Kars excited deep indignation throughout the United Kingdom. 'The fall of Kars,' the Queen wrote to Lord Clarendon, 'is indeed a disgrace to the allies, who have kept 200,000 men since September in the Crimea to make roads.' The chief blame, however, rests certainly with Marshal Pélissier, who 'would not let any troops go to the relief of the garrison, whilst he must have premeditated not using his army in the Crimea.'

After the termination of the Vienna Conference a vigorous effort had been made by the peace party in England, supported by the Peelites, to put an end to the war. The leaders of that party had acted throughout in perfect consistency with their principles, and deservedly commanded the

respect even of those who disapproved of their policy. A different feeling, however, prevailed with regard to the Peelites, and great indignation was expressed both in the House and in the country when Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, who had taken part in originating and conducting the war, now declared it to be 'unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic, set before the country all the imaginary dangers with which their fancy could supply them, and magnified and exaggerated the force of the enemy and the difficulties of our position.' Such conduct, opposed alike to integrity and sound policy, was fitted, as Prince Albert said, to 'give new hopes and spirit to the enemy,' and to strengthen the suspicions unjustly entertained respecting the secret feelings of the Peelite members of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet. 'No one,' said a Conservative member of Parliament, 'could hear Mr. Gladstone's speech without feeling that the Emperor of Russia lost powerful auxiliaries in the Cabinet which was overthrown by a debate in the House.' The people at large, however, were more than ever bent on the vigorous prosecution of the war to an effective close, and the House adopted without a division a resolution declaring that 'it will continue to give every support to Her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until Her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for the country a safe and honourable peace.'

The French people had never been very hearty in carrying on a war which was not calculated to secure any of the objects of their national ambition; and they, or at least the Parisians, were now eager to bring it to an end. That wish was mainly due, as Prince Albert said, to 'the fickleness and frivolity of the nation, and the stockbroking propensities of its public men;' but it was sedulously fostered by Russian agents, who strove to irritate the French people against the British Government by insinuating that we were prosecuting our own selfish interests on account of India, and were making use of France as our tool, whose

interests the Emperor was sacrificing to us for personal and dynastic purposes of his own. These sinister representations, persistently made through every possible channel, were not without their effect; and the leading politicians by whom the Emperor was surrounded succeeded in influencing him so far as to make him not unwilling to listen to some propositions of Austria, which, in the words of Prince Albert, 'as they set up the funds, are acceptable to the French Ministry, but are full of mischievous consequences to us.' The Emperor, however, was thoroughly loyal to the British alliance, and was grateful for the countenance he had received both from our Government and our Court. On the 16th of April, 1855, he and the Empress visited England, and were welcomed both by the people and the royal family with a degree of cordiality which made a deep impression upon his mind, and the return visit which the Queen and the Prince Consort paid to Paris in the month of July helped to draw closer the bonds of mutual amity. When, therefore, a direct appeal was made by Queen Victoria to the Emperor himself, respecting the influence which Russian and Austrian intrigues were producing on men in office in Paris, and the language which they were using as to the absolute necessity of concluding peace, the Emperor cordially responded to Her Majesty's representations, and he took means to let it be known that he would be no party to a peace of which the British Government did not approve.

Austria was bound by treaty to join Britain and France in active operations against Russia, but she had hitherto characteristically evaded the fulfilment of her obligations. The Viennese Court party, however, saw clearly that if the war continued Austria would be compelled to take part in it, to avoid dangerous consequences to her own interests. Anxious to escape from this alternative she framed and presented to Russia an ultimatum, specifying the only terms on which the allied powers were willing to make peace, which were sub-

stantially the same as those brought forward at Vienna, which Russia had then rejected; and intimating that if this ultimatum should be again rejected by Russia, she would take part with the allies in the next campaign. It was a severe blow to Russian pride, not only to accept the terms which had been previously rejected by the Czar, but to do so under menace from Austria. There was no help for it, however. Russia was in such a state of exhaustion, both in the material and the sinews of war, that she was unable to prolong the contest. General Della Marmora, the Sardinian commander, on his return from the Crimea, said to our ambassador at Turin, 'The Russians had no cavalry left, guns unhorsed, regiments unofficered, the men armed with flint-and-steel muskets—in short they were dead beat.' In these circumstances there was nothing for it but to submit, and the Austrian ultimatum was accepted by the Czar on the 16th of January, 1856, 'as a basis for peace negotiations.' On the 26th of February a Congress was opened at Paris, at which Britain was represented by Lords Clarendon and Cowley, and an armistice was at once concluded.

Prussia, whose policy throughout had been of the most contemptible character, was of course excluded from all share in the negotiations.* Her King, who now appears for the first time to have become conscious of the ignoble position in which his vaunted neutrality had placed his kingdom, displayed a pitiable anxiety that Prussia should be represented at the Conferences. Austria, for selfish reasons as usual, was willing to

* Leech issued at this time a cartoon representing a door over which is inscribed 'The Conference Club sits here daily.' The King of Prussia in a tipsy state is trying to force an entrance, declaring that if Lord John Russell and the other plenipotentiaries who are keeping him out will let him in, he won't make a row, and will stand lots of champagne. This liquor was said, unjustly, to be a weakness of the poor king. He was excluded simply because he was notoriously the ally and slave of Russia. It was well known that under the guise of friendly neutrality he had persuaded the Sultan to agree to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, by telling him the most scandalous falsehoods respecting the condition of the Russian army.

concede the claim, but it was met by a decided refusal both in Paris and London. The poor King in this strait stooped to invoke the assistance of the King of the Belgians; but Leopold was aware that his intercession would be in vain. Prince Albert had already informed him that the Cabinet were firmly resolved not to admit to the Conferences a power unfriendly to them and devoted to Russia, and who had taken no part in the conflict. But as soon as the immediate dispute between the belligerents was adjusted, if any general treaty in the interests of Europe came to be discussed, then would be the time to admit Prussia into council.

As had been foreseen when Russia accepted the terms which she had a few months before rejected, her plenipotentiaries, Baron Brunow and Count Orloff, put forth their utmost efforts to sow jealousy between Britain and France, and to fritter away the conditions of the ultimatum, or to evade their most stringent and unpalatable requirements; but all in vain. The French and British representatives co-operated cordially in insisting upon the terms prescribed and demanded by their respective Cabinets, and under the pressure of stern necessity Russia consented to surrender the territory she possessed in Bessarabia, to restore Kars, and to come under engagement not again to fortify the Aland Islands in the Baltic—points to which she most strongly objected. The Treaty of Peace was at length signed on the 30th of March. The news was received in Paris with exultation, but in Britain with only moderate satisfaction. The nation was now thoroughly roused, and was prepared to prosecute the war with or without the co-operation of France until Russia was not only humbled for the present, but deprived of the power again to disturb the peace of Europe by her unscrupulous ambition and thirst for territorial extension. The treaty was regarded in a very different light by the Russians. 'We have been beaten,' said Baron Brunow to Lord Clar-

endon; 'Russia is humiliated, and she is about to sign a treaty such as was never signed by Russia before.' The treaty first of all declared that Kars was to be restored to the Sultan, and that Sebastopol, along with the other towns and ports in the Crimea taken by the allies, was to be given back to Russia. Prisoners of war were to be delivered up on either side, and a full and entire amnesty granted to the subjects of either party who may have been compromised by connection with the enemy. The Sublime Porte was admitted to participate in all the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. The other Powers engaged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. They guaranteed in common the strict observance of that engagement, and declared that they would in consequence consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest. In the event of a misunderstanding between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other contracting Powers, each engaged to submit the cause of quarrel to the others before having recourse to arms. The Sultan recorded his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, and intimated his having issued a firman with the view to ameliorate the condition of his subjects without distinction of religion or race, and had resolved to intimate to the other Powers the purposes of the firman 'emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.' It was to be clearly understood that no right of interference was to be given to the other Powers in the relations of the Sultan with his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire. It was distinctly specified that 'the Black Sea is neutralized; its waters and ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war either of the Powers possessing its coasts or of any other,' with the exceptions specified in subsequent articles. These exceptions only reserved the right of each of the Powers to have the same number of

small armed vessels in the Black Sea to protect the coasts. In order to prevent the rebuilding of Sebastopol, it was declared that the Sultan and the Emperor engaged not to establish or to maintain any military or maritime arsenals on the coasts of the Black Sea. The navigation of the Danube was to be thrown open to the flags of all nations, and a commission was to be named, composed of a delegate from each of the contracting states, who shall cause to be executed the works necessary to clear the mouths of the Danube and put and maintain them in the best possible state for navigation. In order more fully to secure the free navigation of the Danube, and in exchange for the towns restored to him, the Emperor consented to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia, the territory ceded by Russia to be annexed to Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Porte. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to continue under the suzerainty of the Sultan, who engaged to preserve to them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, legislation, commerce, and navigation. Their rights and privileges were to be placed under the guarantee of the contracting Powers, but with no separate right of interference in their affairs. If the internal tranquillity of the Principalities shall be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting Powers regarding the steps to be taken to restore peace, and no armed intervention shall take place without their sanction. The existing frontier of Servia was to be maintained, and its rights and privileges were to be guaranteed. A convention was added to the treaty respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. By this convention the Sultan declared that he would maintain the ancient rule prohibiting ships of war of foreign Powers from entering the straits so long as the Porte is at peace; and the contracting Powers, on the other hand, engaged to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform

themselves to the principle thus declared. The Sultan reserved to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under the flag of war employed in the service of foreign Powers; that is to say, of their diplomatic missions. A separate convention as to the Black Sea, between Russia and Turkey, agreed that the contracting parties shall have in that sea six light steam vessels of not more than 800 tons, and four steam or sailing vessels of not more than 200 tons each.

The allied Powers deemed it necessary to protect Sweden also against the further encroachments of her unscrupulous neighbour, and a treaty was formed between that kingdom and France and Britain. By this treaty Sweden bound herself not to cede to Russia any part of her present territories, or any rights of fishery; and the other two Powers engaged to maintain Sweden by force against any aggression.

Before the members of the Conference separated, they agreed to the following very important improvements of international law relating to maritime operations in the time of war:—

1. Privateering is and remains to be abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemies' goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.
4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the enemy's coast.

The Government of the United States refused to renounce the right of privateering. The declarations of the Conference were therefore made without the concurrence of the State, which was the first to suffer severely from its refusal to agree to the declaration adopted by the European Powers.

Difficulties shortly arose respecting the execution of some of the articles of the Treaty of Meca, caused by the tricky conduct of the Russians. They demolished the fortifications of Kars, and also of Ismael

and Neva, within that part of Bessarabia which was to be surrendered to Turkey—an ebullition of ill-humour and revenge that might be called childish, as Lord Palmerston told the Russian Ambassador; and an act of gratuitous injury to the Turks, as putting them to the expense of reconstructing the walls. They delayed the evacuation of Turkish Armenia, they attempted to take possession of Serpents Island, near the mouth of the Danube; and they tried, by a very characteristic trick, to alter in their favour the frontier of Bessarabia laid down in the treaty. But the firmness of the British Government compelled the Russian Czar and his advisers to execute it to the letter.

Thus terminated the most destructive war of the present age. It cost our country about 24,000 men, of whom only one-sixth fell in battle or died of wounds. The rest were the victims of cholera and other diseases, brought on by the neglect of sanitary laws, and the want of proper supplies of food, clothing, and shelter. The sufferings and losses of the French were far greater than was generally supposed at the time. It is confessed that they lost 60,000 at least. They concealed and extenuated the amount of their disasters, while we proclaimed and exaggerated ours; but they were far outstripped by those of the Russians. The mortality among their soldiers was quite appalling. In the last three days' bombardment and the assault, 39,000 men were wounded, and to such extremities were they reduced, that Prince Gortschakoff had made up his mind to evacuate Sebastopol in two days, even if the assault had not taken place. It was said that 90,000 had been buried on the north side during the siege, and their total loss of men during the war was estimated by the Russians themselves at 500,000. This frightful loss of life, to say nothing of all the other fruits of this unjustifiable war, was ascribed by Count Orloff, one of the Russian plenipotentiaries, solely to the rashness of the Emperor of Russia and a blundering diplo-

macy. 'The whole diplomacy of Russia in connection with the Eastern Question,' he said, 'was a series of blunders, which lost to Russia good opportunities of retiring from a contest that should never have been undertaken.'

The condition of the French forces after Sebastopol had fallen proved conclusively that the French army system was much inferior to our own, as then reorganized and reformed. Week by week, and month by month, the British soldiers had been getting into finer condition, while the French were being cut down by want of shelter, food, and clothing, and by disease. They were badly housed, and without fresh meat or vegetables. Their ranks were decimated by typhus, scurvy, and consumption. Their medical staff was miserably deficient, and wholly unfit to grapple with the ravages of disease. They sometimes lost by disease and hardship 120 men a day; we, on an average, not five a week, and sometimes not one. Indeed, the relative conditions of the two allied forces in February, 1856, were precisely the reverse of what they were in February, 1855. 'It will amuse you to hear,' wrote Prince Albert to Stockmar, 'that while the Chelsea Court of Inquiry is trying our generals, the French War Ministry have sent a commission to the Crimea to study our hospital system, as the French one has completely broken down. Out of 63,000 men we have only 5000 sick, while the French, out of 150,000, have 42,000 sick, of whom 250 die daily, while we lose three.' M. Baudieux, the Inspector of French Ambulances, who was sent to the Crimea to examine the British system on the spot, made no secret of his conviction from what he saw there, that the good state of the British army was due to the superiority of our system. The final evacuation of the Crimea took place on the 12th of July. On that day General Codrington formally gave up Balaklava and the ruins of Sebastopol to the Russians, and then embarked with his personal staff for England.

CHAPTER XV.

War with Persia—Seizure of Herat by the Shah—British Expedition to the Persian Gulf—Defeat of the Persian troops and submission of the Shah—Misunderstanding between the British officials and the Chinese authorities at Canton—Conduct of Sir John Bowring—Attack upon Canton—Discussion on the subject in the House of Commons—Defeat of the Government—Dissolution of Parliament—Popularity of Lord Palmerston—Returns favourable to the Ministry—Indian Mutiny—The Greased Cartridges—Nature and causes of the revolt of the Sepoys—The chupatties—Mutiny at Meerut—Mismanagement of General Hewitt—Escape of the rebels to Delhi—Outbreak and horrible excesses in that city—Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Willoughby—State of Oude—Intrigues of Nana Sahib—Sir Henry Lawrence—The Governor-General's prompt measures—Feeling in Calcutta—Sir Colin Campbell despatched to India—Troops sent out from Britain—Death of General Anson—Forces collected for the Siege of Delhi—Defeat of the rebels in the vicinity of that city—Revolt of the Sepoys at Benares—Disarmament of the Native Troops—Massacre of the European officers at Allahabad. The Moulvie—General Neill's arrival and vigorous measures—Massacre of the Garrison at Jhansi—Outbreak at Aligurh—Lieutenant-Governor Colvin's proceedings—Seindiah—Meeting of the Gwalior Contingent—Holkar—Mutiny of his Contingent at Indore—Outbreak of the Sepoys at Mhow and murder of Colonel Platt—Mutiny at Necmuh—Battle of Sassiah—Life in the Fort of Agra—Death and Character of Mr. Colvin—Mutiny and massacre at Bareilly, and at Mozuffernuggar—Mr. Wilson at Moradabad—Revolts at Shahjehanpore and Budaon—Terrible tragedy at Futteghur—Cawnpore—Sir Hugh Wheeler—Nana Sahib's treachery and fiendish cruelty—Massacre of the Cawnpore Garrison.

THE peace which had been inaugurated at the close of the Crimean War was, unfortunately, not of long duration. Indeed, before hostilities with Russia terminated, a little war had broken out between Great Britain and Persia, owing to the occupation of Herat by the Shah, in defiance of engagements which he had undertaken with our Government in 1853. In that year the Persian Government had engaged not to send an army to Herat unless foreign troops should invade that important place. They also engaged to abstain from all interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of Herat, and to relinquish all pretension to any acknowledgment of allegiance or subjection on the part of the people of that city to the Government of Persia. In direct violation of this treaty, the Persian Government, which was bitterly hostile to Britain, invaded the territory of Herat and laid siege to the town, which, after holding out for several months, was ultimately obliged to surrender. It was then formally declared to be annexed to Persia. The remonstrances of the British Government while these operations were being carried on were treated with contempt, and the demand for redress having been persistently evaded, they resolved to compel the Persians by force of arms to evacuate Herat,

and to come under obligations not again to interfere with its affairs. Lord Palmerston foresaw that Khiva and Bokhara would shortly be occupied by Russia, and that Cabul and Candahar might before very long be deemed the advanced posts of British India. It had therefore become a matter of great importance that Herat should not fall to a power that was the subservient tool of Russia. He wrote to Lord Clarendon (17th February, 1857)—‘We are beginning to repel the first opening of trenches against India by Russia; and whatever difficulties Ferokh (the Persian ambassador) may make about Afghanistan, we may be sure that Russia is his prompter and secret backer.’ An expedition which was promptly despatched to the Persian Gulf attacked and defeated the Persian troops at Reshire, and captured Bushire. The Shah and his advisers, thus made to feel sharply the power of the adversary whom they had provoked, were fain to submit to the terms imposed upon them. A treaty of peace between the Queen of England and ‘His Majesty whose Standard is the Sun’ was signed at Paris on the 4th of March. Persia renounced all claim or dominion over Herat and Afghanistan, and all future design or attempt to invade Herat; and, moreover, engaged

to refer any future differences she might have with the Afghan states to the friendly offices of the British Government. Lord Palmerston also availed himself of the opportunity which this war afforded him to obtain the abolition of slavery in the Persian Gulf.

A misunderstanding which took place at this time between the Chinese Government and the British authorities at Canton, was attended with much more serious consequences. Under treaties with China, British vessels were to be subject to consular jurisdiction only; but for some time the local authorities at Canton had shown a determination to abridge or even withhold the privileges which they had bound themselves by treaty to grant. An incident which occurred at this period brought matters to a crisis. A Chinese built lorch, called the *Arrow*, had for some time been trading in Chinese waters under the protection of the British flag. While this vessel was lying in the river off Canton, flying the British flag, on the morning of the 8th of October, she was suddenly boarded by a body of men from a Chinese war-junk, who carried off twelve of her fourteen crew on a charge of piracy. Sir John Bowring, governor of Hong Kong, demanded satisfaction from the Chinese commissioner, Yeh; and on his refusal, Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, commander of the British fleet on the China station, was directed to enforce the demand. The seizure of a Chinese junk having failed to produce any effect, the admiral destroyed a number of the forts which defended the approaches to Canton. The twelve men who had been seized were then sent back by Yeh, but as no apology was tendered by the commissioner, our consul refused to receive them, and they were again taken away by the Chinese. At this stage Sir John Bowring thought fit to add to his former demands one for the admission of foreigners to the port and city of Canton—a condition of the treaty of 1842 which had hitherto been evaded. No answer

having been returned to the demand for admission to Canton, which the British Government had hitherto declined to enforce, Sir Michael Seymour, on the 27th, opened fire upon some Government buildings at Canton, and shelled a body of troops who had taken up their position in the rear of the city. Yeh retaliated by proclamations offering rewards for the heads of the 'barbarians.'

On the 29th a body of seamen and marines landed from the fleet, blew open the city gate, and penetrated into the city, but withdrew and re-embarked at sunset. As the Chinese authorities still obstinately refused to comply with Sir John Bowring's demand, the admiral renewed the attack on the 3rd of November, and then, after further waiting in vain for the submission of the Chinese, he assailed, on the 12th and 13th of that month, the Bogue, the Wantung, and the Annunghoy forts, mounting together upwards of 100 guns, and captured them with scarcely any loss. On the night of the 14th December the Chinese set fire to the foreign factories close by Canton, and the buildings were almost entirely destroyed.

When the news of these untoward events reached this country, a strong feeling of surprise and dissatisfaction was excited. Lord Derby, on the 24th of February, challenged the action of the British officials at Canton, and of the home Government, who had intimated their intention to defend them; but after a two nights' debate, his resolutions, though supported with great ability by Lords Lyndhurst, Grey, and Ellenborough, were defeated by a majority of thirty-six. The discussion of the question in the House of Commons had a different result. On the 26th of February Mr. Cobden moved—'That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton River, and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause

of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*; and that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China.' The debate on Mr. Cobden's motion, which was continued for four nights, was characterized by extraordinary ability, and nearly all the leading members of the House, including the ablest lawyers, took part in it. Statesmen of such varied political opinions as Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Roebuck, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Whiteside, joined in the attack on the Government. The defence of their action in this matter mainly rested with Lord Palmerston, who spoke with great vigour and effect. He concluded his speech with some pointed and pungent strictures upon the combination of parties confederated against him, warning the House that it had in its keeping not only the interests and lives of many of their fellow-countrymen, but also the honour and reputation of the country.

On the merits of the case taken by itself, the verdict both of the Parliament and the country would have been given in condemnation of Sir John Bowring, whose conduct was handled with great and merited severity by his former Radical associates in the Commons; but as the debate proceeded it became one of confidence or no confidence in the Government. Meetings were held both by the Opposition on the one hand, and by the friends of the Ministry on the other, at each of which resolutions were adopted to exert all their energy to secure the victory of their party. But the question at issue was one on which Conservatives, Peelites, Radicals, and the Manchester school, though differing widely on general politics, could unite, while the Government had alienated a good many of their supporters

by the indifference which they had shown to the cause of Reform. In consequence, a considerable number of those who professed Liberal principles regarded the fate of the Ministry with indifference, and declined to vote. The issue was, up to the last moment, doubtful, though it was generally expected that it would be favourable to the Government. The question was put upon the concluding part of Mr. Cobden's resolution, the first paragraph being withdrawn, and it was carried by a majority of sixteen—263 voting for it, and 247 against.

Mr. Disraeli had said in his speech, 'Let the noble lord who complained that he was the victim of a conspiracy not only complain to the country, but let him appeal to it.' He probably did not think that he would be taken at his word; he certainly did not expect the result which followed that appeal. The next day but one Lord Palmerston announced to the House that as soon as the necessary business could be completed Parliament would be dissolved. Meanwhile no time was lost in despatching to China the Earl of Elgin—'a man with the ability and resolution to insure success, and the native strength that can afford to be merciful'—with full powers to carry negotiations with the Chinese to a successful termination. No time was lost in voting a provisional budget, arranging the taxes, and passing the Mutiny Bill. Lord Derby availed himself of an opportunity, on the second reading of the Income-Tax Bill, to place before the country a programme of the policy of the Conservative party. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who for nearly eighteen years had filled the chair of the House with unusual approbation and distinguished success, intimated his intention to retire, and was cordially thanked for his services, the members showing their respect by all remaining uncovered while he delivered his farewell address. On Saturday, the 21st of March, the two Houses were prorogued with the usual formalities, by Commission, until the 30th of April. A few hours later a proclamation was issued declaring

the Parliament to be dissolved. The new writs were almost immediately sent out, and the new election became the absorbing theme of public attention.

The question on which the contest mainly turned was purely personal, and had very little connection with the character of the policy which had been condemned by the vote of the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston, in the address which he put forth to the country through the electors of Tiverton, distinctly challenged the verdict of the constituencies as one of confidence or no confidence in his administration, and they responded to the appeal by expressing the fullest confidence in himself. He was at this time personally at the height of his popularity. The country remembered that when other statesmen who had shared the responsibility of commencing the war with Russia had lost heart and shrunk from continuing that great conflict, Lord Palmerston had firmly kept at his post, and carried the contest to a successful issue, both in the field and in the European Congress. They admired the energy, the address, the patriotic spirit of the veteran statesman—his versatility, his unfailing good humour, and gallant bearing in the face of the most formidable opposition and amid the most adverse circumstances. They had no confidence that the various sections that had combined to expel him from office could furnish a Government in whose hands the welfare and honour of the country would be safe. The news of a successful termination of the Persian War came in time to animate and aid his supporters; and the public feeling in favour of his policy was strengthened by the accounts which came pouring in of the frightful atrocities perpetrated by the Chinese—the poisoning of the wells, the poisoning of the bread by the bakers, the cold-blooded murder of many Europeans, the horrible and disgusting details of the execution of between 60,000 and 70,000 Chinese in the course of a few months.’

From a combination of such causes as these the tide of popular feeling ran strong in Lord Palmerston’s favour, and his name became a rallying-cry on every hustings. The ‘fortuitous concourse of atoms,’ as he apologetically termed his opponents when they denied having *combined* against him, was scattered to the winds. Many of the leading Peelites lost their seats. The invaluable services rendered to the country by the repeal of the Corn Laws, and of the other injurious restrictions on trade and commerce, did not avail to prevent the defeat of Mr. Cobden at Huddersfield, and of Messrs. Bright and Milner Gibson at Manchester—a result brought about by a discreditable coalition of Conservatives and Whigs. The rejection of Mr. Bright, who was at this time absent from the country in consequence of severe illness, brought on by his zealous labours in the public cause, was an act of signal ingratitude which was deeply regretted throughout the country even at the time—still more after the war fever had subsided. He took leave of his constituents in a dignified and manly address, which must have excited feelings of sympathy, if not of shame, among not a few of his opponents.

The new Parliament, in which the Ministry had a large majority, met on the 30th of April, and Mr. Evelyn Denison was chosen without opposition to be the Speaker of the House of Commons. The Government lost no time in bringing forward various measures to promote sanitary and legal reform, but about the middle of June the news of the mutiny of our native troops in India burst upon the Ministry and the country, and absorbed their whole attention. It came like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky upon all connected with India, both at home and abroad. There is reason to believe, however, that though the fact was unsuspected by their European officers, dissatisfaction had for some time existed among the Bengal Sepoys, who were to a great extent men of the highest caste.

The Government bad, at the beginning of

the year 1857, supplied the Sepoy regiments in Bengal with the Enfield rifle, instead of the old musket which had hitherto been in use. The new rifle was accompanied with greased cartridges, which were necessary for its effective use. On the 23rd of January Major-general Hearsay informed the Indian Government that at Dumdum, near Calcutta, an uneasy feeling existed among the Sepoys, arising from the belief that the grease used in the preparation of the cartridges was composed of a mixture of the fat of cows and of pigs, to touch which with their mouths involved the loss of their caste. The existence of this belief among other regiments was soon afterwards ascertained, and led to the conclusion that it had been fomented by Brahmins and other intriguers not connected with the regiments, who skilfully worked on the minds of the Sepoys by suggesting that the Government had formed a deliberate purpose to make them lose their caste and become Christians.

The 'greased cartridges' were simply the spark that fired the train, but the combustible materials had been heaped together long before, and sooner or later an explosion was inevitable. In 1851, six years before the revolt broke out, Colonel Hodgson, at Meerut—the very cradle of the mutiny—warned the authorities that the admission of the Brahmins into the ranks of our Indian army was engendering and fomenting discord and sedition among the native troops. The Sepoys as a body, especially the priestly caste, had been petted and spoiled by the Government; concession after concession had been made with no other effect than to make them more insolent and insubordinate. Lord Dalhousie wrote to Sir Charles Napier in 1850:—'The Sepoy has been overpetted and overpaid of late, and has been led on by the Government itself into the entertainment of expectations and the manifestation of a feeling which he had never held in former times.' Colonel Hodgson, in 1851, used almost the same words:—'Of late years it

has been the fashion to overpay, overcaress, and overlaud the Sepoys, and the Sepoy had come fully to believe that we could not do without him.' It is a well-known fact that they frequently obtained exemption from disagreeable military duties, under the pretence that these would violate certain regulations of their caste, which they themselves violated without scruple whenever it suited their own purposes to do so. Such was the absurd deference shown to the privileges with which the Indian authorities chose to invest them, that a commanding officer hardly dared to reprove a Sepoy without a reference to headquarters. There were not wanting premonitory symptoms of an outbreak, but they were disregarded or reckoned unimportant. In 1849 the 22nd Bengal Native Infantry, then serving under Sir Colin Campbell, mutinied on a question of pay in which they were entirely in the wrong, and other forty-two regiments were found to be in secret communication with them. Five of the mutineers were condemned to death, but their sentence was commuted into transportation for life. The 66th Regiment broke out in open mutiny at Govindghur in the Punjaub, and were disbanded by Sir Charles Napier. Well might Sir Colin Campbell say at this time, 'We are sitting on a mine that may explode at any moment.' In 1852 the 38th were required to proceed to Burmah. They objected to the sea-voyage and refused to march. The authorities acquiesced, and thus another important concession was made to the demands of the Sepoys, which they naturally attributed to our fears and not to a sense of justice.

When the agitation against the greased cartridges commenced the men were assured that the composition used was nothing but mutton fat and wax, but this did not satisfy them; and an order was given that the cartridges, at least for practice, should be issued without grease. A special court of inquiry was at the same time held with regard to the alleged nature of the grease. Several Sepoys were them-

selves examined, the obnoxious paper was burnt before the court, the objectors were asked if they could detect the offensive smell which they pretended to have found. A chemical analysis was also instituted, and they owned that their suspicions were refuted but not removed. Finding the grease untenable, they now objected to the paper; it was different from the old cartridge paper; it was 'of two kinds,' 'of two colours.' When it was burnt it flared with a fizzing noise, and smelt as if there was grease in it. The process of pinching off the end of the cartridge was proposed to be substituted for biting off by the teeth. But still the Sepoy was not satisfied. In short, an undefined misgiving had taken possession of the minds of the native troops which it was found impossible to remove.

In the beginning of February a Sepoy informed one of the officers at Barrackpore that the men of four of the regiments stationed there had been made to believe that there was a design to compel them to give up their caste and to become Christians, and that in consequence they were determined to rise against their officers, and to plunder and burn down the bungalows at Barrackpore. On the 25th of that month the soldiers, on receiving the usual order to bite off the ends of their cartridges, refused to obey it. General Hearsay thus discovering, as he said, that 'we had been dwelling on a mine ready for explosion,' paraded the whole brigade, and addressed the men in their own language, assuring them that the Government had no wish to interfere with their religious convictions, and impressed upon them the absurdity of fancying that they were to be forced to become Christians. His explanations appeared to have removed their apprehensions, but on the day following the Sepoys of the 19th Regiment refused to receive the percussion caps served out to them, and at night they broke into the circular brick buildings called Bells, in which their arms were kept, and took possession of them. Colonel Mitchell, the commander, called out the artillery and cavalry, and

ordered the men to lay down their arms. They agreed to do so provided the guns and cavalry were withdrawn, and the commander accepted their submission on the terms which they had dictated.

The Government became alarmed at these signs of disaffection, and resolved to take prompt measures to prevent the further spread of this disloyal spirit. A body of British troops and artillery was at once despatched to Barrackpore, and the mutinous 19th was disbanded. A proclamation was issued by the Governor-General, warning the army against the malicious falsehoods which had been circulated among them, and emphatically disclaiming any intention on the part of the Government of interfering with their religion or their caste. But the erroneous impression had become too general and deep-rooted to be easily removed. 'Whatever may have been the willful fraud and guilt of those who concocted and first propagated the lies about cow's fat and pig's fat, bone-dust mixed with flour, and the flesh of pigs and cows thrown into wells for the purpose of destroying the caste of those who might drink the water, it is beyond question that ninety-nine at least out of every hundred Sepoys sincerely believed these tales, and suffered torments under the delusion. This being so, the operation of such terrors upon minds so ignorant and prejudiced as those of the Sepoys is abundantly sufficient to account for all the effects produced upon their conduct.' An attempt has been made to account for the mutiny by the dissatisfaction which was caused by the policy of Lord Dalhousie—in refusing to recognize, in the cases of Sattara, Nagpore, and Jhansi, the ceremony of adoption, when exercised by childless Hindoo princes, as conveying to the adopted son the right to succeed without the sanction of the British Government, and in compelling landholders long exempt to pay taxes—and by the discontent of the powerful Talookdars of Oude on account of the restraint put upon their marauding operations on the annexation

of that kingdom. But officials both civil and military, of the highest authority and intimately acquainted with the state of India, utterly repudiate this theory, and bear explicit testimony to the wide prevalence and the powerful effect of the belief entertained by the Sepoys that Lord Canning and General Anson, both newly arrived, had been commanded by the Queen, and had pledged themselves to her, to make all the natives of India Christians.

'As regards the mutiny,' says Sir John Lawrence, 'I am fully convinced, not only that it arose in the native army, but that it did not extend to the people of the country, to any great extent, except where they were relatives and connections of the native soldiers.'

Again, with regard to the assertion that there was a previous understanding between the Sepoys who mutinied at Meerut and the King of Delhi and his family, Sir John says—

'My own impression is that neither the king nor any of his family had really anything to do with the mutiny in 1857 in the first instance, though the latter, as did many Mahometans, went in with great zeal against us after the mutiny broke out. I do not even think that the family had much influence with the mutineers during any period of the war, not even during the siege of Delhi, though the king's name was a tower of strength in various ways for a long period.'

An extraordinary manifesto was issued at Cawnpore by the Nana on the 7th of July, 1857, proclaiming how, as the result of a conspiracy between the Governor-General and his council, Queen Victoria and the English merchants of Calcutta, 35,000 Europeans had been despatched to Hindostan to make all the natives Christians, but had got on their way no further than Egypt, where they had been destroyed by the Pasha, so that not even a single European escaped. But there is not in this document the most distant hint at any other grievance or ground of quarrel with the Government than this alleged intention of compulsory and wholesale conversion.

Mr. Money, the magistrate and collector at Behar, who saw much of the mutiny as

it showed itself in that province, and gave much consideration to its causes, says in his report to the Commissioner of Patna, 11th March, 1858:—

'It has been much the fashion amongst a certain class of English in Calcutta and at home to attribute the mutiny of 1857 in part to misrule of the Government, to our civil institutions, and the mode in which they are said to press heavily upon the people. I have taken pains to ascertain whether any foundation, however slight, existed for this assertion. As far as my own experience goes, it is entirely gratuitous. No Sepoy in this district has ever excused his defection on any one of these pleas. Villagers and Zemindars have questioned the Sepoys as to the reasons for their mutiny. Their answers have been many and various—"Their religion was in danger;" "It was intended to blow them away from guns;" "Many of them had been hanged without cause, and these feared a like fate;" "Their pay was in arrears." These and similar ones were the grounds assigned, but among his many lies the Sepoy never was fool enough to bring forward the plea of oppressive institutions and hardship to the people. The Ryot, from his own knowledge, would have laughed in his face had he done so. It remains with those who wish to make capital out of the events of the last year to explain the mutiny upon grounds untouched by even the leaders of that mutiny. I look upon the absence of any such argument on the part of the mutineers themselves as the strongest proof that the people do not feel our institutions oppressive. Had there been a chance of a response in the great heart of the nation the cry would have been an excellent one to appeal to the country with, and men like the Nana would not have neglected the chance. But he knew such a cry would have fallen flat and awakened no echo. It may excite the ignorant at a London public meeting, but the Indian prince and the Indian Ryot heed it not.

'I cannot understand why the Sepoy should not be allowed to know his own motives and reasons. He has proclaimed them loudly enough and in various ways, so that those who run may read. When upon throwing off his allegiance he releases gaols, plunders treasuries, and indulges in rape and rapine, he displays the vices of all pampered soldiery, and shows his object to be unbridled license. When, whether mutinying at Chittagong or in the Punjab, he turns alike his steps to Delhi, he betrays the deep strength of the old traditional feeling still alive within him; his struggles in Oude disclose a misguided patriotism; his murdered officers silently bear witness to the instinctive hatred of race; and when, as I have

seen, a young lad with tears in his eyes confesses to having believed his religion in danger, it is plain how large a part of the history of 1857 religious fanaticism has to answer for. But the want of arrangement, the absence of simultaneous action, prove that there is no one broad common ground of complaint.'

Another mysterious incident occurred at this time which caused a good deal of uneasiness, but was wholly inexplicable. At the end of February an officer reported to the superintendent of the Saugor district that 'a chówkedar (policeman) comes to the head police of a village, brings him six chupatties (cakes, two inches in diameter, of unleavened atta or Indian-corn bread, the ordinary bread of the Sepoys), and says to him, "You will make six others, and pass them on to the next village, and tell the headman there to do the same." The policeman obeys, accepts the cakes, makes six others, and passes them on to the headman of the next village with the same message. No one knows whence they come or what they mean; but in an incredibly small space of time the mysterious chupatties made the round of the whole of the North-west Provinces.' There can be little doubt that the signal thus given was intended to warn the people that something portentous was about to happen, for which they should hold themselves in preparation.

On the 9th of May the 3rd Native Light Cavalry at Meerut, which is 38 miles distant from Delhi, when ordered to tear off the ends of their cartridges, which were the same as those they had been using previously, instead of biting them, refused to touch them. Eighty-four of the recusants were apprehended, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. After the sentence had been pronounced on parade in presence of the whole force there, they were put in irons—a step which excited deep indignation among their comrades. The prisoners were then marched off to the gaol, and placed under a guard of Sepoys. It was a strange oversight that no precautions were taken to prevent an outbreak on the part of

their comrades, who were known to sympathize with them; and there was a strong body of British troops—horse, foot, and artillery—stationed at Meerut, who could without difficulty have suppressed any attempt at mutiny. All remained quiet until the morning of Sunday, the 10th, when the 60th Rifles were assembling for church parade. It appears that a report had been spread among the Sepoys that the European troops were to fall suddenly on the native regiments to disarm them and put them all in chains, and it has been conjectured that when the Rifles were assembling the Sepoys believed that their dreaded hour had come. The 3rd Cavalry, to which the prisoners belonged, were in a special state of excitement, and while the British soldiers were preparing themselves for church parade, the native troopers galloped to the gaol, which, by an unpardonable oversight, was protected only by a guard drawn from the 20th Sepoy Regiment. As the mutineers confidently expected, the guard at once made common cause with them, and assisted them in liberating the prisoners. This was speedily effected, and the eighty-four were mounted behind their comrades and conveyed back to the lines. It is noteworthy, as indicating the real nature of this outbreak, that the other prisoners in the gaol were not released, the buildings were not fired, and the gaoler and his family were left unmolested.* Colonel Finnis, a highly popular officer, who commanded the 11th, had the utmost confidence in the loyalty of his men, and rode down to the Sepoy lines to remonstrate with them. While he was addressing them he was shot by a soldier of the 20th Regiment, and he fell from his horse. A volley was then poured into him. He died 'riddled with bullets.'

The 11th regiment, having committed this foul crime, straightway fraternized with the mutineers of the 20th, and perpetrated

* The convicts in the old gaol, however, were released by another band of Sepoys about 300 or 400 in number.



E. P. Brandard.

in Ramages

other deeds of shocking violence. They set fire to the houses of the Europeans, and put to death every man, woman, and child that fell into their hands. All these atrocities were perpetrated in the immediate vicinity of a body of British troops, who, if properly directed, could have annihilated the mutineers; but owing to the unpardonable indecision and inactivity of General Hewitt, the commander at the station, the prompt and vigorous measures which the emergency required were not taken. The troops were, however, at length brought out, and poured upon the mutineers a fire of grape and musketry which compelled them to retire in confusion. In the course of the night they set fire to their cantonments and left the station. There is good reason to believe that if they had been vigorously pursued their flight would have been arrested, and the revolt in this important district might have been suppressed at the outset. It appears that the Meerut mutineers had made no previous arrangements as to the course which they should now follow, as was proved by the fact that they hesitated whether they should march to Delhi or Bareilly. 'I heard the story,' says Sir John Lawrence, 'from Mohun Lal, and it was confirmed by all which I gathered subsequently in Delhi. Mohun Lal was in Delhi when the Sepoys first entered it, and he told me that they talked openly on the subject. The story was something to this effect—A Sepoy said, "Why do you hesitate where to go? Delhi has a fortress, an arsenal, a treasury, the king, and there are no European soldiers. That is the place to make a stand."'

Delhi is the most celebrated city of Hindostan, and the most interesting both to the Moslem and the Hindoo. It possesses numerous monuments of the various dynasties who, for many centuries, had swayed the sceptre in India. Though greatly fallen from its ancient splendour, the city still contains many magnificent buildings, and was the seat of Oriental luxury and sensuality. Here resided in the

palace of his ancestors, on a pension of 80,000 rupees a month paid by the British Government, Bahadour Shah, the representative of the Mogul dynasty, which once had reigned supreme over the whole peninsula. Though but the shadow of imperial authority remained to him, Hindoo and Mussulman alike still regarded him as the real source of honour and title, and treated him with the deepest reverence. The royal family, consisting of many hundreds—idle, dissolute, shameless, too proud or too effeminate for military service—lived in entire dependence on the king's pension, and indulged in all kinds of vile and degrading amusements. The population, consisting of 152,000 souls, was almost equally divided between Mahometans and Hindoos, but the former reigned supreme in this superstitious and licentious capital. Here was their most sacred mosque—their grand Moollah—and their most holy dervishes. The city, indeed, was crowded with the ascetics, the devotees, and the lowest rabble of superstitious vagabonds from all India. Here too, unfortunately, was the chief arsenal of the Indian artillery, which amounted to 640 heavy guns with 480 of field artillery, and corresponding ammunition. 'Such was the city, at once the focus of Moslem fanaticism and the centre of British defence, which, in such a temperament of the Bengal army, was left on May 10th without the protection of a single British soldier.'

At Delhi there were stationed three regiments of Native Infantry, the 28th, 54th, and 74th, and a battery of Native Artillery, but not a single company of European soldiers. The Meerut mutineers reached that city on the morning of the 11th. Crossing the Jumna by the bridge of boats, they entered the Calcutta gate without opposition. The Delhi Sepoys at once fraternized with them, and looked on while their officers were shot down by the rebels. In this state of affairs all the civilians who could leave were recommended by Brigadier Graves to do so at once. Many of the ladies, fortunately, obtained

conveyances and got away in safety, some to Kurnaul and others to Meerut. But the work of murder went rapidly on in Delhi, and all the Europeans that fell into the hands of the savage miscreants, who were now undisputed masters of the city, were at once put to death. The most frightful atrocities were perpetrated on them, without distinction of age or sex. Children were tossed on their bayonets before the eyes of their agonized mothers, and ladies were dragged naked through the streets, exposed to the vilest indignities at the bazaar, and then cut to pieces. Many of the Europeans fled for protection to the palace, or were taken there by force, and every one of them was put to death in the presence, or with the knowledge and approval, of the aged king and his sons, the eldest of whom was appointed commander-in-chief of the rebels. Lieutenant Willoughby, the commissary of ordnance, had charge of the small-arms magazine of the city, assisted by Lieutenants Forrest and Raynor, with a few British gunners. The native troops who formed the garrison fled in a body and went over to the enemy, but nine resolute Englishmen defended the place to the last extremity till their artillery ammunition was exhausted; then, finding that the mutineers were escalading the walls by means of ladders supplied from the palace, Lieutenant Willoughby gallantly blew up the magazine, containing two millions and a half rounds of small ammunition. Some 500 of the rebels perished in the explosion. Those of the defenders who made their escape from beneath the ruins, retreated through the sally-port on the river side. Unhappily the heroic young commander was so severely wounded that he did not long survive the gallant exploit, but Lieutenants Forrest and Raynor escaped without serious injuries.

There was greater cause for apprehension that disturbances would break out in the newly annexed province of Oude than in any other part of our Indian dominions. The ex-king and his court had never ceased to intrigue against the British authority;

and the Talookdars who had suffered from the measures of our Government were quite ready to take up arms if they saw any prospect of success, and they had under their control a large body of the warlike yeomen and peasantry of the province. Our native regiments had been largely recruited from Oude; and the 19th, which was disbanded in March for disobedience to orders, was composed of men from that province, and no doubt on their return home must have contributed to spread disaffection among their kinsmen and friends. There is also every reason to believe that the intrigues of Dundoo Pont, better known as Nana Sahib, had not been without effect in exciting the Sepoys to turn their arms against their masters. On the 2nd of May the 7th Regiment of Oude Irregulars stationed at Moosabagh, about seven miles from Lucknow, who had probably been wrought upon by emissaries from that city and by some of the disbanded men of the 19th, broke out into open mutiny against the use of the suspected cartridges. No soothing explanations from their officers could remove the distrust which had taken hold of their minds; and even Sir Henry Lawrence himself, when he rode out with his staff to their lines, found them 'as obstinate as possible with regard to the cartridges.' It was discovered that they had previously written a letter to the men of the 48th, urging them to rise for their religion. From a state of sullenness and obstinacy they quickly passed into one of feverish excitement and defiance, and talked openly of murdering their officers. In this critical state of affairs prompt and decisive measures were necessary, and Sir Henry resolved at once to disarm the regiment. It was drawn up on parade, with the European cavalry and guns stationed on their front and on their flank. The mutineers were so alarmed when they saw the guns pointed at them, believing that the battery was about to open fire upon them, that a large number threw down their arms and fled. While the

7th Light Cavalry went in pursuit of the fugitives, Sir Henry rode up to the remainder and ordered them to lay down their arms and strip off their accoutrements. They obeyed without hesitation. Their comrades who had fled were overtaken and brought back by the cavalry, some as prisoners, others of their own accord, and they too were disarmed. The brigade returned that same night to Lucknow with all the arms of the 7th, and escorting the men who had so lately borne them. Fifty of the ringleaders were seized and confined, and a Court of Inquiry was held, but little or nothing was elicited to throw light on the causes of the outbreak in the regiment. After much communing with others and with himself, Sir Henry came to the conclusion that 'the strongest feeling that held possession of the Sepoy's mind was a great fear, that this fear had long been growing upon him, and that it had only culminated in his belief in the story of the greased cartridges.'

It was fortunate for the preservation of our Indian empire at this momentous crisis that the reins of Government were in the hands of a Viceroy possessed of Lord Canning's ability, courage, and resolution. The resources at his command were quite inadequate to cope with the tremendous danger which he had to encounter; but he set himself at once to summon assistance from every possible quarter. The successful termination of the war with Persia at this time placed within reach the troops which had done good service in bringing the Shah to terms. The expedition was returning to Bombay, from which it had gone forth, and intimation was at once sent that on the arrival of the troops there they should be despatched with the utmost speed to the aid of the Governor-General. It was not less matter for thankfulness that a large body of troops were now on their way to China to chastise the Chinese Government for their arrogance and insolence; and despatches were at once sent to Galle, by Lord Canning, for the

Earl of Elgin and General Ashburnham, the civil and military chiefs of the expedition, to be delivered to them on their arrival at that place, urging them to turn aside from their original destination for another and far more necessitous purpose. 'You may wait,' he said, 'but Bengal with its stretch of 750 miles from Barrackpore to Agra, guarded by nothing but the 10th Queen's, cannot wait if the flame should spread. And who shall say that it will not? No precaution against such a contingency can be too great.' The steamer which carried to Galle the bearer of these despatches, along with a private letter to Lord Elgin, bore also letters from the Governor-General to the Chairman of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control, calling upon them to send out immediately reinforcements from England.

It was a happy incident that the 84th Regiment, which had been summoned from Pegu in March, was still in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Another British regiment, the 35th, was stationed partly at Rangoon, partly at Moulmein, and a steamer was despatched to bring both detachments with all speed to Calcutta. At the same time a telegram was sent to Madras, ordering the 43rd Foot and the Madras Fusiliers to be made ready for immediate embarkation; and an officer was sent on board the mail steamer to Ceylon, with an urgent request to the Governor to forward to Calcutta all the European troops he could spare. The Punjaub, which had been lately conquered from the Sikhs, had a considerable force stationed in it; and a message was despatched to Mr. Colvin, the commissioner at Agra, an able and energetic official, saying, 'Send word as quickly as possible to Sir John Lawrence that he is to send down such of the Punjaub regiments and European regiments as he can safely spare. Every exertion must be made to regain Delhi. Every hour is of importance. General Hewitt has been ordered to press this on the Commander-in-Chief.' It was believed

that the Sikhs themselves would be willing to follow their British officers to the siege and pillage of Delhi, and it was therefore added, 'If you find it necessary you may apply in the Governor-General's name to the Rajah of Pateala and the Rajah of Jheend for troops.' In order that no time might be lost in concentrating the forces already at his disposal, Lord Canning caused 'every available steamer to be taken up for the conveyance of troops to the Upper Provinces, and the quicker but more limited means of locomotion afforded by wheeled carriages was resorted to for the conveyance of small detachments into the interior.' And that no means, either moral or physical, might be left untried to pacify the minds of the terror-stricken Sepoys, whom fear had driven almost to madness, the Governor-General issued an authoritative declaration, to be disseminated in every town, village, bazaar, and serai, solemnly denying the treacherous designs imputed to the British authorities, and calling upon 'all men to refuse their belief to the seditious lies of designing traitors, who were leading good men to their ruin.'

The Governor-General himself maintained a stout heart and a hopeful aspect, while day by day tidings of new disasters were pouring in upon him. But it must be said sorrowfully, as Sir John Kaye remarks, that 'Lord Canning felt bitterly that, with some few honourable exceptions, the English officers at the Presidency were not giving him the moral support which in such a crisis would have been so grateful and refreshing to him, and for which he had a right to look. It is impossible to describe his mortification. Where he had hoped to see strength, he saw only weakness. Men whom he thought to see sustaining and encouraging others by their own resolute bearing and their cheerfulness of speech, went about from place to place infecting their friends with their own despondency, and chilling the hearts which they should have warmed by their example. They would have faced death for their country's

good with the courage of heroes and the constancy of martyrs; but strong as they would have been in deeds they were weak in words, and they went about as prophets of evil giving free utterance to all their gloomiest anticipations, and thus spreading through all the strata of English society at the capital the alarm which a more confident demeanour in the upper places might have arrested.' The men who thus failed to sustain the Governor-General in this hour of utmost need were the very men who complained most loudly of his clemency when the rebellion was suppressed. Their conduct both at the one period and the other presented a marked contrast to that of Lords Harris and Elphinstone, the Governors of Madras and Bombay, the brothers Sir John and Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Lieutenant-Governor Colvin, and the other noble-minded resolute men who were not in safety in Calcutta, but had to confront the dangers that threatened the empire at their highest tide, and whose exertions at this crisis are worthy of the utmost commendation.

About the middle of June the news of the Indian Mutiny burst upon the home Government. The same night (11th July) on which the tidings of the death of General Anson arrived Lord Palmerston had an interview with Sir Colin Campbell, whose distinguished military skill and experience were at last recognized by the War Office, and who was at once pointed out by general acclaim as the fittest person to take the command in India at this emergency. That gallant soldier, with his characteristic promptitude, instantly accepted the post offered him, and in less than twenty-four hours he was on his way to the seat of rebellion. Next day the House of Commons heard the story from Lord Palmerston with a thrill of admiration which was the forerunner of what the whole country felt. 'Upon being asked,' said the Premier, 'when he would be able to start, the gallant officer, with his ordinary promptitude, replied "Tomorrow;" and accordingly, the offer having

been made on Saturday, he was off by the train next evening.*[#]

On the 1st of July a vessel sailed from our shores with a detachment of troops for India, and she was followed by others in continuous succession. But the Queen was of opinion that the Ministry seemed to under-estimate the danger, or at least not to be making military exertions adequate to the emergency, and she repeatedly urged upon them with great earnestness the necessity of taking more energetic measures to support our heroic countrymen, who were contending against fearful odds for the preservation of our Indian empire. There is certainly reason to suspect that the Government were at first by no means fully alive to the extent of the danger; but when mail after mail brought home tidings how widespread the insurrection had become, and what horrible atrocities the rebel Sepoys had perpetrated, the whole country as well as the Legislature and the Ministry was thoroughly roused, and no efforts were spared to send out adequate reinforcements, so that by the end of September more than ninety ships had left for India with upwards of 34,000 troops on board. The rapidity and vigour with which these measures were carried out had a wonderful effect in re-establishing on the Continent the prestige of Britain, which had been somewhat impaired by our Crimean blunders and our Indian difficulties. Lord Palmerston saw clearly that not only our Indian empire, but our place among the nations, was at stake during this crisis. For this reason he steadily declined both the proposals of Prussian officers who individually volunteered their service, and the offer made by the friendly Government of Belgium of two Belgian regiments to be taken bodily into our pay. 'The more I think of it,' he

wrote to Lord Clarendon (29th September), 'the more I feel it is necessary for our standing and reputation in the world that we should put down this mutiny and restore order by our own means, and I am perfectly certain that we can do it and that we shall do it.'

The Commander-in-Chief in India at this juncture was General Anson, who shortly before the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut had gone to Simlah to avoid the extreme heat of the plains. Tidings of the revolt were brought to him by express, and he hastened down to Umballah, where he collected all the European troops within reach. Lord Canning considered it a matter of vast importance that Delhi should be promptly recaptured. But none of the military departments were prepared to move. As General Barnard wrote, 'Now that the European regiments are collected, they are without tents, without ammunition; the men have not twenty rounds a piece. Two troops of horse artillery, twelve guns, but no reserve ammunition, and their waggons at Loodianah, seven days off. Commissariat without sufficient transport at hand. This is the boasted Indian army, and this is the force with which the civilians would have us to go to Delhi.' But Lord Canning was determined that to Delhi they should go, notwithstanding all the difficulties suggested by adjutants-general, quartermasters-general, and commissaries-general; and his earnest instructions that no time should be lost in attacking the rebels in their stronghold were enforced by the energetic, almost indignant exhortations of Sir John Lawrence, who had no sympathy with the dilatory movements of the military departments. While their chiefs were protesting their inability to move the army, civilians at Umballah were putting forth their strength for the attainment of that object, and with good effect. They collected carts, cattle, coolies, and brought together large supplies of grain for the army. They rendered a still more important service at this juncture by inducing the chiefs of the 'Protected Sikh

* This anecdote furnished the hint to John Leech for a tableau entitled 'Every inch a soldier,' representing on the one side Pam (Boots at the British Lion) knocking at a door and saying, 'Here's your hot water, sir.' On the other side is Sir Colin fully dressed and equipped, his sword at his side, and a handbag labelled 'India' ready to be taken up. He replies 'All right; I've been ready a long time.'

States' to stand true to the British alliance, and to hold the important station of Kurnaul, which kept open the communications between Umballah and Meerut.

General Anson left Umballah with the last of the European regiments on the 25th of May, and two days later he died of cholera at Kurnaul. His death was deeply regretted, for he was an able and skilful officer, and enjoyed the esteem and confidence of all who knew him. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Barnard, who resolutely carried out the instructions of the Governor-General. He was joined (June 7th) at Alipore by a portion of the Meerut brigade under Brigadier Wilson, who had twice been attacked on their march by strong bodies of the rebels sent out from Delhi to intercept them, but whom they had defeated with great slaughter and the loss of five guns and large stores of ammunition.

On the 8th of June General Barnard advanced from Alipore, which is one march from Delhi. He found the enemy strongly posted—infantry and cavalry, with thirty guns—about six miles from Delhi, at a place called Budlee-ka-Serai, where clusters of old houses and walled gardens supplied positions capable of being vigorously defended. The strength of the mutineers lay in their artillery, which was well served and proved of heavier metal than our own. But they could not stand the charge of the British infantry, though many of the artillerymen fought with the courage of desperation, and stood to be bayoneted at their guns. The appearance of the cavalry and horse artillery under Hope Grant in their rear completed their discomfiture, and they fled in great disorder, abandoning all the guns and stores and baggage which they had brought out of Delhi. They were vigorously pursued by the victorious British troops, and driven within the walls of the city. The result of this day's fighting was the loss to the rebels of their shelter outside the walls, while the assailants obtained an excellent base for the conduct of their future opera-

tions and a commanding military position. The loss of the rebels was computed at 350 men and 26 guns. The British had 4 officers and 47 privates killed, and 134 were missing. Colonel Chester, adjutant-general of the army, a brave and experienced officer, was mortally wounded. 'His loss thus early in the campaign was a grave and lamentable misfortune.' This first victory before Delhi, in the circumstances of the country, was of inestimable value in a moral no less than in a military sense.

The sacred city of Benares, on the Ganges, containing about 200,000 inhabitants, is the chief seat of the Brahminical superstition. There are more than a thousand Hindoo temples within the city, and the most costly festivals of all India are celebrated there. Every Hindoo hopes to accomplish one pilgrimage at least to the holy city, and to die there is to secure a certainty of eternal bliss. Benares was always the most turbulent city in India, and was at this time the more dangerous from the severity with which the high price of corn pressed upon the poorer classes. The military force stationed there consisted of half a company of European artillery and three native regiments, amounting to about 2000 men, watched by 30 British gunners. The force was commanded by Brigadier George Ponsonby, an officer of brilliant reputation. Mr. Henry Carr Tucker was the Commissioner, Mr. Frederick Gubbins the Judge, and Mr. Lord the Magistrate of Benares—all men of great ability, discretion, and experience. The courage, calmness, and apparent freedom from anxiety with which they continued to discharge their respective duties produced a profound impression on the population of the city, as well as on the native troops, and kept both quiet. Even when detachments of European troops came up from Calcutta they were not detained at Benares, but were despatched with the utmost expedition to Cawnpore, where they were more urgently needed.

If the Sepoys in Benares had been let alone there seems great probability that they would not have joined the mutineers;

but some of the most disreputable members of the royal family of Delhi had taken up their residence in Benares, and were doing all in their power to foment a revolt. In the month of June news reached the city that the Sepoy regiment at Azimgurh, sixty miles off, had revolted and seized the treasure, amounting to seven lacs of rupees, which was on its way to Benares. But, strange to say, the mutineers had behaved with romantic courtesy to their officers—had formed a square round them, and said that they not only would not touch but would protect them. They sought out and brought them their carriages, and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station. The news of this revolt caused great excitement among the native troops in Benares, and it seemed evident to the British authorities in the city that tranquillity could no longer be maintained. Colonel Neill arrived at this critical moment, and a detachment of Madras Fusiliers and of the 10th Foot, amounting to 250 men, were already in the city. It was determined that the Sepoys should be disarmed at once. The work was hastily undertaken and carried out, and after a portion of the 37th Regiment had laid down their arms they were seized with a sudden panic, and cried out that they were betrayed—that the Europeans were coming to shoot them down when they were disarmed. They rushed to their arms and loaded them, and fired upon both their own officers and the Europeans who were present. The British infantry on this opened fire upon the mutineers, and the artillery poured upon them showers of grape, which made them throw down their arms and accoutrements and take to flight.

The detachment of Irregular Cavalry and the regiment of Sikhs were next brought upon parade. The former were ripe for revolt, and their commander, Captain Guest, had already been killed by a Sepoy of the 37th. Brigade-Major Dodgson, who was ordered to take his place, was fired at by one trooper, and another attempted to cut him down. But the Sikhs seemed at first

to hesitate, and though they looked doubtful and suspicious they were apparently at a loss what course to pursue. There was no time, however, to reason with them, or to explain the object in view, for one of them at this critical moment fired upon their commanding officer, Colonel Gordon. An officer of the Madras Artillery called out that the Sikh regiment had mutinied, and they were shouting and yelling frantically and firing in all directions. Captain Oipherts, who commanded the artillery, poured a shower of grape into the regiment. They twice made a desperate rush upon the guns, but were driven back by the deadly discharge of the field-pieces, and fled in confusion from the parade-ground, accompanied by the mutineers of the Irregular Cavalry. The Benares Commissioner said, 'The general opinion seems to be that the affair was much mismanaged;' and this opinion was shared by Lord Canning, who wrote to the President of the Indian Board that the disarming 'was done hurriedly and not judiciously.' 'A portion of a regiment of Sikhs,' he added, 'was drawn into resistance, who, if they had been properly dealt with, would, I fully believe, have remained faithful.' It seems agreed on all hands that the suddenness of the resolution to disarm the Sepoys and the haste of its execution, was a mistake. But, as Sir John Kaye remarks, 'Whilst we know the worst that actually happened, we do not know the something worse that might have resulted from the postponement of the disarming parade.'

It is a curious and interesting circumstance that while the contest was going on in the lines of the native troops, and the Sikhs there were in open mutiny, the Government treasure, amounting to six lacs of rupees, was faithfully guarded by about seventy Sikh soldiers, who fired on the mutineers when they approached them, and delivered up the money safe to a body of European troops commissioned to receive and deposit it in the barracks. As the rebellion continued to spread in all directions it was considered necessary, as a measure of pre-

caution, to disband a great number of the native regiments even where no open symptoms of disaffection had appeared. In various places this disarmament of the Sepoys was carried out with equal prudence and firmness, and was in consequence attended with complete success; but in others, sometimes from the incapacity of the commanding officer, sometimes from the want of an adequate European force to support his authority, the affair was managed badly, and the mutineers, after murdering their officers, made their escape, carrying with them their arms, and in some instances the public treasure also.

Allahabad lies higher up the river than Benares, at the very point of junction of the Jumna with the Ganges. These junctions, wherever they occur, are regarded by the bathing pilgrims of Hindostan as invested with peculiar sanctity, and Allahabad is reckoned the most holy of all. The Fort, which towers above the town, 'massive and sublime with the strength of many ages,' in solid masonry, stands in an impregnable position on the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the rivers, a quarter of a mile from the station, and was garrisoned by the Sikhs. At the beginning of May the force posted at this place consisted of a single Sepoy regiment—the 6th—under the command of Colonel Simpson, but it was shortly after joined by a detachment of the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs and by two troops of Oude Irregular Horse. Sixty European invalids were also brought on from Chunar. The 6th Regiment was regarded not only by their own officers, but by the whole body of Europeans, as thoroughly loyal and trustworthy. But Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Lawrence both had misgivings on the subject; and the former had warned Lord Canning that it was at least possible there might be an outbreak at Allahabad, and that measures should be taken for the greater security of that important fortress. The civil officers in the city also saw everywhere grounds of suspicion and causes of

alarm. In this state of uncertainty Colonel Simpson admitted the wives and children of the Europeans into the Fort, but the non-military men were enrolled into a volunteer guard to protect the city and station.

The Sepoys of the 6th, however, not only remained quiet, but made loud professions of loyalty, and even demanded to be led against the rebels of Delhi. News of their offer was at once telegraphed to the Governor-General, who promptly conveyed to them the thanks of the Government. It soon appeared, however, that they were as false and treacherous as the other native regiments, and only waited for an opportunity to betray their trust and murder their officers. On the 6th of June the regiment was assembled on parade, the thanks of the Governor-General were read, the Commissioner who was present addressed them in their own language, praising them for their loyalty, and they responded with loud cheers to the commendation bestowed on them. The officers then proceeded to their mess, which was very fully attended, a number of young cadets—mere boys—who had recently arrived from England, having been ordered to do duty with the 6th. Suddenly, about nine o'clock, they were startled by volleys of musketry heard at the station and the sound of the alarm bugle. Hastening to the parade the officers found that the regiment, in whose loyalty they had placed such implicit confidence, had revolted. The expostulation of the colonel was in vain. Everywhere on the parade-ground the Sepoys were shooting down their officers; and Simpson, putting spurs to his horse, had to ride for his life, fired upon in all directions. A musket-ball took effect upon his charger, which, however, had sufficient strength to land him safely within the walls of the Fort before it fell dead. Others, however, were less fortunate. Four of the officers were shot down on parade, and other two killed elsewhere. The brutal soldiery fell also upon the eight boy ensigns as they were leaving the mess-house, and murdered them in cold blood—

an act of savage butchery which excited the deepest horror throughout all India. Out of seventeen officers at the mess that evening only three escaped—two by swimming the Ganges; the Treasury was plundered; the gaol broken open and the prisoners released; the houses and warehouses of the Christian inhabitants were plundered; and the station was set on fire and destroyed. Fortunately the greater part of the Europeans were safely shut up in the Fort, but fifty lost their lives on that dreadful night.

The soldiers of the 6th Regiment before leaving the city seized the money in the Treasury, containing about thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and each Sepoy took as many rupees as he could carry—usually amounting to about £300 or £400 each. There is reason, however, to believe that these bloodthirsty plunderers in many cases met with their deserved punishment at the hands of their own countrymen, so that very few of them ever lived to spend their plunder at their native homes.

After the Sepoys had left the city, a Mahometan 'Moulvie' was proclaimed governor of the district in the name of the King of Delhi, whose rule was now restored. He was a weaver by caste, and by trade a schoolmaster. He had gained great influence in his own village by excessive pretensions to sanctity. He strove to stimulate the hatred of the people to the British rule, and foretold the speedy extermination of the Christians in India. All Europeans who fell into his hands were murdered. The atrocities perpetrated by the townspeople, and especially by the superannuated pensioners of the Company's native army, were of the most horrible character. 'Houses were plundered and burned,' says an eye-witness, 'their inmates chopped to pieces, some roasted, almost all cruelly tortured, the children tossed on bayonets' or cut to pieces before the eyes of their mothers, who were afterwards themselves murdered. The pensioners, though 'unable from their infirmities to fight, were not thereby precluded from inflicting tor-

tures of the most diabolical nature. They even took the lead in these villanies, and encouraged the Sepoys and others to follow their example.'

Retribution speedily overtook the perpetrators of these shocking crimes. Lieutenant-Colonel Neill arrived at Allahabad on the 11th of June at the head of a body of British troops and Sikhs, too late to rescue the sufferers, but not too late to punish their murderers. He found the fortress closely invested and menaced, but in a short space of time he cleared both the city and surrounding villages of the rebels. The fire of our artillery and the fierce attacks of the Sikhs so disheartened them that they fled out of the district, leaving behind them the guns which they had taken from us, and the prisoners whom they had spared. The British thus became masters of the city and the European station from which they had been driven only two weeks before; and a terrible retribution was dealt out to all who were in any way implicated in the revolt, and in those shocking crimes which had disgraced humanity.

Jhansi in Bundelcund, to the south of the river Jumna, had formerly been a native state, but it had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie; and the Ranee, the widow of the last ruler, had been unjustly and shabbily treated by the Government. She was a woman of masculine ability and energy, and cherished a vindictive feeling towards the British authorities. The people appear to have largely shared her antipathies; but the officials, both civil and military, were strangely blind to the symptoms of dissatisfaction which were showing themselves both among the natives and the Sepoys. Captain Skene, the Commissioner, on the 18th of May, wrote to Agra, 'I do not think that there is any cause for alarm about this neighbourhood. The troops here, I am glad to say, continue stanch, and express most unbounded abhorrence of the atrocities committed at Meerut and Delhi.' Even down to the 3rd of June his confidence was unabated, and he thought that the men were

'perfectly stanch.' Two days later the Sepoys who guarded the magazine and the treasure took possession of it, and refused to give it up. On this the non-combatants betook themselves, with their wives and families (fifty-five in number) to the Town Fort. But the other native troops still protested that they were loyal and true to their oath—for the purpose, as it turned out, of lulling the British authorities into a sense of false security. On the 6th June they suddenly rose and murdered the whole of their officers, except Lieutenant Taylor, who, though severely wounded, made his escape to the Fort. The mutineers then released the prisoners from the gaol, and in company with them and the police and custom-house officials hastened to attack the Fort.

The case of the small beleagured garrison was almost desperate, and in this extremity they entreated the interposition of the Ranee to procure for them a safe-conduct to leave their place of refuge. She took no notice of their application, but sent the three uncovenanted servants who brought it to the revolted Sepoys, by whom they were at once put to death. The garrison for four days defended themselves with indomitable courage against the attacks of the mutineers, who had received a supply of guns from the Ranee. But Captain Gordon, 'the life and soul of the garrison,' was killed, and his death produced a great despondency among the besieged. Provisions and ammunition were becoming scarce; they felt that further resistance was hopeless. The leaders of the rebels made oath with the most solemn adjurations that, if the garrison would lay down their arms, their lives would be spared. The terms were accepted, and the Fort was surrendered; but as soon as the inmates issued from the gate they were immediately seized and bound by the treacherous miscreants. In this state they were led through the town, and then at a place just beyond the city walls the whole body—men, women, and children—were put to death. Their

bodies were left for three days on the road, and then the men were cast into one gravel pit and the women into another, and lightly covered over with earth.

Mutinies of a similar kind broke out at Naagong, Hansi, Hissar, and other places—in all cases attended by shocking outrages and the murder of Europeans.

Agra, the capital of the North-West Provinces, could not escape the influence of the insurrection now eddying from Meerut far and wide. It was a place of great importance, and was celebrated for its possession of that wonder and delight of the East, the beautiful Taj-Mahal. Agra was the residence of Mr. John Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces—a civilian of great ability and experience, who, as private secretary of Lord Auckland, shared with him the responsibility of the Afghan war. Intelligence of the events at Meerut and Delhi reached Agra on the 12th and 13th of May, and Mr. Colvin with prompt decision assembled on parade the native troops, and appealed to their loyalty, in which, he said, he had full trust. The cheering of the Sepoys is said to have been louder and to have lasted longer than that of the British soldiers who were present, though there is too much reason to believe that even at that time they intended to revolt, and were merely biding their time. The city settled down into confidence and repose, and the affairs of the Government, as well as of the citizens, were carried on quite in the usual way.

On the 21st of May tidings reached Agra that the native troops at Aligurh, fifty miles distant, had suddenly mutinied, but had spared the lives of their officers, who, along with the other Europeans at the station, among whom was Lady Outram, were obliged to seek safety in flight. Some made their way to Agra, others to Meerut. The mutineers, as usual, plundered the Treasury (in which were seven lacs of rupees) and other Government offices; and they set fire to the buildings. The houses of the Europeans in the town were also gutted,

and every article they contained was carried off or destroyed. Similar scenes took place at Etawah, where Mr. Allan Hume—a son of the celebrated reforming economist—kept the rebels for some time at bay, and secured all the most important Government records; and at Mynpooree, where a gallant young lieutenant, named De Kantzow, by his undaunted courage and presence of mind, stemmed single-handed the tide of mutiny and saved the treasure.

When news of these events reached Agra there was great consternation among the European inhabitants, many of whom rushed wildly into the Fort with their furniture and provisions. Measures were immediately adopted by the civil and military officers to prepare a position which could be defended against the expected attacks of the rebels. Mr. Colvin, under the impression that fear was the principal cause of the mutiny, and in ignorance of what had happened elsewhere, issued on the 25th of May an ill-judged proclamation, offering pardon to all who would return to their allegiance; but it was cancelled as soon as known by the Governor-General. Matters soon came to a crisis at Agra. A detachment of Sepoys at Muttra, 35 miles distant, mutinied on the 30th of May, and seized the treasure there as it was about to be conveyed to Agra, killing one of the officers and wounding another. The Bhurt pore contingent of allied troops at Hodul also rose in arms, plundering and destroying European property after the example set them by the Sepoys. As the companies which had mutinied belonged to the Agra regiments there could be little doubt that the main bodies would follow their lead. It was necessary, therefore, to act with promptitude and decision; and on the morning of 31st May all the native regiments within the place were by good management disarmed, and they soon after left the town.

One source of anxiety was thus removed, but as day after day tidings reached the Lieutenant-Governor of the revolts of

Sepoys at the out-stations, and the risings of the contingents furnished by the native Rajahs, he saw the urgent necessity of making vigorous preparations for the defence of the place. The walls were repaired, the Fort was cleared out and put in order, and the whole European population were drilled and armed. But though immediate danger had been averted, Colvin's position was extremely critical. At this stage the greatest cause of apprehension arose out of the proximity of the Gwalior contingent, which, after the outbreak at Meerut, had been placed at his disposal by Scindia, the Maharajah of the protected native state of Gwalior. It was composed of seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, with four field-batteries of artillery, and a small siege-train, forming altogether a body of 8318 men. They were stationed at Gwalior, under the command of Brigadier Ramsay. Scindia himself, who was in his 23rd year, under the guidance of his sagacious Prime Minister, Dinkur Rao, was heartily attached to the British cause, but his men were the kindred of our Sepoys, 'allied by caste, by religion, by sympathy,' and the Maharajah distinctly warned Major Macpherson, the British political agent at his court, that they were not trustworthy. Ramsay and his officers, however, like their comrades of the regular army, placed implicit confidence in the fidelity of their men, and the Brigadier unfortunately resisted the proposal that the wives and children of the contingent officers should take up their abode in the Residency, on the ground that this movement would 'indicate a want of confidence in the fidelity of the troops.' It was soon fatally discovered how utterly misplaced was the confidence of their commander. On the evening of Sunday, the 14th of June, the Sepoys of the contingent suddenly mutinied and shot down their officers, who on the first alarm hastened to the lines. In their murderous fury they spared neither sex nor age. Altogether on that night were killed seven officers, and six sergeants and pensioners. Dr. Kirk,

superintending surgeon, and Mr. Coopland, chaplain, shared the same fate. A number of officers and several ladies and children, favoured by a moonless night, made their escape either to the Residency or to Scindia's palace. The Maharajah and his Minister confessed their inability to defend them, and sent them off in carriages and palanquins under the protection of his body-guard to the Chumbul, or over it to Agra.

There were several other native states in Central India whose rulers had entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British Government. The most powerful of these was the Maharajah Holkar. Indore, his capital, lies to the westward of his dominions, at a distance of 400 miles from Agra. It is the chief seat of the representative of the British Government in Central India. The acting representative of the Governor-General at Holkar's capital at this time was Colonel Durand, a remarkable man, of great ability, energy, and experience. When the mutiny broke out at Meerut he had with him a detachment of Holkar's contingent, 200 strong, for the protection of the Treasury and other public buildings, and he sent at once for 270 men belonging to a regiment of Bheels, who were stationed at Serdapur, and for a strong detachment of cavalry and infantry and two guns from Bhopal, another of the protected native states. He also obtained from Holkar a body of cavalry to form pickets on the roads. The command of the entire force devolved on Colonel Travers, a brave and excellent officer. About thirteen miles from Indore lay the British station of Mhow, commanded by Colonel Platt. Durand exerted himself to sever all connection between the Sepoys and the soldiers of the contingent, but his precautions were without effect. In all the stations within reach the native troops rose in arms. The contagion reached the Holkar contingent, and suddenly, on the morning of the 1st of July, the discharge of three guns in the Residency inclosure announced that the crisis

had come. The three companies of Holkar's troops and the gunners, followed at a distance by the rabble of the town eager for blood and for plunder, were assailing the Residency. They were repeatedly driven back by Colonel Travers, with the aid of a mere handful of men who were faithful to their trust. But the Bheels and the Bhopal contingent alike refused to charge the rebels, and there remained only about thirty persons to defend the Residency, while there were eight ladies and three children under their charge. The remnant of the Bhopal cavalry, who had remained passive and inactive, now sent a message that, as further defence was hopeless, they were about to consult their own safety, and offering as a last chance to carry with them the women and children. Durand, Travers, and all the officers were agreed that they had no alternative but to accept this offer, as the only means of saving the women and children. 'Finding,' wrote Durand, 'that the cavalry who were loyal, though disordered and out of control, would be off on their own score, I very unwillingly gave the order to retire; and mounting the ladies on the gun waggons, we made an orderly retreat, bringing off every European they had not killed during the first surprise, and covered our withdrawal with the Bheel corps and the cavalry of the Bhopal contingent. We retired unmolested in the face of superior masses, whose appetite for blood had been whetted by the murder of unarmed men, women, and children.'

Suspensions were entertained at the time that Holkar had favoured or connived at the insurrection of his contingent; but there is good reason to believe that they were wholly unfounded, and that full credit ought to be given to his own explicit statement on the subject. 'No one regrets more than I do,' he said, 'the heart-rending catastrophes which befel at Indore and Mhow. I have not, even in dream, ever deviated from the path of friendship and allegiance to the British Government.'

Meanwhile the Sepoys at Mhow, in con-

formity with the arrangements made with Holkar's contingent, broke out into revolt. They began, as usual, by firing the mess house; the other buildings in the cantonments were blazing through the darkness of night, and very soon the sound of firing was heard in the direction of the lines. So convinced was Colonel Platt of the fidelity of his men that he refused most decidedly to give his consent to any measures of precaution; and he was engaged in writing to Durand, 'All right, both cavalry and artillery very *khoosh* (happy) and willing' when the alarm was given. He instantly mounted his horse, and accompanied by Adjutant Fagan, rode for the lines. He was in the act of appealing to his men when a volley from the 23rd, in whose fidelity he placed such implicit confidence, was fired at him, and both he and the Adjutant fell from their horses riddled with balls. Major Harris also, of the 1st Cavalry, was shot down by his troopers. Captain Hungerford of the artillery came up with his guns at this juncture, but could not see any enemy in the darkness. He opened upon the lines, however, and instantly the rebels streamed out on the road to Indore in a state of panic and bewilderment, leaving Hungerford to take possession of the station, where for a time he administered, with great ability and energy, both the civil and military affairs.

Meanwhile a mutiny had broken out at Neemuch, where there were no European troops, and it was fully believed that the rebels were about to march down upon Agra, but as it was 300 miles distant there was time allowed to make preparations for their reception. On the 4th of July the Kota contingent, quartered in the cantonments, and believed to be stanch, mutinied and went to join the Sepoys, who were known to be on their way from Neemuch. Brigadier Polwhele, who commanded the troops at Agra, had been advised to disarm the contingent, but he doubted and hesitated until the question was decided for him. On the 5th information was received that

the rebels were close at hand. The Brigadier was earnestly recommended by the Engineer officers to go out and meet the advancing enemy, but he obstinately refused to follow their advice. Some hours later, however, he changed his mind and resolved to move out the troops; but by this time the rebels—consisting of 4000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, with eleven guns—many of them among our best native troops, were in sight, and had occupied the very position our men should have held. The British force consisted of 816 men, including a battery of artillery, fifty-five mounted militia, and fifty officers and civilians who had taken refuge in Agra. The Brigadier resolved in the first instance to trust to his guns, and ordered the infantry to lie down while a sort of duel took place between the enemy's artillery and our own; but the position of the rebels was too strong for us to do them any serious injury. Captain D'Oyly, an excellent officer, who commanded our battery, was mortally wounded, and a number of his men and horses were killed. He had repeatedly sent a message to Polwhele, informing him that his ammunition was running low, and urging him to attack the village with his infantry; but it was not until the cannonading had continued for two hours, and our ammunition was exhausted, that Colonel Riddell, who commanded the infantry, received orders to advance. After an obstinate resistance they carried the village in which the rebels were posted, and spiked one of the enemy's guns. If our artillery could have been brought into play at this critical moment the battle would have been gained, for the enemy had limbered up their guns for flight. But unfortunately our ammunition was exhausted, partly in consequence of its profuse expenditure at the outset, partly owing to the explosion of two of our tumbrils during the engagement. Nothing remained therefore but to retreat with all possible expedition, for the enemy, attributing the silence of our guns to the right cause, began to make a strong demonstration

with all three arms. A portion of their cavalry, some hundreds strong, advanced to capture our guns. The mounted volunteers, 'with an audacity almost sublime,' charged the dense mass, and though they lost a third of their numbers they arrested the enemy's advance. A volley from Her Majesty's 3rd, under Colonel Riddell, who covered the guns, threw the rebel horsemen into confusion, and checked their return. Fortunately the mutineers had also run short of ammunition, for in their last round they had to fire copper coins. Our men retreated in the most perfect order, and with very little loss. Of the whole force 45 were killed and 108 were wounded. Captain D'Oyly died the second day after in the Fort. 'Put a stone upon my grave,' he said, 'and write that I died fighting my guns.' The battle was lost entirely through mismanagement. The old Brigadier was an officer of conspicuous bravery, but he committed two grievous errors. He neglected to order the reserve ammunition, which was ready packed, to be brought with our force or to be sent after it, and he refused to bring the infantry into action until our artillery had ceased to have the means of supporting them.

As our troops passed through the cantonment on their way back to the Fort they saw that the work of incendiarism and plunder had already begun. The rabble of Agra and the surrounding villages had commenced their congenial work, and from the ramparts in the evening our people beheld the whole station, churches, colleges, barracks, and houses in one blaze of flame. The Neemuch rebels, however, were not inclined to try conclusions again with our troops. After a hasty meal they set off that very night on the road to Delhi, which they reached on the 8th of July.

During the two days following the battle of Sassiah disorder, robbery, and murder were rampant in the city. Twenty-two Europeans and Eurasians,* who had delayed until it was too late to seek refuge in the

* The offspring of a European and an Asiatic parent.

Fort, were slaughtered. The houses of the British people were gutted and burned, and nearly all the public records were destroyed. But on the 8th, Mr. Drummond, the magistrate of Agra, issued from the Fort, escorted by a company of Europeans and some guns, and made a circuit of the principal streets, proclaiming the restoration of British rule.

Order having been restored outside the fortress, arrangements were next made to provide for the wants and comforts of the population within, amounting to nearly 6000 persons. Of these 1989 were Europeans, including about 900 women and children; the rest were Eurasians and natives. One of the buildings was set apart as an hospital for the sick and wounded, who were nursed with the tenderest care by the ladies in the Fort. The labours of the Commissariat Department were greatly lightened by the assistance of the celebrated army contractor, Lala Joti-Persaud, who had so successfully provided for victualling our troops during the Afghan, Sikh, and Gwalior wars. He had been very ungratefully treated by the Government for the invaluable services he had rendered in the Sutlej campaign; and after what had happened to him in this affair, 'no one could blame him for insisting on payment in advance.' The Fort was put into a state of defence sufficient to repel the attack of any enemy likely to assail it. Brigadier Polwhele had been removed from the command by express orders from the Governor-General, and had been replaced by Colonel Cotton, an active, energetic officer, whose fiery disposition and bravery had procured for him from his comrades the designation of 'Gun-Cotton.' In a short time he organized an expedition to recover Aligurh, which was occupied by a party of Ghazis or fanatics and of the notorious 3rd Cavalry. The latter fled at the first volley, but the Ghazis fought with such desperate fury that the guns had to be brought to bear upon them before they could be driven out.

Meanwhile the health of Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor, was steadily declining. He was warned by his medical advisers that he required perfect rest of body and mind, but this was beyond his reach. The burden of work imposed upon him was too heavy for him to bear. Mr. Raikes, a judge of the Court of Appeal at Agra, said if he wanted a sword or pistol from the Magazine, Mr. Colvin's counter-signature was necessary—the result of 'the red-tape system of administration which flourished then, and which probably flourishes still in other countries as well as in India.' But it was not so much the amount of toil as the burden of anxiety that oppressed Mr. Colvin and broke him down, 'with no hope of succour, no chance of deliverance, and little support.' He grew rapidly worse; but he was sustained to the last, as he told the chaplain who waited on him, by the consciousness that 'he had not shrunk from bearing the burden which God had called upon him to sustain, that he had performed his duty to the utmost of his ability, and that he had striven to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man.' He died on the 9th of September, and 'History,' says Sir John Kaye, 'rejoices to accord him a place in the front rank of those who died for their country during that tremendous epoch, more painfully and not less gloriously than those who died on the battlefield—a true Christian hero of whom the nation must ever be proud.' The Governor-General in Council said he 'had to deplore with sincere grief the loss of one of the most distinguished amongst the servants of the East India Company, at a time when his ripe experience, his high ability, and his untiring energy would have been more than usually valuable to the State.'

Throughout Rohilcund, an extensive district of the north-west, bounded on the east by Oude and on the south by the Ganges, the insurrection spread like wildfire, and the native regiments stationed at Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, and Moradabad mutinied

almost simultaneously. At Bareilly, the chief city of Rohilcund, the headquarters of the civil establishment and of the military brigade, an ominous agitation was observed about the latter end of May, and it was thought prudent to send away the women and the non-combatants to Nynce 'Tal, a place in the hills seventy-four miles distant. Still the European officers of the native regiments, as in many other cases, could not bring themselves to believe that their men would turn against them. They were soon fatally undeceived. On the 31st of May parties of the Sepoys set fire to the British bungalows, which were speedily consumed, and then shot down every white man that came in their way, amongst whom was the commanding officer, Brigadier Sibbald. The other officers vainly strove to arrest the progress of the mutiny; the whole brigade revolted. A few, principally native officers, accompanied the European authorities and officers in their flight. But Major Pearson and four officers of the 18th Regiment, which was the last to join the mutineers, were killed by the villagers of a place called Ram-Puttee. Nine members of the higher class of civilians, including the two judges, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Raikes, and Dr. Buck, Principal of the College, were also put to death, and many merchants and traders, with their wives and children, were massacred at the same time, principally by the people of Bareilly.

At Mozuffernuggar the insurrection commenced with the townspeople, a circumstance largely owing to the cowardice of the English magistrate, a Mr. Berford, who ordered that all the public offices should be closed, and hid himself in the jungle. After the rabble had risen and set fire to the houses of our public officers, the Sepoys also rose, and the two conjointly plundered the Treasury. 'Nobody raised a finger to prevent them; everybody seems to have been paralyzed.' The magistrate, in terror for his own personal safety, in order to strengthen the body-guard protecting the

house in the suburbs in which he had sheltered himself, released the prisoners in the gaol, and withdrew the guards that were protecting it. As might have been clearly foreseen the most fearful excesses were committed by the released criminals, and all the Government offices and officers' bungalows were burned and the public records destroyed. Anarchy reigned unchecked in the town and neighbourhood, and a general belief prevailed that British rule was at an end.

Fortunately there was at Moradabad a judge of a very different character from Mr. Berford—Mr. Cracroft Wilson. His energy, courage, and sound sense kept the Sepoys quiet, and restrained the excesses of the rabble in the town, until the revolt in Bareilly and the influx of mutineers from various places excited the native troops in Moradabad to make common cause with them. Wilson seemed to bear a charmed life. He was repeatedly in imminent danger, but was rescued in a manner the most unexpected. At length nothing remained for him and the other three civilians in the town, with their wives, but to trust for safety to the horses which they rode. They all succeeded in reaching Meerut, and the military officers made their escape to Nynee Tal.

Shahjehanpore, situated fifty miles to the south-east of Bareilly, was the scene of a tragedy in some respects even more painful, though more limited in extent, than that which took place on the same day at Bareilly. The 28th Regiment, which was stationed at Shahjehanpore, mutinied on Sunday, the 31st of May, when many of the people were at church. As usual the Treasury was sacked, and the bungalows of the Europeans were plundered and burned. The gaol was broken open, the prisoners were released, and shameful outrages were perpetrated by the townspeople, who made common cause with the rebels. A small party of some six or seven of them made for the church, and murdered several of the worshippers. But the native

servants brought arms to their masters to defend themselves and their wives and children, and a party of the native troops, principally Sikhs, rallied round their officers. Captain James, the commander of the regiment, and Dr. Bowring, the surgeon, were shot; the chaplain was wounded and afterwards killed by some villagers; but the others, along with the civilians and the worshippers in the church, were saved, and made their escape to Mohumdee, one of our outposts in Oude.

At Budaon, another civil station in Rohilcund, some thirty miles from Bareilly, the magistrate and collector was Mr. William Edwards, one of the ablest and best men in the service, and distinguished for his Christian character not less than for his upright conduct in the discharge of all his duties. He was quite alone, having no English friend or comrade near him, but he remained firmly at his post though he had no confidence in the Sepoys by whom he was surrounded. He was assured with solemn oaths that they would remain faithful, but a party from Bareilly came to fraternize with them and they rose at once. The usual work of plunder and devastation commenced. The released gaol-birds, 300 in number, came round Edwards' house with shouts and execrations, and there was nothing left for him but instant flight. After many hairbreadth escapes he succeeded in reaching a place of safety, leaving the whole district behind him in 'a blaze of riot and ravage.' The British rule in Rohileund was at an end. The Sepoys went off to Delhi, and Khan Behaudar Khan, a descendant of the first Pathan ruler of Bareilly, who fell in battle with the British, was proclaimed Viceroy of the province, and his authority was universally acknowledged by the people.

A terrible tragedy had meanwhile taken place at Futteghur, on the right bank of the Ganges, about eighty miles above Cawnpore. This military station is in the district of Furruckabad, which in former days was infamous for its lawlessness and robberies

and in no part of the country had 'the monstrous fables about bone-dust, flour, and poisoned wells been more industriously and successfully circulated.' Before the end of May the whole district was in rebellion, though the 10th Regiment, stationed at Futteghur, still remained apparently true to its colours. But when news arrived of the mutiny of the native troops in Oude and Rohilcund, Colonel Smith, the commander of the 10th, on the night of the 3rd of June, sent about a hundred of the women, children, and non-combatants down the river in boats 'of various sorts and sizes.' A number of them, however, unhappily returned, in the belief that the danger was over. He at the same time prepared the fort, in which, if the mutiny should break out, he might shut himself, with his officers and the Europeans who either remained at Futteghur or had returned to it. He speedily received information that no time was to be lost in retreating into the fort. On the 18th of June the mutineers of the 41st Regiment marched into Futteghur, and the Sepoys of the 10th, who at first resisted and fought against them, were ultimately induced to unite with them. They plundered the Treasury, destroyed the public buildings, opened the gaol and released the prisoners, and tendered their allegiance to the Nawab of Furruckabad, who had cast in his lot with the rebels, and formally placed him on a musnud or throne under a royal salute. Though he had received many important favours from the British Government, he now did all in his power to stimulate the rebels to destroy their officers and the other Europeans at the station.

The fort, in which about 120 Christian people had taken refuge, was in a most miserable condition for all purposes of defence. There was a want both of serviceable guns and ammunition. They had six guns mounted on the ramparts and an 18-inch howitzer, but only thirty round shot. They had a better supply, however, of small-arm ammunition, but provisions were scanty. Only one-fourth of those shut up in the

fort were capable of bearing arms; the rest were women and children. Under all these disadvantages the little garrison fought against desperate odds with indomitable courage. The rebels made several fierce but unsuccessful assaults on the fort, and were repulsed with loss. Colonel Smith and the other officers did great execution with their muskets. The chaplain, Mr. Fisher, prayed and fought like an old Covenanting preacher, while the widow of a sergeant killed in the struggle posted herself in one of the bastions with a rifle, and brought down a great many of the mutineers. Thus foiled in their assault, the rebels had recourse to mining, which the garrison were unable to counteract. Their ammunition was nearly exhausted, there was no prospect of relief, and the fort was rapidly becoming untenable. They therefore resolved to take to their boats as their only chance of escape. They spiked their guns, and on the night of the 4th of July embarked in the three boats, which were all that were available to convey a party of a hundred persons. They were commanded severally by Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie, and Major Robertson. As they proceeded down the river the villagers at different places fired upon them, but did them no harm until Colonel Goldie's boat ran upon a shoal. The villagers in the vicinity came down in great numbers and fired upon it. Five of the officers, indignant at this cowardly treatment, charged a throng of at least 300 natives, and drove them back to their village. But they were obliged to abandon their own boat and go on board Colonel Smith's. The delay thus caused gave time to the pursuers to draw near to them, and Major Robertson's boat unfortunately grounded on a sandbank opposite to Singee-Rampore. The Sepoys who were pursuing them in the ferry boat from Futteghur came up, and the inhabitants of the Mahometan villages in the vicinity joined them in an attack upon the defenceless occupants of the boat—men, women, and children—who were drowned

or shot or cut down. Three only succeeded in making their escape. Some were taken prisoners and blown from guns by the Nawab of Furruckabad.

Colonel Smith's boat, the last of the three, having on board all the survivors of the Futtehghur Fort, had meanwhile shot ahead, and after running imminent risk from grape-shot fired upon her by the Sepoys got safely as far as Bithoor, about sixteen miles from Cawnpore. They reached this place—the residence of Nana Sahib—on the 9th of July, and by his orders all the gentlemen, with the exception of Colonels Gordon and Smith and Mr. Thornhill, were put to death on the 10th or 11th, and the women and children were massacred on the 15th of that month.

Cawnpore, one of the great military stations of the East India Company, is situated on the right or western bank of the Ganges, immediately opposite to the territory of Oude. In the spring of 1857 the military quartered there consisted of three regiments of native infantry and one of native cavalry, together with a detachment of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment and a few Madras Fusiliers. The troops were under the command of Sir Hugh Wheeler, an old and distinguished officer of the Company's army. Though he was upwards of seventy years of age he was still vigorous and alert, and discharged the duties of his post with unwearied assiduity. In the course of the month of May it became evident that the native troops in Cawnpore had largely participated in the general excitement caused by the insidious rumours respecting the greased cartridges. The symptoms of insubordination which from time to time were manifested in the ranks convinced the general that it was necessary to throw up some defensive works within which, should a mutiny take place, the British troops might by the aid of their guns protect themselves until succours should reach them. Apparently the most suitable position for this purpose was the magazine in the north-west corner of the military lines. General Neill said of it,

after visiting the place, 'It is a walled defence, walled inclosure, proof against musketry, covering an area of three acres—ample room in it for all the garrison—close to the bank of the river. The houses close to it are all defensible, and they with the magazine could have been held against any native force.' General Neill was of opinion that Sir Hugh Wheeler should have gone there, and if he had done so he would not only have saved the garrison but the city, to say nothing of a large arsenal and many thousand stands of arms. Sir Hugh, however, was of opinion that to have attempted the withdrawal of the Sepoy guard from the magazine, which must have been the first step towards its occupation, would certainly have given the signal for an immediate rising, and with the small European force at his disposal it would have been manifestly unwise to provoke a collision. It was also doubtful whether he would have been permitted to carry the women, children, and invalids from the lines to the magazine, a distance of several miles, without molestation. As he was in almost daily expectation of reinforcements, it appeared to him and to the other officers that all that was required was a temporary place of refuge, where the Europeans would be secure for a short space if a mutiny should break out, attended as usual with outrage and plunder.

For these reasons the General unfortunately selected a spot about six miles lower down, at some distance from the river, and not far from the Sepoys' huts. He intrenched this place, but in a very superficial manner, as the ground in the dry season was so hard that it was difficult to dig it, and the earth was so friable that cohesion was almost unattainable. The earthworks were little more than four feet high, and were commanded by the adjacent buildings. Artillery was brought in and placed in position, and supplies of provisions of various kinds, but quite insufficient for the purpose.

On the night of the 4th of June the long

dreaded mutiny broke out. It began with the 2nd Light Cavalry and the 1st Regiment of Infantry. They made no attempt to injure their officers, but hastened at once to the Magazine, where the treasure and the stores were deposited. A few hours later they were followed by the 53rd and the 56th Regiments. The Magazine was guarded by the retainers of the Rajah of Bithoor, who made common cause with them. The Treasury was sacked and the money divided among the Sepoys. The gaol was thrown open, the prisoners were released, and the ammunition, small arms, and heavy artillery fell into the hands of the mutineers.

The intention of the revolted troops was to march at once with their plunder to Delhi, but at this stage they obtained for a leader the Rajah Bithoor—a monster of cruelty, whose atrocities have attached to his name a stigma of indelible abhorrence. His name was Dundoo Punt, but he is usually known by the designation of Nana Sahib. He was the adopted son of the late ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao of Poona, and in virtue of this relationship he had laid claims to the pension of £80,000 which his adopted father received from the British Government. But Sir John Malcolm, who granted the pension to the Peishwa, pointed out that there were special reasons why so large a sum was given, and he explicitly stated that it was ‘only temporary, being for his life.’ Bajee Rao’s adopted son had therefore not the shadow of a claim, on the score of justice, for the continuance to him of this enormous pension, and there was no reason on the ground of sympathy, though there might have been on the ground of expediency, why such a sum, or indeed any sum, should have been given from the public purse to a self-indulgent, sensual Hindoo, who had inherited at least £300,000, and who probably possessed much more. The Rajah’s claim, however, was supported by two successive British Commissioners at Bithoor, but was rejected by the Governor-General. An appeal was made to the

Directors of the East India Company, but they confirmed in the most peremptory terms the decision of Lord Dalhousie. The agent whom the Nana sent to England to prosecute his claims was a young and astute Mahometan named Azimoolah Khan, and there is reason to believe that in conjunction with a Mahratta named Rungo Bepojee, the able and energetic agent of the deposed Rajah of Sattara, Azimoolah, brooding over his failure, had formed unfavourable conclusions respecting the power and prestige of our country, as affected by the Crimean War, which influenced him and his master to take part in the effort to overthrow the British Empire in India. The Rajah himself appeared to acquiesce submissively in the rejection of his claims, and continued to live on terms of social familiarity with many of the principal European residents in his district. He was generally regarded as a quiet, inoffensive, somewhat dull, and impassive person—not at all the kind of man likely to engage in intrigues and treasonable plots. But there can be little doubt that he had all along cherished deep resentment for the wrongs which he believed had been done to him, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of taking revenge. In the spring of 1857 he made journeys to Calpee, on the banks of the Jumna, to the imperial city of Delhi, and to Lucknow, the capital of Oude, on some matters which he carefully concealed from the British officials. It was afterwards asserted by native witnesses that his agents were tampering with numerous native princes and chiefs, for the purpose of inducing them to assist in throwing off the British supremacy. But so little were his real feelings towards our Government understood or suspected, that in the present emergency his assistance was solicited and readily promised to maintain the position of our troops at Cawnpore. Sir Henry Lawrence and Mr. Gubbins distinctly warned Sir Hugh Wheeler not to trust Nana Sahib, but the caution was unheeded by the General. It was thought a good stroke of policy to replace the

Sepoys who guarded the treasure by a party of the armed followers of the Nana; and accordingly, on the 22nd of May, at the request of Mr. Hillarsden, the collector, some 200 of the retinue of the Nana, from Bithoor, ten miles west of Cawnpore, with a couple of guns, were posted at Newabgunj, which commanded both the Treasury and the Magazine.

It appears that during the first days of June there were frequent communications between the chiefs of the native troops and the Nana, and that they were quite well aware that as soon as they raised the standard of revolt he would join them. When the mutiny broke out he was at once recognized as the leader of the Sepoys, and set out with them on their march to the imperial city. After they had proceeded a few miles on their way they halted for the night at Kullianpore, and next morning the Nana persuaded them to return to Cawnpore. He no doubt believed that at the head of four native regiments and his Bithoor retainers he was strong enough to drive the British out of the district, and to restore the Peishwahship of which his adopted father had been deprived. The Nana himself was probably not the originator of this ambitious scheme, but he had with him as his counsellors his two brothers, his nephew, an influential Hindoo, Tantia Topee, on whom he greatly relied, and above all the crafty and unscrupulous Azimoolah, who had been his agent in England.

The revolted Sepoys returned to Cawnpore on the 6th of June, and on the same day the Nana sent a letter to General Wheeler, announcing his intention to attack the intrenchments. The intimation was as unexpected as it was alarming; but the brave old general, though well aware of the desperate position in which the Europeans were placed, lost not a moment in adopting all the measures in his power to defend his post to the last. The intrenchment was merely an open inclosure surrounded by some earthworks and a trench, and con-

taining two long hospital barracks, some single-storied buildings with verandahs running round them, and with the usual outhouses attached. The soldiers and officers in the intrenchment amounted to 210; and the non-combatants, including women and children, to 590.

Some hours elapsed after the receipt of Nana's letter before any attempt was made upon the camp; but about noon the booming of cannon intimated that the threatened attack had commenced. From that day until the 24th an almost incessant fire was opened upon the besieged; but they succeeded not only in repelling every attack, but frequently sallied out and drove back the thousands of the enemy who swarmed round their intrenchments. Prodigies of valour were performed by them; and under a burning sun, with a deficient supply of provisions, and especially of water, while the enemy poured upon them an incessant fire, they toiled and fought with indomitable resolution, and swept away great numbers of their assailants. Seldom, if ever, in the history of our country have greater sufferings been endured by any body of men, or more heroic courage, more self-sacrificing endurance of danger, privation, toil, and suffering, been displayed than by the handful of soldiers who for three weeks held out the weak, scanty, and insufficient fortifications of the intrenched camp at Cawnpore, against overwhelming numbers copiously supplied with heavy siege guns and every other munition of war. And no less heroic was the manner in which delicately nurtured ladies bore their terrible privations and sufferings.

After the siege had lasted about a week one of the barracks was set on fire by the enemy's projectiles, a number of the sick and wounded were burned, and all the hospital stores and surgical instruments were destroyed—a catastrophe which deprived numbers of women and children of all shelter, and greatly aggravated the sufferings of the garrison. Owing to the overpowering heat, the want of room, and

proper food and care, many of the ladies and soldiers' wives and children died; a number of the officers and soldiers were cut off by sunstroke, while the brave fighting men, including many of the best officers, were wounded and killed by the incessant fire of the enemy. At the close of each day their dead bodies had to be thrown into a well outside the intrenchment. In the space of three weeks 250 Europeans were deposited in this receptacle. Many more were buried by the rebels or devoured by the vultures and jackals. But though the numbers of the garrison were thus diminishing day by day, the enemy were still kept at bay, and notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers they never ventured to make an attempt to carry the intrenchment by storm. Sir Hugh Wheeler had sent repeated and urgent entreaties to Lucknow for assistance, but not a man could be spared at that time, and no reinforcements came to the aid of the beleaguered and diminished garrison.

They had now held out for nearly three weeks under nearly every possible discouragement. Their guns were becoming unserviceable, their ammunition and their provisions were nearly exhausted, and it had become evident that it would be impossible for them to hold their position much longer. The soldiers might have cut their way out of the intrenched camp, but it was impossible to carry with them the women and children and wounded. At this terrible crisis a message was received from Nana Sahib, in the handwriting of Azimoolah, offering to allow all the Europeans who were willing to lay down their arms a safe passage to Allahabad. The veteran general, though suffering from a wound received in a sortie, was decidedly opposed to a capitulation. The younger officers and the soldiers were bent on fighting it to the last. But Captains Moore and Whiting, who were consulted by General Wheeler, declared themselves in favour of accepting the Nana's terms, for the sake of the women and children and the sick

and wounded. The messenger who brought the offer therefore carried back a reply that the general and the chief officers were taking the Nana's offer into consideration.

An armistice was concluded, and next morning Azimoolah and one of the chief officers of the Sepoys met Captains Moore and Whiting and arranged the terms of capitulation, which were committed to writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by the solemn oath of the Nana. The British were to surrender their fortified position, to give up their guns and their treasure, and to march out with their arms and sixty rounds of ammunition in each man's pouch. Early next morning the remnant of the garrison left the intrenchment and proceeded to the place of embarkation, about a mile distant, and took their places in the boats prepared for them, the ordinary eight-oared budgerows of the country, with thatched roofs. Tantia Topee took charge of the arrangements, and Azimoolah, the two brothers of the Nana, and other leading men of the Bithoor party were present, along with many Zemindars from the districts. There was also an assemblage of Sepoy soldiery—horse, foot, and artillery. The garrison had no sooner taken their places in the boats than Tantia Topee gave the signal for the premeditated massacre. The sound of a bugle was heard. The native boatmen left the vessels with all speed and got on shore. A fire of musketry and grape was opened upon the passengers, and the thatch of the budgerows was set on fire. Some of the boats got away through the exertions of the men, who leaped overboard and pushed them into mid channel, but the greater part remained immovable in the mud. Many of the passengers were killed by the volleys of the Sepoys. Some were drowned while attempting to escape by swimming, or were shot in the water or bayoneted on reaching land. The sick and the wounded were either burned to death or suffocated by the smoke. Three of the boats crossed over to the opposite bank, but the 17th Regiment, just arrived from Azim-

ghur, was stationed there, with two field pieces, to prevent escape. Two of the boats were swamped, and only one succeeded in getting off, and drifted down the stream.

While this shocking butchery was being carried on, the miscreant who was responsible for it was waiting the issue in his tent. A mounted trooper brought him tidings of its progress, and he sent orders back by the messenger that all the men were to be put to death, but the women and children who still survived were in the meantime to be spared.

The boat which had escaped the destruction that befel the others held Moore, Vibart, Whiting, and the other officers and men who had taken the most prominent part in the heroic defence of the intrenchment, but they were closely followed by two field pieces on the Oude bank of the stream, and by a body of infantry who kept up a constant fire upon them: the bottom of the boat was covered with the wounded and the dying. At sunset of the following day, while they were aground, they were overtaken by a boat from Cawnpore, with fifty or sixty natives on board. Their boat fortunately grounded also on a sandbank, and about eighteen or twenty of our officers and soldiers, though exhausted with fatigue and want of food, instead of waiting to be attacked charged the pursuers, and, says Mowbray Thomson, who was one of the assailants, 'few of their number escaped to tell the story.' The victors returned to their boat, which was now carried rapidly down the river by the force of the wind that rose during the night; but when morning dawned they found that the vessel had been carried out of the main channel of the river into a creek, where they were soon discovered and fired upon by the enemy. Mowbray Thomson and Delafosse, with a small band of soldiers, twelve in number, landed, and, armed with the courage of despair, drove back to some distance the mob of Sepoys and villagers. But on returning to the spot where they had landed, they found that their boat was

gone. In this extremity they took refuge in a Hindoo temple, and defended the doorway with fixed bayonets so vigorously that it was speedily blocked up with the dead bodies of their assailants. The cowardly crew then piled up leaves and faggots against the walls in order to burn out the little band; and when the wind blew smoke and fire away from the building, they threw bags of powder on the burning embers. The gallant defenders were thus compelled to abandon their place of refuge, and, firing a volley into the midst of their assailants, they charged with the bayonet. Seven of them succeeded in making their way to the river side, and plunged into the stream. Three of them were killed, but the remaining four—Mowbray Thomson and Delafosse, with two privates—swam down the river, and, aided by the current, escaped their pursuers, and ultimately made their way to the territory of a friendly Oude Rajah.

The boat which had drifted away without them was overtaken, and the survivors, eighty in number—utterly exhausted by hunger and fatigue and anxiety—were brought back on carts to Cawnpore (30th June), and placed in the old cantonment till Nana Sahib should decide their fate. The inhuman monster came himself to gloat over their sufferings. The men, with three or four exceptions, were ordered to be put to death at once, while the women and children were sent to join the other captives, whose fate was not yet determined.

Having thus in the meantime satiated his thirst for blood, Nana Sahib went off to his palace at Bithoor, where next day he was, with great pomp and ceremony, proclaimed Peishwa, amid the thunder of cannon and the shouts of his followers. On the 6th of July he returned to Cawnpore, where he spent his time in degrading sensual amusements and drinking, issuing at times boastful proclamations commending the valour of his troops, and assuring them that the British armies had been overwhelmed by more powerful nations, or by God's providence drowned in the sea.

CHAPTER XVI.

State of Patna at this time—Character of Mr. Tayler, the Commissioner—His prompt and vigorous measures—Suppression of the Outbreak at Patna—Trial and execution of the Insurgents—Murder of Major Holmes and his wife—Insurrection at Patna—Its suppression—Unjust treatment of Mr. Tayler by the Government—Sepoy regiments at Dinapore—Refusal of the Governor-General to disband them—Feeble and hesitating conduct of General Lloyd—Mutiny of the Sepoys—Ill-managed and unsuccessful attempt to overtake them—Dunbar's expedition—The disastrous retreat—Gallant exploits—The British at Arrah—Fortification of Mr. Boyle's house—Its siege by the Mutineers and Rajah Kower Singh—Gallant defence of the garrison—Major Vincent Eyre's prompt action—Defeat of the enemy—Flight of Kower Singh—Destruction of Jugdespore—General Lloyd superseded and succeeded by Sir James Outram—State of affairs in the Punjab—The Sikhs—Sir John Lawrence—Events at Meean-Meer—Disarming of the Native Regiments—The Mutineers at Ferozpour and Phillour—Peshawur—The civil and military authorities—The movable column—The Sealkote Mutineers—Their defeat by Nicholson—The outbreak at Jullundhur—Mismanagement and inefficiency of Brigadier Johnstone—The Rajahs of the Protected States—General Havelock—His arrival at Allahabad—Advance of Renaud—Havelock's advance towards Cawnpore—The Battles of Futtehpore, Aong, and Cawnpore—The Massacre of the women and children—Havelock at Cawnpore—Flight of Nana Sahib—Destruction of his palace at Bithoor—Arrival of General Neill—His punishment of criminals—Havelock's return to Cawnpore.

PATNA, the Mahometan capital of the country east of Benares, stands on the right bank of the Ganges, 380 miles north-west of Calcutta. It contained at this time a population of 300,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were Mahometans, and was the headquarters of the Wahabees—the extreme and fanatical party in India. It was also the capital of one of the richest provinces in the country, in which British capital was largely employed for the development of native industry. At the outstations of the Patna division—Chuprah, Arrah, Mozufferpore, Gya, and Motcharee—there were no detachments of Sepoys, and the guardianship of the treasuries, gaols, and opium godowns was intrusted to the police. But at Dinapore, ten miles east of Patna, there were three Sepoy regiments which were watched by Her Majesty's 10th Foot. Serious apprehensions were entertained that these native troops might suddenly break into mutiny, and escape as others had done before them. Reports were sent to Patna from all the outstations that the Mahometans were greatly disaffected, and the whole British community were in a state of great alarm. It was pointed out that 'if the Sepoys at Dinapore should rise and sweep down upon Patna, carrying off the Treasury, looting the rich opium godowns, and thence spreading desolation

through the homes of the opium farmers of Tirhoot, the contagion might spread lower and lower, and the insurgents, gathering strength as they went, might pour themselves down upon the capital. Why, then, not prevent a calamity of so probable a kind by disarming the Dinapore regiments?' No attention, however, was paid by the Government to these representations, and 'so the Sepoys were left with arms in their hands, and a regiment of Europeans, when every British soldier was worth his weight in gold, was kept at Dinapore to watch them.'

The Commissioner of Patna at this time was Mr. William Tayler, a gentleman of great natural ability and energy, as well as of varied accomplishments. Though courteous in manner and loyal to the Government, he was noted for his independence of thought and speech, and was in consequence regarded with somewhat unfriendly feelings by some of his superiors, especially by Mr. Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Nearly two years before the mutiny Mr. Tayler had reported to the Government that the minds of the people in his district were in a very restless and disaffected state, but no attention was paid to the warning; and even after the outbreak at Meerut, his reports regarding the unsatisfactory state of the country and the symptoms of a meditated rising were equally disregarded.

His position, in consequence, became one of extreme peril and responsibility. 'Other positions in India were dangerous, but this was unique in the opportunities of danger which threatened it, in the number of the lives, in the amount of treasure, in the extent of country devolving upon one man almost unaided to guard. Without a single European soldier, and with only a few Sikhs at his disposal, Mr. Tayler was responsible for the lives of some hundreds of Europeans scattered over the province, for a Treasury in his own city containing more than £300,000, and in the districts of still more, for opium of the value of millions, for his own good name, and for the credit and honour of his country. And now all around was surging. Any moment might bring revolt and mutiny to his door.' Mr. Tayler, however, showed himself quite competent to grapple with these difficulties, formidable as they appeared, and acted with promptitude and decision. When, on the 7th of June, a rumour reached Patna that the Sepoys at Dinapore were expected to rise that very night, he turned his house into a fortress for the whole station, and all the residents in Patna at once took refuge in it. A body of Sikhs newly raised by Captain Rattray, who were then within forty miles of Patna, were summoned with all speed. Their arrival made the city safe in the meantime, and the residents returned to their homes. Intercepted correspondence and other evidence convinced Mr. Tayler that the Sepoys at Dinapore were only watching their opportunity to revolt, and he urged Major-General Lloyd to take immediate steps to disarm them; but his advice was unheeded, and he was obliged to content himself with taking all possible precautions to prevent a rising at Patna. On the 19th of June he succeeded by a dexterous stratagem in arresting three Moulvies, the leaders of the Wahabee fanatics, and kept them under surveillance until peace was restored. Next day he issued a proclamation calling upon all the citizens to deliver up their arms within twenty-four

hours on pain of being proceeded against, which was to a considerable extent obeyed, though doubtless many weapons were kept back and concealed. Deprived of their most trusted leaders and of their arms, the conspirators desisted from holding their nightly meetings, and there was a sudden diminution of the symptoms of disaffection throughout the districts under Mr. Tayler's orders.

On the 23rd of June a jemidar of police, Waris Ali by name, was arrested at his own station in Tirhoot on suspicion that he was holding a treasonable correspondence with some disaffected Mahometans of Patna. He was found in the act of writing a treasonable letter to one Ali Kureem, an influential Mahometan who was notoriously disaffected. Thus caught in the act, and with treasonable letters in his possession, he made no attempt to deny his guilt, and was shortly afterwards hanged. At the foot of the gallows he cried out, 'If there is any friend of the King of Delhi let him come and help me!' An attempt to arrest Ali Kureem, the chief criminal, was unfortunately unsuccessful; he succeeded in making his escape through the treachery of a native official.

The crisis, however, was not over; indeed the danger was now at its height. On the 25th, the 12th Irregular Cavalry at Siganoli, the frontier station of the division, mutinied and murdered their commanding officer, Major Holmes, and his wife, a daughter of the heroic Sir Robert Sale. The other Europeans in the station shared the same fate. On the same day the long-foreseen revolt of the Sepoys at Dinapore took place, and there seemed every probability that either they or the cavalry would pour down upon Patna. Mr. Tayler at once summoned the residents to take refuge in his house, and after the defeat of Dunbar's force he directed the officials at Gya and Mozufferpore to retire upon the central position of Patna. The frequent arrests of leading conspirators, and the punishment promptly inflicted on those who

were found guilty, raised a great panic among the disaffected Mahometan population of Patna, and on the 3rd of July some two hundred Wahabees, led by Peer Ali, a Mahometan bookseller, rose in arms, and bearing aloft the green flag, summoned by beat of drum their associates to join them. The Sikhs were at once ordered out by Mr. Tayler, who at the same time sent notice to the residents who had remained in the city that they should instantly repair to his house. Meanwhile Dr. Lyall, the assistant to the opium agent, mounted his horse and rode down to the scene of tumult, thinking that he might pacify the crowd. But he was at once shot dead and shockingly mutilated. Stimulated by this sanguinary deed the rioters were pushing on through the streets, their numbers increasing at every step, when they were suddenly confronted by the Sikhs under Captain Rattray. A conflict ensued, which was as brief as it was decisive. The insurgents fled in every direction, and the long threatened and dreaded rising at Patna was suppressed. Thirty-one of the ringleaders of the riot were arrested in the course of the next few days, and fourteen of them were tried and executed without delay. Peer Ali and Shekh Ghasfta, the confidential servant of Lootf Ali Khan, a wealthy banker in the city, were subsequently tried and found guilty. It was clearly proved that the former, who had long been plotting with disaffected persons, had been the chief agent for promoting the revolt, and a good deal of treasonable correspondence was found in his house. He and Shekh Ghasfta had for months kept in pay a body of men 'under a conditional compact to come forward when called for to fight for their religion and the Emperor of Delhi;' and it was alleged that he had shot down Dr. Lyall with his own hand. He behaved with great dignity and composure, and when asked whether he had any information to give that might induce the Government to spare his life he replied, 'There are some cases in which it is good to save life—others in which it is better to lose

it;' and he went out to execution 'unmoved and unconcerned.' Lootf Ali Khan was generally believed to have furnished the money distributed by Peer Ali and others for the promotion of the revolt. He was brought to trial some time afterwards, but the evidence adduced was considered insufficient to convict him and he was acquitted, to the great indignation of the British residents, who were firmly persuaded that he was guilty.

Strange to say, the policy which had been so successful at Patna did not meet with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Halliday; but if the Commissioner and his superior had changed places there can be little doubt that the result would have been very different. 'The Patna rising, so easily suppressed by Mr. Tayler, would indeed have been a red day in the calendar of Mr. Halliday.' Availing himself of the disapproval by the Governor-General of the order issued by Mr. Tayler to the agents at the out-stations to withdraw to Patna, Mr. Halliday removed Mr. Tayler from his office of Commissioner of Patna—a step which was ungenerous and harsh, as well as most unjust.*

Order having thus been maintained in Patna by the judicious and vigorous measures of Mr. Tayler, no apprehension was felt for the safety of that important station. The case was very different with respect to Dinapore. There three regiments of Native Infantry, the 7th, 8th, and 40th, continued

* Mr. Doren, one of the members of the Council, wrote to Mr. Tayler in 1868, 'Time has shown that Mr. Halliday was wrong and you were right;' and General Sir John Low wrote in 1867, 'I well remember my having, as a member of Lord Canning's Council, concurred with his Lordship in the censure which he passed upon your conduct; but it has since been proved—incontestably proved—that the data on which that decision was based were quite incorrect. I sincerely believe that your skilful and vigorous management of the disaffected population of Patna was of immense value to the Government of India.' Three ex-Governors and two ex-Lieutenant-Governors of the presidencies and provinces of India have recorded similar opinions, but much to the discredit of the Government Mr. Tayler obtained no redress. —See Colonel Malleon's 'History of the Indian Mutiny,' i. 117-124.

to be maintained in full force, and apparently trusted both by the commanding officer at that station and by the Government at Calcutta. The Governor-General declined to comply with the request made to him by a deputation of merchants that these regiments should be disarmed, on the ground that he had full confidence in the fidelity of the men. General Lloyd, who commanded at Dinapore, expressed his opinion that they would remain quiet unless some great temptation or excitement should assail them. Several unpleasant symptoms of disaffection, however, having showed themselves, the commercial community renewed their demand that the Dinapore regiments should be disbanded. The Government, strangely blind to the danger they were incurring, still refused to comply with the earnest request of the merchants. On the 15th of July, however, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Patrick Grant, wrote to General Lloyd that Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers were about to pass through Dinapore on their way to join General Havelock, and if he saw reason to disband the native troops, he should avail himself of the presence of the Fusiliers to disarm them. The general was uneasy at the responsibility thus thrown upon him by the Government, and after hesitating and delaying to take any steps, he, like all feeble men, resolved to adopt a half measure—to leave the troops their muskets and their pouches, and merely to deprive them of their percussion caps. Even this step was so mismanaged as to bring about the mutiny which it was intended to prevent, and on the 25th of July the three regiments broke out in insurrection. It might have been expected that the European force at Dinapore, consisting of the 10th Foot, part of the 37th Regiment, and a battery of Foot Artillery, would have been strong enough to suppress the insurrection at once, but there was nobody to direct them, General Lloyd, after the mutiny broke out, having gone on board a steamboat in the river. He was advanced

in years, infirm, and afflicted with gout. He had no horse, he said, in the cantonment; his stable was five miles distant, and being unable to walk far or much, he thought he would be most useful on board the steamer with guns and riflemen. Feeling his mental and physical inability to cope with the crisis, he was greatly to blame for not making over the command to the officer next in seniority. But the authorities were far more blameworthy for their persistent refusal to order the Sepoys to be disarmed, and for keeping an officer so incompetent in such an important position at this perilous juncture.

The result of General Lloyd's grievous incapacity was that the three mutinous regiments were allowed to escape without molestation, carrying with them their arms and accoutrements, and the whole district rose against the Government. The Dinapore insurgents might easily have been arrested at the river Soane, which flows into the Ganges on the south bank, if the available boats had been removed to the other side; but this, like many other proper precautions, had been neglected; and crossing over at their leisure, the rebels pursued their flight to Arrah, 25 miles west of Dinapore. Here they were joined by a body of Sepoys from other regiments, and by the retainers of a neighbouring Rajah, which swelled their numbers to 3000 men. They released all the prisoners in the gaol, seized the Treasury, containing 85,000 rupees, and then made a furious assault on a bungalow, in which sixteen Europeans, all civilians, and fifty Sikh soldiers had intrenched themselves.

When intelligence reached Dinapore of these proceedings, a steamer was despatched on the 27th with a detachment of the 37th Regiment towards the Soane, with instructions to land the men at a point about 9 miles from Arrah, and 'to bring away the civilians there besieged;' but the vessel stuck fast upon a sandbank. Another steamer was sent on the 29th, with a reinforcement of 150 men of the 10th Regi-

ment, commanded by Captain Dunbar, and seventy Sikhs, under Lieutenant Ingleby. They were directed to pick up the stranded vessel, and along with the detachment of the 37th to march to Arrah. These instructions were carried out so far, but unfortunately Captain Dunbar was as incompetent a commander as General Lloyd himself. The men disembarked about seven o'clock in the evening at the nearest point to Arrah; but they had gone on board fasting, and though there was abundance of provisions in the vessel, neither food nor drink was served out to them. They set out on their long march hungry and feeble. At the distance of two or three miles from their destination, where there was a convenient halting-place, the commander was recommended to serve out some rum and biscuit, and to bivouac for the night, but he determined to push on to Arrah. He omitted to send forward any skirmishers or a party to reconnoitre, and marched on in the darkness with as little precaution as if he had been in a friendly instead of a hostile country. But when the troops reached the vicinity of a dense mango grove, a tremendous fire was suddenly opened upon them, and they discovered that they had fallen into an ambuscade. Captain Dunbar himself and other officers and men fell at the first fire, and in the darkness it was difficult to discover their concealed assailants. The survivors were with difficulty rallied by their officers, and found shelter in a tank in an inclosed field at some little distance from the wood, where, however, they were exposed all night to the fire of the Sepoys. At daylight they commenced their retreat to the steamer, which was 12 miles distant, and were pursued by the rebels the whole way, who kept up a con-

tinual fire, from copses and coverts of all kinds, upon the column. Some gallant exploits were performed to cover the retreat.* At last the remnant of the detachment reached the steamer and returned to Dinapore, having lost 135 killed and 60 wounded.

The disaster was in some degree retrieved by the heroic defence of the little party of British civilians at Arrah. When they heard that the native troops at Dinapore had mutinied and were marching upon that place, they resolved that they would not desert their post, hopeless as it might have seemed to attempt to hold it against 2000 Sepoys, and a much larger number of armed insurgents. They selected as their place of defence a small bungalow which had been occupied by Mr. Vicars Boyle, the head of the staff at this time employed in constructing the East Indian Railway. That gentleman was not only a skilful engineer, but he possessed some knowledge of fortification, and he set about fortifying and provisioning his house for a siege, bringing in stores of flour, grain, biscuits, beer, and water, and as much ammunition as he could find. There were with him in the bungalow Mr. Herwald Wake, the magistrate, who took command of the Sikhs; Mr. Littledale, the judge; Mr. Combe, the collector, and other gentlemen of the same class. They had fortunately sent off their wives and children to a place of safety, and could therefore give their undivided attention to their own defence against the assaults of the bloodthirsty rebels. An old Rajah named Kower Singh, who had been very shabbily treated by the British Government, and had been for some time suspected of disaffection, now appeared on the scene, and joined the mutineers with his retainers. It was he who dug up a

* Special mention should be made of the behaviour of Mr. Ross Mangles and Mr. M'Donell of the Civil Service. The former carried a wounded soldier on his back for a space of six miles, compelled now and then to lay his burden down and take a shot at the rebels. On reaching the Nullah he swam out, holding up the helpless man in the water, and placed him in the boat. Mr. M'Donell, who was wounded at the

outset, did excellent service in the retreat. On entering the last of the boats which conveyed the men to the steamer he found that the rebels had lashed the rudder, so that the boat could not be steered. Climbing out on the roof of the boat he perched himself on the rudder and cut the lashings, amid a storm of bullets from the contiguous bank.

couple of buried guns of small calibre, which were used against the besieged, and but for the scantiness of suitable ammunition would have done them serious damage. In the interesting account which Mr. Wake has given of the siege, he says—

‘On the 27th of July the insurgent Sepoys charged our bungalow from every side, but being met with a steady and well-directed fire they changed their tactics, and hiding behind the trees, with which the compound is filled, and occupying the outhouses and Mr. Boyle’s residence, which was, unfortunately, within sixty yards of our fortification, they kept up an incessant and galling fire on us during the whole day. Every endeavour was made by the rebels to induce the Sikhs to abandon us; heavy bribes were offered to them, and their own countrymen were employed as mediators, but they treated every offer with derision, showing perfect obedience and discipline.

‘On the 28th two small cannon (those dug up by the Rajah) were brought to play on our bungalow, and they were daily shifted to what the rebels thought our weakest spots. Finally, the largest was placed on the roof of Mr. Boyle’s dwelling-house, completely commanding the inside of our bungalow, and the smallest behind it at the distance of twenty yards. Nothing but cowardice, want of unanimity, and the ignorance of our enemies prevented our fortification being brought down about our ears. Not only did our Sikhs behave with perfect coolness and patience, but their untiring labour met and prevented every threatened disaster. Water began to run short; a well of 18 feet by 4 was instantly dug in less than twelve hours. The rebels raised a barricade on the top of the opposite house; ours grew in the same proportion. A shot struck a weak part in our defence; the place was made twice as strong as before. We began to feel the want of animal food and the short allowance of grain; a sally was made at night and four sheep brought in. And, finally, we ascertained beyond a doubt that the enemy were undermining us; a countermine was quickly dug. At the close of the siege it was found that the enemy’s mine had reached our foundations, and a canvas tube filled with gunpowder was lying handy to blow us up. I do not think they would have succeeded, for their powder was bad, and another stroke of the pickaxe would have broken into our countermine.’

The rebels repeatedly offered the garrison their lives and liberty to go to Calcutta, if they would give up their arms, but, fortunately for them, they would listen to no over-

tures. The first attempt to rescue them, as we have seen, proved most disastrous—a fact of which they were not allowed long to remain ignorant. But though their prospects had become more gloomy their confidence did not fail, and they fought as stoutly as before. They had determined, in the event of succours not arriving before the exhaustion of their provisions, that, though it was a forlorn chance, they would endeavour to make their way to some ford on the river Soane. But on the 2nd of August an unusual commotion was observed in the vicinity of the town, the fire of the enemy slackened, and the sound of distant cannonade was heard. The rebels drew off. The siege was at an end, and next morning the heroic garrison welcomed their deliverers. During the seven days’ siege only one man, a Sikh, was severely wounded.

The Arrah garrison were indebted for their deliverance to Major Vincent Eyre, an excellent soldier, who had distinguished himself in the Afghan War, and in other ways had performed important service to the Government, but had attained no higher post than the command of a company of European gunners, with a horse field-battery of six guns. He was on his way with his battery to Allahabad when he learned the imminent peril to which the European residents at Arrah were exposed, and resolved to rescue them. In spite of almost overwhelming difficulties he succeeded in getting together a force of 198 men, of whom 34 were artillerymen, 14 mounted volunteers, and the remainder a detachment of the 5th Fusiliers. He pressed on with the utmost possible expedition, and on the 2nd of August he discovered a body of 2500 Sepoys, and several hundreds of the retainers of Kower Singh, drawn up in a strong position a mile beyond Googeragungee, with woods both on their front and their flanks. A stubborn conflict ensued, but notwithstanding the immense superiority of their numbers—twentyfold—and the strength of their position, the rebels were completely routed, and the road to

Arrah was left clear. On the morning of the 3rd of August our victorious troops marched to the bungalow, where they were rapturously welcomed by the heroic garrison, to whom they had brought such timely deliverance.

The rebels, driven from Arrah, retreated in the direction of Jugdespore, and Major Eyre, after resting a few days to recruit his wearied troops, and having received a reinforcement of 200 men of the 10th Foot and sixty Sikhs from Dinapore, set out, on the 11th of August, in pursuit of the fugitives. On the following morning he found the Sepoys drawn up near the village of Dulloor, protected by a formidable jungle; but after a contest which lasted two hours they were defeated with terrible slaughter. In the neighbourhood of Jugdespore stood Kower Singh's ancestral castle, a large and strong building. Within its walls he had collected stores of grain sufficient to have subsisted 20,000 men for six months. But on the approach of the British forces the Rajah had abandoned his stronghold and sought refuge in the jungle. Major Eyre distributed the supplies of grain found in the castle among the villagers, and blew up the principal buildings, leaving them heaps of blackened ruins. He then returned to Arrah. His brilliant campaign of only a fortnight's duration had not only rescued our beleaguered people, but had broken the neck of the rebellion in Behar, and had inflicted deserved punishment on the mutineers who had broken their faith and slaughtered so many of our men. General Lloyd was removed from the post where he had shown such incompetency for the discharge of his duties, and Sir James Outram, an officer of a very different character, who arrived from Persia on the 1st of August, was appointed to the command at Dinapore, but shortly after moved up towards Oude. On the 8th of the month the Earl of Elgin reached the Indian capital, and was cordially welcomed by Lord Canning, his old schoolfellow and brother collegian. 'There was hardly a

countenance in Calcutta, save that of the Governor-General,' the Earl afterwards said, 'which was not blanched with fear.' The vessels that accompanied him to the Hoogly—the *Shannon*, commanded by William Peel, and the *Pearl*, commanded by Captain Sotheby—formed the backbone of the naval brigade which was afterwards of eminent service in the suppression of the rebellion.

When the native troops mutinied in the lower provinces of our Anglo-Indian empire great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the Punjaub, at the furthest extremity of the British dominions. Little more than seven years had elapsed since that important province had been incorporated with our Indian territories, and though the Sikh soldiers no longer existed as an army, and most of them were employed in peaceful occupations, they had not forgotten their military training. It seemed improbable that their chiefs, who had been deprived of their power and independence, could regard the British rule with good-will. Had the population of the Punjaub turned against us in this emergency, and combined with the Sepoys, it appears certain that our empire in Northern India would for a time at least have been entirely lost. Happily for us, the Sikhs of the Punjaub cherished no good-will towards the Mahometans of that province, and so far from feeling any satisfaction at the restoration of the King of Delhi to his ancestral throne, they called to mind the national prophecies that the Sikhs would some day plunder the imperial city, and hoped that their fulfilment was now nigh at hand. It thus came to pass that, so far from being a source of weakness, the Punjaub proved our chief tower of strength, and by the blessing of divine Providence on the exertions of the brave and devoted men who administered the affairs of that province at this crisis, we were able to draw from it our principal support in the hour of our greatest peril.

The Chief Commissioner at this time was Sir John Lawrence, whose great ability,

sound judgment, energy, and experience placed him in the foremost rank of Indian statesmen. He was nobly supported by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Donald Macleod, and other men of the same stamp, while Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, and many other celebrated military officers, were at hand to execute the Commissioner's plans. When the tidings of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi reached Lahore, Sir John was on his way to the Murree Hills for the purpose of recruiting his health and strength, which had been considerably impaired by the ceaseless labour of years in a tropical climate; but he halted at Rawul-Pindee, from which he could survey the whole province, and issue his orders to his subordinate officers all over the country.

The military cantonment at Lahore was at Meean-Meer, about six miles distant from that place. At this station there were three regiments of native infantry, a regiment of native cavalry, together with the 81st Foot and two troops of European horse artillery. When the news of the revolt at Meerut reached Lahore, on the 11th of May, Mr. Montgomery perceived at a glance the tremendous mischief which would be caused if the Sepoy regiments in the Punjab should follow the example of the Bengal mutineers. A Brahmin of Oude, who was employed to ascertain the feelings and intentions of the Lahore troops, reported that they were ripe for revolt, and Mr. Montgomery decided that immediate measures must be adopted to disarm them. The station at Meean-Meer was under the charge of Brigadier Corbett, an old officer of the Indian army—a man of energy and decision, who, unlike the commanding officers at Meerut and Dinapore, had no sympathy with half measures, and was not afraid of responsibility. He at once proceeded to carry out Mr. Montgomery's instructions, and by his prompt and masterly arrangements 2500 Sepoys were quietly disarmed without resistance. The

Fort at Lahore was also secured, the Sepoy garrison disarmed and marched out, and every precaution was taken that prudence and forethought could suggest.

It was no light task which Sir John Lawrence had to perform. There were in the province 36,000 native troops, most of them from the same localities as the Meerut and Delhi mutineers, and 22,000 in mixed regiments, of whom one-fourth were Sepoys. There were, on the other hand, 10,500 European troops of all arms, but only one regiment of cavalry. Immediately after the outbreak three regiments of European infantry and one of cavalry were despatched against Delhi, leaving only 7500 Europeans to watch more than five times that number of native troops. The Chief Commissioner had not only to hold the vast province of the Punjab against such odds, but also to reinforce the besieging army at Delhi, and to keep in check the surrounding martial tribes. But prodigious as was the task laid upon Lawrence, he nobly and successfully accomplished it.

One of the first steps taken by Mr. Montgomery was to secure the fortress of Govindghur, the military stronghold of the city of Umritsur, the spiritual capital of the Punjab, which was garrisoned mainly by Sepoys. His instructions were carried out with the utmost promptitude and success by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Cooper. The disarmament of the native troops at Ferozapore, where there were large quantities of munitions of war, was mismanaged by Brigadier Innes, who, afraid of responsibility, shrunk from decided measures, and achieved only a partial success. The magazine was saved from the mutineers, but had to be blown up, and most of the mutineers escaped. The Fort of Phillour, lying between Jullundhur and Loodianah, on the great highroad to Delhi, has been termed the 'key of the Punjab.' Its arsenal was guarded solely by native troops, and a plot had been formed by them, in combination with the Sepoy regiments at Jullundhur, twenty-four miles distant, to

seize the Fort, with its guns and stores. On the 12th of May Artillery Subaltern Griffith, with a handful of Europeans, entered the Fort and kept watch all night, and early next morning a detachment of the 8th Foot, which had been sent off secretly under cover of the night, appeared at the gate, which was thrown open to admit them, and they took possession of the Fort, to the surprise and dismay of the Sepoys.

Great anxiety was felt respecting the frontier post of Peshawur, where only about 2500 European troops were stationed, whilst the native troops amounted to nearly five times that number. In addition there was great apprehension that the border tribes, savage, warlike, and predatory, with the Afghans to back them, would avail themselves of the favourable opportunity to recover for the Moslem the Peshawur Valley, which Runjeet Singh had wrested from them. But Brigadier Sydney Cotton, Herbert Edwardes, Chief Commissioner, and John Nicholson, all three possessed of pre-eminent courage, foresight, and energy, were at Peshawur, and devised measures which were completely successful in suppressing the insurrection in that district and inflicting signal punishment on the rebels. A movable column of reliable troops was organized and placed under the command of Neville Chamberlain, to proceed at once to any spot where an insurrection might break out or danger might threaten. The Guide Corps, composed of men on whom full reliance was placed, were despatched to secure the Fort of Attock, which commands the passage of the Indus. After performing this service they were sent to join the besieging army before Delhi, where they arrived after one of the most rapid marches ever made in India. The native troops at Peshawur, consisting of five regiments, were next disarmed by Brigadier Cotton, a step attended with great danger, but performed with characteristic vigour and entire success. 'I look on the disarming of the four corps

as a master-stroke,' wrote Sir John Lawrence, 'one which will do much good to keep the peace throughout the Punjaub.' The 55th Native Regiment of Infantry, which had been sent to replace the Corps of Guides at Hote Murdan, had mutinied on the 20th of May, and seized the Fort. An expedition was immediately despatched to that place, under the command of Colonel Chute, accompanied by John Nicholson. As soon as their advance was seen from the walls, the mutineers rushed out in a body, carrying with them their arms, their regimental colours, and a quantity of ammunition and treasure, and hastened towards the hills of Swat. They had a long start, but they were overtaken by a detachment headed by Nicholson; and though they fought with the courage of despair, 120 of them were killed and 150 taken prisoners. The rest found refuge among the hills, where they suffered the most dreadful hardships and persecution at the hands of the Mahometans. Terrible punishment was inflicted on the ringleaders of the mutiny, who were blown from guns; the others were condemned to various periods of imprisonment.

Colonel Edwardes now called upon the native chiefs to rally round him, and to send levies of horse and foot to Peshawur. His appeal was nobly responded to; strong bodies of Sikhs flocked to his standard, and were found eminently faithful and serviceable. 'Events here have taken a wonderful turn,' wrote Edwardes at the beginning of July. 'During peace Peshawur was an incessant anxiety. Now it is the strongest point in India. We have struck two great blows—we have disarmed our own troops, and raised levies of all the people of the country. The troops are confounded; they calculated on being backed by the people. The people are delighted, and a better feeling has sprung up between them and us in this enlistment than has ever been obtained before.'

Steps were taken to disarm the native troops throughout the whole province; but

in some places resistance was offered, and not suppressed without bloodshed. In others the Sepoys made their escape through the incapacity and mismanagement of the European commandant. At Jhelum, about half-way between Lahore and Peshawur, the 14th Regiment made a desperate stand, and were not put to flight until the 24th European Regiment, commissioned to disarm them, had lost one officer and twenty-five men, while three officers and twenty-seven men were wounded. At Sealkote a regiment of native infantry and one of cavalry mutinied about the beginning of July, fired on their officers, broke open the gaol and released the prisoners, and then plundered the Treasury. The cavalry, chiefly Mahometans, especially distinguished themselves by the ferocity of their conduct. About 300 of the new Sikh levies, who were at this place along with the Europeans, took refuge in the Fort, which the mutineers did not venture to attack. But they set fire to the town, blew up the powder magazines, and after collecting as much plunder as they could carry with them, they left the place and marched towards the river Ravee, with the intention of crossing it and so making their way to Delhi. They were speedily overtaken, however, by Brigadier Nicholson, who came up with them as they were in the act of crossing the river by a ford. They made an attempt at resistance, but were cut down or shot on all sides; 120 were left dead on the spot, many more were swept away by the river, and the great body of the survivors dispersed and fled in the utmost confusion and terror. About 300 of them had taken up a position on an island in the centre of the river, having with them a 12-pounder iron gun. Nicholson attacked them on the 16th, and in the course of a few minutes the whole body of the mutineers were either killed, or drowned in attempting to make their escape across the river.

An incident of a very different kind occurred at Jullundhur, where there were

posted three Native regiments—two of infantry and one of cavalry—along with the 8th Queen's and a proportionate force of artillery. They were well known to be tainted, and, as we have seen, had been plotting the seizure of the Fort of Phillour; and if Brigadier Cotton or John Nicholson had been there, they would have been disarmed at once by the European regiment and the artillery. But, unfortunately, the troops were under the command of Brigadier Johnstone, 'a Queen's officer of the regulation pattern,' and consequently nothing was done. In the beginning of June the Commissioner, Major Edward Lake, became convinced that the Sepoys were only waiting an opportunity to revolt, and earnestly recommended that they should be disarmed, but to no purpose; Johnstone hesitated and wavered, and did nothing. At length, on the night of the 7th of June, the three Native Regiments broke out in open rebellion. Adjutant Bagshawe was shot, several other officers were wounded, and the usual outrages took place, but no attempt was made by the Brigadier to restrain their excesses. They left the station at one o'clock in the morning, evidently with the intention of picking up the disaffected regiment at Phillour, and marching on together to Delhi; but six hours elapsed before Johnstone sent out a party in pursuit of them. When they reached Phillour they found that, having been joined by the native troops there, the rebels were crossing the Sutlej at a ferry some four miles distant. But they did not know the way thither, and no one came to guide them; so they did nothing, but contentedly bivouacked at Phillour for the night.

Two civilians belonging to Loodianah, Mr. Ricketts, the Deputy-Commissioner, and his assistant, Mr. Thornton, made a courageous attempt, with three companies of the 4th Sikh Regiment under Lieutenant Williams, and two guns, to prevent the rebels from crossing the river, in the hope that time would thus be afforded to the



Engraved by E. Stodart.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.

pursuing column, which they believed to be close on their heels, to come up and avenge their misdeeds. For two hours these gallant civilians and their Sikh supporters maintained the unequal struggle, but Johnstone's troops did not appear; and overwhelmed by numbers, and their gun ammunition being expended, Ricketts and his noble band were obliged to draw off and return to the British cantonment.

The mutineers then, without further opposition, marched on to Loodianah, where the native troops had already risen and seized the Fort and the Treasury. The two bodies cordially combined in the work of destruction and rapine, and were joined by the dissolute and lawless population of that place, and the prisoners released from the gaol. They plundered the Government stores, burned the churches and public buildings, and destroyed everything belonging to the Government or to Europeans which they could not carry off. They were allowed to continue their destructive operations during the whole day without molestation, though Ricketts twice despatched an express to Johnstone's camp urging him to send forward the Horse Artillery to his aid. No succours came until after nightfall, when the enemy had resumed their march to Delhi, and pursuit was hopeless. It was justly said that the escape of these Jullundhur mutineers was one of the worst disgraces of the war.

But notwithstanding such untoward incidents as these, Sir John Lawrence and his noble staff of subordinates not only succeeded in suppressing the revolt in the Punjaub, but sent down large bodies of men and material to assist in the recovery of Delhi. They were no less successful in securing the support of the Rajahs of the protected Sikh states. The Rajah of Jind was actually the first man who took the field against the mutineers. He hastened with 800 men to Kourmal, and thence marched in the van of the British army advancing against Delhi, clearing the road for them and procuring supplies. He held an ex-

posed post during the siege; his troops guarded the ferry over the Jumna on the road to Meerut, and took part in the final assault on the Cashmere Gate. The Maharajah of Patteolo sent a contingent of 5000 men, and kept open the road from Lahore to Delhi. Other two Rajahs supplied 2000 men each. In short, the Sikh nation threw their swords into the scale against the rebels. They were no doubt influenced by a long-nourished hatred to Delhi and its inhabitants, but still it is a remarkable and instructive fact that the people who, only two years before, had been vanquished by the British troops in a series of sanguinary engagements, gave most powerful assistance to our Government in the recovery of our Indian Empire. Well might Sir Robert Montgomery say, referring to the various providential events that concurred to support the cause of Britain in this hour of supreme trial, 'It was not policy, or soldiers, or officers that saved the Indian Empire to England and saved England to India. The Lord our God, He it was who went before us and gave us the victory over our enemies when they had well-nigh overwhelmed us. To Him is all the praise due for nerving the hearts of our statesmen and the arms of our soldiers, for keeping peace in this part of our borders, and for finally giving us the mastery, against all human probabilities, and contrary to all rules of warfare. To Him who holds all events in His own hand, and has so wondrously overruled all to our success and to His own glory, do I desire, on behalf of myself and all whom I represent, to express my devout and heartfelt thanksgiving.'

Swift and merited retribution was about to overtake the perpetrators of the Cawnpore massacres. On the 30th of June Henry Havelock, a veteran officer of high reputation, arrived at Allahabad from Calcutta with instructions, 'after quelling all disturbances at Allahabad, not to lose a moment in supporting Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow and Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore,' and to 'take prompt measures

for dispersing and utterly destroying all mutineers and insurgents.' Havelock was one of the most eminent of the military heroes who in this emergency aided in saving our Indian Empire. He obtained a commission at the age of twenty, and devoted himself with the greatest ardour to the study of his profession; and to a knowledge of military practice he had added, by his own diligence, an exact and varied knowledge of military theory. He took part in the Burmese War in 1824, and by his courage, resolution, and faithful discharge of his duties in camp and cantonment, had attracted the notice of his superior officers, and had commanded the respect and admiration of all who knew him. But he had no aristocratic influence or wealthy connections to press his claims and promote his interests, and had to bear very slow promotion and employment in positions far below his capacity. After seventeen years' service in the army, he had only attained the rank of a junior lieutenant. He married the daughter of Dr. Marshman, the distinguished missionary, and joined the Baptist communion. He had always been a God-fearing man, and devoted himself with such rare success to the religious, intellectual, and social improvement, as well as military discipline, of the company which he commanded, that they were known as 'Havelock's Saints,' 'men who never drank, and were always ready for service.' At the age of forty-three the 'neglected lieutenant' became, in 1838, a captain without purchase. In the Afghan War he was present at the storming of Ghuznee, and was afterwards attached to General Sale's brigade. His advice and assistance during its perilous career were of the highest service on various important occasions. In 1843 he obtained a regimental majority again without purchase, and served with Sir Hugh Gough through the Gwalior campaign and the first Sikh War. In 1854 he became full Colonel, and was acting as Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops when, in 1857, he was selected by Sir James Outram to command

the second division of the army in the Persian expedition, and planned the arrangements which terminated in the victory of Mohamrah. The speedy and fortunate termination of the war permitted him to leave Mohamrah on the 15th of May, and on reaching Bombay on the 29th he heard the astounding news of the outbreak and spread of the Indian mutiny. He hastened with all possible speed to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 17th of June. The time was at last come when Havelock was to obtain ample opportunity for displaying his military genius. He had already formed a plan of military operations for the relief of the beleaguered cities and the suppression of the mutiny, and he was at once appointed by the Governor-General to carry his scheme into effect. He was commissioned, with the rank of Brigadier-General, to take the command of a movable column to operate on the districts above Allahabad, where the British authority was all but extinct. He had now for the first time obtained an independent command, and though with no misgivings as to his own ability to discharge the responsible duties of his new position, his chief reliance was on divine protection and aid. 'May God,' he said, 'give me wisdom to fulfil the expectations of Government, and to restore tranquillity in the disturbed districts.' It was justly said of him that, 'a more simple-minded, upright, God-fearing soldier was not among Cromwell's Ironsides.' Leaving Calcutta on the 25th of June, and travelling by dawk, he reached Allahabad on the last day of the month.

A body of 400 men, under Major Renaud, had already been sent forward in order, if possible, to relieve the garrison at Cawnpore; but on the 2nd or 3rd of July they were informed by a messenger sent by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow that their attempt was too late, and that Sir Hugh Wheeler had capitulated, and all his people had been massacred. Havelock immediately despatched orders to Renaud to halt, and made arrangements to advance

with all possible speed to recover the important post we had lost, and to inflict merited punishment on the rebels and murderers. He was seriously hampered, however, by the want of guns and gunners and cavalry, and the scarcity of carriages. It was not until the 7th of July that he was able to leave Allahabad. The force under his command was mainly composed of two regiments recently returned from Persia, the 64th and the 78th Highlanders, forming about 1000 bayonets, along with 130 Sikhs, a battery of six guns, and a little troop of volunteer cavalry, only eighteen in number, mostly enthusiastic young officers whose regiments had revolted, and who proved of inestimable service. Before dawn on the morning of the 12th he came up with Major Renaud's detachment of 400 men. They marched on together till about seven o'clock in the morning, when they reached Belendah, a spot about 4 miles from Futtehpoore. The troops, weary with their long night march, piled their arms and were preparing for breakfast, when they learned that the enemy were at hand. They at once stood to their arms, and prepared to meet them. The rebels, who mustered 3500 men with twelve guns, came on, confident of victory, in the belief that they were about to encounter the advanced column only under Major Renaud. They speedily discovered their mistake. In ten minutes the battle was won, with scarcely any loss on our part. The Enfield rifles and the cannon alone decided the day. The bloodthirsty rebels, completely cowed, fled before the bayonets of our men could reach them, leaving all their guns in the hands of the British. The victory, Havelock said, in his order of thanks issued next day, was owing 'to the fire of the British artillery, exceeding in rapidity and precision all that the Brigadier had ever witnessed in his not short career; to the power of the Enfield rifle in British hands; to British pluck, that great quality which has survived the vicissitudes of the hour and gained intensity from the crisis; and

to the blessing of Almighty God on a most righteous cause—the cause of justice, humanity, truth, and good government in India.'

Futtehpoore, 'the guilty blood-stained city,' was given up to plunder and destroyed; and all along the line of march signal punishment was inflicted on such of the inhabitants as had taken part in the slaughter of our people. Following up the enemy, who had fled in the direction of Cawnpore, Havelock, on the 15th, again attacked and defeated them in their intrenched position at the village of Aong, capturing four more of their guns. But to the great grief of the whole army, Major Renaud, one of the best soldiers in the camp, was mortally wounded while charging at the head of the Madras Fusiliers. A few miles beyond the village there was a river called the Pandoo-Nuddee, which was swollen by the heavy rains, and Havelock learned from his scouts that the rebels were preparing to blow up the bridge, by which alone the river could be crossed. Wearied as our troops were with the conflict, they nobly responded to the call of their General, and rapidly traversing the intermediate space, they reached the bridge, the head of which had been undermined, in time to prevent its destruction. Our artillery made such havoc among the Sepoys intrenched on the other side that they were entirely paralyzed, and the Fusiliers, sweeping across the bridge, completed their overthrow.

After some hesitation, Nana Sahib resolved to make his last stand on the road to Cawnpore, and he went out himself at the head of 4000 men—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—to make one more effort to arrest the progress of the victorious British. His men were skilfully drawn up in the form of an arc across the two broad thoroughfares, one of which led to Delhi, the other to Cawnpore, protected by heavy guns and supported by their cavalry. But Havelock, by a bold and masterly movement, turned the left of the enemy's position, and his infantry charged with fixed bayonets the

heavy guns, which were strongly posted in a walled village, and carried both village and guns at a rush. The Sepoys fled in confusion towards the centre of their position, where a heavy howitzer was posted. Once more the Highlanders responded to the call of their General, though suffering severely from the burning heat and parching thirst, and rushing forward, followed by the 64th, they captured the howitzer and drove out the rebels from the village in which it was posted. The little body of eighteen gentlemen volunteers came up at this moment, and charging the Sepoys with dauntless courage, cut down great numbers of them. 'Well done!' exclaimed the General, as they rejoined the main body; 'I am proud to command you.'

The battle, which had now lasted three hours, was not yet over; for the enemy, having found fresh shelter in a village protected by trees, rallied and poured a heavy fire into the British ranks. Once more the Highlanders, wearied and exhausted as they were, rushed forward and swept down all opposition. 'I never,' says an eyewitness, 'saw anything so fine. The men of the 78th went on with sloped arms like a wall. Till within 100 yards not a shot was fired. At the word "Charge!" they broke out like an eager pack of hounds, and the village was taken in an instant.'

Nana Sahib, driven to desperation, made one more effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Fresh troops poured out from Cawnpore to his assistance, and he caused a 24-pounder and two smaller guns to be planted upon the road leading to the cantonment, which poured out first round shot and then grape upon our exhausted battalions. Our soldiers were so completely exhausted with their efforts, and with the overpowering heat, that they were compelled to lie down to rest. At this critical moment a strong body of the rebel infantry advanced to attack them, and their cavalry, spreading themselves out on both sides, seemed to hem our men in, while their guns poured out unceasing showers of shot. But

at the call of their General the men leaped at once to their feet, and with one resistless rush scattered the Sepoy infantry, and then in the same breath carried the battery. Four guns of Maude's battery, coming up at this moment, opened a terrific fire upon the beaten enemy, and completed the victory. In this fiercely contested conflict the British lost seventy men; the number of killed and wounded among the enemy was not known, but must have been very great. It has been justly said that the battle of Cawnpore, won by 1000 British soldiers, without cavalry, against 6000 Sepoys, strongly intrenched, and supported by superior artillery and numerous cavalry, 'stamped Havelock's character as a military commander.' It was won by his masterly strategy even more than by the valour of his troops. 'It was one of those triumphs of mind over matter by which man conquers man.' Next morning the victorious army marched on to occupy Cawnpore, which was two miles from the battle-field. As the advanced guard approached the town a terrific explosion, that seemed to rend the ground beneath their feet, proclaimed the destruction of the great magazine, which had been blown up by a party of the rebel horse, left behind for the purpose, when the enemy evacuated the place.

Upon entering the town our men learned the full truth of the dreadful story respecting the massacre of the women and children, of which some spies had a few hours before brought them tidings. The unhappy victims of the mingled rage and fear and fiendish cruelty of the Nana had been confined in a small and wretched building called the 'Bubee-ghur,' in the vicinity of his palace, where they were penned like sheep for the slaughter. On the 15th of July, when he found the day going against him, the Nana issued orders for their destruction. There were four or five men among the captives, and these were brought out and killed in his presence. Then a party of Sepoys was ordered to shoot the women and children through the doors and

PLAN OF BATTLE OF CAWNPOOR 3rd Dec^r 1857

Between BRITISH FORCES under
SIR COLIN CAMPBELL G.C.B.
and INSURGENT TROOPS under
THE BROTHERS OF NAWA SAHIB

Scale of Miles
1 Mile

Reference.

- British Troops
previous to crossing Canal
- D^o up to their
arrival at Enemy's Camp
- D^o after separating
at Enemy's Camp
- Mutineers



windows of their prison-house. But the work was too hideous even for them, and they only fired at the ceilings of the rooms. The Nana is said to have been so incensed at their conduct, that he threatened to blow them from guns. Two butchers—Mussulmans—were brought from the bazaars, and along with two Hindoos from the villages, and a man wearing the uniform of the Nana's guard, were commissioned to undertake the work of death. Not one escaped the slaughter. Next morning the bodies of the murdered prisoners, about 200 in number, were brought out and thrown into an adjacent well. Some of the children were alive, almost unhurt, and they too were tossed in amongst the dead.

The appearance of the slaughter-house—the floors of the rooms two inches deep in the blood of the victims, long tresses of hair, scraps of paper, torn Bibles and Prayer-books, work-boxes and unfinished work, and the little round hats of the children scattered about on the red floor—told too well the harrowing tale. The pitiable sight almost maddened our soldiers, and excited in them mingled feelings of pity, horror, indignation, and a thirst for vengeance, which found vent in the infliction of stern retribution on all who could be found to have been in any way connected with the massacre. The collector who gave the order for the butchery was caught on the 19th, and hanged at once on the branch of a tree, in a way which accidentally made his death a very painful one.

‘Whenever a rebel is caught,’ wrote General Neill, who came up from Benares and was left in command at Cawnpore, ‘he is immediately tried, and unless he can prove a defence he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ring-leaders I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful murder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think by so doing they doom their souls to perdition. Let them think so! My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a Soubahdar, or native officer,

a fat brute, a high-caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-martial do his duty, and a few lashes made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done he was taken out and immediately hanged, and after death buried in a ditch at the roadside. A similar retribution was to be inflicted on all who had taken an active part in the mutiny. Each miscreant, after sentence of death is pronounced upon him, will be taken to the house in question under a guard, and will be forced into cleaning a small portion of the blood stains. The task will be made as revolting to his feelings as possible, and the provost-martial will use the lash in forcing any one objecting to complete his task. After properly cleaning up his portion, the culprit is to be immediately hanged.’

The arch villain, the author of the Cawnpore massacre, had unfortunately succeeded in making his escape. After the battle of the 16th he had fled to Bithoor, attended by a few Sowars. He saw clearly that his cause was hopeless; his retainers were fast deserting him; many of them, it is said, reproached him for his failure, and he thought only of escaping the vengeance which he was certain would be inflicted on him if he fell into the hands of the ‘avenger of blood.’ He gave out that he intended to immolate himself by drowning in the Ganges, and embarking by night with his women in a boat, he succeeded under cover of darkness in reaching the Oude side of the sacred river, and in making his escape into Nepaul. He was never more heard of.* A detachment of the Madras Fusiliers was sent to ascertain the state of affairs at Bithoor. They found the place abandoned, and they despoiled and destroyed the Nana's palace. The Government treasure which he had carried off could not be found, and his family jewels had also disappeared; but twenty guns were captured and brought down to Cawnpore.

After the victory at Cawnpore, Havelock issued a spirit-stirring and characteristic

* The Nana had still one captive in his hands. This was a woman named Carter, who had been taken prisoner and had borne a child in his palace. When the miscreant fled, his last act was to cause this woman and her child to be put to death.

'order,' in which, while heartily commending his men who had won his battles for him, he reminded them that their work was only begun. 'Soldiers,' he said, 'your General is satisfied, and more than satisfied with you. He has never seen steadier or more devoted troops. Between the 7th and the 16th you have under the Indian sun of July marched 126 miles and fought four actions. Your comrades at Lucknow,' he added, 'are in peril; Agra is besieged; Delhi is still the focus of mutiny and rebellion. You must make great sacrifices, if you would obtain great results. Three cities have to be saved; two strong places to be disblockaded. Your General is confident that he can accomplish all these things and restore this part of India to tranquillity, if you only second him with your efforts, and if your discipline is equal to your valour.'

Leaving Cawnpore in charge of General Neill with 300 men, Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 25th of July and advanced towards Lucknow. He found the whole country in arms against the British Government. The landowners and the court of the deposed king had made common cause with the revolted Sepoys, in their efforts to destroy the power that had deprived them of their independence. On the 28th Havelock came up with the rebels, and defeated them in two engagements. Next day, on reaching the town of Oonao, he found it defended by an insurgent army 10,000 strong, including a portion of Nana Sahib's force. Their position was strongly intrenched; in fact, it was protected by a garden inclosure and a village, the houses of which were loopholed, while a swamp on the right and the flooded state of the country on the left made it impossible for the position to be turned. An attack in front was therefore inevitable. After an obstinate resistance, the inclosure and the village were carried by our troops at the point of the bayonet, and the guns captured. But in debouching on the place by a narrow passage which ran between the village and the town, they found the enemy rallied and

re-formed in great force—infantry, guns, and cavalry—on the plain. The signal for attack was at once given, and the enemy were put to flight and their guns taken.

After a halt of three hours the indefatigable and victorious commander pushed on towards Buserut Gunge, a walled town with wet ditches, protected in the rear by a broad and deep inundation. The position, however, was turned by our troops, the earthworks carried in a rush, and the town captured. But though thus victorious in every engagement, Havelock now found to his great vexation that further progress was for the present impracticable. A body of the rebels, 25,000 strong, was posted in an intrenched position in his front; cholera had broken out in his small force, which had been already reduced by incessant combats. It now numbered less than 900 men. In a communication which he made at this time to the Commander-in-Chief, he said the enemy was in such force at Lucknow that to encounter him at five marches from that position would be to court annihilation. In these circumstances, being satisfied that it was impossible to penetrate the dense masses of the insurgents, Havelock deemed it incumbent upon him to pause in his victorious career, and to fall back upon Cawnpore. He accordingly returned to Mungulwar, which is about 6 miles from the Oude bank of the Ganges opposite to Cawnpore. Here he learned that the rebels, taking heart from his retreat, were following in his rear, and had reoccupied Buserut Gunge. He at once turned upon them, and defeated them with great slaughter. He then returned to his camp at Mungulwar, and made preparations to cross the Ganges. He had already sent across his baggage and spare ammunition, when he was informed that the rebels had a third time mustered in strong force at Buserut Gunge. He determined to strike another effective blow. Though the insurgents, about 4000 in number, had six field-guns, and were strongly intrenched, the Highlanders, without firing a shot, rushed

with a cheer upon the principal redoubt, and captured two out of the three guns with which it was armed. The Fusiliers at the same time routed the enemy's left, and the whole line was speedily in full retreat, leaving 300 killed and wounded on the battle-field. Havelock then returned to his former position, and on the 12th and 13th of August the British troops crossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, worn out by fatigue, sickness, and constant exposure to the burning sun. But after resting for a couple of days, Havelock learned that a large body of the rebels had collected at Bithoor, and on the 16th of August, uniting his force with that of General Neill, he marched to give them battle. They were 4000 in number, and were posted with two guns in a position which Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an obstinate engagement, in which the enemy lost 250 killed and wounded, he drove them from their position, and captured their guns. The British loss was fourteen killed and thirty wounded. General Havelock said in his despatch, that if he had possessed cavalry not a mutineer could have reached Seorajpore, to which they retreated. The British column now took up its quarters at Cawnpore, there to await the arrival of reinforcements, without which it was utterly impossible to reach Lucknow and relieve the beleaguered garrison in the Residency there. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August this heroic body of troops had encountered an enemy five times more numerous in no less than nine engagements, had defeated them on every occasion, and had captured in the field forty guns and had recovered sixty men. Such a series of gallant exploits forms one of the most brilliant episodes in the history of our Indian Empire, or indeed of our country.

CHAPTER XVII.

General state of Oude—Causes of inquietude—Harsh and unjust treatment of the nobles and great landholders—Misconduct of Commissioner Jackson—He is superseded and Sir Henry Lawrence appointed to succeed him—His defensive measures—Battle of Chinbut—Commencement of the siege—Death of Sir Henry Lawrence—Sufferings of the Garrison—Mining and Countermining—Death of Major Banks—Despatch of Brigadier Inglis—Havelock's preparations for the relief of Lucknow—He is joined by Sir James Outram, who continues Havelock in command—Advance of the relieving force—Defeat of the rebels—Capture of the Alumhagh—Death of General Neill—Havelock forces his way through the city to the Residency—Joy of the Garrison—Sir James Outram assumes the command—Renewal of the Siege of Lucknow—Siege of Delhi—Position and defences of the city—Operations of the British troops—Attacks of the Sepoys—Death of General Barnard—General Reed, his successor, resigns the command to General Archdale Wilson—Arrival of Brigadier Nicholson—Colonel Baird Smith—Captain Alexander Taylor—Storming of Delhi—Nicholson mortally wounded—Gallant exploits—Flight and capture of the King—His sons seized and shot by Hodson—Death of Brigadier Nicholson—The column of pursuit.

ON the outbreak of the mutiny the greatest anxiety was felt respecting the province of Oude, which little more than a year before had passed under the administration of the British. The general opinion seemed to be that, owing to the long misgovernment of its native rulers, who were sunk in the grossest voluptuousness and pollution, and the grievous oppression of the people by the agents of the Government and the Talookdars, its annexation had become a matter of necessity. But it was carried out in a manner most unjust and oppressive. The landowners were deprived of the greater part of their property, and many of them reduced to a state of abject poverty. Some women of high birth were obliged to sell their shawls and trinkets in order to save themselves from starvation; and Mr. Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, admits that families which had never before been outside the Zenana had to go forth under cover of the darkness of night to beg their bread. The civilians let loose upon the newly acquired territory, in order to recommend themselves to the Government, strove to extract from the inhabitants the utmost possible amount of revenue, by imposing heavy taxes on the necessities of life, which caused universal and intense dissatisfaction. The large native army which had been in the service of the King was necessarily disbanded when his territories were annexed to the

British dominions, and little more than one-fourth of them were enlisted in our forces. Thus the dangerous classes in the country were swollen by the addition, not only of the ruined retainers of the Talookdars, but by upwards of 40,000 men trained to the use of arms and indignant at their loss of employment. Sir Henry Lawrence earnestly remonstrated against this system of wholesale confiscation and oppression, and warned the Governor-General of the danger which could not but arise from the harsh and often unjust proceedings of the Commissioners and their subordinates. His remonstrances and warnings, however, were unheeded, and Mr. Coverly Jackson, Mr. Robert M. Bird, and other officials of the same stamp, not only persisted in carrying out, with the utmost rigour, the 'Settlement' and the 'Resumption' which stripped the native gentry of their estates, but treated the unfortunate landowners with contumely and insult. Charges of the most serious nature were brought by the ex-King of Oude against the British officials in the provinces. 'It was affirmed,' says Sir John Kaye, 'that they had turned the stately palaces of Lucknow into stalls and kennels; that delicate women, the daughters and companions of kings, had been sent adrift helpless and homeless; that treasure-houses had been violently broken open and despoiled; that the private property of the royal family had been sent to the hammer;



E. P. Brindley

J. Pannage

L U C K N O W .

and that other vile things had been done, very humiliating to the King's people, but far more disgraceful to our own.'

Jackson, whom the Governor-General had unfortunately selected to discharge the duties of Chief Commissioner during the absence of Sir James Outram owing to bad health, was quite unfitted for that responsible position, mainly in consequence of an irritable and violent temper, and of an exacting, arbitrary, overbearing disposition. Mr. Martin Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, was an able and energetic official, but of a most contentious spirit. Jackson and he, of course, soon came into violent strife. So absorbed were the two with their miserable personal squabbles that their duties were to a great extent neglected, and no attempt appears to have been made to carry out the important task intrusted to them with either justice or humanity. In vain did Lord Canning urge the Chief Commissioner to make inquiry into the truth of the charges brought by the ex-King of Oude against his subordinate officers, and express his deep disappointment at the manner in which, from first to last, Jackson had treated this matter. The Commissioner was too intent on riding roughshod over Gubbins and Ommaney (the Judicial Commissioner, with whom he was also at war) to care for the dishonour cast on the British name, or the humiliating position in which he had placed the Governor-General.

In these critical circumstances it had become a matter of necessity to remove the 'officiating Commissioner' from a post for which he was so unfit, and Sir Henry Lawrence was selected to succeed him. No better choice could have been made. Sir Henry's great ability, long experience, and intimate knowledge of the Sepoy character pre-eminently fitted him for the responsible and dangerous office to which he was now appointed. He had repeatedly called the attention of the Government to the great risk arising out of the false security which they indulged. Mr. Jack-

son was of opinion that no white troops were required in Oude, and so they had nearly all been removed from the province. At Lucknow there was only one weak European regiment, the 32nd, under Colonel John Inglis. The situation of affairs was perilous in the extreme, as Sir Henry clearly perceived. He did all that prudence and foresight could suggest to prevent an outbreak, while he at the same time rapidly fortified and provisioned the position which he had selected as a place of refuge if a revolt should take place. As one of his oldest friends wrote, 'Three weeks before anyone thought of the possibility of our ever being besieged in Lucknow, he saw that it might be the case. He laid his plans accordingly; got in all the treasure from the city and stations, bought and stored grain and supplies of every kind, bought up all the supplies of the European shopkeepers, got the mortars and guns into the Residency, got in the powder and small ammunition, all the shot and shell and the heavy guns, had pits dug for the powder and grain, strengthened the Residency, cleared away all obstructions close up to the Residency, and made every preparation for the worst.' The owners of the buildings which were demolished, in order that they might not afford shelter to the assailants of the Residency, were fairly reimbursed. The mosques in the vicinity were unfortunately spared, owing to the reluctance of Sir Henry to destroy 'the holy places.'

The long-meditated revolt at length took place on the 31st of May, accompanied by the usual plunder and incendiarism, but owing to Lawrence's judicious precautions the loss of life was much less than the rebels had intended and hoped. But Brigadier Handscombe, Lieutenant Grant, and Cornet Raleigh were murdered by their men, and Lieutenant Chambers was severely wounded. Next morning the mutineers, who were drawn up on the racecourse, were gallantly charged by Lieutenant Hardinge and Commissioner Gubbins, whose combative propensities found ample scope in this struggle.

Many of the rebels were captured, and the rest were put to flight in great confusion.

The mutiny thus commenced at Lucknow spread with the speed of lightning through the whole province. The native troops at the out-stations rose at once, and the great body of the disaffected population rose with them. 'Day after day the saddest tidings of mutiny and massacre, of English officers murdered, of property pillaged and destroyed, of law and authority extinguished and anarchy triumphant, came in from the out-posts and filled our people with dismay.' The new Government had toppled down, Mr. Gubbins said, 'like a house built of cards.' In some few instances the Sepoys protected their officers and assisted them to escape; and two or three of the ill-used landowners returned good for the evil they had suffered at the hands of the Government, by affording shelter to the civil officers and their wives and children in their flight. But in the great majority of cases the rebels added murder to mutiny and plunder; and the great landholders, who might have been a tower of strength to the British Government, had been hopelessly alienated by the Resumption and Revenue measures, which had stripped them of their property and converted them into our bitterest enemies. At Seetapore Mr. Christian with his wife and child, Colonel Bird and five of his lieutenants, Dr. Hill, and other civilians, were barbarously murdered. Sir Mountstuart Jackson and several ladies made their escape, but only to fall shortly after into the hands of the enemy, by whom, after great hardships and imprisonment, the men of the party were barbarously murdered at Lucknow. At Mohumdu the Sepoys allowed the Europeans, headed by Mr. J. G. Thomason, deputy commissioner, and Captain Patrick Orr, his assistant, along with the refugees from Shahjehanpore, including a number of women and children, to escape towards Arun. But they were followed by a party of Oude Irregular Force, and butchered in the most brutal manner. Captain Orr alone escaped to

tell the tale. At Fyzabad, where, 'after the wonted fashion, the infantry, artillery, and cavalry, one and all, protested their fidelity,' they all mutinied; but the infantry and artillery prevented the cavalry from murdering their officers and other Europeans, and assisted them to escape. The fugitives went down the river Gogra in boats; but they had scarcely left Fyzabad when one of these regiments—the 22nd—commanded by Colonel Lennox, sent a messenger to the 17th, who were then on the banks of the Gogra, to intercept and destroy the very persons they had assisted to escape. The treacherous request was readily obeyed. The boats were intercepted about thirty miles down the river; Colonel Goldney, a gallant old officer, was shot, and nearly all the rest either shared his fate or were drowned. A portion of them got away for the moment, but all except one were murdered by the country people. Colonel Lennox, with his wife and daughter, were several hours later than the others in leaving Fyzabad, but they had not gone far down the river when they were obliged to abandon their boat and to set out on foot for Goruckpore. On their way they narrowly escaped being handed over to the mutineers, but were rescued by the followers of Mahmud Hoossein Khan, who sheltered and provided for them till the magistrate of Goruckpore sent an escort to convey them to that place. At the out-stations of Sulttanpore, Salone, Bareitch, Gonde, Secrora, and Durriabad there were similar scenes of disloyalty, treachery, pillage, and murder, alternated with wonderful and narrow escapes. Everywhere British authority had collapsed, and in Lucknow alone were our officers able to make a stand against the tremendous inundation that was sweeping everything before it.

All the outposts of Oude being thus lost, the mutineers gradually closed in upon Lucknow. The position of Lawrence was now becoming critical. His European force which alone could be depended upon, consisted of only 510 men of Her Majesty's

32nd Foot, and within the intrenchments there were no fewer than 350 women and children. Three positions only were held by the British troops—the Residency,* the Mutchee-Bhawun,† and the cantonments. These had all been greatly strengthened, and the remaining military posts within the city were all abandoned. On the 30th of June Sir H. Lawrence, having learned that the enemy were mustering in great force about eight or ten miles from Lucknow with the intention of coming forward to attack it, resolved to march out against them, though having only an imperfect idea of their strength. Taking with him about 700 men, one-half of whom were natives, and ten guns with an eight-inch howitzer, he proceeded as far as the village of Chinhut, eight miles from the city, where he found the rebels, to the number of 15,000 men, with thirty-six guns, prepared to receive him. Regiment after regiment of the insurgents poured steadily towards Lawrence's little band, and extended themselves in both directions to outflank them on the right and on the left. At the outset the police went over in a body; and the native gunners, cutting the traces, galloped over to the enemy or hastened back to Lucknow. Two of the guns were upset in the ditch, and the traces of some of the others had been cut. Prodigies of valour were displayed by the rest of the force, natives vying with Europeans in daring acts; but our infantry, unsupported by cannon, were overpowered by the masses of the enemy, and were compelled to retreat to the Residency, leaving the howitzer and two field-

* The outer tracing of the Residency was connected by breastworks, ditches were excavated in front of them, and parapets erected behind them. At certain points ramparts were thrown up and embrasures pierced, slopes were scarped, stakes and palisades fixed. Some houses were demolished, the roofs of others protected by mud walls; windows and doors were barricaded, and walls loopholed.

† The Mutchee-Bhawun was an extensive edifice of commanding appearance, the upper story of which is described as towering above the surrounding buildings. It had been a place of great importance in the earlier history of Lucknow, but in later days it had been used as a storehouse for tents and other public property, and had been suffered to fall into decay.

pieces behind them. The British loss in this unfortunate encounter amounted to 118 European officers and men killed (including the gallant Colonel Case), and 182 natives killed and missing, besides fifty-four Europeans and eleven natives wounded. 'Throughout that terrible day, during the conflict,' wrote Captain Wilson, 'and when all was lost, and retreat became all but a rout, and men were falling fast, Sir Henry Lawrence displayed the utmost calmness and decision; and as with hat in hand he sat on his horse on the Kokaralee bridge, rallying our men for a last stand, himself a distinct mark for the enemy's skirmishers, he seemed to bear a charmed life.'

The disaster at Chinhut led at once to the occupation of Lucknow by the rebels, and the investment of the Residency. That very afternoon they began to loophole many of the houses in its vicinity, and they succeeded in bringing two guns to bear upon our position. Their musketry fire was so heavy and incessant that Sir Henry thought it necessary to abandon the Mutchee-Bhawun, and to concentrate all his force within the walls of the Residency. Signals were accordingly made, with some difficulty and danger, to the troops who occupied the former post, directing them to abandon it, which they accomplished under cover of night without the loss of a man, bringing with them their treasure and their guns. The building, which contained 250 barrels of gunpowder, with large quantities of small-arm ammunition and provisions, which it was impossible to remove, was then blown up after midnight to prevent these stores from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Sir Henry Lawrence occupied a room in the Residency convenient for the purpose of observing the enemy, but much exposed to their fire, and here he was wounded mortally on the day after the disaster at Chinhut by a shell from the howitzer the enemy had captured from our troops. On the previous day a shell had fallen into the room and burst close to Sir Henry and Mr. Couper,

without injury to either. The general was entreated to shift his quarters, but he laughingly said he did not believe the enemy had another artilleryman good enough to put another shell into that small room. Ultimately, however, he consented to go down into the lower story. Next day (June 2nd), after several hours' hard work, he returned to the Residency about eight in the morning, and was reminded of his promise to go below. He said he was very tired and would rest a couple of hours, and that then he would have his writing things and papers removed. But shortly after, while explaining to Captain Wilson, assistant adjutant-general, some alterations he wished made in an official memorandum, in the presence of his nephew and a native servant, a shell fell into the room with a terrific report and shock, and dense darkness. Wilson was thrown on the ground quite stunned, and on recovering himself he cried out, 'Sir Henry, are you hurt?' The inquiry was twice made without any answer. The third time the voice of the Chief Commissioner was heard to say, in a low tone, 'I am killed.' He survived two days in great agony, but he calmly made arrangements for his departure, appointed Major Banks to succeed him as chief commissioner, and Brigadier Inglis to command the troops. His last counsel was, 'No surrender! let every man die at his post, but never make terms. God help the poor women and children.' He dwelt on the worthlessness of all human distinctions and worldly successes, and the all-sufficiency of a Saviour's love. His dying wish was that if any epitaph were placed on his tomb, it should be simply this—'Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty.'

Sir Henry was certainly one of the noblest men of his day. 'Of all men in India,' wrote Lord Canning, 'he is the one whose loss is the least reparable at this moment. I do not know the person who can fill his place.' 'Few men,' wrote Brigadier Inglis, 'have ever possessed to the same extent the power which he enjoyed of winning the hearts of

all those with whom he came in contact, and thus insuring the warmest and most zealous devotion for himself and for the Government which he served.'*

In accordance with Sir Henry's dying instructions, Major Banks assumed his office, and Brigadier Inglis took the command of the troops. The former, whose able administration, courage, and sympathy with suffering had endeared him to the whole garrison, was most unfortunately killed on the 21st of July. He had been ever 'active among the active, fearless among the fearless,' and his loss was greatly lamented. On his death the sole command was assumed by Brigadier Inglis—'an excellent soldier, active, energetic, and quick-sighted.' The mode in which the defence was conducted and the assaults of the enemy baffled, has been described in clear, terse, and expressive language by the Brigadier himself, who most faithfully followed the directions of the great and good man to whom, as he said, the successful defence of the position was, under Providence, solely to be attributed.

'When the blockade was commenced,' he said, 'only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of engineers, but his invariable reply was—"Spare the holy places and private property too as far as possible;" and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices and respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery.'

The enemy kept up a terrific fire day and night from these buildings, from which no place on the whole of the works could

* For many years Sir Henry devoted a portion of his official income to the establishment of the asylum for the orphan children of European parents which bears his name, and stands on the hills between Simlah and Umballa. When dying he spoke repeatedly of those 'little ones' for whom he had done so much.

be considered safe. Several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the banqueting-hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building. The rebels also busied themselves in erecting batteries, and they soon had from twenty to twenty-four guns in position, some of them of very large calibre, planted within fifty yards of the defences, but in places where the heavy guns of the garrison could not be brought to bear upon them. This incessant fire of cannon and musketry was kept up until the 20th of July.

'On that day,' says Brigadier Inglis, 'at 10 A.M. the rebels assembled in very great force all around our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the water gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes' post, but were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks, invariably defeated, and at 2 P.M. they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew a great portion off the outer wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While the operation was going on another large body advanced on the Cawnpore battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders, which they planted against the walls; but here and elsewhere they met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain,

the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up, for the rest of the day, an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th August the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines, with very fatal effects. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Meham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air, but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. On the 5th September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun in Major Arthorpe's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses which strewed the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader, a fine-looking old native officer, among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. His Lordship in the council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine, a species of offensive warfare for the exercise of which our position was peculiarly situated, and had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might perhaps have ended in the capture of the place; but by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterranean advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eighty of them were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion.'

Well might Sir James Outram say, in a Division Order issued by him, that 'the

annals of war contain no brighter page than that which will record the bravery, fortitude, vigilance, and patient endurance of hardships, privation, and fatigue, displayed by the garrison of Lucknow.'

On the 22nd of September, a spy whom they had sent out with a letter for General Havelock, brought the beleaguered garrison the gratifying intelligence that the relieving force had crossed the Ganges, and would arrive in three or four days. On the 23rd and 24th distant firing was heard, which gradually came nearer and nearer. Then a commotion was observed in the city; and first the inhabitants, then the Sepoys and large bodies of Irregular Cavalry, were seen crossing the different bridges; and, finally, our troops were seen fighting their way through one of the principal streets.

'Once fairly seen,' says an eye-witness, 'all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended; and then the garrison's long pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses—from every post still held by a few gallant spirits—rose cheer on cheer. Even from the hospital many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten.'

At the beginning of the siege the garrison amounted to 927 Europeans and 765 natives. Of the former 140 were killed, or died of their wounds, and 190 were wounded. Of the natives 72 were killed and 131 were wounded. Of the officers who distinguished themselves in the siege special honour is due to Brigadier Inglis and to Captain Thomas Fourness Wilson, who happily survived its dangers to be rewarded as he deserved, and Lieutenant Bonham, who was neglected. Great praise was also bestowed on Mr. Gubbins; Captain James, the commissariat officer; and Mr. Couper, who became Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. Among the honoured dead were Major Banks, the chief commissioner; Colonel Case; Major Anderson, the chief engineer; Captain Fulton, his successor,

who to the grief and dismay of every one in the garrison was killed only eleven days before the relief; Captains Simonds of the Artillery, Redcliffe of the 9th Cavalry, Francis of the 13th Native Infantry, Mr. Polhampton the chaplain, and numerous others of the same noble class whom we have not space to enumerate. Seven out of the sixty-eight ladies succumbed during the siege. All of them who were able 'constituted themselves,' said the Brigadier, 'the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital.'

While the Lucknow garrison had thus been gallantly striving to keep the blood-thirsty hordes of the rebels at bay, Havelock was impatiently waiting at Cawnpore for the reinforcements without which he could not advance to their relief. At length on the 16th of September he was joined by a body of troops under Sir James Outram, who, as the superior officer, was entitled to assume the command of the force which Havelock had led to so many victories. But with a chivalrous generosity, worthy of his character as the 'Bayard of India,' Outram, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, resolved to waive his rank on the occasion, and left to Havelock the glory of relieving Lucknow and rescuing its heroic and enduring garrison. In accordance with this determination Sir James wrote to Havelock, 'To you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already struggled so much. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as commissioner, placing my military service at your disposal should you please, and serving under you as a volunteer.'

Havelock, thus reinforced, continued his victorious march. On the 19th of September he crossed the Ganges into Oude, and on the 21st he attacked the rebels at Mungarwar, and drove them from their position, capturing four guns, two of which, together with the colours of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry, were taken by the small body of

volunteer cavalry headed by Sir James Outram. On the 22nd of September the British forces accomplished a fatiguing march of twenty miles, and on the 23rd found themselves in the presence of the enemy, who had taken up a strong position, with their right and centre drawn up behind a chain of hillocks, and their left resting on the Alumbagh, an isolated building, with grounds and inclosures, about three miles from the Residency. As soon as our troops came within reach, they were assailed by the rebels, who were driven back after a smart skirmish, in which they lost five guns. As our men had been marching for three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages, it was thought necessary to permit them to halt on the 24th. Next day the 1st Brigade, under Sir James Outram's personal leading, drove the enemy from a succession of gardens and walled inclosures, and then the whole army, skirting the city, made their way by a circuitous route towards the Residency, about two miles distant, under a very heavy fire of grape and musketry, especially when they came opposite the Kaiserbagh, or King's Palace. Havelock was determined to reach the beleaguered garrison that night, and at this point he ordered the 78th Highlanders and the regiment of Ferozepore to advance. 'This column,' he says, 'rushed with a desperate gallantry, led by Sir James Outram and myself, and Lieutenants Hudson and Hargood, of my staff, through streets of flat-roofed, loopholed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up; and overcoming every obstacle, established itself within the inclosure of the Residency. The joy of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described; but it was not until the next evening that the whole of my guns, tumbrils, sick, and wounded, continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, could be brought step by step within this *enceinte* and the adjacent palace of the Fureed Buksh.' The loss of the British in this perilous enterprise, in killed, wounded, and missing,

amounted to 535 officers and men. Among those who fell in the struggle were Colonel Bazeley, and General Neill, one of the most distinguished of our Indian officers, who was shot while forcing his way through one of the gates of the city.

Sir James Outram now assumed the command of the troops whose timely arrival had saved the women and children in the garrison of Lucknow from such a massacre as that of Cawnpore; but his little army was too weak to drive the rebels out of the city, or even to remove the sick and wounded, and the women and children. On the contrary, they were themselves now besieged, and their communications with the Alumbagh, where they had left their baggage with a guard of 300 men, were entirely cut off. The rebels soon recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown by the arrival of the relieving force, and renewed their attacks upon the Residency. It became necessary to drive them out of the surrounding buildings, and repeated sorties were made for that purpose, which were in every instance successful, though attended with considerable losses of officers and men. The rebels had recourse to their old work of mining, having advanced no fewer than twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; but as General Outram had now a much larger body of men under his command than the old garrison, he had no difficulty in countermining them, and foiled them at all points, with the loss of their galleries and mines, and the destruction in repeated instances of the latter. At length, after holding the Residency for four months, the gallant defenders learned, to their intense satisfaction, that relief was at hand—that Sir Colin Campbell had arrived at Cawnpore, and was about to march against their besiegers.

We now return to the operations of our troops at Delhi. The imperial city occupies a strong position on the river Jumna, which protects for two miles its eastern side, which was also defended by an irregular wall with bastions and towers. The fortifi-

cations of the place extended about seven miles, and included an area of about three square miles. One-half of the river face was occupied by an old Mogul fort and by the palace of the King of Delhi, which was in reality a large and powerful fortress commanding the Magazine, the chief arsenal of Upper India. The British forces occupied a very advantageous position on the old site of the Delhi cantonments, from which they could bombard the town with great effect. It extended from the river on the left along the ridge facing the north side of the city as far as the Subzee Mundee suburb, where the ridge terminates on the right, a line of rather more than two miles, at a height of from fifty to sixty feet above the general elevation of the city, the distance from the city walls averaging from 1200 to 1500 yards. The position was open to the rear with good roads leading from it, by means of which a constant communication could be kept up with the Punjaub. It was the driest season of the year; but fortunately, owing to the excessive rains of 1856, the Nujufgurh Lake was so flooded and enlarged that it had not ceased even in the month of June, 1857, to send out an unfailing supply of pure good water, which filled an aqueduct in the rear of our position. There can be no doubt that this providential incident contributed greatly to maintain the salubrity of our camp during the protracted siege.

It was at first proposed to make an attempt to carry the city by a *coup-de-main*, and the assault was to have taken place on the 13th of June; but owing to the mistake of a superior officer, who misunderstood his instructions, it was fortunately abandoned at the last moment: for there is good reason to believe that though the city might have been carried by a vigorous assault, it could not then have been retained by the comparatively small number of British troops (only 2000 bayonets) against the overwhelming numbers of the mutineers, who fought desperately behind stone walls. It therefore

became necessary to undertake regular siege operations. But with such a small force at his command it was impossible for the British general to invest the city. The rebels had immense supplies of ordnance arms, ammunition, and equipments; and they were continually receiving fresh accessions to their numbers, as one revolted regiment after another hastened to Delhi. 'Outmatched in numbers, outmatched in weight of metal, outmatched in profuseness of ammunition,' our troops were rather the besieged than the besiegers, and had to wait the arrival of reinforcements before they could make a regular attempt to storm the city. Meanwhile the Sepoys, confident in their numbers and the protection of their walls and forts, from time to time made sorties upon our camp, and though uniformly repulsed with heavy loss they returned again and again to the attack. The most formidable of these attempts to drive away our army by force of overwhelming numbers and their powerful artillery, took place on the 23rd of June, the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey. A prophecy had been industriously circulated among the natives, that on that day the final overthrow of the British power in India would take place. Relying on this prediction, the rebels made a determined effort on that anniversary to overwhelm the besiegers. Issuing from the city in great numbers they kept up a vigorous fire on our batteries during the whole day, but were repulsed with great loss, and at last fled into the city under a crushing fire from our guns. Another attack of the same kind, with a similar result, was made on the anniversary of the Mahometan festival styled 'Buckree Eed.' The contest was continued without intermission, day and night, until the morning of the 2nd of August. In no former attack had the rebels displayed such determination. Although their courage invariably failed them when about to make their final rush, yet never before had they so closely approached the British breastworks. Throughout this

prolonged encounter our forces, well under cover, inflicted terrible punishment upon the enemy with slight loss to themselves; and when, about noon on the 2nd, the rebels carried off the dead and wounded who lay in heaps before our works, only forty-six of our men of all ranks had been hit. This attack is regarded as the turning-point of the whole siege.

Meanwhile the British army had suffered a heavy loss from the death of General Barnard (July 5), whose incessant labours and anxieties had worn him out. He died of an attack of cholera. Neville Chamberlain justly said of him, 'A kinder and more noble-minded officer never lived.' He was succeeded by General Reed, whose broken health compelled him to resign the command on the 17th of July, and he made over his office to Brigadier-General Wilson. The number of engagements fought in front of Delhi, from the date of the insurrection to the beginning of August, amounted to no less than twenty-three. In these affairs the aggregate loss of the British was 318 killed and 1062 wounded. After their unsuccessful attempt on the 1st of August the enemy appear to have lost all hope of dislodging the besieging forces, and for some time they remained comparatively inactive under shelter of their fortifications. At this juncture Brigadier Nicholson, one of the most gallant soldiers in the army, arrived in the camp with a strong brigade from the Punjab, bringing up the strength of the besieging army to upwards of 8000 rank and file, exclusive of about 1800 sick and wounded. The rebels still continued to molest the British troops, but were always repulsed with considerable loss. An attempt made by the Sepoys to interrupt our communication with the Punjab was baffled; and a similar effort to intercept the field-train coming from Ferozepore was defeated by Nicholson, with the capture of all their guns and the loss of 800 men. Various other attempts of the same kind were repulsed with heavy losses, which, however, were constantly repaired

by the influx of new bodies of mutineers from other districts. But although uniformly victorious in these encounters, it had been a very trying period to our troops—spending all these long months, not in inaction, but in exertions that simply kept the enemy at bay, under burning suns, heavy rains, and constant exposure, which had broken down the health of not a few of their number. This weary waiting game at length came to an end. On the 4th of September the siege-train which had been so long anxiously expected arrived from Meerut, and reinforcements of troops reached the British camp from various quarters. It was felt that the time had at length come for resolute action.

Major-General Archdale Wilson, on whom, in consequence of the death of two of his superior officers and the serious illness of a third, the command had now devolved, was not in good health. He was irritable and desponding, and thought the task of capturing the imperial city, crowded as it was with well-trained native soldiers, abundantly supplied with ammunition and artillery, and fighting behind strong walls, was beyond the strength of the comparatively small body of troops under his command. But the other officers, and indeed the whole army, were determined that the enterprise they had undertaken should be carried out. When Wilson assumed the command the question of withdrawal had been already mooted, and was laid before him. He consulted Colonel Baird Smith, the chief of the Engineer Department, a man of a totally different stamp, who at once told the General that to raise the siege would be fatal to our national interests. 'It is our duty,' he said, 'to retain the grip which we have upon Delhi, and to hold on like grim death until the place is our own.' Even after the siege-guns and reinforcements had arrived the General continued in the same wavering, desponding state, 'making all kinds of objections and obstructions, and even threatening more than once to withdraw the guns and abandon the attempt.' 'The

game is completely in our hands,' wrote Nicholson to Sir John Lawrence on the 11th of September; 'we only want the player to move the pieces. Had Wilson carried out his threat of withdrawing the guns, I was quite prepared to set him aside and elect a successor.' The General yielded, however, to the remonstrances of Baird Smith, on whom he threw the whole responsibility. 'It is evident to me,' he wrote, 'that the results of the proposed operations will be thrown on the hazard of a die, but under the circumstances in which I am placed I am willing to try this hazard, the more so that I cannot suggest any other plan to meet our difficulties. I cannot, however, help being of opinion that the chances of success under such a heavy fire as the working parties will be exposed to are anything but favourable.' It has been alleged, in defence of Wilson's reluctance to order the assault, that 'all the principles of warfare were upon his side.' But it was not by acting on such principles that our Indian Empire was won and retained.

Colonel Baird Smith, on whose shoulders, as he himself said, the General's memorandum 'placed the undivided responsibility for the results of the siege,' was not the person to shrink from this responsibility for the hazardous undertaking which he so earnestly recommended. He was a man of remarkable courage and firmness, and of a habitually cheerful demeanour. The condition of his health at this time ought to have placed him on the sick list. He was suffering acutely from the effects of a painful wound and of one of the cruel scourges of the country. 'I was worn to a shadow,' he said, 'by a constant diarrhœa, and consumed as much opium with as little effect as would have done credit to my father-in-law.*' Baird Smith was peculiarly fortunate in having for his second in command Captain Alexander Taylor, 'a man capable of any amount of work, and ready for any

heroic enterprise. His energies were unbounded, his spirit unflinching. He was one who thought nothing impossible, and all men worked under him with the heartiest good-will, for he inspired and animated all who came in contact with him in battery or in trench.'†

In spite of almost insurmountable difficulties, and amid the incessant fire of the enemy, the siege-guns, fifty-four in number, were placed in position, in four batteries, and on the 11th of September they opened fire upon the stronghold of the rebels, and kept up a destructive cannonade upon the north face of the city, comprising the Moree, Cashmere, and Water bastions, with the curtain walls connecting them. The insurgents stood manfully to their guns, but the fire of our heavy artillery was quite overpowering, and the masonry of the walls and bastions soon began to crumble away under its well-aimed blows. On the 13th two breaches near the Cashmere and Water bastions were pronounced practicable by Captain Taylor, and orders were issued that the assault should take place at daybreak on the following morning.

The force destined for the assault was divided into four columns and a column of reserve. The first, commanded by Brigadier-General Nicholson, was to storm the breach near the Cashmere bastion, and escalate the face of the bastion. The second column was to be commanded by Brigadier Jones, and was appointed to storm the breach in the Water bastion. The third column was placed under Colonel Campbell of the 52nd. It was to assault the Cashmere Gate after it should have been blown open by the Engineers. The fourth column, commanded by Major Reed, was to attack and clear the suburbs of Paharunpore and Kishengunje, and to enter

* The gallant officer was a son-in-law of De Quincey, the 'English Opium Eater.'

† Sir John Kaye's great work, 'A History of the Sepoy War in India,' does ample justice to the heroic conduct of Baird Smith and Alec Taylor, and the other gallant soldiers engaged in this siege, and has preserved the exploits of some, like Major Gordon, who were overlooked by the General and the war authorities.

PLAN OF DEHLI

1857-58

Reference

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|--------------------|----|
| Gozur Elkhilkhon | 1 | Gozur Laboure Gate | 7 |
| Kashmeree | 2 | Chandee Chah | 8 |
| Mughnood | 3 | Kashmishan | 9 |
| Toorkman | 4 | Amerce Gate | 10 |
| Bhoglapuhare | 5 | Dureba | 11 |
| Tinz Bazar | 6 | Raj Ghat | 12 |



Delhi by the Lahore Gate. To each of the first three columns three Engineer officers were attached, and two to the fourth. The attack was to be led by the man whom the whole army proclaimed as entitled to that honour—Brigadier John Nicholson. Determined that his leadership should be not a name but a fact, he was the first to mount the wall, amid a storm of bullets, and animated by his example, his men speedily gained the ramparts and carried the trench near the Cashmere bastion. The second column was equally successful; and having made good its entrance by the breach in the Cashmere bastion, it turned to the right, cleared the enemy from the Moree bastion, and planted the British standard on the Cabul Gate. Beyond this was the Lahore Gate, which had not yet been attacked by the fourth column. The fire from that position so much annoyed the troops that Nicholson determined to take it. The way led through a narrow lane swept by artillery, and commanded by houses occupied by the enemy. British soldiers are unaccustomed to street fighting, and as a number of the officers as well as the men were falling fast under the enemy's fire, the column began to waver and to hesitate. Nicholson, whose lofty stature and commanding presence made him very conspicuous, at this crisis raised his sword above his head and called upon his men to follow him. He was too prominent an object to escape the notice of the enemy's riflemen, and he fell shot through the body. He begged that he might not be removed until the city was taken, but he was properly conveyed at once to the hospital in the camp. His brother, who commanded the Punjaubees in the first column, had previously been carried to the hospital with a shattered arm, which had to be amputated.

In the meantime the third column, under Colonel Campbell of the 52nd Light Infantry, made direct for the Cashmere Gate. It was necessary, however, to blow it open, in order to enable the storming party to

gain an entrance into the city. The little band to whom this perilous task was intrusted, headed by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, advanced in broad daylight to the gateway in the midst of a sharp fire of musketry, and coolly proceeded to adjust the powder bags. During this daring enterprise Lieutenant Salkeld received two severe gunshot wounds, and fell while assisting in fastening the bags on the spikes. Sergeant Carmichael, stepping forward to fire the train, was shot dead. Sergeant Burgess then took the match, and while applying it was in turn shot down by a bullet through the body. Sergeant Smith, believing that Burgess had also failed, sprang forward, and was applying a light when a port-fire, which it was thought had been extinguished, went off in his face. He threw himself into the ditch, and thus escaped the effects of the explosion. A tremendous crash announced that the gate had been shattered by the explosion sufficiently to admit the assailants. Lieutenant Home, who with his bugler was the first down into the ditch, and was happily not wounded, though almost overwhelmed with dust and rubbish, caused his bugler to sound the advance, and the third column, led by the Rifles, carried the gateway just as the first and second columns had won the breaches. For these achievements Home, Salkeld, Smith, and the bugler Hawthorne were most properly rewarded with the Victoria Cross. But Salkeld unfortunately died of his wounds, and Home was killed on the 1st of October by the premature explosion of a mine in destroying the Fort of Malagurh.

The fourth column unfortunately failed to accomplish its allotted task. It had been directed to carry the suburb of Kishengunje and to capture the Lahore Gate, an enterprise of great difficulty and danger; the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, the want of the field-pieces which were to have been supplied to it, and the unsteadiness of the Jummoo contingent, combined to frustrate its efforts. Major Reed himself was severely wounded, and

obliged to make over the command to Major Lawrence.

In the meantime the cavalry brigade, under Brigadier Hope Grant, with two troops of Horse Artillery under Major Tombs, formed in front of the walls, and proceeded to the Cabul Gate, where they did excellent service in covering the whole of our batteries, which before had been unprotected. The Lahore Gate, distant only 500 yards, was still untaken, and the rebels there turned a 24-pound gun charged with grape upon our horsemen, and made dreadful openings in their ranks. For two hours, while this heavy fire continued, the brigade stood immovable in their ranks, though both men and horses were falling on all sides. Their presence alone prevented the enemy from advancing along the open ground between the ridge and the city, and taking the whole of our left attack in flank.

Although a lodgment had been effected in the city, the assault had been only partially successful. It had cost our troops 1104 men and 66 officers in killed and wounded, exclusive of the losses of the Cashmere contingent, who were routed by the rebels and driven back to the camp. The British General, in his feeble desponding state, was so much disheartened by the half success of the enterprise, that his first impulse was to withdraw the troops from the city to their old position on the ridge. But Baird Smith was at his side, and when Wilson put to that intrepid soldier the question whether he thought we could hold what we had taken, his prompt and decisive reply was, 'We must do so.' The General, though disliking the 'obstinacy' of the chief engineer, yielded, as before, to his resolute determination.

The troops were completely exhausted by their exertions, and imperatively required rest; but unfortunately there were immense supplies of intoxicating liquors stored in the city, which it is believed the rebels left open on purpose to tempt our soldiers to over-indulgence. They fell upon the spoil with such avidity that on the following day

a large portion of the Europeans were in a state of intoxication. Fortunately the enemy did not take advantage of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them to drive our troops out of the city. The General gave orders that the whole stock of spirits, wine, and beer should be destroyed. 'It was deplorable,' says an eye-witness, 'to see hundreds of bottles of wine and brandy, which were sadly needed for our sick, shivered, and their contents sinking into the ground.' But there was no alternative. The orders were promptly carried into effect. The great peril was averted, and on the 16th the troops roused themselves from their humiliating excesses of the previous day, and resumed their task of driving the enemy out of their stronghold. Their progress, though slow, was steady. During the night of the 15th the rebels had evacuated the Kishengunje battery, which had repulsed the fourth column, leaving their heavy guns behind. Next morning the Magazine was stormed, with the loss of only three men wounded, and 125 pieces of cannon, with immense supplies of ordnance stores, fell into our hands. But as the General said, it was 'dreadfully slow work,' and our troops had to gain their way inch by inch. An attempt to carry the Lahore Gate by assault failed, in consequence of the men of the 75th and the 8th Regiments having refused to follow their officers, 'as they did not know what they were fighting against.' But the masterly strategy of Captain Taylor enabled our troops to work their way through a succession of houses to the Lahore bastion, which was captured at nightfall of the 19th; and the fall of the Lahore Gate, which had wrought so much mischief, speedily followed. A body of the 60th Rifles rushed at it, and its defenders, who had clung to the post with desperate pertinacity for six days, finding that the position had become untenable, evacuated it without further resistance. A considerable number of the rebels, as well as of the inhabitants, had flocked out of the city during the struggle; but a large

body of the Sepoys had remained behind, offering desperate resistance to the onward movements of our troops. They now, however, lost heart, and took precipitately to flight, abandoning their camp, many of their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their field artillery. Some 4000 or 5000 of them fled across the bridge of boats into the Doab (the country between the Jumna and the Ganges); the remainder made their escape down the right bank of the Jumna.

On the morning of the 20th our scouts brought intelligence that the King and his family had abandoned the palace and had taken refuge in the suburbs, and Hodson was despatched by Hope Grant to the General to convey to him the welcome information that Delhi was evacuated. By his orders the gates of the palace and of the Selim-gurh were blown in, the few desperate men who remained and were maintaining their post to the last were bayoneted or shot, and the British standard was hoisted on the palace about mid-day. The arduous and sanguinary struggle of our troops was thus at last brought to a successful termination, and Delhi was once more in the possession of the British. A terrible retribution was exacted by our victorious and infuriated troops, and there is reason to fear that in not a few instances the innocent suffered along with the guilty.

When it became evident that the rebel cause was lost, the aged King of Delhi, along with his favourite wife Begum Zenut Mehal, and her son, and other members of his family, fled in disguise along the south road leading from the city, and took refuge in the tomb of the Emperor Hoomayoon, an immense structure—with its surrounding buildings, a suburb in itself—at some distance from Delhi. A member of the royal house, the Meerza Elahee Buksh, who had been for some time in secret communication with our forces, made this known to Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, the chief of the Intelligence Department. Having obtained the reluctant permission of the General, Hodson set out with a party of

his men to bring in the old King. On reaching his place of refuge Hodson sent in his emissaries to persuade the King to surrender on a promise of personal safety, and after a delay of two hours they brought back an answer that the King had consented to give himself up on the assurance that his life would be spared. Soon after, preceded by his Queen and her son, the palanquin containing 'the last poor remnant of royalty' passed the magnificent gateway of the building. On receiving from Hodson's own lips a formal guarantee of his personal safety and of that of his son, the King gave up his arms and was conveyed to the city, followed by a vast crowd apparently overwhelmed with mingled astonishment and fear.

Hodson was aware that some of the King's sons and other relatives, who were believed to have taken an active part in the insurrection and the massacre of the Europeans in Delhi, were concealed in the tomb from which the King had been taken captive. On the following day, having received permission to hunt them out, he set out with 100 troopers to perform this service. They had with them several thousands of their retainers, who could easily have overpowered the handful of Hodson's men; but they were completely cowed, and offered to surrender on terms. Hodson, however, would make no promises of any kind, but declared that he was determined to seize the Shahzadahs, dead or alive. After two hours spent in negotiation the three wretched princes came out in covered bullock carts, and were sent on to Delhi under an escort.

Hodson then, with the remainder of his troopers, passed the gateway of the tomb, and in a loud voice called upon the multitude to give up their arms. Although they were 6000 in number they were so overawed by his authoritative manner, and felt so hopeless of resistance, that they at once obeyed, and collected their arms, their horses, and carriages in the centre of the square. Having achieved this extraordinary

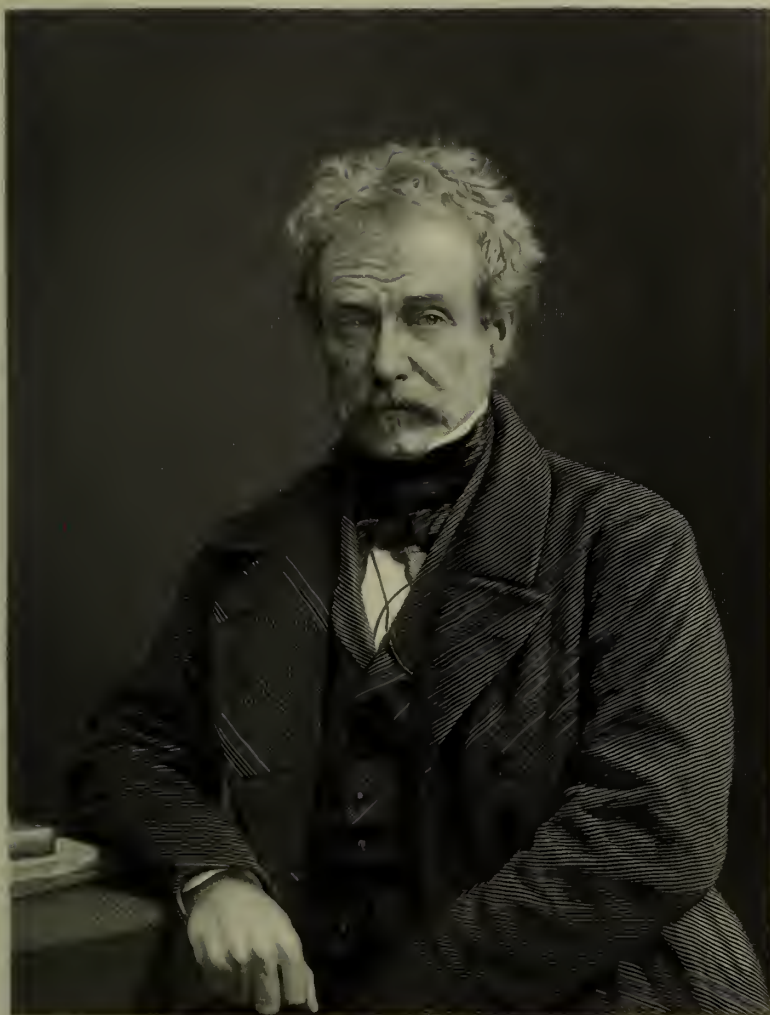
success Hodson galloped towards Delhi, and overtook the carriage containing the three princes a little way outside the city. It had halted, a disorderly crowd had collected around it, and Hodson seemed to think that they were inclined to attempt a rescue, which, however, was highly improbable. Riding in amongst them he called out in a loud voice, 'These are the men who have not only rebelled against the Government, but ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameless exposure of innocent women and children, and thus therefore the Government punishes such traitors taken in open resistance.' So saying, he shot the three wretched unresisting captives dead on the spot. Shortly afterwards other two of the King's sons were tried before a military commission, and condemned and executed.

There can be very little doubt that the persons thus summarily put to death by Hodson were really, in one way or other, accomplices if not active agents both in the insurrection and in the murder of the Europeans in Delhi. But it is matter of deep regret, for obvious reasons, that they were not brought to trial in a regular manner. 'I may aver without hesitation,' wrote Sir John Kaye, 'that the general feeling in England was one of profound grief, not unmingled with detestation. I never heard the act approved. I never even heard it defended.'

The satisfaction created by the capture of Delhi was greatly diminished by the death of Brigadier Nicholson. For some time faint hopes were entertained of his recovery; but his anxiety while the issue of the struggle was doubtful, and the excitement caused by the news brought to him, greatly increased the fever produced by his wound. He lived to hear that the palace of the Moguls was occupied by our troops, and that the King was a prisoner in our hands. He expired peacefully on the 23rd September, amidst the lamentations of the whole army. Nicholson was in the prime of life when his 'brief, brave, and glorious'

career was prematurely brought to a close. Hope Grant said of him as he lay dying, that he was 'like a noble oak riven asunder by a thunderbolt.' And Lord Lawrence, in his report of the 25th of May, 1858, says, 'Brigadier-General Nicholson is now beyond human praise and reward, but so long as British rule shall endure in India his fame can never perish. He seems especially to have been raised up at this juncture. He crowned a bright though brief career by dying of the wound that he received in the moment of victory at Delhi. The Chief-Commissioner does not hesitate to affirm that without John Nicholson Delhi could not have been taken.'

As soon as Delhi had fallen General Wilson sent a column under Edward Greathed in pursuit of the Sepoys who had fled from the city towards the south-east. He defeated the Jhansi insurgents, whom he overtook on the 27th September at Boolandshuhur, and destroyed the fort of Malaghur, where unhappily the gallant Lieutenant Home, who distinguished himself so much in blowing open the Cashmere Gate of Delhi, was accidentally killed by an explosion. At Agra, on the 9th of October, Greathed's column suddenly came into collision with a body of rebels 7000 in number, who had collected from various quarters and were marching to attack the fort. They fancied that they would have to deal only with its weak garrison, and finding their mistake they began to retreat, but were pursued and cut down with immense slaughter. All their guns were captured, their tents burned, and the plunder they had collected recovered. The total loss on our side was only eleven killed and fifty-four wounded. After this brilliant feat of arms the column crossed the Jumna, and on the 14th Brigadier Hope Grant assumed the command. After clearing off the rebels on his march, and resting two days at Cawnpore, he crossed the Ganges and reached the neighbourhood of the Alumbagh, near Lucknow, on the 8th of November.



Portrait by 1844 from a Photograph by Messrs.

L O R D C L Y D E .

Donald Mac

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sir Colin Campbell's arrival at Calcutta—State of affairs—Sir Colin's energetic measures—He proceeds to Cawnpore—His masterly plan for the relief of the Garrison in Lucknow—Its complete success—Withdrawal of the Garrison—Death of General Havelock—Defeat of General Windham—His rescue by Sir Colin Campbell—Defeat of the rebels and destruction of Bithoor—Preparations for the siege of Lucknow—The Maharajah Jung Bahadoor and the Ghoorkas—Capture of Lucknow—Death of Sir William Peel—Brigadier Campbell's mismanagement—Exploits of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—The Rane of Jhansi—Brigadier-General Walpole's misconduct—Death of Adrian Hope—Final suppression of the Rebellion—Lord Canning's Proclamation—Lord Ellenborough's despatch—His resignation of office.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL arrived at Calcutta on the 13th of August. At that moment the aspect of affairs was gloomy in the extreme. The Bengal army may be said to have ceased to exist. The North-west Provinces, Rohilcund, and Oude were lost. Delhi still held out against our forces, and its capture seemed as far off as ever. The Punjaub was causing great anxiety, and Central India was in a state of scarcely concealed rebellion. The small British force at Lucknow was shut up in the Residency with a large number of women and children, in a position of imminent peril; and Havelock, after his heroic but fruitless efforts to relieve them, had been forced to fall back upon Cawnpore, to wait for reinforcements. Sir Colin found the Europeans at Calcutta in a state of almost frenzied alarm, annoying and worrying the Governor-General with their frantic demands and foolish proposals, while the members of the Government had done nothing to strengthen his hands, or to prepare for active operations against the rebels. They had provided no means of transport; they had no horses either for cavalry or artillery; Enfield rifle ammunition was deficient; and guns, gun-carriages, and harness for field-batteries were either wanting or were unfit for service. Sir Colin Campbell set himself at once, with characteristic energy, to supply these glaring deficiencies. 'He moved the Government to the purchase of horses on a large, and necessarily on an expensive scale; to indent on England for Enfield

rifle ammunition, whilst stimulating the manufacture of it on the spot; to procure flour from the Cape; to cast field-guns at the Kasipur foundry; to manufacture tents; to make up harness; to procure English-speaking servants for the expected European regiments from Madras. Before the end of August Sir Colin had quintupled the activity of the "departments," and had infused even into the Government a portion of his own untiring energy.' He also induced the authorities to organize a bullock train to convey troops to Allahabad, and as soon as the regiments intended for the China expedition, and a division sent from the Cape of Good Hope, reached Calcutta, he sent them to the front with all possible expedition.

On the 27th of October Sir Colin left Calcutta for Allahabad, which he reached on the 1st of November. He was at Cawnpore on the 3rd. Leaving there 400 European soldiers, under General Windham, to protect his base, he set out for Lucknow on the 9th, and in the course of the afternoon he reached the camp of Hope Grant on the plain beyond Banni, about 6 miles from the Alumbagh. Early next morning an English gentleman named Kavanagh, disguised as a native, presented himself with important despatches, which, at the imminent risk of his life, he had brought from Sir James Outram. The information thus communicated to the Commander-in-chief enabled him to frame his plan for the attack on Lucknow in combination with

the garrison cooped up in the Residency. He was joined at this opportune moment by the Naval Brigade, composed of sailors from the *Shannon*, and some merchant seamen, under Captain Peel, who, in conjunction with Captain Powell, at the head of 700 soldiers, had, on the 1st of November, routed 4000 of the rebels, with heavy loss, at a place called Kadjwa, 24 miles from Futtehpore.

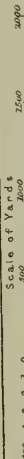
The direct road to the Residency from the Alumbagh lay through the heart of the city of Lucknow, where every street was fortified and every house loopholed and filled with rebels, who, though they shrank from encountering our troops in the open field, fought desperately under cover of walls and fortifications. To attempt a passage through narrow streets thus crowded with enemies would have entailed enormous loss of life. Sir Colin Campbell therefore wisely determined to make a detour to the right, avoiding the long barricaded street that led direct to the Residency, and forcing his way through the Dilkosha Park surrounding the royal palace and the Martiniere, to cross the canal on the east side of Lucknow, and then to reach the Residency by a circuitous route round the north-east corner of the city. Still, even in following this route, he had great difficulties to encounter. Every building was garrisoned and loopholed, every palace converted into a fortress, which obstructed at every step the advance of our troops. By resolute and persevering efforts, however, these difficulties were all overcome. The Dilkosha Park was occupied, and the Martiniere carried after a sharp conflict. The bridge of the canal was forced, and with immense labour heavy guns were dragged up to batter the Secunderbagh, a high-walled inclosure of strong masonry, carefully loopholed all round, and garrisoned by 2000 of the best Sepoy troops. After a hot fire had been kept up on both sides for an hour and a half, it was determined to carry the place by storm. 'This was done,' says Sir Colin, 'in the most

brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders and the 53rd and the 4th Punjaub Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston. There never was a bolder feat of arms.' The victorious assailants awfully avenged the massacre at Cawnpore by putting the whole garrison to the sword.

The Shah Nujeeb, a domed mosque with a garden inclosed by a wall, and strongly fortified, still stood in the way. An unceasing fire of musketry was kept up upon our troops, who attempted to carry this position. Captain Peel's guns were brought up to breach the walls, but the fire of the enemy streaming incessantly from the building and the surrounding inclosures, struck down many of the gunners, and after three hours' battering, it was still unsubdued. It was evident that the crisis of the battle had come. Our heavy artillery could not effect a practicable breach in the Shah Nujeeb, or keep down the fire of its garrison. Retreat would have been ruin. In this extremity nothing remained but to try the bayonet. Sir Colin, who throughout the struggle had been sitting on his white horse exposed to the whole storm of shot, now collected the 93rd about him and addressed a few words to them. 'Not concealing the extent of the danger, he told them that he had not intended that day to employ them again, but that the Shah Nujeeb *must be taken*, that the artillery could not bring its fire under, so they must win it with the bayonet. Giving them a few plain directions, he told them he would go on with them himself.'

Middleton's battery of the Royal Artillery was brought up to cover the assault, and poured in round after round of grape. 'Peel, manning all his guns, worked his pieces with redoubled energy, and under cover of this iron storm the 93rd, excited to the highest degree, with flashing eyes and nervous tread, rolled on in one vast wave. The gray-haired veteran of many fights rode, with his sword drawn, at their head. His staff crowded around him.' But

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when the troops reached the building they were brought to a stand. The wall was perfectly entire, was nearly twenty feet high, and well loopholed. There was no breach and no scaling-ladders. The fire of the garrison, fighting under shelter, was incessant and destructive, and the British officers, without protection, fell fast before it. Sir Colin himself and all his staff were now wounded or had their horses shot under them. Major Alison, his military secretary, lost his arm. Two of Peel's guns were now brought up to within a yard of the wall and battered it with great vigour, but though 'the masonry fell off in flakes, it came down so as to leave the mass behind perpendicular and as inaccessible as ever.'

At this critical moment, when success seemed impossible, Sergeant Paton* of the 93rd thought he perceived a weak part of the wall to the right, and directed the attention of Adrian Hope, 'the bravest of the brave,' to this point. Hope, collecting some fifty men, stole cautiously through the jungle to the place, and found a narrow fissure in the wall, through which a single man was with some difficulty pushed. Fortunately none of the enemy were near the spot, and Hope himself and several others were helped up to the hole, and passed through it into the inside of the building. A party of sappers were sent for in all haste, and enlarged the opening. The supports rushed in and threw open the gate for their comrades. The Sepoys, panic-stricken by the sudden appearance of the British troops within the walls, fled from the place, and the fort was carried. 'It was an action almost unexampled in war,' said Sir Colin. 'Never had there been a harder fought day, but never was a result gained more satisfactory.'

The troops passed the night in line on the spot, with their arms in their hands. Next morning (17th November) Sir Colin resolved to attack the Mess House, a large stone building defended by a ditch twelve

feet broad, surmounted by a loopholed wall behind; and he accordingly directed Captain Peel to open fire upon it with his heavy guns. The fire continued from early morning till three o'clock in the afternoon, and the building was then gallantly stormed by a company of the 90th Foot, a picket of the 53rd, Major Barnston's battalion of detachments, and some of the 4th Punjab Rifles, commanded by Captain Garnet Wolseley. This daring feat of arms was performed with perfect success, and the rebels, driven out by the overpowering attack of the assailants, fled in panic to the Motee Mahal. The victorious storming party followed the fleeing rebels, and Wolseley, animated by success, encouraged his soldiers to pursue them into their place of refuge, though he had received no orders to attack the Motee Mahal—a network of buildings in a wide inclosure, surrounded by a solid wall, the gate-way of which had been blocked up. The sappers, however, succeeded in making an opening in the wall, through which Wolseley and his men rushed. Every room was contested, but after a desperate hand-to-hand contest the rebels were expelled, and the last building on the line leading to the Residency came into the possession of our troops.† An open space near by, half a mile in extent, still intervened between the Motee Mahal and the Residency, which was exposed to a heavy fire of musketry from the Kaiserbagh; but, notwithstanding the risk, Havelock and Outram, accompanied by half a dozen officers, started to meet their deliverers. Half of the staff were wounded in the attempt, but not severely. 'I had the inexpressible satisfaction,' wrote Sir Colin, 'of greeting Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end. The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished.'

* Sergeant Paton was most properly rewarded with the Victoria Cross.

† The Commander-in-chief gave Wolseley a 'wiggling' for having exceeded his instructions, and then praised his bravery, and promised to recommend him for promotion.

While the Commander-in-chief was thus winning his way to the Residency, the troops pent up within its walls were preparing to co-operate with the relieving force as soon as it came within reach. Outram, with his usual thoughtfulness and chivalrous feeling, assigned to his illustrious companion-in-arms the honour of conducting this operation, and Havelock, with a select body of 1400 men, held himself in readiness as soon as the appointed signal was given, to place the enemy between two fires. Mines had been driven under the outer wall of the Farid Baksh Palace, which Havelock occupied, and also under some buildings in the vicinity; and as soon as he learned that the advancing force was assailing the Secunderbagh, these mines were exploded, and two powerful batteries, which had been masked by the wall, were brought into play, and poured shot and shell into the enemy's ranks. The advance was at last sounded, and, to quote the words of General Havelock in his despatch—

‘It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which the signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few moments the whole of the buildings were in our possession.’

The relief of the garrison had indeed been accomplished, but a most difficult and dangerous task still remained. The garrison, with women and children, sick and wounded, guns and stores, had to be withdrawn, and to effect this in the face of the vast force of the enemy was no easy affair. One narrow and tortuous lane alone led to the rear, and through it the whole force had to be filed. But the Commander-in-chief was equal to the emergency, and by his masterly arrangements he succeeded in withdrawing the whole occupants of the Residency without the loss of a single individual. Having first of all formed a line

of posts to protect the left rear of his position, which was maintained unbroken, notwithstanding the most resolute attacks of the enemy, he directed Captain Peel to open fire on the Kaiserbagh. A tremendous cannonade was accordingly commenced on the 20th, and was continued till the 23rd, increasing every hour in intensity, till, as Sir Colin said, ‘it assumed the character of a regular breaching and bombardment.’ On the evening of the 22nd three breaches had been made in the walls, and the enemy passed the night devising measures to resist the assault which they fully expected would be made next day. Having thus misled them as to his intentions, Sir Colin ordered the retreat of the garrison to commence at midnight on the 22nd. The guns which it was thought undesirable to take away were rendered useless. Then ‘behind the screen of the General’s outposts, Inglis’ and Havelock’s toilworn bands withdrew. Then these began also to retire; the pickets fell back through the supports; the supports glided away between the intervals of the reserve; the reserve, when all had passed, silently defiled into the lane. Thick darkness shrouded the movement from the gaze of the enemy, and hours after the position had been quitted they were firing into the abandoned posts. Hope’s brigade, which had so nobly headed the advance, had also covered the retreat, Sir Colin remaining with it in person. Before daylight on the 23rd, the last straggler had quitted the camp at Dilkoosha.’ ‘The movement of retreat,’ said the Commander-in-chief, ‘was admirably executed, and was a perfect lesson in such combinations.’

The satisfaction which this successful movement inspired was clouded by the death of General Havelock, which took place on the 24th. He had been seized with diarrhoea, and his frame, weakened by privation and fatigue, sunk quickly under the attack. He lived to learn that his services had at last been recognized and acknowledged by the Government, who had

created him a K.C.B. On the 27th of September he had been raised to the rank of Major-General, and two days after his death—unknown, of course, at home—he was created a baronet. His later career had been followed by his countrymen with almost unexampled interest, and the tidings of his death were received in a manner befitting a national calamity. The event spread a sorrow over the land only to be likened to the grief for the death of Nelson. In Havelock the people of Great Britain admired the union of the greatest qualities both of the man and the soldier. ‘They saw the achievements of sheer personal merit; an eminence due neither to wealth, patronage, nor connections; a man of genius and energy winning the highest professional distinction with nothing but the brave heart and the wise head; proceeding from service to service and victory to victory, proving his ability and prowess in a hundred Asiatic fields, until he reached the crowning honour of the post in which he fell covered with as much glory as ever surrounded the name of a British hero.’ ‘He had fought a good fight. He had died as he had lived, in the performance of his duty.’

Leaving Sir James Outram, with 4000 men, twenty-five guns and howitzers, and ten mortars, to hold the Alumbagh till he should return to resume operations against the city, Sir Colin set out for Cawnpore on the 27th, taking with him the women and children, the sick and wounded, and the treasure which had been rescued from Lucknow. He felt anxious about General Windham, whom he had left at Cawnpore, as he had received no information from him for some time. On the morning of the 28th, as the troops were marching onward with the utmost expedition, the sound of a heavy and distant cannonade became more distinct at every step, and just before noon a native, who had been concealed behind a hedge, ran forward and delivered to the staff at the head of the advance-guard a small rolled-up letter in the Greek character, addressed ‘Most urgent.—To General Sir

Colin Campbell, or any officer commanding troops on the Lucknow road.’ It proved to be a pressing entreaty that the Commander-in-chief would hasten with the utmost speed to the assistance of General Windham’s division at Cawnpore. On receiving this alarming intelligence, ‘the impatience and anxiety of all,’ says an eye-witness, ‘became extreme. Louder and louder grew the roar, faster and faster became the march; long and weary was the way; tired and footsore grew the infantry; death fell on the exhausted wounded with terrible rapidity; the travel-worn bearers could hardly stagger along under their loads; the sick men groaned and died; but still on, on, was the cry.’ After advancing in the usual order for some time, other two messengers arrived in succession with similar tidings; and Sir Colin’s anxiety became so great that, leaving the infantry to follow with the convoy, he pressed forward with the cavalry and horse artillery. His chief apprehension was that he might find that the bridge of boats, by which alone he could cross the Ganges, had been destroyed; but, approaching the river, he saw through the failing light of the evening that it was still intact, though the flames rising in every direction showed that the enemy must have taken the city, and destroyed the tents intended for the women and children, the sick and wounded from Lucknow, and the stores of clothing provided for the heroic defenders of the Residency.

It appears that General Windham, having received information on the 26th of November that the rebels of the Gwalior contingent were approaching Cawnpore, marched out to meet them. He had only a force of 1700 infantry, 100 cavalry, and eight guns, while the enemy numbered, it is said, 25,000 men, with a splendid park of artillery, commanded by Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib’s general, the only rebel officer who displayed any of the qualifications of a leader. Windham’s plan was to deal a heavy blow at the most advanced division of the enemy, and then, returning to his

base, to assail another portion of the rebel force. On the 26th he attacked a division of the rebels at the river Pandoo Nuddee, drove them from their position with heavy loss, and captured three guns. But on the following day he was assailed by an overwhelming force, and compelled to retreat into the intrenchment, abandoning the defence of the town. On the 28th the contest was renewed, but after a struggle which lasted the whole day our troops did not succeed in driving off the masses of the enemy, but were again compelled to fall back on their intrenchments, abandoning all their tents and camp equipage, which were immediately burned by the victorious rebels.

At this critical moment Sir Colin arrived on the field to find the town taken, the fort hard pressed, and the artillery of the enemy beginning to play upon the bridge, the sole line of communication between the Oude and the Cawnpore bank of the river. In a few hours more the bridge would have been taken, the army cut off from its base, and our authority in India placed in imminent danger. But the presence of the general was worth a reinforcement of 1000 men. After listening to Windham's report, and communicating to him his plans, the Commander-in-chief rode back to his camp, 'into which all night the guns, stores, women, and children continued to stream.'

Sir Colin's first step next morning was to secure the bridge, on which the enemy had opened a heavy but ill-directed fire, that after a short contest was overpowered by the guns of the Naval Brigade. The passage of the troops then commenced—the cavalry, horse artillery, and Adrian Hope's brigade leading the way, followed by the ladies and children, the sick and the wounded, Brigadier Inglis bringing up the rearguard. The passage of the convoy and of the troops occupied altogether thirty hours. Sir Colin contented himself with keeping the enemy in check until he had made arrangements for the transport of the convoy of women and children, and as many of the sick and

wounded as could be safely removed to Allahabad, as it was impossible for him, until he was freed from these encumbrances, to operate without great risk against the masses of the rebels. On the night of 3rd December the convoy started for Allahabad, and the next two days were employed by Sir Colin in perfecting his arrangements. The enemy meanwhile had caused him a good deal of annoyance by their attacks on his position, and he determined to take the initiative on the 6th.

The position of the rebels was exceedingly strong in the centre and on the left, but their right rested almost without cover on a broad plain, intersected only by the canal, and the British general resolved to turn it, and drive it in on its centre. Sallying forth from the intrenchment at the head of 6000 men, by an extraordinary display of skilful tactics, he succeeded in completely defeating an army more than double the size of his own, and captured a part of their guns and their camp, with all their stores and magazines. The pursuit was continued by Sir Colin in person to the fourteenth milestone.

The left wing and centre of the enemy had, however, succeeded in making good their retreat to Bithoor, owing, it is alleged, to the mismanagement of Brigadier-General Mansfield, and Sir Colin despatched a body of troops under Hope Grant to follow up the blow. A forced march of twenty-five miles brought him up with the rebels at the Serai Ferry, as they were preparing to cross into Oude. He immediately opened upon them a heavy fire of artillery, which told upon their ranks with terrible effect. Fifteen of their guns were captured, and their forces utterly crushed. Grant then marched on to Bithoor, where he blew up the temple and burned the Nana's palace. A considerable quantity of treasure was discovered concealed in the wells belonging to the building.

Sir Colin had now completed two out of the three objects which he had set himself to accomplish: he had relieved the garrison

beleaguered in Lucknow, and had defeated the rebel army which threatened Cawnpore, but he had still to open the communications between Cawnpore and the Punjaub. For this purpose he despatched a brigade, under General Walpole, to make a detour by Akbarpore to Mynpooree, driving the rebels and disaffected persons out of the southern part of the Doab. At Mynpooree he was to effect a junction with a body of troops under Brigadier Seaton, who was to meet him there. Uniting their forces they were then to march on to Futteghur, upon which place the Commander-in-chief was to move by the direct road from Cawnpore. These instructions were carried out with complete success. Seaton had several sharp encounters with the enemy, whom he completely defeated, with great slaughter, and captured all their guns. After effecting a junction, with the three detachments, Sir Colin marched towards Futteghur. The entrance into it was barred by the Kali-Naddi river, which was spanned by a suspension bridge. The rebels had partially destroyed it on the 31st of December, when our troops reached the spot in time to repair the damage. The enemy made a vigorous attack on our forces, but they were completely routed, and fled in wild confusion. They were followed for several miles by the cavalry, who cut them down at every step. Eight guns, several colours, palanquins, and ammunition waggons fell into the hands of the victors. The rebels did not cease their flight even when they reached the fort of Futteghur, but hurried in uncontrollable terror across the Ganges into Rohilcund. Steam engines, guns of all sorts, a large quantity of soldiers' clothing, and a valuable stock of timber for the purpose of making gun-carriages, were found in the fort. Our losses amounted to only four men killed, and two officers and eight men wounded.

Communication with the north-west had thus been re-established, and the Doab cleared of rebels. Rohilcund and Oude, however, still remained in open revolt, but the Governor-General and his council were

strongly of opinion that the recapture of Lucknow should be first attempted. Accordingly, the siege train which was at Agra was ordered to be despatched to Cawnpore; Seaton was instructed to hold Futteghur with a small force; the brigades of Walpole and Hope were directed to return to Cawnpore; and there, by the 23rd of February, were massed engineers, artillery, horse, foot, and commissariat waggons, forming, with the requisite equipments, seventeen battalions of infantry, twenty-eight squadrons of cavalry, with fifty-four light and eight heavy guns and mortars, ready to start next day for the reduction of the rebellious capital of Oude. The important assistance rendered at this juncture by Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the Prime Minister of the King of Nepaul, and virtual ruler of the country, must not be overlooked. Soon after the outbreak of the mutiny he offered his assistance to the Governor-General, but for some reason or other his overtures were not accepted until the month of July. The appearance of the Nepaulese troops was warlike and imposing, and they were animated by an intense feeling of hatred against the Sepoys. They rendered excellent service to the British cause, and inflicted several severe defeats on the rebels in far superior numbers. Fighting sometimes by themselves, sometimes in a mixed force commanded by British officers, they drove successive bodies of the insurgents from their positions with heavy losses and captured their guns, while their own loss was very small. On the 2nd of December Jung Bahadoor himself crossed the frontier at the head of 10,000 Ghoorkas, and on the 21st reached Segowlee, in the plains, to co-operate with the British troops in the restoration of order in that district. He took Goruckpore on the 4th of January, 1858, with the loss of only two killed and seven wounded. A portion of his troops, along with the Naval Brigade, under Colonel Roweroft, defeated a powerful body of rebels at Sebanpore. On the 4th of February the van of the Ghoorka main army attacked and dispersed the Rajah of Gundah's forces

near Fyzabad. Colonel Franks, with 4000 Ghoorkas, some Sikhs and Madras troops, and 400 sailors, on the 19th of February defeated, at Chunda, with heavy loss, two armies of rebels, one of 8000, the other of 10,000 men; and on the 23rd he gained a still more signal victory, killed 1800 of the rebels, and captured their standing camp and twenty guns. Having by these brilliant actions cleared the British districts of the rebels, and captured thirty-four pieces of ordnance, Franks joined Sir Colin on the 4th of March, and prepared to take part in the reduction of Lucknow. The column of Jung Bahadoor came up at the same time.

In the meantime Sir James Outram had held his post at Alumbagh with a division of between 3000 and 4000 men against repeated attacks of the enemy, whom they always repulsed with immense losses of guns and ammunition, as well as of men. On the 12th and on the 16th of January our men were assailed by no less than 30,000 rebels, whom they routed. A similar attack took place on the 22nd, and again on the 15th and 21st of February, with the same result. On the 25th they made another and a final effort, the Begum and her son coming out on elephants to witness the conflict, which ended still more disastrously for the assailants. Outram had rendered most important service by maintaining his post for more than three months against an army originally numbering 30,000 men, but which after the fall of Delhi had risen to treble that amount. At last, on the 10th of February, began the passage of the Ganges from the Cawnpore side by the British forces of all arms, amounting in the aggregate to 19,373 men, while Outram's and Frank's divisions of 5000 each, and Jung Bahadoor's army of 10,000 Ghoorkas, raised the whole force arrayed against Lucknow to little short of 40,000 men, with 180 guns. An army so formidable and so well appointed was probably never before seen in Hindostan.

The position of Lucknow was naturally strong, protected on its northern side by the

river Goomtee, and on its eastern face by the canal. It had three lines of defence, one within the other, and was defended by a number of large and fortified buildings, such as the Martiniere, the Musabagh,* the Imambara, and the Kaiserbagh. The city itself was formed of narrow streets flanked by tall houses, and capable of a very strong and protracted defence. During the three months which had elapsed since November the enemy had been indefatigable in their exertions to add to the strength of their position, which was now covered by works mounted with not less than 120 guns and mortars, and held by from 60,000 to 100,000 armed men. The northern side of the fortified camp, which was protected only by the river Goomtee, was its weakest point. Sir Colin determined therefore to send across the river a strong division under Sir James Outram which should take the enemy's position in reverse, enfilading the whole of their works with his guns in their rear, while he with his main force should advance across the canal, and turning their position on the right, move from that side on the Kaiserbagh. Both movements, which were planned with great skill, were executed with corresponding success.

General Outram commenced his attack on the enemy's position on the morning of the 9th. Under cover of a heavy fire the Martiniere was stormed on the afternoon of that day by the division of General Lugard and Brigadier Hope.† The second part of

* Bagh signifies "garden."

† Sir William Peel, in seeking a suitable place for the posting of some guns to breach the outer wall of the Martiniere, was wounded in the thigh by a musket ball. The ball, however, was extracted, and he seemed steadily recovering from the wound. On the 2nd of March he was made a K.C.B., and was appointed to be an aide-de-camp to the Queen. On the 1st of April the Naval Brigade left Lucknow for Cawnpore on their way to Calcutta. Captain Peel reached Cawnpore in safety, but on the 20th he was attacked by confluent small-pox. His frame had been too much weakened to bear the shock, and he died on the 27th. The grief for his premature death was universal and overpowering. The Governor-General, after recapitulating Sir William's great services, said, 'The loss of his daring but thoughtful courage, joined with eminent abilities, is a heavy one to this country; but

the plan of attack, preparatory to an assault on the Kaiserbagh, then came into operation, and was executed with equal success, the whole left of the enemy's works having been carried to within 800 yards of a large fortified building called Banks' House. Next day this post was carried, and on the 11th the same division stormed the Begum's palace, which had been fortified with special care. General Lugard lost 100 men in this desperate struggle, among whom was the celebrated Major Hodson, commander of the Irregular Horse. The Secunderbagh was taken early on the same day. On the 13th Sir Colin Campbell took the Imambara, and opened a tremendous fire on the Kaiserbagh, the walls of which were shivered to pieces, and the building was occupied by the Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment under Major Brasyer. On the 14th General Outram carried the town between the iron bridge and the Residency, and the Mess House, the Tara Kotie, the Motee Mahal, and the Chutter Munzil, all so well known in the former attack, one after the other were taken in reverse and rapidly occupied by the troops.

The forces of Jung Bahadoor, who had now joined the army, carried a very strong position in front of the Alumbagh, and a detachment of these troops brought in Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson, who had been prisoners in the hands of the rebels since the advance of General Havelock. On the 16th Outram, pursuing his onward course, advanced according to order through the Chutter Munzil to take the Residency. A movement of the enemy in retreat across a bridge becoming at this juncture apparent, he was able almost without opposition to seize upon positions which secured the full repossession of the city. A powerful body

it is not more to be deplored than the loss of that influence which his earnest character, admirable temper, and gentle kindly bearing exercised on all within his reach—an influence which was exerted unceasingly for the public good, and of which, the Governor-General believes, it may with truth be said that there is not a man of any rank or profession who, having been associated with Sir William Peel in these times of anxiety and danger, has not felt and acknowledged it.

of the rebels, to the number of from 8000 to 9000, had occupied the Musabagh, a large palace with gardens and inclosures about four miles to the north-west of Lucknow. A number of the more desperate leaders of the revolt were with them, and they were believed to be animated by the presence of the Begum and her son. Outram was directed by Sir Colin to expel them from their last stronghold, and accordingly on the morning of the 19th he marched against the Musabagh. Sir Hope Grant, who was still on the left bank of the Goomtee, was directed to cannonade the place, and when the enemy was dislodged to fall upon those who should attempt to cross the river. Brigadier Campbell was at the same time ordered to take up, with a brigade of infantry, 1500 cavalry, and a due proportion of guns, a position on the left front of the Musabagh, so as to prevent the rebels from retreating in that direction when they should have been expelled by Outram from their stronghold.

Outram's movement was accomplished with perfect success. After fighting his way to the Musabagh, where the enemy appeared in great force, his guns had no sooner opened fire on them than they hastily abandoned the place and fled by the line which Campbell was to have commanded. But he unfortunately failed to fill the position assigned to his brigade on the west of the city, and thus completely frustrated Sir Colin Campbell's perfect plan for cutting off the escape of the rebels whom Outram swept out of the city by his advance on the Musabagh. 'With his large force of cavalry and artillery,' wrote Sir Hope Grant, 'there was a splendid opportunity for cutting off the large masses of fugitive rebels, yet nearly all were allowed to escape.' Campbell's conduct was officially ascribed to his having lost his way. 'But,' as an officer wrote, 'his error appears to have partaken of willfulness. He moved his force in utter disregard of the statement of his guides, in opposition to the protestations and explanations of all to whose

information and advice he was bound to listen.' Whatever may have been the cause of his proceedings the mischief which resulted from them was incalculable. Instead of the virtual pacification of Oude having been secured at one stroke, Campbell's failure to close the outlet allowed the greater number of the rebels to escape, and to carry on for some time with perseverance and pertinacity a guerilla warfare in the province.

The masterly strategy of Sir Colin Campbell in his attack upon Lucknow 'must ever be the subject of admiration on the part of the military student of this campaign, and entitles him to a foremost place in the ranks of great commanders.' The capture of the city cost the British forces, from the 2nd to the 21st of March inclusive, 127 officers and men killed, and 595 wounded. The loss of the enemy cannot be ascertained with any approach to accuracy, but it must have been very great.

The reconquest of the capital of Oude gave the decisive blow to the rebellion. In Central India Sir Hugh Rose (now Lord Strathnairn), at the head of 6000 men, defeated the rebels in a series of engagements in the vicinity of Mundesore, raised the siege of Neemuch, occupied Indore, and reinstated the British superintendent in the Residency. He then effected the capture of Rataghur, one of the strongest forts of Central India, crowning the top of a hill with a precipice on every side except at the narrowest part. Numbers of the garrison made their escape down the rocks, using ropes to assist them in their descent. Sir Hugh next relieved Sauger, where a number of Europeans, including 100 women and children, had been closely besieged since the month of July in the preceding year. He soon after captured and demolished the fort of Garokata, situated between two rivers, and so strong that in 1818 a British force of 11,000 men was unable to make a breach in the defences. After forcing the difficult Pass of Mudempore, the British General advanced upon the strong fortress

of Jhansi, which was garrisoned by 12,000 men, commanded by the Ranee of Jhansi, who displayed the most extraordinary courage and energy in the conflict, and was vigorously supported by her people. After a desperate conflict the city was stormed; the enemy, having lost 5000 men in the siege, abandoned the fortress, and the Ranee fled from it, with only four followers, under cover of night.

While Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of our Bombay column, was thus driving the enemy before him in Central India, General Roberts at the head of another column had captured the strongly fortified town of Kota, and had expelled the rebels from Rajpootana. General Whitlock, who commanded the Madras column in Central India, gained a decisive victory at Banda, after a battle which lasted four hours. About the end of May Sir Hugh Rose took the town and fort of Calpee, where he found an immense quantity of ammunition and artillery. His work in Central India, however, was not yet completed; he had still to expel the rebel contingent from Gwalior, and to restore the Maharajah Scindia to his territory and throne. Before the fall of Calpee, Tantia Topee, the leader of the rebels there, retired from the place in the direction of Gwalior, and on the capture of Calpee he was joined by a large body of the Sepoys who had escaped the pursuit of the British troops. Scindia attacked them on the 1st of June at the Moorar cantonment, near his capital, but was completely defeated, a considerable portion of his troops having deserted to the enemy during the battle. Scindia fled to Agra, and the victorious rebels took possession of his capital, and placed a nephew of Nana Sahib on the throne. When Sir Hugh Rose heard of these events he lost no time in advancing upon Gwalior. Tantia Topee and the Nawab of Banda had by this time quitted the place, but the courageous Ranee of Jhansi remained to lead to battle the Sepoy mutineers and the Gwalior contingent. Driven out of the Moorar cantonment they took up a strong

position on a range of heights, at a place called Kota-ki-Serai, about ten miles from Gwalior. On the 19th of June they made a fierce attack upon our lines. The Ranee herself, in the uniform of a cavalry officer, led charge after charge, and fought with her own hand; but after a fiercely contested fight her troops were completely routed, and her body was found upon the field scarred with wounds. Sir Hugh Rose, in his general order, paid her the well-deserved compliment, that 'the best man on the side of the enemy was the woman found dead, the Ranee of Jhansi.' Gwalior was taken possession of by the British troops, and the Maharajah Scindia was again restored to his throne—'a happy termination,' as Sir Colin Campbell said, 'of the brilliant campaign through which the Central India field force has passed.' Having thus triumphantly accomplished the task assigned him, Sir Hugh Rose returned to the Bombay Presidency. Before his departure Sir Hugh issued a general order, in which he bestowed well-merited commendation on his troops:—

'Soldiers,' he said, 'you have marched more than 1000 miles, and taken more than 100 guns. You have forced your way through mountain passes and intricate jungles, and over rivers; you have captured the strongest forts and beat the enemy, no matter what the odds, wherever you met them; you have restored extensive districts to the Government, and peace and order now reign where before for twelve months were tyranny and rebellion. You have done all this, and you have never had a check. I thank you with all sincerity for your bravery, your devotion, and your discipline.'

After the final capture of Lucknow the Commander-in-chief left that place on the 8th of April, and proceeded to Allahabad to confer with the Governor-General, who had come there from Calcutta. Before his departure he organized a large column under the command of Brigadier-General Walpole, to clear the district of Rohilcund of the rebels, who had fled there in great numbers on the downfall of the capital of Oude. On his march to Rohilcund Walpole

reached the Roya Fort, which belonged to one of the Oude chiefs, and very incautiously attacked it without even taking the precaution to reconnoitre the place. Though informed that the fort was about to be evacuated, he sent his men in 'a blundering haphazard manner against its strongest face.' He was in consequence repulsed with the loss of a considerable number of men, among whom was Brigadier Adrian Hope, one of the best soldiers in the army, who was deeply regretted by the whole country. The enemy evacuated the fort during the night. Their escape, as well as the rash attack upon the fort and the mode in which it was conducted, reflected strongly on the vigilance and efficiency of General Walpole.* The lives of upwards of a hundred men and of five gallant officers were needlessly sacrificed in this attempt, but 'the loss of Adrian Hope was a cause for national sorrow. His death was mourned by every man in the camp. Loud and deep were the invectives against the obstinate stupidity which had caused it.' 'No more mournful duty has fallen upon the Governor-General in the course of the present contest,' wrote Lord Canning, 'than that of recording the premature death of this gallant young commander.' 'The death of this most distinguished and gallant officer,' wrote Sir Colin Campbell, 'causes the deepest grief to the Commander-in-chief. Still young in years he had risen to high command; and by his undaunted courage, combined as it was with extreme kindness and charm of manner, had secured the confidence of the brigade in no ordinary degree.'

Sir Hope Grant was meanwhile driving the rebels from the district about Fyzabad, and occupying their strongholds; and he

* Dr. Russell, who was on the spot, wrote, 'I found the officers of the 42nd and 93rd in a state of furious wrath and discontent with their general. They told me they were afraid of mutiny or worse when poor Hope was buried.' The general whose incompetency, rashness, and stupidity lost more than one hundred men and Adrian Hope in failing to take this petty fort, was made a K.C.B. Truly 'the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong, nor honours to men of understanding.'

subsequently performed a similar service in the country beyond the river Gogra. A number of the chiefs, on the approach of the British forces, made their submission and surrendered their forts. Strange to say, at this period, when the rebel cause became hopeless, five of the disarmed regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, with the 2nd Battalion of Artillery stationed at Mooltan, forming a body of 1500 men, suddenly rose on the 2nd of September, and made an attack upon the barracks, in order to supply themselves with arms. After a short struggle, however, the infatuated mutineers were overpowered by the 3rd Bombay Fusiliers and a corps of Royal Artillery, and fled into the Baree Doab, where they were destroyed in detail either by the soldiers or by the police and the villagers, who gave them no quarter.

Bareilly was captured by the Commander-in-chief himself, who received the submission of several powerful chiefs in Oude, and drove out others from their stronghold. Kunwar Singh displayed great courage and skill in protracting a hopeless struggle. He repeatedly baffled the British commanders opposed to him, and on 23rd April, 1858, completely defeated Captain Le Grand near Arrah; but three days after he died of a wound which made it necessary that his wrist should be amputated. But the most formidable of our adversaries was the Moulvie of Fyzabad, who had contributed so largely to excite the rebellion in Oude. He was indefatigable in his efforts to expel the British from the country, and even succeeded in twice foiling Sir Colin Campbell in the field. Sir Thomas Seaton describes him as 'a man of great abilities, of undaunted courage, of stern determination, and by far the best soldier among the rebels.' He was killed on the 5th of June, not by his enemies, but by one of his quondam allies, the brother of the Rajah of Powain, whom he was endeavouring to coerce into joining him in resisting the British forces. He was the chief adviser of the ex-Queen of Oude, styled the Begum, who

was one of the most resolute and persevering enemies of the British rule—not without cause. She made an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor to declare in her favour, but the Nepaulese chief said to her in reply, 'If you be still inclined to make war on the British no Rajah or King in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.' Tantia Topee, who held out obstinately in the field for a long time, at length found the truth of this emphatic warning. He was taken prisoner in April, 1859, and was hanged for his share in the Cawnpore massacre. The aged King of Delhi, who was almost in his dotage, was put on his trial in his own palace before a court composed of five British officers, and being found guilty he was sentenced to transportation. There was some difficulty in finding him a place of residence, but he was ultimately sent to Rangoon to finish there the miserable remnant of his existence. The Commander-in-chief, who for his eminent services had been raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Clyde, announced at the close of the year to the Governor-General the gratifying intelligence that 'the campaign is at an end; that there is no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the province of Oude; and that the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has been hopelessly driven across the mountains, which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepal and Her Majesty's empire of Hindostan.' On 1st May, 1859, there was a public thanksgiving in Great Britain for the suppression of the mutiny, and the restoration of peace and order in India.

The Governor-General, as we have seen, received little or no support during the crisis of the mutiny from the British residents in Calcutta, or even from the Government officials; and when the revolt was suppressed, and the British authority re-established throughout the country, he was virulently assailed on account of his refusal to adopt at their bidding a ruthless and sweeping policy of repression and punish-

ment against the unoffending masses of the people of India. They complained that he had refused to place the whole of India under martial law, as the native races in India, they said, can 'be influenced by power and fear alone;' nicknamed him 'Clemency Canning,' because he would not listen to their bloodthirsty clamours; and sneered at the 'Clemency Orders,' as they designated the instructions which he had issued to the various civil authorities for their guidance in suppressing insurrection in the disturbed districts. Under the influence of terror and a thirst for vengeance, they even went so far as to present a petition to the Queen for Lord Canning's recall. Some of the London journals were not a whit behind the panic-stricken residents in Calcutta and the Presidency of Bengal in the ferocity of their demands for the punishment of the mutineers and their friends, and one of these journals actually declared that the rebellious troops of India should be treated as Alva dealt with the Protestants of the Netherlands. Even the leaders of the Conservative party in England were not ashamed to join in this discreditable clamour against the statesman who had carried our Indian empire successfully through this unexpected and unparalleled emergency; and Lord Derby in the House of Lords, and Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, made an attempt to exclude Lord Canning's name from the vote of thanks to the civil and military officers of India, on the ground that it was premature to do so until the complaints made against his policy by the Calcutta petition had been discussed and disproved. The unworthy proposal, however, was easily defeated, and the vote of thanks carried by acclamation. In an admirable letter to Earl Granville, entreating him to raise his voice against the clamour in England for indiscriminate vengeance on the natives of India, Lord Canning said—

'As long as I have breath in my body I will pursue no other policy than that I have been following; not only for reasons of expediency

and policy, but because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice—and that as stern and inflexible as law and might can make it—I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and indiscriminate act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it. To take up and assert boldly that whilst we are prepared, as the first duty of all, to strike down resistance without mercy wherever it shows itself, we acknowledge that, resistance over, deliberate justice and calm patient reason are to resume their sway; that we are not going either in anger or from indolence to punish wholesale, whether by wholesale hangings and burnings, or by the less violent, but not one bit less offensive course of refusing trust and countenance, and favour and honour to any man *because* he is of a class or a creed.'

The proclamation, however, which the Governor-General issued from Allahabad on 3rd March, 1858, setting forth the policy that would be pursued in the province of Oude, was in its terms, though not in its intention and object, somewhat inconsistent with these sentiments. It simply confiscated all the lands in the province with the exception of those held by half a dozen insignificant chiefs and two Rajahs. These landowners, who were specified by name, were declared to be 'henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule.' The proclamation then proceeded to say that 'with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as may seem fitting.' The rest of the Telookdars, chiefs, and landowners were exhorted to 'throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Government.' This unfortunate proclamation, quite out of keeping with Lord Canning's character and usual conduct, excited a storm of indignation both in India and at home, and led indeed to a discussion as to the propriety of Lord Canning's recall. It 'astounded and distressed beyond measure' Sir James Outram, Chief Commissioner of Oude, betokening a line of policy which

was, in his opinion, unjustly severe, and calculated to drive every noble to desperation. He wrote at once to the Governor-General, pointing out that there was not a dozen landowners in the province who had not either themselves borne arms against the British Government or assisted the rebels with men and money; that consequently the effect of the proclamation would be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the province, and to make the chiefs and landlords desperate; and that the result would be 'a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure.' Lord Canning was induced, with some difficulty, to add to the proclamation a clause announcing that 'to those who shall promptly come forward and give their support in the restoration of order the indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights.' This concession, together with an accompanying circular from Sir James Outram practically neutralized the threatened mischief.

The moment a copy of Lord Canning's proclamation reached Lord Ellenborough, who was now President of the Board of Control in Lord Derby's Administration, he prepared and forwarded a despatch to the

Governor-General, condemning his policy in very severe and trenchant terms. Whatever opinion might have been formed of the proclamation, it was universally felt that the style of the despatch was absolutely indefensible, and it produced a great and sudden ferment both in Parliament and in the country. It was strongly condemned by the Opposition for the intemperate and unmeasured terms in which it censured a statesman absent at a post of great responsibility, and placed in circumstances of no common difficulty and danger. Even the supporters of the Government, though they might disapprove of Lord Canning's policy, could not defend Lord Ellenborough's despatch. The stability of the Ministry, who were jointly responsible for the act, was seriously imperilled, and resolutions expressing strong disapprobation of the despatch were proposed in both Houses of Parliament. Lord Ellenborough, however, averted the danger from his colleagues by a timely resignation of his office. The resolution proposed in the House of Lords by Lord Shaftesbury was defeated; and after four nights' debate, in which the proclamation was condemned by Mr. Bright and Sir James Graham, and the fact that it had been disapproved of by Sir James Outram was stated, the condemnatory resolution moved by Mr. Cardwell was withdrawn in a somewhat ridiculous manner.

END OF VOL. III.



CALCUTTA.

WILLIAM KENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.

THE
AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY,

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

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VOL. IV.

LONDON:

WILLIAM MACKENZIE, 69 LUDGATE HILL, E.C.,

EDINBURGH AND DUBLIN.

THE AGE WE LIVE IN.

CHAPTER I.

End of the East India Company—Transference of the Government of India to the Crown—Institution of the Order of the Star of India—Orsini's attempt on the life of the French Emperor—Lord Palmerston's Conspiracy Bill—The overthrow of his Ministry—Termination of hostilities with China—The Derby Administration—Removal of the Jewish Disabilities—The Ministerial Reform Bill—Dissolution of Parliament—Compact of the Liberal party—Defeat of the Government—Lord Palmerston's Premiership—His powerful Administration—Treaty between France and Sardinia—Austrian rule in Italy—Ultimatum sent to Victor Emmanuel—Declaration of War—The Austrians invade Piedmont—Incapacity of General Gyalai—Defeat of the Austrian Army at Magenta—Garibaldi's successes—Retreat of the Austrians—Their defeat at Solferino—Their position within the Quadrilateral—Armistice between the French and the Austrian Emperor—Terms of Peace—Dissatisfaction of the Italians—Disapproval of the British Government—Negotiations of the French Emperor with Kossuth—Proposed Italian Confederation—Its failure—Annexation of Tuscany and Emilia to Sardinia—The French Emperor's demand for Nice and Savoy—Impolicy of his conduct—State of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Garibaldi's descent upon Sicily—Its rapid success—His inroad upon Naples—Defection of the army—Defeat and expulsion of Francis II.—Revolt of the Papal States—The Papal Army—Invasion of the Marches and Umbria by the Sardinian forces—Defeat of the Papal Army and of the Neapolitans—Surrender of Gaeta—Establishment of the Kingdom of Italy—Death and Character of Count Cavour.

THE rebellion of the native troops in India led directly to the abolition of the government of the East India Company, one of the most remarkable institutions the world has ever seen. It originated in 1599, when an association was formed for the trade to the East Indies; and in the following year the 'Adventurers,' as they were termed, were constituted a body corporate, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies.' In 1609 the charter of the Company was not only renewed, but rendered perpetual. In 1640 the Company obtained permission from a Hindoo prince to purchase a piece of ground, on which they proceeded to raise Fort St. George and the town of Madras. About twenty years afterwards, on the marriage of Charles II. to Catherine of Braganza, the town and island of Bombay were ceded to the English king

as part of the Infanta's dowry. In 1698 the Company obtained from the Mogul, on payment of an annual rent, the land on which their station at Chuttanuttee stood. They then constructed for its defence a citadel named Fort William, under whose protection the original small village expanded by degrees into the great city of Calcutta, the capital of modern India. The beginnings of this famous Company were small, but their latter end greatly increased. 'From the precarious tenure of some two or three petty forts—from the mere Mahratta-ditch of Calcutta on the "boundless ledge" of Madras—this empire spread far and wide from Ceylon to Gujurat, from the snows of the Himalaya to the sea-line of the Sunderbunds, along the loftiest mountains and the widest plains in the whole world!' The rise and progress of this vast empire was associated with the extraordinary exploits of a

Clive, a Warren Hastings, a Wellington, and a Wellesley; a Moira, an Elphinstone, and a Munro; a Napier and a Dalhousie. It must be admitted that 'some disgraceful intrigues, some unjust and cruel wars, some instances of odious perfidy and avarice' stain the annals of our Eastern Empire. It is undeniable that the duties both of government and legislation were long wholly neglected or carelessly performed; and as Sir George Lewis said, no civilized government ever existed more corrupt, more perfidious, more rapacious than the government of the East India Company between 1758 and 1784. Its territory was larger and more populous than France, Spain, Italy, and Germany put together, and its clear revenue when the mutiny broke out exceeded the clear revenue of any state in the world, France excepted. From a trading body the Company had become by degrees transformed into a sovereign body, wielding enormous and for a time almost absolute powers. But at the time of the mutiny the administration of India had long ceased to be under the control of the Company as it was in the early days of its sovereignty. The country was now governed partly by a Board of Directors, partly by the Board of Control—a department of the Ministry under a president who was a member of the Cabinet. But the Directors were made in almost every case subordinate to that Board. The Governor-General was nominated by the Crown, but the Directors of the Company had the power of recalling him. This double government was undoubtedly cumbrous, unwieldy, dilatory, and inefficient. 'The whole experience of that system,' says Sir George Lewis, 'shows that it is embarrassing by needless delays—that it encourages procrastination, divides responsibility, and throws obscurity on the seat of power.'

A general feeling had arisen throughout the country when the mutiny broke out that the government of our Indian empire must be reorganized, and that it should be transferred from the Company to the

Crown. In the beginning of 1858 Lord Palmerston introduced a Bill for that purpose. He proposed to substitute for the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors a President and a Council of eight members to be nominated by the Government, with a secretary eligible for a seat in Parliament, and the President to be a member of the Cabinet. The overthrow of the Government, however, at this period caused the Bill to be laid aside. When Lord Derby became Prime Minister he brought in a measure of a totally different kind, but so absurd in its proposals that it met with ridicule from all parties, and was withdrawn before it had reached a second reading. Lord John Russell then suggested that the House should deal with the question by way of resolution, and the Government eagerly caught at this mode of extrication from their difficulty. A series of resolutions were accordingly proposed as the basis of the intended measure, and after long discussion and a good deal of modification they were embodied in a Bill entitled 'An Act for the better Government of India.' It provided that all the territories previously under the government of the East India Company were to be vested in Her Majesty, and that all the powers of the Company were to be vested in her name. A Secretary of State for India was to be appointed, who was to be assisted by a Council of fifteen, to hold office 'during good behaviour.' Eight members of this Council were to be nominated by the Crown, and seven at first by the Board of Directors, and afterwards by the Council itself. The appointment to the various civil offices had hitherto been vested in the Board of Directors, but the system of competitive examinations for the Civil Service and the Engineers and Artillery was now introduced into the measure, and made thoroughly practical. The naval and military forces of the Company were transferred to Her Majesty. A good deal of opposition was offered to various clauses of the Bill, but it passed through both Houses of Parliament without undergoing any alterations

of much importance, and became law on the 1st of September, 1858. In the following November the Queen was proclaimed as Sovereign throughout India, with Lord Canning as her first Viceroy.

On the re-establishment of British authority in India the Queen proposed that a high order of chivalry should be founded for the purpose of 'gratifying the personal feelings of the chief number of the native princes, binding them together in a confraternity, and attaching them by a personal tie to the sovereign.' Lord Canning made a suggestion, which was subsequently acted upon, that 'an infusion of English ordinary members, on a limited scale, would tend to raise the dignity of the order in the eyes of all nations without exception.' Various reasons caused delay in carrying Her Majesty's recommendation into effect; and it was not until the 25th of July, 1861, that the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India was instituted. It comprises the sovereign as Grand Master and twenty-five Knights (European and Native), exclusive of Honorary Knights. The first investiture took place at Windsor Castle on the 1st of November, 1861, when his Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, Lord Clyde, Sir John Lawrence, General Pollock, and Lord Harris were invested.

While the Bill for the reform of the government of India was passing through Parliament, an event occurred which was indirectly the cause of Lord Palmerston's ejection from office. On the 14th of January, 1858, an attempt was made by Felice Orsini, an Italian exile, to assassinate the Emperor of the French as he was driving to the Opera with the Empress and General Roquet. Just as they had entered the Rue Lepellitier three bombs filled with detonating powder were flung, one after the other, at the carriage in which they were riding. The bombs exploded, and killed ten individuals and wounded 156. But though the Emperor's carriage was almost blown to pieces its occupants

escaped without injury. The perpetrators of this foul deed were discovered and arrested. Orsini avowed his guilt, and declared that his object was to put Louis Napoleon to death, believing him to be the main obstacle in the way of the interposition of France in behalf of the people of Italy groaning under Austrian despotism. Four persons were put on their trial for this crime, and found guilty; but only two, Orsini, the leader of the gang of assassins, and Pierre, an Italian refugee, were executed. The other two were sentenced to penal servitude for life.

The French people were greatly excited by this incident, but unfortunately their anger was directed not so much against Orsini and his accomplices as against England, where it is certain many of the arrangements for the plot were planned; and indignant complaints were made that our Government should afford shelter to miscreants by whom 'assassination had been reduced to a doctrine preached openly and practised in repeated attempts.' Count Walewski, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Count Persigny, the French ambassador at London, expressing in strong terms the feelings of the French Government and people at the forbearance shown to such conspirators. 'Ought,' he said, 'the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Is hospitality due to assassins? Shall English legislation serve to favour their designs and their manœuvres? And can it continue to protect persons who place themselves by flagrant acts without the pale of the common law?' Language of this kind, though not inexcusable in the circumstances, was not wise, and was calculated to defeat its own object. Unfortunately it was greatly aggravated by the addresses which were presented to the Emperor by certain officers of the French army. One of these addresses spoke of the English people as the protectors of 'assassins surpassing those who had gone before them in all that was odious.' Another stated that their indignation moved them

'to demand an account of the land of impunity which contains the haunts of the monsters who are sheltered by its laws.' 'Give us the order, sire,' it added, 'and we will pursue them even to their strongholds.' In a third address it was asserted not only that the 'miserable assassins should receive the chastisement due to their abominable attempts,' but also that 'the infamous haunt (London) in which machinations so infernal are planned, should be destroyed for ever.'

Such foolish and reprehensible rodomontade would have been treated with merited contempt, if some of these addresses had not very unadvisedly been inserted in the *Moniteur*, then the organ of the French Government. Count Walewski expressed the regret of the Emperor that they should thus have received somewhat of an official stamp, and declared that this had taken place through inadvertence. But the mischief was done, and an indignant feeling was in consequence excited in Britain, and a disposition to resent the supposed insult offered to our country, rather than to take steps to soothe the not unnatural exasperation which the attempt to assassinate the Emperor had produced in France.

Immediately after Orsini's attempt to assassinate Louis Napoleon, Lord Palmerston introduced a measure the effect of which would be to make the crime of conspiracy to murder, hitherto treated as a misdemeanour, a felony punishable with penal servitude. The Bill, though strongly opposed by some of the Radical members, was read a first time by a majority of no less than 200. But by the time that the second reading was moved, the ridiculous effusions of the French colonels had produced a feeling of irritation in the House and in the country, which proved fatal both to the measure and the Government. Mr. Disraeli, who had supported the Bill on its first reading, saw that the tide had turned, and joined with the Radicals in opposing it. So did Lord John Russell and the Peelite party, and when a

division took place the Government found itself in a minority of nineteen.

This result was a complete surprise. The Ministry did not even anticipate a narrow division, much less a defeat. Many of those who voted in the majority had no intention to overthrow the Government; and if the Prime Minister had thought fit to appeal to the House of Commons for a vote of confidence, it would in all probability have been accorded. But Lord Palmerston never showed any undue tenacity in the retention of office, and he at once tendered his resignation. 'After weathering many a storm he was overthrown by a gust, and Lord Derby reigned in his stead.*'

Lord Palmerston had the satisfaction, before resigning office, of being able to announce the success of our arms in the contest with China, and the capture of Canton. In the month of May, 1857, two successful expeditions were undertaken by Commodore Elliot and Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, which terminated in the complete destruction of the Chinese fleet of war junks in the Canton waters. But no progress was made in the settlement of the questions in dispute, in consequence of the detention of Lord Elgin, the British Plenipotentiary, at Calcutta for the purpose of assisting the Governor-General in the suppression of the Indian mutiny. He did not reach Hong-Kong until the end of autumn.

* John Leech hit off the incident with his usual felicity in his sketch entitled 'Cock-a-Doodle-Do.' A gigantic inflated cock is crowing with all his might, while the Emperor, portrayed in miniature, is exclaiming, 'Diable! the noisy bird will waken my neighbour!' A pamphlet published in Paris, and entitled 'The Emperor Napoleon the Third and England,' described an obscure debating club in a Fleet Street public-house as a regicide association composed of a band of political desperadoes. Leech ridiculed the absurd notion in two cartoons entitled 'A Discussion Forum as imagined by our Volatile Friend,' and 'A Discussion as it is in reality.' The former represents a bench of savage-looking ragamuffins armed to the teeth, with a large basin labelled 'Blood' in front of the President's chair. The latter gives a view of nine or ten not over bright specimens of humanity seated round a table, smoking their pipes, and drinking Allsop's ale, while a bemused orator is on his legs descanting in a hazy style on some subject which it is evident neither he nor his audience understand.

France also had a complaint against the Chinese Government on account of the murder of some missionaries, for which redress had been demanded in vain; and Baron de Gros, the French Plenipotentiary, arrived in October, and co-operated with Lord Elgin in his efforts to bring the Emperor of China to terms. As nothing but evasive answers to their demands could be obtained from the Chinese Commissioner Yeh, active operations to enforce compliance with them were commenced in the month of December. An attack was made by the allies upon Canton about the close of the year, and the city was captured without difficulty. The Governor of the city and the Tartar general were taken prisoners; and the redoubtable Yeh himself, the Imperial Commissioner, was found hidden in some obscure part of a house belonging to one of the Lieutenant-governors of Canton. He was sent on board the *Inflexible* man-of-war, and was afterwards carried to Calcutta, where he remained until the conclusion of a treaty of peace between our Queen and the Emperor of China. Yeh was noted for his cruelty towards the Chinese rebels, whose operations seemed at one time likely to overturn the throne, and he is said to have caused 100,000 of them to be put to death.

After the capture of Canton Lord Elgin and the Baron de Gros transmitted to the Court of Peking the demands which they were instructed to make, and the American and Russian Ministers co-operated with them in their efforts to secure by treaty 'those just concessions to foreign commerce which the nations of the world had a right to demand.' As usual with the Chinese authorities, every effort was made to protract the negotiations and to evade the claims of the British and French representatives, till at last Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros determined to proceed with an armed force to Peking, and compel the Emperor to accede to their demands. They accordingly sailed up the Peiho river as far as Tientsin, a city at the entrance of the Grand

Canal. Here they were met by two Chinese commissioners of high rank, with full powers, as they affirmed, to adjust the terms of a treaty with the European plenipotentiaries; but when their credentials were produced they proved to be quite unsatisfactory. After some further attempts at evasion and trickery, Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros assumed such a firm and vigorous attitude that the Emperor and his advisers became alarmed, and a treaty was concluded on the terms which they had presented. By the conditions of this convention British and French Ministers were to reside at Peking, and China was to be represented at London and Paris. The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants and Roman Catholics, was to be tolerated, and its professors protected in China. British and French merchant vessels were to be allowed to trade at certain specified ports, and subjects of Britain and France were to be permitted to travel for pleasure or trade into all parts of the interior. The Chinese Government was to pay the expenses of the war. Great satisfaction was expressed at the conclusion of this treaty, and the prospect which it afforded of permanent peace with China; but it lasted only a year.

On the resignation of Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby was sent for by the Queen, and with some difficulty formed an administration. Mr. Disraeli was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Lord Stanley (the Prime Minister's son) was Colonial Secretary, and Lord Ellenborough President of the Board of Control. The other members of the Cabinet were politicians of no great weight or experience. The new Ministers were placed in very unfavourable circumstances. As their supporters were a decided minority of the House of Commons, they had obtained office without power, and could do nothing without the permission of their opponents, who not only outnumbered them, but had for their leaders experienced statesmen like Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell,

Sir James Graham, Mr. Sydney Herbert and such distinguished parliamentary orators and debaters as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright. It became necessary, therefore, for them to walk warily, and to avoid the introduction of any measure likely to unite the various divisions of the Liberal party against them. They quietly dropped the ill-fated Conspiracy Bill. We have already seen in what way the India Bill was withdrawn, and another and different Bill founded on the resolutions of the House was passed. The long-standing controversy between the two Houses of Parliament on the subject of the Jewish Disabilities was at length brought to a termination. The Jews had been excluded from corporate offices as well as from Parliament by side-wind. When the Test and Corporation Acts were abolished in 1827, the new declaration substituted for the old oath contained the words, 'on the true faith of a Christian.' There is no reason to believe that these words were inserted for the purpose of excluding the Jews, of whom no one was at that time thinking—they were merely intended by a solemn declaration to secure a true affirmation from the persons to be sworn; but they had the effect of imposing a new disability on the adherents of the Jewish faith. 'The operation of the law,' says Sir Erskine May, 'was fatal to nearly all the rights of a citizen. A Jew could not hold any office, civil, military, or corporate. He could not follow the profession of the law as barrister or attorney or attorney's clerk; he could not be a schoolmaster or an usher at a school. He could not sit as a member of either House of Parliament, nor even exercise the electoral franchise if called upon to take the elector's oath.'

The first attempt to abolish this anomaly was made by Mr. Robert Grant, one of the members for Norwich. On 5th April, 1830, he moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the civil disabilities affecting British-born subjects professing the Jewish religion. It was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of sixty-three. In 1833

Mr. Grant introduced his bill again, but though it passed the House of Commons it was rejected by the Lords. Year after year this process was repeated, the Lower House always passing and the Upper House as constantly rejecting the relief bill. Meanwhile the Jews were being gradually relieved from other disabilities, but the Lords pertinaciously refused to open to them the doors of Parliament. The constituencies did not sympathize with this course of action. In 1847 the City of London elected Baron Lionel Rothschild as one of its representatives, but the House of Commons refused to allow him to take his seat because he declined to use the words, 'on the true faith of a Christian,' in the oath of abjuration. Mr. David Salomons was elected for Greenwich in 1851, and presented himself at the table of the House, as Baron Rothschild had done, and demanded to be sworn. He took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but followed the Baron's example in regard to the oath of abjuration, and was therefore directed to withdraw. He complied with this order at the time, but a few evenings after he entered the House and took his seat among the members. A scene of great excitement followed, and ultimately a motion was carried that Mr. Salomons should be ordered to withdraw. He was then removed by the Sergeant-at-Arms without offering any opposition.

It was evident that such a state of matters could not be allowed to continue; but for some time longer the Bills passed by the Commons to enable Jews to sit in Parliament were invariably thrown out by the Lords. At length, in 1858, the question was set at rest. Lord John Russell brought in a measure in which it was proposed that the declarations relating to the succession to the throne, supremacy, and allegiance should be condensed into one affirmation, in which the words 'on the true faith of a Christian' were included. But a separate clause provided that when the oath was administered to a Jew these words might be omitted. The Bill passed the House of

Commons without any debate, but the Lords struck out the clause relating to the Jews. The Commons refused to assent to this alteration, and the dispute seemed as far as ever from a settlement. But Lord Lucan proposed a compromise which was acquiesced in by both Houses. He suggested the insertion of a clause allowing each House to modify according to its pleasure the form of the oath to be administered to its members. Lord John Russell and other Liberal members expressed their dissatisfaction with this mode of settling the question, but acquiesced in the proposed compromise. A Bill embodying the clause suggested was brought in and passed rapidly through both Houses. The Commons at once availed themselves of the power thus given them to modify the oath in such a manner as to admit Baron Rothschild to occupy the seat in the House from which he had been so long excluded. Not long after the Acts referring to the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy were consolidated, and the Jews were authorized on all occasions whatever to omit the words 'on the true faith of a Christian.' It must have been a matter of great satisfaction to Mr. Disraeli that the civil emancipation of the race to which he belonged was accomplished during the time of his leadership of the House of Commons.

The Government had managed to struggle through the session by the aid of the self-sacrifice of one of their colleagues and the versatility and tact of Mr. Disraeli; but they were quite well aware that they held office only on sufferance, and that as soon as the various sections of their opponents came to an understanding they would be overthrown. It was clear that unless they could propound a system of policy which would meet with public approbation, they could not long continue to retain their places. Mr. Disraeli saw that though at this time there was no public agitation for a reform of the representative system, and apparently no strong desire for it on the part of any influential class of the community, yet sooner or later

the question would be raised; and he probably thought that by settling it when the Conservatives were in office he could so arrange its provisions as to promote the interests of that party. Mr. Bright, who had now recovered his health and returned to public life, attended large and important meetings on the subject at Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow, and had been persuaded to undertake the preparation of a measure to be submitted to Parliament. He accordingly drew up a Bill which did not materially differ from the scheme that ultimately became law. In these circumstances it was evident that if the Government refused to deal with this great question it would fall at once into the hands of their opponents, and Mr. Disraeli persuaded the Cabinet to prepare a Conservative Reform Bill.

The session of Parliament was opened on the 3rd of February, 1859, and on the 28th Mr. Disraeli brought forward the measure of reform which had been announced in the Queen's Speech. The Bill proposed to give a vote in boroughs to persons who had property to the amount of £10 a year in the funds, in bank stock, or East India stock; to persons having £60 in a savings bank; to persons in the receipt of pensions in the naval, military, or civil service, amounting to £20 a year; to graduates of universities, ministers of religion, members of the legal and medical professions, and certain schoolmasters. It contained only one proposition which met with the approval of the Liberal party—a clause extending the £10 household suffrage to the counties. The measure was evidently framed mainly with a view to increase the number of Conservative voters throughout the country, rather than to confer the franchise upon the working classes of the community. Insignificant as the measure really was, it was regarded with coldness, if not suspicion, by the great body of the supporters of the Government; and two of the members of the Cabinet—Mr. Henley, President of the Board of Trade, a shrewd,

blunt, stanch old Tory; and Mr. Walpole, Home Secretary, a high-minded, upright statesman—resigned office, on the ground of their disapproval of the measure. Its fate was speedily determined. The ‘fancy franchises,’ as they were termed by Mr. Bright, were ridiculed by both parties, and the Bill was got rid of by an amendment moved by Lord John Russell, declaring that ‘no readjustment of the franchise will satisfy the house or the country, which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure.’ On a division in the House of 621 members, the Government were left in a minority of 39; and a few days later they announced their intention of dissolving Parliament.

Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of April, 1859, and dissolved on the following day. The result of this appeal to the country was the return of 350 Liberals and 302 Conservatives; and it was soon made evident that the statesmen who were at the head of the Liberal party were not inclined to show much forbearance towards their opponents. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell came to an agreement that whichever of the two were charged with the formation of a Government should receive the co-operation of the other. A meeting of the Liberal party was then held at Willis’ Rooms—the scene of Almack’s famous assemblies—to heal their dissensions and to arrange a plan of united action. It was attended by the leaders of the different sections of the party—Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Mr. Sydney Herbert, and Mr. Bright. The meeting was perfectly harmonious, and a compact was made for the overthrow of the Derby Government. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, in a House of no less than 637 members, a vote of want of confidence was moved by the young Marquis of Hartington, eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire, who was even then looked to as a future leader of the Liberal party. The debate was long and keen, and even acrimonious

on the part of Mr. Disraeli. The division showed a majority of thirteen in favour of Lord Hartington’s motion, and the defeat of the Ministry was immediately followed by their resignation.

To the astonishment of everybody, Lord Granville was intrusted by the Queen with the construction of a Ministry, feeling, as she said to him, that ‘to make so marked a distinction as is implied in the choice of one or other as Prime Minister of two statesmen so full of years and honours as Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, would be a very invidious and unwelcome task.’ The wisdom of this step is open to serious doubt, and her Majesty and Prince Albert, by whose advice, of course, it was taken, were made to learn, somewhat unpleasantly, that the House of Commons, and not the Crown, is the ultimate depository of the power that makes as well as unmakes ministers. Autograph letters were sent at the same time by the Queen to Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, explaining Her Majesty’s views, and soliciting their co-operation. Lord Palmerston at once wrote to the Queen stating his willingness to give assistance to Lord Granville in forming an Administration; but Lord John Russell was not so tractable. He was willing to serve under Lord Palmerston, but not under Lord Granville. The latter was therefore obliged to resign the commission, which he had very unwillingly undertaken, and the construction of a Ministry was at once (12th June) intrusted to Lord Palmerston, who retained the office of Prime Minister during the rest of his life. ‘The remainder of his course,’ says his biographer, ‘was to be comparatively smooth. For six years he was accepted by the country as the Minister of the nation, and almost occupied a position removed from the chances of party strife.’

By the 15th of June the construction of the new Administration was completed. It was exceptionally strong, and included representatives of all sections of the Liberal party. Lord John Russell had stipulated

for the office of Foreign Secretary, and Lord Clarendon, unwilling to undertake any other post, was lost to the Ministry, to the great regret of the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George C. Lewis Home Secretary, and Mr. Sydney Herbert Minister for War. The Duke of Newcastle accepted the office of Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Cardwell became Irish Secretary, and Sir Charles Wood Secretary for India. The office of President of the Board of Trade was offered to Mr. Cobden, and on his declining the post it was accepted by Mr. Milner-Gibson, on Mr. Cobden's advice. 'Our new Ministry is formed and in office,' wrote Prince Albert to Stockmar. 'It is looked upon as the strongest that ever was formed (as far as the individual talent of its members is concerned), and it is true that down to the most subordinate offices important people have been appointed. In this it contrasts greatly with the last Ministry.'

It was high time that a powerful hand should be intrusted with the reins of Government. Hostilities had at length broken out between Austria and France and Sardinia, which seemed not unlikely to bring about a European war. An unfriendly feeling had long existed between the Courts of Vienna and Paris, and the French Emperor had brooded over the idea that Italy should be delivered from the galling yoke of Austria. Count Cavour, the sagacious Sardinian Minister, was well aware of this state of feeling, and in consequence looked to Louis Napoleon as the mainstay in his project for achieving the independence of Italy. Secret negotiations had for some time been carried on by the Count and the French Emperor for an intimate alliance between France and Sardinia. In July, 1858, these negotiations assumed a definite form. A meeting then took place at Plombières between Louis Napoleon and Cavour, which was kept a profound secret. At this meeting it was mutually agreed that France was to give her assistance to Sardinia in a war against Austria, with a view to the com-

plete deliverance of the Peninsula from foreign control, and the establishment of a kingdom of Northern Italy; and that France was to be recompensed for her aid by the cession of Savoy and Nice. It was also proposed, but not definitely arranged, that the alliance was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, the Emperor's cousin, with a daughter of King Victor Emmanuel. It was quite understood that the Russian Czar had intimated to the French Emperor that he would not interfere with him in the projected enterprise.

Whatever surmises there may have been respecting the bitter feeling which it was well known had long existed between France and Austria, the treaty with Sardinia was kept a profound secret. But at the commencement of 1859, a few significant words by the Emperor Napoleon to M. Hubner, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, made the European public aware that a rupture was at hand. M. Hubner had waited on the Emperor, along with his diplomatic colleagues, to present the customary congratulations. 'I regret,' the Emperor said to him, in the hearing of those present, 'that the relations between our two Governments are not more satisfactory; but I beg you to assure the Emperor that they in no respect alter my feelings of friendship to himself.' These words, which, as Lord Granville said, might have meant anything or nothing at all, excited great alarm throughout Europe, and were everywhere regarded as 'the first mutterings of the thunderstorm which had long been seen to be gathering.' But the step taken by the French Emperor did not meet with the approbation which he expected. Russia, indeed, for her own ends, was disposed to encourage Louis Napoleon to persevere with his project, but the King of Prussia intimated that the nation that first disturbed the peace of Europe must not expect his sympathy or good-will. Earnest remonstrances were addressed to the Emperor by our Queen against the violation of existing treaties. Lord Derby's

Ministry was friendly to Austria, and they exerted themselves to the utmost to thwart the plans of the French Emperor. 'They displayed a feverish activity all over Europe to secure this end,' says Kossuth; 'in Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Turin, Rome, Naples, and the minor courts of Italy.' But Lord Malmesbury's fussy and feeble efforts were completely foiled by the dexterous diplomacy of Cavour, and all that could be extracted by combined menaces and cajolery from Louis Napoleon, was a verbal assurance that he would not assist Sardinia in any conflict with Austria if she herself were the aggressor. Russia proposed that a congress of the five Great Powers should be held for the settlement of the affairs of Italy, but Austria demanded, as a preliminary step, that Sardinia should disarm; and Sardinia, on the other hand, insisted that her presence in the Congress was the only way to prevent insurrection in Italy from exploding. As Austria would not consent to the admission of Sardinia, nothing came of the proposal. Count Cavour had set himself to effect the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, as the first and indispensable step to the formation of an Italian kingdom. He had so thoroughly committed himself to this enterprise, in reliance on the promises of Louis Napoleon, that he could not now recede, and the Emperor had placed himself in a similar position.

The whole of the Italian states were now in a ferment, and it seemed impossible that peace could be much longer maintained. The Austrian rule in Italy was detested by all classes with almost fanatical hatred; and no wonder! The Treaty of Vienna re-established Austria in her old territory, and largely gifted her with new in the north of the Peninsula. But not satisfied with these acquisitions she laid her hand upon the extreme south, and bound the King of Naples, by a private article in a treaty, to administer the government of his kingdom in accordance with her dictation. In the following year Prince

Metternich contended that to make Austria secure in Lombardy, the Upper Naveresse, with the fortress of Alessandria, ought to be ceded to her by Sardinia. The minor rulers were informed not only that Austria would support them in their arbitrary administration, and in their resistance to the demands of their subjects for a reform in their institutions, but that if they should of their own accord concede constitutional liberties, Austria would at once suppress them. When Prince Metternich was asked by Count Capo d'Istria, at Laybach, whether Austria would give her sanction to the establishment of the representative system in Naples, he replied that she would prefer to go to war. But, rejoined the Count, 'what if the King of Naples himself should desire to establish such a system?' In that case, the Chancellor of Austria answered, 'the Emperor would make war upon the King of Naples.' In conformity with this outrageous declaration, Prince Metternich wrote to the Austrian Minister at Paris that 'the representative system, with the institutions necessarily following upon it, could not and should not be established in any single State of the Peninsula.' That this was no empty threat was shown by the manner in which Austria assisted in the suppression of all constitutional reforms in 1820, and again in 1848. She even refused to accede to the request of Lord Aberdeen, that she would attempt to mitigate, by friendly advice to the Court of Naples, the horrible state of things in that kingdom which Mr. Gladstone's letters had brought to light. A striking reckoning of the achievements of Austria in the way of the military occupation of what she satirically called 'independent states,' is given by Salvagnoli:—'There is not a yard of Italian soil on which she has not trodden with her mailed heel. Since 1815 she has been for two years in arms in Piedmont, for five years in Naples, for six years in Tuscany, six in Modena, and six in Parma; for twenty-five years in the Papal States overshadowing and overawing all of them by

her military ascendency, and establishing everywhere an immunity, alike formal, patent, and entire, for corruption and for tyranny.' In Lombardy and Venice, her own provinces, the conduct of Austria was not only tyrannical and oppressive, and utterly regardless of liberty and public right, but the taxation was most exorbitant and unfair—nearly double the assessment imposed upon the hereditary dominions of the emperor. It amounted to 57½ per cent. on the estimated income of the inhabitants.

Sardinia, however, was aware that if she were the aggressor she would deprive herself of the sympathy of Europe; and the French Emperor, having to meet the remonstrances of the British and Prussian Governments and of his own Ministers, hesitated to draw the sword, though he felt that it was impossible without dishonour to extricate himself from his engagements to Sardinia. Still, as M. de Mazade said, in his 'Life of Cavour,' though the Emperor was hedged round with difficulties, these difficulties 'might be unexpectedly brought to an end by Austria, should that country be so kind to him as to commit some fault of impatience or precipitation.' This is precisely what took place. Austria, with her usual blundering policy, became the aggressor, and thus played into the hands of Louis Napoleon and Cavour.

On the 19th of April Count Buol despatched to Turin a demand that Sardinia should disarm, under the threat that unless she did so within three days the Austrian army would march upon Turin. 'Austria has at last,' wrote Prince Albert on the 26th, 'fairly involved herself in the position which her enemies desired—that is, put herself in the wrong. Her demand on Sardinia to disarm just at the very moment when Sardinia had agreed with the other Powers upon disarmament, simply upon condition of being heard in Congress with the other Italian States, and when all the other States had assented to the proposal, was a tremendous mistake, and has caused the greatest indignation here.'

The same day on which this letter was written, Count Walewski announced to the Corps Législatif that if the Sardinian territory were invaded France would regard this as a declaration of hostilities against herself. All hope of averting war was therefore now at an end. But Austria, by her characteristic slow and dilatory action, lost all the advantage she might have gained by invading Sardinia at the end of the three days, when France was not ready to take the field. If Count Gyulai, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, had crossed the Ticino on the 27th of April he might have cut off the communication between Turin and Genoa, or he could have cut off Turin from Susa, and in either case he would have closed the communication between the two large divisions of the French army hastening to the assistance of the Sardinians, and Turin would probably have fallen. But it was not until the 29th of April that the Austrian troops crossed the Ticino. By this time, however, there were upwards of 40,000 French troops in Piedmont, and Generals Canrobert and Baraguay d'Hilliers had arrived at Turin to concert the plan of operations. Two days before this a revolution broke out in Tuscany, where the Grand-Duke was exceedingly unpopular both on account of his known Austrian sympathies and the illiberal character of his Government. He quitted Florence with his family, and a provisional government was immediately appointed in consequence. Modena, the worst governed of all the minor States, and Parma speedily followed the example of Tuscany.

The Emperor of France at once took advantage of the tremendous mistake committed by Austria. He issued, on the 3rd of May, a proclamation skilfully adapted to kindle national enthusiasm and to rouse the latent warlike temper of the French people. 'Austria,' he said, 'in causing her army to enter the territories of the King of Sardinia our ally, declares war against us. She thus violates treaties and justice, and

menaces our frontiers.' Why, he went on to say, is this sudden invasion?

'Because Austria has brought things to this extremity—that either she must rule up to the Alps, or Italy be free to the Adriatic; for in that country every nook of land which remains independent is a danger for her power.' 'I wish for no conquest,' he continued, 'but I do wish to maintain firmly my national and traditional policy. I observe the treaties on condition that they are not violated in my despite. I respect the territory and the rights of neutral Powers; but I proclaim far and wide my sympathy for a people whose history is mingled with our own, and which groans beneath foreign oppression.' He intimated at the same time his intention to place himself at the head of his army, and quitted Paris for the seat of war on the 10th of May.

The Austrian generals acted with a strange want of decision and strategic skill, and they were beaten in every engagement. Count Gyulai was indebted for his position as Commander-in-Chief, not to his ability or experience, but to the favour of the Court. He was destitute of military talent, and had not learned by service in the field how to direct the movement of large bodies of men. On the other hand, the French generals, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Canrobert, Niel, and MacMahon, were men of energy and experience, and accustomed to war on a great scale. We need go no further than the character of the officers to whom the Austrians had intrusted the command of their brave and well-disciplined forces, to account for their reverses in this campaign. The first encounter between the Austrians and the French and Sardinians took place on the 20th of May, near the junction of the Ticino and the Po; and after an obstinate struggle the invading army was defeated with the loss of upwards of 1000 men killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. The French loss amounted to 671 killed and wounded. The Austrians were speedily obliged to abandon wholly the right bank of the Ticino, and they thus confessed that their invasion of the Sardinian territory had been a strategic as well as political mistake, from which they did not reap a single advantage. The great object of the French

Emperor now was to deceive the Austrians as to the point from which he intended to make his attack, and in this he completely succeeded. He so manœuvred as to lead them to believe that he meant to assail their left; and General Gyulai, who was in vain warned of his danger by his subordinate officers, accordingly concentrated his troops in that direction. But the real point of attack was on the Austrian right at Magenta, and on the morning of the 4th of June a battle took place there which lasted the whole day. Gyulai strove to repair his mistake by sending his troops with all possible speed to the scene of conflict; but they arrived there wearied by a long and rapid march, and without having had time to take food. They fought, however, with the most desperate courage, and defended the ground inch by inch; but in the end they were obliged to give way, leaving four guns and about 7000 prisoners in the hands of the victorious allies. They also lost 8000 in killed and wounded, including five generals, in this affair. The French loss was also very heavy. General Espinasse and General Clar were among the slain, and Generals Wimpffen and Mellonet were wounded. The incapacity of General Gyulai was so conspicuously displayed in this engagement that he was immediately deprived of the command. After this hard-fought and sanguinary struggle the French Emperor and the King of Sardinia entered Milan on the 8th of June, amid the unbounded enthusiasm of the inhabitants.

Their defeat at Magenta had cost the Austrians the loss of Lombardy; it now remained to be seen whether they were to be deprived also of the Veronese and Venetia. Their retreat from Magenta was orderly and well conducted. After evacuating Milan they assembled in considerable force at Malegnano, a place half-way between Milan and Lodi, which they intended to hold in order to protect the retreat of the main body of their army across the Adda. Here they were assailed by the French on the 8th of June. They had loopholed the



Engraved by W. Holl from an original photograph

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walls of the houses, and occupied the windows with riflemen; but after a desperate struggle, in which the French had fifty officers and 800 men killed and wounded, the Austrians were driven out of the town with severe loss.

At this juncture the celebrated patriot Garibaldi appeared on the scene. At the head of a band of volunteers about 3700 in number, containing 100 cavalry, he was the first to cross the Ticino and arrive on the soil of Lombardy. His spirit-stirring proclamation and brilliant reputation attracted to his standard great numbers of the Italian youth of all classes, fired by the resolution to expel the hated Austrian from their native land. The splendour of the victories which he had gained at St. Fermo, Varese, and Como was enhanced by the immense superiority of the enemy's forces and armament. His very name seemed to inspire Marshal Urban, the Austrian general opposed to him, with terror; and even at Rezzato, where he lost 100 out of 700 men, the enemy were so daunted by his intrepidity that they abandoned the strong positions of Montechiaro and Castelledo.

After the loss of the battle of Magenta the Austrian army, now commanded by the Emperor in person, retreated across the plains of Lombardy upon the line of the Mincio. One corps occupied Verona on the east or left bank of the Mincio, and the strong fortress of Mantua was held by another. By the 11th of June the whole army had crossed the Adda unmolested by the allies, blowing up all the bridges as they retreated. Piacenza and Pavia were abandoned by their garrisons after destroying the works, which had been constructed with great skill and at enormous expense. The fortresses also of Lodi and Pizzighetone were rendered unserviceable. The Austrians continued their retreat until they had crossed the Mincio and had taken shelter within the lines of the famous Quadrilateral, where they seemed about to make a stand, protected at the four angles of the square by the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, Legnano, and Mantua.

After a short stay at Milan the French Emperor and the King of Sardinia proceeded with their troops to follow the retreating Austrians across the plains of Lombardy. On the 23rd of July the allied armies extended in a line from the Lago di Garda to the Chiese river at Carpendolo. It was thought not improbable that the Austrians would contest the passage of the Mincio, but no one anticipated that they would recross that river and assume the offensive, instead of taking up a strong and almost impregnable position under the protection of their fortresses. Such, however, proved to be the case. They seem to have imagined that the whole of the allied armies had not yet crossed the Chiese, and that, therefore, by moving forward at once they could attack them at a disadvantage. During the night of the 23rd the Austrians recrossed the Mincio in great force. Their object was to perform a concentric movement on Montechiaro, the apex of the triangle of which the line of the Mincio was the base. If they had succeeded in carrying it out they would have obtained a splendid position facing the Chiese, with the plain between Lonati and Castiglioni to manœuvre upon, and a fine field for the operations of the numerous cavalry of their army. But to secure the success of such a movement it was evidently most desirable that it should be completed in one day, for if two days were spent in effecting it the allies might possibly defeat it by an advance. With their characteristic tardiness they resolved to devote two days to the movement. A little after mid-day they occupied a position extending ten or twelve miles from Pozzolengo on the right to Castel Goffredo on the left, down into the plain of the Mincio, intersecting the great road to Goito, with the artillery reserves at Vilba, the Fifth Corps occupying Solferino, the key of the position, and the First Cavriano. Here they bivouacked for the night, intending to start at nine next morning towards Castiglione. The order of march for the following day was issued, but their arrangements

were destined to a rude disturbance, which, though totally unexpected by the Austrian Emperor and his officers, might have been foreseen. Louis Napoleon, instead of remaining in his position west of the Chiese, moved his whole force and occupied Castiglioni and Lonato on the very day that the Austrians made their first advance. His patrols encountered those of the enemy near Solferino, and he prepared himself for a new advance on the very night on which the Austrians were so securely sleeping in their bivouacks.

No reconnaissance had been made by the Austrians to ascertain whether Castiglioni and Lonato were occupied in force. They were consequently not aware that the whole allied army was close at hand, and did not intend or expect that an encounter would take place until the Imperial forces had been leisurely concentrated on the Chiese by the march of the following day. But at two in the morning the allied army began to move, and as dawn broke the first French columns appeared on the plains between Solferino and San Cassiano. The call of drum and trumpet, together with the volleys from the outposts, roused the Austrians from their bivouacks, and they hastened to strengthen, as well as the emergency permitted, the ground on which they had passed the night.

The allies were not aware of the movement of the Austrians until the morning of the 24th. They had arranged on the previous evening to make a simultaneous advance, and thus the two armies, amounting to about 400,000 men, came into collision almost unexpectedly. The Piedmontese troops, who formed the left of the allied force, encountered the Austrians in front of Rivettella. Next them came the division under Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers and General MacMahon, who had been created Duke of Magenta. General Niel and Marshal Canrobert were further to the right. The key of the Austrian position was the village of Solferino, which on its west side rises on a conical hill crowned by a square

tower, called from its commanding position 'the Spy of Italy.' On the east a hill not quite so abrupt is crowned by a church, and flanked still more to the right by a cemetery and plantation. The task of carrying this strong position devolved on Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers. It was defended by a powerful body of infantry intrenched in an old chateau and a large cemetery, both of which were surrounded by thick and crenellated walls. The heavy fire of musketry from this protected position checked the advance of the French, who fell in great numbers. The Emperor at this critical moment ordered Forey's brigades to advance to their assistance, supported by a division of light infantry and the artillery of the Guard. This manœuvre decided the contest in the centre. While Forey's division drove the Austrians out of the cemetery, the light infantry and the riflemen of the Imperial Guard, after a desperate struggle, obtained possession of the conical hill and the village. The eminences near Solferino were then successively carried, and at half-past three the Austrians evacuated the position, leaving in the hands of the victors 1500 prisoners, fourteen pieces of cannon, and two colours. The French then turned their arms against Cavriana, where the Duke of Magenta was carrying on a fierce hand-to-hand fight. The horrors of the scene were increased by a tremendous thunderstorm which burst over the battle-field, darkening the air and deluging the combatants with rain. In the midst of this war of the elements Cavriana was carried by the French; and the Austrian centre being thus forced, the fortune of the day was decided. The carnage on both sides was frightful. The allies lost 22,000 men killed or wounded in this sanguinary conflict, but the losses of the Austrians, though they were defeated, amounted only to 17,000.

The Austrians on this terrible reverse abandoned the line of the Mincio, after burning the bridges which led across the river at Monzembano, Vallegio, and Goito.

Leaving a strong force in Peschiera, where the Mineio issues from the Lago di Garda, they took up a position within the lines of the Quadrilateral, resting on these four almost impregnable fortresses. On the 1st of August the whole of the allied armies crossed the Mineio. Peschiera was invested by the Sardinians, while the French troops extended southwards towards Mantua. It seemed a most formidable enterprise to assail the Austrians in this position, but Louis Napoleon was aware that the fortresses had been so scantily provisioned that their garrisons must speedily have been starved into a surrender—a fact unknown to the Austrian Emperor. In the midst of the triumphant successes of the French arms Europe was suddenly astounded to learn that an interview had taken place between the two Emperors at Villafranca, and that they had agreed to an armistice, which was signed on the 8th of July at Villafranca by Marshal Vaillant on the part of France, and by Baron Hess on the part of Austria, and was to last until the 15th of August.

The Emperor had, it appears, for some time entertained a desire for peace. The prospect of a protracted struggle before the Quadrilateral at a great distance from his supplies, the enormous losses which his army had undergone in the sanguinary contests with the enemy, and the apprehension that further successes of his arms would bring Germany into the field as the auxiliary of Austria, made him anxious that the war should terminate while his laurels were still untarnished. He had therefore instructed his Ministers at home to endeavour to induce the British Government to arrange the terms of an armistice. The conditions proposed by him included not only the surrender of Lombardy and the Duchies to Sardinia, but also the creation of Venetia into an independent State under an Arch-Duke. It would have been well for Austria if the Emperor and his advisers had possessed the foresight and moral courage to give up their Italian provinces entirely to

the people of Italy at this time, and to withdraw within their hereditary dominions. But this they were not likely to do, either on the recommendation of Britain or the demand of France. And, on the other hand, to have supported a proposal so far short of making 'Italy free to the Adriatic' would have drawn upon our Government the odium of the Italians, who would have accused them of having stopped the allied armies in their career of victory, and having endeavoured to 'rivet on Italy a remnant of Austrian shackles.' Moreover, as Lord Palmerston said—

'The scheme throws wholly out of the question the wishes of the Italians themselves, and we are asked to propose to the belligerents a parcelling out of the nations of Italy as if we had any authority to dispose of them. I cannot be a party to Persigny's scheme. If the French Emperor is tired of his war, and finds the job tougher than he expected, let him make what proposals he pleases; but let them be made as from himself, formally and officially, and let him not ask us to further his suggestions, and make ourselves answerable for them.'

'The French Emperor,' as Mr. Ashley says, 'must have anticipated the refusal of England to become his cat's-paw.' Anyhow, as we have seen, he acted for himself, and on the 11th of July a provisional treaty of peace was signed on the basis that Lombardy was to be ceded to the Emperor of the French, who was to hand it over to the King of Sardinia. An Italian Confederation was to be formed under the presidency of the Pope, of which Venetia was to form a part, though remaining under Austrian rule. The Grand-Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their dominions, but the Emperor of Austria gave a verbal assurance that no force should be employed to restore them. The two Emperors were to ask the Pope to introduce indispensable reforms into his States. The definite treaty was to be settled in a conference at Zurich.

The arrangement thus hastily made took the world by surprise, and satisfied no one but the Emperors themselves. The general feeling of Paris regarding it was summed up

in the saying—‘France has made a superb war, and Austria has made a superb peace.’ Lord Palmerston lost no time in expressing his disappointment at the terms of the treaty. The Confederation was to consist of four absolutist members—the Pope, Tuscany, Modena, and Naples—while Piedmont stood alone in supporting liberal institutions; and as long as Austria was a member of the Confederation, Italy would be delivered hand and foot into her power. In order to preserve the freedom of the Italian States it was absolutely necessary that Austria should be prevented from intriguing in the affairs of the Peninsula beyond her own frontier.

It has since transpired, what was only surmised at the time, that shortly after the commencement of hostilities Kossuth had been called into the counsels of the French Emperor and Count Cavour, who saw clearly that a rising in Hungary would greatly strengthen their hands in an Italian campaign, and would correspondingly distract and weaken the enemy. The Hungarian patriot was invited to Paris in May, 1859, along with his brother exiles, Teleki and Klapka, and after a preliminary conference with Prince Napoleon, they had a long and deeply interesting interview with the Emperor. It soon became apparent to them, as Kossuth had suspected from the first, that the main object of Louis Napoleon was not the establishment of Hungarian independence, but the success of the war in Italy. It was suggested by the Emperor that a French army might accompany the Hungarian refugees to the frontier, and remain there for their protection, while they should march into the interior and rouse their countrymen to arms. Kossuth scouted this notion as preposterous. There would be no danger in the rear, he said, from which the Hungarians would need to be defended. The danger would be all in front and on the flank, from which the French army, remaining at the place of disembarkation, could give them no protection. He declared, therefore, that the

refugees would only go to Hungary side by side with a French army, which should accompany them into the heart of the country, and unite with them in encountering the Austrian forces. He required also a guarantee that the Emperor and Victor Emmanuel would regard the independence of Hungary as an object of the war co-ordinate with the liberation of Italy; that they would give him assurance that if Hungary should take up arms against Austria they would not be left in the lurch; and that in case of victory, peace should not be concluded with regard to Italy without Hungary being liberated from the rule of Austria and made an independent state. It was in vain that Kossuth was told that if he would influence the Hungarian soldiers to come over and fight against Austria the Emperor would be under *moral obligation* to assist Hungary. He replied that in politics interest, and not sentiment or sympathy, always prevailed. In the end the Emperor professed himself fully convinced of the reasonableness and sound policy of the course which Kossuth recommended, and declared his willingness to send an army to Hungary provided he had reason to believe that Britain would remain neutral. Kossuth expressed his conviction that he could secure this result, and for this purpose he immediately set out for London.

The Parliamentary elections were then in full progress, and Kossuth's friends were willing to unite with the Whigs in expelling Lord Derby's Ministry from office, on condition that the leaders of the party, Lords Palmerston and Russell, would pledge themselves in writing that Britain should preserve absolute neutrality, even though the war should extend from the Po to the banks of the Danube and the Theiss. Letters to this effect from these two statesmen, and from other three who were to be members of the new Cabinet, whose selection had already been virtually arranged, were handed to Kossuth, with authority to show them to the French Emperor. Armed with these proofs of the success of his

mission, the Hungarian patriot lost no time in returning to the Continent. He found the French Emperor at Villeggio, which had been the headquarters of the Austrian Emperor the night before the battle of Solferino. On showing his credentials to Louis Napoleon, he was informed that the Emperor was firmly decided to make Hungary independent. 'Consider it,' he said, 'an accomplished fact; let us talk about how to do it and when.' Immediate steps were taken by Kossuth and the other Hungarian compatriots at Turin to carry out the measures agreed upon. The prisoners taken by the French who belonged to Hungary were released and formed into an Hungarian column, under Hungarian officers, with their national flag and uniform, and they speedily amounted to upwards of 4000. In the midst of their preparations for action, when everything promised success to the projected enterprise, and the deliverance of Hungary appeared to be within sight, the news that an armistice had been concluded between the Emperors of France and Austria, to be followed by a peace, fell upon the Hungarian committee like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Cavour was furious, and denounced the miserable patched-up peace in the most indignant terms. 'This peace shall not come to pass,' he said; 'this treaty shall not be executed. If necessary I will become a conspirator! a revolutionist! but this treaty shall not be executed. No! a thousand times No! Never, never!' He at once placed his resignation in the hands of the King, and left the camp for Turin. But he had raised a spirit in the Duchies and the Papal States which in no long time succeeded in realizing his project of a Northern Italian kingdom, in defiance of the Franco-Austrian settlement at Villafranca.

The scheme of an Italian confederation was not proposed by Austria but by Louis Napoleon, in whose mind it had been floating for many years. The British Cabinet stated without delay, in a despatch to Paris,

their strong objections to its terms. Lord Palmerston also, in a letter to Count Persigny, pointed out that by becoming a prominent member of an Italian confederation, the footing of Austria in Italy was more firmly established than before. 'Austria,' he added, 'ought, on the contrary, to be strictly excluded from all right of interference, political or military, beyond her own frontiers. If this be not done nothing is done, and everything will very soon have to begin all over again.' As the treaty did not embody the verbal engagement given by the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca, that he would not employ his troops in restoring the Arch-Dukes, an official remonstrance was sent by our Government to Vienna, which declared that 'a provision for the employment of French or Austrian forces to put down the clearly expressed will of the people of Central Italy would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, not be justifiable.' The leaning of the French representatives to Austria during the negotiations at Zurich was so evident, that Lord Palmerston pithily said that the Emperor Napoleon's famous declaration, 'Italy shall be restored to herself,' was being turned into 'Italy shall be sold to Austria.' But there were influences at work which completely baffled the intrigues and designs of both parties. Meanwhile the Congress which, by the Treaty of Zurich, France and Austria had engaged themselves to summon was postponed, owing to the publication, in Paris, of a pamphlet entitled 'The Pope and the Congress,' the real authorship of which was ascribed to the French Emperor. Among other important changes, it advocated the restriction of the temporal government of the Pope to the city of Rome alone. The Austrian Government was so much offended by this proposal that they refused to enter into the Congress unless France would come under engagement not to support the views set forth in the pamphlet. And this the French Government declined to do. The British Government, on their part,

declined to take any steps to extricate the French Emperor from the dilemma in which he had placed himself by the hastily adjusted peace of Villafranca.* The people of Central Italy were firmly resolved to resist the return of their former rulers, and they steadily adhered to their determination to be incorporated with Piedmont, under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. In the meantime their leaders carried on the Government in the name of the King of Sardinia, and showed by the manner in which they conducted their affairs that the people were well able to govern themselves. No one could now doubt that there were in them, as Garibaldi said, 'the elements of a great nation,' and that, the incubus of Austrian domination having been removed, they might be safely left to work out their deliverance without the intervention of diplomacy.

On the 3rd of September Tuscany had formally tendered her annexation to Sardinia, and on the 24th of the same month the Romagna had followed her example. But Victor Emmanuel was so hampered by his engagements with France and the dread of a renewal of war with Austria that he was obliged to decline the offers made to him,

* The Emperor continued, however, to press this scheme upon the British Ministry, and in the end the Cabinet decided to intimate their willingness to enter upon a Congress provided that it was distinctly understood that force should not in any circumstances be employed to compel the Duchies to receive back their sovereigns; but, as he was well aware, Austria, and probably Russia, would not agree to this condition. He frankly admitted to Lord Cowley that he had made a great mistake in allowing the clause respecting the Duchies to find a place in the preliminaries of peace at Villafranca, but under the belief that the people of Central Italy would not object to take back their sovereigns, he had entered into engagements with Austria from which he could not now recede. Lord Cowley was quite correct in saying that the Emperor 'looks therefore to the assembling of a Congress as opening a door of escape from his difficulties; he knows not how, neither does he much care.' 'The whole scheme,' the Queen wrote to Lord John Russell, 'is the often attempted one that England should take the chestnuts out of the fire, and assume the responsibility of relieving the Emperor Napoleon from his engagements to Austria and the Pope, whatever they may be, and of making proposals which, if they lead to war, we should be in honour bound to support by arms.'

though in his reply he did not conceal his sympathy with the attempt to promote the 'constitution of a strong kingdom which shall defend the independence of Italy.' Every day made it more evident that the Italian question could no longer be settled by European diplomacy, but that it could only be solved, as Mr. Disraeli remarked, 'by the will, the energy, the sentiment, and thought of the population themselves.' The Provisional Governments of Tuscany and the Æmilia (which comprised the Duchies of Parma and Modena and the Legations) announced about the end of February that on the 11th and 12th of March the people would be called upon to vote by ballot and universal suffrage, on the question of their annexation to Sardinia or their erection into a separate kingdom. When the vote was taken it was found that only 15,681 had given their approval of the latter, while 792,577 had decided in favour of annexation. It was well known that the shattered state of her finances, and the internal dissensions of her empire, made it impossible for Austria to renew the war in Italy for the restoration of the Arch-Dukes. The French Emperor had now no wish for their recall. Victor Emmanuel had, therefore, no hesitation in accepting the sovereignty of the States thus freely tendered to him.

In the meantime, however, the project had been mooted of ceding Savoy and Nice to France in return for her assent to the annexation of Central Italy to Sardinia. When the Emperor of the French entered upon the war with Austria he announced that he did so for an 'idea'—the 'restoration of Italy to herself,' and her emancipation from foreign control; and he emphatically disclaimed all intention of territorial aggrandisement as the result of his interference in the affairs of the Peninsula. But it now appeared that at the outset he had stipulated in his negotiations with Sardinia that Savoy and Nice were to be ceded to him in return for his services in delivering Lombardy and Venetia from the Austrian

yoke, and making Italy free 'from the Alps to the Adriatic.' When the peace of Villafranca fell so far short of what he had led the Italians to expect, he did not venture to press a demand for his stipulated recompense, to which, indeed, on his own showing, he was not entitled. But now that Tuscany and Æmilia, as well as Lombardy, had been incorporated with the Sardinian kingdom, the recovery of the 'natural frontiers' of France towards the Alps was propounded, and it was declared that Savoy and Nice were necessary to France for the safety of her territory in that quarter. In short, it became evident that the sacrifice on the part of Victor Emmanuel of the ancient inheritance of the House of Savoy was to be the price of the Emperor's assent to the annexation of Tuscany and the two Duchies to Sardinia, and of the withdrawal of his troops from Lombardy.

The announcement of this unprincipled demand roused a feeling of indignation throughout Europe, and excited strong distrust of the Emperor's intentions in the minds of those who had hitherto been disposed to regard him as the disinterested liberator of Europe. Lord Cowley did all he could to convince him that it would be a false step. 'We have been made regular dupes,' wrote the Queen to Lord John Russell. 'The return to an English alliance, universal peace, respect for treaties, commercial fraternity, &c., &c., were the blinds to cover, before Europe, a policy of spoliation. As to the claim itself it is wanting in all excuse, however ingenious the Emperor may be. Sardinia is being aggrandized solely at the expense of Austria and the House of Lorraine, and France is to be compensated. If the passes of the Alps are dangerous to a neighbour, the weaker Power must give them up to the stronger!' Lord John Russell lost no time in making both France and Sardinia aware of the feeling of indignation and alarm which the proposed cession of territory would create in Britain. The press unanimously enforced the warning, and leading statesmen on both

sides re-echoed the sentiments expressed by the Foreign Secretary.

'When we remember,' said Lord Grey, 'the language that was used in France before the breaking out of the war, the solemn protestations of her desire up to the last moment to preserve peace, her asseverations even after the war had made some progress, that she had no selfish object in view, and had no intention of promoting her territorial aggrandisement, can we believe that these assertions were made while at the same time there existed a private stipulation for dividing the prey, entered into before the quarrel took place, and before the booty could be obtained. If such a compact were entered into between France and Sardinia, I say it would be difficult to find, in the annals of the world, a case of more flagrant iniquity. I hope these things are not true.'

From the statements made by the French Emperor to Lord Cowley, and from what was known through other channels, Victor Emmanuel was not absolutely bound to surrender Savoy and Nice to France; but there had been a kind of understanding that, under certain circumstances which might occur, the Emperor might obtain that coveted territory in order to secure his co-operation in the war. Cavour was most reluctant to comply with the demand when it was formally presented to him, and only yielded at last when he found that without sacrificing these provinces the consent of the Emperor to the incorporation of Central Italy with Sardinia could not be secured. Sir James Hudson, our ambassador at Turin, wrote (1st May) to Lord John Russell—'Cavour resisted some of the demands of Bendetti (the French Minister), and so stoutly that upon his telling Bendetti, who threatened the withdrawal of the French troops, that "the sooner they were gone the better," the Frenchman drew a letter from his pocket which contained the private instructions of the Emperor, and said, "My orders are to withdraw the troops, but not to France; they will occupy Bologna and Florence." And then, but not till then, Cavour knoeked under.'

This act of spoliation would in all probability have been prevented if the other great Powers of Europe had protested

against it as decidedly as Britain did. But Russia, to serve her own purposes, gave her silent consent to it. Prussia was, as usual, timid and hesitating, while Austria expressed her delight that Sardinia was about to be despoiled by her own ally, and was about to have justice meted out to her according to her own code. After the treaty for the cession of Savoy and Nice to France had been signed, the farce of consulting the people respecting it was performed. French agents had for some time been busy in the country, and so successfully had they manipulated the suffrages of the inhabitants that on the 23rd of April, when the voting closed, only 235 in Savoy and 160 in Nice were reported to have voted against the cession.

When the intended annexation of Savoy to France was first made known, Switzerland, whose position was greatly affected by this step, became alarmed, and claimed that the districts of Chablais and Faucigny, bordering on the Lake of Geneva, which had been transferred to Sardinia in 1815, under a guarantee for their neutrality, should now be handed over to the Swiss Confederation. While the question of cession was undecided M. Thouvenel, the French Secretary, held out to the Swiss Government the hope that their claim would be entertained. But so soon as the annexation of Savoy was secured they were informed that France would do nothing more than hold these districts under the condition of maintaining the neutrality imposed on Sardinia by the treaty of 1815. It was believed, however, that France might be induced to cede a strip of territory, so as to leave the Lake of Geneva wholly to the Swiss, and to provide them with a strategic line on the frontier of the Valais. Lord Palmerston, in a letter to M. Thouvenel, made an earnest appeal in favour of this concession, and pointed out that every argument which France had employed to justify her demand that Sardinia should grant a strategic frontier for the military security of the French territory, might be employed

with greater force by Switzerland in asking protection for the territory of the Confederation. But his appeals both to the sense of justice and the generosity of the French Emperor were fruitless; and some of his officers were even heard to affirm that it was 'the intention of, and a necessity for, France to annex Geneva.'

The success of the Emperor in the spoliation of Sardinia seems to have whetted his appetite for further territorial acquisitions. He was reported to have said that in order to complete her line of defence it was necessary for France to obtain some territory on the side of Germany. The frontier imposed upon France in 1815 ought therefore to be so extended as to include the Palatinate, the fortress of Landau, and the districts of Saarbruck and Saarlouis—places which, indeed, became in 1870 the first point of his attack on Prussia. 'The Emperor's mind,' said Lord Palmerston, 'seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits, and like rabbits his schemes go to ground for the moment to avoid notice or antagonism.' The distrust which his conduct had excited in Britain was openly expressed by statesmen on both sides of the House; and their frank and explicit expressions of opinion and feeling, together with the measures which the Legislature considered it necessary at this juncture to carry out for the protection of the country, gave great offence to the Emperor, indicating, as he said, an unfriendly feeling towards him which might lead to war between the two countries. But he was calmly but firmly informed, both by Lord Cowley and the Prime Minister, that he had no one but himself to blame for the feeling of distrust which existed, not only in Britain, but throughout Europe; that confidence depended not on words, but on deeds, and that good faith must be kept if peace was to be maintained.

The reorganization of Italy was not complete so long as Venetia was held in the iron grasp of Austria, and the Two Sicilies were writhing under a system of government which had drawn down the execration

of the whole civilized world. The savage old tyrant, Ferdinand II., had gone to his account on the 22nd of May, 1859, and was succeeded by his son Francis II.—Bomba, as he was termed from the shape of his head—then in his twenty-third year. It was hoped that the young monarch would inaugurate a new and more beneficent era of government, but under the influence of the Austrian party at Naples he showed himself resolved to tread in the footsteps of his father. The old system of corruption and tyranny, of espionage and military imprisonment, was maintained; and every aspiration for the liberty which was now enjoyed in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, was relentlessly crushed. Two months after the accession of Francis II., Lord John Russell, in writing to Mr. Elliot, the British Minister at Naples, said, ‘The King has now to choose between the ruin of his evil counsellors or his own. If he supports or upholds them, and places himself under their guidance, it requires not much foresight to predict that the Bourbon dynasty will cease to reign at Naples, by whatever combination, regal or republican, it may be replaced.’ The prediction was speedily fulfilled. King Bomba was every way worthy of the vile race from which he sprung. Deaf to the remonstrances even of friendly courts who were anxious to maintain him on the throne, blind to the signs of the times, and untaught by the events that had taken place in the Duchies and in Romagna, he persisted in maintaining the arbitrary and cruel system which had made his father’s memory abhorred; and at length his subjects saw no way of escape from intolerable oppression but by expelling him from the throne.

The Sicilians were the first to rise in arms against his authority. At the beginning of April an insurrection broke out at Palermo, and spread rapidly over the island. Messina, Catania, and Agrigentum declared against the Government. Frequent collisions took place between the insurgents and the royal troops, in which the former,

though fighting at a great disadvantage in regard to arms, ammunition, and equipments, were generally successful. After the contest had been carried on in the island for a month without any direct assistance from Italy, the great Italian patriot himself came to their aid. He sailed from Genoa on the 5th of May with a body of about 2000 men, and landed at Marsala on the 11th, in full view of two Neapolitan frigates. On his voyage he lay for a day or two at Talmonia, on the Roman frontier, from which he issued a spirit-stirring proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the Marches, the Roman Campagna, and the Neapolitan territory to rise, so as to divide the enemy’s forces, while he went to the assistance of the Sicilian patriots. ‘Italy and Victor Emmanuel!’ he added, ‘that was our battle-cry when we crossed the Ticino; it will resound into the very depths of Etna.’ He assumed the title of ‘Dictator in Sicily,’ in the name of Victor Emmanuel. Three days after his landing on the island he defeated the Royal forces—3500 in number—at Calatafimi, and boldly advanced with his handful of men upon Palermo. On the 27th of May he attacked, and after a sharp contest carried, the town and drove the Neapolitan troops into the citadel. Aided by the fleet in the harbour, they inhumanly kept up a heavy fire upon the town; but on the 31st, on the proposal of General Lanza, the Neapolitan commander, an armistice was concluded, and the troops subsequently evacuated the citadel and embarked for Naples, under an arrangement with Garibaldi. After resting at Palermo for a short time to organize the Sicilian levies, the ‘Dictator’ advanced to Melazzo, where he encountered, and after an obstinate struggle, in which he was in imminent personal danger, defeated a large body of Neapolitans under General Bosco. He next made himself master of the town of Messina, but the Neapolitan troops continued to hold the citadel—the only spot of ground in the island which remained in possession of the Royalist forces. At this time

Garibaldi narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a miscreant who was alleged to have been hired for the purpose by the affrighted tyrant.

It was strongly suspected at the time that Victor Emmanuel and his powerful Minister, Count Cavour, who had now resumed his place at the head of the Sardinian Ministry, must have instigated and encouraged the Sicilian expedition, and there were strong reasons why they should have done so; but it is quite certain that this was not the case. Cavour would, indeed, have preferred being left free for a time to consolidate the new acquisitions to the Sardinian territory, but it was impossible for him or for any one to arrest the movement which was now begun, and was gathering strength at every step. The protests and threatenings of the Great Powers, however—France included—compelled the Sardinian Government to publish (18th May) a declaration that it had ‘disapproved of Garibaldi’s expedition, and attempted to prevent its departure by such means as prudence and the laws would permit.’ But it mattered not how despotic Powers might denounce and threaten, or the Sardinian Government disclaim. The uprising of the Sicilians and Neapolitans was far beyond the control of Courts and Cabinets.

The infatuated King of the Two Sicilies, now thoroughly alive to the perilous condition in which his arbitrary and oppressive conduct had placed him, had at the end of June dismissed his infamous Minister of Police and other obnoxious officers of State, and formed a new Ministry of a liberal character. He at the same time offered to his Neapolitan subjects the Constitution of 1848, and to the Sicilians the Constitution of 1812, or any other Constitution they might prefer. But his concessions came too late. The conviction had become general that no confidence could be placed in professions and promises wrung from him by the terror of deposition, and that there was no safety for the constitutional freedom of the country but in the expulsion of the

detested Bourbons from the throne. In this extremity the wretched monarch appealed to the other Powers of Europe to assist him in his hour of need; but at this juncture they had, one and all, their hands full at home, and were obliged to let ‘I dare not wait upon I would.’ He even stooped to solicit the aid of Sardinia, against which only a few months before he was plotting in conjunction with Austria and the Pope. But all that Victor Emmanuel could do for him was to address a letter to Garibaldi (on the 22nd of July) urging him not to invade the Neapolitan territory. ‘The patriot General, however, respectfully responded that he could not obey His Majesty’s injunctions. He was called for by the people of Naples, whom he had tried in vain to restrain. If he should now hesitate he should endanger the cause of Italy.’

On the 19th of August Garibaldi crossed the straits from Messina, and effected a landing at Melito. His forces having been greatly increased by the landing of General Cosenz, with large bodies of his followers, he attacked the Fort of Reggio, which, after a short fire, surrendered. The garrison were allowed to evacuate the place, leaving behind them 500 stand of arms, many guns, and a large supply of ammunition. Garibaldi next advanced on San Giovanni, where a strong body of Neapolitans had taken refuge on abandoning Reggio. He made his arrangements so skilfully that they found themselves surrounded on all sides. Feeling confident that they would surrender he forbade his men to fire, and in a short time a flag of truce was sent from the Royalists, and shouts of ‘Viva Garibaldi! Viva Italia!’ were heard. Garibaldi himself then went down among them, and was most enthusiastically received, the soldiers ‘hugging and embracing him.’ They were about 2000 in number, and when they were told that they might return to their homes they laid down their arms and joyfully availed themselves of the permission.

Similar defections of the Neapolitan troops rapidly followed in other places. Six regiments of infantry refused to march against the invaders, and shouted 'Viva Garibaldi!' and two regiments of dragoons that were sent to suppress the rising at Foggia joined the insurgents. General Floraz, who commanded in Apulia, informed the Government that he was left alone with his staff. The Bourbon dynasty was obviously doomed, and in this extremity the Count of Syracuse, uncle of Francis II., wrote to him on the 24th of August, earnestly urging him to follow the example of the Duchess of Parma, who had 'released her subjects from their allegiance, and left them to be arbiters of their own destinies.' The king, however, was evidently determined to cling to his throne to the last, and lingered on at Naples making fruitless efforts to conciliate his subjects. But his Ministry resigned in a body, and some of them fled for refuge on board a British man-of-war in the harbour; and every day brought tidings of fresh defections in the army and open revolt in the towns. The case had evidently become hopeless, and on the 6th of September Francis II., exclaiming in the bitterness of his soul, 'Then I am abandoned by all,' embarked for the strong fortress of Gaeta, which, with Capua, was all that now remained to him of his dominions. Two days afterwards Garibaldi, with a few of his staff, entered Naples by railway from Salerno, and was welcomed by the inhabitants with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of delight.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of the Papal States were preparing to follow the example set them by the Sicilians and Neapolitans, and at Tesaro, Montrefelto, Urbino, and other towns, the citizens rose in revolt, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel as their sovereign. The movement was attended with considerable danger, for the Papal Government had collected a large army of mercenaries, enlisted from various countries, many of them from Ireland, for the avowed purpose of

endeavouring to recover by force of arms the territories which it had already lost, and suppressing any attempt among the inhabitants of the other Roman States to throw off the Papal yoke. This heterogeneous force had been placed under the command of General Lamoricière, who had for some time been busily employed in organizing and drilling his troops, and preparing them for action. This proceeding afforded Cavour an excuse for sending an army into the Papal territories, and annexing them to the kingdom of Northern Italy. He saw that unless this step was taken with the utmost promptitude and decision, Garibaldi, flushed with his extraordinary successes in Sicily and Naples, would without doubt march upon Rome, and by coming into collision with the French troops in that city, would bring great disasters, if not entire ruin, on the national cause. Cavour therefore, on the 7th of September, sent a peremptory demand to Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal secretary, for the immediate disarmament of the mercenary forces levied by the Pope. He declared that the 'organization of such corps not consisting, as in all civilized Governments, of citizens of the country, but of men of all languages, nations, and religions, deeply offends the public conscience of Italy and Europe.' King Victor Emmanuel's conscience, he added, could not permit him to remain a passive spectator of the bloody repression with which the arms of the foreign mercenaries would extinguish every manifestation of national feeling. He therefore invited the Government to disband and dissolve those forces, the existence of which was a menace to the peace of Italy. As Cavour no doubt expected and wished, a peremptory refusal was returned to this demand.

The Italian Minister issued, a few days later, a circular to the diplomatic agents of Sardinia, in which he rested the defence of his proceedings on the broad and much sounder plea of the danger to the interests of the new kingdom and to the whole

Peninsula, arising from the disturbed condition of the Papal States. He said:—

‘By the cries of the insurgents of the Marches and of Umbria the whole of Italy has been moved. No power can prevent thousands of Italians from rushing from the centre and from the north of the Peninsula to the aid of their brothers threatened with disasters similar to those of Perugia. If the Government of Sardinia remained passive amid this universal emotion, it would place itself in direct opposition to the nation. The generous outburst which the events of Naples and Sicily have produced in the multitudes would degenerate at once into anarchy and disorder. Were he to suffer this, the King would be wanting in his duties towards the Italians and towards Europe.’ He had therefore ‘ordered his troops to enter Umbria and the Marches, to re-establish order there, and to leave the populations a free field for the manifestation of their sentiments.’ The circular concluded with a statement under which the Pope must have winced greatly, ‘that the spectacle of the unanimity of the patriotic sentiments which had burst forth throughout the whole of Italy would remind the Sovereign Pontiff that he had some years before been the sublime inspirer of this great national movement.’

‘It is the unbearable tyranny of the two sovereigns of Southern Italy,’ said the *Times*; ‘it is the massacre of Perugia, the prisons of Palermo, and the dungeons of St. Elmo, which have given to the people of Southern Italy the right to call for a deliverer, and which have given to Victor Emmanuel the same excuse for assuming the crown of Naples which William of Orange had for accepting that of England. Upon this principle, and no other, Victor Emmanuel can vindicate his own presence in Southern Italy, and upon this title he will be fully justified in putting an end to the war by one decisive movement.’

No time was lost by the Sardinian Government in carrying their designs into effect. By the 10th of September their forces had been concentrated upon the frontiers by General Fanti, Commander-in-Chief. The division intended to operate in the Marches was commanded by General Cialdini, who crossed the boundary on the 11th, and marched upon Pesaro, Fano, and Urbino. On the morning of the 12th the fortress of Pesaro surrendered after being cannonaded during the night, and the garrison of 1200 men were taken prisoners. Fano was next taken by assault, and

Urbino was already in the hands of the insurgents. The division under General Della Rocca, sent into Umbria, invested Perugia, which, after a few shots from the Sardinian batteries, surrendered with the garrison of 1700 men. Foligno and Spoleto were next taken after a short resistance. General Lamoricière, at the head of 8000 or 9000 men, had fallen back upon Loretto, for the purpose of covering the fortress of Ancona, and the two Sardinian generals, by a skilful movement of their forces, succeeded in hemming him in on all sides, so that he had no means of reaching Ancona except by forcing his way through their army. He was therefore compelled to give them battle on the 18th. After an obstinate struggle the Papal forces were completely defeated, and 400 prisoners, together with their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. During the battle a body of about 4000 men made a sortie from the fortress of Ancona, but was bravely repulsed. General Lamoricière, seeing that all was lost, left the field, followed by a few horsemen, and succeeded in reaching Ancona. Next day the remains of his army laid down their arms, and with the exception of the garrison in Ancona, not a soldier of the entire Papal force remained in either Umbria or the Marches. Ancona was immediately invested both by sea and land, and after a vigorous bombardment it surrendered on the 28th of September, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. The fall of this fortress terminated the campaign. In the course of eighteen days the Sardinians had carried all the strongholds of the country; and an enormous amount of war material of every kind, with from 17,000 to 18,000 prisoners, had fallen into their hands. The enterprise had thus been crowned with complete success.

Fortunately for the accomplishment of Cavour's scheme, Garibaldi had been detained in the Neapolitan territory until it had been carried fully into effect. A strong body of the Neapolitan forces, amounting to about 30,000 men, had been stationed

along the line of the Volturno, about twenty-five miles from Naples. They were attacked by Garibaldi on the 2nd of October, at the head of an army of only half that number, and after an engagement which lasted the whole day they were completely defeated, mainly by the gallantry of the insurgent leader, who exposed himself with reckless courage where the struggle was fiercest. A fortnight after the Neapolitans had suffered this crushing defeat the Piedmontese Chambers adopted, by an overwhelming majority, a bill to authorize the incorporation of the Neapolitan Kingdom and the Papal Provinces with Sardinia, and Garibaldi proclaimed that as soon as Victor Emmanuel reached the Neapolitan territory he would resign into his hands the Dictatorship of the Kingdom which the nation had previously conferred upon himself.

Count Cavour was now assured that though the Northern Powers might protest against the annexation, they would take no active steps to prevent it, and France having emphatically declared that 'an organized and powerful Italy is henceforth for the interest of Europe,' he had no hesitation in assisting to suppress the last efforts of the Royalists on behalf of their expelled sovereign. He accordingly sent a strong body of Piedmontese troops under General Cialdini across the frontier into the Abruzzi. They were attacked by the Royalists on the 21st of October on the heights of Macerone, but the contest was quickly decided, and the Neapolitans were completely defeated with a heavy loss, and compelled to retire behind the Garigliano. On the 26th Victor Emmanuel, who was advancing at the head of his troops, was met between Teano and Speranzano by Garibaldi. 'Seeing the red-shirts,' says an eye-witness of the meeting, 'the King took a glass, and having recognized Garibaldi, gave his horse a touch of the spur and galloped towards him. At ten paces distant the officers of the King and those of Garibaldi shouted, "Viva Victor Emmanuel!" Garibaldi made another step in advance,

raised his cap, and added in a voice that trembled with emotion, "King of Italy." Victor Emmanuel raised his hand to his cap, and then stretched out his hand to Garibaldi, and with equal emotion replied, "I thank you."

The united forces of the patriots, and the Piedmontese army under Victor Emmanuel in person, lost no time in attacking the Royalist troops in their new position on the Garigliano, with the King himself at their head. On the 3rd of November they came into collision, and after a sharp but short engagement the Neapolitans fell back in confusion upon Gaeta, in which Francis II. had taken refuge. Capua had previously surrendered, and the garrison, about 9000 strong, had been made prisoners of war. Gaeta, the last asylum of the Bourbon dynasty of Naples, was immediately invested by land, but its blockade by sea was prevented by the French fleet, which was anchored in the middle of the roadstead in front of the fortress. But for this ill-timed and unwarrantable interposition, the Piedmontese fleet would have enfiladed the road by which the defeated Royalists fell back upon Gaeta, and cut off their retreat. It enabled Francis to send off 14,000 of his troops to Civita Vecchia, and thus to relieve him of the difficulty of maintaining so large a force in Gaeta. The professed reason of the French Emperor for this proceeding was 'to give the King an opportunity of making an honourable capitulation, and of saving His Majesty from becoming the prisoner of the King of Sardinia.'

No one, however, gave him credit for being actuated by such a motive, and it is much more probable that he was somewhat irritated at the complete overthrow of his favourite project of a great Italian Confederation, and that he hoped that by prolonging the struggle he might claim some additional compensation from Sardinia for allowing it to be brought to a close, or that in the interval something might happen favourable to the dynastic views of the Napoleon family in the

south of Italy. The only result, however, of his interference at this stage was to prolong the siege, to cause useless bloodshed, and to postpone the restoration of the country to tranquillity. The delay gave Francis II. time to make another and final appeal to the Great European Powers for help in this 'last imminent crisis of his monarchy,' and to find that none of them were willing or able to come to his rescue. The French fleet was not withdrawn until the 19th of January, 1861, when the blockade of the fortress was made complete. On the 13th of February the garrison of Gaeta capitulated, and Francis II. and his queen embarked on board a French steamer, and took up their residence at Rome. A few days after the fall of Gaeta the first Parliament of the new Italian kingdom met in Turin. The proceedings were opened by King Victor Emmanuel by an address, in which the political position of the new kingdom was clearly explained. Reference was made in a manly spirit to the recall of the French ambassador and the protest of Russia against the annexation of the Papal territory and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. With regard to the Russian protest, the King had replied to it in the significant words soon to be realized, 'In acting as I have done, I set an example which probably at no very distant period Russia will be very glad to imitate.' But the Russian Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution that it was not, in their opinion, 'the interest either of Russia or Germany to oppose the progress of the consolidation of Italy.'

Rome, however, continued to be a serious difficulty to the new kingdom, and Cavour was quite well aware that if he hesitated to take steps to make that famous city the capital of Italy, he would strengthen the hands of the Republicans; and if, on the other hand, he joined them, he would give deep offence to the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe. But, as he said, 'when there are only two roads open, one must choose the least dangerous, whatever precipices

one may have to encounter by the way.' He made it known, therefore, that while he held to the opinion that Rome, and only Rome, should be the capital of Italy, he would not countenance any violent measures to secure this desirable end. His colleague and successor, Baron Ricasoli, expressed a similar opinion in very decided terms. 'Opportunity,' he said, 'will open our way to Venice. In the meantime we think of Rome. This is for the Italians not merely a right, but an inexorable necessity. We do not want to go to Rome by insurrectionary movements—unreasonable, rash, mad attempts—which may endanger our former acquisitions and spoil the national enterprise. We will go to Rome hand in hand with France.' In no long time these expectations or predictions were fulfilled to the letter. Meanwhile Britain, 'acting on the principle of respecting the independence of the nations of Europe,' at once recognized the new kingdom. It was not till the following June, however, that this example was followed by the Emperor of the French, and in July, 1862, the same course was adopted by the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin.

At this critical period the great statesman to whom Italy was mainly indebted, under God, for her unity and her liberty, was suddenly removed in the full vigour of his powerful frame, and in the hour of his proudest and most successful activity. Cavour died on the morning of the 6th of June. Worn out as he was by his incessant toil and anxiety, he might nevertheless have thrown off the disease under which he sank, but for the mistaken treatment to which he was subjected through the ignorance and incompetency of his physicians. His death, as Prince Albert said, 'was an immeasurable loss for Italy.' When it became known that the great Minister was in danger, 'crowds watched round his dwelling night and day, and when they learned that he was no more, the despair which swept over Turin was likened to that by which it was agitated when the tidings arrived of

the fatal defeat of Novara in 1849.' The mourning throughout Italy was unusual and profound, for all classes felt that they had lost in Count Cavour the noble, able, and illustrious representative of their national regeneration, whose mind was formed not only to guide the fortunes of Italy at a period of great perplexity, but to leave its mark on generations yet unborn.

A combination of qualities of the highest order, rarely found in union, were embodied in Count Cavour—prescient sagacity, sound common sense, fearless intrepidity alike in council and in action, indefatigable industry, strong practical intelligence, a presence of mind never at fault, a fertility of invention never exhausted, and an instinct of marvellous soundness. By the happy alliance in him of these sterling qualities, which he derived from his Genevan mother, with the 'more fiery impulses of that subtle intelligence proper to Italian genius,' he was enabled to steer the vessel of the state amid conflicting elements and through difficult channels with consummate skill.

In the touching tribute paid to the lamented statesman in the House of Commons, which elicited a cordial response from men of all parties and from the country at large, Lord Palmerston said—

'It should be remembered that Count Cavour laid the foundation of improvements in the con-

stitutional, legal, social, and indeed in all the internal affairs of Italy, which will long survive him, and confer inestimable benefits on those who live and those who are to come hereafter. Of him it may be truly said that he has left a name to "point a moral and adorn a tale." The moral is this—that a man of transcendent talents, of indomitable energy, and of unextinguishable patriotism, may, by the impulses which his own single mind may give to his countrymen, aiding a righteous cause, and seizing favourable opportunities, notwithstanding difficulties that appear at first sight insurmountable, confer upon his country the greatest and most inestimable benefits. . . . The tale with which Count Cavour's memory will be associated is one of the most extraordinary—I may say the most romantic—that is recorded in the annals of the world. Under his influence and guidance we have seen a people who were supposed to have become torpid in the enjoyment of luxury, to have been enervated by the pursuit of pleasure, and to have had no knowledge or feeling in politics except what may have been derived from the traditions of their history and the jealousies of rival States—we have seen that people, under his guidance and at his call, rising from the slumber of ages, breaking that spell by which they had so long been bound, and displaying on great occasions the courage of heroes, the sagacity of statesmen, the wisdom of philosophers, and obtaining for themselves that unity of political existence which for centuries had been denied them. I say these are great events in history, and that the man whose name will go down in connection with them to posterity, whatever may have been the period of his death, however premature it may have been for the hopes of his countrymen, cannot be said to have died too soon for his glory and fame.'

CHAPTER II.

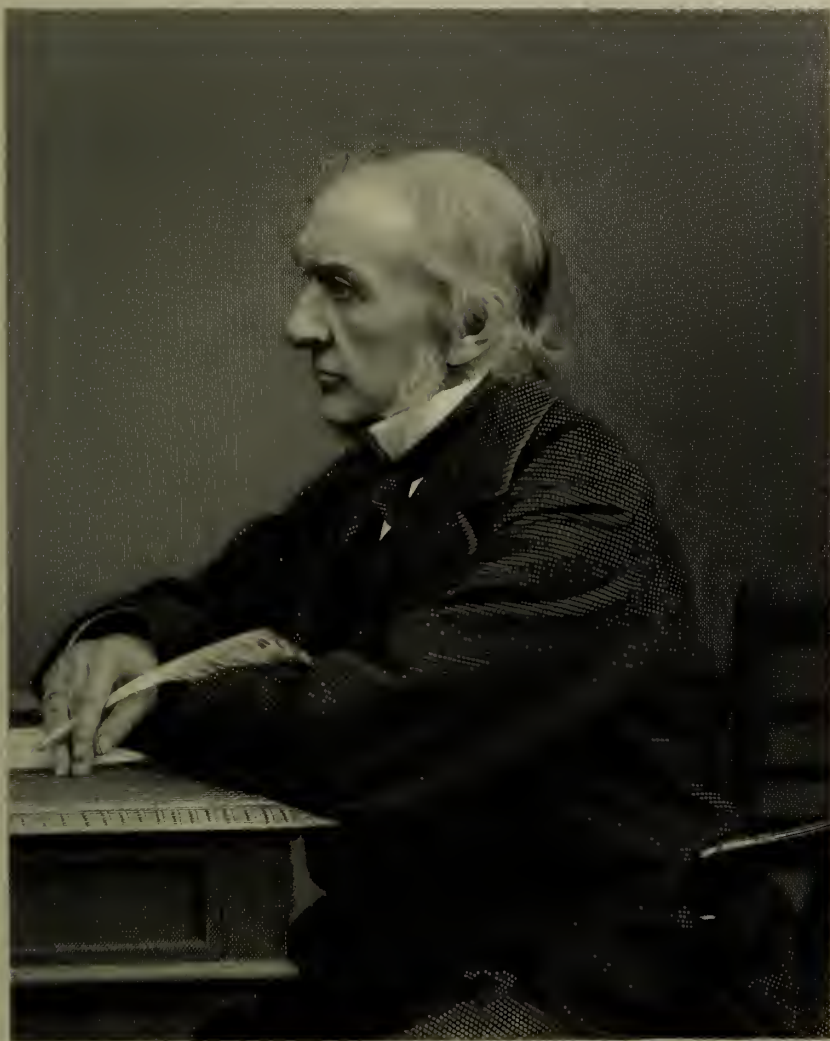
State of the Continent—Distrust of France by the British Government and people—Fortifications erected—Reasons for this step—Establishment of a Volunteer Force in Britain—National Rifle Association—Volunteer Reviews in Hyde Park and at Holyrood—Their great success—Treaty of Commerce with France—Its effects—Abolition of Passports by the French Government—Rejection by the Lords of the Bill to Repeal the Paper Duties—It is carried next Session—Renewal of hostilities with China—Repulse of the British Force at the Peiho—British and French Plenipotentiaries sent out—Defeat of the Chinese—Their barbarous treatment of French and British officers—Surrender of Peking—Indemnity exacted from the Chinese Government—Destruction of the Emperor's Summer Palace—Treaty concluded—Massacre of the Maronites in Syria by the Druses—Disgraceful conduct of the Turkish authorities—Interposition of the European Powers—Punishment of the murderers—Occupation of the country by French troops.

WHILE the Continental countries were in this state of turmoil and anxiety, Britain had every reason to be satisfied with regard to the state of affairs at home, in our colonies, and in India. The public mind was agitated by no exciting question, and party strife was hushed for a season. The war in China, as we have seen, had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The Indian army had been reorganized. 'Simplicity, unity and steadiness of system, and unity of command,' as Prince Albert said, were found to be essential to the efficiency of our military force in India as elsewhere. Accordingly, in accordance with the opinion expressed by the highest military authorities, an Imperial army was substituted for the two armies, under a separate administration, which had hitherto existed in our Indian dependencies. The transfer, indeed, of our empire in the East from the Company to the Crown rendered such a change highly expedient, if not absolutely necessary.

Still, although our own affairs were in a satisfactory condition, it was impossible that our Government could look on with satisfaction or indifference while the Continent was in a state of the greatest anxiety and alarm. Austria was in well-founded dread of a revolution in Hungary; Prussia was equally apprehensive of an invasion on the Rhine; Belgium had been made uneasy by the talk in French political circles about the annexation of that country to France in lieu of a kingdom for her sovereign to

be carved out of Austrian and Turkish territories in the East. The Court of St. Petersburg had given unmistakable indications of a desire to interfere once more in the affairs of Turkey, and to cancel the provisions of the Treaty of 1856, which deprived her of a portion of Bessarabia, and excluded her ships of war from the Black Sea; and it was surmised that the co-operation of France in this project had been secured by a promise of assistance in a war with Germany. Italy was still in an unsettled state, and it was openly proclaimed that there could be no permanent settlement in the Peninsula until Venetia was rescued from the grasp of Austria, and Rome had become the capital of a united Italian kingdom.

A general distrust of the designs of France prevailed in Britain, as well as on the Continent. The Emperor was adding not only to his army, but also to his navy; and in consequence pointed attention was called to the inadequate state of our defences in case of an invasion. A Royal Commission had been appointed the previous autumn on the subject, and their report had made evident the necessity for extensive works to protect our arsenals and the vulnerable parts of our coast. Lord Palmerston, writing to Mr. Gladstone, set forth, in his usual lucid and terse style, the reasons which weighed both with the Ministry and the Parliament in adopting the course recommended by the Commission:—



Engraved by J. A. Rodart, from a Photograph by G. A. & P.

THE REV. DR. S. C. L. A. D. D. N. F., M. D.

'The main question,' he says, 'is whether our naval arsenals and some other important points should be defended by fortifications or not; and I can hardly imagine two opinions on that question. It is quite clear that if, by a sudden attack by an army landed in strength, our dockyards were to be destroyed, our maritime power would for more than half a century be paralyzed, and our colonies, our commerce, and the subsistence of a large part of our population would be at the mercy of our enemy, who would be sure to show us no mercy. We should be reduced to the rank of a third-rate power, if no worse happened to us. That such a landing is in the present state of things possible must be manifest. No naval force of ours can effectually prevent it. Blockades of a hostile port are no longer possible as of yore. The blockading squadron must be under sail, because there would be no means of supplying it with coals enough to be always steaming, while the outrushing fleet would come steaming on with great advantage, and might choose its moment when an inshore wind had compelled the blockaders to haul off. One night is enough for the passage to our coast, and 20,000 might be landed at any point before our fleet knew that the enemy was out of harbour. There could be no security against the simultaneous landing of 20,000 for Portsmouth, 20,000 for Plymouth, and 20,000 for Ireland. Our troops would necessarily be scattered about the United Kingdom; and with Portsmouth and Plymouth as they now are, those two dockyards and all they contain would be entered and burned before 20,000 men could be brought together to defend either of them. Then again, suppose the manœuvre of the first Napoleon repeated, and a large French fleet, with troops on board, to start for the West Indies, what should we do? Would the nation be satisfied to see our fleet remain at anchor at Torbay or Portland, leaving our colonies to their fate. And if we pursued the French they might be found to have doubled back, to have returned to the channel, and for ten days or a fortnight to have the command of the narrow seas. Now the use of fortifications is to establish for a certain number of days, twenty-one to thirty, an equation between a smaller inside and a larger force outside, and this to give time for a relieving force to arrive; this, in our case, would make the difference between safety and destruction. But if these defensive works are necessary, it is manifest that they ought to be made with the least possible delay. To spread their completion over twenty or thirty years would be folly, unless we could come to an agreement with a chivalrous antagonist not to molest us till we could inform him we were quite ready to repel his attack.'

Another and much more judicious meas-

ure was adopted for the national protection—the establishment of a Volunteer force in England and Scotland. The military authorities of the red-tape school had great doubts as to the usefulness of such additions to our armed forces, 'on account of the want of discipline of such troops, the danger they might occasion in time of peace to the internal security of the country, and the probability that their irregular efforts would produce confusion at a time when strict order, method, and unity of purpose are of most importance.' The people, however, were not to be turned aside by such considerations as these from their determination to train themselves to defend their country against the invasion of a foreign enemy, and the Government and the War Office found they had no resource but to promote and endeavour to regulate the movement. A circular was accordingly issued (12th May, 1859) by the Secretary of State for War, announcing that the Queen had given permission for the establishment of Volunteer Rifle Corps, and 'Instructions to Lord-Lieutenants' were prepared and published respecting the organization and working of these bodies. The movement for some time proceeded somewhat slowly, but by the end of the year it was evident that it had taken a firm hold of the country, and by the spring of 1860 upwards of 70,000 men, the *élite* of the population of Britain, had been formed into regularly organized bodies under military training, and had already attained considerable proficiency in their drill and the use of their arms. Her Majesty was of opinion that the time had come when the men who, at so much trouble and expense, had made themselves efficient defenders of their native land should receive recognition and encouragement, and on the 23rd of June a great Volunteer Review was held in Hyde Park. It was attended by 20,000 volunteers, who were pronounced on high authority to be 'a finer body of men than our infantry of the line.' 'We have witnessed this day,' said Prince Albert, 'a scene

which will never fade from the memory of those who have had the good fortune to be present—the representatives of the independence, education, and industry of this country, in arms to testify their devotion to their country and their readiness to lay down their lives in its defence.’ Before the end of the summer the Volunteer force exceeded 170,000 men, so admirably trained and armed that the official inspector pronounced them fit to take their place in the line of battle with the regular army.

A National Rifle Association, a necessary complement of the Volunteer movement, had shortly before been formed, and the Queen testified her interest in it by opening their first meeting (2nd July) on Wimbledon Common. The scene was one of unusual interest, and the whole proceedings were of the most satisfactory nature. ‘Under these happy auspices began the first of those annual meetings which have kept alive the ambition of eminence as marksmen among the volunteers of all parts of the kingdom, and raised the standard of excellence to a point of precision which is surpassed in no other country.’

The Volunteer Review in Hyde Park was far outshone by a similar display which took place on the 7th of August in the vicinity of the Palace of Holyrood. The Rifle Volunteer movement took early and deep root in Scotland, both among Lowlanders and Highlanders. By the month of June upwards of 30,000 men were enrolled in the various corps throughout the country, and had acquired a very considerable degree of military discipline. The approbation bestowed upon the English riflemen in Hyde Park had excited the emulation of their Scottish brethren, and it was arranged that they too should be reviewed by Her Majesty on her autumn journey to Balmoral. The spot selected for the review was singularly adapted for a military display, and is celebrated for its historical associations as well as for its mingled beauty and grandeur. It was a long level space termed the Queen’s Park,

stretching eastward from Holyrood Palace along the base of a steep ascent which is crowned by Arthur’s Seat, and westward to the foot of the picturesque ridge of Salisbury Crag. On the summit of the Crag, immediately above the park, are the ruins of St. Anthony’s Chapel, where one of the scenes in Sir Walter Scott’s ‘Heart of Midlothian’ is laid. A few hundred yards to the westward of it is the knoll from which Prince Charles Stewart, on emerging from the Hunter’s Bog, obtained the first view of the palace of his ancestors, and in the park itself the Highlanders mustered when about to march out to give battle to the Royal troops advancing from Dunbar under Sir John Cope. The Hunter’s Bog, which lies between Arthur’s Seat and Salisbury Crag, was the spot where David I. narrowly escaped being gored to death by a stag, and in gratitude for his deliverance vowed that he would erect a monastery near the place, to which he gave the name of Holyrood.

‘The gathering truly was a national one,’ says the Prince Consort’s biographer. ‘From all parts of the country vast multitudes flocked to Edinburgh, to testify their loyalty to the Queen and the hold which the Volunteer movement had upon their hearts. As the English counties had sent the flower of their local corps to the review in Hyde Park in June, so now came a goodly array of the best blood and bone and sinew from nearly every county in Scotland to swell the general muster. From the Orkneys, “placed far amid the melancholy main,” from Caithness, from Inverness, from Aberdeen, from the hills of Argyleshire, from the banks of Loch Tay, from the straths and upland pastures of the valley of the Tay, from Forfarshire, from Fifeshire and Stirlingshire, came the picked men of each district. Nithsdale, Annandale, Galloway, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, sent their contingents from the south, swelled by troops from Tynemouth, Alnwick, Sunderland, and Whitehaven; while Glasgow and the West of Scotland furnished about one-

third of the entire force of at least 22,000 men, who came together on that day to salute their sovereign under the windows of the ancient Palace of Holyrood.'

The great mass of spectators, reckoned at hundreds of thousands, occupied the vast natural slopes of the mountain, rising terrace above terrace to the peaked summit, and broken by the picturesque cliffs and crags of that famous hill, while lower down an immense multitude were ranged in the vast expanse of elevated ground sloping down in front of Salisbury Crags. In the vale below was the long line of the Volunteers, massed in battalions, their ranks flanked by the old Palace of Holyrood; while further to the west rose, pile above pile, the antique buildings of the ancient capital, terminated by the fortress rock. The day was remarkably fine, and 'the sun shining brightly set off the animated scene to the greatest advantage. As the volunteers, troop by troop, marched to their positions, the bulk, the stature, the fine muscular development of the men, no less than the precision of their movements and their soldierly training, excited general admiration. Nor was this wonderful, for the ranks were filled by the very flower and manhood of a hardy and spirited race. The royal standard was guarded by the ancient bodyguard of the Scottish sovereigns—the Royal Archers—composed entirely of Scottish gentlemen, and commanded by the Duke of Buccleuch.'

As Her Majesty passed along the lines of the Volunteers, who stood at the salute, the whole assembled multitudes that crowded the slopes of the great natural amphitheatre of the adjoining hills, broke into acclamations. 'The effect,' said a spectator, 'of the cheering on the hillside was not less than sublime. Peal after peal broke forth in thunder, carried away by the strong wind, to be again and again renewed.' Then came the marching past, and when it was finished the Volunteers, who, according to the rule of military discipline, had kept silence during the review, advanced in line,

and burst into enthusiastic cheers, which were taken up by the multitude in front, 'and never ceased,' says the royal diary, 'but went on again and again, while the hills in front re-echoed the joyful sounds.' 'It was magnificent,' wrote the Queen to her uncle, 'finer decidedly than in London. There were more men, and the scenery here is so splendid. That fine mountain, Arthur's Seat, was crowded with people to the very top; the Scots are very demonstrative in their loyalty.'

The review by the Queen of the Scottish Volunteers at Edinburgh was followed by provincial inspections in all parts of the kingdom, and by innumerable competitions for prizes in shooting. The rapid organization of the Rifle Volunteers served both to show to the Continental sovereigns that the invasion of our country was highly perilous, if not impossible, and to calm the public mind at home. It was universally felt that 200,000 or 300,000 volunteers, skilled in the use of the rifle, and instructed in the rudiments of military discipline, would, in conjunction with the regular army and militia, outmatch any force that could find its way across the Channel.*

The influence which conscious ability to protect the shores of Britain against all assailants, had in allaying the panic excited by the preparations and ambiguous language of the French Emperor, was greatly assisted by the Treaty of Commerce which was at this time concluded between Great Britain and France. The first idea of such an arrangement originated with Mr. Bright, but it was Mr. Cobden who broached the scheme to the French Emperor, and obtained his assent. Considerable difficulties had to be encountered and overcome on both sides; for not only the leading politicians of France and the manufacturers, but

* In 1882 the Volunteer force amounted to 206,000. On the 25th of August, 1881, Her Majesty reviewed, in the Queen's Park at Holyrood, upwards of 40,000 volunteers from all parts of Scotland. In spite of the inclemency of the weather the proceedings were most successful, and the men acquitted themselves in a manner which elicited the warmest commendation.

the great body of the people were hostile to the principles of Free Trade. On the other hand, popular feeling at this time ran high, as we have seen, against the French Emperor, and all sorts of sinister and absurd motives were ascribed to him in giving his consent to an arrangement with a country which it was supposed he wished to invade. Though a good deal annoyed at the manner in which he was abused by the London journals at this time, and his intentions misrepresented, the Emperor persevered with the Treaty, and as he was not troubled with the objections of an independent Legislature, he was able to carry out his own views without much difficulty. Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden were the English plenipotentiaries, and though they were supported both by the Legislature and public opinion, they were thwarted and hindered at every turn by the subordinate officials of the Foreign Department—‘the most stubborn of all the circumlocution offices.’ ‘This convention,’ wrote Cobden from Paris (Nov. 16), ‘was ready for signature, so far as the negotiation *here* was concerned, on the 18th September, and the delay which has taken place is attributable to our Foreign Office, to their habitual procrastination, the desire to meddle, and, I fear, also to the willingness on the part of some of the officials in that department to find fault with my performance. My position is that of a poacher, and their feeling towards me is akin to that of a gamekeeper toward a trespasser in quest of game.’* The Foreign Office, however, was not the only obstructive. The Protectionists were still a powerful body, and they consistently resisted the treaty as at variance with their principles. Others opposed it out of sheer detestation of the French Emperor, while a third class were unfriendly because they disliked the negotiator and the Manchester school. Some recently converted Protectionists found fault with the treaty because, as

* As a matter of fact, the authorities of the Foreign Office did not even pass the accounts of the mere expenses of the Commission, a sum of little more than £3000 in all, without much ‘ungracious demur.’

they alleged, it was a breach of the principle of Free Trade. ‘I observe,’ wrote Cobden to Mr. Bright, ‘that some of the recent converts to Free Trade, who gave you and me so much trouble to convert *them*, are concerned at our doing anything so unsound as to enter into a commercial treaty that is inconsistent with the soundest principles of Free Trade. We do not propose to reduce a duty which on its own merits ought not to have been dealt with long ago. We give no concessions to France which do not apply to all other nations.’ ‘A treaty with France,’ said Mr. Gladstone, ‘is even in itself a measure of no small consequence, but that which gives to a measure of this kind its highest value is its tendency to produce beneficial imitation in other quarters. It is the fact that in concluding this treaty we do not give to one a privilege which we withhold from another, but that our treaty with France was in fact a treaty with the world, and wide are the consequences which engagements of that kind carry in their train.’

The effect of the treaty was that France engaged to reduce the duty in the course of 1860 on English coal and coke, on bar and pig iron and steel, on tools and machinery, and on yarns, flax, and hemp. In 1861 she was to reduce the duties and take away the prohibitions on all the staples of British manufacture, whether of yarns, flax, hemp, hair, wool, silk, or cotton; all manufactures of skins, leather, bark, wood, iron, and all other metals, glass, stoneware, earthenware, or porcelain. Britain on her part engaged to abolish, immediately and totally, all duties upon all manufactured goods, and to reduce greatly the duties on brandy and foreign wines. After lucidly explaining the nature and extent of these mutual engagements, Mr. Gladstone paid a well-merited tribute to the two individuals to whom the credit of negotiating the treaty was mainly due:—

‘I cannot pass from the subject of the French Treaty without paying a tribute of respect to two persons at least who have been the main authors

of it. I am bound to bear this witness at any rate with regard to the Emperor of the French—that he has given the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and earnestness in the progress of this great work, which he has prosecuted with a clear-sighted resolution, not, doubtless, for British purposes, but in the spirit of enlightened patriotism, with a view to commercial reforms at home, and to the advantage and happiness of his own people by means of these reforms. With regard to Mr. Cobden, speaking as I do at a time when every angry passion has passed away, I cannot help expressing our obligations to him for the labour he has, at no small personal sacrifice, bestowed upon a measure which he, not the least among the apostles of Free Trade, believes to be one of the most memorable triumphs Free Trade has ever achieved. Rare is the privilege of any man who, having fourteen years ago rendered to his country one signal and splendid service, now again, within the same brief span of life, decorated neither by rank nor title, bearing no mark to distinguish him from the people whom he loves, has been permitted again to perform a great and memorable service to his sovereign and to his country.'

The direct effects of the Treaty upon the exchange of products between Britain and France were immediate and great. In 1858 the total exports from Britain to France amounted to no more than £9,000,000, and the imports from France to £13,000,000. Nineteen years later, in 1877, the British exports and re-exports had risen from £9,000,000 to £24,000,000, and the imports from France to £45,000,000.

Another reform followed close in the wake of the Treaty, which, though in itself of comparatively minor importance, contributed not a little to promote the cultivation of friendly intercourse and good feeling between the two nations. At an interview which Cobden and Bright had at this time (November 27th) with the Emperor the subject of passports formed the main theme of discussion, and they strove to induce him to abolish this troublesome restraint on the intercourse of nations. They succeeded in convincing him that the change should be made, and the abolition of passports with regard to British subjects was passed in the middle of December. 'It will be worth while going to France,' it was said, 'for the

sole object of enjoying the new sensation. The travelling Englishman may now move about as freely as if he were at home—he will no longer feel that he is a marked man—he will no longer be obliged to justify himself, for travelling, to any préfet, sous-préfet, mayor, or gendarme.'

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Conservative party, aided by some Liberal members, Mr. Gladstone succeeded in carrying the Treaty through both Houses of Parliament; but he met with an expected defeat in his attempt to repeal the paper duties. The duty on paper pressed very heavily upon newspapers and cheap periodicals, limiting their circulation by adding enormously to their expense. The abolition of the advertisement and the stamp duty had led to the starting of a considerable number of new and cheap journals, but the duty on the paper material was still a heavy burden, and rendered it almost impossible that a paper sold for a penny could prove remunerative to its proprietors. A powerful and extensive agitation was therefore set on foot for the abolition of this 'tax upon knowledge' in behalf not only of the journalists, but of the reading public, and especially of the working classes of the community. Mr. Gladstone was willing, and indeed anxious, to respond to the popular wish, and introduced in his budget a proposal to abolish the duty on paper. He met with a strong opposition, both on commercial and political grounds. The paper manufacturers, who had been zealous advocates of free trade in all other branches of manufacture, made a loud outcry when their own turn came, and they were joined by the proprietors of the high-priced journals, who dreaded the overthrow of their monopoly and the competition of untaxed and cheap rivals. The politicians who were advocating the expenditure of millions on the national defences contended that so large a sum could not be sacrificed at the present time to effect a change which was questionable, and by no means urgent. Owing to this combination of hostile influences the

majorities in favour of the measure dwindled at each stage. The second reading was carried by a majority of fifty-three, the third by a majority of only nine. Even Mr. Gladstone's colleagues were not hearty in its support. It now appears that Lord Palmerston himself, who was noted for his steady support of his colleagues, right or wrong, was not unwilling that the proposal should be rejected. Referring to the smallness of the majority on the third reading, he wrote to the Queen (7th May), 'This may probably encourage the House of Lords to throw out the Bill when it comes to their House; and Viscount Palmerston is bound in duty to say that if they do so they will perform a good public service. Circumstances have greatly changed since the measure was agreed to by the Cabinet, and although it would undoubtedly have been difficult for the Government to have given up the Bill, yet if Parliament were to reject it the Government might well submit to so welcome a defeat.' Prince Albert, too, shared in these sentiments. On the 15th of May he wrote to Stockmar, 'Fortunately the House of Lords will reject the Bill for the abolition of the paper duty, and so keep for use £1,500,000 of revenue which Gladstone had thrown overboard with a view of forcing us into disarmament next year.' There is no reason to suppose that these opinions were kept secret; and the House of Lords, thus encouraged, rejected the measure (21st May) by a majority of eighty-nine.

In consequence of this very unusual, if not unprecedented step, an outcry was raised that the Lords by this vote had invaded the exclusive privilege of the House of Commons to deal with questions of taxation. Lord Lyndhurst, who had just completed his eighty-eighth year, argued with unimpaired ability and eloquence that although the House of Lords had ceased to exercise their claim to alter a money bill, they had still a right to refuse their assent to a repeal of taxation; and that, owing to the state of the country and of the Continent, they were warranted to do so in this particular in-

stance. 'If we have not this right,' he asked, 'what is the use of our discussing money bills at all?'

The constitutional question thus raised was of the gravest importance, and might easily have been made use of to throw the country into a flame. But Lord Palmerston was resolved to act the part of a peacemaker. He moved for a committee to inquire into precedents, and when its report was presented to the House he proposed three resolutions, which affirmed that the right of granting aids and supplies is in the Commons alone as an essential part of their constitution; and that although the Lords had exercised on some occasions the power of rejecting Bills relating to taxation, by negating the whole, the House viewed such acts with peculiar jealousy, and reserved in their own hands the power so to frame Bills of Supply as to maintain their rights inviolate. It was reported at the time that some one asked Lord Palmerston what he intended to do about the Lords and the reimposition of the paper duties. 'I mean to tell them,' was the reply, 'that it was a very good joke, but they must not give it to us again.' His resolutions merely expressed this idea in formal and disguised terms. These resolutions were received with some disappointment, and a number of the Liberal members protested strongly against the course proposed by the Prime Minister, but they were in the end adopted, and the question was allowed to rest during the remainder of the session. Mr. Gladstone, however, was too indignant at what he termed an outrageous invasion of the liberties of the people to permit matters to remain in this position. Next session he included the abolition of the paper duty in one Bill with all his other financial proposals, instead of dividing them in the ordinary way into several distinct Bills. Some of the Peers grumbled at this course as unconstitutional, but the Bill passed without a division.

The Treaty which had been signed at Tien-tsin on the 26th of June, 1858, be-

tween Great Britain and France and the Chinese authorities, was not of long duration; indeed, strictly speaking, it was not observed at all. 'It had been wrung,' as Lord Elgin said, 'from persons who would yield nothing to reason, and everything to fear, and who were at the same time ignorant of the subjects under discussion and of their own real interests;' and they sought by every means in their power to evade its provisions. Ratifications were to be exchanged at Peking within a year from the date of the signature, and Mr. Frederick Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, was appointed Her Majesty's Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary there, in accordance with a clause of the Treaty which provided for the appointment of Ambassadors and Ministers at the Courts of St. James and Peking respectively. He was directed by Lord Malmesbury to proceed, by way of the Peiho River, to Tien-tsin, and thence to Peking to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty. Instructions were at the same time sent out to Admiral Hope, the naval Commander-in-Chief in China, to send a sufficient force with him to the mouth of the Peiho. Mr. Bruce was informed that 'Her Majesty's Government are prepared to expect that all the arts at which the Chinese are such adepts, will be put in practice to dissuade you from repairing to the capital; but it will be your duty, firmly but temperately, to resist any propositions to that effect, and to admit of no excuses.'

When Mr. Bruce and the French Envoy proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho, with Admiral Hope's fleet to escort them, he found his way barred by an armed force, and stakes planted across the river, and the Chinese officials, as had been foreseen, making all sorts of pretexts to obtain delay. At length the Plenipotentiaries requested Admiral Hope to adopt such measures as he might consider expedient for clearing away the obstructions in the river. On the 25th of June, 1859, the Admiral brought his gunboats to the barrier, and attempted to force a

passage up the river. But a tremendous fire opened upon them from the Taku forts which guarded its mouth; four of the gunboats were almost immediately disabled, five went aground and fell into the hands of the Chinese, and another sank at her anchors. The Admiral then attempted to storm the forts; but owing to the difficulty of landing the troops and the precision of the enemy's fire, the attempt proved a complete failure. In this unfortunate affair the storming party had sixty-four officers and men killed and 252 wounded, and on board the gunboats twenty-five were killed and ninety-three wounded.

As might have been expected, the news of this repulse excited a strong feeling of indignation in Britain; and although it was felt that Mr. Bruce's instructions were injudicious and precipitate, all parties agreed that the mission to Peking must be enforced. A similar feeling prevailed in France, and the British and French Governments agreed that the Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros, who had made the Treaty of Tien-tsin, should be intrusted with the duty of enforcing it. Sir Hope Grant and General Cousin de Montauban were appointed to command the French and British forces despatched to enforce the provisions of the Treaty. Before their arrival Mr. Bruce had presented an ultimatum to the Chinese Government, requiring an apology for the attack on Admiral Hope's ships, the ratification of the Treaty at Peking, and prompt payment of an indemnity for the losses and expenses entailed on the British Government by the misconduct of the Chinese authorities. The ultimatum was, of course, refused somewhat haughtily and scornfully. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros arrived at Hong-Kong on the 21st of June, 1860, but it was not until the middle of August that the allied forces commenced operations. The Chinese fought bravely, but they were completely routed by the allied forces, which, with comparatively little loss, carried the Taku forts, containing about 400 guns, and took 2000 prisoners.

The Chinese Government, finding further resistance hopeless, professed their willingness to negotiate for peace, but interposed all sorts of evasions and delay to prevent the progress of the allies to the capital. It was at last agreed that the Chinese Commissioners should meet the allied Plenipotentiaries at Tungechow, a town ten or twelve miles nearer than Pekin. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretaries, accompanied by some British officers, by Mr. Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times*, Mr. De Norman, *attaché* to the British Legation, and by some members of the staff of Baron Gros, went to that place to make the necessary arrangements for this purpose. On their return they had to pass through the lines of a large body of Chinese troops, who were occupying the ground marked out by the Commissioners themselves for the use of the allied forces. A commotion suddenly arose, caused, it appears, by an assault of some Tartar soldiers on a French commissioned officer, whom they killed. Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, Captain Brabazon, and their companions were seized and carried off prisoners. The Chinese opened fire on Colonel Walker and a party of dragoons who were waiting the return of Mr. Parkes and his friends.

In these circumstances a general engagement ensued, and the allied forces attacked and completely defeated the Chinese army. Lord Elgin was of opinion that the conduct of the Chinese commander was due not so much to deliberate treachery as to 'that mixture of stupidity, want of straightforwardness, suspicion, and blunder, which characterize so generally the conduct of affairs in this country.' But even this apology could not be made for the shocking treatment inflicted on Mr. Parkes and the other British and French subjects—twenty-six of the former and twelve of the latter—who had been made prisoners by a scandalous breach of faith on the part of the Chinese authorities. Lord Elgin refused to negotiate until the prisoners were released; and finding this demand

evaded by Prince Kung, the Chinese Emperor's brother and Plenipotentiary, the allied forces marched to Pekin, and prepared to bombard that city. Their siege-guns were in position, when the Chinese, finding resistance hopeless, surrendered one of the gates. On the 12th the whole city was thrown open to the allies, and for the first time in history the British and the French flags floated side by side on the walls of Pekin. Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and eleven of their companions in captivity, were sent to the allied camp, but the other thirteen British subjects had died of the horrible ill-treatment they had received. Lord Elgin was ignorant until now that this was the case; for Prince Kung had assured him that the prisoners had suffered no serious injury. But when the whole truth became known to him, he determined to inflict some signal punishment upon the Chinese Government. He wrote to Prince Kung, and after upbraiding him with his deception, said—

'Of the total number of twenty-six British subjects seized, in defiance of honour and of the law of nations, thirteen only have been restored alive, all of whom carry on their persons evidence, more or less distinctly marked, of the indignities and ill-treatment from which they have suffered, and thirteen have been barbarously murdered, under circumstances on which the undersigned will not dwell, lest his indignation should find vent in words which are not suitable to a communication of this nature. Until this foul deed shall have been expiated peace between Great Britain and the existing dynasty of China is impossible.'

It appeared that several of the prisoners had been brought to the emperor's Summer Palace, and had been there subjected to the severest tortures. This was a structure of vast extent and extraordinary magnificence. Here was accumulated an enormous collection of artistic treasures, articles of vertu, of native and foreign workmanship, costly robes embroidered with gold and silver, and rooms stored with rolls of manufactured silk. The French troops had been allowed to plunder the palace at their pleasure, and had ransacked every apartment, breaking

and destroying whatever they were unable to carry away. Lord Elgin ordered that the building, or rather the immense collection of buildings, which covered an area of many miles, should be burned to the ground. The French Plenipotentiary, though he had no objections that the palace should be plundered by his troops, objected to its destruction, on the ground that this act of vengeance might interfere with the negotiations for peace. Lord Elgin, however, resolved to carry it out on his own responsibility. 'What remains of the palace,' was his notification to Prince Kung, 'which appears to be the place at which several of the British captives were subjected to the grossest indignities, will be immediately levelled to the ground; this condition requires no assent on the part of His Highness, because it will be at once carried into effect by the Commander-in-Chief.' The buildings were accordingly set on fire, and burned to the ground. A monument was erected on the spot, with an inscription in the Chinese language, setting forth that this act of vengeance had been inflicted as the reward of perfidy and cruelty.

The Chinese authorities were at last convinced that the evasions and trickery of their indigenous system of diplomacy were no match for the vigour and determination of the allied forces, and they consented to the terms which Lord Elgin and Baron Gros prescribed. The Chinese Government agreed to make an apology for the attack on the British gunboats by the garrison of the Taku Fort, to pay a war indemnity of 8,000,000 taels, and a sum of 300,000 taels as compensation to the families of the murdered prisoners, and to those who had suffered injuries.* It was also stipulated that the port of Tien-tsin was to be opened to trade and to the residence of foreign subjects, that the representatives of Great Britain and France should henceforth reside either permanently or occasionally in Peking, according as their respective Governments

might decide, and, what was of no little importance to the development of our colonial possessions, that Chinese subjects choosing to take service in the British colonies, or other parts beyond sea, were to be at perfect liberty to enter into engagements for that purpose.

The treaty thus at last settled proved of great importance, establishing as it did improved commercial relations between Great Britain and China.

In the month of June this year not only Britain and France, but the whole civilized world, was shocked by the atrocious massacres of the Maronite Christians in Mount Lebanon, which there is good reason to believe were encouraged by the Turkish authorities. In the month of May a Maronite monk was found murdered in a convent, and suspicion fell upon the Druses, one of whom was killed by the Maronites in retaliation. This led to reprisals. On the 28th a general attack was made upon the Maronite villages in the neighbourhood of Beyrout and Lebanon, and they were burned to the ground. Next day a large town named Hasbeya, under Mount Hermon, was attacked by the Druses. The Turkish commander promised that if the Christians would lay down their arms he would protect them from their enemies. They complied with his demand, and their arms were sent off to Damascus, but were intercepted and seized by the Druses. Having thus rendered the Maronites defenceless, he prepared to quit the town and abandon them to their enemies. On the 5th of June the Druses rushed into the place and massacred them all. The Turkish soldiers made no attempt to defend them, but even assisted the Druses in their butchery. Similar outrages took place in various other places. In Zahlah, 'the most rising town in all Lebanon, the chief station of the French Lazarists,' the able-bodied inhabitants escaped, but the aged and infirm, and some women and children, were put to death along with two French Lazarists. The Turkish troops not only connived at the

* A tael is equal in value to about seven shillings sterling.

murderous work, but openly assisted in it. At Deer-el-Kammar (the ancient capital of Lebanon), the Governor, who had a large body of troops at his disposal, ordered the Christians to lay down their arms, and then to come into the Serai with their valuables. On the 21st of June the Druses collected round the town, and after a brief conversation between one of their leaders and the Governor, the gate was thrown open and the bloodthirsty fanatics rushed in, and with the assistance of the soldiers slaughtered all the men on whom they could lay their hands. Altogether between 1100 and 1200 persons perished in this horrible massacre. Mr. Cyril Graham, who was an eye-witness of most of the horrors which he describes, says in a letter to Lord Dufferin, 'I came to Deer-el-Kammar a few days after the massacre. Almost every house was burned, and the streets crowded with dead bodies, most of them stripped and mutilated in every possible way. My road led through the town, and through some of the streets my horse could not even pass, for the bodies were literally piled up. I saw little children of not more than three or four years old stretched on the ground, and old men with gray beards.'

The conduct of the Turkish authorities was even more outrageous when, on the 9th of July, similar outrages broke out in Damascus. The Christian quarter there was attacked and ravaged by a mob of the lowest order of Moslem fanatics, assisted by large bodies of the Turkish soldiery. On the following day the work of destruction was renewed with greater violence. Hundreds of houses were set on fire, and between 1000 and 2000 Christians were butchered, while in the massacres in the mountains at least 3500 males were ascertained to have been put to death. The Consulates of France, Austria, Russia, Holland, Belgium, and Greece were destroyed, and their inmates took refuge in the house of Abd-el-Kader, who sheltered there about 1500 Christians from the fanatical fury of the mob. He subsequently received the thanks

of the British Government for the noble spirit which he displayed on this occasion. The Turkish Governor of Damascus, though he had a large body of troops at hand, made no attempt to arrest the work of massacre, and a strong impression prevailed that the Porte had stimulated the fanatical hatred of the Druses against the Maronites, in order to thwart the scheme of government which the Great Powers had compelled the Turks to adopt in 1845.

The news of the shocking massacres in Lebanon created a profound sensation, both in Britain and France. The want of a governing power to preserve order in the district had been made so apparent, that it seemed imperative for the other Powers to interfere at once to suppress such outrages and restore tranquillity in the Lebanon. The Sultan had shown himself wholly unable to restrain the savage outbreaks of his subjects; he was therefore given to understand that this must be done by others, whether he gave his consent or not. The Emperor of the French instantly offered to send a body of troops to Syria to prevent a renewal of such atrocities. A Convention was agreed to by all the Great Powers of Europe, which the Sultan was obliged to accept, providing for a body of European troops, not exceeding 12,000, being sent to Syria to aid in the restoration of order. France was to furnish one-half of this force, and the other Powers were to come to an understanding with the Porte as to which of them should provide whatever further troops might be necessary. Six months was fixed as the period for the occupation of Syria by European troops, and the contracting Powers explicitly disclaimed any intention, in the execution of their engagements, of seeking territorial advantages or exclusive influence.

Whatever complicity in the Syrian massacres may be justly imputed to the Turkish Government, they found it necessary to take active measures for the punishment of the authors and the abettors of the massacres. The Sultan intrusted Fuad Pasha with full

powers for this purpose, and early in July he left Constantinople for Syria at the head of a strong body of troops. He showed no mercy, either to the actual participators in the murders, or to the officials who had connived at their crimes. At Damascus he arrested at once upwards of 400 persons, who were accused of taking part in the massacre. Of these sixty, mostly belonging to the Turkish police, together with the Governor of Damascus and the commander of the Turkish troops, were publicly executed in the city.

Lord Palmerston consented somewhat unwillingly to the despatch of French troops to Syria, from an apprehension that, if they were once there, it would be difficult to get them out again. This proved to be

the case. Though all danger of renewed violence had passed away before the French army arrived on the coast, they continued to hold the chief military posts in Syria long after the period fixed for their withdrawal. It was not until the latter end of 1861, and after repeated representations had been made by the British Government to urge their departure, that they retired from the country. 'I am heartily glad,' wrote Lord Palmerston to Sir Henry Bulwer, 'we have got the French out of Syria, and a hard job it was to do so. The arrangements made for the future government of the Lebanon will, I daresay, work sufficiently well to prevent the French from having any pretext for returning thither.'

March 1862

CHAPTER III.

Causes which led to the American Civil War—The Missouri Compromise—The Fugitive Slave Law—Anti-slavery movement—The Nebraska Bill—Contest in Kansas—The Lecompton Constitution—Mr. Buchanan's election as President—His policy—The Dred-Scott case—Attempts on Cuba—African Slave Trade—Treatment in the United States of persons of colour—John Brown's insurrection—Reign of Terror in the South—Election of Mr. Lincoln as President—Secession of the Southern States—Reasons alleged for this step—State of feeling in the North—Attack on Fort Sumter—Blockade of the Southern ports—Recognition of the Southern States as belligerents—Public Opinion in Great Britain—Unconstitutional and oppressive Measures of the Government—State of the Federal Army—Superiority of the Southern levies—General Lee—Mistaken strategy of the North—Their Generals—Defeat of the Northerners at Bull's Run—General McClellan appointed Commander-in-Chief—Seizure of the Southern Commissioners on board the *Trent*—Steps taken by the British Government—Release of the Commissioners.

IN 1861 the attention of the whole civilized world was riveted on the civil war that had broken out in the United States. The disruption of the American Union had often been predicted, but when it did take place it was a great surprise both to America and to Europe. The causes of the secession of the Southern States were deep-seated, and had been long in operation. Sooner or later they must have come to the surface. The Union consisted originally of thirteen States; at the outbreak of the civil war they amounted to thirty-four. Each new State sent two members to the Senate, and the balance of political power there depended on whether the majority of these States were slave-holding or free-soil. For a long time the South had the majority; but the greater part of the emigrants settled in the Free States, and as these became more populous the number of their members of course increased. The Slave States, in the meantime, remained almost stationary, while the minimum number taken as the standard of representation was increased. The result was that while Virginia originally returned ten members, and New York six, at the time of the Secession the former had added only a single unit to its representation, and sent eleven members to the Senate, while New York returned thirty. South Carolina, which in the scheme of the Constitution had one-thirteenth of the representation, at the time of the Secession returned only one-sixtieth part. It is no doubt true that a voter in the South

counted for more than a voter in the North, because the number of representatives of the Southern States was determined, not by their proportion of free men only, but of slaves. In taking the census slaves were to count in the proportion of five to three free persons. In the Presidential election of 1856 the slave representation was nearly equal to one-third of the whole Southern representation. It is evident, therefore, that in virtue of this arrangement, the influence of the South in the general representation of the Union was nearly one-half greater than it would have been had the popular principle of the Constitution been fairly carried out. Still, as long as the aggregate population of the Slave States was inferior to that of the Northern, it was impossible for them to command a majority in the House of Representatives by means of their own members. Hence their intense efforts to increase the numbers of the slave-holding States. In 1820, when Missouri applied for admission into the Union, the relative numbers in the Senate were so equally balanced that its admission as a slave-holding or a free-soil State would have turned the scale in favour of either the South or the North. 'It was this which caused the desperate character of that struggle.' The contest ended in the well-known 'Missouri Compromise.' Congress passed an Act prohibiting slavery for ever in all the territory north of a line coinciding with 36° 30' latitude, but it excepted the State of Missouri, the whole of which

lies north of this line, and it applied only to the State of Louisiana, which had been purchased from France. At the very commencement of the question as to the admission of the Missouri territory, Jefferson expressed with startling vehemence and prophetic sagacity the impression which that proposal had produced on his mind. 'This momentous question,' he said, 'like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for a moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will make it deeper and deeper.'

The iniquitous annexation of Texas gave the South two senators, with the prospect that in time four more Slave States might be erected out of the territory of Texas. Still the slave-holders were not satisfied, but continued to demand further concessions and additional securities for their 'domestic institution.'

Although the authors of the American Constitution were unfriendly to slavery, and desired its gradual extinction, they yet recognized the right of recapturing slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken refuge in a Free State. The officers of the Federal Government, however, were very reluctant to assist in enforcing this right; but the notorious Fugitive Slave Law which was passed, mainly through the defection of Northern representatives, imposed upon the officers of the State the duty to seize a fugitive slave and restore him to his master. That disgraceful Act contributed greatly to widen the breach between the North and the South. It seems for the first time to have opened the eyes of the Northern population to the wickedness of slavery. It was denounced by clergymen from the pulpit and by judges from the bench. In various places the people adopted violent measures to prevent

its execution; there were incessant conflicts in the streets and courts between kidnappers and the protectors of negroes. Slaves were rescued in open court from the persons who sought to drag them back into bondage, and sent off to Canada, to find shelter under the British flag. 'Boston, the chief city of New England, the birth-place of the Republic, was garrisoned with marines; cannon were planted in her streets, and her court-house was surrounded with chains, in order that a fugitive arrested with a fictitious warrant, and under cover of the night, might be carried back to slavery openly through her streets between files of armed men.' This course of action served, more than any force of argument, to create a strong feeling in the Northern States against the system which required to be supported by a law that converted the people of these States into accomplices in the crime of slavery. Some of the States even passed what were styled 'Personal Liberty Laws,' which forbade the State officers to assist in the capture of runaway slaves, and placed legal obstacles in the way of their recovery by their alleged masters.

The Missouri Compromise produced only a brief truce between the contending parties. The South was dissatisfied with the arrangement from the first, and strove for its repeal, because it prevented slavery from extending northwards; while the North resisted the proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise, as it would sanction the establishment of slavery in all the new States south of this line as far as the Pacific. The immense tide of population which now flowed into California and into Oregon added immensely to the Northern free-soil States, and the ratio of members in the House of Representatives followed in the same proportion. It became therefore a matter of vital importance to the South to obtain the removal of the barrier which prevented the increase of slave-holding States. At length, in 1854, Mr. Douglas, one of the Southern leaders, succeeded in carrying the Nebraska Bill, which

established the principle of what was called 'Squatter Sovereignty.' It left the original settlers in each territory before its admission into the Union to determine whether slavery was to be permitted in it or not, and in the words of the Act, 'when admitted as a State or States, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their institutions may prescribe at the time of their admission.'

The first fruits of this measure were the disturbances in Kansas. The Slave States which had carried the Nebraska Act at once practically repudiated it, and sent bands of armed men from Missouri over the frontier to 'secure Kansas to slavery.' Led by an ex-President of the Senate of the United States, they took possession of the ballot-boxes, drove away the free settlers, and many hundreds of fictitious votes were given for the pro-slavery party. In one instance 400 votes were returned from a place which contained only 42 voters, 1000 from another which contained only 42 voters, and 1200 from a third inhabited by only 40 citizens. A civil war raged for some time in the territory, and blood was spilt by the 'mean whites,' who boasted that they were sent to Kansas with bowie knives and revolvers, to make a clean sweep of the anti-slavery men from the Legislature of that territory. South Carolina,* Georgia, and Texas voted money for the armament of expeditions despatched to aid in 'enforcing the law' in Kansas, and President Pierce, who was then in office, threw the whole weight of the Federal authority into

* It was in the course of a most courageous and effective speech upon the Kansas question in the Senate that Mr. Sumner, one of the ablest and most upright of American statesmen, made those cutting criticisms upon the course pursued by South Carolina which provoked Mr. Brooks, of that State, to make a murderous assault upon him in the Senate House. It was a most cowardly proceeding on the part of Brooks, as Mr. Sumner was seated at his desk in a position which made it impossible for him to defend himself. The bully resigned his seat, in order that his constituents might indicate their opinion of his conduct, and he was unanimously re-elected. Mr. Sumner was so seriously injured that some years elapsed before he completely recovered from the effects of this attack.

the pro-slavery scale. The Legislature elected in this disgraceful manner, proceeded to adopt laws for the government of Kansas, and among other statutes worthy of the men, they enacted that the 'discussion of slavery' was to be treated as a felony, punishable by two years of hard labour in chain gangs on the highroad. These men prepared the notorious Lecompton Constitution for Kansas, sanctioning slavery in the territory, which was readily accepted and ratified by the President and his Ministry.

The Kansas controversy was still raging when the contest for the Presidency of the United States took place between Mr. Buchanan and Colonel Fremont. Mr. Buchanan was a citizen of a Free State (Pennsylvania), but he was a zealous partisan of the South. He had supported the annexation of Texas, the encouragement of slavery in the new territories, the extension of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Nebraska Bill. He was adopted as a candidate by the Southern Convention as a man 'thoroughly true to the South,' and he received the support of the whole of the Slave States and of the Northern Democratic party, while the Republican party in the North voted for Colonel Fremont. Mr. Buchanan's election was carried by the most shameless bribery and corruption. Large sums of money were extorted from the officials in the Government of all grades, and liberal contributions were made to the 'corruption fund' by merchants and contractors, and spent in the purchase of votes. The patronage of the Government was unscrupulously employed for the same purpose, and thus the Southern slave-holders, once more and for the last time, by the aid of the Northern Democrats, carried the election of their nominee. So violent was the feeling among them that several of the States actually proposed, in case of Fremont's success, to march on Washington and assume the Government. When their candidate was elected they declared this

scheme adjourned till the next Presidential election, but that it would be resumed on the first prospect of the success of an anti-slavery candidate.

The administration of the new President was characterized throughout by feebleness and falsehood, and was carried on by unlimited corruption. The discoveries made by the Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to inquire into the truth of allegations of official corruption, proved beyond the possibility of doubt that under Mr. Buchanan the country was governed by bribers and bribed, from the Custom-House porters to the Cabinet itself. The President set himself by every means in his power to promote the interests and objects of the Slave States. The celebrated DRED-SCOTT case was pending at the time of the election, but it has since transpired that the judges of the Supreme Court had formed their decision on the question some months previously, and had communicated it to those whom it most concerned. It was, however, kept secret during the election and the following winter, from the fear of injuring Mr. Buchanan's prospects and embarrassing his entrance upon the Presidency. Four days after his inauguration, though the majority of the judges had pronounced at the outset that Scott had no right to bring his case before them, the Court issued the judgment that it was contrary to the Constitution to declare slavery illegal, and therefore it was incompetent for the legislative authority in any territory to prohibit it. They likewise decided that a slave who resided in a State where slavery was prohibited by law remained nevertheless a slave.*

The President, in his inaugural address (4th March, 1857), had exhorted the people to submit peaceably to the unrevealed decision of the Supreme Court, whatever it

might be, as it would assuredly spread a 'calm' over the whole area of society; and he and his friends now assumed the controversy between the North and South to be settled by this judgment. As might have been foreseen, it served only to exasperate the strife between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery parties. One State Legislature after another repudiated the attempt to restrict their authority, and one city after another refused to obey the mandate of the Supreme Court. The unprincipled conduct of the President in regard to Kansas contributed not a little to intensify the strife, as well as to degrade his own character and administration. He admitted that the Legislature and the Southern party were pledged to give the people of Kansas the power of voting for or against a Constitution directly submitted to them. 'On the question of submitting the Constitution to the actual *bonâ fide* residents of Kansas,' he said, 'I am willing to stand or fall.' In flagrant violation of this pledge he accepted the notorious Lecompton Constitution concocted by the Missouri intruders, and passed it in Congress, alleging that he had supposed it would be submitted to the people, but that there was no power anywhere to compel such an appeal. He met, however, with a signal and merited defeat from an unexpected quarter. Mr. Douglas, his friend and most powerful ally, who had hitherto supported all the pro-slavery legislation of late years, and was the author of the Nebraska Bill, at this stage abandoned the party. In consistency with his favourite principle of 'popular sovereignty,' he asserted the right of the people of Kansas to repudiate slavery and its institutions, and succeeded in defeating the attempt to saddle them with the fictitious Constitution.

Mr. Buchanan's policy in every other department displayed the same spirit, and was directed to the furtherance of the same object. The chiefs of the extreme southern party set their hearts on the acquisition of Cuba as soon as their hopes were defeated in California, and Mr. Buchanan's great

* 'A blow against the Union was struck by this judgment as fatal as that given Secession itself. The integrity of the Supreme Court was the keystone of the fabric, but in this judgment it was clear that the Court exceeded its judicial duty for the purpose of securing a party or political object.'

ambition was to connect his term of office with the annexation of that coveted island to the United States. From year to year he announced in his messages that in one way or other he was dissatisfied with Spain, coupled with an intimation that money would be wanted for the purchase of Cuba, or that measures must be taken for the acquisition of that island, which no doubt would sooner or later belong to the United States. Claims for indemnities of various kinds were put forward in order to coerce the Spanish Government into negotiations for the sale of Cuba, and the sum of 150,000,000 dollars was offered for its purchase, but was indignantly rejected. The Spanish authorities were naturally very angry at the insult of the President's messages to Congress about buying what Spain did not mean to sell, and declared that they would prefer seeing the island sunk in the ocean. An attempt was then made to gain it in the same way as Texas had been acquired—that is, by first endeavouring to stir up discontent, and then entering the island with an armed force on pretext of aiding the malcontents against an oppressive government. The President's conduct towards the filibusters who organized piratical expeditions was of the most friendly kind, and no honest attempt was made by the Government to interfere with their preparations.

Mr. Buchanan's policy with regard to the slave trade was of a similar character. It was known to everybody that a very large number of mercantile houses in the Northern States were engaged in this vile traffic, and lists of them were published in the leading newspapers. Five-sixths of the slave ships sailed from New York, and from the Congo River alone 1000 negroes per month were carried off under the American flag. The Government, however, refused to allow the British cruisers to search vessels hoisting that flag, and they utterly failed to cause that duty to be performed by their own ships. Their mode of carrying out their agreement with Britain

to suppress the slave trade was a mere farce. Large vessels were sent which could not get near the shore. Only two or three vessels were stationed on the African coast at a time, three months' absence being allowed, and often largely exceeded, under pretext of 'the fever.' When the British Government remonstrated against this nefarious conduct, they were coolly informed that 'the complaints of the extensive use of the American flag to cover slave trading were unfounded, that the United States had done all that was possible, and that it was the business of the British Government to control Spain and the Cuban trade; that it could not be true that the naval officers of the United States could have fallen short of their duty, and that the "glory of their navy" was a sufficient defence against the charge, and, above all, that the slave trade is not in fact piracy, but conventionally made so by individual Governments.'

One of the most significant indications of the state of feeling in the United States is the treatment given at this time to persons of colour and free negroes residing among them. Mr. Cass, Secretary of State, refused passports to persons of colour who wished to travel abroad, and the American Minister in London dutifully followed his example. The right of pre-emption of the public lands, hitherto enjoyed by persons of this class, was now denied, though the Secretary had declared a few months before that 'the laws of the country made in this respect no distinction between purchasers of different races.' In opposition to constant practice, it was now announced that no man of colour could register a vessel owned by himself, nor command a vessel sailing under United States marine papers. A ship-owner was actually refused a permit to sail his own vessel, and the port officers were instructed to prevent any but white men acting as masters of any ship.

With regard to the free negroes, various schemes were proposed for getting rid of them by sending them to the West Indies, or to Africa, by contract, at so much a head.

The practice of kidnapping them in the Free States and carrying them into slavery increased with startling rapidity. In Arkansas and several other States the whole free coloured population was driven out on short notice. In some cases the able-bodied men were sold into slavery, while the old people, the children, and most of the women were expelled, not knowing where to go or what to do—an act without parallel for its lawless violence and cruelty in any civilized country within living memory.

The state of matters in the South had become very serious. On the 16th of October, 1859, a small band of the zealous enemies of slavery, under the leadership of John Brown, a noted Kansas Abolitionist, crossed the frontier of Virginia at Harper's Ferry, seized the arsenal, stopped the trains, and cut the telegraph wires. Their declared intention was to raise a servile war against the slave-owners of Virginia. An encounter took place between the invaders and a party of marines, in which a number of lives were lost. Brown was taken prisoner, tried for high treason, and executed on the 2nd of December. His efforts to suppress the slave system by force of arms, and the manner of his death, gave a great impulse to the anti-slavery agitation; but the attempt was so irrational and hopeless (notwithstanding the lofty character of its leader), that it was believed that the invaders must have had some powerful supporters, and rumours were abroad that additional forces were on the way, which accident had prevented from arriving in time. A panic immediately spread with the rapidity of lightning through all the Slave States, and excited the slave-owners almost to madness. A 'reign of terror' commenced in the South. They saw in every negro an incendiary or a murderer, in every stranger a spy, and in every Opposition speech in Congress, as well as in an Abolitionist meeting, evidence of a conspiracy for their destruction. Strangers, no matter whether from the Northern States or from Europe, were dogged, suspected, and annoyed. Vigilance Committees

were in active operation, watching every movement and summarily expelling all, whatever might be their trade or profession—even clergymen and physicians—whose opinions were suspected. Governesses and schoolmistresses were driven out merely because they were of Northern origin. Commercial travellers had half their heads and beards shaved, and, after a scourging, were escorted to the train by a jeering mob and sent out of the country. In the case of the inhabitants of Berea, in Kentucky, thirty-six were driven out of the State *en masse*—pastors, land-owners, traders, and labourers together, more than half of whom were native citizens. In Texas thirteen towns and villages were fired in one afternoon. Artisans, hawkers, and ministers of religion were scourged, tarred and feathered, and subjected to every kind of indignity. Numbers were put to death, not only without trial, but without a tittle of evidence, or even any apparent ground of suspicion. In Texas no fewer than sixty persons were summarily hanged without trial—two of them on the monstrous charge that they had supplied a hundred bottles of strychnine to negroes wherewith to poison wells. A New England book-hawker was actually burnt alive with circumstances of revolting barbarity. Such was the condition of lawlessness and horrid cruelty exhibited by the Slave States towards the close of Mr. Buchanan's term of rule.

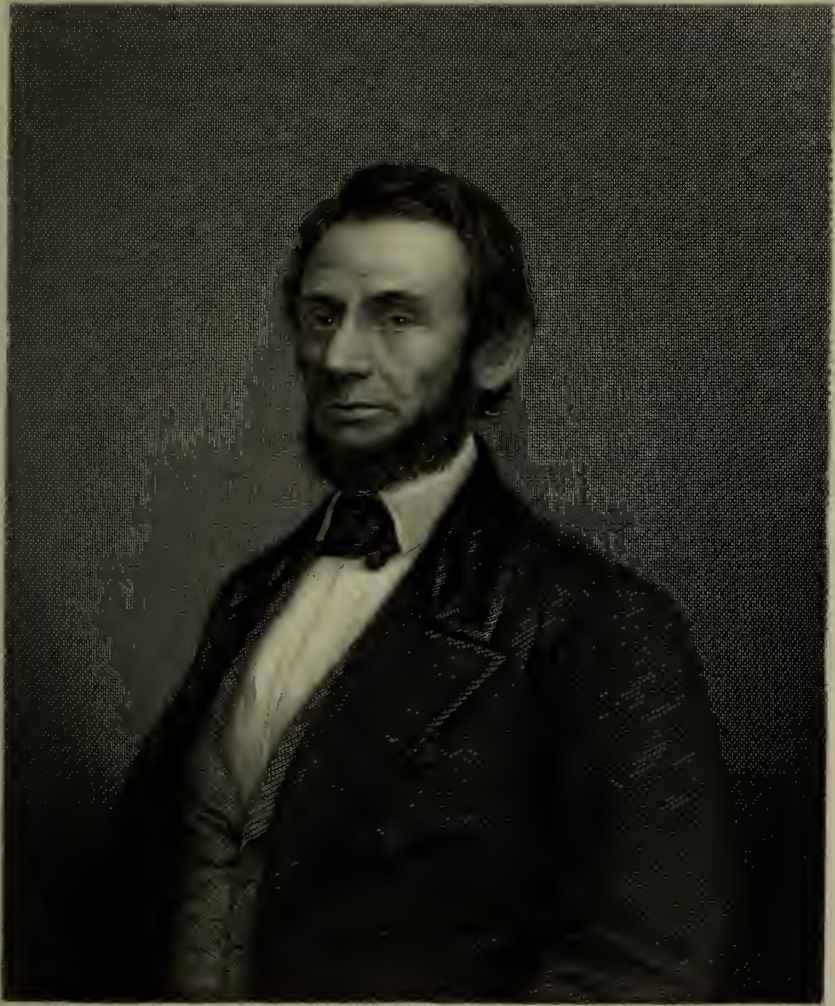
The disclosures respecting the corruption which prevailed under Mr. Buchanan's administration, made it impossible for the Democratic party to adopt him as their candidate for a second term of office. The nine Southern States refused to support Mr. Douglas, the author of the Squatter Sovereignty Compromise, and selected a Mr. Breckenridge as their candidate. Mr. Bell was started as the candidate of the Central States or Union men; the Republican party selected Mr. Lincoln, a plain, blunt, straightforward man from Illinois, who was originally a backwoodsman, and had afterwards practised for some years at the bar. He

attained considerable success in his profession, became one of the leaders of the Whig party in Illinois, and was chosen in 1846 to represent that State in Congress. Under the administration of the retiring President, the whole power of the Government had been employed to promote the interests of the pro-slavery party. Not only so, but, as it was afterwards discovered, the officials of the Government had treacherously availed themselves of their position to make preparations for the secession which took place on the election of the Northern candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Buchanan's retiring address was quite in keeping with his whole policy, and was studiously directed to the promotion of the objects of the Southern party. He dwelt on the insecurity of the slave-holders and their dread of servile insurrection, defended the Dred-Scott decision, and condemned the conduct of the State Legislatures who had passed Acts to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law; tried to palliate his conduct in regard to Kansas, and asserted that the law which that territory had enacted, declaring that slavery 'is and shall be for ever prohibited in this territory,' violated the rights of property, and would surely be declared void by the judiciary Court whenever it should be presented in a legal form. Evidently knowing that the South had resolved to break up the Union, he affirmed that the Constitution had not delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which had withdrawn from the Confederacy.

Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States on the 6th of November, 1860, and on the 20th of December South Carolina seceded from the Union. Various ordinances were passed by the State Convention for the purpose of carrying out this step, and the Governor and his Executive Council were empowered to issue a proclamation setting forth that 'this State is, as she has a right to be, a separate, sovereign, free, and independent State.' In the course of the first four months of 1861 other ten States followed her example—viz., Mis-

issippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Kentucky attempted to assume a neutral position, but was compelled by force to abandon it. The delegates of the seceding States assembled at Montgomery in Alabama on February 4th, to agree upon a Constitution. They formed a Southern Confederacy, with Mr. Jefferson Davis as its President. At his inauguration Mr. Davis declared the determination of the South to 'maintain by the final arbitrament of the sword the position which they had assumed among the nations of the earth, if passion or lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or influence the ambition of the North.'

On the 4th of March the new President of the United States, Mr. Abraham Lincoln, entered formally on the duties of his office. In his inaugural address he declared that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. He had no lawful right to do so, and he had no inclination to do so. At the same time he asserted that 'no State on its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union, and that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void.' On the other hand, Mr. Davis affirmed with equal confidence that the right to secede from the Union was asserted in the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and is inalienable, and that the Southern States had as much right to withdraw from the Union as other States had to elect to remain in it. It must be admitted that they had on their side the greatest jurists that America has produced, who concur in the opinion expressed by Mr. Rowle, Attorney-General for the State of Pennsylvania, that 'the secession of a State from the Union depends on the will of the people of such a State.' 'To coerce a State,' said Mr. Alexander Hamilton, the ablest politician among the eminent men who framed the Articles of Union, 'would be one of the maddest projects ever devised.' Virginia, at the moment of adopting the Constitution, passed



Engraved by H. O. Baldwin.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Donald Gray

an Act in Convention, on the 26th of June, 1788, which declared that 'the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression.' Down to 1860, and so long as the executive power of the Union remained in the hands of Southern men friendly to slavery and the slave institutions, the Abolitionists in the Northern States openly resisted the Federal authority when employed to enforce the detestable Fugitive Slave Law. They gloried in the name of Disunionists, denounced the Constitution of the United States, and threatened to secede if the pro-slavery policy were persisted in. But after the secession of the Southern States was accomplished, the Northerners changed their opinions, and took up arms to enforce adherence to the Union, which the South repudiated as an engine of foreign tyranny and domestic oppression.

The moral right to secede, however, is quite a different matter, and no candid and impartial person will deny that the grounds assigned by the Southern States were utterly insufficient to justify, or even to account for, the step they took. These grievances were the nullification of the Fugitive Slave Law by the Personal Freedom Acts of the Northern States, the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the alleged attempt to exclude slavery from the common territories. The Tariff question has never been put prominently forward by the Southern States, but it was pleaded on their behalf that they were the victims of fraud and avarice on the part of the North, by whom they were cajoled and cheated into an abandonment of that free trade which it was their interest to uphold. It is self-evident that the burden of the heavy protection duties imposed to foster the manufactures of the North fell almost exclusively on the inhabitants of the South, who were entirely agriculturists, had no manufactures of their own, and were the chief customers of the North. They were

the great exporters of the Union, and their object was to obtain the earthenware, woollens, and calico of European countries in exchange for their cotton, and sugar, and coffee, and tobacco. They, therefore, wished to see the ports of the Union open to admit, free of duty, all that Europe could send them. But the object of the North was to make foreign manufactures dear, and it did all in its power to exclude them by a high and most complicated tariff, in order to protect its own manufactures. Such a policy must be pronounced inequitable, unfair, selfish, and oppressive. But the question must be asked, Why did the South submit to it? Though numerically far inferior to the Northern States, through their alliance with the Democratic party during the greater part of the existence of the United States, the Southern States really governed the Union. The actual slave-holders in the country were computed in 1852 to amount to only about 100,000 persons, yet of sixteen Presidents of the United States eleven were slave-holders. The death of General Harrison when in office left the executive power during the rest of his term in the hands of a Virginian slave-holder. Of the five Northern Presidents three were elected as the representatives of the Southern policy, while one of these was actually a native of a Southern State. Mr. Polk, the seventeenth President, and Mr. Buchanan, the eighteenth, owed their election to the influence of the South, and strenuously carried out its policy. These facts show that the South had held the executive power of the Union throughout five-sixths of the lifetime of the nation. In the other great offices of State the South had obtained up to 1852 17 out of 28 judges of the Supreme Court, 14 out of 19 attorneys-general, 61 out of 77 presidents of the Senate, 21 out of 33 Speakers of the House, 80 out of 134 foreign ministers. In these circumstances it need excite no surprise that the policy of the United States, and its dealings with other countries, had been mainly directed to the attainment of the objects on which the

Southern States had set their hearts. They no doubt submitted to the tariffs which protected the ironmasters of Pennsylvania and the manufacturers of New England at their expense, but they did so to serve their own purposes. They received in return protection against the efforts of the Abolitionists, and security for their property in slaves. 'The free and prosperous North was made the tool and the servant of the slave-holding and declining South.' If they had chosen to put forth their whole strength to overturn the protection system they would have succeeded. The tariff passed in 1832 was so flagrantly unfair and oppressive that South Carolina declared it null and void, and called out her militia to prepare for war. The North, in great alarm at this news, at once gave way, and yielded to fear what it had refused to justice. A measure was hastily introduced into Congress, and rapidly passed, effecting a large reduction of duties on manufactures. There can be little doubt that a united South could have carried a much more extensive reform on the tariff, if the slave-holders had not thought it worth their while to sacrifice free trade and commercial independence for the sake of an interest that was still dearer to them.

It has been alleged that the Southern States did not secede for the sake of preserving slavery, for 'at no time for the last fifty years was the "domestic institution," as slavery was mildly termed, placed under such safeguards, and recognized by Congress and by the political party generally opposed to it so unequivocally, as at the period of Mr. Lincoln's accession to office.' The Republican party, who carried his election, declared themselves in favour of the 'inviolable maintenance of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions.' An Act was passed by Congress on the 2nd of March, 1860, providing 'that no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institu-

tions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the laws of said State.' Mr. Lincoln himself said that he had no objection to this provision being made express and irrevocable. 'We thus see,' it was said, 'that the Supreme Court, Congress, the Republican party, and the President had each in their several spheres hedged in the interests of the slave-owner, and given him every possible guarantee against any invasion of his rights.' But the Southern States were quite well aware that the only method of preserving the security of their property in slaves was the possession of political supremacy. They felt that in order to be safe they must govern. For this reason they regarded the election of Mr. Lincoln as the triumph of the party hostile to slavery—as a national declaration of war against their 'property,' 'because,' as Mr. Spence said, 'for the first time in the history of the United States the election of the President was purely geographical—it was not a defeat at the hands of a party, but at those of the Northern power. It was an act which severed North from South as with the clean cut of a knife. . . . The Northern States had 183 votes; the Southern, if unanimous, 120. Hence it was plain, if the North chose to act in a mass, its power was irresistible. At last it did act in a mass. Upon that event political power departed from the South, and departed for ever. . . . Looking at the election of Mr. Lincoln from an European point of view, it was an ordinary and insignificant event; looking at it as it was seen by the Southerners, it was the knell of the departing independence and welfare of this portion of the continent.'

There can be no doubt that, in addition to these political considerations, the change of opinion regarding slavery which had taken place in the Northern States had considerable influence in bringing about the disruption of the Union. There were still large numbers of the moneyed class in the States who supplied the funds for the support of the slave system, and even, as we

have seen, fitted out vessels for the African slave trade. But the neutral and indifferent state of feeling on the subject of slavery which prevailed in the North during the first thirty years of the present century had passed away; and by a large portion of the community it was regarded in the light in which it has long been regarded in Britain, as a sin, and denounced in the most indignant terms. With one class of Abolitionists the anti-slavery cause had become almost a sort of religion, and conversant as they were with the atrocities of the system, they preached a crusade against it in language which made the blood of the Southerner boil in his veins. There could be no community of feeling between men who had brought themselves to extol slavery as a blessing, and declared it to be the 'corner-stone of the social fabric,' and those who denounced it as a system of robbery and murder, and held up the slave-owners as beings who were a disgrace to humanity.*

It was alleged at the time by many, both in our own country and in America, that the war which was undertaken by the North to compel the seceding States to return to

* No better evidence of the light in which slavery was at this time regarded in the South can be found than is furnished by the preamble of the Louisiana Ordinance of Secession, of the 26th January, 1861, which was in the following terms:—'Whereas it is manifest that Abraham Lincoln, if inaugurated as President of the United States, will keep the promises he has made to the Abolitionists of the North; that those promises, if kept, will inevitably lead to the emancipation and misfortune of the slaves of the South, their equality with a superior race, and before long, to the irreparable ruin of this mighty Republic, the degradation of the American name, and corruption of the American blood; fully convinced as we are that the slavery engrafted on this land by France, Spain, England, and the States of North America is the most humane of all existing servitudes; that to the slave of the South it is far preferable to the condition of the barbarians of Africa or the freedom of those who have been liberated by the Powers of Europe; that it is in obedience to the laws of God, recognized by the Constitution of our country, sanctioned by the decrees of its tribunals; that it feeds and clothes its enemies and the world, leaves to the black labourer a more considerable sum of comfort, happiness, and liberty than inexorable labour required from the free servants of the whole universe; and that each emancipation of an African, without being of any benefit to him, would necessarily condemn to slavery one of our blood and our race,' &c.

the Union was really intended to break the chains of the negro, and sweep away the curse of slavery from the American Continent—from New Mexico to Maine. But this was certainly not the light in which it was regarded by the Government of the United States and the great body of the people. There is abundant evidence that the North would have been willing to 'uphold to the letter in all existing States the right of the master over the slave, if by so doing they could have bribed the South to return to the Union.' Mr. Lincoln, in his letter to Horace Greeley, of the 22nd August, 1861, said—

'If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them; if there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.'

If the majority of the people in the Northern States had cherished a sincere hatred of slavery they would surely have done something for its extinction in cases where the process would have been easy and the pecuniary cost small. The little State of Delaware had at the time of the Secession less than 1800 slaves. The district of Columbia, which surrounds Washington, and which, as the seat of the Government of the United States, is placed by the Constitution under the exclusive control of Congress, without the possibility of any question of State rights being raised, contained only 3181 slaves. If these districts had been purged from the black stain of slavery, and kindness had been shown to the free negroes by the white inhabitants of the North, they would have obtained credit for a real desire to deliver their

country from a system abhorrent to humanity, and would at least have convinced the South that their clamour against slavery was not hypocritical.

The first aggressive act of the seceding States was to seize the Government arsenals, magazines, and forts in their territories. On the 9th of January the first shot was fired which announced the disruption of the Union. A vessel which was sent by the United States Government with troops to reinforce Fort Sumter was fired upon by a battery erected on Morris Island in Charleston Harbour, and without returning the fire she immediately retired. Major Anderson, who commanded the forts there, was ordered to hold possession of them, and if attacked to defend himself to the last extremity. He deemed it prudent to abandon and blow up the two lesser forts and to concentrate his small force in Fort Sumter, where he was secure from any irregular attack. The majority of officers in command were either of Southern birth or friendly to the Southern cause, and most of them cast in their lot with the seceding States. Two members of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet (Messrs. Cobb and Floyd) were known to have been throughout in confidential communication with the leaders of the Secession, and it was universally believed by the Federalists that they furthered the design by a treasonable transmission of arms, if not of money, to the South. When the disruption took place, Mr. Cobb became President of the Confederate Senate, and Mr. Floyd was appointed to the command of a brigade which operated against the Federalists in Western Virginia.

An impression prevailed in the South that the Northern States were willing to sacrifice the Union in order to free themselves from complicity in slavery, and at first it seemed that this expectation would not be disappointed. When the Cotton States, as they were termed, had formed their Confederation and adopted their Provisional Constitution at Montgomery, the prevailing feeling of

the North was 'Let them go.' 'The New York *Tribune*,' the most widely circulated and influential paper in America, which really controlled the elections in the West and North, again and again declared that 'there must be no coercion.' The popular expression everywhere to be heard from the Republicans was 'Let the Union slide.' They might even have been willing to let the Gulf States go; but when the Border States joined the new Confederacy, and 1000 miles of the great waterway of the West were in the hands of the seceding States, the North awoke to the vastness of the interests at stake, and perceived that the Secession, if permitted to continue, would fetter the resources of the nation, greatly curtail its territory, and divide its strength.

A lingering hope was still cherished that the Southern States might be induced to accept the invitation which Mr. Lincoln held out to them to enter into amicable negotiations to heal the breach which had broken out between the South and the North. But the fiery and impetuous leaders of South Carolina became impatient of further suspense, and ordered General Beauregard, who commanded at Charleston, to attack Fort Sumter, which protected the harbour of that city. Major Anderson's resources were wholly inadequate to maintain the post, and after a brief resistance the garrison surrendered at discretion on the 13th of April. The capture of Fort Sumter excited the most extraordinary burst of anger throughout the Northern States, and loud clamours arose on all sides for the adoption of immediate measures to avenge the insult offered to the Union flag. Four days after Mr. Lincoln called out, by requisition to the States, 75,000 men for the professed purpose of suppressing domestic rebellion. As soon as his proclamation appeared, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, which up to this time had not declared themselves, seceded from the Union. Kentucky and Missouri refused to comply with the President's demands for troops.

The small State of Delaware abstained from any act of resistance to the Federal Government; but in Maryland, and especially in Baltimore, an insurrection was only prevented by the military force which was hastily collected at Washington to defend the seat of Government. Two days after Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was issued, Mr. Davis published a counter proclamation authorizing the issue of letters of marque and reprisal. On the 29th of April a proclamation was issued by President Lincoln, declaring the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas under blockade. Two days earlier the ports of Virginia and North Carolina were also placed in the same position.

The proclamation of a blockade compelled the Federal Government to treat the Southern States as belligerents, and rendered it necessary for foreign Powers formally to recognize them as occupying this position. The British Government, after consulting the law officers of the Crown, were of opinion that they had no resource but to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent Power. Accordingly, on the 13th of May, a Royal Proclamation was issued by the Queen, commanding all her subjects to observe a strict neutrality in the war that was raging in America, forbidding them to enlist in the service either of Federals or Confederates, to supply munitions of war, to equip vessels for privateering purposes, or to do any other act calculated to afford assistance to either belligerent. A similar course was adopted by the Emperor of the French, who declared by a proclamation inserted in the *Moniteur* his resolution 'to maintain a strict neutrality in the struggle between the Government of the Union and the States which propose to form a separate Confederation.' Both the French and the British Governments united in declaring that no vessel of war or privateer of either of the 'belligerents' would be allowed to enter or stay with prizes in the ports of the two countries longer than

twenty-four hours. The sale of prizes there was also prohibited.

Strange to say, this step on the part of the British Government, though taken at the instance of Mr. W. E. Forster and other zealous friends of the North, gave deep offence to the Federal authorities and their people. The noisy declamation which was immediately directed against our Government, and indeed against the whole British nation, became all the more offensive as well as inconsistent when contrasted with the sycophantish adulation heaped upon the French Emperor, who had adopted precisely the same course. A moment's reflection might have shown the Northerners that unless the belligerent character of the Southern Confederacy had been acknowledged, the British Government could not have recognized the blockade of the Southern ports. It was not the intervention of Britain, as the Americans affirmed, that 'elevated the rebels into a belligerent power' and 'gave them a status and right which they did not possess,' but the action of their own Government in issuing a decree of blockade. If there was no war going on, foreign Powers could not legally recognize the blockade of Charleston and Savannah and New Orleans. The truth is that the course pursued by the British Government, though it excited the anger of the Northerners, was strictly conformable not only to the rules of neutrality and the law of nations, but to the precedents established by the highest legal authorities of the United States themselves. During the contest between the Spanish colonies and the mother country the Supreme Court of the United States declared that 'neutrality required the recognition of *both* parties as belligerents, because to concede belligerent rights to one party and not to the other would be in fact to depart from strict neutrality, and to act upon the assumption that one party was entitled to a preference over the other.' Mr. Wheaton, one of the greatest jurists of the United States, affirms that 'whilst the civil war continues, a foreign Power must, while continuing

passive, allow to both the contending parties all the rights which public war gives to independent sovereigns.' But the idea which the Northerners seemed to entertain of neutrality was that it should be all on one side, for while professing to require of us the strictest adherence to the principle of non-intervention, they complained bitterly that we did not extend to the North 'that moral support which is given by the countenance of a great nation,' and that we have 'forbidden Englishmen to assist in maintaining in the United States constitutional order against conspiracy and rebellion, and the cause of freedom against chattel slavery.'

The truth is that at the outset the people of Great Britain did give to the Northern States the moral support which they required. The national dislike to slavery, the conviction that the reasons assigned for the Secession were utterly insufficient to justify such a step, and indignation at the proposal to constitute a Confederation of which slavery should be the chief cornerstone, together with the treachery of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet in secretly using the Federal resources to foster disunion, made the feeling of the people of Great Britain rise strongly and almost unanimously in favour of the North. But when it appeared that the Northern States, instead of allowing the Southerners quietly to secede, were about to incur all the perils, miseries, and bloodshed of civil war in order to coerce the South to remain in the Union, a feeling of sympathy arose on behalf of men with inferior resources struggling with undaunted courage against a powerful State in behalf of the right to govern themselves as they liked. Then the unfriendly language and equally unfriendly measures of the Federal Cabinet and the Northern press tended not a little to cool the good-will of the British Government and people. The conduct of the Federal authorities towards their own subjects did not help to remove or abate the unfavourable impression thus produced.

The public journals which expressed disapproval of the action of the Government were mobbed and suppressed. The secrecy of the post office and electric telegraph were habitually violated by the Secretary of State. The writ of *habeas corpus* was abolished, in defiance of the opinion of the Supreme Court; illegal arrests, domiciliary visits, and seizures of papers became common. Even private intercourse between friend and friend was not safe. A word spoken against the conduct of the Government in the course of conversation was sufficient to consign the speaker to a prison cell. The independent action of the judges was coerced by military authority; men and women were imprisoned for months without being brought to trial, and without any attempt to show that they had been guilty of a breach of the law. Even subordinate officials ventured to inflict arbitrary imprisonment upon their personal enemies for alleged crimes of which no vestige of proof could be produced; Colonel Bedge, a stanch Federal soldier, was imprisoned for three weeks, without the pretence of a hearing, and in perfect ignorance of his alleged crime, which turned out to be a trumped up charge of horse-stealing. The property of individuals not convicted by any court was confiscated and placed at the disposal of the soldiery. Passports were introduced. A military conscription was resorted to, and free citizens were stopped at the frontier lest they should escape its obligations. Above all, the spectacle of a great nation pulling to pieces their own Government, killing their own countrymen, blockading their own ports, annihilating their trade, paralyzing their manufactures, burning their ships and arsenals, draining their credit by enormous loans, imposing on themselves all those burdens of taxation from which they had hitherto lived free in an ill-advised, unnatural, and inhuman contest, was not fitted to excite either approbation or sympathy. These arbitrary proceedings were fitted to recall to mind the arrogant and tricky conduct of the United States Government

towards our own country, and the insolent and unfair treatment we had for a good many years habitually received from them. Their conduct in regard to the rebellion in Canada in 1837; their dishonesty in the dispute respecting the question of the Maine boundary, the Oregon territory, and the Island of San Juan, to say nothing of the African slave trade, which has already been noticed; their avowed sympathy with Russia during the Crimean War, and the supplies regularly afforded to that Power, while our Ambassador was dismissed from Washington for an act which the law of the United States did not forbid; and the fact that even after the Secession had taken place Mr. Seward himself, the Secretary of State, on more than one occasion made definite proposals for conquering Canada as a set off against the schemes for the acquisition of Cuba; these and numerous other instances of a similar kind were certainly not calculated to incline the British Government to violate the laws of neutrality in behalf of a Government capable of pursuing a policy so selfish, arrogant, and insolent.

When the war broke out the Federal army, always insignificant in numbers, had been to a great extent broken up by the Secession. The majority of the officers were of Southern extraction, and almost unanimously regarded their allegiance to their respective States as more binding than their constitutional obligations to the Government of the Union. The rank and file for the most part adhered to the Federal cause, but as they consisted of Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Irishmen, and a few English deserters, they were not actuated by patriotic feelings or attachment to the country which they served. They were too few in number to exercise any favourable influence over the organization of the new levies, but were fully sufficient to impart into the Federal forces distrusts, jealousies, and disputes, national, religious, political, and social, which led to loose discipline, confusion in the council, and disaster in

the field. It was found impossible to fill up the numbers of the regular forces by recruiting, but the military spirit of the North was now thoroughly roused, and the enlistment of volunteers far exceeded the President's demands. Congress held an extraordinary session, and voted a levy of 500,000 men, along with a grant of 500,000,000 dollars. The unexpected rapidity with which this armament was raised gave rise to the most extravagant boasting on the part of the Northerners; and their unwarranted confidence of immediate and complete success in their military operations was flattered and stimulated to the utmost by the press, and by popularity-hunting politicians. The North, it was said, had risen in its might; an irresistible army was assembling on the Potomac; a few weeks would suffice for a triumphant advance to Richmond; and the period of ninety days was fixed by common consent for the termination of the war and the complete subjugation of the Southern States.

The Southern volunteers belonged to a class much superior to the Northern levies, both in social position and in fitness for service in the field. They had always been fond of athletic exercises, of riding, and of sport, and possessed a degree of military spirit unknown in the North. The advantage of the instruction and training in West Point Academy was by no means confined to the officers who were to serve in the regular army. Great numbers of the youth in the Southern States passed through its classes before entering upon their ultimate career as lawyers or merchants. There were numerous State institutions also on a smaller scale, like Lexington or Virginia, peculiar to the South, where pupils received gratuitous instruction on condition of serving for a certain period as military instructors in country districts. A reserve of military strength and science had thus been formed on which, in this emergency, the Southern Confederacy could with confidence rely, and at the first call the West Point graduate and the Lexington student

stepped straight from desk or bar an officer fully trained for service in the field.

The accession to the Confederacy of such skilful and experienced generals as Jackson, Beauregard, the two Johnstones, and above all of Robert Lee, pronounced on high authority the best soldier in the whole United States, proved of immense service to the cause of the South. This celebrated General, whose name is indelibly associated with this stupendous conflict, was the son of General Henry Lee, one of the most distinguished officers who fought in the War of Independence. He entered the military academy at West Point in 1825, when he was in his eighteenth year, and after four years' training quitted it with the highest reputation for diligence, good conduct, and proficiency in his studies. He married Mary Custis, the daughter and heiress of Washington's adopted son, and obtained with her hand the hereditary estates of the founder of American liberty. In 1846 Lee held the office of chief engineer to General Scott's army during the Mexican War, and was declared by his commander to have been indefatigable in the siege operations, in reconnaissances as daring as laborious, and of the utmost value everywhere. He subsequently became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Cavalry, and spent four years with his regiment in Texas. When the Secession of the Cotton States took place, Lee's native State, Virginia, hesitated for some months which side to choose. But when Lincoln issued his decisive proclamation calling upon each State to furnish its contingent of troops to suppress the rebellion of the seceding States, Virginia was compelled to decide whether she would fight with or against the South. She chose the former alternative, and on the 17th of April passed an ordinance of secession casting in her lot with the Confederacy. Colonel Lee's professional interests all lay with the Northern side. He was universally recognized as one of the ablest officers of the United States, and General Scott, their venerable Commander-

in-Chief, feeling his own growing infirmities, and cherishing a warm personal regard for Lee, announced his intention to propose him as his successor. The aged General had a personal interview with his friend on the 18th of April, and no doubt employed every argument and appeal which could avail to secure his services for the Union. But Lee was convinced that his first allegiance was due to his own State, and he acted on this conviction. On the 20th he sent in his official resignation of his commission, and apologized for the two days' delay by saying:—

'It would have been presented at once but for the struggle it has cost me to separate myself from a service to which I have devoted the best years of my life and all the ability I possessed. During the whole of that time—more than a quarter of a century—I have experienced nothing but kindness from my superiors, and the most cordial friendship from my comrades. To no one, General, have I been so much indebted as yourself. . . . Save in defence of my native State, I never again desire to draw my sword.'

Writing to his sister the same day, he says:—

'With all my devotion to the Union, and the feeling of loyalty and duty as an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relations, my children, my home. I have therefore resigned my commission in the army.'

There can be no doubt that these feelings were shared by many who cast in their lot with the South, solely in defence of what they considered the rights of their State.*

Leaving his fine estate and his mansion, crowded with the venerated relics of Washington, to the 'tender mercies' (which were 'cruel') of the Federal troops, Lee set out for Richmond, which had been declared the capital of the South, but before he had reached it he had been appointed Major-General of the Virginian forces by the

* In a letter written from M'Clellan's camp on the 17th of July, 1862, it was said, 'Very often when prisoners come in a crowd of soldiers will get about them, and the first questions asked will be—"What are you fighting against us for?" "State rights" is always invariably the answer.'

spontaneous choice of the Governor and the Legislature. His arrival at Richmond caused general joy, for it had been feared that he would adhere to the Federal Government, and Virginia would have looked upon his loss as a public calamity. For some months after the commencement of hostilities both belligerents were employed in preparations for the struggle. The markets of the whole world were open to the Northerners, and they had consequently no difficulty in procuring from foreign States whatever munitions of war their own country could not at once supply. It was otherwise with the Southern States. As they were purely agricultural and had few manufactures, they had hitherto been dependent on the North for clothing and arms. Fortunately for them the blockade existed for a good many months only upon paper, and they availed themselves of the opportunity to obtain, as far as possible, the necessities of war, and the enthusiasm of the people supplied what was deficient. Stores of blankets, table linen, and other articles of a similar kind were contributed both by the mansion-house and the cottage. Subscriptions of money, of cotton, and of stores of every kind lessened the expenses of the commissariat. Large supplies of food and forage were sent for the use of the troops. Ladies made and mended the soldiers' clothes. Merchants ran costly cargoes through the blockade, and sent their invoices for Generals to select at their own price whatever they might need. Men and officers by thousands refused to touch their hard-earned pay. Large importations were made of arms and ammunition, and when actual war commenced abundant supplies were obtained from the immense stores which had been supplied to the Union troops whom the Confederates defeated. It was a common boast of the South that whole regiments would go into action with 'Brown Bess' or the old flintlock, and fall in when the muster roll was called armed to a man with the latest pattern rifle of the United States. Coal and iron abounded in the

South, but hitherto they had been worked only on a limited scale. Now, however, mines were largely brought into operation, machinery was imported, manufactures were established; and every effort was made to render the rich resources of the country available for carrying out to the last extremity the struggle for independence.

The strategy of the Northern army was open to fatal objections. It consisted of a series of combined attacks by armies moving in converging lines, so as to encircle the whole frontier of the Confederate States, like an anaconda, as it was said, so as to crush out the heart of the rebellion by one contraction of its coils. The scheme, which was quite impracticable, owing to the enormous extent of the territory to be encircled; aggravated every defeat of the Federal armies, and enhanced every advantage of their foes. It had the effect of rousing to activity in the contest those States which might otherwise have been lukewarm, and by subdividing the forces to be supplied it multiplied the difficulties of commissariat, of transport, and of communication.

The Northern people now became impatient for active operations to be undertaken, and their journals clamoured for the fulfilment of the promises which they had taken upon themselves of the speedy conquest of the South. On the 21st June, 1862, Major-General M'Clellan assumed the command of the army of Western Virginia, intending to force his way to Richmond by Clarksburg, Beverly, and Winchester. General M'Dowell, with the main Federal army of about 50,000 men, was at Washington, preparing to advance upon the Confederate capital by another line. The Southern troops were commanded by A. S. Johnstone and Beauregard. Lee, who was at this time regarded by President Davis and his Cabinet more as an engineer than a soldier, was engaged in the task of fortifying Richmond and girdled it with works which extorted the admiration of the Northern generals, and though often threatened were never seriously attacked. Forced by popular clamour to

make an advance before the necessary preparations could be completed, M'Dowell was compelled to undergo the great risk of premature operations. The result was the disaster of Bull's Run.

On the 17th of July the Federal General commenced operations by the occupation of Fairfax Court-house. He was without information either as to the number or the true position of the Confederate forces, and appears to have greatly overrated their strength. They amounted to only 17,000 men, under the command of General Beauregard, who, as M'Dowell advanced, retired slowly upon the position which he had previously selected on the southern bank of a small stream called Bull's Run, a tributary of the Potomac River. Here the Confederates turned to bay. About three miles in the rear of this stream is the Manassas Junction Station, where the main line from Alexandria to Gordonsville and Richmond is joined by the branch from Winchester and Harper's Ferry. At the one end of this short railroad line was the army of Beauregard, at the other the troops under the command of Johnstone, who had retreated from Western Virginia before the greatly superior forces of McClellan and Patterson. The joint forces of the Federal generals outnumbered their opponents by nearly three to one, but they were acting on exterior lines, and were still separated by some sixty miles of hostile country. The Southern forces had also made their retreat on converging but interior lines. They now stood, as it were, back to back, and their strength was fully doubled by the facility of mutual support. Both armies were hastily raised and but partially disciplined, but every advantage of arms and equipment, as well as numbers, was on the side of the Northerns, though these were counterbalanced to some extent by the superior skill of the Southern generals.

Johnstone, who was the senior officer, on learning that Beauregard was face to face with the Federal army, hastened to Manassas with 8000 men, and with a generosity

which affords a striking contrast to the petty jealousies of the Northern commanders, he at once placed himself under the orders of his junior officer. At this critical moment General Holmes arrived from Fredericksburg with a small body of troops, raising the entire Confederate force to 27,000 men. Before the arrival of either of these reinforcements, M'Dowell had, on the 18th July, made an attack on the centre of the Confederate position, which appears to have satisfied him that it could not be forced. He resolved therefore to endeavour to turn it on the left. The attack began on the morning of the 21st. The Confederates did not expect this movement, and their defeat, which seemed at one time very near, was only averted by the steadiness of Jackson's troops, who stood, as he said, like 'a stone wall.' General Johnstone at this crisis of the battle hurried up the right wing to the support of the overmatched left, and by their aid the fortune of the day was turned. The Federal right gave way and fell into confusion. In the words of their commander, 'the retreat soon became a rout, and this soon degenerated still further into a panic. In the panic the horses hauling the caissons and ammunition were cut from their places by persons to escape with, and in this way much confusion was caused, the panic aggravated, and the road encumbered.' In the order of the day issued by the two Confederate generals, it was said the enemy 'left upon the field nearly every piece of their artillery, a large portion of their arms, equipments, baggage, stores, &c., and almost everyone of their wounded and dead, amounting, together with the prisoners, to many thousands.

The whole affair was most humiliating to the arms of the North, and covered their troops with much undeserved ridicule from the British journals. It should have been remembered that M'Dowell's raw troops had been sent into the field untrained, and, through the ignorance of Congress, unfurnished even with a staff. Nothing better

could be reasonably expected of new and undisciplined levies, and the Southern officers frankly expressed their belief that their men would not have behaved one whit better had the reverse been on their side. Moreover, the Federal army was mainly composed of levies raised for only three months' service, and many of them disapproved of the enterprise in which they were engaged. On the eve of the battle the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment of Volunteers, and the battery of Volunteer Artillery of the New York 8th Militia, whose term of service had expired, in spite of the earnest entreaties of their general, insisted on their discharge that night. 'It was granted,' he said, 'and the next morning, when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon.'

This disaster to the Federal arms was to some extent counterbalanced by some successes gained by General McClellan in Western Virginia. On the 21st of June he started from his headquarters at Grafton, intending to force his way to join McDowell before Richmond. By July his forces were augmented to 20,000 men, giving him a large numerical superiority over the Confederate troops commanded by General Garnet, who with only 7000 men attempted to hold the country against him. After a series of skirmishes McClellan routed the Confederates at the battle of Rich Mountain. Garnet was killed, and Colonel Pegram, with nearly 1000 men, was cut off and compelled to surrender. On this President Davis despatched General Lee to the scene of action with reinforcements. Remaining strictly on the defensive, he succeeded in restraining the progress of the Federals until the approach of winter put a stop to all serious movements.

After the battle of Bull's Run all important operations were suspended on both sides, and both set vigorously to work in organizing fresh troops and preparing for a renewal of the struggle on a far larger scale. As might have been expected, the

first step on the part of the angry and deeply-mortified North was the disgrace of their unsuccessful generals. Patterson was promptly but honourably dismissed the service, and McDowell was superseded by McClellan, whose success at Rich Mountain had shed a solitary gleam of light over the Northern cause. 'The young Napoleon,' as the new commander was termed, 'in consideration of his possible future exploits,' employed himself in reorganizing the shattered army of the Potomac, and in drilling the fresh levies now beginning to pour in. At the end of October General Scott resigned his command and retired from the service, on the ground of advanced years and bodily infirmities, and General McClellan was appointed in his room Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army.

At this stage of the contest an incident occurred which excited a great deal of ill feeling between Great Britain and the Northern States, and at one period threatened to involve them in actual war. The Confederate Government resolved to send envoys to Europe to endeavour to procure from the Governments of Great Britain and France a recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The two gentlemen selected for this service—Messrs. Mason and Sliddell—accompanied by their secretaries, succeeded in escaping the blockade at Charleston, and made their way to Havannah. There they took passage to Southampton on board the *Trent*, a packet-ship belonging to the British Mail Steamship Company. The *Trent* left Havannah on the 7th of November, 1862, and when she reached the Old Bahama Channel a ship lying there stationary fired across her bows, and then displayed the Union States flag at her peak. The *Trent*, which had hoisted the British flag, continued her course, and a shell was then fired, which burst across her bows. The aggressive vessel, which proved to be the United States war steamer the *San Jacinto*, was commanded by Captain Wilkes, a hot-headed, rash, and injudicious person, who had learned at Havannah that the

Confederate envoys, with their secretaries, were on their way to Europe, and resolved to intercept them. The *Trent* hove to, and an armed party from the *San Jacinto* was sent on board, and demanded the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Sliddell, with their secretaries. The captain of the *Trent* and Commander Mathews, R.N., the British Admiralty agent who had charge of the mails, protested vehemently against this act, and denounced it as piratical. So did the envoys themselves, but they were notwithstanding forcibly carried as prisoners on board the *San Jacinto*.

This proceeding was justly denounced as a barbarous as well as a dastardly and illegal action; and a clearer violation of national rights and international law probably never occurred. The historian of the American Civil War alleges that Mr. Lincoln at once admitted its illegality, and said, 'We shall have to give these men up, and apologize for what we have done.' But instead of punishing the officer who had been guilty of this flagrant outrage on legal rights, and setting at liberty the Confederate envoys, the Federal authorities received them from Wilkes as prisoners, and subjected them to close and severe confinement for many weeks in one of the forts in Boston harbour. The Secretary of the Navy was allowed by the President to give official approval to the conduct of Captain Wilkes, and the House of Representatives passed a vote of thanks to him 'for his arrest of the traitors Sliddell and Mason.' Public meetings were held in honour of the man who had performed the gallant deed of seizing the defenceless passengers of an unarmed merchantman, and public dinners were given to the hero of the hour, at one of which a judge had the indecency to pronounce a bombastic eulogy on his unwarrantable conduct. A dozen towns, including the capital of Massachusetts, presented the blundering commander with their freedom for an act which, even if it had not been illegal, was manifestly inexpedient. The American press was jubilant in its

approval, and not a voice was lifted against an act which both the people and the rulers of the United States were especially bound to condemn. The British Government had so often borne patiently the insults of the American President and his Cabinet rather than enter on a deadly quarrel, that they seemed to expect that our nation would submit to any outrage they chose to perpetrate. If any such expectation was entertained it was speedily shown to be unfounded.

The intelligence of the seizure of the Confederate envoys was communicated to the British Cabinet about the end of November, and Earl Russell, the Foreign Secretary, lost no time in addressing to the Federal Government a courteous though firm demand for redress. The other European Powers—France, Prussia, Austria, and Belgium—all made known to the President and his Cabinet their decided disapprobation of the conduct of their officers. M. Thouvenel, in a remarkably clear and able despatch to the French Minister at Washington, argued the case of our Government with unanswerable force, and declared that 'the Washington Cabinet cannot, without infringing those principles which all neutral powers are alike interested in maintaining, nor without putting itself in contradiction with its own conduct up to the present time, give its approbation of the conduct of the commander of the *San Jacinto*.'

Considerable delay took place before a reply was given to Earl Russell's despatch, and as the tone both of the American press and people was so apparently determined against concession that war seemed to be inevitable, the most energetic preparations were made by the British Government to meet the contingency in case redress should be refused. Vessels were hastily made ready for sea, troops were despatched to Canada with all possible expedition, and the Canadian Militia and Volunteers were called out to be ready to act at a moment's notice. Happily, however,

moderate counsels prevailed with the Federal Government. Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet felt that they were in the wrong; and though they had placed themselves in a false position by detaining the prisoners so long that public feeling was running strong in favour of their seizure, they preferred to run the risk of losing their popularity to the certainty of a war in which they were sure to be worsted, while at the same time, as they well knew, their conduct would have been condemned by the whole civilized world. It was not, however, until the 26th of December that Mr. Seward wrote a long illogical and somewhat disingenuous answer to Lord Russell's despatch, evidently intended to gratify and soothe the American people, in which he contended that the Confederate envoys were contraband of war, and that Captain Wilkes had a right to capture them; but expressed his intention to release them,

on the ground that their captor, from 'combined sentiments of prudence and generosity,' had omitted to send the *Trent* into port for legal adjudication of a prize court. The avowal that 'if the safety of the Union required the detention of the captured persons, it would be the right and duty of the Government to detain them,' was not fitted to render more favourable the opinion of the European public respecting the morality of the Federal authorities, and strengthened the general conviction that they had intended to retain the prisoners, until they saw by the despatch of large and formidable armaments the determination of Britain to compel their release.

The four envoys, who had up to this time been closely imprisoned, were now released and placed on board a British man-of-war, which conveyed them to England.

CHAPTER IV.

Campaigns of 1862—Successes of the Federals in the West—Capture of New Orleans and of Roanoke and Newbern—Attempt to ruin Charleston Harbour—Battle of Shiloh—Skilful strategy of General Beauregard—Attempt upon Richmond—M'Clellan's movements—Exploits of the *Virginia*—Battle of the Seven Pines—General Lee appointed to command the Confederate army—Stonewall Jackson's masterly strategy—Signal defeat of M'Clellan's forces—His retreat to Acquia Creek—Pope driven back and worsted in a series of encounters—Capture of Harper's Ferry—Panic in Washington—Battle of Antietam Creek—Burnside succeeds M'Clellan—His defeat at Fredericksburg—Atrocity of the War—Prisoners put to death by M'Neil—Butler's brutality—Burnside superseded by General Hooker—Failure of attacks upon Charleston—Siege and capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson—Defeat of Hooker—Death of General Jackson—Defeat of Milroy—General Meade succeeds Hooker—Battle of Gettysburg—Opposition in New York to the Conscription—Defeat of the Federals at Chickamauga—Bragg defeated and superseded—Defeat of Seymour at Olustee, and of Banks and Price—Grant appointed Lieutenant-General—Battles round Spotsylvania—Defeats of the Federals—Grant's system of attack—Lee's change of position—Battle of Cold Harbour—Sanguinary defeat of Grant—Sigel's defeat—Death of General Stuart—Grant's attack upon Pittsburg repulsed with heavy loss—Sherman's march through Georgia—His capture of Atlanta—His merciless devastation of the country—Capture of Savannah—Unsuccessful attack upon Wilmington—Confederate Privateers—The *Alabama*—Illegal capture of the *Florida*—Contest for the Presidency—Mr. Lincoln's re-election—Capture of Wilmington—Sherman's barbarities—Prospects of Lee's army—Its scanty and diminishing numbers—Badly supplied with provisions—Their lines forced and turned—Surrender of Lee at Appomattox Courthouse—Termination of the War.

DURING the winter of 1861-62 General M'Clellan, who possessed a rare talent for organization, and had large resources at his command, laboured with untiring energy to prepare for the next campaign. At length he quitted Washington at the head of a well-equipped army, numbering over 100,000 men, supported by a large fleet; and disembarking on that historic peninsula below Richmond which had witnessed in former days the triumph of Washington over Cornwallis, began to work his way towards Richmond. Meanwhile operations in the west were proceeding unfavourably for the Confederate cause. Fort Henry, in Tennessee, was attacked by General Grant on the 6th of February, with a strong force of gunboats, and captured after a brief but spirited resistance. A much more serious disaster which followed was the capture of Fort Donnelson, the key to the river Cumberland, which was given up to the Federals in a manner that reflected no credit on the Confederate Generals, Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. The fall of this important stronghold led inevitably to the surrender of Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, which stands on the banks of the Cumberland, a few miles further to the south. The immense quantities of ammunition and stores

of every kind deposited there were hastily destroyed on the approach of the enemy, and the forces stationed in that district, completely outnumbered, retired by a painful march of 300 miles of most difficult road to the village of Corinth in Mississippi, where they again intrenched themselves. Somewhat later in the spring General Pope, with his flotilla, captured a fortified post on the Missouri, known as Island No. 10, and in the latter part of April Commodore Farragut, taking advantage of a sudden rise in the waters of the Mississippi, which swept away the obstructions at the mouth of that river, pushed past the batteries and compelled New Orleans, thus left defenceless, to surrender. The little town of Vicksburg, with its hasty and imperfect fortifications, alone prevented the Northerns from obtaining complete possession of the important waterway of the Mississippi. Fortune frowned as darkly in the east as in the west. In February General Burnside, with the aid of some gunboats, captured the island and garrison of Roanoke, on the coast of North Carolina, and a month later he obtained possession of Newbern, on the mainland there. A powerful force was thus thrown into the rear of the Confederate position at Norfolk

and paved the way for the capture of that important post and the subsequent advancement of M'Clellan into the peninsula. Burnside also obtained possession of James Island, in the harbour of Charleston, thereby greatly endangering the safety of that 'rebel stronghold,' which was so obnoxious to the Northerners that they sunk old worn-out vessels, heavily laden with stone, in the entrance of the port, in order to destroy it for ever as a harbour—a vindictive and savage step condemned by the whole civilized world, but which happily failed of effect. Pensacola was abandoned by the Confederate troops. Fernandina was captured by the Northern fleets, and the whole eastward coast seemed on the point of falling into the hands of the Federal forces.

While the tide was thus running strong against the Confederates in the east and south, this season of defeat and disaster was lightened by success in the west. General A. Sidney Johnstone, at the head of the army which had retreated from Nashville to Corinth, reinforced by the division under Beauregard, turned upon the advancing enemy under General Grant, and on the 6th of April, at Pittsburg Landing, inflicted upon them a decided and severe defeat. In this encounter, termed the battle of Shiloh, the Federals admitted a loss of 13,661 men killed, wounded, and missing. Their camp was also taken, and thirty-six pieces of artillery. The loss of the Confederates also was heavy, and included their Commander-in-Chief, who was killed by a cannon ball. The beaten army, however, having fallen back upon its gunboats, the fire of their heavy guns checked the pursuit of the victors. The arrival next morning of General Buell with powerful reinforcements enabled the Federals to renew the struggle, and indeed saved the dispirited force from entire destruction, and the Confederate troops were ultimately compelled to retire to their intrenchments. Beauregard, who succeeded to the command, maintained his position at Corinth for several weeks, while General Halleck, with an army of

150,000 men, lay quiescent in his front. At length it was found that the Confederate forces had withdrawn, with all their guns and stores; and so completely had they vanished out of sight, that for several months the Federals were in utter ignorance as to where Beauregard and his troops had gone. General Pope, Halleck's lieutenant, pretended that he had come up with the enemy during their retreat, and had taken 10,000 prisoners, but he was afterwards compelled tacitly to acknowledge that this boast was wholly fabulous. Outgeneralled by the enemy, this large army had wasted the best season for a campaign in total idleness. An advantage obtained by the Federal General Rosencranz in October, at Corinth, was counterbalanced by the defeat of Buell at Perryville by Generals Bragg and Polk, and in December a Federal brigade of 4000 men surrendered at Hartsville, in Tennessee, to the Confederate General Morgan.

Meanwhile the attention of the whole country was fixed on the great struggle going on in Virginia. M'Clellan, in despite of an obstinate resistance, was forcing his way along the peninsula of Yorktown. He was detained three weeks before the lines at this place, and the Confederates, having secured the delay which they required, gradually fell back towards Richmond, striking successive blows to cover their retreat at Williamsburg and at West Point, where the Pamunkey expands into the estuary of York River. Step by step the vast Federal army, now 156,000 strong and complete in every point of equipment, pushed on towards the Confederate capital. The forces of General A. S. Johnstone mustered rather less than half that number to protect it. Other two armies were directed to co-operate with M'Clellan under independent leaders. Of these Fremont and Banks, with 30,000 men, operated in the Shenandoah Valley in opposition to Jackson, who had only half that number; and a force of 40,000 men, under M'Dowell at Fredericksburg, was designed to come in

on M'Clellan's right to complete the investment of the city on its northern side.

The progress of M'Clellan's army was arrested, and the powerful fleet by which it was supported was for a time paralyzed, by the extraordinary exploits of the Confederate steamer the *Virginia*, once known in the United States navy as the *Merrimac*. It had been captured when the Norfolk navy-yard was abandoned, and had been hastily coated with iron rails. Issuing suddenly, on the 8th of March, from the port of Norfolk, the *Virginia* encountered and dispersed the whole Federal fleet, destroying several men-of-war constructed of wood, and scattering terror into a fleet of transport and store ships. The following day she was met by the ironclad *Monitor*, which had just arrived from New York. A hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which lasted for several hours, but terminated without any decisive result, though the *Monitor* seems to have suffered most severely in the contest. As the Southern armies fell back the *Virginia* had to be destroyed, and the Federal forces, after suffering a severe check on the plain of White Oaks, were at length established, at a few miles' distance, round the north and east sides of Richmond, having their headquarters at White House, where the West Point Railway to Richmond crosses the Pamunkey.

The speedy fall of the city was now confidently expected by the North, and the crisis indeed seemed imminent. But the tide of Federal success had reached its height, and it now rapidly turned and flowed back. Once more the superiority of Southern strategy, and the great advantage of moving on interior lines, became strikingly apparent. In placing the main body of his army on the eastern extremity of the peninsula, M'Clellan had in great measure exposed the Federal capital, and General Johnstone at once availed himself of the advantage. He directed 'Stonewall' Jackson to resume the offensive against the powerful army opposed to him. With the

rapidity of lightning Jackson struck at the forces of Banks, and drove them headlong from the valley of the Shenandoah. President Lincoln, in great alarm for the safety of Washington, hurriedly ordered M'Dowell to send half the Fredericksburg army westward for its protection. At the critical moment when M'Clellan was about to attack Richmond he was thus deprived of the support on which he had relied, and while he hesitated what course to take the Confederate general suddenly issued from the line of redoubts on the south side of the Chickahominy, and became the assailant. The battle of the Seven Pines, as it was called, took place on the 31st of May, and was obstinately contested. Though the left of the Federal army was turned by the Confederates they gained no decisive advantage, and their general was severely wounded at the commencement of the engagement by a shell. Lee was at once appointed his successor, and he resolved to renew the struggle at the earliest possible moment. M'Clellan's force was almost double that of the Confederate general. His front was strongly intrenched, and his left was covered by the vast morass known as the White Oak Swamp. His right was the only part left open to attack, and against it Lee resolved to throw his whole force. To do this with full effect he resolved to call Jackson secretly to his aid. That redoubtable leader, with matchless activity and dexterity, marched and counter-marched in the Shenandoah Valley up to the very hour of his suddenly quitting it, and completely deceived the Federals there as to his movements. M'Clellan, too, was led by a clever stratagem to believe that Washington was threatened. On the night of the 25th of June, before the Federals in the Shenandoah Valley had missed him from their outposts, Jackson appeared in Richmond. General Stuart, the famous cavalry officer, had just dashed round the entire circuit of the enemy's lines, and had marked their weak points on the right and rear, carrying off at the same time a

considerable booty. Lee had already prepared his arrangements for the attack; it only remained to assign to Jackson his part in the action, and all would be ready.

The battle, which lasted through the 26th and 27th of June, took exactly the course which Lee had designed beforehand. McClellan, instead of advancing on Richmond, which was almost denuded of troops, strove to maintain his lines against the Confederate attack, and resolutely kept them at bay. But at length, as the afternoon advanced, the roar of fresh guns was heard coming into action. It was evident that Jackson had completed his flank march and was closing with the right rear of the enemy. The Federals were turned, overmatched, and driven from their position, and before dark the shattered remains of their right wing were doubled back and compelled to seek refuge in the rear of the scarcely less shattered left. Seven days of desperate fighting saw the remnant of McClellan's powerful army forced back on the support of its gunboats, more than twenty miles from its original position.

McClellan had resolved, previous to the battle, to transfer his forces from the Chickahominy to the James River, but before he could accomplish this movement Lee was upon him. The result was that, very unfairly, his declaration that the movement through White Oak Swamp was but 'a strategic change of base' brought upon him a torrent of ridicule, and 'became a proverb in all cases where a beaten general excuses the necessity of retreat under a cloud of words.' McClellan's retreat in the hour of disaster and danger, when his right wing was driven in upon his centre, deserves the highest commendation. General Hooker, who was present during the battle, affirms that the Federal troops were so demoralized by the shock of the two days' unsuccessful fighting as to begin their retreat 'like a parcel of sheep, for a few shots from the rebels would have panic-stricken the whole.' McClellan was ultimately pushed across the Chickahominy; and though he narrowly

escaped destruction in making his way through the White Oak Swamp, he succeeded in outmarching his pursuers, and regained his position at Harrison's Landing, on the James River, which was rendered secure by the protection of his gunboats. This unfortunate campaign cost the Federals their siege artillery and the virtual loss of at least 50,000 or 60,000 men. It was evidently necessary to abandon the enterprise, and McClellan embarked all that remained of his forces on board the fleet, and sailed for Acquia Creek, on the right bank of the Potomac, to assist in protecting Washington against the victorious Confederates.

To cover this movement and divert the attention of the enemy during McClellan's embarkation, Pope, who commanded the army of the North, advanced beyond the Rappahannock to the Rapidan. General Lee, leaving the shattered army of the Peninsula to escape at leisure, pushed rapidly northwards to meet him. The two armies came into collision at Cedar Mountain, north of the Rapidan, where a sanguinary but indecisive battle was fought on the 9th of August. The progress of Pope, however, was effectually arrested, and he began his retreat to Acquia Creek, in order to effect a junction with the force with which McClellan was hastening to his support; but General Jackson, by a daring movement, in which he twice crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains, threw himself between the Federal army and Washington, and General Stuart a second time penetrated into the enemy's rear and captured Pope's personal baggage, with all his papers. The Federal general, outmanœuvred and almost surrounded, was compelled to turn round and fight a desperate battle to restore his interrupted communication with the capital. During his retreat he was attacked and routed almost daily; and one of his severest defeats took place at Bull's Run, the spot which had been so disastrous to the Federal arms in the previous year. After a week of misfortune, Pope, who had the meanness

to throw the blame of his disasters on his subordinates and his colleagues, took refuge within the defences of Washington; while General Lee, detaching Jackson to besiege Harper's Ferry, crossed the Potomac, with the hope of inducing the friendly inhabitants of Maryland to rise in arms in favour of the Confederate cause. In this he was disappointed, and the movement proved to be a mistake, both in a military and a political aspect; but it was successful in covering the assault on Harper's Ferry, which fell into the hands of the Confederates, with its garrison of 12,000 men and enormous military stores of every kind.

Meanwhile a panic had seized upon the Federal Government and the inhabitants of Washington. Pope, who had obtained by boasting and bragging a position for which he was utterly unfit, was ignominiously dismissed to a distant command against the Indian tribes of the north-west, and McClellan was summoned in all haste to Washington, and was ordered to drive the Confederates out of Maryland. He promptly reorganized and encouraged the dispirited remains of the armies of Virginia and the Potomac, and marched northward to meet the invaders. Four days of desperate fighting culminated in the famous battle of Antietam Creek. The Confederates, though they were greatly inferior in numbers, stoutly held their ground, and the approach of darkness alone saved their opponents from a decisive defeat. General Lee withdrew his army leisurely and without opposition to the other side of the Potomac, and the Federal forces had suffered so severely from the struggle that they were unable to make any further movement. A month elapsed before McClellan was able once more to take the road to Richmond, following this time the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

General Halleck had now been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces. Popular clamour loudly demanded an advance upon Richmond, and the Government felt constrained to order a forward

movement. McClellan was unwilling to take a step which he clearly saw would, in the circumstances, lead to certain destruction. The mob did not approve of his caution, and early in November he was suddenly dismissed from the command, and his successor, General Burnside, a much less able and less scrupulous officer, transferred the seat of war to the banks of the Rappahannock. He was virtually pledged to follow the course dictated by the political exigencies of the Government and the clamours of the Northern press; but the neglect of the War Department to provide pontoons detained him in a state of inactivity for several weeks before Fredericksburg, on the opposite bank of the Rappahannock. General Lee availed himself of this delay to strengthen his works and concentrate his forces to oppose the advance of the enemy. On the 11th of December, the long-expected pontoons having arrived, Burnside crossed the Rappahannock under cover of a heavy cannonade, and took up a position between the ruins of Fredericksburg and the lines which General Lee had fortified a short distance to the south. On the 13th the Federals attacked the Confederate position, but after a desperate struggle—one of the most sanguinary and disastrous of the war—they were compelled to abandon the attempt. Their losses were enormous. Availing himself of the friendly cover of a tremendous storm of rain and the darkness of night, General Burnside succeeded in withdrawing the remnant of his broken army to the shelter of his batteries on the north side of the river, and retired upon Washington. The fourth attack on Richmond was thus brought to an end, and operations were suspended during the remainder of the winter. The positions of the main armies of the North and South remained nearly the same as they had been eighteen months before, but on the whole the balance of gain was on the side of the Confederates. They had rolled back the tide of Northern invasion in Virginia, and inflicted several severe defeats on their

invaders. Richmond was apparently quite as safe as Washington. Mr. Lincoln, by an unconstitutional usurpation of authority, proclaimed the emancipation of all slaves in every State which on the 1st of January was not represented in the Federal Congress, but the decree was quite inoperative out of the reach of the Federal armies, and failed to produce the expected servile insurrection. The experiment of enlisting negro regiments was tried in the west of Georgia, under General Hunter, but proved a failure. The year closed with a drawn battle at Murfreesborough, in Tennessee, which lasted two days, between General Bragg, who commanded the Confederates, and the Federal General Rosencranz.

The increasing atrocity of the war caused deep and general regret among disinterested spectators. On the 23rd of July the Federal Generals Pope and Steinwehr issued an order directing that all civilians found guilty of violating their oath of allegiance—in other words, of taking part with the Confederates—should be shot. President Davis retaliated by an order of 1st August, directing that these two generals, and all commissioned officers under their command, should not be considered soldiers or entitled to the benefit of cartel if taken prisoners, but if captured they were to be kept in confinement, so that in the event of any unarmed citizens of the Confederacy being put to death, an equal number of prisoners should be shot. He added, 'the order does not extend to Federal private soldiers, or to any other division of the Federal army.'

In the end of October an act of brutal ferocity was perpetrated by the Federal General M'Neil. A Unionist named Allsman, who was resident at Palmyra, in Missouri, had disappeared when the Confederates entered that place. There was no evidence that the man had been murdered or even that he was dead, but M'Neil chose to assume that Allsman had been put to death by the Confederates, and on returning to Palmyra the ruthless savage caused ten Confederate prisoners to be shot. Few

incidents in this miserable strife were more shocking to all right-thinking persons, or tended more to exasperate the Confederates, than this cold-blooded massacre. M'Neil does not appear to have suffered any punishment for a deed which stamped him with infamy, but Butler, whose name was execrated in the South for his tyranny, rapacity, and cruelty even to women, was superseded in the government of New Orleans by General Banks. Butler had the effrontery, in his farewell address to the 'Army of the Gulf,' to claim credit, not only for maintaining law and order in New Orleans, but for his kindness to the Confederate citizens, and his practical philanthropy to the 'oppressed race' of slaves. President Davis justly declared him to be 'a felon deserving of capital punishment.'*

At the end of January, 1863, Burnside resigned the command of the army of the Potomac, and was succeeded by General Hooker. In the spring the Federal efforts were mainly concentrated on a naval expedition for the capture of Charleston. It reached the harbour at the beginning of February, and made an attempt to force a passage to the city during the night; but the ships were so roughly handled by the ironclad steamers of the Confederates that they were obliged to turn round, and with difficulty made their escape to the open sea. An attempt made by the Federals on Galveston Harbour about the same time

* Among other most discreditable actions, Butler issued a proclamation declaring that the women who showed, 'by word, gesture, or movement,' any contempt for his officers should be treated as prostitutes plying their vocation. The spirit and terms of the proclamation were universally execrated, and formed the subject of a debate in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston said that no man could have read that proclamation without a feeling of the deepest disgust—a proclamation to which he did not scruple to attach the epithet of infamous. Generals Burbridge, Paine, M'Neil, Blenker, Hunter, Pope, and Milroy were guilty of atrocities worthy to be ranked with the worst barbarities of the Russian Czar. Sheridan devastated hundreds of square miles in the Shenandoah Valley, burning every barn and farm building, and farm implement, in order to ruin the country and starve the inhabitants. The Northern journals said this desolated valley might henceforth be called the Valley of Triumph.

also signally failed. A second attack made upon Charleston, on the 7th of April, by a powerful naval force under Admiral Dupont, was repulsed with serious damage; and it was not till summer that the siege was resumed by Admiral Dahlgren, aided by a land force under General Gilmore.

The Federals were more successful in their efforts to free the course of the Mississippi from Confederate strongholds, and thus to lay open the flank of the seceding States along the banks of that great river. Although the Federal forces had succeeded in retaining their hold of New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, the Confederates, having fortified Vicksburg and Port Hudson, still retained exclusive possession of the central portion of the river. Early in the year an attempt to capture Vicksburg from the land side by assault was repulsed with great slaughter. A scheme for inundating the country in the rear of Vicksburg, in order to cut off the supplies of the garrison, also failed. The mortification of the Federals at their want of success, and their desire, in the mere wantonness of destruction, to injure Confederate property as much as possible, induced them in the month of March to cut the dykes by which the Mississippi is kept from overflowing its banks as it runs past the States of Arkansas and Louisiana, and an extent of territory amounting to not less than 5000 square miles was covered with water and converted into a pestilential marsh.

No attempt was made to renew the siege of Vicksburg until Admiral Farragut had succeeded in taking his flotilla past the batteries of Port Hudson. General Grant then unexpectedly landed his army on the left bank of the river, a considerable distance below Vicksburg. After a series of fierce conflicts he succeeded in forcing General Pemberton, who commanded in chief, and committed a series of gross mistakes, to take refuge within his defences, and closely invested the place by land, while the Federal flotilla under Admiral

Porter kept up a bombardment from the river on the front. This barbarous proceeding was quite unnecessary, for there were no troops or military stores within the bounds of the town. But the bombardment killed many women and children, and destroyed a large portion of the town, including the hospitals, crowded with the sick and the wounded Federals as well as Confederates. The works were found impregnable to assault; but after many weeks of increasing privation and suffering, the garrison was compelled by famine to surrender on the national anniversary, the 4th of July. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to carry the works of Port Hudson by assault; but as no supplies could reach the garrison, they too were compelled by famine to capitulate on the 9th of that month. The whole course of the Mississippi was thus cleared of Confederate strongholds, and its navigation made available both for the military operations of the Federals and the transport of stores. But the attacks of the guerilla bands who lined the banks of the river still rendered the passage dangerous to trading vessels except under a sufficient escort.

General Hooker, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the Potomac, at the end of April crossed the Rapahannock at the head of 80,000 or 90,000 men. The new general was a better soldier than Pope, but he was if possible a still greater braggart, and after crossing the river he thought fit to congratulate his troops on the victory which they were certain to gain. On learning this movement Lee instantly moved westward to encounter the invader, who was advancing from Chancellorsville towards Fredericksburg. The whole country extending southwards and westwards of Chancellorsville is a wild and dreary region, termed the Wilderness, and is thickly covered with trees and underwood. In the midst of a dense thicket of scrub oak the Federals had thrown up very strong intrenchments, which could not be attacked in front without

great loss of life and not much prospect of success. Lee resolved therefore to turn their position. On the 2nd of May 'Stonewall' Jackson executed a daring and masterly movement for this purpose. At first break of day he made a long circuit at the head of three divisions, and getting round to the enemy's right he made a sudden attack on their flank and rear, while Lee opened a heavy fire of artillery upon their front. The Federals were thrown into confusion and routed, and seem to have been saved only by the approaching darkness from utter destruction. But the victory was dearly purchased by the death of General Jackson. After nightfall he made a reconnaissance with his staff, and was returning to his own camp, when his party was hastily mistaken for the enemy. A volley was fired by some of his own troops, the South Carolina regiment, and he fell fatally wounded in the arm. He was carried to the rear, and his arm was amputated. But his strength failed, and he died on the 9th, the most chivalrous soldier and one of the most skilful officers that this war produced, lamented not only by his own fellow-soldiers, but by many of those who disapproved of the cause for which he fought and fell.

Next day (May 3) the battle was renewed, and raged furiously along the whole line. The strong defences of the Federals were stormed by the Confederates, and the battle ended in the total rout of the enemy. On the following morning the shattered columns of the Northerners made for Banks' Ford, pursued by the Confederates; and at nightfall, under cover of a dense fog, they crossed the river by a pontoon bridge, and reached the northern bank of the Rappahannock, having lost 28,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing. At the beginning of the summer General Lee, passing unnoticed round the right flank of Hooker's army, inflicted a disgraceful defeat on General Milroy in the Shenandoah Valley, which was thus cleared of the enemy. A great number of prisoners, together with a large amount of

artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the Confederates. This sudden and unexpected movement caused great alarm throughout the North. Hooker was removed from the command, and General Meade, an officer hitherto almost unknown, was appointed in his room. The troops were recalled to the north side of the Potomac, and an urgent appeal for assistance to repel the invaders was made by the President to the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland. At Gettysburg, where the Federals had taken up a strong position, a battle took place, which lasted two days. On the first (July 1) they were worsted with a heavy loss, including 5000 prisoners and several pieces of artillery, and were forced to retire to a high range of hills south and east of the town. The contest raged the whole of the next day, and some of the positions of the Federals were carried, but Meade ultimately succeeded in holding his position. On the night of the 4th General Lee, virtually acknowledging that his enterprise had failed, retired without any serious molestation to his old quarters in Virginia. It was computed that the loss on both sides at Gettysburg amounted to about 50,000 men.

The conscription ordered by the Federal Government had never been popular, and now the attempt to enforce it at New York gave rise to a frightful riot, in which a considerable amount of property was destroyed, and shocking atrocities were committed by the mob on the coloured population. The President, however, determined to enforce the law, and a considerable body of troops was despatched by General Meade to protect the authorities. It had been enacted that personal service might be commuted for a payment of 300 dollars, and all persons in easy circumstances naturally availed themselves of the alternative. The corporation of New York voted 3,000,000 dollars to buy off the poorer conscripts, and the other municipalities of the State generally followed the

example. In this ingenious though unpatriotic way the letter of the Conscription Act was reconciled with the practical nullification of its provisions.

A third attack was organized against Charleston in the course of the summer by General Gilmore, but the place was defended with equal skill and energy by General Beauregard; and though the heavy firing of the besieger's guns, which rained shot and shell upon Fort Sumter without intermission, had apparently reduced it to a heap of ruins, it still remained in the possession of the Confederates. The assailants had the inhumanity to bombard the city, in order to compel the garrison to surrender the fort; and they made repeated attempts to burn it by Greek fire, but the spirit of the defenders remained unsubdued. After the battle of Murfreesborough, General Bragg evacuated Chattanooga, and it was supposed that the Confederate army was incapable of a further struggle. General Rosencranz, however, who had advanced 150 miles to the south-east, discovered his mistake on reaching Chickamauga Creek, about 17 miles south-east of Chattanooga. He was attacked on the 19th of September by the Confederate army under Bragg and Longstreet, and after a battle which lasted two days he was disgracefully routed with the loss of 25,000 men. The stubborn resistance of General Thomas with the left wing alone saved the Federal forces from entire destruction. The position of the Federals in Tennessee was now perilous in the extreme, and Burnside, who was at Knoxville, was in imminent danger of being cut off. But Grant, by a well-executed movement, succeeded in joining him. Their united strength was reinforced by a detachment from the army of the Potomac, which brought up the troops under their command to 80,000 men. Bragg had meanwhile lain idle on the hills before the Federal camp, until the enemy within it had gathered in irresistible force. Then Grant attacked him at last in his own lines; and after a terrible struggle, in

which the Federals were repeatedly repulsed with heavy loss, he succeeded at last in piercing the Confederate line, and drove Bragg back on Georgia. The unsuccessful general, who was personally unpopular with the army, was superseded by General Hardee.

On the other hand, an attempt made by the personal order of President Lincoln for the recovery of Florida to the Union proved a disastrous failure. The invading column of 6000 men, under Seymour, was surprised and routed at Olustee by General Finegan, and driven back with the loss of one-third of its numbers. The expedition of General Banks against Mobile also terminated in disaster and defeat. In the battle of Pleasant Hill, fought on the 6th of April, which was grossly mismanaged, the Federals were routed by General Price, and the expedition was of necessity abandoned. In North Carolina, Plymouth was taken by the Confederates under General Hoke, on the 17th of April, when not only the town, but four surrounding forts and 2500 prisoners, fell into their hands. On the other hand, an attempt made by a body of cavalry, despatched from Meade's army under Kilpatrick and Dahlgren, to surprise Richmond, utterly failed, resulting only in the death of its gallant young leader.

The success which had attended Grant's operations at Vicksburg and Chattanooga made the President and his Cabinet now turn to him as the general most likely to overcome the stubborn resistance of Lee and capture the Confederate capital. He was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, an office created expressly for him, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies, at that time amounting to more than 1,000,000 men. At the head of 141,000 troops, while Lee had only 52,000 to oppose him, Grant entered, in the beginning of May, 1864, on another Virginian campaign. His object was to assail the Confederate capital by a double method, combining direct attack and widespread investment. On the 5th of May the main

Federal army, under Grant, having crossed the Rapidan, was immediately attacked on the flank by General Lee, who had been waiting for that movement. Grant's intention was, if possible, to avoid in the meantime an encounter with the enemy. His object was to reach the Spotsylvania Courthouse, in the midst of the tangled mass of woods which cover the country to the south of Chancellorsville, before Lee could attack him. But the Confederate general was not to be caught at unawares. He quickly divined his adversary's intention, and instantly assailed the Federal columns, though Longstreet was not yet within reach. Night closed upon the action without advantage to either party. At dawn on the 6th the contest was renewed with increased fury. Longstreet, who had by this time come upon the ground, sought to decide the struggle by turning the extreme left of the Federals; but in carrying out the movement he was desperately wounded, while General Jenkins was killed by a volley from his own troops. Longstreet's fall ruined the effect of the manœuvre. The battle lasted the whole day, and it was still undecided when darkness closed on the scene, though the loss of the Federals amounted to 20,000 men—nearly three times that of their opponents. At the close General Gordon carried two of the breastworks which covered Grant's right, and captured a great part of two brigades. The drawn battle of the Wilderness, as it was called, had the effect of stopping the easterly movement of the Federal army, and left it, despite of its enormous superiority in numbers, sheltering itself behind breastworks, just as Hooker's had done near the same ground the year before.

Thus effectually checked at the outset of his strategic plan, Grant on the afternoon of the 7th made an attempt to steal a march by his left on Spotsylvania—the coveted point where the chief roads of the district intersect. But Lee, who discovered this movement, and at once divined Grant's object,

was too quick for him. He despatched his right with all speed to the spot, and advancing at the double-quick, they drove back the advancing column of the Federals from the neighbourhood of the Courthouse, and took possession of the position which Grant had proposed for himself. In the words of the author of 'The Army of the Potomac'—

'The result was a grievous disappointment to General Grant, for he shared an opinion commonly entertained in the West—the opinion that the army of the Potomac had never been properly fought. This belief was perhaps natural under the circumstances; nevertheless, it was fallacious. Sharing it, he had hoped at one blow to finish the troublesome and seemingly invulnerable adversary. And to achieve this end he had made little account of those acts that accomplish results by the direction and combination of forces; for at this period he avowedly despised manœuvring. His reliance was exclusively on the application of brute masses in rapid and remorseless blows, or as he himself phrased it, in "hammering continuously."

Then followed for twelve days a sanguinary contest round Spotsylvania. It had now become the habit of both armies to protect themselves with breastworks composed of trees, which when cut down were made to fall towards the front, and behind them a parapet with a ditch was thrown up, or a row of rifle-pits was dug. The battles therefore were a series of long and bloody skirmishes, carried on chiefly under the shelter of these rude and hastily formed defences. The Federals suffered terrible losses, including that of Sedgwick, the most popular officer of their army, in their vain attempts to drive the Confederates from their position. On the 10th of May they lost between 5000 and 6000 men in an unsuccessful attack, while it was doubtful whether their opponents lost as many hundreds. On the 12th they succeeded in breaking in upon one part of the Confederate line, and capturing 3000 men and eighteen guns; but this success cost them 8000 men. An eye-witness says the scene of the contest was literally 'covered with piles of dead;' and after all the Confederate position was only slightly

contracted, not really changed. Finally, 'after General Grant had carried out with much fidelity, but very indifferent success, his own principle of hammering continuously, the carrying of the position was seen to be hopeless; and he, abandoning the effort after twelve days, resolved by a turning operation, to disengage Lee from it.' Grant's unjustifiable mode of warfare — 'the process of attrition,' as the Union historians exultingly term it — wearing down his adversary's numbers by the free, almost reckless, sacrifice of the lives of his own soldiers, had cost him in these engagements the loss of 20,000 men, while the Confederates, even including their captured division, were diminished by only one-third of that number. 'Grant's exhausted army,' says the Federal historian, 'began to lose its spirit. It was with joy that it turned its back on the lines of Spotsylvania.*'

The difficulty of bringing up his supplies by cartage from the rear, and the movements of Butler's army near Petersburg, which had alarmed Richmond, caused Lee to resolve to draw nearer the capital, and to cover more effectually the railroads that fed it. He determined to retire to Hanover Station, twenty miles from Richmond, where the Pamunkey — formed by the junction of the North and South Anna rivers — afforded a strong line of defence. This movement of the Confederate general was so skilfully executed that it was not discovered by Grant until too late to hinder it or to take advantage of a direct pursuit. Lee's new position was impregnable. His right was covered by an impassable swamp; his left by a deep stream; while the intervening space was filled with strong works, which projected forward in such a way that if the Federals occupied the line in front they would be exposed to the imminent

danger of being cut in two. Grant was, of course, compelled to abandon the chosen line on which he had declared that he proposed to 'fight it out if it should take all the summer.' Largely reinforced from the reserves about Washington, the Federal general made a circuitous march of twenty-five miles, passing beyond the right of the enemy, and then turned southward; but only to find Lee's admirably chosen position unassailable. Continuing his flank march onwards, he pushed his advance across the district between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy, and took possession of the precise same ground which had been occupied by McClellan two years before. The same nearness to Richmond which that ill-used general had won by his strategy, Grant had bought by the sacrifice of more than one-fourth of the troops which he had mustered at the commencement of the campaign. But between his army and the passages of the Chickahominy, with his back to Richmond, lay the ever watchful Lee in a new strong position protected by swamps and thickets, as well by a line of intrenchments.

Grant had not yet learned by bitter experience that the 'continuous hammering' which had cost him the lives of so many thousands of his soldiers, was likely to break the instrument while its work was yet unfinished.† He still persisted in sacrificing hecatombs of his soldiers, with the hope of overwhelming his adversary at a stroke. His renewed attack on Lee at this stage has been pronounced the darkest spot in his career; and his eulogists can only apologize for it by alleging that his temper may have been ruffled by the continued failure of his attacks, or that he may have thought that the Confederates must already be so worn down by their losses as to be unable to man their works, or that he may have been influenced by the uneasy consciousness that he had brought the criticism of the whole

* 'Shortly before the opening of the Rapidan campaign General Meade, in conversation with Grant, was telling him that he proposed to manœuvre thus and thus; whereupon General Grant stopped him at the word "manœuvre," and said, "Oh, I never manœuvre." The battle of the Wilderness can hardly be understood save as the act of a commander who "never manœuvred"' (Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*).

† At this time, besides the tens of thousands of the killed on the side of the Federals, the number of their wounded left under treatment in the temporary hospitals amounted to 33,800, and this was exclusive of the losses of Butler and Sigel.

world upon his strategy. Whatever his motives may have been, he called up 16,000 of Butler's forces from the James to aid him, and ordered a general assault ('of the kind,' says Swinton, 'so often made in the course of this campaign') along the whole front to be delivered at half-past four on the morning of the 3rd June.

The result was most disastrous, and the slaughter on the part of the Federals was utterly appalling. In the words of Grant's eulogistic biographer, 'There was a rush, a bitter struggle, a rapid interchange of deadly fire, and the army became conscious that the task was more than they could do.' Swinton, who was an eye-witness of the dreadful scene, says, 'It took hardly more than ten minutes to decide the battle. There was along the whole line a rush, the spectacle of impregnable works, a bloody loss, a sudden falling back, and the action was decided.'

'Rapidly as the result was reached, it was *decisive*, for the consciousness of every man pronounced further assault hopeless. The troops went forward as far as the example of their officers could carry them; nor was it possible to urge them beyond; for there they knew lay only death, without even the chance of victory. The completeness with which this judgment had been reached by the whole army was strikingly illustrated by an incident that occurred during the forenoon. Some hours after the failure of the first assault, General Meade sent instructions to each corps-commander to renew the attack, without reference to the troops on his right or left. The order was issued through these officers to their subordinate commanders, and from them descended through the wonted channels; but no man stirred, and the immobile lines pronounced a verdict, silent yet emphatic, against further slaughter.'

The Federals lost upwards of 15,000 men in the sanguinary action at Cold Harbour, while on the part of the Confederates the loss amounted to only about 600.

Grant did not rely exclusively on his own operations in this campaign for the capture of the Confederate capital. A separate division of 25,000 men was at the same time to act on the Shenandoah Valley under General Sigel, a German, whose

removal after the battle of Fredericksburg had given great offence to the German soldiers and voters. He was an inefficient officer; but Lincoln, in order to conciliate his countrymen, now gave him a new detached command. It was an unfortunate step; for, mainly owing to Sigel's bad arrangements, he met with a signal defeat from Breckenridge on the 15th May, with heavy loss in guns and men, and was driven down to Winchester. To complete the purposed three-fold invasion of Virginia a body of 35,000 men was to operate upon the James and to threaten Richmond on the south. Grant was very desirous that this important task should be assigned to his *protégé*, W. F. Smith (nicknamed Baldy by the soldiers); but Lincoln obstinately refused to supersede 'Beast Butler,' as that detested general was called, though he was a civilian, and both by his want of military knowledge and experience and his brutal and tyrannical behaviour, was utterly unfit for such a position. His operations proved an entire failure, and he was defeated on the 16th of May by Beauregard, and a whole brigade of his troops was captured. In addition to the movements of Sigel and Butler, Grant detached Sheridan with the cavalry of the Potomac army, which was not available in the Wilderness, with orders to operate between Richmond and Lee's forces; but his raid did nothing to promote the Lieutenant-General's plans. It is noteworthy only for having led to the death of Stuart, the celebrated Confederate cavalry officer, who was killed on the 11th of May in a charge upon a party of Federal horse which had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Richmond. His death was a great loss to the Southern army.

Grant's campaign, as at first laid out, having come to an abrupt end in his sanguinary defeat at Cold Harbour, he quitted the blood-stained banks of the Chickahominy, and by a flank march—the fifth—crossing the James thirty miles below Richmond, he united his forces with those of Butler, and took up a position

south of Petersburg. If, instead of fighting his way through the Wilderness and losing 60,000 men in the attempt, he had embarked his troops on board his ships and sailed from the neighbourhood of Washington, he might have reached the same point without the loss of a single man. He made a sudden and fierce assault on Petersburg, and carried the outer works, but was unable to penetrate further, and was repulsed (June 15th) with dreadful loss. Abandoning all attempts at strategy, which had proved so costly and unsuccessful, he set himself to blockade Richmond on the south, making repeated but disastrous, and in the meantime abortive attempts to force Lee's lines, and to seize the three railroads which connected Richmond with the rest of the Confederacy.

Meanwhile Sherman's advance into Georgia had contributed not a little to sustain the confidence of the Northerners under the failure of the attempts to capture the Confederate capital. Had the campaign of that general been as unsuccessful as that of his chief, 'it would,' in the opinion of the Federal historian, 'have been difficult to have raised new forces to recruit the army of the Potomac, which, shaken in its structure, its valour quenched in blood, and thousands of its ablest officers killed and wounded, was the army of the Potomac no more.' Leaving Chattanooga in the beginning of May, Sherman advanced steadily southward at the head of one of the largest and most effective armies which the Federal States had been able to bring into the field. The object of his expedition was to penetrate into and hold the whole centre of Georgia, and to sever the Carolinas and Virginia from the rest of the Confederate States. For this purpose he had collected an army of 98,000 men at Chattanooga, together with enormous trains both for rail and common roads, which were to maintain an unequalled system of transport. General Johnstone, who confronted Sherman, was, in consequence of his inferiority in men and supplies, obliged to retreat slowly

towards Atlanta. He exerted himself skilfully and energetically to delay the march of the enemy by occupying a succession of strong positions, which Sherman's immense superiority in infantry and artillery enabled him after a time to turn and render untenable. The repair of the railroads as the Federals advanced, the throwing up intrenchments at every station or bridge to keep open their communications, as well as the measures requisite to force back the enemy, involved much delay, and Johnstone was thus enabled to detain the Federals seventy days on their approach to Atlanta. But an ill-advised and undeserved clamour was raised against the Confederate general for so repeatedly giving ground, and President Davis ungratefully and unwisely superseded him in favour of General Hood, a gallant soldier, but who had never shown that he possessed the qualifications of a skilful commander. He relinquished the prudent strategy of his predecessor and made successive attacks on the advancing Federals, all of which were repulsed with great loss. He was outmanœuvred also by his skilful and energetic opponent, and at last the Federals entered Atlanta without opposition on the 2nd of September.

Sherman had deliberately laid waste the whole tract of country through which he had passed in his march from Chattanooga to Atlanta. On occupying the town of Marietta he burned down several cotton and other factories engaged in the production of stores and clothing. By this act nearly 1000 persons, mostly women, were reduced to destitution. The general would neither allow them to remain in Marietta nor transfer them within the Confederate lines, but sent them in a body, packed as close as cattle, in the railway cars to Louisville, thence to be conveyed across the Ohio to Indiana, to shift for themselves as they best might. On entering Atlanta he expelled the whole inhabitants, men, women, and children, from their homes at a day's notice, and left a population of 20,000 souls

either to starve or to subsist on the alms of strangers.

Here for a time Sherman paused and occupied himself in preparations to use his new acquisition as a starting point for future aggressive movements. Magazines were collected and protected by fortifications, and the town was converted into a mere Federal depot. Hood suddenly passed round Sherman's right wing, and threw himself boldly with his whole force on the line of communication with the North. The Federal commander followed him for a time, but found him unwilling with his comparatively small force to run the risk of another battle. As Sherman advanced Hood retired westward into Alabama, and being thus isolated from the Confederate centre he afforded Sherman an opportunity of undertaking the daring movement which he had been resolving. Leaving Thomas, with 20,000 or 30,000 men, to occupy the attention of the Confederate forces, he prepared, with a perfectly equipped army of 45,000 men, to force his way through the heart of Georgia, thus left undefended, to the south-eastern coast. On the 13th of November he evacuated Atlanta and marched towards Savannah, a distance of ninety-three miles. On the 10th of December his army approached the outskirts of the town, following the course of the Ogeehee River. Having established a communication with Admiral Dahlgren, who awaited his arrival on the coast, Sherman was in a position to besiege Savannah. General Hardee, who commanded the garrison, finding that his force, which consisted of only 15,000 men, was too small to defend the town against the Federal army, which was three times more numerous, silently withdrew his whole troops during the night, after first spiking the guns and destroying two ironclad Confederate vessels in the harbour. Sherman next day took possession of the town, in which he found 150 cannon and a large quantity of ammunition, together with 25,000 bales of cotton. The loss of this important place was justly

regarded as a heavy blow to the Confederate cause, and the news of its fall excited excessive rejoicing throughout the North.

During the month of September some severe fighting took place in the Shenandoah Valley between General Early on the Confederate, and General Sheridan on the Federal side, with varied fortune, though upon the whole the advantage rested with the Federals. But a great naval expedition, organized at the latter end of the year against Wilmington, proved a failure. Fort Fisher, which commanded the entrance to the harbour, was furiously bombarded on the 24th of December. Under cover of a tremendous fire, a body of 3000 troops, under General Weitzel, landed to assault the fort, but re-embarked the same evening. A second attempt, made by Butler, was equally unsuccessful. Much to the dissatisfaction of Admiral Porter, he reported that the assault was impossible, and withdrew his troops.

At the commencement of the war a small schooner, the *Savannah*, escaped from Charleston in the month of June, 1861, and inflicted some damage on the shipping of the Federal States. She was followed by the *Sumter*, a small merchant steamer of about 400 tons, hastily fitted as a man-of-war, which ran the blockade at New Orleans, and committed terrible depredations on Northern commerce. A somewhat larger paddle steamer, termed the *Nashville*, and another named the *Petrel*, were soon afterwards sent out on the same service, and their exploits speedily began to exercise a marked influence on Northern rates of assurance. A much more formidable enemy was the *Florida*, which was built at Birkenhead nominally for the use of the Italian Government. Within three months after she got out of the Mersey she had captured fifteen vessels. The Federals received the less sympathy for this injury to their commerce that they had themselves to blame for it. On the most selfish grounds they had refused to accede to the agreement made by the great European Powers

to put an end to the privateering system, and they had now become the chief sufferers from its ravages. Great complaints were made on the one hand by the Northerners, that running the blockade had become a very lucrative trade to British merchants; and on the other hand our shipowners and traders alleged that numerous British vessels bound to Matamoras and Nassau had been captured by Northern cruisers, and carried into the American Prize Courts for adjudication. A much more serious ground of dissatisfaction arose in connection with the building and fitting out in British ports of privateers, which it was well known were intended to prey on American commerce. By far the most famous of these vessels was the *Alabama*, which was built expressly for the Confederate service by Mr. Laird, one of the most extensive shipbuilders of Birkenhead. Our Government was violently assailed by the Federal authorities and their friends in Parliament for having violated the obligations of international law, in permitting the construction of such a vessel within its jurisdiction. As Mr. Forster put the case, 'she was built by British shipbuilders and manned by a British crew, she drew prizes to destruction under a British flag, and was paid for by money borrowed from British capitalists.' It was alleged, as a set off, by the friends of the South, that if the Confederates had obtained in our country one vessel which was unarmed when she left our ports, the Federals had obtained large quantities of arms and ammunition, had even enlisted British subjects in their armies, and that repeated applications had been made by the Federal authorities to the builder of the *Alabama* to supply them with armed vessels. In defence of the action of our Government, it was pleaded that as soon as proofs were put into their hands by the American Minister, Mr. Adams, which seemed to show that the *Alabama* was really intended for the Confederate service, they had asked for the opinion of the Queen's Advocate, but he was, unfortunately, unwell at the

moment. Delay was thus caused, and by the time that his opinion was given the vessel had got to sea.

It was by no means so easy a matter as the friends of the North imagined to detain vessels really, though not ostensibly, constructed for the service of the Confederate States. A steam ram, called the *Alexandra*, was built in similar circumstances with the *Alabama* in an English shipyard. An order for the detention of this ship was issued by the Government, and was duly executed. The officers of Customs took possession of the vessel, but the legality of the seizure was disputed; the question of its validity was tried in the regular course in the Court of Exchequer, and the owners of the vessel obtained a verdict in their favour from the jury, subject, however, to the judgment of the Court of Exchequer, which was afterwards appealed to on the part of the Crown, to set aside the ruling of the Chief Baron. The vessel was ultimately purchased by the Government in order to put an end to the dispute.

The *Alabama*, which was known as 290 while in the process of construction, was unarmed when she put to sea, but she was met at some distance from the coast by a vessel containing guns and ammunition for her equipment. The Confederate flag was then hoisted. Captain Semmes, formerly commander of the *Sumter*, appeared on her deck in Confederate uniform, and she was named the *Alabama*. During her cruise, which lasted nearly two years, she captured seventy Northern vessels, and at last drove American commerce from the seas. Her ill-omened career at length came to an end on the 19th of June, 1864, off Cherbourg, on the coast of France. She had put into this port for repairs, and the *Kearsage*, a Federal ship, lay waiting for her outside. As soon as she was ready the *Alabama* put out to sea to encounter her rival, and the fight took place about nine miles from Cherbourg. It was short and decisive. The *Kearsage* was defended by iron chains hanging over her bulwarks, upon which

the shot from the *Alabama* could make no impression. After the contest had lasted for an hour, the *Alabama* was observed to be disabled and in a sinking state. She soon afterwards went down, with some of her crew, but most of them, together with Captain Semmes and his officers, were saved by the boats of the *Deerhound*, an English steam yacht, which was a spectator of the fight.

The Federal Government did not appear so creditably in the capture of the Confederate war-ship named the *Florida*. On the 5th of October, 1864, this vessel arrived in the port of Bahia, in South America, in order to repair her engines and take in water and provisions, and two days were allowed her for that purpose. Captain Colliers, of the Federal ship *Wachusett*, followed the *Florida* into the harbour. He pledged his word to the local authorities that he would not violate the immunities of the port, and the American consul also gave a written promise that the neutrality of the country and the rules of international law should be strictly observed. The captain of the *Florida*, relying on these assurances, allowed eighty of his crew and some of the officers to leave the vessel and sleep on shore. During the night, however, the *Wachusett* suddenly opened fire on the Confederate ship. Some of the sailors threw themselves into the sea, but only four of them escaped, the rest being killed by musket shots from the enemy. The vessel was then boarded and towed out to sea; and although the *Wachusett* was pursued for some distance by three Brazilian schooners, she got clear off with her stolen prize. The *Florida* was taken to New York, and as she was lying at anchor in the roads she was by 'a convenient accident' run down and sunk by a Federal ship of war. No reparation was ever made for this cowardly and treacherous deed, but it afforded Mr. Seward an opportunity of pouring out a flood of his characteristic eloquence, denying that the Confederate States were entitled to be regarded as

belligerents, and denouncing the crew of the *Florida* as pirates. 'The loss of honour, it was justly remarked at the time, 'is a heavy price to pay for the destruction of a troublesome cruiser.'*

Mr. Lincoln's term of office was to expire in March, 1865, and during the stagnation of military affairs before Richmond the contest for the Presidency excited some interest. The Republican party resolved to propose Mr. Lincoln for another term of office, as the most suitable representative of the policy of a war which he had commenced and conducted. The Abolitionists nominated General Fremont as their candidate, but it speedily appeared that he had no chance of success. The Democratic Convention, which assembled at Chicago in the last week of September, made choice of General McClellan as the candidate of their party, and adopted a series of resolutions, which in somewhat ambiguous terms referred to a proposal that the new President should summon a Convention of all the States of the former Union to discuss the terms of peace. They denounced the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, as a shameful violation of the Constitution; affirmed that their aim and object was to preserve the Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and declared that they considered the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of civil and military laws in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial, and sentence of American citizens in States

* 'Had you returned the *Florida* to Bahia without a moment's delay, cashiered the captain of the *Wachusett*, and offered to pay for the support of the survivors who were dependent on those who were killed or drowned in that wicked outrage, your friends would have felt some inches taller here. That would have been the true answer to the taunts of our Tory press, and not the disinterment of the misdeeds of our Tory Government to show that they did something almost as bad as the Federal commander.'—*Letter from Mr. Cobden to Mr. Sumner.*

where the civil law exists in full force, the suppression of the freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and interference with and denial of the rights of the people to bear arms, were all calculated to prevent the restoration of the Union. They asserted, with special emphasis, that 'the shameful disregard by the administration of its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens who are now and have long been prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public and common humanity.'

General McClellan, though he accepted the nomination of the Democratic Convention, did not adopt their 'platform,' and he wrote a letter declaring that he made the 'Union,' not 'Peace,' his prominent object. According to the old Latin paradox, having had no chance of election he threw that nothing away. The peace party therefore refused him their support, declaring that there was no practical difference between his views and those of Mr. Lincoln. After the occupation of Atlanta by Sherman, and the defeat of Early by Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, it became evident that the Democratic candidate had no chance of success, but the Republicans nevertheless had recourse to a number of fraudulent and violent acts to make 'assurance double sure.' Mr. Lincoln, however, was re-elected by so large a majority of genuine votes as to show that he was beyond doubt the choice of the great body of the people in the Northern States, and that the proceedings of a section of his supporters to promote his election were superfluous as well as immoral and illegal.

At the close of 1864 the Northern armies, numbering 1,000,000 men, liberally equipped and fully organized, had not yet succeeded in making themselves masters of a territory which was defended by only 150,000. General Grant, after losses which, during a campaign of seven months,

probably exceeded the entire strength of the Confederate army under Lee, had made no progress in the reduction of Richmond. Bombardment and mining upon an unprecedented scale had failed to shake the Confederate defences in front. Grant's first sudden assault on Petersburg cost him 9000 men. His second—made with his whole force, after the explosion of a mine which had been secretly prepared under one of the advanced earthworks of the Confederates, and from which great results had been expected—was equally unsuccessful. The earthwork was blown into the air, along with 500 soldiers who occupied it; but when the Federals attempted to push forward beyond the ruins, they were driven back by a terrific fire from the defenders. A reserve division of negro troops was then thrust forward and similarly repulsed; and the Confederates leaving their intrenchments, charged the assailants and forced them back to their former position.

The Federal general, finding his efforts to carry the lines of defence in front unavailing, ultimately set himself to extend his operations on his western flank, in order that he might seize the railroads by which supplies were brought to Richmond, and thus separate the city from the Confederate States on the south. In the month of August, 1864, he obtained possession of the nearest railroad, the Weldon line; but when the spring of 1865 was far advanced, the Southside Railroad into Petersburg was still intact, and the third line, that from Danville direct to Richmond, was yet very far from the Federal grasp. Grant, however, still held tenaciously to his position. He was well aware that the strength of Lee's heroic army was steadily waning, while fresh reinforcements continued from time to time to pour into his own camp. The Confederate general was straitened, from the want both of men and means. The conscription, which from the first was badly managed in the South, had now become quite ineffective, especially after the refusal of the Federal authorities

to exchange prisoners. Men who had no fear of the enemy's batteries and bayonets shrank from the privations and sufferings of a Northern prison. The army of Virginia was in consequence steadily melting away under the 'process of attrition,' of which the chroniclers of the Union now exultingly boast, until it was reduced to 40,000 men, badly supplied with food, while their opponents numbered 130,000, well fed and efficiently provided for in all respects.

As we have seen, General Sherman, at the close of his unopposed march from Atlanta to the sea, had received in December, 1864, the capitulation of Savannah. The western Confederate army, under Hood, was wasting its reduced strength afar off in Alabama or Tennessee, and Beauregard alone, with 20,000 or 30,000 men, interposed between the victorious advance of Sherman and the overmatched army of Lee. The siege of Charleston during the preceding eighteen or twenty months had closed that port to foreign trade, but as long as Wilmington remained in the possession of the Confederates there was still communication kept open between the Confederate States and other countries. On Christmas-day, 1864, Butler thought fit to assume the command against that town which had been assigned to a more competent officer. He and Admiral Porter, who commanded the naval force, quarrelled. An attempt to destroy the forts by an explosive machine resulted in a ludicrous failure, and the expedition returned to headquarters after suffering considerable loss. General Grant, three weeks later, despatched General Terry with Admiral Porter to repair the blunders of Butler. On the 14th of January the feeble garrison of the outer forts was compelled to surrender. This sealed the fate of Wilmington itself, which was evacuated on the 22nd of February. The garrison effected its escape; but the last port open to blockade runners was closed, and the Confederates lost their only channel of

communication with the sea and with other countries.

Before Wilmington fell Sherman had already completed his preparations for his northward march. On the 14th of January he was at Branchville, and on the 17th at Wainsborough; while Beauregard, who was soon afterwards superseded by Johnston, retreated rapidly before him. In his progress through Georgia and South and North Carolina, Sherman deliberately wasted the country over a breadth of fifty or sixty miles, probably both for the purpose of depriving the Confederate army of future resources and of compelling the people to seek relief from intolerable suffering by submission to the Federal authorities. Columbia, which was evacuated in the middle of February, was destroyed by fire. The Federals burned the public buildings, but Sherman threw the blame of the destruction of the rest of the town on the Confederate General Hampton, 'from folly and want of sense, in filling it with lint, cotton, and timber.' A friendly critic exultingly declared that, 'Sherman's line of march may be traced by the conflagration of the flaming towns he has left behind him.' 'He has made a smiling land into a desert,' said an impartial writer; 'he has laid waste territory sixty miles in width; he has dried up with the sole of his foot the prosperity of a large population, and numbers who were thriving, industrious, and happy are now homeless beggars.' But Sherman was quite well aware that in the existing state of feeling in the Northern States he was in no danger of censure for any degree of severity he might think fit to exercise towards the Confederates.

The progress of the Federal general was strenuously opposed by Johnston, but his forces were so inferior in number, and his means in every way so inadequate, that he was defeated and forced back at every step. Charleston had proved impregnable to an attack by sea, but the town and the port became untenable as well as useless as soon as an invading enemy crossed the inland

lines of communication. 'Of course,' Sherman wrote, 'the abandonment to us by the enemy of the whole sea-coast, from Savannah to Newbern, North Carolina, with its forts, dockyards, gunboats, &c., was a necessary incident to our occupation and destruction of the inland routes of travel and supply;' but the real object of the march was to place this army in a position easy of supply, whence it could take an appropriate part in the spring and summer campaign of 1865. This was completely accomplished on the 21st of March, by the junction of the three armies and the occupation of Goldsboro'.

Sherman's operations had been concerted with Grant, who broke up from his lines about the time at which Sherman occupied Branchville. The prospects of the 'army of Virginia' were at this time becoming more and more gloomy, as month passed by month, bringing them no reinforcements. Their rations grew scantier and poorer as the number of their enemies increased. In February, 1865, Lee earnestly recommended the immediate abandonment of the attempt to prolong the defence of Richmond, and the retreat of the army, while their way was still open, far into the south, to concert further resistance with General Johnston; but President Davis, 'being buoyed up with false hopes of foreign succour, and loath to admit the decadence of his brief rule,' refused his consent to the proposal. Lee was therefore compelled, against his own opinion and all military rule, to continue his position in Richmond at the cost of ruin to his army. The utter break-down of the commissariat department contributed greatly to the final ruin of the Confederate cause. It had by a strange blunder been intrusted to a person utterly incompetent for the work, and ignorant of its duties. So grossly was it mismanaged, that while Lee's forces were in great straits for the want of common necessities, four months' provisions were stored up at no great distance on the North Carolina railways. The consequence was, that while the Federal troops were

well fed and abundantly provided for in all respects, the Confederates subsisted solely on the daily issue of a quarter of a pound of rancid bacon, with a ration of ill-baked maize bread.

The month of March found Lee with only 40,000 men to guard forty miles of intrenchments, perseveringly assailed by an army nearly four times as numerous. It was evident that the line of defence must at last give way. Sheridan, who, after his signal defeat of Early in the Shenandoah Valley, joined Grant's army on the 27th of March, was sent to turn the left of the Confederates, and to endeavour to destroy the Southside and Danville Railroads, by which alone they could evacuate their position at Petersburg and effect a junction with Johnston's army. On the 2nd April Sheridan's attack on the extreme right or west of Lee's position at Five Forks proved completely successful. Grant followed up the victory by a general assault on the whole front of the Petersburg lines. The outer defences were carried without difficulty, and although the inner line of works was still maintained, the position so long and so stubbornly held had become untenable, and Lee was obliged to order a retreat that night up the north bank of the Appomattox. Pressing on with all the speed in their power, his troops reached the Danville Railroad early on the morning of the 4th of April at Amelia Courthouse; but they found that the depot on which their general had counted for supplies had, through the blunders of the same officials who had previously half starved them, been removed to Richmond, just in time to fall into the enemy's hands. Lee's famished troops could bear the pressure of their sufferings no more. 'Hundreds,' says an eye-witness, 'dropped from exhaustion, and thousands let fall their muskets from inability to carry them any further.' The Federals pressed the pursuit on a parallel line with unremitting energy, and on the 5th they passed the flying Confederates and threw themselves across their path.

On the morning of the 9th the famishing, worn-out relics of the army of Virginia were brought to bay near Appomattox Courthouse, the way of escape being completely barred. Up to this time Lee had refused to accede to the terms of capitulation transmitted to him by Grant; but now with deep emotion he resigned himself to his fate, and sent in his flag of truce without further hesitation to the Federal general. In the words of an unsympathizing historian of the war, 'From the Rapidan to Appomattox Courthouse he had indeed made a grand defence. He had shed over Virginia a mournful glory. In the Wilderness, at Spotsylvania, on the Anna, at Cold Harbour, during the siege, and in the final retreat, he had struggled against preponderating power.' This eulogium, grudgingly bestowed, does scant justice to the greatest general and the noblest man who took part in this struggle, actuated solely by a sense of duty. He perilled and lost his fortune, as well as his prospects, in defence of what he believed to be the rights of his native State against the unconstitutional aggressions of the Federal Government.

The terms on which the surrender was made were as honourable to the victors as to the vanquished. The officers and men were allowed to return to their homes, 'not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.' 'Lee's last official act was to intercede with Grant that the mounted soldiers might be granted the use of their horses, so as to set to work at once on their neglected farms—a favour the Federal commander at once accorded with a readiness as courteous in the giver as it was politic in the disturbed state of the country.' Indeed, the whole conduct of Grant on this memorable occasion reflects on him the highest credit, both as regards sound judgment and kindly feeling.

The parting scene between General Lee ('Uncle Robert,' as they fondly called him) and his troops, as described by an eye-

witness, must have been deeply affecting. 'With tears pouring down his cheeks, he at length commanded voice enough to say, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done the best I could for you; my heart is too full to say more." And not an eye that looked on that scene was dry.' The rough soldiers to whom the general was bidding farewell pressed round him to wring his hand lovingly, and offer their response in the brief prayer, 'May God help you, general!' In his last army order, issued the next morning, he replied to their sympathy. 'You will take with you to your homes the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection.'

The surrender of the army of Virginia may be regarded as the practical close of the contest. Nine days later General Joseph E. Johnston, who commanded the Confederate forces in North Carolina, laid down his arms on terms similar to those which had been granted Lee's army. And thus, after a four years' struggle, terminated the greatest civil war the world has seen.*

* General Lee withdrew into private life, and lived in strict retirement at Richmond, declining all invitations from his fellow-citizens to attend their public meetings, when these were once more resumed. His great duty he judged to be to set before the people, who looked on him as the chief representative of the South, an example of personal submission. Six months after the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, he accepted the Presidency of the State College at Lexington, a situation which he occupied during the remainder of his life. The college, which reopened in October, 1865, with only a handful of students, soon contained 500, with whom he was scarcely less popular than he had been with his soldiers during the civil war. To one who congratulated him on the high state the college had attained under him, he said, 'I shall be disappointed, sir, if I shall fail in the leading object that brought me here, unless the young men I have charge of become real Christians.' He died, after a brief illness, on the 12th of October, 1870—'the greatest victim of the civil war.' The medical attendants unanimously declared that the cerebral congestion which caused his death was simply the effect of long-suppressed sorrow. It has been justly said of him, 'In strategy, mighty; in battle, terrible; in adversity as in prosperity, a hero indeed; with the simple devotion to duty and the rare purity of the ideal Christian knight, he joined all the kingly qualities of a leader of men.'

The principal cause of the failure of the South to assert its independence was no doubt the great superiority of the North in numbers and resources. It has been calculated that the population which, either freely or by compulsion, were on the Federal side amounted to 23,485,722; while only 7,662,235 were under the rule of the Confederacy, and of these 3,000,000 were slaves. It was this disparity of numbers which ultimately brought the conflict to a close. A great immigration from Europe into the Northern States contributed largely to recruit their armies, while no such resource was open to the South. The Federals had, besides, great advantages from their command of naval force in a country intersected by such rivers as the Mississippi, the Cumberland, the James, and the Potomac. The fleet was of invaluable service as a means of movement, and on two occasions saved an army from ruin—that of Grant at Shiloh, and that of McClellan on the James River. The blockade also exercised a most injurious influence on the Confederate finances, and by preventing to a great extent the importation of munitions of war, compelled the South to establish manufactures when every man was required to meet the superior numbers of the enemy in the field. Taking all these circumstances into account, the odds against which the South maintained the contest cannot be estimated at less than five to one. The enormous expenditure of the Federal authorities in furnishing stores and equipments of every kind for their immense armies, and the great fleet they called into existence, created a lucrative market, and made the war a mine of hidden wealth to large numbers of their people. But to the inhabitants of the Southern States, with their commerce entirely suspended, with districts one after the other devastated by the enemy, and in imminent danger of actual famine, the whole history of the war is a record of suffering and endurance, of ruin to many and privation to all.

Though the Cotton States had for two or

three years meditated secession, they were quite unprepared for war, and evidently did not expect that the North would attempt to compel them by force to return to the Union. 'When South Carolina seceded, there was not belonging to the country a single company of infantry or squadron of horse. There was not a piece of field artillery; the bells of the churches were taken down and cast into cannons. There was no shot; the roofs of the houses were stripped of their lead. There was no powder; sulphur was sought in the minerals, and artificial beds were formed in thousands of cellars to produce saltpetre, each householder contributing his mite to the officers of the "Nitro Bureau." There were no medicines; the woods were scoured for medicinal herbs. There were no shoes; tanyards were constructed and trees stripped of their bark to make leather. There was no cloth; soon in the cottages throughout the country every woman had a spinning-wheel at work. There were no blankets; carpets were cut up, even from around the communion altars of the churches, and sent to the soldiers. There were no ships of war; steamers were padded with cotton bales, or railroads were rifled of their iron, and the South, a country without ships or plates, sent the first armour-plated ship into action.'

It was certainly not a desire to defend slavery that aroused in the Southern States the enthusiasm which enabled the people, with perfect unanimity, to encounter the dangers and to endure the sufferings of a war protracted over four years. We have seen that the real and avowed object of the North was not to abolish slavery, but to preserve the Union. On the other hand, the main object of the South was to vindicate their State rights, not to maintain slavery. As Earl Russell put it, the North was fighting for empire, the South for independence. No doubt many of the leaders of the Confederacy, though not all of them, were supporters of slavery. But the great majority of the Southern people had no

interest whatever in the 'domestic institution:' many of the best men of the South were opposed to the system. General Randolph, the first Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Jefferson Davis, was well known as an Abolitionist. There can be no doubt that if the alternative had ever been placed before the Southern people, they would willingly have abandoned slavery in order to preserve their independence. The *New York Times*, the organ of the Federal Government, frankly acknowledged that this was the state of the case. 'What is the South fighting for?' it said. 'There is a prevailing opinion here in the North that it is fighting for slavery. This is erroneous. Though a passion for slavery was the immediate occasion of the war, it does not now sustain the war. The South would buy triumph to-morrow, if it could, by a complete sacrifice of slavery. It would not yield though it could take a bond of fate that by yielding it could save slavery. What Jefferson Davis told Colonel Jacques is perfectly true, that slavery had now nothing to do with the war, and that the only question was that of Southern independence. It is precisely this for which the South is fighting—exactly the converse of the national principle for which the North is fighting. We can tell the South in all sincerity that the Northern people will carry the war to any extremity rather than let the nationality be broken.'

It has been contended, with great plausibility, that the war was a disastrous mistake, and that the ultimate preservation of the Union might have been attained by peaceful means. At the outset the majority of the Northern people appeared to have reconciled themselves to a peaceful separation, and leading politicians had expressed in the strongest terms their disapprobation of any attempt to compel the South by force of arms to return to the Union. Though the Cotton States had seceded, the great Border States, with Virginia at their head, refused to join them; and so long as they continued to maintain the Union, it was

hardly possible for the Cotton States to form an antagonistic power that could endure. Not only the vast resources of the North, but the greatest of their own sister States, would have been against them. Secession was not altogether unknown in the history of the United States. Two of the States had some years before seceded, and had remained out of the Union for quite two years; but finding their isolated condition intolerable, they re-entered the fold. It was contended that the same result would in all probability have followed in the case of the seven Cotton States, and that the Federal Government, while holding that they had no just cause for their action, and no warrant for it in the Constitution, should have allowed them to try the experiment which had been tried by North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Texas, but had not been found to answer. 'Had this course been taken, it can hardly be doubted that the Union would have been restored in much less time, without bloodshed, and with trifling cost. For at first there existed a Union party—a minority, but still an important party—in every Cotton State but one. This party would have had not only the North, but the whole influence of the Border States, to support it. Hence the Cotton States would not only have been void of the necessary resources for an independent position, but would have been a divided people. This division would have widened into dissensions, increasing day by day, for the excitement of the hour would have been followed by a reaction and by disappointment at the results. The cost of a separate Government and military force would have compelled taxation, hitherto unknown. The Federal Government, without going to war, in taking proper measures for self-protection, might easily have caused the heavy cost of an armed peace, and it had the power to place very irksome restraints on the commerce and correspondence of the country. Thus the Union party, although originally a minority, would have grown daily under such influences.

and probably in less than the four years which had been spent in hostilities would have become a majority, and have brought the States back into the Union.'

The policy of coercion was, however, adopted, with the most appalling results. No accurate account seems to have been drawn up of the number who lost their lives in battle or by disease contracted by hardships in the field, but they must have amounted to several hundreds of thousands. It was asserted by those best able to form an accurate opinion on the subject, that at least one million of the slaves perished in the course of the struggle, principally through want and disease. The national debt, which before the war was little more than nominal, at its close was estimated at three thousand millions of dollars—a sum more than sufficient to have purchased the freedom of every slave in the South twice over. The effect of the protracted struggle on the South was deplorable in the extreme. It was left impoverished, desolate, ruined—'a land of anxiety for the living, and lamentation for the dead.' While with regard to the North, to say nothing of the enormous waste of life and expenditure of money which the war entailed, it exercised a most prejudicial influence on the character of the people, made them apathetic or indifferent to the numerous violations of their Constitution, and more and more callous to the destruction of human life and the infliction of human suffering; as was painfully shown by the unsparing manner in which they carried on hostilities; the sinking of a stone fleet to destroy Charleston harbour; the bombarding of dwelling houses with Greek fire; the cutting of *levées* to inundate

great districts and drown the inhabitants; the shooting of prisoners on more than one occasion in cold blood; the official insulting of women and clergymen; the avowed attempts to destroy by famine; the burning of mills, farm-houses, and barns; the plunder of private property, and the approval bestowed on the infamous outrages of the Butlers, Blenkers, Milroys, and M'Neils. What was probably even more demoralizing, it fostered luxury, extravagance, and wild speculation, and originated that system of public corruption which is now eating into the very vitals of the nation. On the other hand, it is only fair to bestow a due meed of praise on the wonderful efforts made by the North—the immense armies they sent into the field, the great fleet they called into existence, the vast expenditure they sustained, and the perseverance with which they surmounted such defeats, depression, and despondency. But the one grand compensation for the horrors and sufferings of a war the most deadly recorded in history, is the abolition in which it issued of the system of American slavery—the most shocking and oppressive that ever existed either in ancient or modern times. There is no reason to believe that the North would have ever consented to contribute the money that would have been required to purchase the manumission of the slaves; and it may be doubted whether the South would have ever consented to liberate their slaves in peaceful times even on payment of a ransom. Both South and North were responsible for the maintenance of this accursed system, and both, in the righteous judgment of God, were made to suffer the punishment due to their sin.

CHAPTER V.

Effect of the American War on Great Britain—Sufferings of the factory operatives in Lancashire—Measures adopted for their relief—Illness and death of the Prince Consort—His character—International Exhibition of 1862—Progress made by Continental manufacturers—Influence of technical education—State of Italy—Garibaldi's raid—He is wounded at Aspromonte—His visit to London—His enthusiastic reception—Otho, King of Greece, dethroned—Prince George of Denmark chosen as his successor—Protectorate of the Ionian Islands—Their cession to Greece—Expedition of Britain, France, and Spain to Mexico—The Mexican Empire—Designs of the French Emperor—Death of Maximilian—Insurrection in Poland—Barbarities and cruelties of the Russian Government—Conduct of Prussia—Suppression of the Insurrection—Disputes respecting the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein—Sinister designs of Prussia—Invasion of the Duchies by Prussia and Austria—Treatment of Denmark—The two Powers seize and appropriate the Duchies—Indignant protests of Britain and France—Attack in Parliament on Lord Palmerston's Government—His last victory—Death of Mr. Cobden—Dissolution of Parliament—Death of Lord Palmerston.

THE influence of the American War had been felt, not only in the belligerent States, but throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain. The blockade of the Confederate ports had cut off in a great measure the supply of cotton, in which this country is so much interested. For some time previous to the breaking out of the war the cotton trade had been in a state of unexampled prosperity, and the vast extent to which the manufacture of cotton goods had been carried on in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the high rate of wages, had attracted great numbers of persons, especially young women, to this species of occupation. The terrible revolution which now came upon trade, in consequence of the interruption to the supply of American cotton, deprived not less than 2,000,000 persons of their usual employment, and inflicted upon them severe sufferings. Lord Palmerston foresaw from the first the probable results of the American War on the population in our great manufacturing centres, and as early as 7th June, 1861, he brought the subject under the notice of Mr. Milner Gibson, then President of the Board of Trade, in a characteristic letter inquiring whether something could not be done to meet the probable deficiency, by drawing supplies of cotton from India and other countries where it was known to be produced in considerable quantities.

'It is wise,' he wrote, 'when the weather is fine to put one's house in wind and water tight condition against the time when foul weather may come on. The reports from our manufacturing districts are at present good; the mills are all working, and the people are in full employment. But we must expect a change towards the end of next autumn, and during the winter and the spring of next year. The civil war in America must infallibly diminish to a great degree our supply of cotton, unless indeed England and France should, as suggested by M. Mercier, the French Minister at Washington, compel the Northerners to let the cotton come to Europe from the South; but this would almost be tantamount to a war with the North, although not perhaps a very formidable thing for England and France combined. But even then this year's crop must be less plentiful than that of last year. Well, then, has the Board of Trade or any other department of the Government any means of procuring or of helping to procure anywhere in the wide world a subsidiary supply of cotton? As to our manufacturers themselves, they will do nothing unless directed and pushed on. They are some of the most helpless and shortsighted of men. They are like the people who held out their dishes, and prayed that it might rain plum-puddings. They think it is enough to open their mill gates, and cotton will come of its own accord. They say they have for years been looking to India as a source of supply; but their looks seem to have had only the first effect of the eyes of the rattlesnake, viz. to paralyze the object looked at, and as yet it has shown no signs of falling into their jaws. The western coast of Africa, the eastern coast of Africa, India, Australia, the Fiji Islands, Syria, and Egypt, all grow great quantities of cotton, not to mention China, and probably Japan. If active measures were taken

in time to draw from these places such quantities of cotton as might be procured, some portion at least of the probable falling off of this next year might be made good, and our demand this year would make a better supply spring up for future years.'

Some desultory efforts were made in the direction which Lord Palmerston indicated, but not with much effect, and the emergency was too sudden and too great to be met by measures which required years to carry into operation. Other matters connected with the crisis might await the course of events, but in the case of the population habitually employed in the cotton manufacture, the suffering was direct and severe, and the need patent and urgent. So early as 1862 an enormous increase of pauperism had taken place in the manufacturing districts. In Ashton the number of paupers was five times larger than it had been in 1861. At Stockport they had increased fourfold, at Manchester and Burnley threefold, and at Bury, Haslingdon, Oldham, Preston, and Rochdale they had more than doubled. Twenty-four Poor-law Unions in the distressed districts were affording outdoor relief to 140,165 persons at a weekly cost of £7922, being nearly 100,000 persons in excess of the corresponding period of the previous year. Severe as the distress was already, there was every reason to believe that it would not only continue for a considerable period, but would become heavier and heavier in its progress. There was no prospect of a speedy termination to the American War, or that when it did end cotton would immediately be obtained from the Southern States. Mr. Cobden said, on the authority of an eminent Liverpool merchant, that he expected five years to elapse before the cotton manufacture would be restored to its former prosperity.

The patience, fortitude, and noble independence which the industrial classes displayed amid their privations are deserving of the highest commendation, and no doubt contributed to strengthen the sympathy

felt for them by the other classes of the community. Strenuous efforts were made to alleviate the distress which was borne with such heroic endurance. The appeal made on their behalf was cordially responded to by all classes, from the cottage to the throne. Her Majesty gave £2000; the Pasha of Egypt, who happened to be in London at the time, generously contributed £1000. It is noteworthy and gratifying that on the 9th of February a ship, called the *George Greswold*, arrived at Liverpool laden with provisions, the gift of Americans to the Lancashire relief fund, and another vessel, named the *Achilles*, arrived on the 24th on the same charitable and well-timed mission. Large sums were raised by a society presided over by the Lord Mayor of London. A considerable amount was sent privately by benevolent individuals to the clergymen of the suffering districts for the relief of their parishioners. Working men not connected with the cotton trade, many of whom had little to give, contributed as liberally in proportion to their means as the middle and upper classes. Even the agricultural labourers, out of their deep poverty, sent their mite to assist those whose wants were greater than their own. The nobility and gentry of Lancashire set a noble example of generosity in their efforts at this time of need to relieve the privations of their distressed neighbours. 'We owe it to ourselves,' wrote Lord Lindsay to the Mayor of Wigan, 'and to our wealthy principality to show that we are no laggards in providing for the wants of those who are now dependent upon us for relief and assistance. And when we think of the noble patience with which the operatives endure this adversity—an adversity not brought on by their own fault, but by external circumstances over which they have had no control—I think we shall consider not how little, but how much we can each of us supply towards the great and crying necessity before us.' A relief-fund committee was formed, which sat at Manchester under

the presidency of the Earl of Derby, and contributed greatly to alleviate the sufferings of the population which had been dependent for subsistence on the cotton manufacture. The minute drawn up by Lord Derby for the guidance of the Executive Committee shows that their mode of procedure was as judicious as it was liberal.

'The Committee,' it set forth, 'had not only to distribute the alms intrusted to them by public beneficence, but so to distribute them that on the one hand they may not place the honest and industrious on the same footing with the idle and profligate, and on the other hand that they may not abuse public liberality by making their funds contribute to the relief of those who have unexpended means of their own.' It soon became evident that private bounty, however great, could not for a lengthened period suffice for the support of 500,000 persons who were entirely dependent on others for the bare necessities of life. It was impossible that the large streams of charity which were pouring into the hands of the Relief Committee could be kept up for an indefinite time without exhausting the source from which they flowed. National help was imperatively required, and was promptly given. Mr. Villiers, President of the Board of Trade, introduced a Bill, which ultimately became law, enabling every parish overburdened by local distress to claim a contribution from the common fund of the union, and authorizing unions to raise money by loans, as well as to resort to the expedient of a rate in aid as soon as the expenditure of the parish exceeded 3s. in the pound. Altogether a munificent fund was raised for the relief of the distressed operatives. The Central Relief Committee provided £959,000, clothing and provisions were sent to the value of £108,000, subscriptions from different localities amounted to £306,000, private charity to £200,000. The Mansion-house Committee raised £482,000, and the Poor-law Board granted £68,000. The total amount was £2,735,000. Of this sum the county

of Lancaster contributed £1,480,000. The distress reached its height during the last week of 1862, the relief list showing the alarming total of 496,816 persons to be dependent on charitable or parochial funds. The weekly loss of wages at the same time was estimated at about £168,000.

The Government were meanwhile exerting themselves to the utmost of their power to bring assistance to the half-starving factory operatives. They tried to promote a more careful cultivation of the cotton plant in India and other dependencies of the British empire. The means of transport from the interior to the sea-board in these countries were also improved by the construction of railways and good roads. An impulse was thus given to the cultivation of the cotton plant in the East and West Indies, in Australia and New Zealand, and even in Brazil, which, owing to the high price of cotton in Britain, proved fairly remunerative. The blockade runners also brought occasional supplies from the Southern States. In these various ways sufficient quantities of cotton were obtained, though generally of inferior quality, to put it in the power of many of the factory operatives to support themselves, though with difficulty, till the termination of the American War supplied them once more with their favourite material. Meanwhile they were enabled to 'possess their souls in patience,' by the knowledge that their sufferings were not caused either by the misgovernment or by the injustice of the governing classes, and they were satisfied and sustained by the cordial sympathy, even more than by the profuse generosity, of all ranks and parties of their fellow-countrymen. It was justly remarked at the time that no great misfortune has ever brought with it so abundant a moral compensation in the discovery of kindly relations among different sections of the people, and in the display of manly virtues among the immediate sufferers.

In the midst of the national anxiety caused by the *Trent* affair, an event occurred which saddened every home and penetrated

through every rank of life, from the highest to the humblest—the Prince Consort passed away on the 14th of December, 1861, in the forty-first year of his age. He had been unwell since the 22nd of November, when he went, amid incessant rain, to Sandhurst to inspect the buildings for the new Staff College and Royal Military Academy, which were then in progress. From that time onward he complained of being weak, tired, and sleepless, and ‘thoroughly unwell and very wretched.’ On the 28th the tidings of the outrage by the Americans on the British flag came to hand, and the incident caused great anxiety to the Prince, who corrected with his own hand the draft of the despatch which the Cabinet sent to Lord Lyons to be communicated to the United States Government. The Prince’s indisposition still continued, and proved to be gastric or low fever. It could no longer be concealed from the public, and on the 8th of December the *Court Circular* stated that the Prince Consort had been confined to his apartments by a feverish cold and pains in the limbs. Next day the newspapers spoke of ‘increased feverish symptoms,’ and of an illness ‘likely to continue for some time.’ Not much importance was attached by the public to these announcements, but the Prince’s medical attendants were anxious, and Lord Palmerston had become greatly alarmed. At his urgent request additional medical assistance was called in, but the skill and exertions of the physicians proved utterly unavailing to stay the rapid progress of the Prince’s illness. Though the Queen and the family were now aware that the danger was great and imminent, the great body of the people entertained no apprehensions of a fatal termination, and they were thunderstruck when the announcement was made that the Consort of the Sovereign was dead. He had ‘fought the good fight, and finished his course.’

This sudden and terrible blow carried ‘mourning, lamentation, and woe’ into every household throughout the kingdom. The

feelings of all classes of her Majesty’s subjects on this national calamity were expressed by Dean Milman, at St. Paul’s, in a sermon of touching simplicity and beauty.

‘From the highest to the lowest,’ he said, ‘it was felt that a great example had been removed from among us—an example of the highest and the humblest duties equally fulfilled, of the household and every-day virtues of the husband and father practised in a quiet and unostentatious way, without effort or aid, as it were by the spontaneous workings of a true and generous nature. To be not only blameless, but more than blameless, in those relations was not too common in such high positions. But his duties to the Queen’s subjects as well as to the Queen—his duties to the great English family dispersed throughout all the world, as well as to the young family within the chambers of the palace—were discharged with calm thought and silent assiduity. No waste of time in frivolous amusement, in vain pomp and glory, but usefulness in its highest sense; schemes of benevolence promoted; plans for the education of the people suggested and fostered with prudent and far-seeing counsel, and with profound personal interest; great movements for the improvement of all branches of national industry, if not set on foot, maintained with a steady and persevering impulse—in short, notwithstanding foreign birth and education, a full and perfect identification of himself with English interests, English character, English social advancement. All these things had sunk gradually, if not slowly, into the national mind. He was ours not merely by adoption, but as it were by a second nature.’

The public journals, in announcing the death of the Prince, dwelt, in language not more glowing than just, on his excellent natural abilities, which he had cultivated and strengthened by the most laborious application; his varied and remarkable attainments in art, science, and literature, which would have obtained for him distinction and reward in any sphere of life; the unwearied industry and perseverance with which he had devoted himself to the duties of his office; the prudence and discretion, equally admirable and rare, with which from the first he conducted himself in a position of great delicacy, difficulty, and responsibility; his conscientious diligence in making himself intimately acquainted

with the Constitution of our country; his wisdom and moderation in keeping strictly within its limits, and holding himself aloof from party politics and political factions; and the liberal and intelligent encouragement which he gave to agriculture, science and art, and social progress. These eulogiums were well merited, but it is matter of deep regret that they had not been bestowed more promptly and ungrudgingly while the object of such panegyrics lived to be encouraged and sustained by them in the discharge of his arduous duties.

The talents and attainments of the lamented Prince were all devoted to worthy and noble purposes. As his public life was dignified, judicious, and useful, his private life was pure and blameless. Placed upon a giddy height, exposed to the proverbial temptations of a court and a luxurious capital, his character and conduct were without a reproach. He lived in the habitual practice of all that purifies and exalts, and commands the approbation of the wise and good. He was a good husband, a good father, a good master, and an upright and honourable man. The domestic life of the Queen and her Consort was throughout an example of purity, harmony, and happiness worthy to be a model for the best and happiest household in the land. Her Majesty found in him not only a husband morally and intellectually worthy to be the head of the highest family in the kingdom, but a wise and sympathetic counsellor on whom she could lean with implicit trust amid all the difficulties and duties of her laborious office. The biography of the Prince Consort shows that probably few families in the nation enjoyed such a union of all the highest felicity and virtues of domestic life, and that probably no wife of low degree was more blest in her husband, or more highly appreciated the inestimable value of such a blessing, than the lady in whose grief her many millions of subjects sympathetically shared. Nothing contributed so much to gain for the Prince Consort the respect and grateful regard of the

nation as his exemplary discharge of all his domestic duties, the tender and devoted affection with which, all through the years of their wedded life, he assiduously strove to lighten the labours and to promote the happiness of his wife, and to train their children in religious principles and virtuous habits. His attention to the welfare of the domestics of the royal household was equally conspicuous. The pattern which in this respect he set to the country, in the practice of those virtues which are both the foundation and the cement of society, in doing all that makes a fireside pure, peaceful, and happy, has been productive of the most beneficial effect on all ranks, and especially on the upper classes of society, and has contributed powerfully to the stability of the throne and to the welfare of the whole community. That a personage of such a pure and elevated character should have attracted the ill-will of the dissolute members of what is called 'Society,' who have looked upon the corruption of princes as their immemorial perquisite, was natural, and was the greatest compliment they could pay him. He had none of their vices, and therefore they could find 'no part in him.' But it is matter of shame that he should repeatedly have been the object of those calumnies which malicious rogues can invent and fools repeat, and that for a time it was not only widely rumoured but believed that, in order to promote Prussian schemes, he had been guilty of treasonable intrigues against the honour and interests of his adopted country. 'It seems now incredible that gray statesmen should have had gravely to contradict such unutterable folly as that which brought crowds of credulous and malignant idiots to see the Prince pass on his way to the Tower.' It is so far satisfactory that the noble, upright, and disinterested character of the Queen's Consort, years before he died, rose clear and bright above the clouds which jealousy and petty spite and malice had thrown around it; that when he passed away there was deep grief and anxiety in the cottage as well as in the

court; and that his loss was regarded by all classes as irreparable.

It is well known that the Prince Consort took a warm interest in the industrial progress of the country, and that he was the originator of the Great Exhibition of 1851. That Exhibition 'is to give us,' he said, 'a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their future exertions.' In order to carry out this idea, he devised and mainly carried into effect the Exhibition of 1862; but he did not live to witness its commencement. His recent death cast a deep shadow of gloom on its inauguration on the 1st of May, and materially affected the prosperity as well as the brilliancy of the Exhibition. The Queen was, of course, absent; the Prince of Wales was in Egypt; and several sovereigns, whose presence had been expected, failed to attend. The want of the Prince Consort's judicious counsel and control were sorely felt in regard to the arrangements, which were very much mismanaged, and there were 'loud complaints of the downright ugliness of the building, the bad taste of its decorations, and the unskilful arrangement and classification of its contents.' Nevertheless, the Exhibition attracted for six successive months an uninterrupted stream of visitors from the country and from the Continent, as well as from London itself. The number of visitors amounted to 6,117,450, which was less than at the first Exhibition by about 50,000; but there was an increase of nearly 10,000 in the number of foreign exhibitors, who in 1851 were only 6,566, while in 1862 they amounted to 16,456.

At the International Exhibition of 1851 British industry displayed a marked superiority in all the substantial fabrics that constitute the mainstay of our commercial prosperity. The manufacturers of France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland were seen examining with admiring, half-envious

eyes the woollen and cotton fabrics, the shawls, the steam engines, and other productions in which Britain then possessed an unrivalled supremacy over the Continental countries of Europe. These shrewd foreign visitors, however, were by no means disposed passively to submit to the pre-eminence which they had been compelled to acknowledge; but on their return home they set themselves to solve the problem whether increased skill and intelligence could not outstrip inferior intelligence, though working with better tools and cheaper materials. They saw clearly that in the vast accumulation of capital, and in the abundance of coal and iron, Great Britain enjoyed a supremacy which they could never hope to rival; but that it would be no such difficult task to outstrip her in the instruction and training of her skilled workmen.

The second great International Exhibition, held in London in 1862, showed how correctly our Continental rivals had estimated the probable results of their own energy and skill contrasted with British supineness and obtuseness. The French steam engines, the Belgian cottons, the Prussian steel ingots, the Swiss aniline colours, the American machines for economizing labour, and other similar productions displayed within the huge and ugly 'Brompton Boilers,' bore unmistakable evidence that other nations were rapidly gaining on us even in those branches of manufacture on which we were wont to pride ourselves as our peculiar and unapproachable 'specialties.' At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 France was found to have shot ahead of Britain in iron work, Prussia in steel, Belgium in woollens, Switzerland in silks; and with regard to those smaller articles in which almost everything depends upon the workmanship rather than the material, Britain was simply nowhere in the race. Out of ninety classes of exhibited articles, there were only about a dozen in which pre-eminence was awarded to British workmen. This result was not accidental, but was a fair exhibition of the

present state of the manufactures of our country compared with those of the Continent. The shawl trade of Leeds, the lighter woollens of Dewsbury, a portion of the hardware goods of Birmingham and of the hosiery of Nottingham, the silks and ribbons of Macclesfield and Coventry, and even some of the woollens of Hawick, have all within the last ten or twelve years been superseded by the productions of one or other of our Continental rivals. Worst and most significant of all, Belgium boasts that between 1851 and 1867 the increase in her export of cotton goods has been almost double that of great Britain. The cause of this industrial decadence is not far to seek. The eminent men who acted as English jurors at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and the intelligent English artisans who were sent thither at the expense of the Society of Arts, are of one mind in regard to this point, and have satisfied themselves that it is due mainly to the great inferiority of British artisans in technical knowledge and training. Mr. Lucraft, one of the artisans referred to, declares that 'in the race we are nowhere; that our defeat is as ignominious and disastrous as it is possible to conceive;' that since 1862 we have 'not only not made progress, but have retrograded;' and that, because 'the mere mechanical workman has not the slightest chance with the workman of cultivated taste.' 'It is the Frenchman's familiarity with art,' says Mr. Conolly, 'and his early teaching in its principles, that enable him to outstrip us,' insomuch that 'we are becoming reduced to mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for other nations, manufacturing goods to be sold cheap, or producing raw material for them to work up.'

The English artisans referred to above were astonished to find that in every manufacturing town of any importance in France an Art School was almost as much a matter of course as a church. And yet France is very far indeed below Germany, and especially Switzerland, in her provision for the education of her citizens. In the

small kingdom of Würtemberg, for example, with a population of only about two-thirds that of London, there is not only an elementary school in every parish, which all children between six and twelve years of age must attend, unless their tuition is otherwise provided for, and 450 industrial schools of a humble character auxiliary to these, but also an ample supply of farming and trade schools, in which instruction is given early in the morning or in the evening in husbandry and handicrafts to lads of twelve and upwards; seventy-six industrial academies, in which more advanced and promising pupils receive superior instruction in science; a great agricultural college, for giving thorough scientific training to farmers, gardeners, and foresters; a great building-trades college, for giving similar training to masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and other mechanics; and lastly, a Polytechnic University, with a staff of fifty-one able and accomplished professors, and amply equipped with all the requisite apparatus and instruments for teaching the various branches of science—pure, mixed, and applied—for a payment of less than £5 for the half year. But Switzerland surpasses even Germany in the provision which it has made for the training of its artisans. The magnificent National Polytechnicon which it has established at Zurich is justly regarded as the best model of a technical university which the world can show. It possesses an astronomical observatory; a chemico-mechanical laboratory; a laboratory of chemical research; a museum of engineering works and drawings; a museum of engines and machinery; a museum of architecture; collections, antiquarian, zoological, botanic, and geological; and a tutorial staff composed of sixty of the best teachers that could be anywhere procured, who deliver annually 145 courses of lectures suited to agriculturists, manufacturers, mechanicians, engineers, and architects—to all, in short, who cultivate science, or art, or literature, either for its own sake or for its professional advantages. When we

contrast this munificent and efficient provision, made by a comparatively poor country for the industrial training of its youth, with the niggardly and scanty contributions of Great Britain for the same important object, it is impossible not to feel mingled vexation and pain.

Although there was no open war at this time between any of the European nations, the Continent was in a very unsettled state. The retention of Venetia by Austria, and the presence of French troops in Rome, kept alive a feeling of irritation among the people of Italy, who found that the lapse of time had not as yet accelerated the progress of their country towards complete unity. Baron Ricasoli, who succeeded to office on the death of Cavour, though an upright and able statesman, had in some way incurred the displeasure of the French Emperor, while he was also involved in personal collision with his own sovereign. He was in consequence obliged to resign, and Ratazzi succeeded him as Prime Minister. Though a skilful parliamentary leader and orator, Ratazzi was not generally popular or successful in his internal administration. Finding that he was not heartily approved either by the Chamber or by the country, he tried to rally the 'party of action' to his side, and made overtures to Garibaldi. The simple-minded hero only understood that he was bound to fight for the unity and independence of Italy, and had no conception of the existence of ministerial intrigues and selfish projects. He could not understand why he was summoned from his island home, unless he was to attempt the deliverance of Venetia and Rome from foreign garrisons. It was suspected at the time that he received some encouragement from Victor Emmanuel himself; but the movement became so dangerous, and so irritating both to France and Austria, that the Prime Minister found it necessary to suppress an organization of volunteers who were meditating an invasion of Venetia. Garibaldi was naturally indignant at this step; and after expressing in strong terms

his dissatisfaction with the Ministerial conduct, he proceeded through various Italian towns to the island in which he had commenced his former famous expedition.

Hoping to pacify or gain over his formidable confederate, Ratazzi allowed Pallavicino, an avowed follower of the patriot chief, to retain the principal office at Palermo. Garibaldi publicly avowed his intention of commencing a campaign against Rome; but the Government still continued to temporize, well aware of the danger to Italy which an encounter with the French troops would incur, but afraid to repress the popular movement for conquering the Italian capital. From the centre of Sicily Garibaldi led an irregular army to the coast without encountering any resistance, and he crossed to the mainland evidently with the expectation that the French army would melt away like the Neapolitan forces before his undisciplined levies. The Italian general Cialdini, who attempted to arrest Garibaldi's progress at Reggio, was repulsed by the insurrectionary volunteers. But at Aspromonte they came into collision with a body of Royal troops, under Major-General Pallavicino (August 29, 1862). Garibaldi and his son were wounded in the brief conflict, and a signal having been given to cease firing, negotiations were entered into between the two bodies. The patriot was conveyed to Spezzia, where after considerable suffering a ball was extracted from his ankle by Professor Partridge, of King's College, whom Garibaldi's friends in England had despatched to Italy. The patriot issued a defence of his conduct, disavowing any intention of attacking the troops of Victor Emmanuel, and blaming Ratazzi and his colleagues for all that had occurred to prevent the liberation of Rome from the Papal yoke. The Italian people sympathized heartily with the disinterested patriot, and vented their irritation and disappointment on the minister whose policy had been both insincere and unfortunate. The belief that Ratazzi owed his position to the influence of the French

Emperor was galling to the national pride and independence, and the popular dissatisfaction was so strong that the minister was constrained to resign office in favour of Farini, who it was hoped would be able to pursue an 'expectant policy' without offending the self-respect of the Italian people. Popular sympathy throughout Europe ran strong in favour of Garibaldi, and in accordance with universal opinion an amnesty for the hero was granted on the 5th of October.

Garibaldi visited England in the month of April, 1864, and was received by all classes with the liveliest demonstrations of esteem and admiration. His journey from Southampton, where he landed, till he reached the metropolis was like a triumphant progress, and at every railway station on his route the enthusiasm of the crowd was almost uncontrollable. He was compelled, much against his will, to make a public entry into London. On his arrival he found a procession of the trades of the metropolis, upwards of 30,000 strong, assembled to receive him, while the streets through which he had to pass were so crowded with an eager, expectant, and exultant multitude, that it was with the utmost difficulty that a passage could be made for him through the struggling mass of human beings, all vying with each other in their efforts to manifest their admiration for the liberator of Italy. It required four hours for his carriage to make its way from Waterloo Station to Stafford House, where he was to be the guest of the Duke of Sutherland. During his residence in London, which lasted from the 11th to the 22nd of April, the illustrious patriot received the homage of the noblest of the land, including the Prince of Wales, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Earl and Countess Russell, the Duke and Duchess of Argyll, the Earl and Countess of Derby, and other persons of the highest eminence in every department of public life. The freedom of the City of London was conferred upon him, and a similar honour would have been paid him by all the other great towns in the country if the opportunity had been afforded

them. Pressing entreaties came from them that he would honour each of them with a visit. But the fatigue of the constant excitement to which he was unavoidably subjected soon began to tell on a constitution enfeebled both by hardships and wounds; and it was judged expedient by his friends that the patriot should as speedily as possible make his escape from the effusive and rather overpowering demonstrations of admiration which his enthusiastic worshippers insisted in pressing upon him. Accordingly on the 27th he went on board the Duke of Sutherland's yacht at Fowey, and in company with the Duke, the Duchess, and the Duchess-Dowager was conveyed to his home in the island of Capraera.

A conspiracy in Greece, connected by vague rumour with the projects of Garibaldi, exploded at this time in a military insurrection at Nauplia. After a considerable interval, however, the disaffected troops submitted to the royal authority, and received an amnesty; but while the Court was endeavouring to coerce or cajole the revolted regiments, it was made manifest that the people unanimously desired a change of dynasty. The Greeks were certainly not to blame for the conduct of the protecting Powers in imposing on the young kingdom a sovereign who, both by his natural incapacity and his education, was totally unfit to rule an intelligent, active, and ambitious race. During a reign of thirty years King Otho had done nothing to satisfy either the reasonable demands or the ambitious aspirations of his subjects. In that period Greece had made rapid progress everywhere but in Athens, the seat of Government. Her enterprising sons had crossed the Levant with their ships, and Greek communities and commercial houses of great intelligence and growing wealth were to be found, not only in every country in Europe, but in all the large cities of Asia and America. Meanwhile the nation had made no progress in realizing their hopes of establishing an Eastern Empire

on the ruins of the Turkish dominion in Europe. If Otho had proved himself a vigorous and able ruler the abuses and extravagance of his Court and Ministry might have been forgiven; but a Government which ruled by corruption, without securing order at home or respect abroad, afforded by its illegal excesses ample grounds for its overthrow. The removal of the Bavarian dynasty was the first and most necessary step towards political reform. The feeble Otho had undermined his throne by the fatal folly of promoting favourites and flatterers, on the ground of their supposed devotion to his person. Surrounded by obsequious courtiers and corrupt ministers, he had lost all hold both on the people and the army; and having left his capital in the autumn of 1862 for a journey to the Peloponnesus, he found himself suddenly and irrevocably deposed without a hand being raised in his support.

The revolution was easily and peacefully accomplished, but the Assembly which formed the Provisional Government had great difficulty in providing the country with a king. Anxious to secure the goodwill of Britain, their first choice was Prince Alfred, second son of Queen Victoria, at that time a youth of twenty years of age. But Greece especially needed a ruler of more mature years and experience, and there were insuperable obstacles, arising out of both political and family grounds, to the Prince's acceptance of the proffered crown. The Greeks next turned to Prince Alfred's uncle, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who it was hoped would not refuse a throne where he might find wider room for his energies than in his petty German Principality; but he too definitely declined the nomination. At last Lord Palmerston, whose energies were severely taxed in discovering a willing, and at the same time competent candidate, found an available sovereign for Greece in Prince George of Denmark, brother of the Princess of Wales. France and Russia offered no objection to this choice; but Bavaria protested against

any settlement of the Greek succession prejudicial to the claims of its own dynasty.

The British Government availed themselves of the opportunity to get rid of the troublesome and thankless task of protecting the little Republic formed by the seven Ionian Islands. On the downfall of Napoleon in 1814 these islands were handed over to Britain, mainly because it was difficult at the time to find any other Power to whom they could be safely intrusted. Had Greece then been free they would of course have been given to her, and included in the neutrality which covers all the other Greek territories. They were the reverse of a desirable acquisition to Britain. They cost us nearly £300,000 a year, without any corresponding advantage. As military or naval positions Corfu alone had any value at all, and Corfu was not worth to this country what it would cost in time of war to defend it. The British Government did everything in their power to promote the welfare of the native population. They obtained, at Britain's expense, admirable means of communication by land and by sea, splendid harbours, regular lines of steamers, excellent roads, and, above all, perfect security for life and property. M. Edmond About declared that the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands were richer, happier, and a hundred times better governed than the subjects of King Otho; still they were not contented. They made incessant and generally ill-founded complaints against the various Lord High Commissioners who successively ruled the Sept-insular Republic, and loudly clamoured for union with the kingdom of Greece. In 1858 Mr. Gladstone consented, at the request of Lord Derby's Ministry, to accept the office of Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands, and to pay them a visit for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of their dissatisfaction and complaints. He was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, apparently under the impression that his visit was intended to prepare the way for union with

Greece. It was in vain that Mr. Gladstone strove to make them understand that he had not come to discuss the propriety of the British Protectorate, but to inquire how it might be made to promote most efficiently the welfare of the islands. The national restlessness and hereditary craving for novelty among the mass of the community, and the personal vanity and ambitious aspirations of local politicians, made them eagerly desire a change, and before Mr. Gladstone took his departure the National Assembly passed a formal resolution in favour of union with Greece.

Lapse of years did not make the islanders less impatient of a foreign protectorate, or strengthen the desire for its continuance on the part of the British Government and people; and no sooner did it appear that the crown of Greece was likely to devolve on a competent ruler, than a proposal was made by the Cabinet of London to relinquish their trust, if the consent of the inhabitants, of the Greek Government, and of the other parties to the Treaty of Paris could be obtained to the change. It was instructive and amusing, though not surprising, to find that the cession, now that it was about to be made, was not regarded with friendly feelings by those who had been most clamorous for the abolition of the Protectorate. The Ionian Assembly at first refused compliance with the just and simple conditions which had been prescribed by the British Government, and the Greeks, whose fiscal dishonesty at this time had brought them into bad repute, affected to decline the transfer unless the fortress of Corfu were delivered over entire, although it was well known that they could not maintain or defend it. Austria, however, demanded that the fortifications of that island should be demolished, and the British Government, though quite indifferent to the question, felt constrained, in deference to Austrian remonstrances, to insist that this should be done. Finding further opposition useless, the cession was carried out in the terms prescribed, and the Septinsular Republic

was formally merged in the kingdom of Greece. The restoration of these islands to the country with which they are most appropriately conjoined, in deference to the wishes of the people, was highly creditable to the British Government and people, and presents a marked contrast to the policy of the other great European Powers.

While the civil war was raging in America the French Emperor was attempting to establish a new empire in Mexico, under a prince of the Austrian Royal Family. That country had for a long time been in a state of disorganization and almost anarchy. A civil war had been raging there for several years, and this was made the excuse for not complying with the demands made from time to time by the British Government to obtain redress for a long series of injuries inflicted on British subjects settled in Mexico. The Governments of France and Spain had also serious grounds of complaint against the Mexican authorities for wrongs and outrages inflicted on their people, and in the end the three Powers agreed (at London, 31st October, 1861) to combine in an expedition to enforce their respective claims, 'feeling themselves compelled by the arbitrary and vexatious conduct of the authorities of the Republic to demand from them more efficacious protection, as well as a fulfilment of obligations contracted.' France and Spain contributed 6000 men towards the expedition, and Great Britain one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, and 700 supernumerary marines. The United States Government was invited, but refused, to join the allied European Powers in the attempt to restore order in Mexico. On the arrival of the Spanish squadron off Vera Cruz that town was surrendered without resistance, and the British and French squadrons having arrived shortly afterwards, Mexico lay at the mercy of the three Powers. But in a brief space the Convention concluded by the allied Governments was practically dissolved by the divergence of the views which they respectively entertained. Britain, having no object but

to obtain satisfaction for the outrages inflicted on her subjects, wished to enter into negotiations with Juarez as actual President, or with any Government which might take his place, while M. de Saligny, the French Commissioner, refused to agree to this arrangement. Spain, on the other hand, excited the jealousy of France by pushing forward her armaments from the Havannah, and it was considered necessary in consequence to double the French contingent, with ulterior views which were soon found incompatible with the concerted action of the three Powers. The Emperor Napoleon had formed the design of erecting a kingdom in Mexico, subservient to French interest; and a Mexican *émigré*, named General Almonte, who had accompanied the expedition under the protection of the French arms, assured him of the co-operation of the Clerical party. The British Government declined to co-operate in the project of the French Emperor, but declared that they would offer no objection to any arrangement which might satisfy Mexico and provide for the restoration of order. The Spanish Commander-in-Chief, General Prim, expressed his decided disapprobation of a scheme which would convert Mexico into a dependency of France. These diversities of opinion and object were brought to a crisis by the submission of the Mexican Government to all the demands of the allied Powers. The British and Spanish Plenipotentiaries at once expressed their willingness to accept the satisfaction which was offered, and Admiral De la Gravière, on behalf of France, apparently concurred in their decision. But shortly after, M. Dubois de Saligny, who was understood to be confidentially acquainted with the policy of the Emperor, repudiated the pacific language of his colleague, and announced his determination not to treat with the Government of Juarez. As the French pretensions received no support from the Convention of London, the British Commissioner withdrew from the further prosecution of hostilities, and General Prim,

after a bitter personal quarrel with M. de Saligny, re-embarked his forces and despatched them to Cuba, while he himself returned to Europe. When the dissolution of the alliance was known in Paris, General Lorencez was ordered to march upon Mexico, for the purpose of enabling the nation to decide on the form of government which it might prefer. The presence of General Almonte at headquarters, and the declaration that the maintenance of the existing government would not be permitted, illustrated the practical freedom of choice enjoyed by the people. General Lorencez displayed both ability and zeal in the execution of the imperial orders, but his force was inadequate to maintain his communications with Vera Cruz, and after receiving a serious check from the Mexican troops under General Zavagoza, he was obliged to halt at Orizaba. On March 28, 1862, General Forey landed in Mexico with a reinforcement of 2500 soldiers, and assumed the command. Additional reinforcements reached Vera Cruz in the latter part of the year, which raised the French troops in Mexico to not less than 30,000 men. In the spring they advanced against Puebla, which they captured in May after a stubborn resistance, and in June General Forey took possession of the city of Mexico. In conformity with the directions of Louis Napoleon the victorious commander caused a Committee or Assembly of French partisans to recommend the establishment of an hereditary Monarchy, under a Roman Catholic Emperor, and to invite the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, eldest brother of the Emperor of Austria, to accept the crown. He consented to do so on condition that his election should be ratified by a free vote of the whole Mexican people, which was obtained without difficulty. A more important stipulation was that the protection of France should be granted to the Mexican Monarchy.

The establishment by a French army of an Austrian Emperor on the territory of what had been a republic was profoundly

disagreeable to the people of the United States, though they made no attempt to interfere in the conflict. The President, however, not only refused to recognize the Mexican empire, but accredited a new minister to the ex-President, Juarez, who still maintained a desultory contest in some of the remote provinces. The Federal authorities were well aware that the Emperor Maximilian was the enemy of the highway robbers who infested Mexico, and the friend of education; that his firmness in repressing priestly usurpation had already earned for him the censure of Rome; and that he was doing all in his power to put down anarchy and establish order in the country. But their jealousy of any attempt to introduce European influence and forms of government into their neighbourhood made them determinedly hostile to the intrusive monarchy. Louis Napoleon's Ministers had intimated the early withdrawal of the French contingent from Mexico, and it was evident that after their departure Maximilian could only maintain his position by the aid of a large and disciplined force, which he had no present means of paying. The announcement of the intended withdrawal of the French army gave fresh courage to the partisans of Juarez, and they pressed on the retreating French troops and Imperialists until the greater part of the entire territory had fallen back into its former state of anarchy. The final departure of the French forces was for military reasons postponed to the spring of 1867; but the continued urgency of the United States Government compelled them to evacuate Mexico at that time. Maximilian should have retired along with them, but he unhappily imagined that his honour was concerned in continuing the contest for his crown. From the time of the departure of his allies his cause became rapidly and visibly hopeless. The Empress Charlotte, daughter of King Leopold of Belgium, who had returned to Europe to solicit assistance for her husband in his extremity, overwhelmed with anxiety

and disappointment, became insane. The poor Emperor, abandoned by his French protector, was now shut up in the town of Queretaro, and besieged by a powerful army of the Juarists, as they were called, under General Escobedo. The garrison were reduced to desperate straits, and at length on the 15th of May the besiegers forced their way into the town, through the treachery, it was alleged, of one of Maximilian's generals, named Lopez, whom he had loaded with benefits. His captors, with shocking cruelty, tried him by court-martial, and on the 19th of June shot him along with two of his generals, Miramon and Mejia, and it was only after long delay that they subsequently allowed his family to receive his remains. His fate, which he met with heroic firmness, excited great sympathy throughout Europe. He 'expiated by the ruin of his private happiness and by a violent death the generous error of exchanging his luxurious leisure at Miramir for the attempt to regenerate and civilize a barbarous and incapable race.' On the death of the ill-starred Emperor, Juarez became once more the absolute master of the country, which in the space of less than fifty years had been the scene of upwards of thirty changes of government.

At this time a very serious insurrection broke out in Poland. It was provoked by the infamous conduct of the Russian Government, administered by the Archduke Constantine, who sought to crush the patriotic party by the seizure of all the young men in the cities belonging to the middle and higher classes, whose spirit and intelligence made them suspected of disaffection, and by their enrolment in the ranks of the army under the name of conscription or 'partial recruiting.' In the words of Lord Napier, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, it was 'a simple plan, by a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland, to kidnap the opposition, and to carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus.' At midnight police agents and soldiers commenced the nefarious work at Warsaw. They surrounded the houses

noted down in their list, and a detachment entered each to seize the men designated for the conscription. During the first evening about 2500 were carried off. No wonder that such a tyrannical and disgraceful act produced resistance. The young men who could escape fled in thousands to the woods, and organized there armed bands which gave their oppressors a great deal of trouble. The national leaders were anxious to postpone or avoid a hopeless resistance; but the gross insults which accompanied this act of wanton tyranny exceeded the limits of endurance. Unarmed and unprepared as they were, the people rose against their oppressors, and the insurrection soon extended not only throughout the kingdom of Poland, but also over the provinces which were annexed to Russia in the first and second partitions. The Poles of Galicia sympathized earnestly with the national cause; and the Austrian Government, probably from jealousy of Russia, professed to remain neutral in the contest, and allowed the insurgents to cross the frontier of Austrian Poland when hard pressed by the Russian troops, and to recross it when their pursuers had turned in another direction. The Prussian Government, on the other hand, drew down upon itself the deep disgust and indignation of Europe by entering into a convention with Russia, whereby the troops of either were authorized to cross the frontier and pursue the Polish insurgents into the territory of the other. Britain, France, and Austria addressed separate remonstrances to the Russian Government, and they complained to the Court at Berlin of the harsh infringement of neutrality on the part of Prussia.*

* Lord Palmerston wrote a private letter to Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador in London, to *condole* with him on an insurrection which was inflicting great injury on the country and shedding the blood of multitudes of its best citizens, or driving them into exile. The Russian Government, he said, might consider this insurrection as the punishment of heaven upon it for stirring up revolts and insurrections in Moldo-Wallachia, Servia, and Bosnia against the Sultan. Russia was now suffering in her own territory the evils she intended to inflict on her inoffensive neighbour.

For some months the British and Russian Governments were engaged in a long correspondence on the subject of the Polish insurrection. Lord Russell proposed a suspension of arms and a conference of all the eight Powers to settle the affairs of Poland on the basis of an amnesty, national representation, liberty of conscience, the recognition of the Polish language as official, establishment of a legal system of recruiting, and Polish administration of the country. Russia, however, declined to accede to these proposals; but Prince Gortschakoff professed the readiness of his Government to discuss the affairs of Poland with Austria and Prussia, the two Powers which shared with her the guilt of the partition of that country. Austria, in answer, resented the attempt to separate her from France and Britain, and all the Governments once more united in urging upon Russia the expediency of justice and clemency to the Poles. The feeling against Russia, and not less against Prussia, ran very high in Britain and France. Conservatives were quite as zealous as Radicals, and Roman Catholics as Protestants, in denouncing the atrocious cruelties perpetrated by the Russian officials on the Poles. They had evidently been authorized to destroy the nation which they could neither conciliate nor coerce. Their suppression of the monasteries, and the mode in which they menaced and harassed the Roman Catholic clergy, drew out a remonstrance from the Pope, but without effect. General Mouravieff, a favourite of the Czar, earned the abhorrence of the whole civilized world† by the ferocious tyranny which he exercised in the province of Lithuania, striving to suppress even the Polish language and name. He armed and encouraged the peasants to plunder and murder the respectable classes, and imprisoned, flogged,

† It is pitiful to add that an exception must be made of the Northern States of America. The fact that the Czar and Mouravieff were dealing with insurgents, and that Russia was supposed to be the enemy of England, were sufficient to make the public feeling run in favour of the Autocrat's arbitrary and cruel measures.

put to death, and exiled men and women, with an utter disregard of law or humanity.

The Polish insurgents were quite well aware that it was impossible for them to hold out long against Russia by their own unaided strength, but they cherished the hope that some, at least, of the Powers who joined in the Treaty of Vienna would interfere in their behalf. At one time this seemed not improbable. Men of high rank and great influence both in Britain and France publicly and indignantly denounced the Russian barbarities, and pleaded for intervention both on the ground of justice and of sound policy on behalf of the 'nation in mourning.' The Emperor of the French seemed not unwilling to interfere in conjunction with Britain; but Lord Palmerston strongly suspected that he was more desirous to obtain a plausible pretext for entering the Rhenish provinces than to liberate the Poles from Russian oppression. Hostilities commenced in Poland would in all probability have kindled a conflagration which would have extended over the whole of Europe, and it is quite probable that the Poles would have been completely crushed before a French and British army could have reached the scene. Lord Palmerston, therefore, firmly resolved not to intervene by force of arms, and the Emperor of the French could not take action single-handed. The insurgents were thus thrown on their own resources. They continued their resistance for a time with the courage of despair, but the odds against them was overwhelming. The Russian authorities persisted in their determination to suppress the insurrection, by flogging, shooting, and hanging men and women alike, utterly regardless of the horror which their barbarities and cruelties were exciting throughout Europe. Many thousands were sent to Siberia. New and more oppressive measures were adopted to denationalize the country, and to effect its moral as well as physical subjugation; and the Poles at last lay prostrate and silent under the inhuman domination of their odious oppressors.

In the autumn of 1863 the Emperor of the French sent letters to the different sovereigns of Europe proposing the assembling of a Congress, and suggesting Paris as the place of meeting. 'It is on the Treaty of Vienna,' he said, 'that now reposes the political edifice of Europe, and yet it is crumbling away on all sides.' The British Government regarded the invitation with distrust. 'Before we come to any decision about it,' wrote Lord Palmerston to the King of the Belgians, 'we should like to know what subjects it is to discuss, and what power it is to possess to give effect to its decisions;' and he proceeded to point out that as to the past the functions of the Congress would either be unnecessary, or barred by insurmountable difficulties. As to the future, if the Congress were to enter upon the wide field of proposed and possible changes of territory, endless squabbles and animosities would ensue. It would be highly dangerous for the Congress to employ force to compel obedience to its behests, and if force were not used it would remain powerless to execute its own decrees. As several of the great Powers besides Britain declined the invitation the project fell through, to the great mortification of the French Emperor.

The long-pending dispute between Denmark and the German Confederation respecting the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein came to a head at this time, and seriously menaced the peace of Europe. The Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg were attached to Denmark, though not forming any part of that kingdom. The Danish king was Duke of Holstein and Lauenburg, and in that capacity had a seat in the old German Diet, which held its meetings in Frankfort, and the inhabitants of these Duchies were purely German in nationality. Schleswig, however, belonged to Denmark, though a large proportion of the inhabitants, especially in the southern districts, were German. In 1848, when the whole Continent was in a ferment, a demand was made that Schleswig and Holstein should

be united into one administrative system, and be governed by the King of Denmark apart from his own hereditary dominions; and an insurrectionary party in the Duchies appealed to Germany for aid in carrying this scheme into effect. The required assistance was given, and with the help of Prussia the Germans of Holstein and Schleswig expelled the Danish forces from both Duchies; but on the withdrawal of the Prussian troops the Danes recovered the greater part of Schleswig, and finally the authority of the King of Denmark was re-established in both Duchies by various conventions in 1850 and 1851. No definite arrangements were made for the future, though it was understood that the Danish monarchy was to be reconstructed with a view to satisfying the wishes of the people of Schleswig-Holstein. Meanwhile, the King of Denmark and his Ministers strove to bring about the complete amalgamation of the Duchies with his own territories, and with that view adopted several regulations respecting the use of the Danish language in all official and judicial affairs. This edict gave great offence to the German inhabitants and to Germany, which was simply seeking a pretext for a quarrel that might lead to the severance of the Duchies from Denmark. Suddenly the dispute became complicated and aggravated by the death of Frederick VII., King of Denmark, without heirs. The great Powers, in anticipation of the extinction of the dynasty, entered into a treaty at London in 1852, along with Denmark and Sweden, settling the succession on Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg, father of the Princess of Wales, whose wife became, by aid of certain family renunciations, the heiress of the royal crown of Denmark. The Duke of Augustenburg, who was heir of Holstein and claimant of Schleswig, was induced, by the payment of £400,000, to relinquish for himself and his family all pretensions to both Duchies; and the Czar of Russia, who is head of the ducal house of Holstein-Gottorp, agreed to waive any

hereditary claim which he might have asserted. Prussia and Austria, and the other German States, except Bavaria and Baden, afterwards adhered to the treaty. In conformity with this settlement, on the death of Frederick in 1852 Prince Christian ascended the Danish throne, and was at once recognized by France, Britain, Russia, and Sweden. Austria and Prussia, however, hung back. They refused to keep their plighted word, though they did not venture openly to repudiate it; but Saxony and Hanover shamelessly proclaimed their eagerness to dishonour the faith they had pledged. The German Diet refused to acknowledge King Christian as Duke of Holstein, but did not recognize any other claimant in his place; and while thus assuming that the throne was empty, and that there was no Duke of Holstein, they ordered Federal Execution in Holstein, because the Duke of that Duchy had not complied with their demands. The meaning of an Execution is that the Diet assumes the Government of the Duchy until their demands are satisfied. But while holding it under this tenure, they proceeded to give the Duke of Augustenburg, who laid claim to the Duchy, facilities for setting up a revolution under their protection. This pretender was the eldest son of the Duke who had been so liberally recompensed for the renunciation of his claim on behalf of his family as well as of himself; but the young duke protested against this act, though he kept his protest to himself until six years after the deed had been signed and the money paid.*

Denmark had for long years been worried and tortured by the demands of the German Confederation respecting Holstein, till at length, wearied out by incessant altercation, and hopeless of overcoming the difficulties thrown in her way, she resolved to let the Holsteiners have their own way, and on the 30th of March, 1863, issued a

* It is a curious fact, that the Prussian Plenipotentiary at Frankfort who negotiated this renunciation with the Duke of Augustenburg was Herr von Bismarck.

patent altogether separating the Government of Denmark-Schleswig from the Government of the German Duchies. If Germany had been sincere in the ostensible ground of her interference, this measure would have been cordially welcomed. But as Holstein was merely looked on as a handle wherewith to lay hold of Schleswig, of course the Germans were furious at seeing their handle broken, and the patent had in consequence to be revoked. The truth is, that from the first the Germans had set their hearts on obtaining possession of the Duchies for the purpose of gaining the admirable harbours which they contain. The German Confederation, in proportion to its size, is singularly destitute of sea-board, and what sea-board it has is ill furnished with harbours. The National party had long desired, above all things, that Germany should be a great naval Power, and in order to the attainment of this object it was necessary that Denmark should be dismembered and Schleswig incorporated with Germany. 'Without these Duchies,' reported a Committee of the House of Representatives at Berlin in 1860, 'an effectual protection of the coasts of Germany and of the North Sea is impossible; and the whole of Northern Germany remains open to a hostile attack as long as they belong to a Power inimical to Germany.' 'The Duchies,' said another Committee in 1863, 'are for Germany and for Prussia a strong bulwark under all circumstances against any attack coming from the north. This, as well as their maritime position, are advantages which Prussia can never relinquish.' It was boastfully proclaimed that 'since the time of the Great Elector Prussian policy has always been rightfully directed towards gaining the North-German Peninsula (a new name for the Duchies) for Germany. The alleged grievances, therefore, of the Holsteiners and the Schleswigers were avowedly urged only to give Germany an excuse for evicting Denmark out of the Duchies. This is the true key to the conduct of Germany in

this most disgraceful affair. Its proceedings have simply been a repetition of the old fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.

The Austrian and Prussian Governments now thought fit to take the management of the affair out of the hands of the Diet, which in vain protested against the high-handed proceedings of these two arbitrary and unprincipled Powers. But the guilt of the transaction rests mainly upon Prussia. There cannot be a doubt that from the first Bismarck intended to appropriate the Duchies, and under one pretext or another to annex them to the Prussian dominions. But it was necessary to the accomplishment of his nefarious design, not only that the Federal intervention of Hanover and Saxony should be annulled, but that Austria should be induced to become his accomplice in the plot. There is every reason to believe that the Vienna Cabinet were reluctant to take part against Denmark, but they saw that if they upheld the Treaty of 1852, and opposed the Federal Execution of 1854, they would have against them all the rest of Germany, with Prussia. Intimidated by the popular cry of the Germans against Denmark, in flagrant violation of principle and duty, they consented, though with the greatest reluctance, to take part in an infamous campaign against a small and gallant monarchy, which had been only twelve years before the especial subject of a European treaty, signed by Prussia and Austria in conjunction with the other Powers.

On the last day of 1863 the Prince of Augustenburg was received at Kiel by the Commissioners who were administering the Federal Execution in Holstein. The Danes had, by the advice of the British Government, withdrawn from a province which they had no power to defend against the representatives of the Diet, and they would in all probability have abandoned Schleswig also if they had not relied upon the support of the Western Powers to prevent the violation of the Treaty of London, concluded in 1852. The main object of Prussia, however,

was to obtain possession of Schleswig, which contains the magnificent harbour of Kiel, and on the last day of January, 1864, a powerful army under General Von Wrangel crossed the Schleswig frontier and occupied Gottorp. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the Duchy, telling them that he had come to protect their rights. After a few skirmishes the Danish troops evacuated the celebrated line of fortifications called the Dannewerk on its being turned by the Prussians, and fell back upon the fortified position of Düppel, opposite the little island of Alsen. The Austrian forces, which had taken the chief part in the opening combats of the campaign, proceeded to occupy the northern district of Schleswig and a part of Jutland, while the Prussians, aided by an Austrian contingent, formed the siege of Düppel. The Danes made a gallant defence, but they were not only immensely inferior in numbers to their assailants, but also in training and in the character of their weapons. It soon became certain that the capture of the place was only a question of time. The garrison held out bravely from the early part of February to the 18th of April, when their last remaining bastions were stormed, and the Prussians became masters of the place. Their success in this most unequal contest produced extraordinary exultation in Prussia, and Prince Frederick Charles, who in the course of the campaign succeeded Marshal Wrangel as Commander-in-Chief, was justly said to have rivalled or excelled in his boastful proclamation the most bombastic generals of America or of France.

Soon after the capture of Düppel a solitary gleam of sunshine for the Danes broke the monotonous gloom of their reverses, and they defeated an Austrian squadron, consisting of two frigates and three gunboats, off Heligoland. But this success had no effect in retarding the progress of the invaders by land. The Prussians entered Jutland after the fall of Düppel, and behaved there in their usual brutal and

oppressive manner. Von Wrangel at once imposed a forced contribution upon the province of £96,000, 'in compensation for the damage to property caused to Prussian as well as to other German subjects by ships and cargoes captured by the Danes.' He also quartered his troops upon the unfortunate inhabitants, whom they plundered and outraged in the most disgraceful manner.

Meanwhile, as we might have expected, there had sprung up in Britain a strong feeling of indignation at the violence offered to the small kingdom of Denmark by the two great military Powers. A desire was loudly expressed that France and Great Britain should offer their mediation, on the basis of the integrity of the Danish Monarchy and the engagements of 1851-52, and that if such mediation were refused by Austria and Prussia the British Government should despatch a squadron to Copenhagen, and France a *corps d'armée* to the Rhenish frontier of Prussia. But Lord Palmerston, though he declared that the conduct of Austria and Prussia was indescribably bad, and predicted that one or both of them would suffer for it before the matter was settled, expressed his doubt of the expediency of taking at that moment the steps proposed. To enter into a military conflict with all Germany on Continental ground would, he said, have been a serious undertaking. If Sweden and Denmark were actively co-operating with Britain, our 20,000 men might do a great deal, but Austria and Prussia could bring 200,000 or 300,000 men into the field, and would be joined by the smaller German States. Lord Palmerston was of opinion that France would probably decline taking part in the enterprise, unless tempted by the suggestion that they should place an armed force on the Rhenish frontier in the event of a refusal by Austria and Prussia.

France, and Russia also, did refuse to concert with the British Government direct resistance to the German invasion of Schleswig. Russia was no doubt influenced

by the same motives which had always kept her from breaking with Prussia, and the French Emperor was evidently piqued at the refusal of the British Government in the previous year to agree to his proposed Congress. In these circumstances Britain could not assume alone the championship of the Danish cause. Public opinion, however, ran strongly and almost unanimously in favour of Denmark, and the warmest sympathy was felt for the gallant little kingdom defending its rights against two gigantic military bullies. This feeling was no doubt strengthened by the marriage which had been celebrated on the 10th of March, 1863, between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra, daughter of the King of Denmark, whose youth, beauty, and amiability had gained her the affection and esteem of all classes of the people. The question was of course carefully considered by the Cabinet, but Lord Palmerston 'felt,' as he said, 'so little satisfied with their decision,' that he sent for Count Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador, and expressed to him frankly the opinion which he entertained of the conduct of the Vienna Government. Denmark, he declared, had been 'unjustly and harshly treated,' but the British Government 'abstained from taking the field in defence of Denmark for many reasons—from the season of the year, from the smallness of our army, and the great risk of failure in a struggle with all Germany by land.' He proceeded to point out that 'with regard to operations at sea the positions would be reversed. We are strong, Germany is weak; and the German ports in the Baltic, North Sea, and Adriatic would be greatly at our command.' Lord Palmerston therefore warned the Austrian Ambassador that if an Austrian squadron were to enter the Baltic it would be followed by a British fleet, and such a movement would probably lead to war, in which Germany, and especially Austria, would be the sufferer. Apponyi fully admitted the force of these considerations, but declared that whatever may have been said by Rech-

berg (the Austrian Prime Minister) in his note, the Austrian squadron would not enter the Baltic.

The British Government did not desist from their earnest exertions to put a stop to the war, and after much trouble they persuaded the belligerents to agree to a suspension of arms, in order that a conference of the Great Powers might be held in London. As soon as the deliberations began (25th April), it was evident that military success had produced its usual result, and the aggressors now greatly enlarged their demands. It became necessary for the mediators to propose a division of the territory of Schleswig, but though the scheme was accepted by both parties in principle, it was found impossible to bring them to agree as to a future frontier between Denmark and the Duchies; and after sitting for two months the Conference broke up (June 25), their labours having proved wholly abortive. On the following day the Prussians crossed the Straits of Alsen, and occupied the island itself without serious opposition. The Danes, who had hitherto buoyed themselves up with hopes of assistance from France and Britain, now abandoned all active resistance. A fortnight later they made overtures at Berlin and Vienna; preliminaries of peace were signed on the 1st of August, and were afterwards embodied in a treaty concluded at Vienna on the 1st of October. Denmark, at the mercy of her ruthless spoilers, was forced to surrender not only Holstein and Schleswig, but Lauenburg also, to which no claim had been made, and had likewise to pay a portion of the expenses of the war.

The baseness of Prussia's conduct was now shown in its true colours. At the sixth sitting of the London Conference the Prussian Minister expressly demanded, on behalf of Prussia and Austria, the 'union of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in one state under the sovereignty of the Duke of Sonderburg-Augustenburg,' whose pretensions Bismarck had always ridiculed. But he accompanied with this demand one

for the cession to Prussia of the harbour of Kiel, the canal from the Baltic to the Elbe, and the fortification by Prussia of the strongest points of the country. The Duke of Augustenburg was not so base as to accept these terms, and the consequence was that Bismarck abandoned, prosecuted, and threatened to imprison him. Other candidates were then brought forward by the Prussian Government—a prince of Hesse—a prince of Oldenburg; but after these fictitious claimants had served their purpose they were all unceremoniously set aside, and at last, in July, 1864, Bismarck was informed by the law officers of the Prussian Crown that the true legal title to the Duchies had all the while been vested in the *King of Denmark*, had become the property of Prussia and Austria by right of conquest, and had been transferred to them by the Treaty of Peace signed at Vienna after the campaign. This discovery Bismarck had the audacity to proclaim to the world, utterly regardless of thus branding as false every pretext put forward to justify the war. He had even the effrontery to address a note to the Prussian Minister in London, in which he said he hoped that the British Government would not refuse to recognize the moderation and placability which had been displayed by Prussia and Austria. Earl Russell being thus challenged to express an opinion on the conduct of these Powers, did not attempt to conceal the grave disapprobation of the British Cabinet of the course which they had pursued. They would have preferred, he said, a total silence instead of the task of commenting on the conditions of the peace. But challenged by M. Bismarck's invitation to admit the moderation and forbearance of the German Governments, he felt bound to state that he and his colleagues had repeatedly declared their opinion that the aggression of Austria and Prussia against Denmark was unjust; and considering the war to have been wholly unnecessary on the part of Germany, they deeply lament that the advantages acquired by successful

hostilities should have been used by Austria and Prussia to dismember the Danish Monarchy, which it was the object of the Treaty of 1852 to preserve entire. His Lordship added sarcastically, that if it was said that force had decided this question, and that the superiority of the arms of Austria and Prussia over those of Denmark was incontestable, the assertion must be admitted. But in that case it is out of place to claim credit for equity and moderation.

A Convention between Prussia and Austria was signed at Gastein on the 14th of August, by which the Duchy of Schleswig was transferred wholly to Prussia, and the Duchy of Holstein to Austria. The Emperor of Austria made over to the King of Prussia the Duchy of Lauenburg, of which Denmark had been robbed without even the pretence of a claim, in return for the sum of 2,500,000 Danish dollars. The mode in which the two filibustering Powers divided their plunder excited the strongest feelings of indignation throughout Europe. Earl Russell addressed a despatch to the British diplomatic agents on the Continent, in which he described in pointed and pungent language the proceedings of Prussia and Austria towards Denmark. The wishes of the inhabitants of the Duchies had never been consulted. 'All rights, old and new, whether based upon a solemn agreement between Sovereigns, or on the clear and precise expression of the popular will, had been trodden under foot by the Gastein Convention, and the authority of force was the sole power which had been consulted and recognized. Violence and conquest—such were the only bases upon which the dividing Powers had established their Convention.'

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressed his opinion of this scandalous transaction in terms even more forcible and cutting—

'What are the motives,' he said, 'which have guided the two great German Powers? Was it to confirm the rights of ancient Treaties?

Certainly not. The Treaties of Vienna had established the Danish Monarchy on certain conditions; those conditions have now been overthrown. The Treaty of London was a fresh mark of the solicitude of Europe for the duration and integrity of that monarchy; that Treaty likewise has been torn by two of the Powers that signed it. Was it to recover an alienated inheritance that Austria and Prussia combined? Instead of restoring it to the most accredited heir, they have shared it between themselves. Was it in the interest of Germany? Their confederates only learned these arrangements of Galstein by the public press. Germany desired an undivided State of Schleswig-Holstein, separated from Denmark, and governed by a prince of her choice; the candidate is thrust aside, and the Duchies are divided. Was it in the interest of the Duchies themselves? But that, we were told, required their indissoluble union. Was it to satisfy the population? The population has never been consulted, and even the Diet of Schleswig-Holstein is not convoked. On what principle, then, does this Austro-Prussian combination rest? We can find no base for it but force, no justification but the mutual convenience of the partitioning Powers. Modern Europe had lost all custom of such practices, and precedents can only be found in the worst ages of history. For violence and conquest pervert the very notion of right and the conscience of nations.'

The British Ministry had undoubtedly failed in giving effect to their views respecting the Danish question, and in the nicely balanced state of parties in the House of Commons it could not be expected that their opponents would lose the opportunity of assailing their policy. In the House of Lords a vote of censure was moved by Lord Malmesbury, and was carried by a majority of nine. Not much importance was attached to this resolution, but the attack in the House of Commons was much more critical. On July 4, 1864, Mr. Disraeli invited the House to express its regret that 'while the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace,' and he supported his resolution with great ability and ingenuity. He was answered

by Mr. Gladstone, in a speech of remarkable argumentative power and eloquence. The debate, which lasted for four nights, elicited a number of speeches of marked ability on both sides of the House, and attracted great public interest, as on the result of the vote the continuance or overthrow of Lord Palmerston's administration depended. The Prime Minister himself spoke on the last night. His speech was a wonderful effort for a man of upwards of eighty years of age at an advanced hour of the morning. 'As the successful winding up of a great party debate,' says his biographer, 'involving the fate of a Ministry, his speech on this occasion was his last triumph, and showed that though he spoke at the end of a night of long and weary sitting, his old vigour and cunning of fence had not deserted him. He had, in truth, a difficult task. There had been a conspicuous failure; of that much there could be no doubt. Allies, colleagues, and circumstances had proved adverse; yet the excuses of a failure could not be laid on any of them. So with the exception of a dexterous allusion to the words of the resolution as "a gratuitous libel upon the country by a great party who hoped to rule it," he did not detain the House for long on the points immediately at issue; but dropping the Danish matter altogether, went straight into the financial triumphs of his Government.' He was well aware that the decision of the question lay with the members of the Manchester School and other advanced Liberals, and to them he addressed his defence. He passed in review the achievements of the Administration during their five years' tenure of office in the reduction of taxation, the diminution of the National Debt, the commercial treaty with France, the vast increase of the income of the country, and of its foreign trade. 'What has this to do with the question?' asked some impatient Tories. Not much certainly with the conduct of the Ministry on the Danish dispute; but it had everything to do with the question really at

stake, whether the country was to be governed by a Cabinet which contained Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell, and Mr. Gladstone, or by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli—by statesmen who were enlightened and sincere friends of commercial freedom, or by men who had opposed free trade to the last possible moment, and if restored to office would do all in their power to restrict and mar the extension of the system. The argument told with irresistible effect. When a division was taken, it was found that Mr. Disraeli's resolution was rejected by a majority of eighteen—295 votes have been given for, and 313 against it.

The verdict of the House was cordially indorsed by the country, which at the general election returned a large majority of members pledged to support Lord Palmerston's Administration.

The last session of the Parliament elected in 1859 was quiet and uneventful. Such questions as law reform, capital punishment, education, the County Franchise Bill, the lowering the franchise in boroughs, the Permissive Bill, the Irish Church, and other measures of a similar kind, occupied the attention of the two Houses; but the strife of parties was hushed, and there seemed to be a kind of tacit understanding that no steps should be taken in the meantime to disturb the truce which had been virtually agreed to in the Commons. The Parliament was prorogued on the 6th of July, and was immediately thereafter dissolved, and the writs were issued at once for a new election.

During the continuance of this Parliament the country had to lament the premature death of a large number of its most eminent statesmen and authors. Macaulay the illustrious historian, Thackeray the famous novelist, and other men celebrated in science and letters, had died before their work was finished. In political life, among the most conspicuous of those who at this time passed over to the majority were the Marquis of Lansdowne, in his eighty-fourth

year—a statesman of great experience and inflexible integrity, whose sound judgment, moderation, and disinterested conduct had deservedly given him immense influence with both the great political parties, and whose judicious patronage of artists and men of letters obtained for him the reputation of the Mæcenas of his age. Sydney Herbert, a member of a famous old family, and an able and highly-accomplished statesman, died at the age of fifty-one. His high social position, administrative talents, skill in debate, and graceful bearing, as well as his fondness for politics and public affairs, combined to point him out as a future Prime Minister. Sir James Graham, one of the Committee who prepared the Reform Bill of 1832, a statesman of great experience, and though timid in council, a remarkably able and industrious administrator, was gathered to his fathers in the same year. The Marquis of Dalhousie, one of the greatest Indian Viceroys, and his successor, the judicious, calm, and merciful Lord Canning, passed away in the prime of life, worn out by incessant toil and anxiety. The Earl of Elgin, a Governor-General of the same school, was cut off before completing his term of office. The Duke of Newcastle, a most diligent and conscientious member of the Cabinet, who had been compelled to bear much unmerited obloquy, as well as severe family trials, died in 1864, in his fifty-third year, deeply lamented. Sir George Lewis, a plain, unpretending man of marvellous erudition and sound understanding, who held in succession the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, and Secretary at War, and was regarded as a man likely to be the head of a Ministry, also passed away in the midst of his days. Mr. Gladstone, who was not only the colleague, but the intimate personal friend of these eminent men, said of them, with deep feeling, 'they had been swept away in the full maturity of their faculties, and in the early stages of middle life; a body of men strong enough of themselves in all the gifts

of wisdom and of knowledge, of experience and of eloquence, to have equipped a Cabinet for the service of the country.'

But when the Parliament was about to close Britain had to lament the loss of a man who, though he was never a member of any Government, and bore no titles or dignities, had rendered a more signal service to his country than any one of their number. Early in April, 1865, all that could die of Richard Cobden was laid in a retired Sussex churchyard. Mr. Cobden's health had for some time excited the apprehensions of his friends. He was troubled with what the doctors called 'nervous asthma,' which was aggravated by an attack of bronchitis. In November, 1864, he went down to Rochdale to make his annual speech to his constituents. The journey was undertaken in bad weather, and the exertion of speaking at great length to an enormous audience completely exhausted his strength. The journey home made matters worse, and he had resolved that he would never attend another meeting in the winter season. While in this state of depression he received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, written (February 10, 1865) on behalf of the Government, and by desire of Lord Palmerston, offering him the office of Chairman of the Board of Audit, with a salary of £2000 a year. He declined the offer, on the ground that owing to the state of his health he could not live in London during the season of fog and frost. But were his case different, he said, while the expenditure of the Government continued to be to the last degree wasteful and indefensible, it would be almost a penal appointment to consign him for the remainder of his life to the task of passively auditing the public finance accounts. His desire to take part in the discussion on the Canadian Fortifications Bill was so strong, that on the 21st of March he imprudently travelled up to London from Sussex in very bitter weather. He was immediately prostrated by an attack of asthma. On the 1st of April the asthma became congestive,

and bronchitis supervened. He passed away on the morning of the 2nd, in the sixty-first year of his age.

The announcement of Cobden's death caused deep sorrow throughout the country, even among those who had no sympathy with his political opinions. The scene in the House of Commons when intimation of it was given was very affecting. Lord Palmerston spoke, with genuine feeling, of Cobden's personal character, oratory, and achievements, his disinterested refusal of rank or honours as a reward for his services, and the loss which the country had sustained. Mr. Disraeli followed in a higher strain. 'There is this consolation remaining to us,' he said, 'when we remember our unequalled and irreparable losses, that these great men are not altogether lost to us; that their words will be often quoted in this House; that their examples will often be referred to and appealed to; and that even their expressions may form part of our discussions. There are, indeed, I may say, some members of Parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this House, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden was one of these men.' 'While the House,' says Mr. Morley, 'was still under an impression from these words which was almost religious, Mr. Bright, yielding to a marked and silent expectation, rose, and tried to say, how every expression of sympathy that he had heard had been most grateful to his heart. "But the time," he went on in broken accents, "which has elapsed since in my presence the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever quitted or tenanted a human form took its flight is so short, that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking before some portion of my countrymen, the lesson which I think may be learned from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say, that after

twenty years of most intimate and almost brotherly friendship, I little knew how much I loved him until I had lost him.”

‘It may be said, and truly,’ remarked Mr. Bagehot, ‘that Cobden has been cut off before his time. A youth and manhood so spent as his well deserved a green old age. But so it was not to be. He has left us, quite independently of his positive works, of the repeal of the Corn Laws, of the French treaty, a rare gift—the gift of a unique character. There has been nothing before Richard Cobden like him in English history, and perhaps there will not be anything like him. And his character is of the simple, emphatic, picturesque sort, which most easily, when opportunities are given, as they were to him, goes down to posterity.’ Mr. Cobden, said Mr. Disraeli, ‘was the greatest political character the pure middle class of this country ever produced.’

Parliament was dissolved on the 6th of July, 1865, and the general election caused comparatively little excitement in the country. There was no important question submitted for the decision of the constituencies—no definite issue to be tried—no election ‘cry’ to stimulate party zeal. The Government, in claiming a continuance of public support, appealed to the triumphant results of their financial and commercial policy, and to the success of their efforts in maintaining amicable relations with other countries. Mr. Disraeli tried to make the electors believe that the maintenance of the National Church and the extension of the franchise were the questions at stake. It speedily appeared that the country did not believe that there was any danger threatening either Church or State. As usual the election for the City of London took precedence, and four Liberals were elected. Westminster returned John Stuart Mill, ‘as much to my surprise,’ said the philosopher, ‘as to that of anyone.’ Mr. Hughes, author of ‘Tom Brown’s Schooldays,’ a benevolent but not always judicious Radical, carried his election for Lambeth. The greatest interest was taken in the election for the

University of Oxford, where a renewed and very strenuous attempt to oust Mr. Gladstone was at length successful by a majority of 180. He was immediately put in nomination for South Lancashire, which was still open, and after a very keen contest he was returned by a majority of 310 over the third Conservative candidate. His defeat at Oxford was caused by the opposition of the non-resident electors, who were mostly clergymen—the great majority of the teaching body of Oxford, the most learned and influential professors and fellows of the University, having supported his claims in opposition to those of his opponent, Mr. Gathorne Hardy. On personal grounds Mr. Gladstone’s friends, and especially his academical supporters, regretted his rejection by the University, which it had been his pride and delight to represent; but the great body of the Liberal party rejoiced at his emancipation from a position which had repeatedly prevented him from giving full effect to his Liberal principles.*

The practical result of the election was a large accession of strength to the Liberal party. In the changes which had taken place in the contest, they had lost thirty-three seats and won fifty-seven, representing a gain of forty-eight votes in a division, so that the Government could now rely on the support of a majority of sixty-six votes in the new House of Commons.

Before the new Parliament met the long career of the head of the Government had come to an end. Lord Palmerston died at Brocket, in Hertfordshire, on the 18th of October, 1865. Although he was within two days of completing his eighty-first year, his death was at last somewhat sudden and unexpected. Lord Palmerston was endowed with an excellent constitution, along with remarkable vigour of mind and

* John Leech expressed the general feeling on this incident in a cartoon representing a winged horse mounting up towards the sky, while a parson is seen standing in a state of surprise and bewilderment beside the cart from whose yoke Pegasus has just been freed. Mr. Gladstone himself commenced his speech in Manchester to the electors of South Lancashire with the words—‘I stand before you unmuzzled.’

freshness of feeling, and continued at his post to the last. He had been elected to sit in seventeen Parliaments, extending over a period of nearly sixty years—had been a minister of four sovereigns, a member of ten Cabinets, and had himself been at the head of the Government for a longer period than any other statesman except one during the present century. No man less courageous or less robust could have borne the exhausting burden of such an office at the age to which Lord Palmerston had attained. An experience in state affairs so extended and so various is almost without a parallel in history, and the vigour of mind and body which enabled Lord Palmerston to hold the reins of Government and to guide the Legislature when he had passed the age of eighty, is not only unexampled in the history of Britain, but no approach to it even can be found. The statesman who could win and keep a commanding position in such a country as ours for more than half a century of foreign wars and great domestic changes, against formidable rivals and fierce opponents, but without making a personal enemy, who increased in honour and influence with advancing years, and who died in harness, as he had wished to die, must have possessed a rare combination of physical and intellectual qualities. There was no apparent decline in his bodily vigour and the youthful elasticity of his spirits until he had attained his eightieth year. Mr. Ashley says that in June, 1864, he rode from his house in Piccadilly to Harrow to hear the speeches, trotting the distance of nearly 12 miles within one hour. And on his eightieth birthday, in October of that year, he started 'at half-past eight from Broadlands, taking his horses by train to Fareham, was met by engineer officers, and rode along the Portsmouth and Hilsea lines of forts, getting off his horse and inspecting some of them, crossing over to Anglesea forts and Gosport, and not reaching home till six in the evening.' But during the latter part of the session of 1865 he suffered continuously

from gout and disturbed sleep, and he performed his Parliamentary duties with much physical difficulty, and even with pain. His last public appearance was at the Tiverton election, whence he went to Bocket, the place which Lady Palmerston had inherited from her brother, Lord Melbourne. The gout had flown to the bladder, owing to his having ridden out on horseback before he was sufficiently recovered from a severe attack. A chill caught while out driving brought on inflammation of the kidneys, and on October 17th a bulletin was issued announcing that Lord Palmerston had been seriously ill in consequence of having taken cold, but that he had been steadily improving during the last three days. His illness, however, became aggravated in the course of the evening, and it was announced next morning that his condition had altered suddenly for the worse, and that he was gradually sinking. The bulletin of the following day stated that he had expired without suffering. 'The half-opened cabinet-box,' says Mr. Ashley, 'and the unfinished letter on his desk, testified that he was at his post to the last.' His own wish was that he should have been interred in the quiet rural churchyard in Romsey Abbey, where his father and mother were buried; but the national voice, and the desire of the Queen, decreed for his remains the tribute of a public funeral and a grave in Westminster Abbey.

Even the chief Conservative organ declared that 'rightly or wrongly, Lord Palmerston was a universal favourite.' His long experience, his great services, his popular manners, all combined to obtain for him a popularity which has been rarely equalled in recent times. All classes of the community and all political parties liked him, honoured him, and, as Sir Robert Peel said, were 'proud of him,' and mourned his loss. 'During the later years of his life a detractor might have been driven to say of him what the sarcastic Archbishop Sheldon said of his ancestor, Sir John Temple, 'He has the curse of the Gospel, for all

men speak well of him.' Though he died full of years and honours, and 'came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season,' yet the news of his death was received with sorrow, not only in our own country and throughout our vast colonial empire, but also by the people in every kingdom in Europe. All over the globe his name was invoked as the symbol of British power, and was a sound of terror to the despot and the wrong-doer; and wherever constitutional liberty existed or was struggling into existence, it found in him a sincere and trusty friend. Under the protection of his broad shield the meanest British subject could travel in safety through all civilized and most savage countries. He had an utter hatred of oppression and wrong in every shape, and a generous desire to remedy every practical grievance. He could lay no claim to having originated any great political or social principle, and never professed or cared to lead his age. His policy never looked far into the future, but occupied itself mainly with the duties and the exigencies of to-day. But few men saw so clearly the precise moment at which a change of policy should take place or a reform should be made. In the art of distinguishing the prevailing current of public opinion, in tact, versatility of mind, and in the masterly ease with which he wielded the government of the empire, and in the general felicity of his political temperament, he had no rival among the statesmen of his day. To these gifts he added an unwearied application to the duties of his office. His toil was incessant, and the amount of work which he performed stupendous. Advancing years in no way diminished his astonishing industry, but rather seemed to redouble his anxiety to work before the night came. His extraordinary popularity arose not merely from his sagacity and ripened experience, or his indomitable courage and laborious industry, or his exquisite tact, or his inexhaustible animal spirits and good humour, or the absence of all jealousy or

envy or malice, or his manly character, or his inextinguishable love of his country, or his unwavering fidelity to his friends, but also and especially from his large-heartedness, his kindness and affability, and his sympathy with all classes of his countrymen, high and low. It must be admitted that his policy was not governed by any high principle, that expediency was his general rule, and that the interests of the country were the main objects which he had in view; but he was sincere in what he said and did for the promotion of the national well-being. A certain lightness of manner, and his habit of intermingling jests and amusing anecdotes in his speeches, made superficial observers fancy that he was deficient in earnestness and serious thought, but this was a great mistake. He was most earnest and determined in carrying out the policy which he had adopted, and even his jests served as well as his arguments to promote the object he had in view. The *Morning Star*, a journal hostile to Lord Palmerston's policy, said of him:—

'His jokes were always suited to the present capacity of those whom he happened to address. If the House seemed in a humour for mere nonsense, then Lord Palmerston revelled in mere nonsense. He had the happy art of making common-places seem effective. He never rose above his audience, he never vexed their intellect by difficult propositions or entangled arguments. Unless when he purposely chose to be vague or unintelligible, he always went straight to the mark, and talked in homely, vigorous Saxon English. He never talked too long; he never by any chance wearied his audience. He always knew, as if instinctively, what style of argument would, at any given moment, tell upon the House. He brought to bear upon every debate an unsurpassed tact, and a memory hardly rivalled. He could reply with telling effect, and point by point, to a lengthened attack from an enemy without the use of a note or memorandum of any kind. When argument failed, he employed broad rough English satire. He was never dull; he was never ineffective; he was never uninteresting. One of his rough-and-ready speeches helped to carry many a division when Burke would have turned friends into foes from sheer impatience, and when brilliant eloquence of any kind might have been as dangerous to play with as lightning.' Another Radical

writer said of him—‘Loyal and generous to his friends, dangerous but never unfair to his foes, aristocratic rather than popular to his preferences, liberal—that is, a free *giver*—rather than democratic or a popular *demand*er in his political principles, and in his own statesmanship shrewd, ambitious, self-contained. Europe and England alike lose in him the last of a great race—the politicians of the *salon*.’ ‘So much is certain,’ says Mr. Bagehot, ‘We shall never look upon his like again. We may look upon others of newer race, but his race is departed. The merits of the new race were not his merits; their defects are not his. England will never want statesmen, but she will never see in our time such a statesman as Viscount Palmerston.’

‘He died full of years and honours,’ said his biographer, ‘and free from fears or unmanly regrets. “*Felix etiam opportunitate mortis*,” for he suffered neither long nor painfully, died at work, and quitted the scene with undimmed reputation before any failing on his part had made the audience impatient. He bequeathed his party to his successor, newly strengthened and consolidated by a general election fought and won under his name; while to the party itself he left as a noble legacy the example of a long and honourable career, spent indeed within their ranks, but devoted even in the closing hours to the service of the whole country.’

A few weeks after the popular British statesman had been laid in Westminster Abbey, Leopold, King of Belgium, was gathered to his fathers (December 6, 1865), within a few days of his completing his seventy-fifth year. His relations to the great reigning houses of Europe gave him a rank in the circle of royalty which contrasted strangely with his origin as a younger son of a petty German prince. He had married in succession the heiress

of England and the daughter of Louis Philippe, King of France. His children were allied by a double marriage to the Imperial House of Austria, and Leopold himself was the near kinsman and confidential friend of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. If not a great monarch, he was perhaps the wisest ruler of his time. He reigned over one of the smallest kingdoms, yet he was one of the most powerful princes in Europe, and certainly he was one of the most trusted. His life was wonderfully calm, yet it is one of the most extraordinary romances in history. His position as sovereign of the newly-created kingdom of Belgium was at first very critical and difficult, but by his prudence and energy he was enabled to keep within proper limits first the revolutionary and then the reactionary party in the Chambers. His long experience, his acknowledged sagacity, and his skilful use of an exceptional position made him independent of domestic parties, and gave him large influence abroad. His calm, judicial, well-balanced intellect, his grave, serious, reserved temperament, his perfect fairness and impartiality, and his habit of close and accurate reasoning, gave him a position in Europe which the proudest monarch of his day might have envied. The complaints of hostile Governments were confidentially submitted to him, and with singular unanimity he was repeatedly chosen umpire in threatening international disputes, so that M. de Leguerronnière appropriately termed him the ‘Peace Judge of Europe.’

CHAPTER VI.

The New Cabinet—Ravages of the Rinderpest—Outbreak of Cholera—Financial Disasters—Failure of Overend & Gurney and other Companies—Fenian Insurrection in Ireland—Capture of its Leaders—Escape of Stephens—Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act—Fenian Invasion of Canada—Plot to seize Chester Castle—Fenian Risings—Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, and Murder of a Policeman—Trial and Execution of the Murderers—Attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Prison—War with the Maories in New Zealand—Insurrection in Jamaica—Outrages of the Blacks—Conduct of Governor Eyre—Seizure and Execution of Mr. Gordon—Shocking Barbarities perpetrated by the Troops—Suspension of Governor Eyre—Report of Commission of Inquiry—Proceedings against Eyre—Charge of Chief-Justice Cockburn—Reform Bill of the Government—Grounds of Opposition to it—The Cave of Adullam—Defeat of the Bill—Resignation of the Government.

ON the death of Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell, almost as a matter of course, succeeded him in the office of First Lord of the Treasury. His age, his great services, and long experience gave him paramount claims to the vacant post. Mr. Gladstone, equally of course, replaced him as leader of the House of Commons, and the Earl of Clarendon succeeded him as Foreign Secretary. The Cabinet in other respects remained unaltered, but Mr. W. E. Forster became Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Goschen was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, both of whom came to hold high official positions. The new Ministry had to contend with considerable difficulties at the very outset of their official career. Serious disputes between the masters and the men in the iron districts led to a strike on the part of the Staffordshire workers, which entailed a heavy loss on both contending parties. The agricultural interest suffered severely from a disease of the ox tribe, known by the name of the rinderpest, which broke out in England towards the close of the month of June. The disease appears to have been brought to London by some cattle imported from Holland, which were exposed for sale during three successive market days in the Metropolitan Cattle Market. It spread with extreme rapidity through the London dairies, causing very great mortality. By the 14th of October the disease had extended to twenty-nine counties in England, two in Wales, and sixteen

in Scotland, and was still advancing. The cattle attacked by it in the last week of October, so far as they had come under the notice of the inspectors, amounted to 1873, and during the time that had elapsed since the first outbreak of the pest the whole number attacked by it was 17,673, of which 6866 had been killed, 7912 had died, 848 had recovered, and 2047 were still under treatment. But the failure of medical remedies was so signal that the public soon lost all confidence in veterinary skill. The Government took the matter into consideration, and appointed Commissioners to inquire into the origin, nature, and cause of the disease. They recommended that for a limited period no lean or store stock should be permitted to be sold at any fair or market, that the transit of cattle from one place to another should be prohibited, except when moved for immediate slaughter, that infected districts should be proclaimed and the egress of cattle from them prohibited, and that imported cattle should be slaughtered at the ports where they were landed. Orders in Council were issued, authorizing Justices of the Peace in the Quarter Sessions to carry into effect these regulations; but the disease still continued to spread, and before the end of the year 73,559 had been attacked, out of which 55,422 had died or been killed. As time went on, however, through the vigorous use of stringent measures of precaution against infection, the strict isolation of infected districts, and the 'stamping out' of the

plague in places where it raged with unusual virulence, together with greater attention to food, temperature, and cleanliness, the number of cases steadily diminished. Wales was almost wholly exempt from the disease, and in the south-eastern and south-western districts few cattle were lost during the year, but it raged with great severity in the north, midland, and western counties of England, and in the dairy farms of Cheshire many old pastures were, in despair, ploughed up and converted to arable purposes. The total loss during the year from this visitation was computed at not less than £3,500,000.

At this time the cholera also revisited our shores, but it was promptly met by all the resources which medical skill and sanitary precaution could supply. The plague culminated in the fortnight between the 21st of July and the 4th of August. Then all at once it began to subside, and in no long time disappeared. The total mortality which it caused was computed at 8000. It was incomparably more deadly in its ravages on the Continent. In Austria it was calculated that at least 100,000 persons were swept away by it.

Far greater suffering was produced by the great financial collapse which occurred in the spring of 1866, and the commercial embarrassments and disasters which were diffused throughout the country. During the early part of that year a high rate of interest indicated unusual pressure, but excited no alarm. In April, however, the greater part of the ordinary stock of a notoriously speculative Railway Company was advertised for sale at an apparently ruinous discount, and it transpired that several great railway contractors were unable to obtain a continuance of the advances on which their solvency depended. The first week of May was marked by increased disquiet and anxiety, and on the 10th of that month the stoppage of the great discount establishment of Overend & Gurney produced universal consternation. This business had been transferred only a year

before to a limited joint-stock company, and shareholders and customers had relied with equal confidence on the solvency and prosperity of the undertaking. At the time of the suspension the engagements of the Company amounted to £19,000,000, and traders and speculators depended on its resources for a proportionate supply of accommodation. No single bankruptcy has ever caused so great a shock to credit. The following day produced the greatest agitation that has ever been known in the city. The rate of discount, which was already 8 per cent., rose at once to 9, and the Government was compelled, as in 1847 and 1857, to suspend the Bank Charter Act, and to authorize the Bank of England to issue notes beyond the legal limit. It was rumoured that the strongest Joint-Stock Banks were almost drained of their money. Bankruptcy after bankruptcy ensued. The English Joint-Stock Bank failed; so did the Agra and Masterman's, the Imperial Mercantile Credit Association, the Consolidated Discount Company, and other new Credit Companies framed on the French model, as well as several great railway contractor firms previously believed to be possessed of great resources. These financial catastrophes were mainly caused by the large and rapid expansion of trade, unsecured by the provision of an adequate pecuniary reserve. The new system of limited liability had tempted large numbers of small and inexperienced capitalists to invest their money in speculative companies liable to large and repeated calls on a great proportion of their shares. They were thus taught by painful experience that the limitation of their liability was little more than nominal. The social and moral evils which resulted from these disasters were even more injurious than their mere pecuniary losses. The sufferers often belonged to families which could ill afford to lose money. Thousands of families were reduced at a stroke from affluence to poverty; widows and elderly single ladies with no one to assist them were stripped of all

they possessed and turned adrift to starve. There was in consequence a large diminution of expenditure in regard to all public amusements and travelling, and of receipts of railways, especially those which depended on 'pleasure traffic.' Although the rate of discount speedily declined from 10 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., the shock given to confidence had been too severe to be speedily recovered. But though the ruin of private fortunes had been so great, and the sufferings of individuals so painful, the sources of public wealth were fortunately uninjured, and the public revenue showed the same buoyancy which for a good many years had characterized our financial system. In spite of monetary difficulties the amount of imports and exports had not diminished; manufacturing industry had not been extraordinarily depressed, and there had been no diminution in the stock of useful commodities or in the aggregate possessions of the community.

Ireland, as usual, was in a state of disaffection and disturbance. It had been exempted from the scourge of the rinderpest, but a moral epidemic as contagious, and far more baneful, at this time overspread a great part of that unhappy country, and arrested the material progress and prosperity which had of late begun to dawn upon it. The Fenian* conspiracy, as it was called, which was now brought to light was more daring in its objects, and in some respects more formidable in its nature, than the movements which for some years had preceded it. It was organized by some of the Irish settlers in the United States, and was intended to throw off by force the supremacy of the British Crown, and to establish a separate sovereignty in Ireland. The Fenian Society had its generals, its officers both civil and military, its common funds and financial agencies, its secret oaths, passwords, and emblems, its laws and penalties, its stores of concealed arms and weapons,

* The name is supposed to be derived from Fionn or Finn, a celebrated Irish chieftain, who is said to have lived before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. The Fenians were the people of Finn.

its nightly drills and training of men, its correspondents and agents in various quarters, its official journals, and even its popular songs and ballads. The members set themselves industriously to gain adherents in every quarter, even among the soldiers in the British army and the warders in the gaols. They boasted, probably not without reason, that many thousands of the Irish who had fought on the Northern side in the American Civil War were now eager to join the Fenians in Ireland in their efforts to overthrow the British Government; and it is certain that the ringleaders had been liberally provided with money by their fellow-conspirators in the United States. Unlike most of those who had taken part in previous treasonable plots, the Fenians expressed bitter hostility to the Romish hierarchy and priesthood, as well as to the Protestant clergy. The members of this secret society were in consequence denounced from the altar in the strongest language, by the Roman Catholic priests both in Ireland and America, as the worst enemies both of religion and society. The conspiracy was avowedly, and indeed ostentatiously, intended to bring about not only the overthrow of the Queen's authority, but also the forcible transfer of all landed property from its present possessors, and the subversion of all religion. In the words of Mr. Justice Keogh, 'The object of its leaders was to extend it through all classes of the people, but especially the artisans in towns and the cultivators of the soil; its ramifications existed not only in this country but in the States of America; supplies of money and of arms for the purposes of a general insurrection were being collected not only here but on the other side of the Atlantic; and finally, the object of this confederation was the overthrow of the Queen's authority, the separation of this country from Great Britain, the destruction of our present constitution, the establishment of some democratic or military despotism, and the general division of every description of property, as the result of a successful civil war.'

The Government were quite alive to the necessity of prompt and energetic measures for the suppression of these treasonable plots and the punishment of the conspirators. Lord Wodehouse, the Irish Viceroy, and the other officials devised and carried out their measures with such energy and despatch that, before any alarm could be taken, they had secured the persons of O'Donovan Rossa (the registered proprietor of the *Irish People*) and the other members of the staff of that paper. Shortly after the police succeeded in discovering the hiding-place of a person named Stephens, the 'Head Centre' of the Fenians in Ireland, and in apprehending him, along with three of his accomplices, who were all well supplied with money and arms. Simultaneously with the arrests in Dublin a swoop was made on the Fenians in Cork, and about fifteen or twenty were seized there. Other arrests were made about the same time at Clonmel, Killarney, and other towns, and very soon the greater part, if not the whole, of the Fenian leaders were in custody. But a provoking incident occurred shortly after very characteristic of the manner in which affairs are managed in Ireland. On the morning of the 25th of November, 1865, Stephens' cell in Richmond Prison, Dublin, was found empty, and though a large reward was offered for his apprehension, the place of his retreat was not discovered. There was no doubt that his escape was effected through the aid or connivance of some of the persons employed in the prison, and it turned out that Byrne, the watchman, who was taken into custody, was a Fenian. An investigation into the management of the prison showed that very great negligence habitually prevailed, and that there were such ample facilities afforded for the escape of prisoners that scarcely anyone needed to remain in the gaol who chose to avail himself of the opportunities of getting free.

A Special Commission was issued for the trial of the accused persons, and was opened at Dublin on the 27th of November, 1865.

The documents submitted to the court, including the 'Constitution and By-laws of the Brotherhood,' left no doubt as to the real nature and objects of the organization. There was no lack of evidence to prove the guilt of the prisoners at the bar, for, as usual in Ireland, there was a plentiful supply of informers, who hastened to betray their confederates and to give information respecting the secret councils and machinations of the 'Brotherhood.' It was proved that considerable sums of money, transmitted from America, had been spent in the manufacture of pikes, which had been sent in great quantities from Dublin to various places in the country. The conspirators did not belong either to the class of farmers or of the rural peasantry, but were for the most part artisans and mechanics, a degree above the lowest class, belonging to large towns. Those who were found guilty were sentenced, in the more aggravated cases, to terms of penal servitude ranging from five to twenty years. The counties of Dublin, Cork, Linerick, and several others, were from time to time proclaimed by the Government under the powers of the 'Peace Preservation Act,' the military forces stationed in Ireland were strengthened, and all necessary precautions were taken to preserve the public peace. But the insecurity to life and property which was produced by the conduct of these wretched plotters, as Earl Grey remarked, was rather the cause than the effect of distress, and exercised a most injurious influence on the prosperity and progress of that unhappy country.

Early in the session of 1866 a Bill was introduced and carried through Parliament for the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act in Ireland, and giving authority to the Lord Lieutenant to arrest the foreign emissaries who were industriously engaged in trying to mislead the Irish people, and to seduce the Irish soldiers from their allegiance. It was unfortunately not accompanied with any remedial measure, the great majority of the legislators being still

blind to the fact that so long as the body-politic in Ireland continued in an unhealthy condition superficial remedies were certain to fail. The vigorous exercise of the powers of this new Act made the active agents of the Fenian Brotherhood take their flight in great numbers to America, and suppressed for a time the operations of the conspirators who remained in Ireland. Lord Derby's Government, however, on taking office found it necessary to apply for a renewal of the *Habeas Corpus* Suspension Act, which was readily granted by Parliament, and before the close of the year the malady of Fenianism reappeared in all its former virulence, compelling the Irish Executive to adopt extraordinary and vigilant precautions for the maintenance of law and order. Fresh regiments were sent to Ireland, all the suspected points were strongly guarded, and armed vessels were employed to watch those parts of the coast where it was apprehended that bands of Fenian emissaries from America might attempt a landing. The diligent searches of the police for arms discovered great quantities of rifles, ammunition, revolvers, pikes, bayonets, and such like warlike implements concealed in Dublin and other large towns. Numerous arrests were made of persons implicated in the Fenian plot who had in their possession arms, treasonable documents, and large sums of money. Doubts have been expressed whether the leaders ever really intended to commence the insurrection which they had so long and so loudly threatened, or were only prevented by the vigilant precautions and vigorous measures of the Government. It is by no means improbable that their main object was merely to annoy and embarrass the Government, for the purpose of extracting large sums of money from their dupes and enjoying the self-importance and *éclat* conferred by their position as patriotic vindicators of the people's rights. Be this as it may, the year terminated without any attempt to realize their confident boast that the usurping power of Britain would

be overthrown, and a Republic established by force of arms upon Irish soil.

The plots and machinations of the Fenian Brotherhood were not confined to their native country. In the month of June, 1866, several bands of these Irish conspirators had the insolence to invade Canada from the United States. They were speedily checked and driven back by the Canadian Volunteers, but readily found an asylum in the country from which they had come. Some of these marauders were taken prisoners by the Canadians, others were disarmed by the orders of the President, and an ostensible prosecution was commenced against some of their leaders. At a later period, however, the arms were restored, the legal proceedings were dropped, and the President did not hesitate, in order to serve his political ends, publicly to profess his sympathy for the Irish cause. His Secretary of State, in a discourteous note to Sir Frederick Bruce, claimed a right of interference with Fenian prisoners in Canada, and the President himself went out of his way to apologize for the filibustering raid, though he was obliged to admit that it was a violation both of municipal and of international law. It was the obvious intention of the President and his Secretary of State to outbid, if possible, their Republican competitors for the favour of the Irish populace. The Republicans, however, were quite as unscrupulous as the Democratic party in their efforts to gain the Irish vote. For the purpose of conciliating the Fenian conspirators, Mr. Banks, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in the previous session introduced two Bills into the House of Representatives, providing respectively for the admission of the British North American provinces into the Union, and for the relaxation of the Law of Neutrality, which had already proved itself not to be sufficiently stringent. Mr. Colfax, the Speaker, formally received the Fenian President on the floor of the House, and in both cases the entire Republican party concurred in the outrage on international

comity. After such encouragement it is not surprising that ignorant Irish peasants underrated the power of Britain, confidently expected American aid, and believed that it was possible to establish a Republic in Ireland.

In the month of February in the following year (1867) the Ministers announced their intention to restore the *Habeas Corpus* to Ireland. A few days after a band of conspirators, directed by former officers of the United States' army, planned a surprise of the arsenal at Chester, which contained a large stock of arms and ammunition, and was very insufficiently guarded. After seizing the Castle, they were to cut the telegraph wires, make for Holyhead, seize on some vessels there, and set sail for Ireland. The plot, however, failed in consequence of secret but timely information having been given to the chief of the Liverpool police. The whole body of the conspirators unfortunately escaped with impunity. It subsequently transpired that the Fenians in New York had organized and sent over to this country a band of fifty, whose special mission it was to resuscitate the 'Brotherhood,' which was in a depressed state. Under the leadership of these filibusterers insurrections commenced in different parts of Ireland, but they proved completely abortive. A party of Fenians, 800 in number, assembled in arms at Cahirciveen, in Kerry, and robbed and destroyed a coast-guard station at Kells, but on the approach of a body of troops they took refuge in the Toomes Mountains. Similar risings took place in the neighbourhood of Dublin and of Drogheda, with the obvious purpose of compelling the Government to divide its military force. But the services of the military were scarcely needed to crush these petty attempts at rebellion; the police proved almost alone sufficient for the purpose. Attacked in small detachments, or besieged in lonely barracks in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, and Louth, they everywhere repelled and defeated their assailants, and in a few days the insurrection

was suppressed almost without bloodshed, while many of the chief conspirators were captured and brought to trial on a charge of treason. The juries without hesitation returned a verdict of guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced upon them. But in consequence of the bloodless collapse of the insurrection a general wish was expressed that a milder punishment should be inflicted, and the Government in consequence commuted the capital sentence in favour even of the chief conspirators.

Clemency was, however, completely thrown away upon the dastardly crew, who considered that no sacrifice of human life, and no amount of suffering, ought to stand in the way of the attainment of their object. In the autumn of this year the activity of the conspirators was once more transferred to England. A prison van containing two Fenian leaders of the names of Kelly and Deasy, who were being conveyed to the borough gaol, was attacked on the 18th of September in the suburbs of Manchester by a number of armed Fenians, who demanded the surrender of the prisoners. A sergeant of police who refused to give up his charge was killed, and Kelly and Deasy were rescued and conveyed to a place of concealment. Several of the ring-leaders in the outrage were captured, and brought to trial under a Special Commission on the 28th of October. Five of them—Allen, Larkin, O'Brien, Conder or Shore, and Maguire—were found guilty and condemned to death. It was pleaded in their defence that their intention was only to rescue the prisoners, and that the death of the policeman was not intentional. Maguire declared that he never was near the spot on the day of the rescue, and that he had been arrested by mistake. He was a loyal private in the Marines, had served in India, China, and Japan, and had no connection either with the Fenians or the plot. An inquiry subsequently made by the Government showed that his story was true, and he was pardoned. Shore, who was an American by citizenship, was reprieved. Though he had

taken part in the rescue he was unarmed, and appears to have been chiefly engaged in throwing stones to keep back the crowd. The other three suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Strenuous efforts were made to procure a commutation of their sentence, which the threats of their associates and fellow-countrymen to fire both Manchester and Salford if their petition was not granted tended greatly to neutralize. Lord Derby, who was then the head of the Government, peremptorily refused to listen to any appeal in their behalf, and the law was allowed to take its course. A funeral procession in honour of the three misguided men was organized in London, and subsequently similar celebrations took place in Dublin and in all the principal towns in Ireland. The Government at first refused to interfere with these proceedings, which were undoubtedly calculated, if not intended, to provoke counter demonstrations and riots. At length, on the 2nd of December, a proclamation was issued against the Fenian processions. Encouraged by the timidity of the Government, the leaders had resolved to hold similar demonstrations in the principal towns in the North of England; but the design was abandoned as soon as it was known that the great mass of the population was prepared to support the local authorities in maintaining order.

A crowning act of atrocity roused against these dastardly miscreants the indignation of the whole community. The success of the Manchester Fenians in rescuing Kelly and Deasy seems to have excited the Fenians of the metropolis to attempt a second rescue in the heart of London, in a manner, however, which would allow themselves an opportunity to make their escape, though it would almost certainly destroy a number of innocent persons. Two Fenian prisoners, named Burke and Casey, were confined in the Clerkenwell House of Detention under a remand. Some of their sympathizers resolved to blow up their place of confinement in order to effect their release. On the 13th of December a barrel

of gunpowder was placed by two men close to the wall of the prison, and exploded by means of a match and a fusee. At the moment when the villains lighted it and then ran away a number of children were playing in the immediate vicinity of the barrel, and several men and women were standing in the street. The explosion shook the whole metropolis, and was heard for miles around. About sixty yards of the prison wall were blown in, and as it bounded the yard in which the prisoners were exercised daily, if they had been there at the time they would have run a great risk of being killed, or at least of being severely injured. Numbers of small houses in the neighbourhood were shattered to pieces. Six persons were killed on the spot, six more died soon after of the injuries they had received, and about 120 individuals—men, women, and children—were wounded.

Information of the intended outrage had been secretly conveyed to the authorities at Scotland Yard, and the manner in which it was to be effected was particularly mentioned. In consequence of this warning the governor of the House of Detention had the prisoners confined to their cells at the time when it was usual for them to take exercise in the yard. But it is quite inexplicable why the police authorities, thus put on their guard, did not take steps to prevent the possibility of any such scheme being carried into effect. A reward of £400 was offered for the discovery of the miscreants who had planned and perpetrated this atrocious crime. Six men and a woman were arrested, and after frequent remands had taken place, five of the men and the woman were committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court on the charge of treason-felony. They had frequently visited the prisoners, and were seen lurking about the prison just before the explosion occurred. The proceedings against the woman and one of the men were withdrawn, on the recommendation of the Lord Chief-Justice, as there seemed to be no case against them;

three others were acquitted, after a long trial, as the evidence adduced was not conclusive; one man, of the name of Barrett, was convicted and executed. The effect of these base and cowardly outrages was of course most prejudicial to the cause they were intended to promote. Public indignation was excited to white heat against men who, in order to afford a bare possibility of escape to two of their accomplices, with a far greater chance that they might themselves be killed by the means used for rescuing them, did not hesitate to make use of an agency which necessarily implied the death, torture, and mutilation of a large number of inoffensive people who happened to live near the prison that it was wished to break open. It was felt that the object which men of such a selfish and reckless character had in view must be bad when such means were required to support it. It was alleged at the time that this horrible crime was planned by Americanized Irish emissaries, but a popular writer of the present day, a member of the Home Rule party in Parliament, avers that the Fenian movement was entirely Irish in its character; so, we may add, were the foul deeds by which it was promoted. The perpetrators of the outrages and shocking murders in 1882 are the worthy descendants of the Fenians of 1866 and 1867. If these crimes led some statesmen to see that thorough remedies were required for the deep-seated disease of the body-politic in Ireland, they had also the effect of making the great body of the inhabitants of England and Scotland feel an aversion to any further concessions to a people so thoroughly demoralized, so unfit to enjoy constitutional privileges and to discharge constitutional duties.

Earl Russell's Government were called on at once to encounter troubles abroad as well as at home. A petty war had for some time been waged with the Maories in New Zealand, arising out of disputes between the natives and the New Zealand Company concerning their respective rights to the

lands in the colony. Disputes relating to the conduct of the war arose between the Governor, who represents the Crown and has the disposal of the regular troops, and his Colonial Ministers. The organized rebellion conducted in the name of the native king was partially suppressed, but fresh disturbances were frequently occurring in different parts of the country. The Governor, at the request of the Assembly, appointed a Commission to devise methods of admitting natives to a share in Parliamentary representation, with the purpose of giving the Maories a final opportunity of amalgamating with a superior race. But their claims to separate organization, to native sovereignty, and to the tribal possession of land were peremptorily refused both by the Home and the Colonial authorities; and past experience and present appearances lead to the conclusion that the Maories, like other savage races, will gradually disappear before the advance of civilization.

A much more serious and troublesome affair occurred in Jamaica. That colony had long been in a disturbed condition, and after the abolition of slavery the effects of that system and of the scandalous misgovernment of the Assembly still continued to be felt by the coloured population. 'I suppose there is no island or place in the world,' said Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, 'in which there has been so much of insurrection and disorder as the island of Jamaica. There is no place in which the curse that attaches to slavery, both as regards the master and the slave, has been more strikingly illustrated.' It is now admitted on all hands that the negroes of Jamaica had to complain of some very serious wrongs, and that in disputes with the white people they seldom got justice. Disputes had arisen respecting the possession of what were called 'back lands,' from which some negroes had been evicted, and the coloured population were in consequence in a state of great excitement. While matters were in this position some disturbances took place at Morant Bay, a small

town on the south-east corner of the island. On the 7th October, 1865, a number of men, armed with sticks and preceded by a band of music, rescued a prisoner out of the hands of the police. In consequence of this outrage warrants were issued by the Custos, or chief magistrate of the parish in which Morant Bay is situated, for the arrest of twenty-eight persons who had taken part in the previous disturbances. When the warrants were about to be put in execution, and the police attempted to arrest a leading negro agitator named Paul Bogle, the mob offered a strenuous resistance. The police were overpowered and compelled to swear that they would not interfere with the negroes. On the 10th, while the Magistrates were holding a meeting in the court-house, a considerable body of negroes, armed with sticks, guns, and the 'cutlasses used in the work of the sugar-cane fields,' appeared in the town and made for the court-house, in front of which the local volunteer force was drawn up. The Riot Act was read, but without effect, and a shower of stones was thrown at the volunteers, who in return fired a volley and killed several of the rioters. The mob then attacked the court-house, which was set on fire; the small body of volunteers was overpowered; eighteen persons, including the Custos, were killed, and about thirty were wounded. During the following three days a large body of insurgents made a raid upon the estates in the vicinity of Morant Bay, plundering the houses and maltreating and murdering the white inhabitants.

When the news of this outbreak reached the Governor of Jamaica, Mr. Edward John Eyre, at Spanish Town, he immediately sent a body of troops by sea to Morant Bay. They found that the insurrection had completely collapsed, and that the negroes who had taken part in it had vanished. There had in reality been no organized attempt at rebellion. The outbreak had to all appearance been the work of a turbulent mob, who had originally intended nothing more than the rescue of their friends from the

hands of the authorities, but in the excitement of the moment had proceeded to brutal outrages and murders. The Commission sent out to inquire into the 'origin, nature, and circumstances' of the disturbances were, however, of opinion that 'there was on the part of the leaders of the rioters a preconcerted plan, that murder was distinctly contemplated,' and that 'a principal object of the disturbers of order was the obtaining of land free from the payment of rent.' On the 13th of October the Governor issued a proclamation declaring the whole of the county of Surrey, comprising the eastern and southern part of the island, with the exception of the town of Kingston, under martial law. The Governor himself proceeded, with a man-of-war and a gunboat, to Port Morant and other places on the coast where disaffection was supposed to prevail, and returned to Kingston on the 17th. What follows had best be given in his own words:—

'I find everywhere the most unmistakable evidence that Mr. George William Gordon, a coloured member of the House of Assembly, had not only been mixed up in the matter, but was himself, through his own misrepresentation and seditious language addressed to the ignorant black people, the chief cause and origin of the whole rebellion. Mr. Gordon was now in Kingston, and it became necessary to decide what action should be taken with regard to him. Having obtained a deposition on oath that certain seditious printed notices had been sent through the post office, directed in his handwriting, to the parties who have been leaders in the rebellion, I at once called upon the Custos to issue a warrant and capture him. For some little time he managed to evade capture, but finding that sooner or later it was inevitable he proceeded to the house of General O'Connor, and there gave himself up.* I at once had him placed on board the *Wolverine* for safe custody and conveyance to Morant Bay. . . . Considering it right in the abstract, and desirable as a matter of policy, that whilst the poor black men who had been misled were undergoing condign punishment, the chief instigator of all the evils should not go unpunished, I at once took upon myself the responsibility of his capture.'

* This assertion is at variance with the statements of the Commissioners; they mention that Gordon was recommended by his friends to retire, but he positively refused, and remained where he was.

Mr. Gordon, who was seized and carried off from his place of residence in this summary and high-handed manner, was the son of an English planter by a woman of colour. He was well educated, and had inherited some property from his father. He was a person of strong religious principles, and had joined the Baptist Church, in which he appears to have held the position of a preacher. He had been a magistrate, but was dismissed from the office on the plea that he had used violent language in making accusations against another justice. He was a zealous advocate of what he considered the rights of the negroes, had taken part in getting up meetings of the coloured population, at which he had spoken strongly as to their wrongs. He had repeatedly made appeals to the Colonial Office in London against the acts of the Governor and the Council. He had in consequence come to be regarded as the advocate of the rights and claims of the coloured population, who certainly needed some one at this time to vindicate their cause. As might have been expected, he came frequently into collision with the authorities and with Governor Eyre himself, and was not unnaturally regarded by them as a most troublesome agitator. He had been appointed Churchwarden, but was declared disqualified for the office because he was a 'native Baptist.' He brought an action to recover what he regarded as his right, which was pending when the insurrection took place. He was a member of the House of Assembly, where he was no doubt a thorn in the side of the Governor and the other authorities of the island, and they were evidently on the watch to find some occasion against him. If Governor Eyre had been a judicious person, he would have been particularly cautious in his treatment of a man like Gordon, in order that any proceedings taken against him should not have the appearance of being dictated by personal animosity. But he seems to have at once adopted the conclusion urged upon him by other persons in Kingston, that

Gordon was responsible for the insurrection, because he had taken a prominent part in agitating for the redress of the grievances of the blacks. It would have been every whit as reasonable to have held the leaders of the Reform agitation responsible for the Bristol riots.

Gordon was tried on Saturday, October 21st, by a court-martial composed of two young navy lieutenants and an ensign in one of her Majesty's West India regiments. He was charged with high treason and sedition, and inciting to murder and rebellion, was found guilty, and sentenced to death. The sentence was approved by Brigadier Nelson, the officer in command of the troops sent to Morant Bay, and by the Governor, and was carried into effect on Monday, October 23rd. The unfortunate man bore his fate in a calm and heroic spirit, and to the last protested his innocence of any share in the insurrection. Just before his death he bade farewell to his wife in a pathetic, dignified, and manly letter, which excited great sympathy for him in this country.

'I do not deserve this sentence,' he said, 'for I never advised or took part in any insurrection. All I ever did was to recommend the people who complained to seek redress in a legitimate way, and if in this I erred, or have been misrepresented, I do not think I deserve the extreme sentence. It is, however, the will of my Heavenly Father that I should thus suffer in obeying His command to relieve the poor and needy, and to protect, as far as I was able, the oppressed. I certainly little expected this; you must do the best you can, and the Lord will help you, and do not be ashamed of the death your poor husband will have suffered. The judges seemed against me, and from the rigid manner of the court, I could not get in all the explanation I intended. The man Anderson made an unfounded statement, and so did Gordon, but his testimony was different from the deposition. The judges took the former and erased the latter. It seemed that I was to be sacrificed. I know nothing of the man Bogle. I never advised him to the act or acts which have brought me to this end.'

For weeks after the execution of Gordon martial law was continued in its full force. The troops marched through the districts

alleged to be disaffected, and though they nowhere met with the slightest resistance they burned the villages, and flogged, shot, and hanged the negroes, both men and women, without mercy. Men were hanged and women flogged merely 'suspect of being suspect.' Some were shot for running away and failing to stop when ordered to do so. Numbers were put to death without trial. Not a few of those who were tried by court-martial were convicted and shot upon hearsay evidence of the weakest and most scandalous character. The mounted soldiers of the West India Regiment made themselves conspicuous in the merciless and lawless slaughter of the negroes. One of them, under circumstances of peculiar barbarity, shot no fewer than ten persons in succession, without trial or inquiry, in the presence of the head constable and several other persons, who made no attempt to prevent the butchery. Great numbers of women were stripped and flogged with savage glee. Upwards of 600 persons of both sexes were flogged, some of them under circumstances of revolting cruelty. 'At first,' the Commissioners say, 'an ordinary cat was used, but afterwards, for the punishment of men, wires were twisted round the cords, and the different tails so constructed were knotted.' 'It is painful to think,' they add, 'that any man should have used such an instrument for the torturing of his fellow-creatures.' The Commissioners, after detailing these and other facts of the same kind, and stating that 439 persons were put to death, summed up their report by declaring that 'the punishments inflicted were excessive; that the punishment of death was unnecessarily frequent, that the floggings were reckless, and at Bath positively barbarous; and that the burning of 1000 houses was wanton and cruel.'

The news of these proceedings produced an extraordinary sensation in this country, and the execution of Gordon was at once pronounced a murder by the great body of the people. A numerous and highly in-

fluent deputation waited upon Mr. Cardwell, Secretary for the Colonies, and urged upon him the necessity of instituting a full inquiry into the whole affair, and recalling Governor Eyre. The Government found it necessary to comply with these requests. The Governor was suspended, and a Commission of Inquiry was sent out, consisting of Sir Henry Storks, who had displayed great administrative ability as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands; Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London; and Mr. J. B. Maule, Recorder of Leeds. They were instructed to investigate the whole history of the disturbances, and 'the measures adopted in the course of their suppression.' The Commissioners made a full, complete, and impartial inquiry into the whole circumstances, and took the utmost pains to arrive at the truth.

In their report, which was presented in April, 1866, while giving due commendation to Governor Eyre for 'the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stages of the insurrection,' they expressed their disapproval of the 'continuance of martial law for a longer than the necessary period,' and condemned in most decided terms the 'conduct of persons engaged in the suppression' of the insurrection. With regard to the case of George William Gordon, the Commissioners reported that 'we cannot see in the evidence which has been adduced any sufficient proof either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay, or of his having been a party to a general conspiracy against the Government.' They, indeed, declared that the conclusion which they had arrived at in his case was 'decisive as to the non-existence of such a conspiracy.' The report of the Commissioners having thus placed it beyond question that deeds of 'horrid cruelty had been perpetrated' in Jamaica without a parallel in the history of our times, a vigorous effort was made to bring to justice the man by whose authority, or under whose sanction, these deeds were done. Some of the subordinate officers branded by the

Commissioners were tried by court-martial and dismissed the service, but it was held that public justice was not satisfied so long as Governor Eyre was allowed to escape due punishment for his misdeeds. An association, called the Jamaica Committee, was formed for the purpose of bringing him and his subordinates to account. A counter association was founded for the purpose of defending him. The Conservative Attorney-General, Sir J. Rolt, was called upon to take proceedings against the ex-Governor of Jamaica, but declined to prosecute, and the Jamaica Committee themselves commenced a prosecution against him, but did not succeed in getting bills of indictment beyond the initiatory stage. They were always thrown out by the grand jury.

One of these unsuccessful attempts afforded the Lord Chief-Justice of England (Sir Alexander Cockburn) an opportunity of delivering a charge to the grand jury, which, with rare ability, stated the facts of the case, analyzed the evidence, and laid down the legal limits of the military power even in cases of insurrection. The whole proceedings, from first to last, in Gordon's case were grossly illegal. He was arrested at a place where martial law did not exist, where the ordinary courts of law were open, and where he could have been tried with all due legal forms and safeguards, and was forcibly conveyed to a place where martial law had been proclaimed. He might have been detained for security, if that had been deemed necessary, on board a British man-of-war, and allowed time and opportunity to prepare his defence and to summon witnesses to prove his innocence. But, instead, he was hurriedly brought to trial before an incompetent and grossly, illegal tribunal, constituted in a manner wholly without authority or precedent. The prisoner, thus brought by unlawful means before an illegal tribunal, was tried and condemned upon testimony composed of vague rumours, hearsay talk, statements made when Gordon was not present, and 'depositions made apparently to supplement evidence pre-

viously given and not thought strong enough.' 'After the most careful perusal of the evidence given against him,' said Chief-Justice Cockburn, 'I come irresistibly to the conclusion that if the man had been tried upon that evidence!—I must correct myself—he could not have been tried upon that evidence. I was going too far—a great deal too far—in assuming that he could. He could not have been tried upon that evidence. Three-fourths—I had almost said nine-tenths—of the evidence upon which that man was convicted and sentenced to death, was evidence which, according to no known rules—not only of ordinary law, but of military law—according to no rules of right or justice could possibly have been admitted; and it never could have been admitted if a competent judge had presided, or if there had been the advantage of a military officer of any experience in the practice of courts-martial.' Such as the so-called evidence was, even if it had been admissible and true, in the opinion of the Chief-Justice, it was fitted to prove the innocence rather than the guilt of the prisoner. 'So far,' he said, 'from there being any evidence to prove that Mr. Gordon intended this insurrection and rebellion, the evidence, as well as the probability of the case, appears to be exactly the other way.'

The great body of the people of Great Britain cordially concurred in the opinion of the Chief-Justice, and regarded Governor Eyre's conduct as utterly indefensible. It was, indeed, urged on the other side that though he acted illegally he had crushed the rebellion, and that the merciless punishments which he inflicted on the blacks saved the lives of the whites. 'Consider,' it was said by one of his defenders, 'what the horrors of a successful outbreak in Jamaica might be, or even of an outbreak successful for a few days; consider what blood its repression would cost even to the negroes themselves, and then say whether anyone ought to shrink from inflicting a few superfluous floggings and hangings if these would

help to strike terror and make new rebellion impossible? Even the flogging of women—disagreeable work, no doubt, for English soldiers to have to do—if it struck terror into their husbands and brothers, and thus discouraged rebellion, would it not, too, be justified? Such a mode of defending the Jamaica atrocities—as illogical as it is immoral—would justify any extent of cruelty and any number of official murders, provided the perpetrators of these deeds were of opinion that torturing and killing the innocent would strike terror into the guilty and prevent rebellion. But the apologists for Governor Eyre and his subordinates persistently shut their eyes to the fact that the insurrection had collapsed as suddenly as it commenced; that it was at an end before the soldiers began to burn houses, flog women, and shoot and hang men; that there was not the slightest necessity for the hurried execution of Mr. Gordon, for he was as well secured on board a British man-of-war as he would have been in a British prison; and he could, therefore, without any injury to the public welfare, have been reserved for a fair and legal trial, and deliberate punishment if he had been found to deserve it. The truth seems to be that the Jamaica authorities and old slaveholders, knowing well that the negroes had real and serious grievances to complain of, were panic-stricken when the news of the insurrection reached them, and that Governor Eyre, instead of preserving the calmness and firmness befitting his official position, became infected with the panic and lost his head. Overpowering terror and not deliberate cruelty led to what Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, termed ‘grave acts of undoubted cruelty, oppression, and injustice.’ Governor Eyre’s official career was of course at an end, but the Government, not much to their credit, decided that he should be reimbursed from the public funds for the expenses he had incurred in consequence of the proceedings taken against him.

It was quite understood that Lord Palm-

erston’s disinclination to alter and extend the Reform Bill was acquiesced in by all parties during the life of that skilful and successful statesman. But as soon as he passed away the truce between the two great political parties came to an end. The advanced Liberals immediately pressed their claims, and Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone were quite prepared to accede to their demands. The Premier had for some years past indicated an anxious desire to associate his name once more with a measure of Parliamentary Reform, but his efforts had hitherto proved abortive. Now, however, that he was once more at the head of the Government, he fancied that he could renew his proposal to amend and extend the system of representation in more propitious circumstances, and with much greater chances of success. Accordingly, at the opening of Parliament, Her Majesty intimated in the speech from the throne that she had directed information to be procured in reference to the right of voting in the election of members of Parliament, and that when the information was complete ‘the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the right of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare.’ The prudence of this step was doubted by many who were not unfriendly to the extension of the franchise. Lord Palmerston is reported to have bequeathed to future Ministers the advice never to introduce a Reform Bill in the first session of a new Parliament, and there were cogent reasons why his successors should have followed this prescient advice. The country was quiescent on the subject; there was no strong desire expressed in any quarter for an amendment of the Reform Bill. And the members of the Lower House, who had just passed through the ordeal of a keenly-contested and costly election, were not likely to regard with much favour a measure which,

if it should become law, would have the effect of compelling them in the course of a few months to run the risks and incur the expenses of another contest. The state of the country, too, was not propitious for such an experiment. The public attention was occupied with apprehensions of cholera, the ravages of the cattle plague, threatened disturbances in Ireland, and an outbreak of war on the Continent, with apprehended riots in Jamaica and a probable collision with the King of Abyssinia. If Earl Russell had followed the wise and witty advice of his old friend Sydney Smith, and had kept a foolometer as a test of public opinion, he would have deferred his Reform Bill till 'a more convenient season.'

The Bill was introduced on the 12th of March by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a House crowded in every part. It had been expected with great curiosity and some anxiety. The former was speedily satisfied and the latter dispelled, for the measure gave satisfaction to no party. The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from £50 to £14, and the borough franchise from £10 to £7. There was also a lodger franchise, and a proposal to admit persons having an investment of £50 or upwards in a Savings Bank. It was calculated that altogether 400,000 new electors would be added to the register, of whom 200,000 were supposed to belong to the working classes. Mr. Gladstone's speech in explaining and recommending the provisions of the Bill was powerful and eloquent, but it failed to excite any strong feeling in its favour, either in the House or in the country. The Conservatives, who were opposed to all reform, expressed undisguised hostility to the measure. The small body of Radicals in the House could not feel any enthusiasm for a reform which proposed to make such a small change in the borough franchise, while a considerable number of the Whig supporters of the Government regarded the Bill with secret aversion. As soon as it became evident that the country was indifferent to the fate of the measure, the

House became anxious in one way or other to get rid of it. One party alleged that the Bill was founded on no particular principle, and that it did not reach any well-defined basis. Others found fault with it because it would have left our representative system still full of anomalies, and that, while correcting some, it would have created others. A third party, headed by Earl Grosvenor, the eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster, were dissatisfied because the Government had announced their intention to defer their Bill for the redistribution of seats until after the measure for lowering the franchise had passed; and an amendment was moved by Lord Grosvenor, and seconded by Lord Stanley, calling upon them to bring forward their Redistribution Bill at once, which was rejected by only a majority of five in a House of 631 members. The debate lasted eight nights, and was characterized by extraordinary ability and eloquence. The speeches delivered by Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bright, and especially Mr. Gladstone's reply at the close of the debate, were universally admired. After reminding the Conservative party of the battles they had fought for maintaining civil disabilities on account of religious belief, against the first Reform Act, and in favour of Protection, he said—

'You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move us in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—these great social forces are against you. They are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at some moment it may droop on our sinking heads, yet it soon will float again in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain, and to a not distant victory.'

The smallness of their majority must have convinced the Government that they had little or no prospect of being able to carry the measure, but they resolved to proceed with it. Meanwhile they brought forward,

on Monday, May 7th, their Bill for the redistribution of seats, and also their Bills dealing with the representation of Scotland and Ireland, so that the whole of the Government scheme of Reform was now before the House; but the opposition of the dissatisfied members was in no degree diminished. The Conservative party, who at this time were decidedly hostile in principle to any attempt to lower the franchise, were joined by a section of the Liberals who on this point coincided with their sentiments. Their leader was Mr. Robert Lowe, who had been Vice-President of the Council in Lord Palmerston's Administration, and had resigned his office in consequence of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, which was afterwards acknowledged to have been entirely undeserved, and was in consequence rescinded. He was an able and accomplished man, but hard, cynical, and sarcastic, and seemed to take delight in making unpleasant remarks, and giving pain to his opponents. His speeches had no pretensions to eloquence, but they abounded in pungent, pointed, epigrammatic sayings, easily remembered and quoted. There is no reason to doubt that he honestly hated the Reform Bill, as calculated to strengthen the Democratic party in the country, and to put great power into the hands of political demagogues and 'banded unions.' United with him was Mr. Horsman, nephew of the Earl of Stair, who had at one time been Chief Secretary for Ireland, and might have risen to even higher office but for an irritable temper and impracticable disposition. Speaking of him Mr. Bright said—

'The right honourable gentleman is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief, who has entered into what may be called his political cave of Adullam, and he has called about him everyone that was in distress, and everyone

that was discontented.* He has long been anxious to form a party in this House. There is scarcely anyone on this side of the House who is able to address the House with effect, or to take much part in our debates, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party or cabal, and at last he has succeeded in hooking the member for Calne [Mr. Lowe]. I know there was an opinion expressed many years ago by a member of the Treasury Bench and of the Cabinet that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable, so discreet, as the two right honourable gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two reminds me of the Scotch terrier which was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail of it.'

The party thus humorously described and designated speedily received considerable accessions from the Palmerstonian Whigs who thought the Bill unreasonable, or who were averse to the disfranchisement of the smaller boroughs, or who dreaded the expense and risk of a new election. The position taken up by this section of the Ministerialists encouraged the Conservatives to exert themselves to the utmost to get rid of the Bill, and thus to destroy the Government. The two parties combined, however, did not venture to propose in direct terms that the Bill should be thrown out, but they sought to bring about its rejection in a sinister and circuitous way. The Government acceded to a proposition that the Franchise and Redistribution Bills should be combined and submitted to one Committee. Amendments to the motion to go into Committee, however, kept pouring in, principally from the Adullamites. Sir R. Knightley moved that it be an instruction to the Committee to make provision for the better prevention of bribery and corruption, and carried his motion against the Government by a majority of ten, though its real

* Mr. Bright's allusion was to 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2, 'David escaped to the cave of Adullam, and everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them.' It was shrewdly suspected and alleged at the time that if

Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman had not, as Mr. Bright said, 'been left out of the daily ministrations' when the Government was constituted, their opposition to the Bill would have been less acrimonious. The name of Adullamites, which they received, is likely to become permanent in the political history of our country.

and scarcely concealed object was to destroy the Bill. When the Bill at last got into Committee the strife was renewed more keenly than ever. Lord Stanley moved that the clauses relating to the county franchise should be postponed until the redistribution of seats should first have been dealt with, but the motion was rejected by a majority of twenty-seven. Mr. Walpole proposed that the county franchise should be fixed at £20 instead of £14, but his amendment was negatived by a majority of fourteen. Mr. Ward Hunt moved that in defining the county franchise, rating should be made the standard of value instead of rental, but his motion was lost by 280 votes to 273. Lord Dunkellin, eldest son of the Marquis of Clanricarde,

on the 18th of June made a similar proposal respecting the borough franchise. He pleaded that rating should be substituted for rental, on the ground that the alteration would prove an insurmountable 'barrier to universal suffrage,' while it would admit the best qualified of the working class to the suffrage. It would, however, have had the practical effect of raising the franchise to £8 instead of £6. After a keen debate a division was taken in a House of 619 members, and the amendment was carried by a majority of eleven. The announcement was received with the most tumultuous demonstrations of joy by the Conservatives and their allies. Lord Russell's scheme of Reform and his Ministry thus came to an end together.

CHAPTER VII.

The Derby Administration—Popular agitation on the subject of a Reform Bill—The Hyde Park Riot—London Meeting in support of Reform—Laying of the Cable between Europe and America—Position of the Government in the House of Commons—Their resolution to deal with the Reform Question—Their mode of procedure—Dissatisfaction of the House—The Ten Minutes Bill—Resignation of three Members of the Cabinet—Provisions of the Bill ultimately introduced—The Compound Householder—The Tea-room Party—Changes made in the Reform Bill—New Constituencies—The ‘Conservative Surrender’—Reception of the Bill by the Lords—Their amendments rejected by the Commons—The Bill becomes Law—Changes made by it in the Representative System—The ‘Education’ of the Conservative Party—Autumn Session of Parliament—The Abyssinian Captives—Expedition sent for their release—The Irish Question—Mr. Maguire’s Motion—Mr. Gladstone’s Resolutions—Lord Stanley’s Amendment—Return of the Abyssinian Expedition—Death and Character of Lord Brougham—Dissolution of Parliament—Resignation of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone’s Administration.

ON the resignation of the Russell Administration, the Queen intrusted Lord Derby with the task of forming a new Ministry. It was generally understood that owing to his advanced age and infirm health, and his aversion to the labours and responsibilities of official life, he was reluctant to undertake the task imposed upon him, but fidelity to his party, as well as the duty he owed to his sovereign and to the country, left him no alternative. He attempted to form a Coalition Ministry, and solicited Mr. Lowe to become a member of the Cabinet, but the offer was declined, and the Adullamites publicly intimated that they were bound to prove that they had not been actuated by ambitious or selfish motives in overturning Earl Russell’s Government. Lord Derby’s new Ministry differed little from the one he had formed in 1852. Mr. Disraeli became once more Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, Lord Chelmsford was appointed Lord Chancellor, Lord Stanley became Foreign Secretary, Lord Carnarvon Colonial Secretary, Mr. Walpole assumed the management of the Home Office, and Lord Cranbourne (formerly Lord Robert Cecil) was intrusted with the charge of the affairs of India. The Marquis of Abercorn, a popular Irish nobleman, was nominated Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Mayo Chief Secretary. The formation of the Ministry was not completed until the 9th of July. The business of the session was brought to a close

as speedily as possible, and the Parliament was prorogued by Commission, with the usual formalities, on the 10th of August.

While the Reform Bill was under discussion the people displayed the utmost indifference, but when Mr. Gladstone’s unskilful strategy, and the divisions of the Liberal party, had proved fatal to the measure, the artisans of London and the great manufacturing towns met in vast numbers and denounced, in no measured terms, the members of Parliament who had persisted in withholding what they regarded as their rights. The Reformers of the metropolis resolved to hold a monster meeting in Hyde Park, which was to be presided over by Mr. Edmond Beales, president of the Reform League. The Government were of opinion that such an assemblage would be dangerous to the public peace, and a notice forbidding the meeting was issued, signed by Sir Richard Mayne, the head of the London Police. The council of the League, however, conceived that the authorities had no legal right to take this step, and they resolved to disregard the prohibition. Accordingly, on the 23rd of July, numerous processions, with banners and bands of music, marched towards Hyde Park, but found the gates closed. They made a formal demand for admission, which was refused, on the authority of the Chief Commissioner, by the police who guarded the Park. Mr. Beales and his friends then re-entered their car-

riage and proceeded to Trafalgar Square, followed by a large crowd. A meeting was held there in the most orderly manner, resolutions were passed in favour of the extension of the suffrage, along with votes of thanks to Messrs. Gladstone and Bright, who had so zealously exerted themselves in the cause.

Meantime a large and disorderly crowd, composed of London roughs and pickpockets, with a mixture of sightseers and mischievous youths, remained at the entrance to the Park, near Hyde Park Corner. They drove in the railings near the Marble Arch, which had not been very securely fixed, and easily overpowering the resistance offered by the comparatively small body of police, they poured tumultuously into the Park. They did a good deal of injury to the flowers and shrubs; several encounters took place with the police, and a few of the mob were made prisoners; but the tumult was speedily suppressed, and no serious mischief was done. It is alleged, however, that the Ministry regarded the riot with great apprehension, and that it convinced them of the necessity of passing a measure of reform. In the course of the autumn vast bodies of men were collected at Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and other seats of manufacturing and commercial industry, to demand an extension of the suffrage. These great open-air meetings were all peaceable and orderly, but considerable apprehensions were entertained that the march in military order of the organized working men's societies of London through the West End streets, which was announced to take place on the 3rd of December, might lead to dangerous disturbances. Their leaders boasted that their numbers would amount to 200,000, but it turned out that they did not exceed 25,000, and the procession was attended with no more serious inconvenience than the interruption for a day of public traffic and business. The meeting which was held at St. James' Hall, London, is noteworthy for the rebuke which Mr. Bright administered to Mr. Ayrton, who had found fault

with the Queen for not affording some mark of recognition to the people who had gathered in large numbers in front of the Palace. 'I am not accustomed,' said the great orator, 'to stand up in defence of those who are possessors of crowns, but I could not sit and hear that observation without a sensation of pain. I think there has been by many persons great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate widowed position; and I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection, is not at all wanting in a great and generous sympathy for you.' The tremendous burst of cheering with which these remarks were received showed that zeal for reform had in no way diminished the loyalty of the people, or the strength of their affection and sympathy for their widowed sovereign.

Just before the adjournment of Parliament (July 27th, 1866) an event took place which was at once a great scientific exploit and an important social benefit—the laying of the cable between Europe and America. The attempt to unite the two continents by means of inter-oceanic telegraphy had been repeatedly made, but hitherto without success. The first effort was made in 1857, but the cable broke when the vessels engaged in laying it had only got about 300 miles from the west coast of Ireland. Next year the enterprise was renewed, but was frustrated mainly by stormy weather. In the course of the summer another attempt was made, the cable was actually laid, and for a brief space communication between Europe and America was kept up. Queen Victoria congratulated the President of the United States upon 'the successful completion of the great international work,' and expressed her conviction that 'the President will unite with her in fervently hoping that the electric cable, which now connects Great Britain with the United States, will prove an

additional link between the nations, whose friendship is founded on their common interests and reciprocal esteem.' There were great rejoicings in both countries; but the signals suddenly became faint, and the messages undecipherable, and the communication was speedily broken off. This much, however, had been gained, that though the construction of the cable had been found defective, the practicability of the project had been proved beyond doubt. Another attempt made in 1865 also failed, but at last in 1866, by dint of great skill, patience, and perseverance, in spite of many difficulties, the enterprise was crowned with success. 'Our shore end has just been laid,' the first telegram announced, 'and a most perfect cable, under God's blessing, completes telegraphic communication between England and the continent of America.' Very appropriately, one of the earliest messages was from the British sovereign. 'The Queen congratulates the President on the successful completion of an undertaking which she hopes may serve as an additional bond of union between the United States and England.' An answer was received breathing the same spirit—'The President of the United States acknowledges with profound gratification the receipt of Her Majesty's despatch, and cordially reciprocates the hope that the cable that now unites the Eastern and Western hemispheres may serve to strengthen and perpetuate peace and amity between the Government of England and the Republic of the United States.'

The agitation throughout the country, during the autumn and winter, on the question of Reform, had produced a great impression on the mind of the new Prime Minister. He was in a decided minority in the House of Commons, and was well aware that, as he owed his position to the dissensions of the Liberal members rather than to the strength of the Conservative party in the country, it would be impossible for him to retain office unless he could in some way get rid of the troublesome ques-

tion of Reform. Owing to the differences of opinion that were well known to exist in the Cabinet, no steps were taken in regard to this matter until the assembling of Parliament was at hand, when Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli succeeded in persuading their colleagues to allow them to introduce a measure which they declared should be so framed as to strengthen rather than weaken the Conservative cause. Accordingly, when the Parliament opened on February 5th, 1867, the speech from the throne intimated that the attention of Parliament would be again called to the state of the representation of the people, and the hope was expressed, in terms characteristically ambiguous, that their 'deliberations, conducted in a spirit of moderation and mutual forbearance, may lead to the adoption of measures which, without unduly disturbing the balance of power, shall freely extend the elective franchise.'

On the 11th of February Mr. Disraeli announced that the Government had resolved to proceed by way of resolution. He informed the House that Reform was no longer to be a question determining the fate of Ministers—in other words, that the Government had no fixed resolution on the subject. Their object was to bring out the prevailing intention or bias of the House, and this once ascertained the Ministry would conform to it, and make it the ground and measure of their plans. He gave it to be understood that the Bill was to be the Bill of the House of Commons rather than of the Government.* He thought that if the two parties would agree beforehand among themselves as to the sort of measure they wanted, the rest would be easy. No doubt this would have been the case, but it was a very chimerical

* A picture in one of the comic journals represented a number of M.P.'s, with Russell and Bright at their head, thronging with eager curiosity to look at a large picture of Reform in a magnificent frame. Disraeli is standing on the other side, and with great solemnity and earnestness is drawing aside a curtain, revealing a perfectly blank canvas, which he invites them to fill up as they think best.

expectation that Conservatives and Liberals, whose traditions, opinions, and objects in regard to the question of Reform were wide as the poles asunder, would agree as to the nature and extent of the measure which should be brought forward by the Government. The resolutions, when they were submitted to the House, were quite in keeping with this absurd notion. One of them declared that 'it is contrary to the constitution of this realm to give any one class or interest a predominating power over the rest of the community.' Another called on the House to affirm that it is expedient to revise the existing redistribution of seats, and a third affirmed that in carrying out this revision the main consideration should be 'the expediency of supplying representation to places not at present represented, and which may be considered entitled to that privilege.' Such platitudes as these were not likely to be of much service in promoting the work of creating a Bill which would satisfy both sides of the House. But there were other resolutions, declaring that the franchise should be based upon the principle of rating, that there should be plurality of votes in boroughs, and that votes might be given by means of polling papers, which were certain to excite a violent discussion and to show a wide difference of opinion.

The reception given to these resolutions by the House made it evident that it would be hopeless to press them. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright agreed that it would be a mere waste of time to discuss such proposals. On the following day the Government intimated that they would not ask the House to proceed further with the resolutions. On the 25th of February Mr. Disraeli gave an outline of the kind of Reform Bill which he intended to introduce. The occupation franchise was to be reduced to £6 in the boroughs and to £20 in the counties—the qualification in both cases to be based on rating. A vote was to be given to every man who had £50 in the funds, or £30 in a Savings Bank, or who paid 20s. in direct

taxes during the year. The franchise was also to be conferred on ministers of religion, lawyers, doctors, certified schoolmasters, and university graduates. The manner in which these proposals were received by the House convinced the Government that they would not give satisfaction. Next day Mr. Disraeli intimated that he would introduce a new Bill on the subject. These sudden and repeated changes created great surprise and curiosity, but in a short time the whole story transpired. 'Two schemes,' said Lord Derby, 'were originally brought under the consideration of the Government, and both differed as to the amount and extent of the franchise. The more extensive of the two schemes was that to which the resolutions had originally pointed, and more especially the fifth, under which would have been introduced the system of plurality of votes, which might allow us to extend the franchise lower than we otherwise would. One distinguished member of the Cabinet (General Peel) entertained strong objections to the course pursued, but in order to secure unanimity he waived those objections. I then hoped that the larger and more comprehensive scheme would have been fixed on; but to my surprise and regret I found that two of my most valued colleagues, on reconsideration, disapproved of the scheme, and felt compelled to withdraw the assent they had given to it. Of course I at once relieved the third colleague from the assent he had given, and it then became necessary for the Government to consider what course they would adopt. Ultimately we determined to submit to the House of Commons a measure which we did not consider satisfactory, but which we hoped might for a time settle the question. But it very shortly became obvious that on neither side of the House would the proposition of the Government meet with a concurrence, and therefore it became necessary last week to consider whether we should adhere to our second proposition or revert to the first. We resolved on taking the latter course. Our scheme will in a short time be laid before

the other House of Parliament, and I trust that before the expiration of the present week I shall be able to supply the place of the colleagues I have had the misfortune to lose.'

The explanations of the Prime Minister respecting the extraordinary changes of policy made by the Ministry were by no means complete or satisfactory. But the statements made by Sir John Pakington, who was transferred from the Admiralty to the War Office on his re-election at Droitwich, placed the whole circumstances in a singular and most amusing light. The Government, it appeared, had prepared two Reform Bills—the one larger and more comprehensive than the other. The more liberal Bill was to be first offered for the acceptance of the House. If it met with a cold reception, then the other and more restricted measure was to be produced. At a meeting of the Cabinet on Saturday, February 23rd, General Peel had some scruples about the comprehensive Bill, but at the urgent request of Lord Cranbourne he consented to waive his objections, and the Cabinet broke up under the impression that they were perfectly agreed, and that the Bill was to be introduced on Monday, the 25th. Next day (Sunday), however, Lord Cranbourne went carefully through the figures, and came to the conclusion that the Bill would differ little in many boroughs from household suffrage, pure and simple. On making this discovery he immediately tendered his resignation, and Lord Carnarvon followed his example. A meeting of the Cabinet was hastily summoned on Monday to decide what was to be done in these circumstances. By this time, Sir John Pakington says, it was past two o'clock. Lord Derby had to address a Conservative meeting at half-past two, and at half-past four Mr. Disraeli had to introduce his promised Bill in the House of Commons. 'Literally,' Sir John said, 'they had not half an hour—they had not more than ten minutes—to make up their minds what course they were to adopt.' In this

emergency it was resolved that Mr. Disraeli should introduce 'not the Bill agreed to on Saturday, but the alternative measure which they had contemplated in the event of their large and liberal measure being rejected by the House of Commons.' Sir John would not say that they had not made a mistake. If they had had even an hour or two for consideration they perhaps would not have taken that course. But they had not an hour—they had only ten minutes—and so they committed themselves to what he admitted was 'a false course of procedure.' In the afternoon Mr. Disraeli brought in his second-class measure, which received the designation that it has ever since borne of 'the Ten Minutes Bill.'

The reception given to the Bill, introduced in these ridiculous circumstances, showed plainly that it would be repudiated by both sides of the House. It was, therefore, withdrawn next day, as we have already mentioned, and on the 18th March Mr. Disraeli brought in the comprehensive Bill based on the resolutions, and General Peel, Lord Cranbourne, and Lord Carnarvon resigned their offices. Sir Stafford Northcote succeeded Lord Cranbourne as Secretary of State for India, Sir John Pakington replaced General Peel at the War Department, and the Duke of Buckingham became Colonial Minister in the room of Lord Carnarvon. Mr. Corry was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond was appointed President of the Board of Trade—the office vacated by Sir Stafford Northcote.

The Bill proposed to confer the franchise in boroughs on all householders who paid rates of 20s. a year in direct taxation, or who had a certain sum of money in the funds or Savings Bank. There was also an educational franchise, and a proposal to give a double vote to a ratepaying occupier who paid 20s. of assessed taxes. But there were so many checks and counterbalancing provisions, all intended to limit the extent of the franchise, that, as Mr. Bright justly said, the whole

scheme was a plan for offering something with the one hand and quietly withdrawing it with the other. It might be fitly described in the words of Mr. Burke with reference to the Government constructed by Lord Chatham in 1766—it was a measure ‘so checkered and speckled; a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white,—that it was, indeed, a very curious thing, but utterly unsafe to touch and insecure to stand on.’ As might have been expected, the measure was severely handled by members on both sides of the House. Lord Cranbourne declared that the securities would be swept away immediately, and that household suffrage, pure and simple, would be the result. Mr. Disraeli protested emphatically that the Government would never introduce household suffrage, ‘pure and simple,’ but this the measure became in the end. The dual vote was ridiculed on all sides, and was at once dropped from the Bill. So were the fancy franchises. A new lodger franchise was introduced. The Bill required that an occupier should have lived two years in the house for which he was rated before he was entitled to vote. That period was reduced to one year, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Government. There still remained, however, one limitation to the extension of the franchise, so powerful that if it was retained it would in some boroughs have actually reduced the existing number of voters.

In most of the large towns in England great numbers of the occupiers of small houses were not themselves rated for the relief of the poor. The landlords were allowed to compound for the rates of these tenants. They became responsible for their payment, and received a certain reduction in return for saving the parochial authorities the trouble and risk of collecting them. The amount was, of course, included in the rent, so that, after all, the rates were

really paid by the tenants, though their names did not appear on the rate-book. These compound householders were so numerous that they were alleged to constitute two-thirds of all the occupiers under £10. On the 5th of April a meeting of about 140 members of the Liberal party was held at Mr. Gladstone’s house to decide upon the course which should be taken in regard to the compound householders. It was decided that Mr. Coleridge should propose a resolution to the effect that ‘in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given rateable value be relieved from liability to personal rating,’ but that at the same time they should not be entitled to vote. The object of this proposal was to exclude the very poorest class of householders from the franchise, and at the same time to secure that in every case where a house was rated the occupier should obtain the franchise, whether the rates were paid by his landlord or by himself. A party of from forty to fifty advanced Liberals, however, were dissatisfied with this attempt to exclude a portion of the householders from the franchise, and they held a meeting in the tea-room of the House of Commons, at which they resolved that they would only support the first clause of Mr. Coleridge’s resolution, which applied to the law of rating. The resolution was of necessity altered to meet their views, and in its amended form was at once accepted by the Government. The ‘Tea-room party,’ as they were called, were vehemently assailed for their unfaithfulness to their colours. ‘What can be done in parliamentary parties,’ said Mr. Bright at a great Reform demonstration at Birmingham, ‘if every man is to pursue his own little game? A costermonger and donkey would take a week to travel from here to London, and yet by running athwart the London and North-Western line they might bring to total destruction a great express train; and so very small men, who during their whole political lives have not advanced the question of Reform by one hairbreadth or by

one moment of time, can in a critical hour like this throw themselves athwart the objects of a great party, and mark, it may be, a great measure that sought to affect the interests of the country beneficially for all time.'

An amendment proposed by Mr. Gladstone, with the object of making the direct and personal payment of rates by the householder not essential to the possession of the franchise, was rejected by a majority through the aid of a number of Liberal members, who joined the Government in opposing it. Mr. Gladstone was so much mortified at this result that he withdrew the remaining amendments of which he had given notice, and announced his intention to abstain personally from any further attempt to alter the basis of the borough franchise presented by the Bill. Other members, however, persevered in their efforts to amend its provisions. It would be tedious to enumerate all the changes that were made upon the measure, or the vicissitudes that it underwent during its progress. It was repeatedly in imminent danger of shipwreck, but the Ministry were determined to obtain the credit of passing a Reform Bill of some kind; since the country was bent on having reform, they might as well comply with the demand and keep their places. Mr. Disraeli repeatedly declared that if this or that amendment were forced upon them they would withdraw the Bill, but they always, after considering the matter, thought better of it, and agreed to accept the alteration. Even the compound householder, who had caused so much trouble, was at last got rid of by the abolition of the system of compounding. The Government, to the surprise of their supporters as well as of their opponents, struck their flag on what they had professed to regard as 'a vital point,' and consented to have the name of every occupier put on the rate-book, and to give every occupier a vote. Household suffrage, pure and simple, was thus established in all the borough constituencies. The occupation franchise in counties, which the Bill pro-

posed to fix at £15, was reduced to £12. All the ten changes which Mr. Gladstone had enumerated as necessary to render the measure satisfactory, but which no one at first expected the Government to accept, were adopted with the exception of one, the least important of them all. The Bill, in fact, now went further than either Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Bright desired, and had been transformed into a thoroughly Radical measure. With regard to the redistribution clauses of the Bill, they underwent considerable alterations in Committee. In some cases the Government succeeded in defeating the proposed amendments; in others they were compelled to accept them. It was at first intended that boroughs with only 7000 inhabitants returning two members should in future return only one. The standard was raised to 10,000. Four boroughs were disfranchised—Reigate, Totness, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster—which had been found guilty of general and scandalous bribery and corruption. Two seats were to be assigned to Hackney, two to Chelsea, with Kensington; one to each of twelve boroughs, which up to this time had not been represented; an additional member—making three members each—were given to Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds. Two members were given to West Kent, North Lancashire, and East Surrey. South Lancashire was divided into two districts, and two members were assigned to each division. Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Cheshire, Norfolk, Staffordshire, and Essex were divided into three electoral districts, each of which was to be represented by two members. A member was given to the University of London; but the proposal of the Government to unite with it, for electoral purposes, the High Church University of Durham was rejected by the House.

The 'Conservative Surrender,' as the *Quarterly Review* termed it, was complete. All the securities and precautions with which the Bill bristled when it passed the

second reading had now wholly disappeared. 'A clear majority of votes in a clear majority of constituencies had been made over to those who have no other property than the labour of their hands.' It was not without reason that General Peel said that 'the proceedings in reference to this Bill had taught him three things—first, that nothing had so little vitality as "a vital point;" second, that nothing was so insecure as a "security;" and third, that nothing was so elastic as the conscience of a Cabinet Minister.' The measure, said Lord Cranbourne, was chiefly the work of the Opposition. 'Ten demands had been made by the leader; one of them, referring to provisions for excluding the poorest and most dependent voters from the franchise, was of a Conservative tendency; the other nine were Liberal. The first had failed; the other nine had been carried. The dual vote was dead. The two years' residence was cut down to one. The lodger franchise was introduced. The distinction between compounder and non-compounder was removed. The tax franchises were abolished. The group of miscellaneous by-franchises had disappeared. The occupation franchise in counties was reduced. The redistribution of seats was enlarged. The voting papers had been condemned. Such was the triumph of the Government.' Throughout the whole of the protracted discussions on the Bill Mr. Disraeli had to listen to such taunts and sarcastic remarks, as well as to bitter observations on his inconsistency, double-dealing, and betrayal of the Conservative cause. The denunciations of his policy were peculiarly severe at the third reading of the Bill. 'I should deeply regret,' said Lord Cranbourne, 'to find that the House of Commons has applauded a policy of legerdemain; and I should, above all things, regret that this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel in our parliamentary annals, which strikes at the root of all mutual confidence, which is the very soul

of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained.'

The Bill was read a third time on the 15th of July, and was sent up to the House of Lords next day. The second reading was moved by Earl Derby on the 21st. An amendment, proposed by Earl Grey, was negatived, and after a debate extending over two evenings, the Bill was read a second time without a division. At this critical moment Lord Derby was unfortunately seized with illness, and Lord Malmesbury was in consequence intrusted with the charge of the measure. In the absence of the Premier the peers seem to have imagined that they could alter the Bill at their pleasure. They, indeed, accepted the household franchise, but they imposed upon the occupier below £10 the obligation of paying the borough rate as well as the poor rate, in order to obtain the franchise. They raised the copyhold and leasehold qualifications from £5 to £10. They reintroduced the optional use of voting-papers, which, as Lord Cranbourne remarked, were to transfer the business of the polling-booth to the magistrates' drawing-room. On the motion of Lord Cairns they raised the lodger franchise from £10 to £15, and enacted that in any contested election in which three members are to be chosen, no elector should be allowed to vote for more than two. They conferred upon the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge the privilege of voting at elections in these boroughs, as well as in the university elections. These attempts to restrict the operation of the Bill roused the indignation of the citizens of London and other great towns who were chiefly interested in the lodger clause, and the machinery of agitation was at once put in operation. It was evident that if the Government should think fit to adhere to these changes in the Bill, they would rouse a storm of opposition which they had no power to resist. Lord Derby, in spite of the strong advice of his medical attendants, made his appearance in the House of Lords

on the 6th of August, and proposed that the Peers should reverse their decision with regard to the lodger franchise. 'Whereupon the whole majority, obedient to the word of command, executed, with military precision, its right-about face, and replaced with unanimity the figure they had condemned.' Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Liberal and independent peers to enlarge the scheme of redistribution contained in the Bill; a clause was added, enacting that Parliament need not henceforth be dissolved on the demise of the Crown. Another clause was moved by Earl Grey, providing that a member of the House of Commons accepting an office of profit under the Crown, which did not disqualify him for Parliament, should not vacate his seat, but it was opposed by Lord Derby, who expressed his preference for the arrangement already sanctioned by the other House, that re-election should not be required in the case of a member who merely exchanged one office for another.

When the Bill was returned to the House of Commons, the amendments introducing the use of voting-papers, altering the copyhold franchise, and conferring on graduates the right to vote in the boroughs of Oxford and Cambridge, were rejected. The provision made for the representation of minorities was strenuously opposed, and gave rise to a keen discussion. When it was previously proposed in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli declared that such an arrangement would be 'erroneous in principle and pernicious in practice.' It was also strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright, and although supported by Mr. J. S. Mill and some other Liberals it was withdrawn. Mr. Disraeli now recommended its adoption by the House of Commons, on the ground that since the other amendments proposed by the Lords had been rejected, it would tend to smooth matters between the two Houses if this provision which they had inserted in the Bill were allowed to remain. Mr. Bright argued that the clause would extin-

guish the political life of the country, it would nullify the boon conferred on the four great towns, each of which would for the future in all divisions on great political questions be represented by one member. Mr. Goschen said minorities were already over-represented, and this further step would only be mischievous. Nomination minorities were to be established in place of nomination boroughs. The proposal was simply an experiment to limit the power of great towns. It was taking a step towards making members delegates and not representatives. Mr. Gladstone said he did not agree with the principle of representation of individuals instead of the representation of communities. The latter had always been the principle of representation in this country. The proposal would inflict great injustice on the large towns, and he asked the House not to give to those towns, excited by the sense of wrong, the provocation to commence a new agitation for further changes. Mr. Lowe, on the other hand, pleaded earnestly for the retention of the clause. Its aim, he said, was to give to the communities affected by it a representation corresponding to the state of opinion in them. The worship of numbers was a political superstition; the true end of representation was to represent as nearly as possible all classes in a community. In the end the clause was retained by a majority of 49. The Upper House acquiesced in the alterations made by the Commons, and the Bill received the royal assent on the 15th of August.

The Bill which, after passing through many perils and vicissitudes, and undergoing so many and so extensive alterations, had at length become a part of the constitution of the kingdom, introduced momentous changes into our representative system. It was truly, as Lord Derby termed it, 'a leap in the dark,' and was regarded with great uneasiness and anxiety, not only by the Conservative party throughout the country, but by not a few Liberals. It conferred the franchise in boroughs on all

male householders rated for the relief of the poor, and on all lodgers who had been resident for one year and paid a rent of not less than £10 a year. In counties it gave votes to persons possessing property of the clear annual value of £5, and to occupiers of lands and tenements paying £12 a year. It disfranchised four boroughs and semi-disfranchised twenty-two others having a population of less than 10,000. It created several new constituencies, gave a third member to four large towns, and one to the University of London.

The kindred measures for Scotland and Ireland were postponed till next session. When they came before the House they excited comparatively little interest and no opposition. Scotland obtained a borough franchise the same as that of England, freed, however, from the ratepaying clause, which had been held as a 'vital principle,' but was struck out of the Bill in spite of the opposition of the Government. The Scottish county franchise was based either on the possession of £5 clear annual value of property, or on an occupation of £14 a year. Seven additional members, obtained by the disfranchisement of some small English boroughs, were added to the fifty-three returned by Scottish constituencies. Glasgow received an additional member, and was thus transformed, much against the wish of its citizens, into a three-cornered constituency. The town of Dundee obtained an additional member, the counties of Aberdeen, Ayr, and Lanark were divided into two electoral districts, returning one member each, and the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and of Glasgow and Aberdeen combined obtained each a representative. The Irish Bill reduced the borough franchise from £8 to £4, but made no change in the county franchise, which was £12, or in the arrangement of seats.

That the Bill as it became law was a thoroughly Democratic measure cannot be denied. In its essential features it went beyond any scheme that had been advocated

even by the advanced Liberal party in Parliament. Mr. Disraeli himself afterwards frankly admitted that this was the case, and boasted that he had been educating his party for seven years to this Democratic standard. At a banquet given to him in Edinburgh in November, 1867, he said, 'I had, if it be not too arrogant to use this phrase, to *educate our party*. It is a large party, and requires its attention to be called to questions of this kind with some pressure. I had to prepare the mind of Parliament and the country on this question of Reform.'

'The whole tone of that harangue,' it was justly said, 'was one of jubilant exultation natural to a leader who had led his party step by step from one abandonment of traditional principle to another. He had been their schoolmaster to bring them to Democracy, they had been his unconscious and half-reluctant pupils. They had learned from him line upon line and precept upon precept. Having organized and disciplined his followers to resist the advancing tide of Democracy, he was by their efforts borne into power. Having gained the position of a Conservative Minister, with a large Conservative following, he introduced a Reform Bill, guarded and fenced with restrictions and limitations of a Conservative tendency. As the debate went on he threw overboard all checks and safeguards whatsoever, took suggestions from every quarter and section of the House, forgot or despised the Ministerial duty of initiating the proposition of a Ministerial Bill, left his own colleagues in the lurch, and accepted the amendments of his opponents; ended by making his astonished but unconscious partisans the successful champions of the Democracy they abhorred; and having done all this, he had the assurance to tell them that in the lowness of the franchise which they had extended lay the essence of Conservatism.'

* Tenniel, in his cartoon entitled 'Fagin's Political School,' has hit off very happily the idea conveyed in this statement. Disraeli is depicted in the character of Fagin the Jew in 'Oliver Twist,' and is represented as picking the pocket of a lay figure of Lord John Russell, hung round with bells, of a document labelled 'Reform Bill.' Lord Derby, with his hands in his pockets, is surveying the trick with an amused expression of countenance; Sir John Pakington and Sir Stafford Northcote are looking on with mingled surprise and admiration at their leader's dexterity; Lord Stanley, as the 'Artful Dodger,' is regarding the scene somewhat contemptuously, while Lord Cranbourne and Lord Carnarvon are leaving the apartment in mingled indignation and disgust.

At the commencement of the session the Ministry were profuse in their promises of legislation, and intimated their intention to deal with colonial consolidation, investigation of the law of trades unions, extension of the Factory Acts to other trades, improvement of the mercantile marine, of the navigation laws, of the relations between Irish landlords and tenants, the amendment of the law of bankruptcy, and numerous other important subjects; but the attention of Parliament had been so completely absorbed by the discussions on the Reform Bill, that it was impossible to devote time to the settlement of any other important question. There was little opportunity afforded even to discuss the affairs of Ireland. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was continued, a futile attempt was made to deal with the tenure of land, and discussions respecting the Irish Church took place in both Houses, but led to nothing.

An autumn session was held in November for the purpose of making provision for an expedition against Abyssinia. Theodore, the king of that country, on some trivial pretext had seized Mr. Cameron, Her Majesty's consul at Massowah, an island on the African shore of the Red Sea, along with other British subjects, and had obstinately refused to release them. He was a passionate, suspicious barbarian, ambitious and cruel, and liable to sudden impulses of savage fury, in which he was guilty of shocking deeds of cruelty. Consuls were stationed at Massowah 'for the protection of British trade with Abyssinia and with the countries adjacent thereto;' and Mr. Plowden, who was appointed to that office in 1848, became an active ally of Theodore, and lost his life in one of the savage monarch's quarrels. Captain Cameron, his successor in the office of consul, was instructed to take no part in King Theodore's quarrels, and was reminded that he held no representative character in Abyssinia. Probably in consequence of this inhibition Theodore seemed to imagine that the British Government was unfriendly to

him. A letter which he wrote to Queen Victoria was left unanswered; he therefore fancied himself slighted, and seized and imprisoned all the British subjects within his reach, including the British consul, who had imprudently visited Abyssinia at this period. Two embassies had been sent in succession to induce the savage ruler to set at liberty the persons he had seized and imprisoned in violation of all international law, but without effect; and he had even detained the envoys, Mr. Rassam, assistant British Resident at Aden, and Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc. A peremptory demand had then been made that they should be released within three months, but no attention had been paid to it. The Government in these circumstances considered that they had no alternative but to send a large military expedition for the purpose of recovering the captives. Several members of both Houses dwelt upon the great and almost insuperable difficulty of a campaign in a country so inaccessible, and of which so little was known; but the general feeling was that the expedition was necessary to support the honour and dignity of the nation, as well as for the sake of the lives and liberty of Her Majesty's subjects. Mr. Disraeli informed the House of Commons that 'according to a rough but careful and confident estimate, the expedition would cost £3,500,000, but would certainly not exceed £4,000,000, and pledged himself that the expedition would leave the country as soon as the captives were recovered. The money asked by the Government was accordingly voted to defray the expense of the operations, and the addition of a penny per pound to the Income Tax was agreed to in order to provide the funds, to be supplemented by the balances in the Exchequer.

The session of 1868 found the Derby Government still in a considerable minority in the House of Commons, but confronted by an Opposition too divided to be easily combined in any movement for its overthrow. As Mr. Bouverie remarked, the Liberal party had leaders who would not

lead, and followers who would not follow. Instead of an organized party they were little better than a rabble. The two Houses commenced their sittings on the 13th of February, and on that day Mr. Disraeli introduced a Bill having for its object the more effectual prevention of corrupt practices at parliamentary elections. Lord Derby's health had for a considerable time been in an unsatisfactory state, and his growing infirmities at length compelled him to retire from office. His resignation was formally announced on the 25th of February, coupled with the intimation that the Queen had commanded Mr. Disraeli to form an Administration. This was accomplished without difficulty. Mr. Ward Hunt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and all the members of the Government retained office under the new First Lord of the Treasury with the exception of Lord Chelmsford, who was removed from the Chancellorship to make room for Sir Hugh Cairns. There was no change in the policy of the Administration, for Mr. Disraeli had throughout been the real though not its nominal head.

The Irish question was once more forced upon the attention of Parliament. It was still unhappily deemed necessary that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act should be renewed; but it was generally felt that the Fenian plot, though in itself base and cowardly, indicated the existence of strong disaffection in the country, arising out of undoubted evils and grievances. On the 16th of March Mr. Maguire, member for Cork, in a speech of great ability and eloquence, moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, with the view of taking into immediate consideration the condition of Ireland. The motion was opposed by the Ministry, who, while admitting that Ireland was a prey to evils of the most serious kind, intimated their disapproval of the remedies which had been proposed by the Liberal party in regard both to the tenure of land and the existence of the Established Church. Lord

Mayo, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, declared that the destruction of the Irish Church would not conciliate one enemy, while it would alienate many friends. The Government, however, he said, proposed to confer a charter and an endowment on a new Roman Catholic University. Policy and justice might demand the equalization of ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland, but, he added, in words which have become famous, this must be done by the process of levelling upwards, not downwards. The Government were prepared, with this view, to take into favourable consideration the claims both of the Irish Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians, but not to disendow the Established Church. 'The Lord hath delivered them into our hands,' was Mr. Gladstone's remark, aside, when this statement of the Government's intentions was made by Lord Mayo. In the course of the protracted discussion which took place on Mr. Maguire's motion, Mr. Gladstone condemned in strong terms Lord Mayo's intimation that the *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterians might be increased, and a grant made to the Roman Catholics from the Consolidated Fund. The Government had placed before the House and the country the alternative—endow all sects or endow none. He had no hesitation in choosing the latter, and in expressing his conviction that 'the Irish Church as a State church must cease to exist.'

Mr. Maguire's motion was withdrawn, and a few days after the leader of the Opposition gave notice of his intention to move the following resolutions:—

1. That, in the opinion of this House, it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property.

2. That, subject to the foregoing consideration, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the ecclesiastical commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament.

3. That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying that with the view to the purposes aforesaid, Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof.

When these resolutions were formally proposed by Mr. Gladstone on the 30th of March, it became evident that the Government had no confidence either in their own ability to resist the disestablishment of the Church, for which these resolutions were intended to prepare, or in the general feeling of the country in regard to this question. The following amendment, which Lord Stanley proposed on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, clearly indicated this state of feeling on their part:—'That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the united Church in Ireland may, after the pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new Parliament.'

Mr. Gladstone at once called attention to the evidence this amendment afforded, that the Ministry were not prepared to defend the existence of the Irish Church. Before this amendment was announced he thought the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short; he now regarded it as shorter still. All that was asked on its behalf was delay, not a permanent existence. It was defended, however, with great fervour by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who had been appointed Home Secretary in the room of Mr. Walpole. Casting aside all considerations of amendment, compromise, or delay, he strenuously insisted on a 'no surrender' policy. Lord Cranbourne commented with marked severity on the conduct of the Government, and especially on Mr. Disraeli for his 'legerdemain' procedure. He said the leader of the Opposition offered them a policy, the Foreign Secretary offered them a paltry excuse for delay, the amendment was 'a more than Delphic resolution'—it gave no

clue to the policy of Ministers. No amount of disestablishment or disendowment was excluded by this amendment. In 1865 Lord Stanley had seconded a resolution which, like this, made general admissions and pleaded for delay on the question of Reform, and the end of it was household suffrage. And so he predicted the result of carrying this amendment would be that next year perhaps the Irish Protestant members would find themselves voting humbly with Mr. Disraeli for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The ambiguity of the amendment indicated either no policy at all, or a policy which the Ministry were afraid to avow. The attitude they had assumed was neither wise, firm, nor creditable. He was prepared, he said, to meet the motion of Mr. Gladstone by a direct negative, but not to fight in the dark by supporting an amendment which, if carried, would merely keep the cards in the hands of Ministers to shuffle just as convenience or exigency might require.

Mr. Bright, in a speech of great ability, pointed out that the result of government by a minority was confusion and chaos. There was really neither government nor opposition. The Ministerialists could neither support their own views nor adopt those of the Opposition. There were only two pretences, he said, on which a State Church could be maintained in Ireland—the one religious, the other political. As a religious institution for the conversion of Roman Catholics, the Irish Church had been a deplorable failure. It had not only not made Catholics into Protestants, but it had made Catholics in Ireland more intensely Roman than the members of that Church are found to be in any other country in Europe or in America. As a political institution it had been equally a failure, for though the State for long years had defended it by the sword, the present condition of Ireland was anarchy subdued by force. Mr. Lowe assailed the Irish Church with biting sarcasm and fierce denunciation. 'It is founded,' he said, 'on injustice; it is

founded on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and shall not stand. You call it a Missionary Church; if so, its mission is unfulfilled—it has failed utterly. Like some exotic brought from a far country with infinite pains and useless trouble, it is kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and ungenial soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it; it has no leaves, it bears no blossoms, it yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?’ Mr. Henley, General Peel, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Mayo, and Mr. Disraeli argued vigorously on the other side of the question, but they were seriously hampered by the ambiguous character of the amendment which they supported, and were obliged to have recourse to the expedient of attacking the policy of the Liberal party rather than of vindicating their own. Mr. Disraeli accused Mr. Gladstone of appearing as the representative of the High Church Ritualists and the Irish Romanists, who had long been in secret combination and were now in open confederacy for the destruction of the union between Church and State. At the close of the fourth night of this memorable debate Lord Stanley’s amendment was rejected by a majority of sixty (270 to 330), and Mr. Gladstone’s motion, that the House should go into committee, was carried by 328 votes to 272—a majority of fifty-six.

The Easter holidays had now arrived, and afforded an opportunity to both parties to hold public meetings and to appeal to the country for support to their respective views. A deep interest was taken in the settlement of the question at issue, but the agitation was of the most orderly and peaceful kind. The two Houses met again after the Easter recess on the 20th of April, and it was agreed that the Commons should resume consideration of Mr. Gladstone’s resolutions on the 27th. After a debate, extending over three nights, the House divided on the first resolution on Friday morning, the 30th of April, when 330 voted for and 265 against it—a majority against

the Government of sixty-five. The unexpected increase of the majority was regarded as an indication that the proposal to disestablish the Irish Church was gaining ground in the country.

On the announcement of the numbers, Mr. Disraeli said that the vote had altered the relations of the Government with the House, and it would consequently be necessary that they should consider their position. He therefore proposed that the House should adjourn until the following Monday, which was agreed to.

On the day named (May 4th) the Prime Minister stated, in the presence of a crowded House, that he had waited upon the Queen, and, with the full concurrence of his colleagues, had advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament, and had at the same time intimated to her that if she was of opinion that the question at issue could be more satisfactorily settled, and the interests of the country better promoted by the immediate retirement of the present Government, they were prepared to quit her service. He had then tendered his resignation. After taking a day for consideration, the Queen had declined to accept the resignation of her Ministers, and had signified her readiness to dissolve Parliament as soon as the state of public business would permit. Under these circumstances he had advised Her Majesty to appeal to the new constituencies; and if the House would cordially co-operate with the Government in expediting public business a dissolution might take place in the course of the autumn.

While the British Parliament were engaged in the discussion of these domestic questions, information was received of the success of the expedition sent to recover the Abyssinian captives. It was despatched from Bombay, under the command of Sir Robert Napier, an Indian officer of great experience and high reputation. The captives, some of whom had been four years in confinement, consisted of Consul Cameron, Mr. Rassam, who had been assistant British Resident at Aden, Lieutenant Prideaux,

and Dr. Blanc, who had accompanied him on his mission, and were employed on official business when they were seized and imprisoned. There were also among the captives a number of German missionaries, with their wives and children, and some teachers, artists, and workmen. The savage ruler treated them in the most capricious manner—at one time chaining them two-and-two, and threatening them with death; at another, coming into their prison half dressed, and bringing with him a bottle of wine, which he made them share with him. As he obstinately refused to set his prisoners at liberty, it was deemed absolutely necessary to send a force to compel their release.

Theodore was early made aware of the disembarkation of the British troops, but he boasted that he was prepared to meet them, and he seems at times to have fancied that he would be able to hold his fortress at Magdala against their assaults. The march of an army over the rocky highlands of Abyssinia would have been impracticable in the face of a brave and active enemy; but in their progress through deep ravines and over high hills the British forces met with no opposition whatever. In the beginning of April, 1868, after traversing 400 miles of mountainous and difficult country, often under a tropical sun, or amid storms of rain and sleet, they appeared before Magdala. An encounter took place between them and Theodore's army at some distance from the fortress. The Abyssinians behaved with great spirit and courage, and made repeated desperate charges upon their enemies, which, however, were easily repulsed. They had 500 men killed and a much larger number wounded. The British did not lose a single man, and had only nineteen wounded.

Next morning Theodore sent Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad with a flag of truce to offer terms. The captives were set free and sent into the camp, but Theodore refused to surrender. The British commander was therefore under the necessity

of making an assault on his almost inaccessible stronghold. Magdala was situated upon an isolated rock, rising many hundred feet above the plain, protected by lofty and almost overhanging cliffs, so precipitous that a cat could not climb them except at two points—north and south—at each of which a steep narrow path leads up to a strong gateway. Shot, shell, and rockets made no impression upon the gateway, which was protected by a strong stockade. But the assailants forced their way up the ascent in spite of the obstacles they had to encounter, and carried the stockade, which was defended by Theodore in person with a small band of faithful followers, the rest of his army having abandoned the place. On entering the fortress they found the dead body of Theodore a short way from the gate. Finding further resistance hopeless, he shot himself with a pistol before our soldiers reached the place where he stood. They found in the fortress upwards of thirty pieces of artillery, many of great weight, with ample stores of ammunition.

In order that the fortress should not fall into the hands of a fierce Mahommedan tribe, the hereditary enemies of the Christians, Sir Robert Napier resolved to destroy it. He therefore set it on fire, and, to use his own expression, of Magdala, 'nothing but blackened rock remains.' In a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, the General thus sums up the results of the campaign: 'The province of Tigre, which we found just struggling into independence, has been somewhat strengthened and settled by us. Gobaze, an Abyssinian chief who had shown himself friendly to the expedition, and at the date of our arrival was attempting a hopeless opposition to Theodore, should now be able to establish his position. Theodore had acquired by conquest a sovereignty which he knew only how to abuse. He was not strong enough to protect the people from other oppressors, while yet able to carry plunder and cruelty into every district he himself might visit.

I fail to discover a single point of view from which it is possible to regard his removal with regret.'

After the destruction of Magdala the expedition set out on its return, and the first detachment of troops arrived at Portsmouth on the 21st of June. The enterprise was skilfully planned and most effectively conducted from its commencement to its close. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the troops employed in the expedition, and to their General, who was elevated to the peerage as Baron Napier of Magdala, and rewarded with a pension. The cost of the expedition amounted to upwards of £9,000,000 sterling. Loud complaints were made that the fact of its enormous expense was carefully concealed from the public until after the general election.

While the House of Commons was engaged in the consideration of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions the news was received of the death of Lord Brougham at Cannes, on the 7th of May, in the ninetieth year of his age. It attracted little notice, but thirty years before the demise of no other public man would have excited so much attention. From the time of his admission to the Scottish bar at the close of last century onwards, Henry Brougham was regarded as a person of gigantic abilities and extraordinary attainments. He was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*. Sydney Smith, to whom the honour of the first suggestion of this celebrated periodical is due, 'had so strong an impression,' Jeffrey says, 'of Brougham's indiscretion and rashness, that he would not let him be a member of our association, though wished for by all the rest. He was admitted, however, after the third number, and did more work for us than anybody.' Brougham, indeed, continued for more than forty years to be one of the principal contributors to the work; and his articles, though not always judicious, were characterized by great ability, and contributed largely to the celebrity and success of the Whig organ. When he entered Parliament

in 1810 it soon became apparent that very few politicians ever brought to the business of practical politics a larger acquaintance with everything relating to the history and prospects of the human race. He devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and directed the thunders of his eloquence against such gross and glaring evils as colonial slavery, Orders in Council, flogging in the army, Roman Catholic disabilities, and the perversion of public charities. He was especially zealous in the cause of education and of parliamentary reform, and his eloquent advocacy of these and other kindred causes contributed greatly to their success. He has been justly termed the hundred-handed Briareus of his party. There was nothing he did not touch, and with powerful effect. His industry was stupendous, it seemed impossible to exhaust his unwearied exertions in whatever he undertook. Apart from his labours in Parliament and in his own profession, which would have fully occupied the time of most men, Brougham found leisure to establish schools and write lectures for them, to superintend the composition and publication of books of popular science, to write articles for the *Edinburgh Review* and pamphlets, to compose treatises on refraction, on the integral calculus, on natural theology, on chemistry, on the objects, advantages, and pleasures of science, on the eloquence of the ancients, on colonial policy, on the state of the nation, on education, on the statesmen of the time of George III., and indeed on an endless succession of subjects. His intellect was quick, powerful, and brilliant, rather than sound; and his judgment was often warped by his prejudices and feelings. His eloquence was of a very high, though not of the highest order, and his natural talent for sarcasm made him a most formidable opponent in the House or at the Bar. His sustained flights of indignant or argumentative declamation—as in his defence of Queen Caroline, and in the case of Mr. Williams, tried for libel on the Durham

clergy—have rarely been equalled. ‘On rolled the stream of his eloquence, strong from conviction, vehement from passion, and burning with invective as the occasion demanded.’ His moral qualities were unfortunately not equal to his intellectual powers. He was self-willed and imperious, with an irresistible passion for domineering and impatience of contradiction, and was habitually and notoriously actuated by ungenerous jealousy of every rival. One who knew him well affirmed that there never was a direct personal rival, or one who was in a position which, however reluctantly, implied rivalry, to whom he was just, and his envy often led to implacable hostility. ‘Had it not been for his moral failings,’ says Lord Cockburn, ‘Brougham, inferior to no modern statesman in eloquence, and superior to them all in knowledge, enlightened views, industry, and fire, would have been the greatest man in civil affairs of this age; but neither genius nor oratory, even when worthily exerted, can command their natural influence when combined with habits which create enemies hourly, or when exposed to the imputation of heartlessness or insincerity. Accordingly, with all his powers and celebrity, Brougham has never been at the head, as its *trusted* leader, of any party. He has compelled all the world to admire, and most of it to fear him, and for many years he has guided this nation in the formation of sound views throughout that revolution of opinion which has agitated men during his day, and has always been above the paltriness of pecuniary temptation, and his fidelity to his principles and party was never impeached till lately; yet he has never had any following of the heart, his very eloquence has often suffered from its disclosing insincerity, and this generally in passages which obtained and deserved the loudest applause.’

For a number of years before his death the once powerful and admired orator and statesman had passed almost out of sight. He ceased to take any part in public affairs,

and passed a good deal of his time in Cannes, where he died and was buried.

The procedure adopted by the Government, in retaining office after they had been defeated by large majorities in the House of Commons, was severely condemned by a number of members on the Liberal side of the House, who denounced it as unconstitutional, and as an expedient to induce the House to give a two months’ lease to a Government which they neither trusted nor were trusted by. They were prevented, however, from taking any active steps to eject the Government from office by their knowledge that Mr. Disraeli would in that case immediately dissolve the Parliament and appeal to the existing constituencies; and that, whatever might be their response, a second dissolution would necessarily require to be made in the following year, when the new Reform Bill came into operation. The Ministry, therefore, though in a considerable minority, were allowed to retain their places till the new election. Mr. Gladstone’s two remaining resolutions, however, were put to the House and adopted, the Government declining to divide against them. A suspensory Bill was subsequently brought in by Mr. Gladstone, and carried in the House of Commons without much opposition, and in the Upper House by a majority of 192 votes to 97. By this measure the exercise of the Crown patronage in connection with the Irish Church, pending the disestablishment proposal, was in the meantime suspended, so that no new life interests could be created in connection with that body.

The Scottish and Irish Reform Bills were pushed forward as rapidly as possible. The Government underwent several mortifying defeats in connection with the former, and when the ratepaying clause was struck out another ministerial crisis took place, which, however, like the others, passed over very easily. The Bribery Bill decided that the jurisdiction of the House over cases of this sort should be transferred to the judges. The Boundary Bill and the Registration

Bill, which it was necessary to pass before an appeal to the new constituencies could properly take place, were pressed through both Houses and became law. A Bill was also carried to authorize the Government to purchase the electric telegraphs from the various private companies to which they belonged, and to combine them into one great national system. The Government made a rather unfavourable bargain, but the arrangement has in the end been advantageous to the country. On the last day of July the Parliament was prorogued with a view to its dissolution, and the proclamation declaring that it was dissolved was issued on the 11th of November, 1868.

The Irish Church, the fate of which was to be determined by the impending election, was an institution without precedent or parallel in the history of Europe. Sydney Smith, indeed, went further, and said—'There is no abuse like it in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, and in all we have heard of Timbuctoo.' It had long been 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence' to all unprejudiced and judicious men. A succession of Irish viceroys had earnestly recommended its reduction, and declared that it weakened instead of strengthening the connection between Great Britain and Ireland. Lord Brougham regarded 'the great abuse of the Irish Established Church as the master evil, the source of perennial discord.' One of his successors on the woolsack said, 'the Irish Church was at the bottom of all the unhappiness which Ireland suffered;' and another of them said he 'believed the Protestant Church in Ireland to be one of the most mischievous institutions in existence.' Earl Grey 'believed the Church of Ireland to be the main source of all that misery and oppression under which the Irish, for nearly three centuries, had suffered;' and Lord Lytton, Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's Administration, said 'he considered the words "Irish Church" to be the greatest bull in the language. It was called the Irish Church because it was a

church not for the Irish.' 'The Church of Ireland,' he added, 'costs as much for the police and soldiers as for the clergy themselves. Do we imitate the Saviour or the Arabian impostor when we carry the Bible in the one hand and the sword in the other?' Count Cavour, with all his admiration of British institutions, was constrained to say that the State Church in Ireland 'remains to the Catholics a representative of the cause of their miseries, a sign of defeat and oppression. It exasperates their sufferings, and makes their humiliation more keenly felt.'

This 'alien church,' as it was termed, was obnoxious to the people of Ireland, not only on account of its origin and the restriction of its benefits to a small minority of the nation, but owing to the character of its clergy, who for more than two centuries were, as a body, scandalously negligent in the discharge of their duties. It was no uncommon thing for a cluster of parishes to be formed into a single benefice for the behoof of a man who contented himself with levying the tithes and spending them at Cheltenham, or on the shores of the Mediterranean, doing no duty whatever in any of his parishes, and not even appointing a curate to officiate in his absence. Dean Swift described the Irish prelates as men sunk in indolence, whose chief business it was to bow and job at the Castle. The only spiritual function, he says, which they performed was ordination, and when he saw what persons they ordained, he doubted whether it would not be better that they should neglect that function as they neglected every other. It is scarcely possible, indeed, to speak in too strong terms of the character and conduct of the men who, down to the close of last century, were appointed by the Government to the Sees, cathedral offices, and the best livings in the Irish Church. Swift, in bitter irony, says that no doubt the English Ministers nominated excellent men to the bishoprics of Ireland, but unhappily they were waylaid and murdered by highwaymen on their

journey, who possessed themselves of their official documents, and were inducted into their offices. The enormous amount of money accumulated by many of these bishops, as shown by their testamentary bequests, is almost incredible. The Irish clergy of the present day are men of a very different stamp, and, as a body, conspicuous for their piety and their zeal, but it was utterly impossible for them to undo the evil that had been done by their predecessors.

Efforts were made at various times to lessen the hardships and oppression of the system. Towards the close of last century an end was put to book-money, an oppressive exaction levied on Roman Catholic priests, who were compelled to account to the Episcopalian clergy for the baptismal and marriage fees which they had received from their own flock. Then agistment tithe was abolished; vestry cess and ministers' money—a most oppressive impost—followed. In 1833 no fewer than ten bishoprics were abolished by an Act of Parliament brought in by Mr. Stanley (afterwards Earl Derby), then Irish Secretary, and their revenues, together with those of suspended dignities, and benefices, and disappropriated tithes, were vested in a Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The commutation of the tithes, by which their payment was transferred from the tenants and became a rent-charge on the estates of the landlords, who received a bonus of 25 per cent. as a recompense for their trouble and risk of loss in collecting the money, had lessened the burden as well as the unpopularity of the system, as the clergy who received and the tenants who paid the tithes no longer came into direct collision, but the system itself remained essentially unchanged. If the attempt made by Lord John Russell to appropriate to educational purposes the tithes in parishes where there were no resident Protestants had been adopted, it would in all probability have delayed for a good many years the disestablishment of the Church. But it is a marked characteristic

of the defenders of such institutions that they can never be induced, until it is too late, to give up a part to save the rest.

A Commission was appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, and from the report of the Commissioners it appears that the adherents of the Church at that time amounted to 800,000; that their spiritual instruction was intrusted to two archbishops, ten bishops, 326 deans, prebendaries, and canons, and 2200 clergymen, of whom a number were pluralists and non-resident—some living in other parts of Ireland, others in England or on the Continent, wholly neglecting all their pastoral duties. The incomes of the bishops and other dignitaries amounted to upwards of £208,000 a year, and the total annual income of the Church to £650,753. Out of 1338 churches then existing in Ireland, 474 had been erected by Parliament since the beginning of the present century, and adding to the sums expended in building churches the cost of glebe houses and glebe lands, it appeared that during the past and present centuries no less than £920,900 had been voted to the Irish Church out of the public exchequer. The report of the Commissioners further shows that in 1835 there were 151 parishes in Ireland in which there was not a single adherent of the Irish Church, and that in 860 parishes there were in the aggregate fewer than fifty Episcopalians. Pluralities had been greatly reduced in number, but there were still eighty-one in existence, and about the same number of prebends, &c., which, by the admission of their holders, were complete sinecures, having no duty of any kind attached to them.

Between 1835 and 1868 considerable activity had been manifested, by the prelates and influential friends of the Established Church, in the erection of new churches and in the increase of the number of ministers; but though its revenues and its clergy were increasing, the number of its adherents had been steadily diminishing with the decreasing population of the

country. When the census of 1861 was taken it was found that the number of parishes in which there was not a single Episcopalian had increased to 199.* The ecclesiastical revenue of these parishes varied from £100 to £500 a year.

The total population of Ireland at the census of 1861 was found to be 5,798,540, of whom 4,505,265 were Roman Catholics, 600,345 Protestant Nonconformists, chiefly Presbyterians, and the members of the Established Church amounted to 693,357. The revenues of the church amounted, in round numbers, to £700,000 a year, so that the religious instruction of every man, woman, and child connected with that church cost more than 20s. a head. It thus appeared that the Irish clergy were paid seven times more for their services than the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland before the Disruption.

In every part of the country the Anglo-Irish Church was in a decided minority, but in many districts it included a mere fraction of the population; in others, as we have shown, it had not a single adherent. In Ulster, where it was least needed—because instruction in the doctrines of the Protestant religion was most abundantly supplied beyond its pale—its adherents amounted to 20 per cent. of the whole population. In Leinster it possessed 11·89, in Munster 5·10, and in Connaught 4·15 per cent. In the four dioceses—Armagh, Down, Derry, and Dublin—in which Protestantism was strongest, on the aggregate the adherents of the Irish Church formed 19·3 per cent. of the population. In other eight dioceses they averaged only 5½. In none of the thirty-two dioceses were the Episcopalians equal to the Roman Catholics, while in four they were outnumbered by the Presbyterians. In twenty dioceses the Anglicans averaged only 4·7 per cent. of the population, or 6940 on an average to each diocese; while there was an average of

131,150 Roman Catholics in each of these dioceses, comprehending nearly one-half of all the inhabitants of Ireland. On the other hand, the value of the livings in these twenty dioceses was at that time £242,324, or an average of £12,116 per diocese.

Descending from whole dioceses to particular benefices, the total number of benefices in the Irish Church was returned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as 1510 in number. Of these 752 contained on an average 184 Anglicans per benefice. The average gross income of these 752 livings was £322 a year. The cost of clerk, sexton, and other requisites for divine service amounted to at least £16 additional per benefice. If we add to this the share of each incumbency in the expense of an Episcopal supervision, it will be found that the cost of maintaining the Irish Church amounted on an average to more than £2 a head throughout one-half of the Irish benefices. With regard to the remaining 615 livings, in none of them did the adherents of the Church exceed 200 souls. In 229 of these benefices there was an average Anglican population of only 23 persons, young and old; and allowing five souls to a family, and deducting rectors and clerks, there remained an average of not quite three families for the ministerial sphere of duty of each of the 229 incumbents. The average value of their livings was £296 a year, exclusive of glebe-house; and adding the cost of Episcopal functions, and clerk and sexton, each of the twenty-three Episcopalians in these 229 benefices cost £15 per head for their religious instruction. Taking a smaller subdivision, there were eighty-five of them, in none of which did the Anglican population exceed twenty. The actual average number in each was 11, and the total Anglican population of the whole amounted to 955. The total cost averaged £20 per head out of the ecclesiastical revenues.

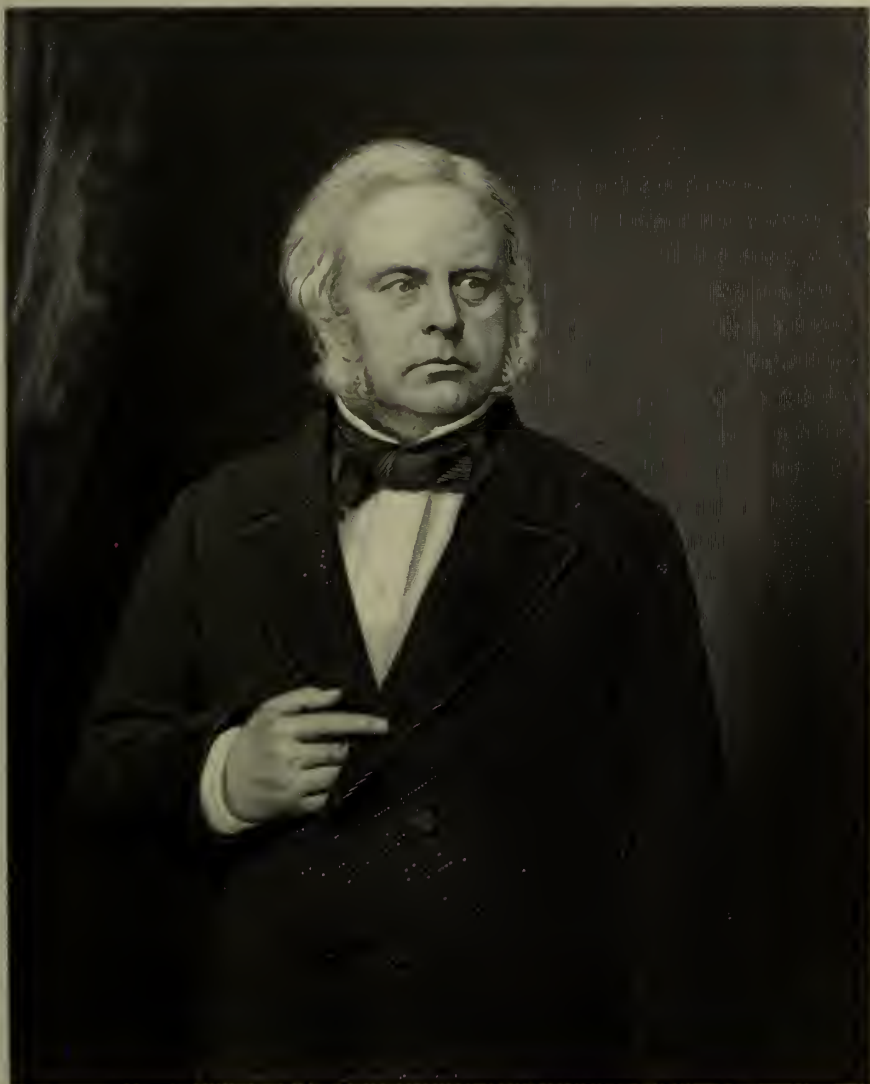
To sum up the facts stated in the report of the Commissioners, the Irish Church at this time had two archbishops, one with an income of £12,000, the other with £7700 a

* These were civil parishes. It was no uncommon occurrence for a number of civil parishes to be combined into one ecclesiastical benefice for the purpose of increasing the emoluments of the incumbent.

year, and ten bishops with an average income of £4592 each, to perform a much smaller amount of work among them than in the sister Church of England was allotted to many a single bishop. It had 2200 clergymen to take the spiritual oversight of 693,000 persons, young and old, a proportion more than five times the number which was thought sufficient for the Scottish Establishment before the Disruption. It cost about £700,000 a year, more than 20s. a head for every adherent. It had 199 parishes in which there was not a single Episcopalian, and 860, from which it drew a revenue of £58,000, in which it had less than fifty adherents, including persons of both sexes and of all ages. In the great majority of these parishes the members of the Establishment consisted only of the rector and his family, the sexton with his family, and the households of a few persons connected with the coastguard. The church thus contained not less than 600 clergymen holding benefices, but having nothing deserving the name of a congregation—shepherds without a flock—drawing revenues with no duties to perform in return, ‘crying aloud in the wilderness,’ as Sydney Smith said, ‘preaching to a congregation of hassocks and stools.’

The question submitted for the decision of the constituencies was whether the Irish Church should be disestablished, and wholly or only partially disendowed, and their reply was decidedly in favour of the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Disraeli had flattered himself with the expectation that there was a class below the £10 householders who were friendly to a Conservative policy, and who, now that they were enfranchised, would give their support to the Government, but the result showed that he was entirely mistaken in this notion. The Liberal party largely increased their majority in the English boroughs and in Scotland and Ireland. Only seven Conservative members were returned by the Scottish constituencies, and the Liberals now for the first time won several

boroughs in the province of Ulster, in which the Conservative influence had hitherto been paramount. On the other hand, the Conservatives were still powerful in the English counties, and they gained some signal and unexpected victories even in the boroughs. Mr. Mill lost his seat for Westminster mainly through his own perverse and injudicious conduct. Mr. Roebuck was defeated at Sheffield, and Mr. Milner Gibson at Ashton-under-Lyne. Mr. Gladstone himself was rejected by South Lancashire but was returned for Greenwich, and the Marquis of Hartington was replaced in the Northern Division of that county by a younger son of the Earl of Derby, and was subsequently elected for the Radnor Boroughs. It is a strange circumstance that all the eight members returned by the county of Lancaster, and by a considerable number even of its boroughs, were Conservatives. There were only eleven Liberals, against twenty-one Conservatives, elected by that great mining and manufacturing district. The strong dislike entertained by the working classes in Lancashire to the Irish was believed to have contributed largely to this result. Mr. Lowe was elected as the representative of the London University—the only constituency in England, Mr. Disraeli said, which would have accepted him. It had been confidently predicted that the effect of the new Reform Bill would be the return to Parliament of a large number of men representing the views and projects of an extreme, if not of a revolutionary party. But the event completely falsified these prophecies. A considerable number of working men’s candidates indeed offered themselves for election, but one and all were unsuccessful. The new House of Commons appeared on the whole to be less marked in its Liberalism than its predecessor. The main difference between the two was the increase of the Liberal majority from sixty to 120. No fewer than 227 new members obtained seats in this Parliament. The Ministry accepted at once the decision of the constituencies without waiting



Engraved by Holl (by Permission) from a Photograph by Mayall

JOHN BRIGHT ESQ. M. P.

for the assembling of Parliament. On the 1st of December the Cabinet resolved on their immediate resignation, and Mr. Gladstone was sent for by the Queen and requested to form a new Administration. The chief offices were for the most part intrusted to his former colleagues, but Mr. Bright, to the general satisfaction of the country, accepted the position of President of the Board of Trade. It was well known that he did so with reluctance, and only from a sense of duty. 'I should have preferred much,' he said, 'to remain in the common rank of the simple citizenship in which heretofore I have lived. There is a charming story contained in a single verse of the Old Testament which has often struck me as one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet, in journeying to and fro, was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible a Shunamite woman. In return for the hospitality of his entertainment he wished to make her some amends, and he called her and asked her what there was that he should do for her: "shall I speak for thee to the king or to the captain of the host?" And it has always appeared to me a great answer that the Shunamite woman returned. She said, "I dwell among my own people."'

When the question was put to me whether I would not step into the position in which I now find myself, the answer from my heart was the same—I wish to dwell among my own people.' Mr. Bright, however, felt constrained to yield to the voice of the people enforcing the request of the Prime Minister. Some of the extreme Liberals expressed their disapproval of the accession to office of the great Tribune of the people. 'I should have liked him better,' wrote one of this class, 'had he continued to abide among his own people.' 'Mr. Bright in the Cabinet,' said another, 'would both extinguish and be extinguished.' The result has completely falsified these predictions. The member for Birmingham has shown himself as cautious, moderate, and conciliatory in the Cabinet as he was vigorous and unsparing in Opposition.

There was not likely to be any want of ability, or energy, or courage in dealing with momentous and urgent questions on the part of an Administration containing Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe, Lords Granville and Clarendon, the Duke of Argyll, and the Marquis of Hartington; and their accession to office at this juncture was hailed with satisfaction by the great body of the people.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of relations between Austria and Prussia—Supremacy of Austria—Weak and impolitic conduct of the King of Prussia—Policy of his successor—Views of Bismarck—Contest between him and the Chamber of Deputies—His arbitrary conduct—Military preparations—Aggressive policy of Prussia—Bismarck's attentions to the French Emperor—His object—His secret treaty with Italy—Treaty of Gastein—Its effect on European opinion—Austria's refusal to cede Venetia—Bismarck's intrigues and double dealing—Attempts of the neutral Powers to prevent war—Bismarck's insolent despatch—Resolution of the Diet to mobilize its army—Prussia declares war—Overruns the Minor States—Condition of the Prussian army—Position of the Austrian forces—The Prussian invasion of Bohemia—Successes of the Prussians—The battle of Sadowa—Defeat of the Austrians—Progress of the victors—Cession of Venetia to the French Emperor—His interposition—Armistice and termination of the war—Battle of Custoza—Defeat of the Italians—Naval battle at Lissa—The Italian fleet worsted—Treaty of Prague—Prussian gains—Prussia's deification of force and fraud—Its effect on Europe—Result of the war on Austria—Her previous arbitrary policy—Concordat with the Pope—Judicious conduct of the Hungarian Diet—Adoption of a Liberal Policy by the Austrian Emperor—Concordat repudiated—State of Spain—Arbitrary and profligate conduct of the Queen and her Ministry—Breaking out of a revolution—Its success—Flight of the Queen—Provisional Government—Election of the Cortes—Difficulty in obtaining a King.

It had long been foreseen that in all probability war would sooner or later take place between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany. King Frederick William III., a monarch of brilliant and highly cultivated powers, but weak and facile in character, was offered the Imperial Crown in 1848, but rejected it because it was tendered to him by the nation and not by the Princes. From that day forward the Prussian monarch sank lower and lower in public esteem and influence, and was obliged to accept the humiliating conditions dictated by Prince Schwarzenburg at Olmütz, and to return to his previous inferior position. A tacit agreement had heretofore existed between Austria and Prussia, Prince Metternich taking the lead in all European questions, but leaving Prussia a certain liberty of action in North Germany, and particularly in matters of material interest like the Zollverein. Moderate and judicious politicians earnestly recommended that such a position in the Confederation should be conceded to Prussia as would induce that Power to exert its influence in behalf of the common interests of Germany. But Schwarzenburg, the new Austrian Prime Minister—haughty, imperious, and short-sighted—had made up his mind to use his victory over the Prussian sovereign in the most relentless manner, and, as he openly

avowed, was determined first to abase Prussia and then to destroy it. The idea of German unity was utterly distasteful to him, and his object was to obtain the admission of the whole dominions of Austria into the Confederation, and to make her the mistress of an empire of seventy millions of inhabitants. The poor Prussian King was willing to yield even to this demand, and but for the protest of Britain and France the whole Austrian Empire would have been received into the Bund. When the illness of the King of Prussia in 1858 made it necessary that his brother should be appointed Regent, a new and different policy was speedily inaugurated. Bismarck, who now began to come to the front, expressed his conviction that the existing federal relations were unprofitable, and in critical times even dangerous, for Prussia, and that in the opinion of the majority of the Confederation Prussia ought always to yield, even when they thought her in the right. 'We have no means,' he said, 'of coming to a permanent and satisfactory arrangement with this policy within the pale of the existing federal treaties. I consider our present federal relations as a disease of Prussia which we shall be obliged to cure sooner or later with fire and sword, if we do not take preventive measures in seasonable time.'

But though the Prussian people felt humiliated by long subjection to Austria, the Berlin Cabinet were not yet prepared to take decisive measures to elevate the position of Prussia in Germany. They waited, however, and watched for every opportunity of advancing her claims by fair means or by foul. It became necessary, in the first instance, to strengthen the military power of Prussia, to be in readiness to strike promptly and vigorously when the time came to assert her supremacy. 'Prussia,' said Bismarck, 'is obliged to collect her force for a favourable moment, which has already been missed several times. Her frontiers are not favourable for a healthy commonwealth. The great questions of our times are to be decided not by speeches and resolutions, but by blood and iron.' The experience of 1859 had satisfied the Prince Regent, who became king on the death of his brother in 1861, that the equipment, training, and discipline of the Prussian army had become obsolete, and that a thorough reform was necessary in order that Prussia might maintain her rank as a great Power. But the proposal to raise the necessary funds for the reorganization of the army was ill received by the Deputies, and a demand was made, and supported by a great majority, that the time of effective service exacted by law from every Prussian subject should be reduced from three to two years.

The contest which thus began between the Ministry and the House of Deputies in 1861 continued to be waged with great bitterness. Bismarck, who was now Prime Minister, attempted to browbeat rather than conciliate them. On one occasion he said—'When we shall deem it necessary to make war, we shall do so with or without the concurrence of this House.' He insisted that the King should be allowed to carry out unconditionally his plans for the reform of the army against the will of the majority. The House refused to grant the ways and means, and Bismarck resolved to govern without a budget legally voted. The Deputies insisted that the Government should

not be entitled to appropriate any money without the consent of the House; but Bismarck contended that if the Government and the Legislature could not agree on the budget, the last budget would remain in force till an agreement had been arrived at. He took care that they should not agree when the full amount demanded was not granted. The Deputies on one occasion voted, but reduced the budget, and Bismarck induced the Upper House to reject it. He then declared that no provision for this case had been made by the Constitution, and that therefore he intended to govern by the last budget. He was quite indifferent to the opposition of the House and the clamour of the people so long as he was able to levy the existing taxes. In this way the army was enlarged and prepared for the work which it was in due time to be called on to perform. It was meanwhile carefully concealed that the reason why the King and his Minister were keeping under arms a much larger body of regular troops than had served for his predecessor, was that they might be in readiness to attack and plunder their neighbours. It must be admitted that this nefarious project was quite in keeping with the hereditary policy of the Berlin Cabinet. The King, after the robbery of Schleswig-Holstein, said—'In anxious anticipation of what has now taken place, I have been forced for years to consider it as the first duty of my royal office to prepare Prussia's military resources for a strong development of force.'

The first step in Prussia's aggressive movements was the breach of the Treaty of 1852 and the attack on Denmark. The pretext for this war was her desire to liberate the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from the alleged tyranny of the Danish King; but, as it ultimately became evident, her real object was to annex them by force to her own dominions. When this flagrant violation of treaties, and of the rights both of the rulers and the people of these Duchies, was accomplished, the second step speedily

followed. Bismarck foresaw that a rupture with Austria would inevitably follow the armed intervention in the Duchies, whatever course the Cabinet of Vienna might pursue. Had Austria refused to join in the attack upon Denmark, she would have had against her not only Prussia, but all the other German States, who were vehement in their demand that the Duchies should be annexed to Germany. The Cabinet of Vienna had not moral courage to resist this unrighteous claim, and consented, though with reluctance, to become the accomplice of Prussia in the spoliation of the gallant little kingdom which both Powers were bound by treaty to protect. Bismarck was quite well aware that this false step on the part of Austria placed her in his grasp, and that a pretext for a quarrel, whenever it suited his purpose to bring it about, could easily be found in the questions which would arise out of the joint occupancy of the provinces and the contested rights of the Diet in connection with them.

Before he made the long-meditated attempt to wrest from Austria the imperial ascendancy in Germany, and to break up the existing Federal system of that country, Bismarck thought it necessary to secure the neutrality of France. He eagerly sought the acquaintance and cultivated the friendship of Louis Napoleon. In July, 1864, he had frequent conversations with the French Minister, M. Rouher, at Carlsbad, to whom he hinted at the necessity of giving Prussia a better geographical configuration. If this were arranged she would be at liberty to break with the Holy Alliance, and to choose suitable allies; and no alliance would be more fitting in every way or more acceptable than that of France. Both Powers had the same interest in Venetia and the East, and France might be recompensed for the increase of Prussian territory by appropriating Luxemburg and Belgium.

In 1864 Bismarck, in order to induce Austria to become the accomplice of Prussia in the Danish War, agreed to support the Emperor Francis Joseph against Italy,

in the event of an attack on Venetia. In the following year the Prussian Minister at Florence was instructed to sound General La Marmora as to an alliance with Prussia in case of a war with Austria. These overtures were cordially welcomed by the Italian Premier, and he immediately began to sketch out a plan for the proposed campaign, but the refusal of the Prussian king to sanction this enterprise compelled Bismarck to relinquish his scheme. The Convention of Gastein between Austria and Prussia speedily followed. A reconciliation took place between the Austrian Emperor and his uncle, and they agreed to make common cause against revolution and infidelity. The impression which this Convention made on the various European Powers was highly unfavourable to both the contracting parties. Britain expressed deep indignation at the manner in which Denmark had been despoiled and the prey divided by the two aggressors. Italy accused Prussia of treachery; the Middle German States turned in disgust from Prussia, and took their revenge by acknowledging Italy; the people of Holstein and Schleswig protested that they would not be sold at so much a head. The French Ministry, in a circular despatch to their agents, strongly condemned the Convention. 'We regret to find in this combination,' they said, 'no other basis but force—no other justification but the convenience of the parceners. This is a practice to which Europe now-a-days had got disaccustomed, and one is obliged to look for precedents in the most unfortunate epochs of history. Violence and conquest pervert the notions of right and the conscience of the people.' A despatch expressed in similar terms was sent by Earl Russell to the British agents at Foreign Courts.

In this unpleasant position, suspected and distrusted on all sides, Bismarck had a difficult part to play. He tried in vain to soothe the wounded feelings of the Italian Ministry. He then attempted, not without success, to gain over the French Emperor

to his views. Louis Napoleon was anxious that his programme that Italy should be free from the Alps to the Adriatic should be fulfilled, and Bismarck promised to fulfil this favourite aim by an alliance of Prussia with Italy. Over and above, there can be no doubt that the French Emperor believed that a war between Austria and Prussia would be protracted, and would exhaust the resources of both Powers, leaving him the arbiter of Europe. Having thus secured the neutrality of France, Bismarck entered into a secret treaty with Victor Emmanuel (8th April), by which, if Prussia within three months should declare war with Austria, Italy was obliged to attack Venetia. War once declared the two Powers were bound not to make any separate treaty of peace, and to continue hostilities till Italy should have obtained Venetia and Prussia an equivalent territory in Germany. Victor Emmanuel would willingly have come to a direct understanding with Austria for the cession of Venetia, but the Emperor, with that absurd pride which had repeatedly proved most injurious to his interests, regarded this proposal as a matter of military honour, and rejected the confidential overtures on this subject which were made by the Cabinet of Florence. Count Mensdorff, the Viennese Prime Minister, addressed a despatch to the ambassadors in London and Paris, declaring that Austria would rather encounter a double war than cede one of her most important provinces, either for money or under a moral pressure. Notwithstanding this high-sounding declaration, the Austrian Ministry, shortly before the outbreak of the war, agreed by a secret treaty to cede Venetia to France, but the concession came too late. Italy was by this time inextricably bound up with Prussia, and could not accept the cession without the consent of her ally, which of course could not be obtained. It is very characteristic of the Prussian Prime Minister that several months after he had declared to the French Emperor that he was determined upon war, and the secret treaty of

offensive alliance with Victor Emmanuel against Austria had been signed, he continued, with consummate effrontery and perfidy, to protest that his master, the King of Prussia, cherished nothing but friendly sentiments towards his nephew, the Emperor, and he had even the hardihood to complain that Austria was meditating an attack on the Prussian dominions.

Even yet war might have been prevented if Austria had possessed a statesman with sufficient sagacity to perceive the game Bismarck was playing, and firmness to adhere to the proper course to baffle it. But though Austria behaved with great moderation in spite of the manifold provocations which she received for the express purpose of provoking her to take the initiative in the war, the Cabinet at Vienna fell into serious mistakes, and omitted to avail themselves of several opportunities of baffling Bismarck's nefarious designs. The public feeling in Germany was strongly manifested against a fratricidal war. The Middle States evidently intended to side with Austria. The French Chamber of Deputies expressed their conviction that the policy of Prussia was perilous to the peace of Europe, and the Prussian King himself was decidedly averse to appear before the world as the ally of the revolutionary King of Italy, and was still more reluctant to abandon the hereditary policy of his family. Bismarck, however, at last succeeded, by a series of discreditable intrigues, in bringing his royal master, as he said, to the edge of the ditch which he would have to jump.

About the end of May the three neutral Powers—Britain, France, and Russia—made an official attempt to prevent the war by proposing a Conference in Paris for the purpose of settling the affairs of the Elbe Duchies, the Italian question, and the German Federal reforms, as far as they were of interest to the other European countries. Bismarck was thunderstruck when he learned that Austria had accepted the invitation, as it was clearly her interest

to do, but the Emperor was unfortunately induced by Count Moritz Esterhazy to make it a previous condition that the negotiations should exclude all pretensions on the part of any one of the parties in question to a territorial aggrandizement. In consequence of this condition the French Emperor declared that it was useless for the Great Powers to meet, and the proposed Conference was abandoned.

Bismarck was still at a loss how and under what pretext to begin the war. On the 24th of March he had made a really revolutionary proposal for the reorganization of all Germany by a Radical Parliament, chosen by direct and universal suffrage, though only three months earlier he had appealed to Austria to combine with him against the revolution. Austria replied she was quite willing to assist in effecting that reform, but that it could only be accomplished at a time of peace and in a spirit of concord. Bismarck, thus once more foiled, addressed to the Austrian Minister a despatch, which was justly designated as of 'unmeasured arrogance and impertinence, in language unknown not only to courts but to gentlemen.' Austria responded by convoking the States of Holstein to deliberate on the affairs of the province, and submitted the whole question to the Diet. Prussia dispersed the States by force, arrested the Austrian Commissioner, and stopped one of the Imperial couriers. The troops of Austria evacuated Altona and marched through Hanover. Still no blow was struck. Austria then laid the question of the Duchies before the Diet, and proposed that the whole Federal army should be called out to her assistance—a perfectly legal proposition, though its expediency in the circumstances may be doubted, as Austria was quite unprepared to open the campaign. It was supported by a decided majority of the Bund, and Bismarck immediately declared war, and forthwith invaded the territories of the States which had supported Austria.

The Germanic Confederation consisted of

States united by a common nationality. It was by its very nature 'a perpetual Confederation for the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany;' the members of the Confederation, great and small, were equal with regard to their right, and they were equally bound to maintain the Act which constituted their Union. They expressly engaged not to make war against each other upon any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the Diet, and to the ultimate decision of that body. The Treaty of Vienna, to which Prussia and all the other States of Europe were parties, bound them to the same agreement. But the most solemn engagements were no stronger than cobwebs to bind Bismarck and his royal master when they deemed it their interest to break them. And they violated them without hesitation when they pronounced the Federal compact at an end, and declared that Prussia would 'consider the imperative requirements of her self-preservation as more important than her relations to the Germanic Confederation.'

On the 16th of June, the day after the Frankfort Diet, by a majority of ten votes to five, decreed that the forces of the different States should be mobilized, the Prussian army entered Saxony and took possession of Leipzig. The manifesto of the Austrian Emperor justly affirmed that Prussia by such a step had 'substituted open violence for right and justice.' The Minor German States were unready and ill prepared for war, and the storm struck them from the quarter in which they least expected to meet it. The rapidity with which the Prussian armies overran the Northern States of Germany, and completed in a week the conquest of a large body of undefined principalities, proves to a demonstration that the whole operation had been carefully prepared beforehand. The Hanoverian army, after courageously repelling an attack of the enemy, was surrounded by a force greatly superior in numbers, and compelled to capitulate. The Prussian

King professed to regard this result as 'a visible interposition of Providence' in his behalf. The city of Frankfort was occupied by the Prussian forces on the 16th of July without any resistance, and a heavy contribution was even forced upon the inhabitants. The free city of Hamburg also was seized in the same unwarrantable manner, and was amerced in a large sum of money.

The case of Austria was different. Her army was believed to be the second in Europe, and Marshal Benedek, who commanded the forces in the North, was an officer of the highest reputation, and was regarded as an abler commander than any of the Prussian generals. But the Viennese Cabinet, neglecting the warnings of their Commander-in-Chief, precipitated a rupture before their army was ready for action. The Confederates of Austria, too, were quite unprepared, and were paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack. A Federal army, which was intrusted to cover Frankfort, remained inactive until its co-operation was of no service; and the Bavarians, who were to have taken part in the war with 100,000 men, were not ready before the end of the campaign. The Saxon army alone among the contingents of the smaller States joined the Austrians in Bohemia, and performed good service to the common cause. On the other hand, the Prussian army had been carefully disciplined and prepared for the enterprise which they were about to undertake. The extended period of service, and the budgets required for the equipment of the troops, had been enforced by royal prerogative after they had been rejected by the House of Deputies. The army itself and the accessories of the service had been brought into a condition of perfect efficiency by Count Von Roon, Minister of War, and General Von Moltke, chief of the Royal Staff, had arranged all the movements of the campaign, while Austria and her allies were wasting their time in political intrigues, and confidently believing that peace would not be broken. Bismarck had for

some time been satisfied that the power of Austria and her confederates was hollow, and the possession by the Prussian troops of the only breech-loading muskets in Europe increased his confidence in the result of the war. Bismarck's expectations, however, were not shared by the military authorities of France, Russia, and Britain, by whom the quality of the Prussian troops and of their generals was undervalued, while they believed that the advantage in numbers, in physical strength, and in experience of war was on the side of the Austrians.

Marshal Benedek was compelled by the premature action of his Government to allow the Prussians to anticipate him in the occupation of Dresden, and he concentrated his troops in a defensive position within the mountainous angle of Bohemia. His base rested on a great line of fortresses and strong positions connected by railways; and holding the concentric position, with the power of manœuvring in the inner line, he expected to meet and defeat in detail the several Prussian corps, which were necessarily separated from each other by a considerable extent of difficult country. But he was not prepared for the rapid movements of the enemy, which completely foiled his plans.

The whole Prussian force was divided into three main armies. The first, under Prince Frederick Charles, occupied Saxony, and threatened the frontiers of Bohemia; the second army, under the Crown Prince, operated in Silesia; and a third army, called the army of the Elbe, under General Herwarth, was ready to march on the right flank of the first army. On the 22nd of June the headquarters of the first army were established at Hirschfield, a village situated on the Neisse, a few miles to the north-east of the frontier town of Zittau, which covers the outlet of the passes from Saxony into Bohemia. Next day the army crossed the frontier in two columns, one of which marched by way of Görlitz and the other by Zittau. On the 26th an artillery engagement took place at Reichenberg

between the Prussian advanced guard and an Austrian battery, the result of which was that the Austrians fell back upon Münchengrätz. Here two days later the invading forces attacked a body of Austrians and Saxons, who made an obstinate resistance, but were ultimately driven back in the direction of Gitschin, followed by the Prussians, who took up a position on the high ground in front of the town.

Meanwhile the second army marched through Silesia to the eastern openings in the mountains leading into Bohemia. In order to deceive the enemy the Prussians made a feint as if they intended to cross the frontier from Neisse by way of Widenau; but while the Austrians were expecting them to debouch in that direction they turned to the right, and passing, without opposition, the frontier at Reinerz and Landshut, they suddenly made their appearance on the west at Nachod and Trautenau. In a succession of combats during the last week of June the Prussians uniformly obtained the advantage. In their encounters with the army of the Crown Prince, the Austrians lost many thousands in killed and wounded, besides 8000 prisoners and twenty guns. The Third Prussian Army, under General Herwarth, effected a junction with the First Army on the 28th of June. Marshal Benedek had taken up a strong position at Dubenitz in order to meet the Second Army, under the Crown Prince, as it debouched from the Elbe; but the failure of General Clam Gallas to hold the town of Gitschin exposed the left flank of Benedek's army, and compelled him to fall back in the direction of Königgrätz. He evidently felt the danger to which he was now exposed in his new position, and seems also to have lost confidence in his troops, for at this juncture he telegraphed to the Emperor at Vienna the ominous words—'Sire, you must make peace!' He could not, indeed, fail to be aware that the Italian regiments in the Austrian service were disaffected, and that the Hungarians were lukewarm in the Imperial cause.

The movements of the Prussian forces had hitherto been directed by General von Moltke from headquarters at Berlin. But now, when a decisive battle was at hand, the king and he joined the army at Gitschin on the 2nd of July. The Austrian army was drawn up on a range of low undulating hills, between the villages of Snirzitz and Nechanitz, the centre occupying a hill on which stood the village of Klum, embowered in thick trees and gardens. This was the key of the position. Beyond this line, at some distance to the north, there is a similar ridge of greater elevation. Further back still is the picturesque broken country formed by the projecting spires and lower ranges of the Riesengebirge Mountains. In the valley, between the first and second ridge, runs the Bistritz rivulet, on which the villages of Sadowa and Nechanitz are situated. The army which Marshal Benedek had to defend this position, about nine miles in length from right to left, consisted of about 225,000 men, but a large deduction must be made for the baggage guards, the various escorts, the garrisons of Josephstadt and Königgrätz, the sick, and the killed, wounded, and prisoners in the recent actions. He was strong in cavalry, and his artillery consisted of about 540 guns.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of July the Prussians commenced their attack on the Austrian position. A number of villages were dotted at intervals on the low hills on the field of battle, and there the fiercest encounters took place. Notwithstanding the great advantage of the needle guns, which enabled the Prussians to fire at least three shots for one, the Austrians firmly held their ground. The carnage was dreadful, especially at the wood above Sadowa, and that between Sadowa and Benatek, on the Austrian right, where the hostile forces fought with the bayonet. The latter place was carried after a frightful struggle, which cost many thousands of lives. One Prussian regiment, which went in nearly 3000 strong, with ninety officers,

came out on the further side with only two officers and between 300 and 400 men standing; all the rest were killed or wounded.

The Prussians, by hard fighting, had gained several positions, but at one o'clock they were brought to a standstill, and had great difficulty in retaining the ground they had won. It seemed by no means improbable that they would be defeated, but at this critical moment the army of the Crown Prince, which had been eagerly expected, reached the battle-field. About half-past one the Austrian forces, which had gallantly held the village of Klum, though it had been for some time in flames, found themselves suddenly exposed to a cross fire on their right from the troops brought up by the Crown Prince. 'The lines of dark blue,' wrote a spectator of the battle, 'which came in sight from the right teemed from the vales below as if the earth yielded them. They filled the whole background of the awful picture, of which Klum was the centre. They pressed down on the left of the Prague road—in square, in column, deployed, or wheeling hither and thither—everywhere pouring in showers with deadly precision—penetrating the whole line of the Austrians; still they could not force their stubborn enemy to fly. On all sides they met brave but unfortunate men, ready to die if they could do no more. At the side of the Prague road the fight went on with incredible vehemence. The Austrians had still an immense force of artillery, and although its concentrated force swept the ground before it, its effect was lost in some degree by reason of the rising-ground above, and at last by its divergence to so many points to answer the enemy's cannon. Cherta and Visa were now burning, so that from right to left the flames of ten villages and the flashes of guns and musketry contended with the sun that pierced the clouds in illuminating the seas of steel and the fields of carnage. It was three o'clock. The efforts of the Austrians to occupy Klum and free their centre had failed; their right was driven down in a helpless mass towards

Königgrätz, quivering and palpitating as shot and shell tore through it.' The Austrians were at last forced to yield by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. But their splendid cavalry 'hung like white thunder clouds on the flanks' of the Prussian infantry and threatened their front, keeping them in square and solid columns, and the Prussian horse, recognizing their inferiority, did not venture to press the pursuit. Benedek was thus enabled to cross the Elbe in safety with the remains of his forces, and he eventually halted at Olmütz.

After this decisive defeat the Austrians sent to the Prussian headquarters to propose an armistice, but the request met with a peremptory refusal. The victorious army proceeded to advance in three divisions, one taking the road to Brünn, the capital of Moravia; a second marched towards Olmütz; and the army of the Elbe turned westward in the direction of Iglau. Brünn was occupied by the Prussians on the 12th of July. Moravia was abandoned by the Austrians, and on the 17th Prince Charles Frederick occupied Lundenburg Junction, and thus cut off communication between the strong fortress of Olmütz and Vienna. General Benedek had meanwhile been deprived of the chief command of the Austrian army, which was conferred on the Archduke Albert, who was then at the head of the Austrian army in Venetia. The superseded general was ordered to withdraw his troops across the Danube, to defend the capital. He succeeded in sending a considerable number of men by railway to Vienna, and with the remainder he fought his way to Presburg, which was already threatened by the Prussians under Prince Frederick Charles.

At this critical moment the war was suddenly and unexpectedly brought to a termination. The Emperor of Austria, seeing that he was overmatched by the Prussians in the North, while a very large portion of his best troops were engaged in a profitless contest with the Italians for Venetia, determined to carry into effect his secret

treaty with France, and to surrender Venice to that power. He knew that by taking this step he would call the French Emperor to his assistance, and would reinforce his shattered forces on the Danube by the troops, 135,000 strong, now confronting the Italian army on the Adige. If his false pride had not prevented him from giving up Venetia at an earlier period, the issue of the war would in all probability have been different. Louis Napoleon of course accepted the province thus tendered to him, and telegraphed to the King of Prussia offering his mediation, and proposing an armistice. The Prussians, as Bismarck frankly admitted, were not in a situation to refuse the mediation of France. 'Nobody,' he said, 'could expect us to carry on two wars at the same time. Peace with Austria had not been concluded; were we to imperil the fruits of our glorious campaign by plunging headlong into hostilities with a new—a second enemy?' The armistice was therefore agreed upon, which, in the first instance, was to last for five days, beginning from the 22nd of July. The preliminaries for a treaty of peace between Austria and Prussia were signed at Nikolsburg on the 26th of July, but the treaty was not definitely concluded until the 23rd of August.

The fortune of war, which had been so unpropitious to Austria in the north, had run strongly in her favour in Italy. The proposal to make an attack upon Austria had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by all classes of the Italians. For this there was no other reason or pretext except the determination to rescue Venetia from the German yoke, and to set Italy free 'from the Alps to the Adriatic.' A formal declaration of war against Austria was issued by the King of Italy on the 20th of June, two days after a similar step had been taken by the King of Prussia. General Della Marmora, resigning his office as Prime Minister to Baron Ricasoli, took the command, under the King, of one division of the regular army, while General Cialdini,

with 100,000 men, prepared to cross the Lower Po on the east of the Quadrilateral fortresses. On the 23rd of June the King and Della Marmora crossed the Mincio in force, intending to take up a strong position between Villafranca and the group of hills between Valeggio, Somma Campagna, and Castelnuovo. They came into collision with the main body of the Austrians at Custozza, between Peschiera and Verona, and after a protracted and obstinate contest, in which the valour of the soldiers made some compensation for the mistakes committed by the generals, they were driven back with heavy losses, and compelled to recross the Mincio. After the battle of Custozza the Italian army did not attempt any active operations, and Garibaldi, who had taken the field at the head of an undisciplined and badly-equipped body of volunteers, failed to obtain any considerable success.

The Italians were equally unfortunate in a naval combat with the Austrian fleet, which shortly after took place off Lissa. Lissa is a fortified island belonging to Austria in the Adriatic, off the coast of Dalmatia, and the Italian fleet, under Admiral Persano, proceeded to attack it on the 18th of July. They had succeeded in overcoming the sea batteries by the fire of the fleet, and had commenced the disembarkation of the troops on the morning of the 20th, when the Austrian squadron, commanded by Admiral Tegethoff, hove in sight. Preparations for battle were immediately made on both sides. The Austrian fleet consisted of twenty-six sail, seven of which were ironclads. The Italians had a greater number of vessels, including eleven ironclads and a large ram. Very little skill was displayed on either side. A great deal of confusion seems to have existed throughout the conflict, and the main object of each vessel appears to have been to run its opponent down. After the engagement had lasted two hours both sides drew off, but the Italians had by far the worst of it. One of their vessels, named the *Palestro*, was set on fire and blew up, with the loss of all her

crew, except a few who were picked up by the other vessels. The Austrian line-of-battle ship the *Kaiser*, with Admiral Tegethoff on board, ran into the *Re d'Italia*, and struck her with such force that she sank, with her whole crew of more than 600 men. Admiral Persano retired with the shattered remnant of his ships to Ancona.

The defeat of their forces both on land and sea inflicted a severe disappointment on the Italians, and taught them by painful experience that patriotic enthusiasm is an inadequate substitute for strategic skill and administrative vigour. They no doubt attained the main object for which they had entered into the war; but their satisfaction was greatly diminished by the conduct of the Austrian Government in transferring Venetia to the French Emperor, and not to the King of Italy—a useless and needless act very unwisely extorted by Louis Napoleon, which was not rendered more palatable by his insisting on the offensive ceremony of an appeal to the suffrages of the inhabitants. Everyone knew that they were merely asked to express their concurrence in a foregone conclusion, and they showed their discretion by unanimously expressing their desire to be incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy. The peninsula was thus at last made free from foreign domination. The only exception to the national sovereignty consisted in the city of Rome and the very limited dominions of the Holy See.

Negotiations for the conclusion of peace between Austria and Prussia had for some time been carried on at Prague, and the treaty was at last signed on the 23rd of August. It definitely sanctioned the union of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces to the Kingdom of Italy, recognized the dissolution of the German Bund, and consented to a new formation of Germany in which the Imperial State of Austria should take no part, transferred to the King of Prussia all the rights Austria had acquired to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, 'with the understanding that the people of the

northern district of Schleswig, if by free vote they express a wish to be united to Denmark, shall be ceded to Denmark accordingly'—a condition which remains to this day unfulfilled. Bismarck had set his heart on the annexation of Saxony, but this the Emperor of France would not permit, and the most galling result of the French intervention to him was the stipulation in the treaty that 'the Kingdom of Saxony should remain within its present limits.' Austria consented to pay forty million Prussian dollars for the expenses incurred by Prussia on account of the war, but from that sum one-half was deducted as the amount due to Austria by the Elbe Duchies.

As the result of the war, Prussia obtained not only the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, but in addition a large accession of territory. The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were formally made over to her, and she forcibly annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Hamburg, that part of Hesse-Darmstadt which lies to the north of the Maine, and the little principality of Hohenzollern, the cradle of the Prussian royal house, situated on the borders of Lake Constance, between Würtemberg and Switzerland.

Something might be said in justification of the annexation of Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, which separated the Prussian monarchy into two parts, and the follies and misgovernment of their rulers made the population desirous of incorporation with Prussia. But the case was different with regard to Hanover. If the hostility of the sovereign to Prussia prevented his restoration to his hereditary throne, he could easily have been compelled to abdicate in favour of his son, who certainly could not have been more hostile to Prussian supremacy than the King of Saxony or the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Hanoverians were strongly opposed to annexation, and Bismarck himself admitted in his conversations with Count Münster that the immense majority of the people of Hanover

were desirous that their country should remain as an independent State. Frankfort and Hamburg had certainly no wish to be deprived of their ancient privileges as free cities, and to be reduced to the condition of an appanage of the Prussian monarchy. But the claims of rulers and the rights of the people were alike disregarded when they stood in the way of Prussia's aggrandizement. And Bismarck, who boldly declared that in his estimation might made right, had no scruple in incorporating four millions of Germans by the bare right of conquest. The reception given to the Prussian troops by the States and towns which they invaded and seized unmistakably proved that the people were well aware that the fate in store for them was subjection to the iron sway of the Prussian military system and the Prussian police. Everywhere the invaders were received in sullen silence, and were regarded not as liberators from the arbitrary control of their own petty and unpopular rulers, but merely as the instruments of extending to the conquered provinces that system of insolent oppression for which Prussia had so long been notorious.

The destruction of the German Diet, the war with Austria, and the forcible annexation of the minor States, were quite in accordance with the hereditary policy of the Prussian dynasty, which may be said to have deified force and fraud. In every page of the history of that monarchy may be found examples of the same aggressive and ambitious spirit prompting the Sovereigns and Ministers of Prussia to similar acts of treachery, bad faith, and violence. 'The maxims by which the conduct of that Court has been governed since it assumed a place among the greater Powers of Europe, are so incredibly cynical and immoral that the authenticity of the document that contains them has been denied. But the acts of the Prussian Government for the last hundred and fifty years transcend even the language of her rulers. No other Government has laid it down as an avowed

principle that self-aggrandizement justifies the breach of any engagement, and the partition or seizure of unoffending neighbours. Prussia alone, since the fall of Napoleon, has done more than proclaim these principles—she has given effect to them.' The unchecked success of such a power in this enterprise gave a fatal blow to political morality; contributed largely to shake all trust in those public engagements on which the peace of the world depends; taught mankind once more the cruel lesson that strength alone, and not law, can give them security; placed all the smaller States of Central Europe at the mercy of three or four colossal Empires; and compelled even these Empires to augment their immense military establishments, and to press their whole adult male population into the ranks of their armies.

It must be admitted, however, that it was the French Emperor who struck the first serious blow at the existing rights and engagements of the European Powers by the Italian War of 1859, in which he showed that he was prepared forcibly to impose his personal policy upon foreign nations. But in extenuation of this step it might be urged that the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy was a great gain to the cause of humanity and freedom. No such apology, however, can be made for the unprovoked attack of Prussia on Denmark and the robbery of the Elbe Duchies, and it is undeniable that on Prussia alone rests the moral guilt of the war with Austria, which was undertaken without a shred of legal right or political provocation. After the Italian War Prince Albert always entertained suspicions of the policy of the French Emperor, and in a letter to the present King of Prussia, congratulating him on his accession to the throne, he said, 'What especially pleases me is the prospect of seeing for the future among the five Powers a Continental Power that will take its stand simply and solely upon the domain of justice and equity, and will thus become a corrective element of the highest

importance in the great Continental policy of intrigue.' This expectation was unfortunately not destined to be realized. The invasion of the Duchies, the treaty of Gastein, the secret agreement with Italy to join in an attack on Austria, and the annexation of Hanover and Frankfort, were actions far more remote from 'the domain of equity and justice' than any which the French Government had attempted. A united Germany, under a central power, with a national Parliament, was no doubt highly desirable both for the sake of that country itself and for the interests of Europe, and if it had been brought about by the lawful and peaceful means pointed out by Prince Albert in his masterly 'Memorandum on German Affairs,' would have been cordially hailed by every friend of civil and religious liberty and of social progress. But a union effected by fraud and violence, by 'blood and iron,' as Bismarck termed it, has been productive of incalculable evil. It not only cost the lives of many thousands of Germans, who perished at the hands of their brethren in a fratricidal war, but also broke down the barriers of public law and the existing constitution of Europe, and has compelled the Continental Powers to keep on foot those immense armies which have become an almost overwhelming burden on the industry of the people. Europe has ever since been in a state, not of peace, but of armed truce.

On the other hand, the exclusion of Austria from Germany was a great gain to that country, and ultimately to Austria itself. The influence of the Viennese Cabinet in the German Diet had been 'evil only—evil continually.' Austria was a State composed less of German than of non-German elements, and was governed by a policy usually quite different from German interests and views. Its system of government, as Prince Albert said, was so wholly based upon stagnation that it could not hold out a hand to progress of any kind without shattering its own foundations. It had no other object than to crush German

freedom, and it systematically impeded and stifled every movement in the Diet which was calculated to promote the progress of the people. The rulers of the smaller German States consequently looked to Austria for protection against the indignation of their subjects on account of their tyrannical proceedings. The expulsion from the German Diet of a power so hostile to improvement in every department of public life was an indispensable preliminary to the commercial and intellectual, as well as political, developments of the nation.

The Vatican was undoubtedly the heaviest loser of all by the defeat of Austria. If that Power had been victorious, as the Papal Court confidently expected, the Papacy might have regained all that it had lost during the previous six disastrous years. In that case the territories taken from the Pontiff by the Italian Government would almost certainly have been once more subjected to the priestly sway which its subjects so bitterly detested. But when Austria, the last of the great Ultramontane Powers, disappeared from the field, it was evident that the temporal power of the Pope would speedily come to an end. After the Austrian defeat at Sadowa the Roman Catholic journals loudly lamented that there was now no State 'dependent upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ;' that all had abjured the official character of the Roman Catholic faith; that though there were still 'Catholic peoples there was no longer any really Catholic government or nation.'

Austria herself has in the long run been benefited by her expulsion from the German Diet, which has rendered her the great Danubian Empire that Talleyrand wished to establish in 1809 against the aggression of Russia. It has been still more beneficial to the various provinces of her empire, and especially to Hungary. The policy of Austria, from the time of the Revolution in 1848 downwards, had been arbitrary, unjust, and unwise. Her treatment of Hungary had been in flagrant

violation of the treaty by which that kingdom was annexed to the Austrian Empire. Although laid prostrate by the combined armies of Russia and Austria, and compelled by the most brutal violence to renounce their claim to independence, her people were determined never to forego their hereditary rights. The Viennese Camarilla had made the young emperor not only violate all the promises which he had made during the revolutionary storm of 1848, but also to destroy all the forms of a representative constitution. A system of pure absolutism was formally proclaimed by an Imperial decree, and the Ministers were declared to be responsible solely to the Crown. It very soon appeared that this reactionary policy had excited strong dissatisfaction in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor as well as in Hungary and Croatia, and that it was quite impossible to carry out this despotic form of government. Various expedients were tried by Schwarzenberg and his like-minded colleagues to induce the people to submit to this system of absolutism, and repeated changes were made in its form, but without altering its spirit. The Hungarians remained quiescent under the yoke, but offered a firm though passive resistance to the imperial decrees.

After the defeat of Austria in the Franco-Italian war, the Emperor promulgated, in October, 1859, a new Constitution or Imperial Diploma for all his dominions, by which he conferred on the Reichsrath legislative powers and some control of the national finances. It declared that all matters of legislation relating to the 'kingdoms and countries belonging to the Hungarian Crown should be managed in the sense of their former Constitutions;' and by Imperial letters addressed at the same time to Baron Vay, the Emperor intimated that 'for the future the ancient principle of the public law of Hungary, that legislative power can only be exercised by the Sovereign with the participation of the Hungarian Diet, shall be valid.' The Hungarians, however, wisely refused to be satisfied with concessions so

vague and insufficient, and which were granted not as their right, but as a royal boon. They therefore persisted in their demands that their hereditary Constitution should be restored; that the Emperor, after swearing to that Constitution, should be crowned at Pesth as King of Hungary; that they must be secured in their right to a separate administration of the kingdom, for the purposes of war and of finance; and that one of three persons nominated by the Diet should be appointed by the Emperor as Palatine of the kingdom. These were the fundamental conditions on which the right of the Kaiser to the throne of Hungary rested; and to assent to the abrogation of these rights would, they affirmed, have reduced their country to the position of an Austrian province. The Government of Vienna, however, refused to concede these demands, and in consequence the Hungarian people remained in a state of chronic irritation highly dangerous to the safety of the empire.

The policy of the Vienna Cabinet at this time was as injurious to religious as to civil liberty. In August, 1855, a Concordat was concluded between the Pope and the Emperor of Austria, which Prince Albert justly branded as 'atrocious.' 'By that document greater rights and privileges within the Austrian Empire were conceded than the Papal See had been able in the days of its greatest power to extort from any German sovereign. It made the conscience, the education, and the religious guidance of the Empire wholly subservient to the dictates of Rome, and pledged the civil authority to enforce whatever the Vatican might enjoin.' After the disastrous termination of the war with Prussia, Baron Beust, a Protestant, who had previously been Prime Minister of Saxony, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs by the Austrian Emperor, and his influence was exerted to improve and liberalize the policy of the Cabinet. Francis Joseph had made an earnest appeal to the Hungarian people during the war to rally round the Crown, and in answer to a

David B. Case



Engraved by G. J. Siodart from a Photograph.

F R A N C I S J O S E P H ,
E M P E R O R O F A U S T R I A .

speech from the throne in February, 1866, the Hungarian Diet stated their grievances in very plain and explicit terms. 'We have not,' they said, 'Parliamentary government; we have not responsible Ministers; the municipalities, the counties, the districts, and the towns have not regained their constitutional position; the absolute system prevails in all branches of the Administration. We ask, therefore, of your Majesty continuity of right in the sense of our especial laws, Parliamentary government, a responsible Ministry, and the re-establishment of the municipalities.'

An Imperial Rescript, read to the Hungarian Diet on the 19th of November, made large but vague promises respecting the introduction of responsible government and the management of affairs common to the whole empire. The Diet rejoined in an address informing the Emperor in distinct terms that his promises and avowals did not allay their apprehensions or satisfy their demands. They required the immediate restitution of their Constitution, and not promises 'dependent upon time and conditions,' and they reminded the Emperor that 'by the Pragmatic Sanction the succession to the throne was made conditional upon the support of the laws and Constitution of the nation.' It had evidently become a matter of life and death to the Empire to pacify and consolidate Hungary, and the Viennese Cabinet saw that it was impossible any longer to refuse or evade the demand that its ancient Constitution should be restored. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, 1867, a message from the Government was communicated to all the Diets of the Empire, intimating that a responsible Ministry had been appointed for Hungary as a preliminary condition of an arrangement with that kingdom. On the 8th of June the Emperor and Empress were crowned at Pesth King and Queen of Hungary, with the ancient formalities. A solemn oath was taken by the Emperor to observe the Constitution, which had been previously restored by a Diploma, signed

by him in the presence of the Magnates and Deputies. Speaking as King of Hungary, he acknowledged the continuity of Hungarian rights and the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction, on which the Hungarians had throughout the struggle relied as defining the rights of the nation to its elected dynasty. At the same time an 'Act of Grace' was published, cancelling and annulling all the sentences which had been passed upon any of the Hungarians for political offences; forfeited estates were restored, and permission was given to all political exiles to return to their own country. A coronation gift of the Hungarian nation was presented to the King and Queen in two silver caskets containing 50,000 ducats. The money was made over by them for the support of the widows and orphans of 'former Honveds, and of invalids of the same force incapacitated from supporting themselves by their own labour.' The gift was significant of the altered relation between the Emperor and the people, for the Honveds were Hungarians who had fought against Austria in 1848 and 1849 in defence of their constitutional rights.

The Constitutional Reichsrath was also revived and assembled at Vienna, and it lost no time in showing that the powers intrusted to it were to be vigorously exercised in vindicating the rights and privileges of the people. Measures were prepared and passed by triumphant majorities, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the priests, to emancipate the schools from the control of the clergy; to make marriage a civil rite; to sanction divorce on certain specified grounds; and to define the relations of the different religious denominations to each other. All citizens were declared equal before the law; inviolability of domicile was guaranteed. Letters were to be sacred, except in cases of a judicial order. 'Right of petition, right of meeting, right of speech, teaching, writing, and printing were established, as well as freedom of religion. Again, in May, 1868, further laws were passed withdrawing entirely both marriage

and education from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Marriage was made matter of civil contract, and the State schools were thrown open to all, without distinction of creed. The last vestiges of the Concordat were swept away by measures introduced by Prince Auersperg into the Reichsrath, in January, 1874, for the regulation of the relations between Church and State. The conduct of the Ultramontane party provoked the Ministry to take steps for the protection both of the Government and the people, and to place the Roman Catholic Church, as to all but its purely spiritual functions, under the control of the State. The appointment of the priests was made subject to the sanction of the Government, who might under certain conditions demand their dismissal. The limits of the spiritual authority to be exercised by the priests were defined; rules were prescribed for the education and training of candidates for the priesthood; the rights of ecclesiastical bodies, of congregations, and of parties were dealt with; and provision was made for the proper appropriation of endowments. Monastic bodies were brought under the direct surveillance of the civil authority; clerical endowments were subjected to taxation; and the existence and rights of Protestant denominations were recognized. In short, the entire policy, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Austrian Government was reversed, and the Power which for ages had been the bulwark of absolutism, the tool for executing the decrees of the Romish Church, and the enemy of all progress, became one of the most liberal and tolerant of Continental Governments.

For a good many years Spain had been in a state of chronic insurrection. The Government was of the most arbitrary and oppressive character. All freedom of thought was repressed, and rights of conscience were systematically violated. The education of the young was placed in the hands of the Jesuits, and the forms of the Constitution were abused to plunder the people and minister to the extravagance

and corruption of the Court. The profligate conduct of the Queen had alienated all feelings of loyalty and lost her all personal respect. Her Ministers and worthless minions had rendered the country contemptible in the eyes of Europe. The flagitious policy of Louis Philippe and the Queen-Mother, Christiana, had borne its natural fruit, and at length the people could no longer tolerate a system under which they felt themselves disgraced as well as oppressed, and the whole nation, including the army and the fleet, rose in righteous indignation and swept it away. In the month of April, 1868, insurrectionary movements broke out in Catalonia, and the province was placed in a state of siege. About the end of the month a change of Ministry took place in consequence of the death of Marshal Narvaez, the President of the Council, and a new Cabinet was formed under Gonzalez Bravo, but there was no improvement in the mode of conducting public affairs. In July several Spanish generals, including Marshal Serrano (Duke de la Torre), were arrested, and without any form of trial put on board ship at Cadiz, and sent to the Canary Islands. Several other generals were banished to the Balearic Islands, while some were imprisoned in Spain. At the same time the Queen's sister and her husband, the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier, were ordered to leave the country, and on their refusal to comply with this illegal injunction they were sent on board a Spanish ship of war, and conveyed to Lisbon. In the month of September a revolution broke out, and its leaders sent at once a vessel to bring back the exiled generals from the Canary Islands. On the 17th General Prim, who after his last abortive attempt at insurrection had taken refuge in England, reached Cadiz. On the following day the Spanish fleet at that port, under the command of Admiral Topete, and the garrison in the city declared for the revolution; and on the 19th Marshal Serrano and the other banished generals arrived at Cadiz. The Marshal,

who had formerly been President of the Senate, placed himself at the head of the movement, and it was joined by the whole of Andalusia. At this crisis the Ministry resigned, and General Concha was appointed President of the Council. The command of the royal army was conferred upon the Marquis de Novaliches, who marched upon Cordova, which was occupied by the insurgents. At the bridge of Alcolea, on the Guadalquivir, about fifteen miles from that town, he encountered the hostile force, commanded by Marshal Serrano. The royal troops were defeated, and their commander received a wound of which he died two days after. It was evidently hopeless to attempt to arrest the progress of the revolution, as the royal forces were now fraternizing with the people. The Queen had no resource but to make her escape from Spain as speedily as possible. She took refuge in France, arriving at Biarritz on the 30th of September. Thence, after obtaining a brief interview with the French Emperor, she proceeded to Bayonne.

On the 3rd of October Marshal Serrano entered Madrid at the head of his victorious troops, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the inhabitants. He was authorized by the Central Junta of the capital to exercise in the meantime supreme power, and to appoint a Ministry until a Constitutional Assembly should meet. A provisional Ministry was accordingly formed, which on the 28th of October was recognized by the representatives of Britain, France, Prussia, and Portugal. General Prim was appointed Commander-in-Chief. A decree was issued suppressing the Society of the Jesuits throughout Spain, ordering its colleges and institutions to be closed within three days, and declaring its whole property sequestered to the State. Another decree declared that henceforth

primary education should be absolutely free, restored the normal schools which Isabella's Ministers had suppressed, and reappointed the professors they had removed. A third decree proclaimed the absolute liberty of the press, and abolished the censorship on literary and dramatic publications. An electoral law was promulgated by the Government, authorizing every citizen of twenty-five years of age, who was not deprived of his political rights, to vote at the election of town councillors, provincial deputies, and members of the Cortes.

The general election to the Constituent Cortes took place in January, 1869, and the result was estimated to give to the Monarchical party 250 votes against 75 or 80 Republicans. The Cortes were opened on the 11th of February. Senor Rivero was elected President of the Chamber. A draft of a new Constitution was prepared by a Commission, and adopted by a great majority. It proposed a hereditary Monarchy, and a Cortes consisting of a Senate and a Chamber to make laws. The executive power was to be vested in the King, who was to exercise it through his Ministers. Marshal Serrano was appointed Regent until a King should be elected and inaugurated. General Prim was appointed head of the Ministry. The Republican party took up arms in various districts of the country, but as the troops of the line adhered steadily to the Government the insurrection was suppressed, though not without severe fighting, especially at Saragossa and Valencia. It was evident that the country cordially approved of the resolution of the Cortes that the form of government should be Monarchical, not Republican, but the question who was to be King was the great difficulty. Two years elapsed before a suitable candidate was elected by the Cortes, and induced to accept the unstable throne.

CHAPTER IX.

Report of Committee of House of Commons on Trades' Unions—Act of 1824—Use of Combinations—Regulations of Unions in regard to Apprentices—Non-Unionists and the Rate of Wages—Effect of Combinations and Strikes on the public interests—Strike of the Colliers in the West of Scotland—Effects of Strikes on the Workmen and on Trade—Strike of the Calico Printers and of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners—Ruinous results—The Preston Strike—Secret Oaths of the Trades' Unions—Their acts of violence and murder—Sheffield Trades' Unions—Commission of Investigation—Disclosures respecting the rules and operations of the Trades' Unions—The Brickmakers and Plasterers—Outrages of the Unionists in Ire'land, and at Sheffield and Manchester—Summary of the Report of the Commissioners—Their recommendations—Acts of Parliament passed in 1871 and 1875—Regulations of the Iron Shipbuilders on the Clyde—The Co-operative Movement—The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.

TRADES' Unions, or combinations of workmen in particular branches of skilled industry for the purpose of securing what they consider an adequate reward for their labour, have long been in existence in this country, but until the present century they had been declared unlawful. Their condemnation by the Legislature, however, did not prevent their extension over nearly the whole kingdom. The secrecy in which the proceedings of these associations were involved proved exceedingly mischievous both to the members and the public. The barbarous outrages perpetrated by the members of Trades' Unions, in order to effect their purpose, at length rose to such a height that the House of Commons appointed a Committee to investigate the subject. In the report afterwards issued this Committee state—

'The evidence adduced before them proved that the Combination Laws had been inefficient in repressing those associations of workmen, which had so often dictated to their masters the rates of wages, the hours, and manner of working. There was hardly a trade in the three kingdoms (the type-founders in London excepted) in which the journeymen were not regularly organized, and were not prepared to assist with money, to a great extent, any body of workmen who chose to stand out against their employers. Of these the tailors were the best organized. It appeared that the whole body of journeymen tailors is divided into two classes, denominated flints and dungs; the former work by the day and receive equal wages, the latter work generally by the piece. There are a number of houses of call for the flints, each of which elects a delegate; the delegates again elect five of their number, called the town,

who rule the whole trade with unlimited power. The whisper is spread among the body that there is to be a strike, and without discussing the subject they strike whenever they are ordered to do so. Systems of a similar kind extended, it was shown, throughout the country, and with few exceptions they had been successful in attaining their objects. Sometimes the workmen had proceeded to the most outrageous excesses, and several examples were adduced to the Committee in which murder had been committed without scruple in order to obtain their end. In many places the object of these combinations had been, not so much to augment wages as to prevent workmen who had not served a regular apprenticeship in the particular district from finding employment there.

'While the laws against combination failed in their object, the terror they inspired from being sometimes, though but rarely, enforced, produced, it was conceived, in the workmen a feeling of personal hostility towards their masters, and a growing dissatisfaction with the laws of their country. Upon this ground it was deemed advisable to try whether a more lenient and liberal system might not be productive of good effects; and with that view a general assent was given to a Bill which, while it abolished all the old regulations of the Combination Laws, denounced severe punishment against those who should attempt to influence or overawe by violence or intimidation.'

It was indeed high time that an attempt should be made to amend the existing laws which regulated the relations between masters and workmen, and to remedy the evils which had arisen out of the unjust distinction made by the law between master and servant and master and workman. A mere combination of workmen to raise their wages was unlawful. A combined effort to raise wages or to fix the price of labour was treated as a

dangerous conspiracy, and had repeatedly been made the subject of trial and punishment. An Act was passed in 1824, which was originated by Mr. Hume, for the purpose of redressing these grievances of the workmen, and making it lawful for a combination to do what it was lawful for an individual workman to do. It swept away about thirty Acts from the Statute-Book, and legalized simple combination on the part both of masters and workmen, subject only to certain restrictions and punishments in the event of violence or intimidation being proved against the members of the combination or the persons employed by them.

Adam Smith has said that there is 'a tacit but constant and uniform combination of masters not to raise the wages of labour above their actual rate. Their interest naturally dictates such a course. It follows that in a trade where the employers are few in number as compared to the workmen, combination of some kind is necessary to enable the latter to deal with the former on anything like equal terms. It is impossible to deny that the isolated workman is at a disadvantage in making a contract with the capitalist. He is individually weak. Circumstances may limit the field for his labour to a small number of employers, perhaps to one. It can rarely happen that any individual workman is a necessity to the master, it may often happen that an individual master is necessary to the man. The man cannot afford to wait; the capitalist has a reserve to fall back upon. Suspension may be to him a serious pecuniary loss; to the workman it is life or death. Capital is power; he who holds the purse has many forces on his side, but an empty sack cannot stand upright.' 'Men are beginning to understand,' says one of the Union witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission, 'that if they have not a good organization and a fund at their back, they may apply to their masters in vain to advance their wages.' It would be unjust to say that masters *never* voluntarily raise the wages from a pure sense of equity

and fairness toward their men, but it must be admitted that as human nature is constituted some pressure may often be needed to induce the capitalist to part with a larger portion of that profit which is to be shared between himself and his workmen. The employer is master of the situation unless the men can go to him in a body, with a reserve fund at their back, and say, 'The rate of profit which you are reaping has become such as to exceed the fair return for your capital, and to entitle us to a larger share of the produce. The workmen in other districts similarly circumstanced are receiving the higher wages we ask for. Concede this addition, or we shall decline to work for you.'

It is of course undeniable that wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand, but combination is necessary to enforce this law upon the capitalist; and if the men have a right to combine for increased wages, they must also possess the right to suspend working when their demand is refused. A strike is a great calamity, and inflicts serious injury on masters and men alike, and on the trade of the country; but it at least determines the question whether it is demand or supply that is in excess. The Unionists, however, will not suffer that question to be fairly tried. The point at issue is whether the masters can get other men to labour for them on the terms which their own workmen refuse; but the Unionists employ violent means to prevent other men from accepting these terms. By means which set at nought the fundamental rules of political economy, the plainest dictates of common sense, and the laws both of God and man, they shut out the supply of labour, do injustice to their fellow-workmen, who are forcibly prevented from accepting what they regard as suitable terms, and thus seek to compel their employer to grant their demands. 'An increase of wages thus produced is nothing else than pure extortion,' and in the long run is highly injurious to the interests of the working classes themselves.

In most of the Trades' Unions it was at that time, and probably still is, a fixed principle that persons not belonging to the Association should not be permitted to work for any of the masters by whom Unionists were employed; and if any master insisted on his right to employ a person who was not a member of the Union, the whole combined workmen in his employment immediately *struck*, and until the obnoxious workman was dismissed no other member of the combination was permitted to enter the master's employment. In order to secure a monopoly of the trade it was usually enacted by the ruling committee of the Union that no master should employ more than a small proportion of apprentices to the skilled workmen.* In some trades he was only permitted to employ one apprentice for three skilled workmen, in some one for four, in others one for five. In the articles of an association of operative cotton-spinners which at one time existed in Glasgow there was the following regulation:—

'This Association binds and obliges every one of its members to refrain from instructing any individual in the art of spinning, except such as are sons or brothers of a spinner who may have been, or is at present, a member of this Association.'

If the master ventured to engage more than the prescribed number of apprentices, he received a command from the committee of the Union to dismiss immediately the

* O'Connell, in a powerful speech denouncing the conduct of the Trades' Unions of Dublin, mentions two striking cases which show the lengths to which they went in enforcing this rule. A master manufacturer in Dublin took as an apprentice a boy, the son of an old servant who had been thirty years in his employment, but the workmen turned out against it, and the boy had to be withdrawn. A man and his wife died of cholera, leaving a young family. The master in whose employment the man had been, with praiseworthy humanity, took two helpless orphans, the children of these people, as apprentices. The Unionists revolted at this, and insisted on their immediate discharge, to which the master was obliged to accede. O'Connell mentions another case—that of a man who had worked thirty years in a factory, and was asked by the employer how he could serve him. The man said he should be greatly benefited by having his son taken as an apprentice, and that it would be an act of charity. The boy was so taken, but the workmen turned out against it, and the boy had to be withdrawn.

extra hands. If he disobeyed the order the whole combined workmen in his employment received notice that they must forthwith strike, which they were of course obliged to do. The same method was employed to get rid of an overseer or manager to whom the men had taken a dislike. Notice was given to the master that he must, by a certain day, dismiss the obnoxious manager. If he proved refractory intimation was given to his workmen that they must strike on a day specified, and if the day arrived without the mandate being complied with the whole of the men disappeared.

The regulation limiting the number of apprentices is still maintained in a number of trades. It is rigidly enforced, for example, by the ironworkers in the ship-building trade on the Clyde. It is self-evident that, apart from the hardship this regulation inflicts on the masters, it is in the highest degree unjust both to the persons who are prevented from learning this trade and to the public at large. Every man has an undoubted right to follow whatever trade or profession he may think fit, and it is an act of the grossest tyranny for any man to prohibit his fellow-men from learning his trade, lest by so doing they should lower the rate of his wages. If every trade were to adopt this regulation (and one trade has as much right to do so as another), the result would be that a very large number of persons would be prevented from learning any method of earning their bread. But, as it is impossible for every trade to carry this plan into operation, it is obvious that those who do so inflict a grievous wrong on the workmen of other trades, and on unskilled labourers. If the iron shipbuilders succeed in diminishing the supply of hands by limiting the number of apprentices, it is plain that the youths who, but for this restriction, would have become ironworkers must betake themselves to other trades. No doubt, by adopting this regulation, the ironworkers have increased their wages,

but not only must this increase have been taken virtually from the pockets of the public, but the wages of other mechanics have necessarily been lowered by the additional hands that have been forced into their handicraft.*

The ruling committee also took upon them to fix the number of hours the men were to labour, and the minimum of wages they were to receive—that is, the rate below which not only no member of the Union, but no person whatever, should work to any master. The obvious effect of this resolution was to discourage anything like talent and industry, and to give a premium on indolence and stupidity. It is plain that the sum which the master was compelled to pay to the idle and unskilful workmen more than he was worth must necessarily have been deducted from the wages of the intelligent and industrious workman. So far was the system carried of depressing the clever and diligent operatives that task work was condemned by some of the Unions in Ireland as an ‘unmitigated robbery’ of the rights of others; and the following most extraordinary rule was in some places one of their fundamental laws:—

‘Should any member of this society be known to boast of his superior ability as to either the quality or quantity of the work he can do, either in public or private company, he shall pay a fine of half a crown, or be expelled the society.’

Had matters been in their natural state masters would have found it their interest to recompense clever and industrious workmen in proportion to the value of their services, and to pay others of an opposite character only according to their deserts.

* ‘If the tailors, the spinners, &c., keep up a higher rate of wages it can only be by restricting their numbers; for if 50,000 tailors, for instance, can obtain certain wages now, 100,000 could not obtain the same. Supposing, then, that they multiply at the same rate as other men, what do they do with their children? They clearly must send them to some employments; but all employments cannot send their children to other employments, and the hands in no employment be increased. If, then, the tailors, &c., keep up their wages as represented, they must do it by throwing the burden on other classes, and it would be impossible for all classes to do the same.’—*Westminster Review*, Oct. 1833.

But under these Trades’ Union regulations all workmen were put upon a level, and superior merit was neither recognized nor remunerated. The system was neither more nor less than a tax upon diligence and skill in order that indolence and carelessness might be maintained at an unjust rate of payment.

‘Nature and nature’s God,’ said O’Connell in an eloquent address to the workmen of Dublin, ‘have created men with different degrees of talent. There are some superior to others in manual dexterity and intellectual acquirements; some are superior in one line, some in another, and this is the case with all men. You act in a manner inconsistent with this dispensation of nature. You do not, it is true, say to your employer, “You shall not give this man ten times as much as you pay him now,” but you prevent the possibility of such an event by compelling the employer to pay the unworthy man more than he deserves, and thus preventing the man who by God was destined to rise to a higher and more comfortable station from acquiring the means of accomplishing his will.’

In a good many trades at this time if a master required to take on any additional hands he was not allowed a choice of workmen. He must go to a certain office, termed among some trades ‘a house of call,’ and there take the first man who stood upon the list for employment. This regulation was strictly enforced among a considerable number of trades in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and probably in most of the large towns. ‘Its levelling and injurious effect upon the real interests of the workmen and the free employment of labour is sufficiently evident. One main inducement to increased industry, skill, or activity is taken away when idleness is in this manner put on a level with industry, talent with remissness, and skill with inattention.’ But the great majority of the members of Trades’ Unions at this period adhered to it most tenaciously, for an obvious reason. The inferior or at least moderately-skilled workmen are at all times more numerous than the best, and it is therefore the interest of the numerical majority in every skilled trade to compel their employers to take them in rotation.

The Trades' Unionists are quite well acquainted with the maxim of political economy, that the rate of wages depends on the proportion which the number of workmen bears to the funds for the support of labour, and they have long taken means to prevent the influx of new hands into their particular trade, who might both diminish the amount of employment for the existing members, and ultimately lower their wages. Heavy restrictions have been laid upon the admission of any persons to the benefits of these associations. Not only has the number of apprentices been limited, but a long period of apprenticeship has usually been required before the young operatives have been admitted to the skilled or initiated class; and during the whole period of probation the apprentice must pay a stated contribution into the funds of the association.

It is evident that large sums of money must be required to carry on energetically a system which interferes in so many particulars with the free employment and disposal of labour on the part both of masters and workmen. A regular weekly contribution is levied from every member according to the rate of wages he receives. The members of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners Union paid each 2s. 6d. a week, and on extraordinary emergencies double that sum. It was proved that during the course of a few months the committee had levied no less than £11,881.

The regulations of the Trades' Unions, fixing the hours and mode of labour, and the rate of wages, are calculated to inflict great injury on the public interests. A striking example of the manner in which a well-organized combination can succeed in raising for a considerable period the price even of the most necessary articles of life is given in the enormous rise in the price of coal in 1836 and 1837. Taking advantage of the rise in the price of iron during the joint-stock combination in 1835 and 1836, the colliers of Lanarkshire issued a mandate that no collier should work more than three

or four days in the week, and at the utmost five hours in each day. This order was implicitly obeyed not only by the whole combined colliers round Glasgow, but also by all the colliers in Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire, and Stirlingshire, amounting altogether to between 2000 and 3000. The wages which the men were to receive for working between twelve and fifteen hours *a week* varied from 30s. to 35s. according to the quantity of coals they put out. This monstrous rule issued by the Union was encouraged by the coalmasters, to their great disgrace, for the obvious reason that it gave them a most undue advantage at the expense of the rest of the community. Its effect was to raise the price of coals at Glasgow from about 8s. 6d. to about 16s. or 17s. a ton, and at that price they continued for upwards of eighteen months—the last nine of which, from January to October, 1837, was a period of unexampled commercial and manufacturing distress. The price of iron fell in March, 1837, from £7 10s. to £4 a ton; but notwithstanding this circumstance, and the general stagnation of trade, the colliers stood out for their old rate of wages, and doggedly refused to submit to any reduction. The greater part of them, to the number of nearly 2000, struck work and continued idle for about five months, until the whole turned-out coal in the country, even of the worst kinds, was consumed. The funds of the Union having been by this time exhausted, the colliers were at length compelled to give in and commence working at the rates which had been offered by the ironmasters, viz. eight hours a day for five days a week, at which even the inferior hands could earn 5s. and the better workmen 6s. a day. The total loss caused by this combination to the colliers and their employers and the public amounted to the enormous sum of £678,000.

The entire disregard which the Unionists have shown of the rights of unskilled workmen, and of the welfare of the community, has in very many instances recoiled upon

their own heads. One of the most common effects of combinations and strikes in many departments of industry, has been that of forcing means to be adopted for abridging labour, and of the invention and introduction of improvements in machinery by which, though the public are ultimately gainers from the permanent reduction which results, yet much injury is inflicted on the combined workmen whose services are dispensed with. The following striking instance of this is mentioned by Mr. Babbage:—

‘There is a process in the manufacture of gun-barrels for making what, in the language of the trade, are called “skelps.” The skelp is a piece or bar of iron, about 3 feet long and 4 inches wide, but thicker and broader at one end than at the other; and the barrel of a musket is formed by forging out such pieces to the proper dimensions, and then folding or bending them into a cylindrical form until the edges overlap so that they can be welded together. About twenty years ago the workmen employed at a very extensive factory in forging these skelps out of bar-iron “struck” for an advance of wages, and as their demands were very exorbitant they were not immediately complied with. In the meantime the superintendent of the establishment directed his attention to the subject, and it occurred to him that if the circumference of the rollers between which the bar-iron was rolled were to be made equal to the length of a skelp, or of a musket barrel, and if also the groove in which the iron was compressed, instead of being made of the same width and deepness throughout, were cut gradually deeper and wider from a point on the rollers until it returned to the same point, then the bar-iron passing between such rollers, instead of being uniform in width and thickness, would have the form of a skelp. On making the trial it was found to succeed perfectly; a great reduction of human labour was effected by the process, and the workmen who had acquired peculiar skill in performing it ceased to derive any advantage from their dexterity.’

It is somewhat singular that another and a still more remarkable instance of the effect of combination amongst workmen should have occurred some years after in the very same trade.

‘The process of welding the “skelps” so as to convert them into gun-barrels required much skill, and after the termination of the war, the demand for muskets having greatly diminished, the number of persons employed in making them was very

much reduced. This circumstance rendered combination more easy, and upon one occasion, when a contract had been entered into for a considerable supply to be delivered on a fixed day, the men all struck for such an advance of wages as would have made the completion of the contract attended with a very heavy loss. In this difficulty the contractors resorted to a mode of welding the gun-barrels for which a patent had been taken out by one of themselves some years before this event. The plan had not then succeeded so well as to come into general use; but the stimulus produced by the combination of the workmen induced the patentee to make new trials, and he was enabled to introduce such a facility in welding gun-barrels by rollers, and such perfection in the work itself, that welding by hand-labour was not required. The workmen who had combined were of course no longer wanted, and instead of benefiting themselves by their combination, they were reduced permanently by this improvement in the art to a considerable lower rate of wages, for as the process of welding gun-barrels by hand required peculiar skill and considerable experience, they had hitherto been in the habit of earning much higher wages than other workmen of their class.’

The various extensive strikes which the Manchester spinners made between 1824 and 1831 produced precisely the same effects. These strikes were of most serious consequence both to the masters and their neighbours, as every head spinner had six or seven people working under him, who could not go on when he stopped. These people were willing to work, and the masters, pressed to execute their orders, began to think whether some plan could not be devised for doing without the head spinners. As often as the head spinners came back to work, the plan was laid aside—as often as they turned out, the wits of the masters were sharpened. At last the great strike of 1831 decided the question. Several of the capitalists, afraid of their business being driven to other countries, had recourse to the celebrated machinists, Messrs. Sharp & Co. of Manchester, requesting them to direct the inventive talents of their partner, Mr. Roberts, to the construction of a self-acting mule, in order to emancipate the trade from impending ruin. Under assurances of the most liberal encouragement

in the adoption of his invention, Mr. Roberts suspended his professional pursuits as an engineer, and set his fertile genius to construct a spinning automaton. In the course of a few months he produced a machine, called the 'Self-acting Mule,' which did the work of the head spinners so much better than they could do it themselves as to leave them no chance against it.

Another illustration of the injury which strikes inflict upon the workmen is stated by Dr. Ure in his 'Philosophy of Manufactures.'

'The art of calico printing,' he says, 'which embodies in its operations the most elegant problems of chemistry as well as mechanics, had been for a long time the sport of foolish journeymen, who turned the liberal means of comfort it furnished them into weapons of warfare against their employers and the trade itself. They were, in fact, by their delirious combinations, plotting to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs of their industry, or to force it to fly off to a foreign land, where it might live without molestation.'

'In the spirit of the Egyptian task-masters, the operative printers dictated to the manufacturer the number and quality of the apprentices to be admitted into the trade, the hours of their own labour, and the wages to be paid them. At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage in the resources of science, and were speedily reinstated in their legitimate dominion of the head over the inferior members. The four-colour and five-colour machines which now render calico printing an unerring and expeditious process, were mounted in great establishments. It was under the high pressure of the same despotic confederacies that a self-acting apparatus for executing the dyeing and rinsing operations was devised.'

In numerous instances the exorbitant demands of workmen, enforced by strikes, have caused the removal of manufactures to other places, and have ruined the trade of the towns where these strikes occurred. The combinations and outrages of the Luddites in Nottinghamshire drove a great number of lace frames from that district, and caused establishments to be formed in Devonshire. Macclesfield and Norwich have suffered severely from the same cause.

'The business of calico printing,' says Mr. O'Connell, 'which had been long carried on in Belfast, was taken from it in consequence of the combination of the men engaged in it. The party who had embarked his capital in the trade sold off his materials, and the result was that 107 families were thrown out of bread. In the town of Bandon a cotton factory was established, which was like to give employment to many persons in that neighbourhood. The proprietor fitted up his machinery, and had received several orders. When that was known to the workmen they turned out for higher wages. The proprietor remained long enough to complete the orders he had got, but then gave up the business, and thus that neighbourhood lost an outlay in wages of £11,000 or £12,000. With respect to the city of Dublin, he was sure he did not overstate the matter when he said that wages to the amount of £500,000 a year were withdrawn from it in the manufacture of almost every article of consumption. In the foundry trade alone not less than £10,000 a year was sent out of Dublin, which would have been retained if the system of combination did not exist. The articles of hats, boots, and shoes were imported into Dublin instead of being manufactured there. So greatly did the combination among tailors raise the price of clothes that a man might go from Dublin to Glasgow, and after spending a day or two in amusing himself, return and save the whole expense of his journey in the difference between the price he should have to pay for a suit of clothes in Dublin and that for which he could buy them in Glasgow. Not very long ago there were four shipbuilders in extensive business in Dublin; there was at present not one. The trade had been removed to Drogheda and to Belfast, and if a vessel coming into the port required repairs, she was cobbled up in such a way as to enable her to get across the Channel, or to get down to Belfast, where she could be thoroughly repaired. What was the cause of this? It was that when there was any business, so as to give employment, they at once turned out for higher wages.'

A volume might be filled with an account of the injuries which unsuccessful strikes have inflicted on the working classes. It may, however, be sufficient to quote the results of only a few out of the many strikes that have taken place. In 1810 a strike took place in Manchester and the neighbourhood, whereby 30,000 persons employed in cotton-spinning went out of employment. For a considerable time £1500 a week was contributed from the earnings

of others to those who had left their work. All was unavailing. At the end of four months, after their funds were totally exhausted, and the turn-out workmen reduced to the greatest misery, the struggle ceased without having in any one particular accomplished the object of the Unionists. Some of the men were even glad to accept employment once more, not at their original, but at half those wages. In 1829 another strike took place at Manchester, which threw 10,000 individuals out of work for six months. The result is thus described by a workman in his evidence before the Factory Commission:—‘The consequence was that at the end of six months they came into work again at reduced wages.’ Few strikes have been more extensively supported than the celebrated Bradford turn-out of 1825–26. Before the strike for an advance 14,000 persons in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford entered their names as approving of the plan and willing to act upon it. Contributions from 152 places enabled the struggle to be kept up for ten months. The upshot was that at the end of that time the men returned to work at lower wages than before. It is melancholy to discover from the notices to their brethren at a distance the poverty in which the turn-out left the people of Bradford.

‘They beg to be excused contributing in their turn. The Bradford workmen are at present utterly incapable of relieving any other class of workmen; hundreds of them cannot get bread, and few of the remainder anything else.’

‘Melancholy as all this is,’ says Miss Martineau, ‘it is far from surprising when it is seen how money goes during a strike. In the first place the waste of maintaining many thousand people for ten months in idleness is frightful, when their future support actually depends on there being no waste. At Bradford the sum thus expended was £14,431 10s. 3d.; so when they returned to their work there was all that and whatever increase their labour might have added to it the less to pay wages with. How should the masters raise their wages?’

Towards the close of the year 1836 there was an extensive and very disastrous strike

of the operative cotton-spinners of Preston, which was productive of an appalling amount of misery and wretchedness. At the time of the turn-out, the 5th November, the operatives of Preston engaged in cotton-spinning amounted to 8500 persons. Of this number it may be said that only 660 (that is, the whole of the spinners) voluntarily left their work, the greater part of the remaining 7840 being thereby thrown out of employment. After standing out for three months, and suffering the greatest extremities, they accepted of the terms which the masters had offered before the strike commenced, and besides signed a declaration to the effect that they would not at any future time, whilst in their service, become members of any union or combination of workmen. The total loss to the town and trade of Preston in this unavailing struggle was estimated at not less than £107,196.

The utter disregard on the part of the Trades’ Unions at this time of the public welfare, or indeed of any interest but their own, in carrying out their schemes for raising wages, was openly proclaimed by them. The *Liberator*, which was at one time the great organ of the Trades’ Unions of Scotland, boasted that the result of strikes on the part of the workmen would be the ruin of the masters, bills dishonoured, and the *Gazette* teeming with bankruptcies; but the effect of such proceedings on the interests of the workmen themselves was quite overlooked. A most instructive example of the effect of putting in practice the principles recommended occurred shortly after in connection with the strike of the calico printers in 1834. This strike, which lasted nine months, is thus described by Sir Archibald Alison, who was at that time Sheriff of Lanarkshire:—

‘Messrs. Barr & Co. were calico printers at Kelvindock, near Glasgow, their business was extensive and prosperous, they had printfields in many different places, and gave employment to about 2000 persons. Their engagements, however, as might naturally have been expected with an establishment supporting so great a

number of workmen, were of a very extensive kind, and they had several heavy bills running against them in the autumn of 1834. The workmen were well aware of this, and they accordingly struck work in a body in the month of September of that year, and immediately began assaulting the new hands with whom the company endeavoured to supply their place. The military were ordered out and quartered around the mills for some months, and in their immediate neighbourhood tranquillity was perfectly maintained, and work was to a certain extent resumed with the new hands. In other quarters, however, where the mills of the same company were not protected, and soldiers could not be got, the combined workmen broke into the buildings and forcibly turned out the new hands. The intimidation produced by these riots was such that the mills were obliged to be stopped for some months; and after vainly holding out as long as they could, Barr & Co. were obliged to make a compromise with their workmen, and they began working again in January, 1835. The losses they sustained, however, by their capital being unproductive during the strike, were such that they became bankrupt in July, 1835, about six months after the strike had ceased and the working had recommenced; 2000 persons were at once thrown idle by this calamity. They immediately made the most piteous complaints to the magistrates of the county, who, however, had no public funds out of which to afford them any relief, and the helpless multitude were in a great part thrown upon the parish funds or reduced to utter despair by the consequences of their own acts, while the printfields in that quarter were totally destroyed, and that thriving branch of trade altogether extinguished. Some of the ringleaders, convicted of rioting and breaking into the mills in order to intimidate the new hands during this strike, were apprehended and brought to trial in the winter assizes at Glasgow, in January, 1835. The principal pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to eighteen months confinement in Bridewell. When liberated from prison he found the printfields, in which he had formerly been earning from 30s. to 35s. a week, deserted, and the buildings shut up or in ruins. By faithfully following out the directions of the *Liberator*, and timing the strike at the moment when heavy bills were running against their employers, the workmen had succeeded in rendering them bankrupt, destroying the great and thriving manufactory which they had set on foot. The consequence was that this ringleader found himself without employment, his furniture and effects were sold off by his landlord for rent, and he is at this moment, when burdened with a wife and eight children, breaking stones upon the public road

for 8s. a week, and has lately tendered himself as a witness to be examined before the Combination Committee of the House of Commons in order to make public by the detail of his own sufferings and folly the practical consequences of those measures in which he formerly took so leading a part.'

The strikes which took place in Glasgow and the West of Scotland in the year 1837 were on a far more extensive scale, and were much more injurious in their results. During the summer of 1836 trade was unusually prosperous, and the cotton-spinners memorialized the masters for an advance of wages. They were at this time earning from 30s. to 35s. a week. Their request for an advance was readily granted by their employers, and their wages were raised to from 35s. to 42s. A commercial crisis, however, took place at the beginning of 1837, caused by the enormous failures in America, which overwhelmed a number of the most stable and wealthy firms in Glasgow, and prices fell so much that the masters proposed in the month of March that wages should be reduced to their previous rate. The spinners unanimously refused to accede to this proposal, and as the masters declined to give higher terms the former struck work in a body on the 8th of April. The avowed object of the strike was to retain wages, during a period of great depression of trade and low prices, at the high level which they had attained during the previous period of prosperity and high prices. In no circumstances, they declared, should their wages ever be reduced. This was the reason proclaimed by the cotton-spinners themselves, in their own organ, the *New Liberator*, of the 13th of January, 1838.

This ill-advised step on the part of the cotton-spinners was shortly followed by a similar strike on the part of the whole colliers and iron-miners in Lanarkshire. There were at that period 32,000 persons in and around Glasgow engaged directly or indirectly in the cotton trade. The colliers were 16,000 in number, and with their families amounted to about 50,000 persons,

so that upwards of 80,000 young and old were by these strikes thrown into a state of utter destitution during a period of severe national distress.

The cotton-spinners' strike, which commenced on the 8th of April, did not terminate until the 5th of August—a period of nearly eighteen weeks. It was throughout unpopular among the great body of the workmen, as the *Liberator* admits, and was forced upon them by the committee of the Union. It was brought to an abrupt termination by the arrest of the officials in a body, on the charge of their accession to the murder of John Smith, one of the new hands, on the streets of Glasgow on the 22nd of July. Three days after that event the spinners unanimously agreed to return to their work on the terms offered by the masters. It was estimated by Sheriff Alison that the direct loss of wages during this strike amounted to £78,540, and that the losses suffered by the masters and others directly or indirectly connected with the cotton trade was not less than £116,000, making the total loss to Glasgow by the strike the large sum of £194,540. The men who, under the direction of the committee, had refused from 30s. to 35s., were allowed by the Association during the latter part of the strike only the miserable pittance of 1s. 6d. a week. A number of them were found begging in the country districts adjoining Glasgow. The condition of the female operatives—the piecers, pickers, carders, and reelers—was infinitely worse, for there was no fund whatever provided for *their* maintenance, and from the commencement they were thrown upon the streets, without either asylum, employment, or subsistence. The consequence was that crime, immorality, sickness, and death increased to a frightful degree. The unskilled labourers were of course by far the greatest sufferers, though they were in no degree responsible for the adoption of the proceedings which produced such a miserable result.

It had been the custom throughout for

some, at least, of the Trades' Unions to compel all the members to take secret oaths, and this was not discontinued at the time these unions became legal. In the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners' Association members were required to swear on the Holy Scriptures that they would obey in all matters, legal or illegal, the will of the majority, as expressed by the ruling committee; and that they would keep secret the taking of the oath. In 1822 the oath was enlarged, and as one of the members said, made 'more vicious in its nature;' and subsequently a third oath was introduced which was 'much worse than either of the former.' A copy of the oath was produced by Mr. Robinson, Sheriff of Lanarkshire, before the Combination Committee of the House of Commons in June, 1825, and was found fully to bear out what was said of its tenor. It ran as follows:—

'I, A B, do voluntarily swear in the awful presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses that I will execute with zeal and alacrity, as far as in me lies, every task or injunction which the majority of my brethren shall impose upon me in furtherance of our common welfare, as *the chastisement of nob,* the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of shops that shall be deemed incorrigible*; and also that I will cheerfully contribute to the support of such of my brethren as shall lose their work in consequence of their exertions against tyranny, or renounce it in resistance to a reduction of wages; and I do further swear that I will *never divulge the above obligation* unless I shall have been duly authorized and appointed to administer the same to persons making application for admission, or to persons constrained to become members of our fraternity.'

The obligation under which the members of the Trades' Union came to commit acts of violence and murder at the orders of the committee was not allowed to lie dormant. Deeds of this class were repeatedly perpetrated in connection with strikes both in England and Scotland. Intimidation, mobbing, and rioting were the methods usually employed to render a strike effectual. The

* A nob was a man who during a strike continued to work at the wages offered by the masters, but rejected by the unionists.

usual practice when a strike took place, and new operatives were engaged by the masters, was to station guards, varying from five to fifteen persons, around each mill. 'The guards' duty,' as stated by one of the Unionists, 'was to try to take out the new hands who were working at reduced rates, and to prevent others going in. The means were—by advising, treating to drink, or assaulting. The guards were relieved about the middle of the day by another party, and at other times; but guards continued from the earliest hour in the morning till the work was dismissed.'

When advising, cajoling, and treating failed of effect, recourse was had to mobbing, assaulting, and throwing vitriol in the faces of the nobs. One of the witnesses in the trial of the Glasgow cotton-spinners in 1838 said—

'I was examined six or seven times before the Sheriff before I told all I have now disclosed. I was reluctant, knowing that I was under an oath not to reveal anything about the Association, and knowing that many individuals had been shot and burned with vitriol by that Association. It was a scrupulous fear of my oath and of that danger which made me keep silence to the Sheriff, until I became persuaded, by the strong assurance of the Sheriff, of protection and safety.'

When these methods had failed to terrify the new hands and their employers recourse was had to the expedient of appointing, by secret ballot, 'a secret select committee' to organize the means of assassinating the refractory operatives and masters, and setting fire to the mills of such employers as refused to submit to the demands of the Association. It was distinctly proved by evidence taken in courts of justice, and by the confessions of convicted prisoners themselves, that the committee had repeatedly hired persons to commit murder or fire-raising, and had paid large sums out of the Union funds to the perpetrators of these shocking crimes. On one occasion, when the hiring of the assassins by the committee was proved by the clearest evidence, the sum paid amounted to £100. And yet the Unionists immediately after held a public meeting, in which

they disclaimed all connection with the bloody deed—representing it as the unauthorized act of a private individual at a period of great public excitement, owing to the strike that prevailed. The cotton-spinners evidently supposed that they had thus cleared themselves effectually from all participation in the foul deed. But unfortunately for them the person who was hired to assassinate the 'nob,' and who was found guilty of discharging loaded fire-arms with intent to murder, after having undergone his punishment, made a voluntary confession of the whole transaction, and his statements were corroborated thirteen years later by another witness, who was a member of the secret select committee at the time. It was proved by their concurring testimony that four men were hired by the committee of the Association to shoot a 'nob,' by way of striking terror into the rest; that there were four persons engaged in the attempted murder; that they were to be paid £100 for the deed; that the money was accordingly paid from the funds of the combination; that the expense of defending the assassins at their trial was borne by that body; that the wives of the transported assassins were maintained from its funds; and that the one who was sentenced to Bridewell was sent, after his liberation, to America at their expense.

At this time, too, an elderly woman had her house broken into during the night, and was murdered by mistake for her daughter, whom the committee had resolved to put to death, because she had warned the other female mill-workers against a diabolical plot devised for their seduction, in order to compel them to give up their work. There were various other shocking outrages perpetrated by the Unionists on the cotton-spinners who refused to strike. In various instances these unfortunate men were severely injured for life and deprived of sight by large quantities of sulphuric acid thrown in their faces.

Proceedings of the same kind were adopted during the strike of the Glasgow

cotton-spinners in 1837. When the funds of the combination were exhausted and the members reduced to beggary, while the masters still held out, the Unionists became desperate, and had recourse to their old tactics of violence, assault, and murder. The committee, when brought to trial, were charged with eleven different crimes committed during the continuance of the strike, including two attempts at fire-raising and the murder of a spinner on the streets of Glasgow. The jury returned a verdict of not proven in regard to the murder, though no impartial person could doubt that it was committed by their orders, and the foul deed was clearly proved to have been perpetrated by some person connected with and in the interest of the combination. The committee, however, was found guilty of having instigated to so many violent outrages as to warrant their banishment for seven years.

The punishment inflicted on these suborners of violence and murder had no effect in deterring others from following their example. Terrorism of the worst sort continued to be employed in promoting the interests of the Trades' Unions, and their committees ordered the most barbarous outrages to be perpetrated on those who refused to submit to their authority. The town of Sheffield had long had an evil notoriety for the shocking deeds of its workmen. 'Rattening,' as it was called—the destruction of the tools of obnoxious operatives—was one of the mildest of their modes of compelling obedience to their mandates. In some cases the houses of offenders were burned or blown up, or infernal machines were thrown into them at night. Even women were not secure from the malice of the Unionists, and were blinded and put to death in order to strike terror into recusant workmen. The masters laid these crimes at the door of the Trades' Unions in the town, but their officials, like the Glasgow cotton-spinners, indignantly denied the charge. The Government and the employers offered large rewards for the

discovery of the criminals, but without effect. The committee of the Trades' Unions followed their example, in order, as they said, that by the discovery of the real criminals their innocence might be made clear as the sun at noonday.

The outrages at length became so numerous and flagrant, and the discovery of their perpetrators so difficult, that the masters appealed to the Government to investigate the condition and conduct of the Trades' Unions; and the managers of these associations, evidently feeling confident that the members dared not reveal what they knew, expressed their cordial concurrence in the demand for inquiry. A Commission was accordingly appointed to inquire into the organization and rules of Trades' Unions and other associations, and were authorized by Parliament to take evidence upon oath. Sir William Earle, ex-Chief-Justice, was appointed chairman, and with him were associated Sir Edmund Head and Mr. Merrivale, men of sound and clear views on economical questions; Lords Lichfield and Elcho, who had laboured to enlighten and conciliate the working class; Mr. F. Harrison, who had advocated the cause of Trades' Unions in the press; Mr. T. Hughes, their spokesman in Parliament; Mr. Roebuck, and other public men of the same stamp. The competency and impartiality of such a tribunal could not be questioned. The investigations of the Commissioners brought to light a state of matters among the skilled labourers in England which could scarcely have been credited, had it not been vouched by the testimony of the persons who were most deeply implicated in the proceedings of the Trades' Unionists. All that had been laid to their charge respecting their rules, and the mode in which these were enforced, was far exceeded by the disclosures of their officials. The final end and aim of the Trades' Unions was to raise the rate of wages to the highest practical point. In order to attain this end their codes contained the imposition of a certain rate below which wages should not

be allowed to fall, the limitation of the hours of labour, the prohibition of piece-work, and the interdiction in certain cases of machinery and of methods by which hand labour could be economized; regulations having for their object to check the zeal and activity of workmen who might be inclined to get on too fast with their work, and thus raise the standard of efficiency against their fellows to the advantage of their employer, the limitation of the number of apprentices in proportion to the number of journeymen employed, and a similar restriction on the employment of boys; and lastly, the exclusion of non-Union men from working along with or in lieu of Unionists.

So far was the rule against working with non-Union men carried that a father was not allowed to employ his sons to work for him without making them members of the Union.

The masons had a rule against the introduction of wrought stone, even from neighbouring quarries. This caused a great loss, for the stone is softer and easier wrought when first quarried, and around each quarry there was a set of men who were accustomed to work the stone, and who could work it very much better than masons who were not accustomed to work that particular kind of stone. But the rule was carried out with the utmost rigour.

The masons forbade the use of machinery for dressing stone. A master mason, near Ashton-under-Lyne, writes:—

‘I received a quantity of sawn base from quarries near Macclesfield. My men refused to fix it, being polished, as it was against the rules of their club, and struck work accordingly. After standing out against what I considered this injustice three weeks, I was forced to submit to have the polished part defaced, so that they might polish it again by hand; and those men declared, after all this expense, it was not so good as when it came from the quarry.’

The carpenters of Blackburn had a great dislike to the importation of machine-made work from other towns. They gave notice to the master builders that they would

not fix any machine-made work or mouldings that were worked outside Blackburn, as they considered that there were plenty of machinists in Blackburn who could do the work as well as people elsewhere. The resolution came to by the meeting was ‘that at the expiration of one month all members belonging to the Society will cease to fix any machine-made work that may be brought from other towns.’ It was intimated to Mr. Carr, a mason and bricklayer of Sheffield, that it was dangerous to use machine-made bricks. He paid no attention to the warning, and his work was injured by being squirted over with gas tar. The prohibition against the use of machine-made bricks was carried out in the strictest manner. So remorselessly did the Unionists enforce this rule, that the case was stated of seven men who, for having worked at a brick machine, were still, after the lapse of two years, excluded from employment. The men who carted the bricks were placed under a similar ban. The Bricklayers’ Union, in order to back up the prohibition of the brick-makers, refused to lay the machine-made bricks. The Secretary to the Stockport Bricklayers’ Union frankly stated that—

‘The bricklayers being all Trade Unionists, and the brickmakers also being Trade Unionists, agree between themselves that they shall only use the bricks made by Trade Unionists. In point of fact there is an alliance offensive and defensive, that they should confine themselves to laying bricks made by Union men, and to making bricks to be laid by Union men, and the non-Union men are to be excluded on either side.’

It was admitted that the machine-made bricks were better than the hand-made bricks. The public were consequently compelled by the Unionists to use the worst article. They would not allow a moulded brick having fancy shape. They went further still, and refused to allow even hand-made bricks, the work of Unionists, to be used except within a prescribed and limited district. The Bricklayers’ Union would not allow bricks to be transferred from one district to another,

and they fixed the limits of each district in the most arbitrary manner, as the following illustration, furnished by Messrs. Thomas Bates & Co., builders and brickmakers in Droylsden, four miles from Manchester, will show.

‘Our brickyard,’ they said, ‘is situated on the bank of a canal that runs through the township, and the operative brickmakers of Manchester have thought fit to call the canal the boundary line of their district, and we are forbidden to sell or use any of the bricks over that line, and it so happens that the only part of our township where bricks are likely to be required in our day is on the other side of this so-called boundary. We have now on stock about 500,000 bricks, in addition to a plant worth £300, which under existing circumstances is so much dead capital. The whole of the bricks have been made by Union men, and according to Union prices, but in the so-called Ashton-under-Lyne district, and they must be used either there or not at all. Consequently we have been obliged to give up the works and discharge the men.’

It appears that the brickmakers endeavoured by their rules to limit the size of the bricks all over the country to one standard; and the bricklayers’ labourers, not to be behind them, limited the number of bricks which each man was allowed to carry at a time. One of the rules in the Leeds Lodge decreed that ‘any brother of the Union professing to carry any more than the common number, which is eight bricks, shall be fined 1s. to be paid within one month, or remain out of benefit until such fine be paid; any member knowing the same (knowing that this is done by any of the labourers) shall be fined the same unless he give the earliest information to the Committee of Management.’ One of the witnesses said, ‘This “eight bricks” is a ridiculously small number. At Liverpool the rule is twelve bricks. I believe the usual rate all over the country is ten bricks. In the country that I have worked in (Coventry) the bricks I should think are larger and heavier than in any other district, and the rule there is ten bricks.’

The men belonging to one trade were not allowed to do the most trifling piece of

work connected with any other trade, and a fine was imposed upon any master who permitted this to be done. The Plasterers’ Society wrote to Mr. Peacock of Scarborough:—

‘The operative plasterers are bound not to work with any bricklayers, or to cover any work of any description that has been previously commenced by any person or persons but plasterers. If you wish to finish your job with plasterers, you must stop the bricklayers from plastering.’

Some bricklayers passed by the works of Mr. Day, of Bolton, and found a carpenter enlarging the holes left for the posts in the brickwork. Mr. Day was fined £2, which he paid. In another case the aperture for a door had to be altered. The carpenter, who was waiting till it was done to put in the frame, pulled out some loose bricks. The master was fined £2, which he paid. Mr. Russell, of Bolton, was compelled to pay a fine of £5 by the bricklayers of Bolton, for setting a mason to widen a window which he could not get finished, because the bricklayers were drinking and would not work. Mr. Stone, of Newton on the Willows, was fined 15s. because his foreman remonstrated with his men for talking and smoking when they should have been at work, and the foreman’s son was fined 5s. for taking part with his father. The Unions not only encouraged espionage by imposing a fine on a workman who did not at once make known to the committee any breach of those rules which might have come to his knowledge, but they had inspectors who made regular rounds to see that these rules were observed. The conduct of the Preston plasterers affords a striking example of the intolerable manner in which the rules of their Union were enforced, and of the manner in which the employer was hampered in the conduct of his business by their dictation. The secretary wrote to Mr. Walker of Preston, on the 15th of May, 1865, as follows:—

‘Sir, I am requested by the Committee of this Society to inform you that you are breaking the rules of this Society by having four apprentices at

once, and you must discharge Cook or keep your son from the trade.'

On the 12th of June he received a second letter—

'Sir, I am instructed by the Committee to inform you that the stranger that is working with Joseph Fisher must pay to the Society the sum of 5s. or cease work immediately.'

A third letter couched in the same insolent terms was sent to Mr. Walker on the 3rd of August—

'Sir, This is to inform you that you have to stop George Hoskinson at once unless you give the Society satisfactory proof he receives the current rate of wages, besides his lodgings and travelling expenses, and you will oblige the Committee by answering this note to the Secretary right away.'

It appears that in Lancashire a master bricklayer was not only forbidden to employ workmen not belonging to the town in which he resided, although members of the Union, but that should he go beyond the district to do work, half the men employed on the job must belong to it, and that this rule was strictly enforced even when men could not be obtained from the town. It would be difficult in any other country to find a parallel to the despotic and oppressive conduct of the Manchester bricklayers, as described in the evidence of Mr. William Wildsmith:—

'I am a master bricklayer in Manchester,' he said. 'In November, 1866, I had the building of the Bury Railway Station, and at that time the building trade was very brisk in Manchester, and I used every means in my power to get men from Manchester to do the work (in accordance with the rules of the Bricklayers' Society), but I could not succeed. I applied to the men's club for them, but could get no assistance. I therefore told my foreman to engage any bricklayer who might apply for work, provided he belonged to the Bricklayers' Society; but I specially warned him not to offend the men in this respect. Eleven men were thus engaged, when on the 17th November two delegates from the Bricklayers' Society at Manchester came upon the job, and informed me that as I was a master bricklayer from Manchester I must employ as many men from Manchester as I did from elsewhere; that is to say, if I employed one man from Bury (where the work was) I must employ on the same job one man from Manchester.

If I employed six men from Bury I must employ six men from Manchester, and if I wanted thirteen men seven of them must come from Manchester. In vain I pleaded that men could not be had from Manchester; these delegates told me distinctly that if I could not get Manchester men *the job must stop until I could*, notwithstanding the job was being pressed for every day. These two delegates then read to me the laws of their Society under which they were acting, and *concluded by asking me for their day's wages, amounting to 7s. each, and 3s. each for first-class railway fare from Manchester, for coming to give me what they called their orders*. I protested against this demand, when these gentlemen told my foreman (in my presence) that if he commenced working more on that job or any other job for me until I had complied with their demands in full he would do so at his peril. Consequently my work was stopped.'

The masters all over the country acknowledged that when a man was asked to walk any distance to his work that walking formed part of the day's labour, for which they were to pay, but 'the men have turned and twisted this rule very much to the injury of the masters,' and they insisted that 'any person who is employed on any job that is at a distance from the headquarters of the master shall be allowed walking-time, *whether he requires it or not*.' A building at Powicke was being erected by bricklayers, some of whom lived on the spot and some at Worcester, four miles off. The Worcester men asked for walking-time; that is, that the walk should be counted in the day's work. This was readily granted. The men on the spot, who, of course, had no walk, demanded the same allowance, and when this was refused a strike took place. Care was taken that the walk should not be rapid; indeed, there was a rule to that effect. Mr. G. F. Trollope gave an example of the mode in which it operated:—

'I said to a young man from the country some months ago who was walking along the street going to his work, "Where are you going?" "Oh, I am going to Mr. So-and-so's to work." That was about two o'clock in the day. I said, "At what time do you expect to get there?" He said, "I do not know, sir." I said, "At the pace you are going you will get there about when it is time to leave off." He came to me afterwards and said, "Sir, I am sorry to say it, but we are not allowed

to sweat ourselves if we are walking *in your time*." The witness went on to say, 'Their theory is this' (and a most absurd theory it is), 'that if there is work for three to be done, and they can somehow scheme it that four men shall be employed, they are doing their cause a service; and then they tell us, "If it is on day work it does not matter a pin to you—the public have to pay for it—and you can put your profit on the wages. If it is a contract we can understand how you may lose, but if it is not, what is the difference to you?"':

The knowledge, however, that a master was under contract, so far from making his men more forbearing towards him, was regarded as a favourable opportunity for compelling him to raise their wages. Mr. Wood, a contractor at Derby, wrote Mr. Mault (March 16th, 1867), describing the disgraceful treatment he had received from his men:—

'I am building a church at Rangemere the contract for which was taken in the autumn of 1865. Masons' wages were 28s. per week in summer and 26s. 6d. in winter. After a promise from the masons to exert themselves during the winter months I agreed not to reduce their wages, but to continue 28s. all the winter. See what followed. A month before the winter quarter expired they applied for an advance of 1s. 6d. per week more, making 29s. 6d., and knowing from past experience how useless it would be not to agree to their terms, also receiving a guarantee from them that if I gave it all would go on comfortable, after a week's consideration I consented, feeling sure that I should not be called upon for any more. In three weeks after the Masons' Society served me with a notice, requiring me to pay 2s. 6d. per week in addition to the 1s. 6d., making 32s. per week instead of 28s., as I had expected when the contract was taken; and they also threatened to strike if I did not comply. As there was no alternative I yielded, and am paying 32s. at this time.'

Mr. Mault, who laid this letter before the Commissioners, says—

'Of course Mr. Wood gets no additional price for his contract, but just because the men know that in this case it is a time contract—that is to say, that the work must be done at a given time—they are enabled to do what I have read. I have, of course, known hundreds of similar cases. I know a case in particular, in which a master commenced to build the town-hall at Congleton with wages of masons at 24s., and by the judicious

use of the screw the men got their wages up 25 per cent. in the course of about three months; and because he would not then consent to a further rise, but rather sublet his work to a master mason of Congleton, the men even then struck against him.'

In many districts the men claimed to have a voice in the rating of the wages of all men employed. For instance, at Sheffield this was the rule:—

'No waller or builder of stone shall be paid less than 33s. per week when considered a skilled workman, neither shall an employer or foreman be allowed individually to judge a man as to his qualification. But a meeting shall be called of all the members on the job, who, together with the employer or foreman, shall decide the question. All members known to violate this rule shall be fined at the discretion of the Lodge.'

The same rule applied at Bristol, and the masons there said that it was a general rule of their Society. A specimen of the mode in which the rule was applied occurred in the case of a firm who were engaged in building a large hotel at Bristol, where three or four strikes had occurred. The Secretary of the Operative Mason's Society wrote them, on December 8, 1866, in the following imperious tone:—

'Gentlemen, I am instructed by the Committee to inform you that the masons who are working in your employ under the current rate of wages are for the future to have their wages fixed by the foreman and the men in conjunction with yourselves. That is the rule of the Masons' Society, and one rule must be adhered to as well as another. At a general meeting of the masons of Bristol, held last Thursday evening, it was unanimously resolved that the Committee should communicate with you on the matter, and the wages of the men to be fixed as above stated. You will please attend to the above, and get the matter settled at once.'

Hundreds of similar cases might be given to show the various devices employed by the men to extract, by fair means or by foul, the utmost possible amount of wages from the masters; but to complete the picture it is necessary to show the means they took to diminish as far as possible the amount of labour they gave in return. Here is a rule of the Bradford Lodge of the Labourers' Union:—

'You are strictly cautioned not to overstep good rules by doing double the work you are required by the Society, and causing others to do the same, in order to get a smile from the master. Such foolhardy and deceitful actions leave a great portion of good members out of employment all the year round. Certain individuals have been guilty who will be expelled if they do not refrain.'

The Friendly Society of Operative Masons had a rule to the same effect, declaring that a man should not work too fast—'chasing,' it was there called. So also the Bricklayers' Association at Manchester had, among their other rules, the following, which virtually provided that the fastest workman should be reduced to the rate of the slowest:—

'That any man found running or working beyond a regular speed, or trying to run off or take advantage of their fellow-workmen, is to be fined the sum of 2s. 6d. for the first offence; for the second offence, 5s.; for the third offence, 10s.; and if persisted in to be dealt with as the Committee think proper. Any man working shorthanded, without man for man, will be fined or punished as the Committee think proper.'

Their object, in short, was to obtain the largest possible amount of payment for the smallest possible amount of work.

The Trades' Unions exerted their power to promote their interests at the public expense in other matters than raising their wages. An instance was stated in evidence before the Commissioners where it was used to punish a successful competitor. Mr. Murdy, of Nottingham, made an estimate for plastering a row of houses, which was accepted. The trades had it in contemplation at that time to establish a Co-operative Society, and competed for the work. When they found they were not successful they sent to the builder to say that they would not allow the work to be done by contract, and so the contract was taken away from Mr. Murdy. Not content with this, they sent a circular to every master builder in Nottingham to this effect:—

'It has been resolved by the Central Committee of the Building Trades that you do not accept any tender from Messrs. Hill and Murdy from this date until we come to more amicable terms than we are at present with them.'

The Committee of the Building Trades in Manchester chose to take offence at something said or done by a young architect who has since risen to great eminence in his profession, and they sent notice to the master builders in that town that the men would not be allowed to work at any building of which he was the architect. He was in consequence obliged to leave Manchester and take up his residence in London. It was also given in evidence that the machinery of strikes had been used to make one man pay another man's debt. A Glasgow firm were erecting a building. The contractor for the plastering failed before his work was done, being in debt to his workmen for a week's wages. The Union would not allow the work to go on till the owner of the house, who owed the men nothing, not only paid them for the work done but for a week during which they had done no work.

It may excite surprise that the men themselves should have submitted to such a despotic system, which ruled them with a rod of iron, and would not allow them to choose for themselves the course to be adopted in regard to their most important business affairs. But in the first place the committee have a powerful hold upon the members by the combination in their society of two quite distinct objects. The society is both a Provident Club and a Trades' Union. It holds out important benefits to its members—lost tools replaced, assistance when out of employment, on strike, or when sick, an accident benefit, assistance to emigrate, a superannuation allowance to those who have been members over twenty-five years, and payment of funeral expenses. Now a man may have subscribed to the society for thirty years, and lose all the benefit of his subscriptions by an offence not against the rules of the Beneficent Society, but of the Trades' Union. If he commits any one of a great number of offences he ceases to be a member of the Union, and forfeits all its benefits. A member may, for example, be personally indisposed to

join in a strike, but expulsion would be the consequence of his dissent, and expulsion means the forfeiture of past contributions and of all the benefits he expected to derive from the society. Men have said to a master, as far as the question at issue is concerned, 'We would take your side rather than that of the Union, but we have paid into this Union for so many years; if we go against the Union we shall be struck off the books, and have no superannuation, no sick benefits, no assistance when out of work; in fact, we shall lose the savings of years—the only savings that we have made.' The fear of losing the result of years of economy and self-denial makes many of the members of Unions submit to orders and exactions which in other circumstances they would spurn with indignation. But the Unionists are not content with forfeiting the contributions of recusant workmen, and excluding them from the benefits of the society; they have sought in not a few cases to force them into the Unions by much harsher means.

O'Connell stated in 1837 that 'in Cork within the last two or three years no fewer than thirty-seven individuals had been burned with vitriol, many of whom were deprived of sight. These were the results of the acts of the Trades' Clubs. In Dublin four murders had been committed by similar agency. The Clubs did not themselves act openly, but they had paid agents whom they called *welters*. These *welters* attacked any man who was pointed out to them, and murdered him when the opportunity offered. There was a great difficulty in getting evidence against these parties, for unfortunately so little sympathy existed in Ireland between the governors and the governed that it was a matter of great difficulty to get the law enforced in any case. Could it, then, be a matter of surprise that such outrages remained so long without punishment? We had strong evidence of the atrocity of the crimes committed by the *welters*, whose number amounted to about 6000. On Thursday last the premises of a timber merchant were set on fire immediately after he had been served with a notice. These men were ready to execute any vengeance according to order, and although the trade combinations did not commit actual offences themselves, they had always a standing army in the *welters*. It was thus that employers were controlled.'

We have seen the nature of the outrages inflicted upon non-Unionist workmen in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, but the revelations made in Sheffield and Manchester to the Commissioners appointed to investigate the operations of the Trades' Unions in these towns, throw even the shocking outrages of the Glasgow and Dublin Unionists into the shade. The Sub-Commissioners sent down to Sheffield were three gentlemen of the bar—Mr. Overend, a distinguished Queen's Counsel, Mr. Chance, and Mr. Barstow; and they were authorized by an Act of Parliament to grant a certificate of indemnity to all persons implicated in any of the illegal proceedings who should make a full and free disclosure of the truth. The security thus offered to the persons engaged in the foul deeds which had so long disgraced the town proved effectual. The Trades' Union officials and their hired instruments became alarmed for their personal safety, and gave full and explicit evidence respecting the crimes of which they had been guilty; and the whole nation was appalled at the revelations made respecting the operations of secret, arbitrary, and irresponsible tribunals exercising despotic control over their fellow-workmen, and wreaking vengeance, with absolute impunity, on the property and the lives and limbs of those who ventured to disobey their mandates.

Out of sixty Unions existing in Sheffield fourteen were found guilty of outrages on workmen and masters, including the various sections of grinders—the chief trade of the town—the nail-makers, ironworkers, and brickmakers. Rattening, which was the mildest mode of coercion, seemed to have been of very frequent occurrence, and when it failed of effect recourse was had to the destruction of property, the hamstringing and stabbing of horses and cows, the destruction of machinery, blowing up of houses by explosive materials, waylaying, wounding, maiming, and murdering men and even women who had infringed their

edicts. These atrocities were planned, directed, and paid for by the committees of the various Trades' Unions, who now, in order to provide for their own safety, made a full confession of their crimes. The person most deeply implicated in these deeds of darkness was a public-house keeper of the name of Broadhead, the secretary and master-spirit of the Saw-Grinders' Union—a hardened villain, dead to every sentiment of humanity or remorse. At a public meeting held in Sheffield this man had the audacity to take a prominent part in the proceedings, indignantly denounced the crimes that had been perpetrated in the town, and vehemently protested against the charge that they had been sanctioned or even connived at by the Trades' Unions. Now, however, he appeared before the Commissioners, and with impassive coolness acknowledged the prominent part he had taken in organizing these criminal deeds, how he had selected the victims, hired and instructed the agents, and paid them their wages out of the funds of the Union.

A few of the cases, reported in the most brief and summary manner by the Commissioners, may serve to show the expedients resorted to by the Trades' Union officials for the purpose of enforcing obedience to their decrees:—

'James Linley, who formerly had been a scissors-grinder, had shortly before this period become a saw-grinder, and kept a number of apprentices, in defiance of the rules of the Saw-Grinders' Union. He was shot by Samuel Crookes with an air-gun, on November 12th, 1857, at the instigation of Broadhead, in a house in Nursery Street, and was slightly wounded.

'James Linley was lodging in his brother-in-law, Samuel Poole's, house, a butcher, whose wife and family were living in the house. Crookes and Hallam tracked Linley from house to house nearly every day for five or six weeks, intending to shoot him. On the 1st August they found him sitting in a public-house in Scotland Street, in a room full of people, the windows of which opened into a back yard, and from that yard Crookes shot Linley with an air-gun. The shot struck him on the side of the head, and he died from the effects of the injury in the following February. Crookes and Hallam were employed by Broadhead to shoot Linley.'

'Christopher Rotheram had been a sickle manufacturer for nearly fifty years at Dronfield, nearly five miles from Sheffield. Shortly before 1860 his men refused to pay to the Union, and he thereupon received several threatening letters, to the effect that his premises would be blown up if he did not compel them. About the year 1860 his boiler was blown up, and shortly after a can of gunpowder was thrown at night into a house belonging to him at Troway (inhabited by two of his nephews, who worked for him and were not members of the Union), and exploded. No one was hurt, but great damage was done to the house. He has had at different times nine pairs of bellows cut, twelve bands cut to pieces, and his anvils thrown into his dam. In 1865 a two-gallon bottle filled with gunpowder, with a lighted fuse attached, was placed in the night-time in his warehouse. The fire of the fuse from some cause became extinguished before it reached the powder. Adjoining the warehouse were sleeping-rooms, which at the time the bottle was placed in the warehouse were occupied by a mother, three sons, and a daughter. This, he said, "beat him," and he forced his men to join the Union, adding that "since that time they had been as quiet as bees." George Castles, the secretary of the Sickle and Reaping-hook Grinders' Association, told us that in the September of last year he saw a cash-book of the Union, containing entries of payment made at the time some of the outrages occurred, burned in the Committee-room, and also that leaves had been torn out of other books of the Union which might have implicated the Union.

'We have to report that these outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Sickle and Grinders' Union.'

'George Wastnidge, one of the above-named non-Union men, lived in a house in Acorn Street, with his wife, child, and a lodger named Bridget O'Rourke. Wastnidge, his wife, and child slept in the garret, and Mrs. O'Rourke in the chamber below fronting the street. About one o'clock in the morning of the 23rd November a can of gunpowder was thrown through the chamber window. Mrs. Wastnidge, hearing a noise, ran down into Mrs. O'Rourke's room, and found her holding in her hand a parcel emitting sparks. She seized it in order to throw it through the window, and it exploded in her hands, setting fire to her night dress and seriously injuring her. She ran upstairs, her husband stripped off her burning clothes, and in her fear she threw herself through the garret window into the street. Wastnidge dropped his little boy to persons who were below in the street, and by means of a ladder which was brought escaped from the house. Mrs. O'Rourke was found in the cellar shockingly burned. Mrs.

Wastnidge was taken to the infirmary in a state of insensibility, where she remained five or six weeks. A person of the name of Thomson was tried at York at the Spring Assizes, 1862, for the murder of Mrs. O'Rourke, and was acquitted. Robert Renshaw confessed before us that he threw the can of gunpowder into Wastnidge's house, and that he was hired to do so on the promise of £6 by William Bayles and Samuel Cutler, both members of the Fender-Grinders' Union, and he stated that it was done because Wastnidge was not right with the trade. James Robertson, now secretary and at that time acting-secretary of the Fender-Grinders' Union, stated that he paid to William Bayles £6, which he had received from Kenworthy, the then secretary of the Union, and that he had falsified the books of the Union in order that that payment should not be discovered. We report that all the above outrages were promoted and encouraged by the Fender-Grinders' Union.'

The Brickmakers' Union was not behind the Grinders' in their attempts to blow up houses, and it was proved that in addition they had killed horses and cows, and destroyed many thousands of bricks belonging to masters against whom they had taken umbrage. The Nailmakers' Union also made various attempts to blow up shops and houses with gunpowder.

The brickmakers of Manchester were quite on a par with the grinders of Sheffield in the atrocity of their crimes, committed for the promotion of their own interests. They refused to permit the employment of non-Unionists either with Union men or alone, or the use of machine-made bricks, or transference of bricks from one district to another, or any rate of wages below what they had fixed. They compelled a master brickmaker, not a member of the Union, to pay them £1 a year in order to be allowed to work at his own trade. No bricks of which they disapproved would be laid by the bricklayers, who were their firm allies. They fined a master £5 for complaining of their work. They destroyed 40,000 bricks because a master, whose works were in the Ashton district, sent bricks to Manchester in violation of their rules. They mixed thousands of needles with the clay which offending brickmakers were to use, in order to pierce

and maim the hands of those who were to mould it. The shed of a master who had dismissed some Union men was set on fire by naphtha, and a great deal of property was destroyed. Horses were hamstrung, and a favourite mare belonging to an offending master was roasted to death. Blowing up with gunpowder was practised in Manchester as freely as in Sheffield. Refractory workmen were waylaid, beaten, stabbed with knives, shot at, and wounded. Some who could not swim were thrown into deep water, and narrowly escaped drowning. One person was nearly killed because he was taken for another. Watchmen were wounded in the head with slugs, and a policeman was murdered outright.

Trade outrages equally savage and shocking were found to have been perpetrated in other manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it seemed as if the whole structure of society in these and other trading districts was undermined. Perhaps the most significant fact of all, as showing the wholesale demoralization which Trades' Unions of this class produce among the operatives, like the Fenian and other kindred associations in Ireland, is the mode in which they regard such miscreants as Broadhead and Crookes, his willing instrument. The character and conduct of Broadhead must have been quite well known to the members of the Union, and especially to the Committee, even before the appointment of the Commission. In October, 1866, he wrote a letter relating to an outrage perpetrated at that time, which clearly showed a guilty knowledge and approbation of the deed. The press commented severely on his assertion that the victim of that outrage was nearly as bad as the perpetrator. Broadhead in consequence offered his resignation as Secretary of the Saw-Grinders' Union. After a discussion with closed doors, which lasted six hours, the members passed a vote of confidence in him, and requested him to retain his office. The revelations made to the Commissioners speedily followed. It was

proved not only by the evidence of his accomplices, but by his own confession, that he had suborned violent assaults, robbery fire-raising, and murder; that he retained in his service men whom he had hired to do these deeds, and that to pay them he had embezzled the funds and falsified the accounts of the Society. But the Saw-Grinders' Union refused to repudiate his crimes and to expel him, because, as they alleged, 'he had risked his life on their behalf, and the law afforded no remedy for the offences which he had taken upon himself to punish with death.' It would have been strange, indeed, if the law had prevented non-Unionists from engaging to work with whom and at what wages they thought proper.

At this very time Mr. Baron Bramwell, in the case of the journeymen tailors of London, while forcibly insisting on the illegality of coercing, molesting, or annoying other men in the exercise of their right of disposing of their own labour, laid it down that a combination to raise wages, even though it proceeds to the sometimes inevitable climax of a strike, is not contrary to the law of England so long as it is conducted without breach of the peace, or obstruction to or interference with other persons. No candid or reasonable person would ask more than this; but the powers of the Sheffield Unionists were, in their own estimation, so insufficient that they thought it necessary to supplement them by fire-raising, wounding, and murdering! The Unionists complained, indeed not without reason, that their associations were treated as inherently illegal, and that they were left without remedy in cases of pillage or embezzlement of their property. It was decided by the Court of Queen's Bench in January, 1867, that a Trades' Union which is also a Benefit Society, but which has among its rules any that in the judgment of the law amount to a restraint of trade, is *ipso facto* deprived of the right of recovering from a defaulting treasurer the money which he had misappropriated. This decision was

given on the ground that the Society was established for illegal purposes. It is certainly right and proper that no association should be supported in doing illegal acts, but quite unjust that because it aimed at illegal as well as legal objects its funds should be embezzled with impunity. And it was felt that the Legislature might properly be called on to extend full proprietary rights, and the power of enforcing them against wrong-doers to those associations whose rules and objects were not of a criminal character. The great body of the people came at length to the conclusion that Trades' Unions are not in themselves improper or immoral, and that there is no good reason why the working classes might not combine to fix the rate of wages which they would accept from the masters, provided that they did not 'picket,' waylay, threaten, and maltreat those who were willing to take employment at the rates which the Unionists rejected.

'With regard,' said the Report of the Commissioners, 'to the general question of the right of workmen to combine together for determining and stipulating with their employer the terms on which only they will consent to work with him, we think that provided the combination be perfectly voluntary, and that full liberty be left to all other workmen to undertake the work which the parties combining have refused, and that no obstruction be placed in the way of the employer resorting elsewhere in search of a supply of labour, there is no ground of justice or of policy in withholding such a right from the workmen;' and they add that they 'are prepared to recommend that a Bill be brought in so far relaxing the existing law, in substance, as to enact that no combination of persons for the purpose of determining among themselves, or of stipulating for the terms on which they will consent to employ or be employed, shall be unlawful by reason only that its operation would be in restraint of trade.'

The Commissioners were also of opinion that 'there would be advantage to the Unions if they were established with the capacities for rights and liabilities arising from a *status* recognized by law; and that there would be advantage to the public if their proceedings were made public, and the officers of Unions acting according to law had the position to which persons discharging important duties are entitled.' They recommended there-

fore that 'facilities should be granted for such registration as will give to the Unions capacity for rights and duties resembling in some degree that of corporations, and to the public the means of knowing the rules, members, and funds of the Union, and also their expenditure and proceedings.'

Several years elapsed, however, before these judicious recommendations were carried into effect. It was not until 1871 that an Act was passed which aimed at putting an end to trade disputes, by holding the balance even between employers of labour and those employed by them. The system thus inaugurated was carried out in 1875, when masters and workmen were placed on perfect equality as regards the matter of contract. A breach of contract was to be treated on both sides as a civil, not a criminal affair, and was not to be punished by imprisonment except as that penalty would be inflicted in other cases by a county court judge for contumacious disobedience to the orders of the Court, or in certain peculiar cases where a wilful and malicious breach of a contract would inflict great injury on the public. In regard to such cases there was no distinction made between employers and the persons employed. Imprisonment might be inflicted also on any person who hid or injured the tools of workmen in order to prevent them from doing their work, or who attempted by intimidation or violence to induce others to abstain from working or to join in a strike. The right of workmen to combine for the purpose of raising wages, or for any other object which is not in itself illegal, has now been fully recognized, and no distinction is made, in the eye of the law, between them and the employers of labour. The former are at perfect liberty to unite in a resolution not to work for less than a certain rate of wages, and to carry it into effect by a strike should they think fit. The latter are equally at liberty to combine in a refusal to give the rate of wages demanded, and to vindicate their determination by a lock-out. Freedom of action in this respect is the rule prescribed

by the law to both parties, but not liberty to employ intimidation or violence. But though, as one of their most zealous supporters has admitted, 'legislation has now accomplished all that any reasonable advocate of the claims of the Trades' Unions could have demanded,' the evil practice of 'picketing,' waylaying, intimidating, and assaulting non-Unionists has by no means been abandoned. Neither have the unjust and injurious regulations respecting apprentices and the freedom of labour.

In the Clyde iron shipbuilding trade restrictive regulations have been enforced to such an extent that the ironworkers are receiving from 20s. to 25s. a day, while the ship-joiners are earning only 5s. 6d., this result having been brought about mainly by minimizing the number of apprentices. The effect has been most injurious to the ironworkers themselves, and there is great danger that shipbuilding may be driven from the Clyde, as it was a few years ago from the Thames, by the greedy and tyrannical conduct of the workmen.

A section of the working classes, more provident and foreseeing than their fellows, instituted in 1844 a Co-operative Society, and set an example which has been widely followed throughout the country. In that year it occurred to a few poor flannel weavers in Rochdale that they might combine for the purpose of economizing their expenditure by supplying themselves with good and cheap food and clothing. They were of course aware that shopkeepers had each to pay rent, rates, taxes, and other expenses, and to maintain themselves and their family out of the small profits which they received from a moderate aggregate of returns. They saw also that the system of credit entailed bad debts, thus increasing the cost of articles to honest customers, and that as the shopkeeper was often obliged in turn to purchase on credit, he could not buy in the cheapest market. It seemed evident therefore that if they could command a little capital to make a beginning, they might supply themselves with food and clothing on much more

favourable terms than by dealing at the shops. Some of them had a conscientious objection to the taking of an oath, and therefore could not appeal to a court of law to enforce payment of accounts, while others had scruples with respect to suing. They were all aware that the credit system often led to litigation, and that litigation always entailed waste of time and money. They therefore determined neither to take nor to give credit.

These pioneers of the Co-operative movement, twenty-eight in number, subscribed 2*d.* a week each, and when their joint contributions reached the amount of £28 they took a small shop in a back street of Rochdale, where they commenced their operations. After fitting up the shop, only £14 remained to purchase goods. A neighbouring shopkeeper said in derision that he could take away the whole stock-in-trade in a wheelbarrow. In all previous attempts to establish a combined enterprise of this kind the profits were divided among the shareholders, but the Rochdale co-operatives resolved that their profits should be divided among the customers in proportion to the amount of their purchases—an arrangement which was no doubt one main cause of the Society's success.

The 'Equitable Pioneers,' as the Society was termed, commenced their operations with groceries, and at the same time raised their weekly contribution per member to threepence. At the close of 1845 the Society numbered eighty members, and had a capital of £181 12*s.* 3*d.* They now added butcher meat and all sorts of clothing to their stores. Soon after reaching this stage they considered it necessary to publish an account of their objects, and of the means which they had adopted to carry them into effect.

'The objects of this Society,' they said, 'are the social and intellectual advancement of its members. It provides them with groceries, butcher's meat, drapery goods, clothes, shoes, clogs, &c. There are competent workmen on the premises to do the work of the members and execute all repairs. The

capital is raised in £1 shares, each member being allowed to take not less than five and not more than 100, payable at once or by instalments of 3*s.* 3*d.* per quarter. The profits are divided quarterly as follows:—1st, interest at 5 per cent. per annum on all paid-up shares; 2nd, 2½ off net profits for educational purposes; the remainder to be divided among the members in proportion to money expended. For the intellectual improvement of the members there is a library consisting of more than 3000 volumes. The news-room is well supplied with newspapers and periodicals, fitted up in a neat and careful manner, and furnished with maps, globes, microscope, telescope, &c. The news-room and library are free to all members. A branch reading-room has been opened at Oldham Road, the readers of which meet every second Monday in January, April, July, and October to choose and sell the papers.'

In order to furnish hints for the guidance of those who applied to them for information, with a view to the formation of new societies, they printed a paper suggesting various regulations, which gives a high idea of the sound sense and intelligence of the Pioneers. They especially recommended that officers should be chosen for their integrity, intelligence, and ability, and not for their wealth or distinction.

The progress of the Rochdale Pioneers' Society was very remarkable and gratifying. The Rev. Mr. Molesworth states that in 1860 it numbered 3450 members, possessed £37,710 of funds, did business to the amount of £152,083, and had made £15,906 of profits. In 1850 they set on foot a new society, called the 'Co-operative Corn-mill Society,' in imitation of one which had been for some years in successful working at Leeds. It 1863 it was grinding nearly 1700 sacks of flour, meal, &c., per week, and in addition to the Rochdale store, with its branches, it supplied the co-operative shops of the towns and villages for many miles around.

In 1854 an association was formed in Rochdale for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, and the Pioneers' Society invested a large portion of its superabundant capital in this undertaking. The building, which contains all modern improvements, cost £40,000, the whole of which was paid before

the mill was opened. A Co-operative Sick and Burial Society was also formed, a Co-operative Turkish Bath, and a Land and Building Society. The capital invested in these various institutions was estimated in 1861 at £125,729. The depression of trade and manufactures in Lancashire in consequence of the American Civil War was a severe trial to the whole of these co-operative institutions, especially to the Cotton Manufacturing Association, but they all weathered the storm. The Pioneers notably afforded aid to some of their own members who had been reduced to distress by the cotton famine; but the Store Society for a long time gave £10 weekly to the Relief Fund, and liberal contributions to it were made also by the Corn-mill Society and the Manufacturing Association. The Pioneers have eleven substantial well-built branch stores in Rochdale, each doing a large business, and having a news-room and a reference library of its own. A fortieth part of the profits of the Society is set aside for educational purposes; their library contains a good many thousands of well-selected volumes, and a news-room supplied with the leading daily and weekly journals, and almost every important periodical.

The success of the Rochdale Society led to the establishment of similar institutions in most parts of the country. They have rapidly advanced in numbers and wealth, and now both their membership and their capital are to be counted by the hundred thousand, and their aggregate sales annually amount to a good many millions. At the Co-operative Congress held in Edinburgh in May, 1883, it was stated by the chairman, Mr. W. E. Baxter, M.P., that, leaving out of view the large Civil Service Stores in the metropolis, the total sales of the 782 retail societies in England in 1882 amounted to £13,863,498, and the sales of the wholesale societies were £3,574,695. In Scotland the total sales were £3,280,644, the wholesale being

£986,446. In the ten years, from 1862 to 1871, a net profit of £3,739,093 was realized upon a total trade of £53,822,762. In the last ten years, viz. 1872 to 1881, the profit had been £13,712,176, upon a trade of £169,433,328, so that the business had increased during the last decade more than three times, and the profit more than three and a half times. During the twenty years the Co-operative Societies had made a profit of very nearly seventeen and a half millions sterling, and that profit had been at the rate of no less than 29 per cent. on the capital. The returns for Scotland showed a still more marvellous result. During the ten years from 1872 to 1881, the societies in this part of the country had done business amounting to £24,503,662, and made a profit of £2,107,401, which, with reference to the share capital employed, gave a dividend of 65 per cent. per annum, or more than double that which had been realized by their friends on the other side of the Tweed. Nor had the movement been by any means confined to Great Britain. In Austria associations were spreading all over the country; in Germany there were nearly half a million members of the People's Co-operative Banks, and about 300 similar institutions existed in Italy. The principle of co-operation has been carried in some quarters to an extent which has caused considerable dissatisfaction. It has been adopted by the civil servants of the Crown, and in Dublin and Edinburgh, as well as in London, a considerable number of the upper classes avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Civil Service Stores. But notwithstanding this drawback, and some other objections, there can be no doubt that the co-operative principle has been highly beneficial; and in addition to its pecuniary saving it has contributed not a little to train the working classes in the manufacturing districts in habits of frugality, temperance, and self-reliance.

CHAPTER X.

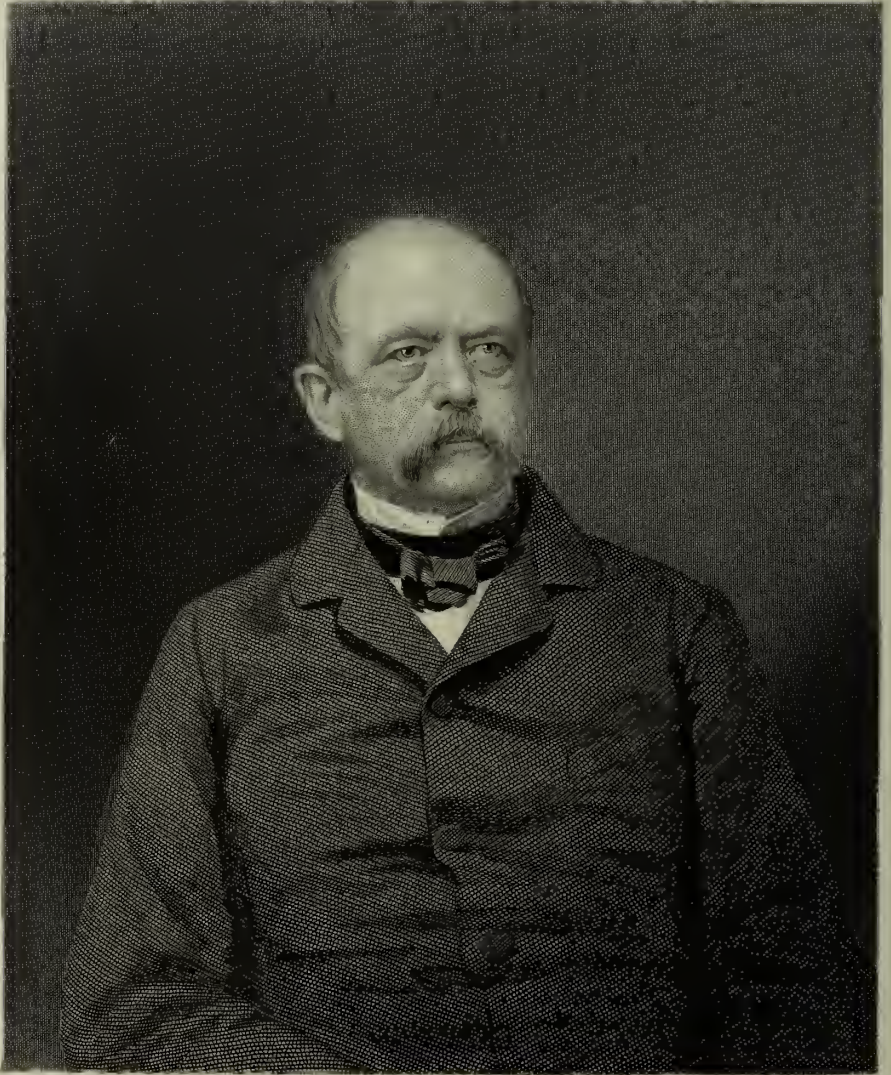
Position of France at the close of the War between Austria and Prussia—Vacillation of the Emperor—His claims on Prussia—Crafty policy of Bismarck—He outwits the French Ambassador—Project for a Treaty—The French Emperor's attempt to purchase Luxemburg—Hostile feeling between France and Prussia—Reorganization of the French Army—The Purchase System—Inefficiency of the Officers—Corruption of the system—Origin of the quarrel between France and Prussia—Candidature of Prince Leopold for the Spanish Throne—Excitement caused by it in France—False report about the King of Prussia's treatment of the French Ambassador—Declaration of War—Deception practised on the French Emperor—State of his Army and of the German forces—Defeat of the French at Wissembourg and Wörth—Shameful character of their retreat—Defeat at Spicheren—Depressed state of the Emperor—Resignation of the Ministry—Battle of Courcelles—Defeat of the French at Mars-la-Tour and at Gravelotte—Bazaine takes refuge in Metz—March of MacMahon to his relief—Battle of Sedan—Surrender of the Emperor and of MacMahon's Army—Conduct of the New Ministry—Riots in Paris—Deposition of the Emperor, and flight of the Empress—Proclamation of a Republic—Character of the Emperor.

THE position of France, and especially of the French Emperor, had now become exceedingly critical. The aggrandizement of Prussia, as the result of the war with Austria, which he had permitted if not encouraged, had greatly altered his own situation. The result of that war took the Emperor completely by surprise. A strong and united Germany was regarded as highly perilous to France. There can be little doubt that if Napoleon had been ready to go to war in 1866 he would at once have appealed to arms, and there is good reason to believe that Count Bismarck apprehended war from France in that year. In his celebrated speech to the Reichstag in 1874 he admitted that Prussia's position at that moment had been most critical. 'If France,' he said, 'had only had a small force at her disposal, it would have been sufficient to form a very respectable army by uniting with the South German contingents—an army which would have immediately compelled us to abandon all our successes in Austria in order to protect Berlin.' But Napoleon was not in good health, and seemed to have lost all his old energy. The unexpected and untoward results of the war had so bewildered him that he could not make up his mind to adopt any decided course. Count Walewski urged him to place at least 100,000 men on the Rhine. The Duc de Gramont wrote from Vienna that Prussia was almost ex-

hausted, and durst not risk a war with France. Baron Beust, who visited Paris to implore the support of France in behalf of Austria, said it was only necessary for him to make a simple military demonstration in order to be master of the situation, and that if he omitted to take this step at the present moment, he would in the end have to encounter not only Prussia, but all Germany. It was pointed out by the Queen of Holland to the French Minister at the Hague that the future of the Napoleonic dynasty was at stake. All was in vain; the Emperor was of opinion that it was not advisable 'to run after hazards.' The counsel of such men as M. Lavalette and M. Rouher was preferred to the energetic advice of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who recommended that the army should be placed on a war footing, and the favourable moment was allowed to escape.

The Emperor flattered himself that Prussia might at this juncture be induced to give her consent to the re-establishment of the frontiers of 1814, and M. Benedetti was sent to the headquarters of the Prussian army in Moravia to open negotiations with Bismarck for that purpose. He suffered himself, however, to be completely outwitted by the astute and unscrupulous Prussian Premier, who carefully avoided committing himself to any definite arrangements, but kept the French envoy in play by assuring him that he was quite disposed

Donald Ross



Engraved by W. Hall, from a Photograph.

B I S M A R C K .

to enter into the views of the Emperor. 'I shall not say anything new to your Excellency,' wrote Benedetti from Nicolsburg to his chief, 'in announcing that in M. de Bismarck's opinion we ought to look for a compensation in Belgium, and he has offered me to come to an understanding on this subject. He, however, thinks it possible to find also something in the Palatinate.' After the preliminaries of peace between Prussia and Austria were signed, the French Emperor asked for the cession of the left bank of the Rhine, but Bismarck told the French Envoy that this would be war, and the demand was not pressed. He dexterously turned it, however, to account in dealing with the Ministers of the Southern States of Germany, and so frightened them with this scheme propounded by France for compensation at their expense, that they concluded a secret treaty of defensive and offensive alliance with Prussia.

The definite peace with Austria was not quite concluded, and Bismarck therefore found it necessary to continue the game of hoodwinking the French Ambassador by what he called 'dilatatory negotiations.' Prussia might without difficulty have given up to France the left bank of the Rhine, but the position of affairs was now changed, and it was impossible, he said, to cede an inch of German territory. 'Other arrangements, however, might be made to satisfy the respective interests of both countries.' It appears that the French Emperor had hitherto refused to entertain the project of seizing Belgium, and had termed such an enterprise an 'act of brigandage.' But now, baffled in all his attempts to obtain the cession of any part of Germany as compensation for the aggrandizement of Prussia, he began to listen to the voice of the tempter, and Benedetti was authorized by him to negotiate, without the knowledge of his official chief, a secret treaty with Prussia, binding that Power not to interfere with the nefarious attempt on Belgium which Bismarck had suggested. Benedetti accordingly submitted to the Prussian

Premier a 'Project of a Treaty' in his own handwriting, on which Bismarck, in order to gain time, made some observations and proposed certain changes. But as soon as the Peace of Prague was signed he began to draw back, and pretended to fear that the French Emperor might make use of this secret negotiation to bring about a misunderstanding between Prussia and Great Britain. While negotiations were pending Bismarck assured the French Ambassador that France was the most desirable ally for Prussia, and that if these two Powers were closely united they would not need to fear any armed resistance to their plans, either from Britain or Russia; but Benedetti now had his eyes opened to the manner in which he had been outwitted in this discreditable intrigue, when he learned that General Manteuffel had been sent on a secret mission to St. Petersburg to negotiate an alliance with Russia. The envoy was instructed to make known to Prince Gortschakoff the projects and proposals of France, and to offer that if Russia would remain faithful to her alliance with Prussia she would not be interfered with by her ally in carrying out her policy in the East of Europe. This mission was perfectly successful, though Bismarck took care not to form any such definite engagement with Russia as would have compelled him to side openly with her.

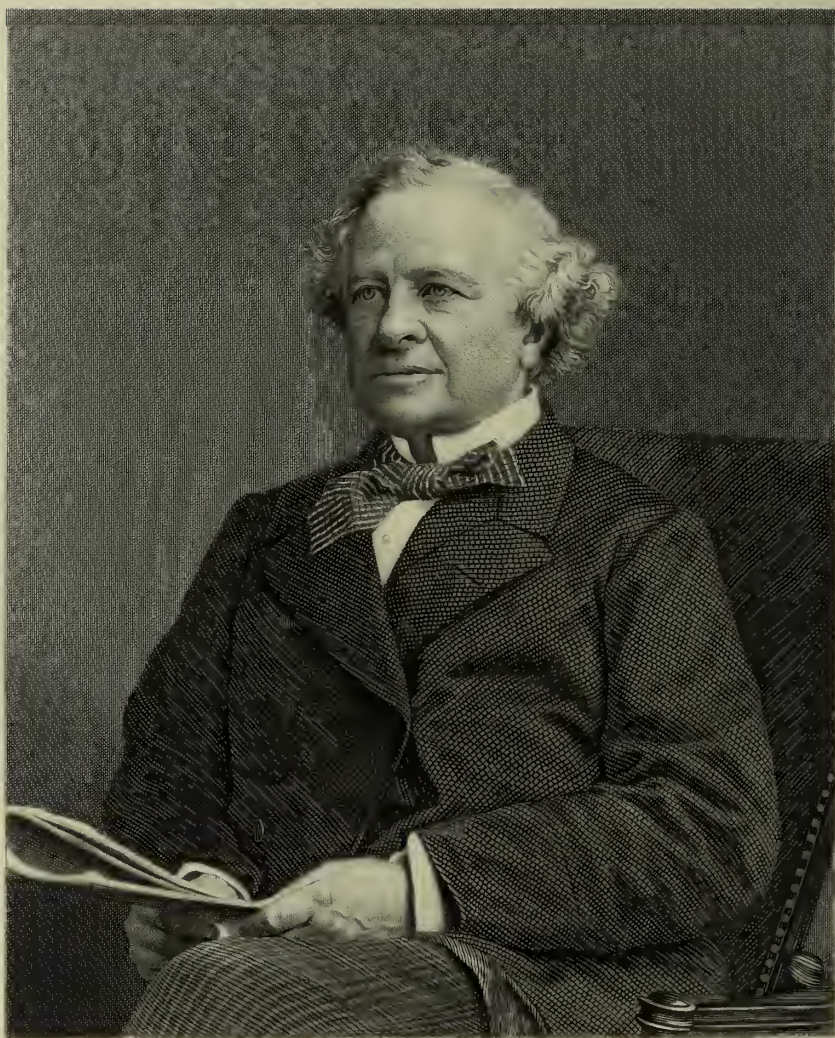
Thus baffled by the crafty Prussian Premier in his attempts to obtain the cession of a portion of German territory, the French Emperor attempted to acquire by purchase the strong fortress of Luxemburg, on the north-eastern frontier of France. The Duchy of Luxemburg, which belonged to the King of Holland as Grand-Duke, formed part of the German Confederation, and the city had for some years past been garrisoned by Prussian troops. But in the altered circumstances of the country, the French Government alleged that in the hands of a Prussian garrison it would no longer be merely a defensive position for Germany, but would be also an offensive position against France. The

King of Holland was quite willing to dispose of the fortified city, all the more that the inhabitants had shown a strong repugnance to being incorporated with Germany. But the proposal to transfer Luxemburg to France excited great opposition on the part of the Germans, and it seemed at one period not unlikely that the affair would lead to war between the two countries. But this was happily averted by the intervention of the other European Powers. A conference of the representatives of Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Italy, and Holland was held in London in May, 1867, and a treaty was signed by them, declaring that the Duchy of Luxemburg should henceforth be considered as neutral territory, and placed under the collective guarantee of all the Powers who were parties to the treaty; that the Prussian garrison should be immediately withdrawn, and the fortress dismantled to such an extent as would be satisfactory to the King of Holland.

But though hostilities were for the present averted, there can be little or no doubt that from this time forward both parties expected that sooner or later war would take place. Like two express trains, it was said, starting from opposite stations and running on the same line, a collision was inevitable. For more than two centuries France had been the Power, as Frederick the Great remarked, without whose permission not a cannon-shot should be fired in Europe, and it was not to be endured that Prussia should now assume a higher or even an equal position. Her present ruler felt himself bound to maintain the traditions of the Napoleonic Empire, and one of these was not to suffer the undue aggrandizement of any European Power, so as to render her a dangerous enemy to France. If Prussia were allowed to carry out her schemes for the unification of Germany, her military resources would be enormously increased, and the balance of power among the European States would be completely destroyed. The position of Napoleon himself, and the permanence of his dynasty, would be seri-

ously affected if under his sway the prestige of France should be lowered through the aggrandizement of her most hated rival. The Emperor thus felt constrained, by personal as well as public considerations, to prepare for the inevitable struggle for supremacy.

For this purpose the reorganization of the army was absolutely necessary. The Emperor, thirty years before, had advised his countrymen 'to borrow from Germany her system of public education and military organization;' and Marshal Niel, the Minister at War, now took steps, in imitation of Prussia, for doubling by a war reserve the peace strength of the French army. A new law was passed for the purpose, but its efficacy was marred by the continuance of the fatal flaw of the purchase of exemption—'the purchase of a man to be killed,' as Prince Napoleon said, 'in the stead of him who has the means.' Exoneration from active service might be obtained by a fine paid to the State. The fines thus levied were to have been applied to increase the bounties given to old soldiers who re-enlisted for further service, and to reward volunteers. But the money was misappropriated by the Government to other purposes, and consequently the battalions remained unfilled. When the war broke out only 200,000 men were forthcoming out of the 288,000 who should have been found in the ranks of the twenty-four active divisions. The reserve contingents first called on raised that number to 250,000, all that could at that critical moment be mustered to meet nearly 500,000 Germans gathering against them. Deficiency in numerical strength, however, was not the worst feature of the French army at this period—their moral power had become greatly deteriorated. The corruption of the Second Empire had seriously affected the whole military system of the country. The frugal, energetic, and experienced officers who had been raised up in the Algerian war had passed away or been set aside, and were replaced by men of no marked ability or professional



Engraved by W. Rolfe, from a Photograph by Elliott & Fry

EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.

eminence. Military rank had been conferred on men of luxurious and vicious habits, like Lebœuf, De Failly, Frossard, and Douay, who owed their position not to warlike talent and experience, but to their worship of Imperialism and their sycophantish subserviency to the Empire. A few of the generals, like MacMahon and Canrobert, though by no means possessed of first-rate abilities, were esteemed and trusted, but the great majority of the superior officers had no reputation either for soldiership or ability; and generals 'who sought to make marches in carriages, and to fit their tents up as boudoirs, were ill placed over recruits who chafed at the law that let the rich escape the national service, and at the Administration that made promotion avowedly depend on favour, and ostracized all suspected of want of devotion to the dynasty.' Corruption had crept into every department. Carelessness characterized the whole system of management, and the want of discipline on the part of the soldiers served greatly to increase the danger arising from the incompetence of the officers. A great improvement had, however, taken place in the weapons employed in the army. The old muzzle-loading musket had been replaced by the Chassepot, which was believed, not without reason, to be superior to the Prussian needle-gun; and the *mitrailleuse*, a 'machine gun' which poured out thousands of balls in a minute, was expected to prove a most formidable weapon, to which nothing of the same kind could be opposed by the enemy.

To outward appearance there was no probability that the peace of Europe would be disturbed at the moment, when war at length broke out in the year 1870. In the summer of that year Lord Clarendon, the sagacious and experienced Foreign Minister in the British Cabinet, died; and when his successor, Lord Granville, entered on the duties of the office, he was informed by Mr. Hammond, the veteran Under-Secretary, that never in his experience were the prospects of peace brighter than at that

moment. But the mine had long been dug, and the train laid both in France and Prussia, and only a single spark was needed to produce a terrific explosion. That spark came from a totally unexpected quarter. General Prim had very unadvisedly selected Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen for the vacant throne of Spain. Curiously enough, though it is not generally known, France and Prussia had previously discussed the project of conferring the Spanish crown on a prince of the Hohenzollern family, the second son of the reigning prince, on condition that he should marry a daughter of the Duchess of Alva, the niece of the French empress. This, however, he refused to do, and the scheme was laid aside. Somewhat later the project was renewed by Bismarck and Prim, with this difference, that the hereditary Prince himself was proposed as the candidate for the throne. Very characteristically, this scheme was to be kept a profound secret until after it had been sanctioned by the Cortes, in the hope that France would then be obliged to acquiesce in what could not be prevented; but Prim became frightened, and from apprehension that the Emperor would be deeply offended if the affair were concealed from him tried to break the news by mentioning the proposal to the French Ambassador at Madrid. The intimation set France in a flame. The King of Prussia had shortly before made a member of his family the ruler of Roumania, and he was now suddenly and surreptitiously intriguing to place another prince of his house on the throne of Spain—a country with which he had no right to intermeddle. He alleged that he had given his personal sanction only as head of the Hohenzollern family, not as King—that officially he had no hand in the candidature, and he declined to order it to be withdrawn. The French Government, who were willing on a specified condition to accept the elder brother of the Prince, had certainly no valid reason to give why they should object to the new candidate. Personal and family circumstances

indeed seemed to render him acceptable to the Napoleon family, and likely to attach him to French interests. He belonged to a Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family; his paternal grandfather was a Murat, his maternal grandmother a Beauharnais; his mother was connected with the house of Braganza-Bourbon. It was more than five centuries since he and the King of Prussia had a common ancestor. The proposal to place this cadet of the Hohenzollern family on the unstable throne of Spain was really a matter of very slight importance, but in the existing temper both of France and Germany it was sufficient to afford a pretext for open hostilities. Prince Leopold himself, in the view of the angry excitement which his candidature had produced, sent in his resignation as a candidate for the vacant throne; but the French Government insisted that the King of Prussia should openly withdraw Leopold as a candidate, and promise that in no circumstances should the Prince or any member of the Hohenzollern family become a candidate for the Spanish throne. It was well known that the demand must inevitably be refused. The King, as was expected, declared that in this, as in all other circumstances, he would reserve to himself the right to act as seemed to him good. An additional pretext for a declaration of war was needed and invented. A paragraph appeared in the *North German Gazette*, a journal which was the organ of Bismarck, to the effect that the French Ambassador, Count Benedetti, had accosted the King with an insolent demand, which was promptly and royally refused, and his access in future to the King was forbidden. The story was false, but it served its purpose. The report reached Berlin in a few hours, and excited extreme indignation among the populace, who collected on the same evening before the Palace, shouting, 'To the Rhine!' and 'To Paris!' The excitement among the Parisian mob was not less violent. The cries of the Berliners, 'Nach Paris!' were met by the counter cry,

'A Berlin!' The Duc de Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, described this paragraph to the Legislative body as a circular despatch, and amid shouts of approval declared that insult had been offered, which could only be avenged by war. The French Prime Minister, M. Ollivier, said he accepted the challenge of Prussia 'with a light heart.' The advice of the Ministry, supported by the clamour of the Parisians, was followed, and on the 15th of July the Emperor declared war against the King of Prussia. There has seldom, if ever, been a war between two adjoining countries more utterly without cause, or reflecting more discredit on the persons responsible for its terrible results.

Benedetti, as soon as he discovered Bismarck's duplicity and double-dealing, strove to make his sovereign aware of the real situation of affairs, and of Bismarck's intentions. He assured his sovereign that he should not place any confidence in the support of the Southern German States, who would be compelled at no distant time, by the national feeling of their populations, to side with Prussia. He expressed his conviction that the great body of the German people would resist to the utmost any attempt to infringe upon German territory. On the other hand, however, advisers of a different stamp declared that the population of Hanover, Saxony, and the annexed States detested Prussia, and would rise against her if a favourable opportunity were offered, and that Bavaria and Württemberg were only waiting for a war to make common cause with France. Austria, it was alleged, had not forgotten her humiliation at Sadowa, while Italy cherished a grateful recollection of what she owed to the Emperor and the French nation. He was assured also by his generals that the French army was in a state of unequalled proficiency. There was some truth in these allegations. The policy of Bismarck was unpopular in Germany. The democratic party demanded more free institutions. The Ultramontanes abhorred the transfer

to the Protestant crown of the ruling influence in Germany. Local attachments among the populations of the absorbed and the menaced States made them dread the power of centralization. The members and friends of the royal houses which had suffered abounded in ill-will, and the unprincipled proceedings of Prussia had estranged all upright and honourable men. But a desire of unity was the master passion of the Germans. And even the Court of Würtemberg, though it was bitterly hostile to Prussia and to the cause of German unity, was afraid to oppose the almost unanimous determination of the people, and the resentment of the Hanoverians against the annexation of their country to Prussia speedily gave way, when war was declared, to burning indignation at the proposed invasion of Germany. The arrogance of the Duc de Gramont and the aggression of his master at once united the whole German people in a determination to defend their country against their hereditary enemy.

The French Emperor had been deceived in regard to the number of men in each regiment, their soldierly qualities, the excellence of their arms, and the perfection of their equipment. When the incompetent War Minister, Lebœuf, was asked if the army was ready he replied, 'More than ready.' But he was wholly devoid of the qualifications both of a general and an administrator. The commissariat broke down at the very beginning of the campaign; the artillery was deficient in the necessary material. The German officers had been carefully instructed in the geography of France, while even the French staff-officers were ignorant of the geography of their own country, and Generals wandered about in search of the troops whom they were to command. The Emperor lingered at Paris till nearly the end of July, and when he reached the Rhine he discovered everything there in a state of confusion. He found the army under officers 'who went to the field in carriages, accompanied by cooks and prostitutes.' De Failly, to whom the

command of the most important province in France had been entrusted, was in the habit of banqueting daily on eight courses served on plate. Under such leaders it is no wonder that the common soldiers had become demoralized and insubordinate.

The state of the German army presented a marked contrast to that of their antagonists. The war with Austria had shown that the Prussian soldiers were in a state of high training, confident in their new weapons and organization, perfectly disciplined, and actuated by a high professional spirit. The German patriots, who had long opposed a numerous standing army as enormously expensive and dangerous to national liberty, had now come to regard it as the instrument by which the long-cherished vision of German unity could be accomplished. No pains or expense had been spared after the triumphant conclusion of the war with Austria to repair any defects which had then become manifest in the system, and to bring it to perfection. So complete were the arrangements made by Generals Von Moltke and Von Roon that an army amounting to 500,000 men, of whom 60,000 were cavalry, could all be collected and equipped by corps at a fortnight's notice.

When war was declared by the Emperor of France, on the 15th of July, everybody expected that the French army would at once take the field and pass the Rhine; but it proved to be far from fully prepared, either in men, material, or stores. It was really in cantonments, corps isolated from corps, and requiring several days to consolidate and combine it. Many of the men on the muster rolls were on furlough in distant parts of France. The Intendance had no stock of provisions to draw upon, and was in the greatest straits for means to feed the troops as they came up from the west. Ammunition for the troops as they collected had to be got together from distant depots. Even the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg, 'the watch-towers on her eastern frontier,' were discovered to have their

magazines unfilled. In consequence, the concentration of troops on the frontier was so slow that more than ten days elapsed before they were able to commence hostilities. General Moltke was reported to have said that unless the Emperor crossed the Rhine in a fortnight he would never see it, at least as a conqueror, and so it proved. 'As soon as war was declared,' wrote an old veteran officer who was then living at Hagenau, 'I went to Strasburg, expecting to see our men pass the Rhine into Baden, some 40,000 or 50,000 of them. But I came back, like a fool, as I went, for no troops crossed. Why, in the time of the Great Napoleon he would have crossed long before these ten days were over with 150,000 men, and he would have beaten the Prussians as they came up, corps after corps; and we should have had news of him at Berlin, as we did in 1806, instead of hearing how the Prussians have invaded us, and beaten our armies in detail.'

Unfortunately for the French, they had no General fit to take the command in the critical circumstances in which the army was placed. The Germans seemed at first to have intended to wait the attack of the invaders on the line of Coblenz and Mainz, no doubt in the belief that their enemy would cross the Rhine into the Palatinate before they could reach that river. But when, much to their surprise, they found that the French troops loitered and delayed operations, they resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country. While the incompetent Generals of the French army were wasting their time in wrangling, and hesitation, and useless inspections, with apparently no definite plan of operations, the immense masses of German troops, unknown to them, were concentrating on the railroad junctions near the frontier. On the 2nd of August the French Emperor advanced from Metz across the frontier, and by a cannonade from the neighbouring heights compelled a small Prussian detachment to retire from the town of Saarbrück. This petty exploit furnished matter for a

despatch, in which the Emperor informed the Empress that the Prince Imperial had in this combat received his 'baptism of fire.' But even now the troops remained scattered as before, the different divisions too far separate to support each other if suddenly attacked. Two days later (Thursday, 4th August), the storm burst upon them quite unexpectedly. General A. Douay was encamped at Wissembourg, within two miles of the frontier, utterly unconscious that a force ten times his own strength was within a single day's march. At early dawn of the 4th the Crown Prince crossed the Lauter, directly in front and on both flanks of the French, in resistless force. Douay and his men fought gallantly, but were speedily driven back by the overwhelming numbers of their assailants. The General himself fell early in the action, and his division retreated in great disorder, leaving 600 prisoners and their camp in the hands of the Prussians.

Marshal MacMahon, who was stationed near Strasburg, was still incredulous that the enemy had crossed the frontier in great force, and having rallied the troops flying from Wissembourg, he took up a strong and well-chosen position on the lower spurs of the Vosges, at Wörth, two and a half German miles south-west of Wissembourg, having 55,000 men under his command. Here he was assailed on the evening of the 5th of August by the Crown Prince, with a force of 130,000 men. The French fought with desperate valour, and held their ground for fifteen hours, but they were at last overpowered and compelled to give way, leaving two standards, six mitrailleuses, thirty guns, and about 6000 prisoners in the hands of the enemy, besides two railway trains laden with provisions, and MacMahon's carriage, with all his baggage and papers. Their killed and wounded amounted to 10,000 men. The German loss was about 8000. The neglect of discipline, the want of confidence between officers and men, which proved so ruinous throughout the war, were especially manifested in this encounter.

The behaviour of the defeated army was peculiarly disgraceful, and turned their reverse into a disastrous rout. Their right, which was not pressed at all by the enemy after they gave way, fled panic-stricken, though wholly unpursued. Numbers of them, on horses stolen from their guns and trains, rushed pell-mell through Hagenau towards Strasburg, where 3000 of them arrived without their arms. MacMahon's centre and left fell into the same shameful disorder in their retreat, and when the General, after a cross march through the hills, reached Saverne on the following evening, only three of his infantry regiments had kept their ranks. Of MacMahon's entire corps only 5000 men remained on the night of the 6th to retrace their steps, broken and dispirited, towards Chalons.

This was not the only disaster which befell the French at this time, for on the same day the advanced guard of the first German army, under General Göben, came almost accidentally in contact, near Forbach, with the left wing of the French, superior to him in force, commanded by General Frossard. The French position on the steep hill of Spicheren was very strong, and the battle, which began shortly after ten o'clock in the morning, lasted till nightfall. In the end the Germans carried the heights by a bayonet charge, and compelled the French to retreat, with the loss of 2500 prisoners and a large store of guns, provisions, and camp equipage. The Germans made no attempt to follow up their victory; but Frossard's troops, forced off the direct road to Metz, succeeded by a hurried and circuitous retreat in reaching that fortress. The first stage of the war was already over. It was impossible to conceal its disastrous result. 'Marshal MacMahon has lost a battle. General Frossard, on the Saar, has been compelled to fall back. The retreat is being effected in good order. All may yet be re-established,' were the almost despairing words in which the telegram of the Emperor conveyed the tidings to Paris.

The disappointment, rage, and apprehension which the bad news excited in the capital were very great. The Ministry had neither ability nor courage to brave the storm; and the Legislative body, summoned by the Empress in her capacity of Regent, passed a vote of censure on them, and they immediately resigned. An Imperial Cabinet, with General Montauban, Count of Palikao, at its head, was formed. The command of the forces in Paris was entrusted to General Trochu, an experienced and able officer who, on account of his opposition to the Imperial system, had been allowed to languish for active employment on half pay, while incapable men had been raised to high rank and office for their courtiership. Marshal Bazaine superseded the incapable Leboeuf in the supreme conduct of the war. The Emperor himself now saw clearly that the conflict was to end in disgrace and ruin. The discoveries which he had made, since his arrival at Metz, of the scandalous conduct both of soldiers and officers, and his knowledge of the usual behaviour of the French army under reverses, must have prepared his mind for the impending catastrophe. He made no attempt to direct the movements of the troops, and both at Metz and at Paris affairs were conducted as if no Emperor existed. Owing to the state of his health he had become physically incapable of active exertion. His mind, it was alleged, had become gloomy and unsettled, and he was constantly complaining of having been misled and betrayed.

Bazaine now took up a position before Metz, having under his command the four corps which had fallen back from the Saarbrück frontier, strengthened by a detachment which Marshal Canrobert had brought up from Chalons. His forces thus collected amounted to about 130,000. On the 13th the King of Prussia, who had followed the retreating French forces to the Moselle, was before him with 250,000 men. On the 14th the German vanguard belonging to the division under General Steinmetz came up with the three corps of Decaen,

Frossard, and L'Admirault, near Courcelles, while they were crossing the Moselle. A sharp contest ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory, but the result was that the French were forced from a slightly intrenched position back to the cover of the outworks of Metz. Bazaine, now growing anxious for the safety of the Emperor, persuaded him to quit the army, and along with his son to start for Chalons by Verdun. The emperor succeeded in reaching his destination, though he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Prussians on the way thither.

The greater part of the German forces had crossed the Moselle at Pont-à-Mousson, twenty miles higher up the river than Metz, with the view of getting between Bazaine's army and Paris. If the Marshal had been fit for his post, and could have trusted his troops, he should at once have struck boldly at the invading army while thus extended, but instead of adopting this course he began a retreat to Verdun. On the 16th the head of the French column was intercepted by the 3rd Prussian Corps at Mars-la-Tour, and a bloody battle of twelve hours' duration ensued. The Germans admitted a loss of 16,000 men; but they succeeded in arresting Bazaine's retreat westward, and next day he fell back to a strong position at Gravelotte, where the two roads from Verdun to Metz unite, five miles westward of the latter fortress. He immediately began to strengthen his position, and was busy intrenching when he was assailed by the enemy on the 18th August, at Rezonville. They succeeded in storming his lines by direct assault, but with a loss of life almost unparalleled. Several regiments, and indeed the whole 3rd Corps, were nearly annihilated. But in the end Bazaine was fairly shut up within the works around Metz. Barracks were immediately constructed of timber for the accommodation of the besiegers. A telegraph was carried round the whole of the investing camp, and a railroad was formed at a little distance from the works to connect the lines of

operation. Meanwhile the Crown Prince had descended the western slopes of the Vosges into Lorraine. He detached his Baden contingent to blockade Strasburg and to make preparations for an active siege, and a portion of his Bavarian troops was detached to blockade Bitsche and Phalsbourg and other hill forts in his rear. The Crown Prince had at first intended to co-operate with the forces under Prince Frederick Charles and Steinmetz; but as this was now unnecessary he turned towards Paris, supported by a detachment from Prince Charles' army. The King followed him, and on the 25th he joined the Crown Prince at Bar-le-Duc; but already, three days before this, the French camp at Chalons had broken up.

After his signal defeat at Wörth MacMahon had retired continuously on Chalons, bringing with him the remnant of his army, amounting to only 15,000 disheartened men. De Failly had abandoned the frontier in haste and retreated to the depot at Chalons. So also did Douay, who came in from Belfort. When these various contingents had joined him MacMahon had 80,000 men under his command, and he was promised additional reinforcements from Paris wherewith to protect the direct road to the capital. But the new Minister, Palikao, and his Council at Paris, from political motives, had formed the preposterous project of ordering MacMahon to make a desperate effort to join Bazaine by Sedan and Montmédy, and thus bringing the united armies down on the rear of the Crown Prince, to cut him off from his communications with the forces under Prince Frederick Charles and with Germany.

The Emperor stated in his pamphlet of *Wilhelmshöhe* that this movement was undertaken in opposition to his own better judgment, and in compliance with the strongly-expressed opinion of the Regency at Paris. Marshal MacMahon also disapproved of the project, but he had not sufficient resolution to take the responsibility of refusing to obey the orders received from

the capital. The new Ministers had very unwisely led the citizens to expect that this movement would be successful, and they assured the General that every facility was afforded for it by the railroad from Mézières to Thionville, which should carry him stores and more men. The scheme, however, never had a chance of success, and it was carried out in a way which could only terminate in disgraceful failure. MacMahon set out from Rethel on the 24th of August, but so dilatory were his movements that his army spent seven days in marching from Rheims to Sedan, a distance of only fifty miles in a direct line. The German army of the Meuse, 80,000 strong, under the Crown Prince of Saxony, blocked the passage of the French down that valley, and on the 26th the Crown Prince of Prussia, having received intelligence of MacMahon's movements, turned northwards to Grand Pré and Varennes for the purpose of intercepting him. MacMahon's army marched in two columns. The left was to pass the Meuse at Sedan, the right was to march by Beaumont on Monzon, the next passage higher up the river. On the morning of the 30th one of De Failly's divisions was shamefully surprised in its camp at Beaumont, on the left bank of the Meuse, by the Bavarians, and fled in disorder towards the river. They were hotly pursued and dreadfully cut up before they reached Mouzon. De Failly himself fell in the action. On the same day MacMahon, on the other side of the river, was attacked between Mouzon and Moulins, six miles from Carignan. After a stubborn and protracted resistance, the French were driven back to Vaux and Carignan, losing twenty-three guns and 3000 prisoners, besides a large number of killed and wounded. On the following day some severe fighting took place near the village of Bazeilles, in which the Prussians had again the advantage, and compelled the French to fall back upon the little fortress of Sedan.

On the 1st of September was fought the great battle of Sedan, which terminated in

the complete destruction of the French army. It was drawn up in a semicircle on the east of the Meuse, with Sedan as the centre. The right rested on the river at Bazeilles. The other divisions were stationed at Givonne, La Chapelle, Illy, and Floing, and the left wing was placed on the Meuse north of Sedan. The French amounted to 110,000 men of all arms, but were greatly outnumbered by the Germans, who had 220,000 soldiers on the field of battle. Their great superiority in numbers as well as in spirit emboldened Von Moltke to dispense with reserves, and to throw his whole army, with the exception of one corps, in a vast circle round the French position—'a tactical performance,' says a military critic of the battle, 'fully justified by the event, but which, against any but ill-led and very disheartened troops, should have been the ruin of the assailants.' The battle began, amid a dense fog at an early hour in the morning, with the attack of the Bavarians on the village of Bazeilles. They met with a stubborn resistance, which lasted the whole day. The village had to be taken house by house, and though the assailants were in the end successful, they lost a much greater number of men than the defenders. The King of Prussia, accompanied by Von Moltke and Bismarck, took his station at eight o'clock on a hill to the west of Sedan, which commanded a complete view of the battle-field. The conflict had by this time become general, and though the French fought gallantly, the Germans, by dint of their vast numbers and superior artillery, gradually gained ground. MacMahon, who had ridden out towards Bazeilles, was severely wounded in the thigh, and the command of his army was transferred to General Wimpffen. Position after position was carried, and though the deep and wooded ravines between the villages favoured the defence, 'the fiery circle,' as King William wrote to his Queen, 'drew gradually closer round Sedan. The violent resistance of the enemy began to slacken by degrees, which we could see by

the broken battalions that were hurriedly retreating from the woods and villages.' The retreat of the French in many cases became a flight. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery rushed pell-mell into Sedan, where all was wild confusion. Waggons and military stores blocked up the streets, and horses were running masterless among struggling crowds of soldiers and citizens. The Bavarians, who had by this time overcome all resistance at Bazeilles, were vigorously attacking Balan, a suburb of the town outside the fortifications, and the Prussian guns, which had been brought forward to the heights that command Sedan, were throwing shells into the town, which was speedily in flames. At this crisis General Wimpffen made a determined effort to cut his way through the German lines, but only 2000 or 3000 of his demoralized and disheartened troops could be induced to follow him, and he was obliged to give up the hopeless attempt. King William now ordered the firing to cease, and sent Colonel Von Bronsart, an officer of the staff, with a flag of truce, to demand the capitulation of the army and the fortress. On asking for the Commander-in-Chief he was unexpectedly introduced into the presence of the Emperor, who wished to give him a letter for the King, but ultimately sent it by his Adjutant-General, Reille. The letter was to the following effect:— 'Not having been able to die at the head of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty.' The King replied as follows:— 'Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept the sword of your Majesty; and I pray you to name one of your officers provided with full power to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command.'

Next morning a capitulation was signed by which the whole French army, numbering 84,450 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides, 28,000 soldiers, twenty-eight eagles, and twenty-five pieces of artillery were captured in the battle.

About 15,000 of the French troops had been pushed beyond the frontier into Belgium, and had laid down their arms in accordance with the rules of neutrality. About 330 field-pieces, 150 heavy guns, seventy mitrailleuses, 10,000 horses, and an enormous quantity of war material became the spoil of the victors.

The fallen Emperor's first meeting was with Bismarck at an early hour in the morning of the 2nd. On the road to the quarters of the Prussian Premier at Donchery, a small village near Sedan, he was met by the Count, who conducted him to the cottage of a handloom weaver. They seated themselves on two chairs on the plot of ground in front of the cottage, and discussed the exigencies of the crisis. Bismarck introduced the question of peace, but the Emperor replied that he had no power. He had surrendered himself as an individual, but he could not make terms. Upon the Empress as Regent and her Ministers the business of negotiation must devolve.

At two o'clock in the afternoon an interview between the King of Prussia and his captive took place at the Château of Bellevue, near Sedan. After it was over King William telegraphed to his Queen:—

'What a thrilling moment that of my meeting with Napoleon! He was cast down, but dignified. I gave him Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel, as the place where he will stay. Our meeting took place in a small castle in front of the western glacis of Sedan. From thence I rode through the ranks of our army round Sedan. The reception by the troops thou mayest imagine. It is indescribable.'

The Emperor proceeded at once to his destination. He passed the Saturday night at Bouiller, and went next day by railway to Verviers. He did not court, but at the same time did not shun, the observation of the people, and behaved throughout with calmness and self-possession.

The defeat of the French army at Sedan, the most signal and discreditable that ever befel a nation who thought their soldiers invincible, and the surrender of a Marshal of France with 100,000 men, to say nothing

of the capture of the Emperor, were the result of the incompetency and negligence of the French Generals and the undisciplined and demoralized state of the men.

'I had observed,' says Captain Jeannerod, 'that the number of stragglers was enormous, and I continually met soldiers who did not know where their regiments were. I had seen men and officers disabled by wounds which French soldiers of other days would have despised. I had remarked how untidy and careless the men were allowed to be about their dress and equipments. These things, slight, but significant to a military eye, had caused me, no doubt, some misgivings as to the rapidity of the success we had a right to expect. I saw also how prone French officers were to avoid the fatigues of long marches and the discomfort of bivouacs. I remember how often I have traversed the French lines at the dead of night and at early dawn, and never heard a challenge, never came across a French vidette, never have fallen in with a party of scouts. On the other hand, I have seen officers spend the time that ought to have been given to their men in cafés or in poor village inns. Often even officers of the staff seemed to neglect their duties for paltry amusements, showing themselves ignorant sometimes even of the name of the department in which they were, so that I have known a French General obliged to ask his way from peasants at the meeting of two roads. I struggled long against all this kind of evidence, but the end is only too clear. Painful it is to me, but I am bound to declare my belief that any further effort France may make will only cause useless bloodshed, and that a means of escape from her peril must now be sought otherwise than by force of arms.'

Count Palikao, in conformity with the usual practice of French rulers, had substituted for a true account of the events of a campaign which had proved so disastrous to France a series of encouraging fictions. The battles which ended with the retreat of Bazaine into Metz were represented as brilliant French victories, and during the march of MacMahon's army to relieve the Marshal the Legislative Body were assured that a splendid victory might be confidently expected. When at last the fatal news of the capitulation at Sedan reached Paris, it became necessary to confess that a disaster had occurred; but the full truth was not even then disclosed, and the Minister of War led the Chambers to believe that only

40,000 men had surrendered. The truth could not be long concealed, however, and the presentiment that the abandonment of Bazaine would involve a revolution at Paris, which had induced the Count to impel MacMahon to his desperate adventure, was realized without delay. On the 4th of September, while the Legislative Body were discussing the proposal of M. Thiers to appoint a Commission for the government and defence of the country, their hall was invaded by a mob headed by the National Guards on duty at the door. They demanded the overthrow of the Imperial dynasty and the immediate proclamation of a republic. All attempts at restoring order were vain. The greater number of the Deputies quitted the Chamber, and the ringleaders of the mob, along with the extreme section of the Legislative Body, declared the deposition of the Emperor and proclaimed a republic under a Provisional Government, consisting, with the exception of M. Thiers, who refused to accept office, of the Deputies for Paris. General Trochu was appointed President, Jules Favre Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Gambetta Minister of the Interior. No resistance was offered; Palikao and his colleagues took to flight, the Palace of the Tuileries was plundered by the National Guards and Mobiles, and the Empress, threatened by the rabble, robbed by her attendants, and deserted by her courtiers, with difficulty made her escape to England. The republic was proclaimed also at Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and other provincial towns. 'The fickle populace, intoxicated with joy at the proclamation of the republic, danced like maniacs over the grave of the national honour, even while 100,000 French soldiers were defiling before their conquerors, and, like spiteful children, stabbed the pictures and broke the busts of the man who, whatever might be his faults, had conferred innumerable benefits on Paris.'

Thus the Second Empire crumbled into dust, without a hand being lifted in its defence. All the familiar instances of fallen

greatness with which it is customary to 'point a moral and adorn a tale' fall short of the sudden and disastrous termination of the career of the ruler of France. Very rarely has any one ever fallen from a position so elevated and seemingly so secure to a depth of humiliation so abject and profound by a process so speedy and irresistible. However criminal the means by which he rose to imperial power, or questionable the arts by which he sustained himself on the throne, or selfish the objects at which he aimed, and indefensible his conduct in plunging his subjects into that war which proved so ruinous both to him and to them, a fall so sudden and irretrievable could not but excite commiseration. It would not be fair, however, to throw the whole blame of the war on the fallen Emperor. No small share of the obloquy rests on the other party in the contest. Their hands were not clean. But the French people themselves were largely to blame for the war and its results. The lust of conquest and national aggrandizement manifested by all parties—Orleanists, Bonapartists, and Republicans of every hue—and their insatiable vanity, had for three centuries led them to undertake protracted and bloody wars, and invasions of the territory of their neighbours, and even of far-distant nations with whom they had no ground of quarrel. The fallen Emperor undoubtedly was largely responsible for the unjustifiable and sanguinary war with Germany, but he could not have effected his purpose unless he had been supported by the mass of his subjects. His object was to strengthen his tottering throne and to give stability to his dynasty, as well as to gratify his ambition and revenge his diplomatic defeat; and there can be no doubt that if he had returned victorious from the war, and had succeeded in extending the frontiers of his kingdom, he would have been welcomed with acclamation by those who after his fall loaded him with reproaches. It was to the restless vanity and thirst for glory and lust

of conquest on the part of the people, and especially of the Parisians, as much as to the pride and ambition of their ruler, that this desolating war and its terrible results were owing. The guilt rests on them no less than on him, and in the result they as well as he 'rewarded evil to themselves,' and were made to 'eat of the fruit of their own doings.'

It is an act of bare justice to remember in his disasters the good Louis Napoleon did or attempted to do, and the difficulties he had to encounter. It is undeniable that under his rule France enjoyed a large amount of prosperity. He spent millions of money in the country, but quitted it a poor man. Paris was indebted to him for its reconstructions and vast improvements. His foreign policy was not disinterested or judicious, but to him it was mainly owing that Italy is united and free. One leading principle of his policy was a cordial alliance with Britain. Of all the rulers who ever sat on the throne of France he was our best ally. But as regards his own country his government was founded in its origin on a combination of force and fraud, and was throughout an example of right based only upon power. During his whole reign the French nation was really under despotic rule. The Imperial Court was tainted with the worst vices of a corrupt civilization, and set an example of profuse luxury which was closely copied by the whole circle of Ministers and official persons. The system which thus prevailed was adverse to public honesty and fatal to public spirit. On the surface all was gorgeous, but all beneath was unsound. The Emperor was directly responsible for this evil influence, and for the corruption which is the natural fruit of despotism, where the free and wholesome air of public opinion can never penetrate—that corruption which, flowing directly from the throne, permeated every department of government and every class of society, and was one main cause of the Emperor's ruin. Having sown the wind he reaped the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XI.

The Germans resolve to continue the War—Their objects—General disapproval of their policy—Position of the French Forces—Visit of M. Thiers to the various European Courts—Failure of the attempt to arrange an armistice—Surrender of Toul and Strasburg—Conduct of Bazaine—Surrender of Metz—Activity of Gambetta—Organization of new French armies—Victory at Baccon—Energetic measures of General D'Aurelle—Sortie of General Trochu—Operations on the Loire—German modes of warfare—Enormous requisitions—Burning of villages—Shocking cruelties on women and children—Execution of Franks-tireurs and Peasants—Bismarck's excuses—Sufferings of the besiegers and of the citizens of Paris—Dispersion of the forces outside the city—Bourbaki's army—Failure of the final sortie—Capitulation of Paris—Election of an Assembly—M. Thiers appointed Chief of the Executive—Terms of peace—Disapproval of their severity—Impolicy of the treatment of France by the Germans.

THE new Government and the Republican party seem to have cherished the notion that after the deposition of the Emperor, who was the responsible promoter of the war, the Germans would be willing to accept an ample pecuniary indemnity for the sacrifices which they had been compelled to make in defence of their country, and to conclude an honourable and not humiliating peace with the French Government. Some phrases in one of the proclamations of the King of Prussia were interpreted into a statement that he had made war, not against France, but against the Imperial dynasty. The war, it was alleged, was not the war of the French people—its sins and its disasters alike were attributable to the deposed and captive Emperor; and now that the invader, who had sought to outrage the national rights and territory of the Germans, was a prisoner in their own hands, and disowned by his own countrymen, hostilities ought forthwith to cease. The Germans, however, were by no means disposed to accept the plea which sought to exonerate the French people by laying all the blame on their ruler. Magnanimity was at no time a characteristic of the Prussian sovereigns. Their kingdom had been almost entirely made up of provinces which they had acquired from their neighbours by force or fraud. It was not at all likely that they would lose such a favourable opportunity, when France lay apparently helpless beneath the heel of the

invader, of making coveted additions to their territories.

The objects at which they aimed were speedily avowed. Bismarck, in a circular-letter to the foreign representatives of the Prussian Court, declared that—

‘The unanimous voice of the German Governments and German people demands that Germany shall be protected by better boundaries than we have had hitherto against the dangers and violence we have experienced from all French Governments for centuries. As long as France remains in possession of Strasburg and Metz, so long is its offensive power strategically stronger than our defensive, so far as all South Germany and North Germany on the left bank of the Rhine are concerned. Strasburg in possession of France is a gate always wide open for attack on South Germany. In the hands of Germany Strasburg and Metz obtain a defensive character.’

On the other hand, M. Jules Favre, the French Foreign Minister, had anticipated this demand by declaring in a circular addressed to the French representatives at foreign Courts, ‘We will not cede either an inch of our territory or a stone of our fortresses.’ It was evident, therefore, that the war was to proceed, and that, as Jules Favre said, the King of Prussia was resolved ‘to give to the world of the nineteenth century the cruel spectacle of two nations destroying one another, and in forgetfulness of humanity, reason, and science heaping corpse upon corpse and ruin upon ruin.’

The approval and sympathy of Britain, and indeed of Europe, had up to this period

been given to the Germans, who had been assailed by the French Emperor when willing to remain at peace with him. But the tide of public feeling henceforth ran strong against them. In his address to the French nation, on crossing the frontier after the battles of Spicheren and Forbach, the Prussian King declared that he made war not on the French nation, but on the French army. But now he proclaimed that the quarrel of Germany was with France, and France alone. Not content with repelling the attacks of the invader, and overthrowing his dynasty, he now resolved to carry on a war of conquest against the French people. Instead of pressing the contest to the last extremity, the victorious monarch, as soon as he had rolled back the tide of invasion and taken the invader himself prisoner, might very well have set a noble example for the world to admire and other kings to imitate. If he had stayed the march of his armies, saying to his conquered enemy, 'You invaded my country; I will do yours no such wrong; for the sake of humanity no more blood shall be shed, no more wars made, no more widows created, no more innocent children reduced to orphanage, no more happy homes desolated,' he would have won a nobler place than perhaps any king holds in the page of history. But the King of Prussia thought fit to follow a course much more in accordance with the traditions and hereditary policy of his house, which for centuries has been notorious for its grasping ambition, greed, selfishness, and perfidy. From lust of conquest, thirst for territorial aggrandizement, and the desire to humble an ancient enemy, he persisted in carrying on a war which inflicted the most tremendous losses on his own people as well as on his enemies, demoralized his subjects as well as drained his country of its best blood, and which turned against him the moral feeling of the world. 'Justifying his purpose by a pretext which had not even the merit of plausibility, King William decreed the continuance of the war, with its bloodshed and all its accom-

paniments of unutterable horror, such as the burning of Bazeilles and Ablis, for the avowed object of uniting to Germany, in an enforced and detested bond, populations who are enthusiastically French.*

Had the invaders foreseen the resistance they were to encounter from the capital, it is more than doubtful if they would not have offered after Sedan terms of peace which would have been accepted by the French. But the Prussian monarch and his Prime Minister seem to have taken it for granted that France was helpless beneath the iron heel of her enemy, and that the capital, almost stripped of regular troops, would surrender on the appearance of their victorious forces before it. They speedily found, however, that in laying siege to the city they had undertaken an enterprise which would tax their skill and resources to the uttermost. Paris was determined to resist to the last extremity. 'After the forts,' said M. Jules Favre, 'we have the ramparts, after the ramparts we have the barricades,' and if Paris succumbed 'France should avenge her.'

Four or five days after the capitulation at Sedan the army of the Crown Prince, accompanied by the king, began an unopposed march upon Paris. Hasty measures had previously been taken for furnishing the city with provisions. The roads and railways in the neighbourhood were broken up, and all the scattered troops within reach were collected to assist in the defence, together with large detachments of Mobile Guards from the provinces, and with the

* The feeling of our own nation, and indeed of all European nations, was well expressed in some lines which appeared at the time in the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

'Oh shame upon your colours! shame
Upon the vaunted German name!
What if he dealt the foremost blow—
Your old hereditary foe!
What if his rash unchastened hand
Lit up the war-fires in your land—
Can all your pedants, all your schools,
Teach you no newer, better rules
Than thus to answer wrong with wrong?
To preach the gospel of the strong?
And to the end perpetuate
The bitter legacy of hate?'

able-bodied part of the city population. On the 13th of September General Trochu held a grand review of the National Guards and Mobiles. From 200,000 to 300,000 men were drawn up for inspection. An order of the day was issued stating that 70,000 men would be required for daily service on the ramparts. The Provisional Government determined to remain in Paris after despatching two of their number to establish a Supplementary Government at Tours. On the 19th the German troops, from 200,000 to 230,000 in number, took up their appointed positions and completed the investment of the city. The communication between Paris and the rest of France then ceased.

Though the supply of able-bodied men was amply sufficient to garrison the city, there were at first no arms to put into their hands, and there was a want of officers to organize and train them. They were especially deficient in field artillery. The arming of the motley force under General Trochu could, of course, only be gradually effected. The guns had to be cast, and the horses and gunners trained, and until this was effected sorties in force, on which the defence mainly depended, could not be undertaken. Meanwhile the famous fortifications of Paris, constructed thirty years before, were of great service in keeping the besiegers at a distance. They consisted first of a continuous rampart more than seventy feet wide, faced with a wall or scarp thirty feet high, having a ditch in front twenty feet deep, the circuit of which measures twenty-four miles. Outside, at distances from the ramparts varying from one to three or four miles, is a chain of fifteen forts, all of perfect construction, the smallest being capable of holding 4000 men. A military critic says—

‘The works themselves are models of their kind, They are constructed not so much for passive as for active defence. The garrison of Paris is expected to come out into the open, to use the forts as supporting points for its flanks, and by constant sallies on a large scale, to render impossible a

regular siege of any two or three forts. Thus, whilst the forts protect the garrison of the town from a too near approach of the enemy, the garrison will have to protect the forts from siege batteries; it will constantly have to destroy the besiegers’ works. Let us add that the distance of the forts from the ramparts precludes the possibility of an effective bombardment of the town until two or three, at least, of the forts shall have been taken. Let us further add that the forts are at the junction of the Seine and the Marne, both with extremely winding courses, and with a strong range of hills on the most exposed side. The north-eastern front offers great natural advantages, which have been made the best of in the planning of the works.’

The only organized army remaining in France after the surrender of Marshal MacMahon was shut in at Metz, under Bazaine, and consisted of 150,000 men, exclusive of the regular garrison, and was invested by the first and second German armies under General Manteuffel and Prince Charles Frederick, consisting of about 210,000 men, spread over a circumference of twenty-seven miles. At Strasburg a French garrison of 19,000 men was besieged by 70,000 Germans. Toul, which commanded the railroad from Nancy by Chalons and Epernay to Paris, was garrisoned by 2000 Mobiles. Verdun, on the Meuse, which similarly commanded the direct railroad from Metz, passing by Rheims and Soissons, to Paris, was defended by Mobiles and National Guards. Thionville, Longwy, Montmédy, and Mézières, all held French garrisons and prevented the Germans from using the railroad passing by these places to Rheims and Paris. Toul and Verdun were besieged and the other fortresses were blockaded. The blockades of Bitsche and Phalsbourg were continued; they occupied about 18,000 German troops.

It was commonly believed in Paris that the neutral powers would offer their mediation, and the British Government would willingly have promoted overtures for peace, but Bismarek had intimated that Germany and France alone must settle the terms of a pacification. M. Thiers at this crisis undertook to visit the various European

Courts, beginning with London, in the hope of inducing the Governments to interpose in behalf of the French people; but without effect. The Committee of Defence, deriving their authority from the mob of Paris, had no power to bind the nation to permanent conditions of peace. Their intention was to convene the Electoral Colleges all over France, in order to choose a Constituent Assembly which could establish the government of the country on a legal basis. Bismarck, who felt fully the diplomatic difficulties of the situation, professed himself anxious to facilitate the election of an Assembly which might represent the country; but it was found impracticable to arrange the terms of an armistice. In an interview with the French Foreign Minister, M. Jules Favre, Bismarck demanded the surrender of Toul and Strasburg, and as the Constituent Assembly was to meet in Paris, 'he desired to have the forts commanding the capital—Mount Valerian, for instance.' M. Favre justly remarked, 'that it would have been more simple to have asked for Paris at once.' He peremptorily refused to comply with the conditions specified, though the two fortresses mentioned were on the eve of capitulation, and he says, 'I took my leave expressing to him my conviction that we should fight as long as we could find in Paris an element of resistance.' The French Foreign Minister justly remarked that his mission had not been useless, since it had stripped Prussia of the ambiguity in which she had hitherto enveloped herself. 'She had declared that she only attacked Napoleon and his soldiers, but respected the nation. Now, however, when the Emperor has fallen it is the nation who are to blame. Republican France is regarded as more hostile than even the Emperor to German unity.' The war was therefore to continue, not for defence, but for conquest.

The Mobiles who composed the garrison of Toul held out most obstinately, but were at last obliged to surrender on the 23rd of September. Four days later Strasburg, which

had suffered terribly from the bombardment of the enemy, capitulated after a siege of forty-five days, and upwards of 17,000 Frenchmen became prisoners of war, and 70,000 Germans were liberated to take part in the operations carried on in other parts of the country. Metz still held out, and the chance of retrieving the fortunes of the war now depended mainly on the firmness and fidelity of Bazaine; but both were doubtful. Since the proclamation of the Republic in Paris, instead of confining himself to his military duty, he had taken part in an intrigue to bring about the restoration of the Imperial dynasty. On the 21st of October General Boyes arrived at Versailles on a confidential mission from Marshal Bazaine, and about the same time General Bourbaki, after an interview with the Prussian General, went straight to England with a mysterious message to the Empress. It afterwards transpired that Bazaine had concerted with the Prussian Government a project of summoning the Senate and Legislative Body to meet in some town in the north of France, under the authority of the Empress and the protection of his army, to establish a regency on behalf of the Prince Imperial, and to negotiate a peace which would have been practically dictated by Bismarck. This preposterous plot was defeated by the good sense of the Empress, who prudently declined to have anything to do at present, either for herself or her son, with political combinations and intrigues.

Bazaine, occupying the centre of a circle with 150,000 troops, and with every strategical advantage in his favour, might have forced his way out at first if he had made a resolute and well-planned effort to break through the Prussian cordon. But he lost the favourable opportunity, and his subsequent sallies were quite ineffective. His troops began to be straitened for provisions; sickness broke out in the camp; a spirit of discontent became visible among his soldiers; disorganization crept into their ranks, and they grew spiritless and demoralized. At length, on the 27th of

October, after a siege of ten weeks, the great fortress of Metz surrendered, with the three Marshals, Bazaine, Canrobert, and Lebœuf, with the veteran General Changarnier, and numerous other generals and officers, with 170,000 men, and all their weapons, stores, and materials, including 2800 guns and 40,000,000 francs. The surrender of Metz, which set at liberty 225,000 men, whose presence was urgently required in a different part of the country, has been pronounced 'the most calamitous event for France of this most calamitous war.' It appears certain that if Bazaine had held out until the French victory of Bazeilles, just fifteen days longer, which a resolute and leal-hearted general would have done, the Germans must have raised the siege of Paris.

Bazaine has been loudly accused of treachery, and after the close of the war he was brought to trial, found guilty, and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life; but he succeeded in making his escape from his prison, and has since lived in obscurity. He was certainly an inefficient commander, quite unfit for the position in which he was placed, and he seems to have attempted to play a political part for which he was even more unfit. A writer who was in Metz during the siege says:—

'After Sedan and the fall of the Empire, it became evident to all that Marshal Bazaine refused to act upon the aggressive. He would not compromise himself in any way—to play a waiting game was his policy. To this cause alone is due the abandonment of a fortress almost impregnable, which never fired a shot from its walls, and into which no shot ever fell; which sent away an army "vanquished by famine" with six days' full rations; the soldiers, as I myself saw, handing out from their fougous huge portions of bacon to the people as they were led away into captivity.'

Others, however, ascribed the capitulation to the utter want of discipline among officers and men, which had made the army simply unmanageable. No general, it was said, could deliberately betray an army of 173,000 men to an army of 200,000 if they did not

want to be betrayed. The officers spent their time in discreditable amusements and luxury, leaving their soldiers to starve and grow mutinous. A military critic remarks:—'The statement of Marshal Bazaine, if correct, that when he surrendered he had only 65,000 men available for offensive operations, supplies, when collated with the numbers comprised in the capitulation, at once the strongest condemnation of the soldiery and an undeniable excuse for their commander.'

It had been evident from the first that the deliverance of the capital depended on the formation without the walls of the city of such an army, properly organized, equipped, and provisioned, as would suffice, in co-operation with the garrison, to compel the besiegers to abandon the enterprise. In the provinces the military organization of each department had been intrusted to the leading Republican journalist of the district, and had, in most cases, been very inefficiently carried out. The Red Republicans of Lyons and Marseilles scarcely recognized the authority of the Committee of Defence, and the members of the Supplementary Government at Tours were inert and useless. But fresh energy was infused into their councils by the arrival there, on the 9th of October, of the energetic Minister, Gambetta, who had made his way out of Paris in a balloon. He was received by the people with loud acclamations, and at once assumed the post of Minister of War. He pushed on with indefatigable activity the formation of a new national army. His irrepressible energy, sanguine enthusiasm, and remarkable talent for organization infused new and vigorous life into the measures adopted to expel the invaders from the French soil. He was now virtually dictator of France, and flying about the country like a meteor, he infused such energy into the defensive measures that the formation of three new armies was commenced and rapidly effected. Count Keratry raised forces in Brittany; General Bourbaki for a time held the chiet

command in the North, with his headquarters at Lille; Garibaldi, who sympathized strongly with the French people in their hour of adversity, was associated with General Gambier in the Vosges. The main army, called the Army of the Loire, consisting of 130,000 men, was placed under General D'Aurelle des Paladines, a Crimean veteran and a strict disciplinarian, who had succeeded in establishing a system of training and subordination to which the French soldiers had for some years been strangers. After a succession of sharp contests, Orleans was taken, on the 10th of October, by the Bavarians under General Von der Tann; but he was compelled to evacuate that city on the 10th of November, on the approach of a greatly superior force under General D'Aurelle, and took up a position at the neighbouring village of Coulmiers, covering his line of retreat towards Paris. Here he was attacked by the French, and, after an obstinate defence, prolonged throughout the day, the Bavarians fell back in good order to Toury, leaving two guns, a number of provision and ammunition waggons, and 1000 prisoners in the hands of the French; but the arrival of the Duke of Mecklenburg with large reinforcements prevented D'Aurelle from following up his success. The victory of Baccon came in good time to revive the spirit of Paris and of the provinces, which, by a long succession of failures, along with the capitulation of Metz, Strasburg, Thionville, Phalsbourg, and Montmédy, and the occupation of Rouen, Amiens, and Orleans, had somewhat depressed, though it had not destroyed their confidence in the possibility of ultimate triumph. About the middle of November Prince Frederick Charles effected his junction with the Bavarians under the Duke of Mecklenburg, and assumed the chief command of the German army of the Loire, now reduced to 90,000 men. General D'Aurelle, whose forces were greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, constructed large intrenchments in the forest north of Orleans, which he caused to be armed with

heavy ship guns brought from the arsenal at Rochefort. His general position was far more compact than that of the Germans, and availing himself of his superior facilities of concentration, on the 28th of November he made a furious attack on the left wing of the German army at Beaune-la-Rolande. After a battle which lasted six hours, the French were on the eve of gaining the victory, when Prince Frederick Charles came up with reinforcements, just in time to prevent the defeat of the Germans. The French regular troops, and especially the Pontifical Zouaves under General Charette, fought with conspicuous gallantry to open the road to Paris; but the raw levies which formed the bulk of the French army were unable to resist the steady discipline of the German veterans, and were driven back with considerable loss. The movement of General D'Aurelle had been concerted with General Trochu in Paris, who was to make a grand sortie for the purpose of breaking through the iron girdle that encompassed the city. His plan was to make a real attack against the position held by the Würtembergers and Saxons between Bonneuil and Noisy le Grand, and at the same time to make demonstrations on the west and south-west in order to distract the attention of the besiegers. Considerable damage was inflicted on the German works on the west, and they suffered heavy losses from the French batteries. The conflicts with the troops of Saxony and Würtemberg, which lasted over three days, were of the most desperate character. The villages of Villiers, Champigny, and Brie were taken by the French and retaken by the Germans; but the terrible fire from the forts rendered them utterly untenable. The losses of the besiegers in these encounters amounted to at least 8000 men, which was much greater than that of the French. The garrisons left by them in the villages which had been the occasion of so much slaughter were not withdrawn till the evening of the 4th, after intelligence had been received that

General D'Aurelle had missed his blow. Trochu's plan was evidently limited to effecting a lodgment on the further side of the Marne, close to the lines of the besiegers, and holding it until the expected arrival of the 60,000 French soldiers who fought at Beaune. General Trochu entirely fulfilled his part of the programme, and it is obvious, if General D'Aurelle had been equally successful, and had made an attack on the rear of the Würtembergers at the same time that the troops who had sallied out from Paris under Ducrot assailed them in front, that the Germans would have been compelled to raise the investment of the city.

Although the French had failed to effect the main object of this combined attack, they had gained from it very decided advantages, both moral and physical. The result of the two days' fighting had given immense encouragement to the garrison and population of Paris, from the conviction which it produced that they could break the investing line whenever they might attempt it. Furthermore, two *lodgments* had been effected for ulterior operations, covering the passage of the river, and on the enemy's side of it, and affording points of concentration for large bodies of troops, within twenty minutes' march of the enemy's line.

On the evening of the 30th November, news having been received of the success of the great sortie from Paris, it was resolved by Gambetta that a general forward movement should be made of the Loire Army. The 16th and 17th French Corps, under Generals Chanzy and Sonnis, attacked and defeated Von der Tann at Patay (December 16th); but the Duke of Mecklenburg having joined the Bavarian commander during the night with large reinforcements, the positions captured by the French on the previous day were retaken. The Germans pressed on, and the French retreated to Orleans, which was entered by the invaders on the 5th, after a battle which lasted from 3 p.m. until after dark on the 4th. A part

of the French army retreated across the Loire, but the great mass, dividing into two separate armies, commanded respectively, upon the dismissal of D'Aurelle, by Generals Bourbaki and Chanzy, retreated to the south-east and south-west, on the right bank of the river. From the 7th to the 10th encounters took place between General Chanzy and the Duke of Mecklenburg, in which both sides claimed the victory. Orleans was garrisoned by the Bavarian corps of Von der Tann, which left Germany 30,000 strong and was now reduced to 5000 effective men.

'That the French army should have been fighting in the open field at all, when we recall the helpless condition of France after Sedan, is not a little surprising,' says the military critic already quoted, 'but that they should have fought within thirteen days such battles as Beaune-le-Rolande, Patay, Bazoches, Ceutly, Chevilly, Chilleure, Orleans, and the four battles about Beaugency, on terms so nearly equal, sometimes superior, against the best German troops, effecting their retreat on all but one occasion without serious loss or confusion, is little less than a miracle, and reflects the highest honour on General D'Aurelle and the subordinate generals who organized and commanded the Army of the Loire.'

The movements of the German armies on both sides of the Loire compelled the Delegation, with the exception of Gambetta, to remove their seat of Government to Bourdeaux, and General Chanzy, no longer embarrassed by the duty of protecting Tours, moved westward, with the purpose of drawing reinforcements from Brittany. The Duke of Mecklenburg moved along the right bank of the Loire towards Tours, which ultimately surrendered after being shelled without any notice given, and when it was not occupied by troops who meant to defend it. The Germans, however, found the position too distant to be held with advantage, and it was evacuated immediately after it had surrendered.

While these events were occurring before Paris and on the Loire, General Manteuffel was overrunning the northern provinces. On the 27th November he defeated the French Army of the North in front of

Amiens, thence marched to Rouen, and after exacting from it a fine of 15,000,000 francs, divided his army into three bodies, one of which made a demonstration against Havre, while another occupied Dieppe, but retired again after two days. A third appeared at Evreux and threatened Cherbourg, which, however, he prudently did not venture to attack. The French Army of the North, which was in his rear, was daily receiving accessions, and by the 23rd of December had collected an army of 60,000 men at Pont de Noyelle, a mile and a half to the north-east of Amiens. On that day they encountered the army of Mantuffel; the battle lasted for seven hours, and both sides claimed the victory. In the east General Werder defeated the French at Ognon, and took possession of Dijon on the 29th; but though the Baden division stormed the French position at Nuits, they suffered very severe losses, and immediately after Werder evacuated Dijon, which was occupied by Garibaldi, and moved off in a north-westerly direction.

It is now time to say something respecting the manner in which the Germans carried on the war.

It is a recognized right of an invading army to obtain supplies of provisions from the inhabitants of the country on paying a fair market price for the articles which they require; but the Prussians have always been notorious for their rapacity and the arbitrary manner in which they made exactions on the people whom they invaded. They acted in this way in France, during the campaign of 1814, to the great disgust of the Duke of Wellington, and also in Denmark and Austria in 1866; but they carried their system of plunder to the highest point during the war with France in 1870. They exacted enormous sums from the towns which they seized. Eight millions sterling were extorted from Paris; Nancy had to pay £200,000, Rheims £120,000, Chalons £64,000, Rouen £62,500, and other places in the same proportion. Even in country villages a requisition was

made of 25 francs (£1) a head, besides exorbitant demands of provisions of all kinds. It was their regular practice, in imitation of the Greek brigands, to carry off the gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood as hostages for the payment of these arbitrarily imposed contributions.

It was remarked by the Duke of Wellington, when denouncing the forced contributions of the Prussians in 1814, that 'when officers were allowed to make requisitions for their troops, they soon began to make them for themselves, and those who demanded provisions to-day would call for money to-morrow.' His Grace had no doubt heard stories of the 'looting' practised by the Prussian officers, even of high rank, under Blucher; but the extent to which they practised '*carrying as a souvenir*' (to use their own phrase) the portable property of the French in 1870 completely casts into the shade their 'pickings and stealings' in 1814. It was their regular habit to strip the houses of the better class of every portable article of value. In short, the whole body of invaders, from King William down to the drummer-boy, were evidently bent on converting their 'glorious war' into a profitable speculation. And it must be admitted that to a very considerable extent they succeeded in the attainment of their object.

Still more disgraceful, however, was their wanton destruction of the property which they were unable to carry away with them. The soldiers destroyed everywhere public works and monuments of all kinds without the smallest military or even personal advantage to themselves, in obedience, they alleged, to the specific orders of their highest officers.

It had of late been believed that the 'usages of war' had undergone a favourable modification, that the barbarities and cruelties practised in former times were now reprobated by the whole civilized world, and especially that respect for private property and for the personal security of non-combatants had now become part of the

international law of Europe. But the manner in which the Prussians waged war in France was a return to the worst usages of barbarous times.

'The laws of war,' says General Hamley, 'as promulgated by the Prussians, may be condensed in the case of invasion into the general axiom that the population of the invaded country lose their rights of property and of personal security, while the persons and effects of the invaders become absolutely sacred. In practice this takes the two distinct forms of the law of requisition and the law of penalty for resistance. Every species of movable property which any district held by the invader contains is subject to the demands of the commander of the troops that occupy it. This property is liable to be transported to particular points by the horses and vehicles of the inhabitants, which always form an important item in the booty. The penalty for non-compliance, or tardy compliance, with a requisition is a pecuniary fine. For the payment of this the chief inhabitants are seized as hostages. The town or village, the inhabitants of which protect their property, is to be burnt. The town or village in which invading troops have suffered themselves to be surprised is to be burnt. The district in which damage is done to bridges, roads, or railways, is to be fined or devastated. The inhabitants who do the damage are to be put to death. All these things are they not written in the orders issued by the Prussian chiefs? and have not these orders been punctually executed? In ordinary cases, to confiscate property by force, to burn buildings and stores, and to put people to death for such reasons as those quoted, are acts bearing names which need not be mentioned. It is difficult to say why those acts should lose their character if committed by invaders. And it is to be observed that the enforcement of these laws of war is not merely the annulling of ordinary law, but the inversion of it. For whereas a man in all peaceful countries is entitled and encouraged to defend his own property and person, while he who assails them does so at his own proper risk, in this case defence suddenly becomes a crime, to be visited by the extremest penalties, and it is the aggressor who is to be protected by laws of extraordinary severity.'

The testimony of impartial observers leaves no doubt that after the capitulation of Sedan the invaders practised 'a calculated refinement of pillage and ruin and general brutality, for the purpose of cowing all resistance on the part of the French people.' First of all they made

enormous requisitions from the towns, and even rural districts, which they enforced in the most barbarous and heartless manner. Then they had recourse to the burning of villages where they had met with unexpected opposition, thus visiting on the helpless inhabitants the justifiable acts of resistance on the part of Mobiles and Francs-tireurs, which the villagers had no power to prevent.

The details furnished by eye-witnesses of the atrocities perpetrated by the invaders on old men, women, and children were of the most shocking character; farm-houses, hamlets, and villages were reduced to ashes on pretexts frivolous or false, the open country behind the Germans being left as bare as an Eastern plain after the flight of locusts. In the north-eastern departments, and the districts within fifty miles around Paris, on which the scourge of war fell most heavily, the whole face of the once fertile and beautiful country was changed into one vast scene of devastation and misery.

'Exactly as the conflagration, driven onwards by the wind, sweeps over the great prairies of the West—in front is a wide expanse of verdant grass enamelled with summer flowers, behind a black, charred, desolate wilderness—so has the fiery tide of war passed over the fairest portion of the gayest country in Europe. The young men have gone, in thousands of cases, never to return. At home remain the old men, the women, the children, mourning the loss of their sons, their husbands, their fathers, or waiting in that terrible uncertainty which is but despair disguised. The wretched peasantry, their little cottages, homesteads, and outbuildings a mass of smouldering ruins—cattle driven off to feed the invading armies—their forage and fodder either eaten up or burned—their fields, once trim and smiling, trodden under foot by the trampling troops of cavalry—vines crushed by the heavy wheels of artillery and ammunition waggons—their houses sacked—all their stores of food, all articles of domestic use and portable furniture ruthlessly seized and carried off. Their position may be summed up in the few sad words—starvation stares them in the face.'

'Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord.'

The testimony borne at the time by

the correspondents of the London journals fully bears out this description. Mr. Bullock, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, says that the burning of Bazeilles at the battle of Sedan was an act of vengeance wreaked 'on victims of whose innocence I have been at the utmost pains to convince myself.' The details of this act of savage cruelty were of the most revolting kind.

'From the strength of the houses,' he says, 'the French troops and a number of Francs-tireurs believed they would be able to hold the place successfully against the enemy, and there can be no doubt that a desperate contest happened in the streets. The Bavarians lost heavily, but it was in a fair fight with the French soldiers, and the massacre of the inhabitants those who survive declare to have been of the most unwarrantable character. In many of the villages numbers hid themselves in the cellars of their houses. M. Robarts, a wealthy brewer, and his servant were dragged from the cellar of their house and shot. In another house *two children, named Dehaye—one six months old and the other eighteen months old—were pitched from the window of their house into the street by the Bavarians, then thrown back again into the house, which was set on fire, and the children burned*, but their parents escaped. A young man, named Remy, thirty-two years of age, who had been confined to his bed two years with a spinal complaint, was bayoneted and killed as he lay on his couch. In another house a man, named Vanchelet, his daughter, his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law were fastened in the cellar and burned to death. Their charred remains were subsequently buried by some of the neighbours who had known them. Out of a population of nearly 2000 scarcely fifty remain.'

'No description,' says an English visitor to the place shortly after, 'can convey an idea of the completeness of the destruction which has fallen upon the place. All that can be said is that a month ago there was a bright busy village, or rather small town, consisting of half-a-dozen streets, and numbering nearly 3000 inhabitants—a well-to-do town, evidently with plenty of good shops, cafés, rows of neat and even handsome houses, and every sign of comfort and prosperity. Now about one-half of these houses are mere blackened shells, with bulging tottering walls; the other half are simply represented by heaps of rubbish. From one end of the village to the other there is nothing remaining that can be called a house.'

This barbarous devastation was the work of the Bavarians, who made themselves conspicuous in the work of rapine and destruction. Irritated by their losses and the obstinacy of the defence of the marines, they in revenge burned the place on the heads of the inhabitants.

'Beaurepaire,' says Mr. Bullock, 'which nine days ago was a hamlet containing thirty families, is now a little Bazeilles, with a single family lodging in the single outhouse that remains. From these burned villages the women and little children were unhoused at the beginning of winter, besides losing the bulk of their linen, clothes, and bed furniture, which was plundered, in the first instance, by the German soldiers, and then sold by them to the Jews and others, who are reported to follow the camp in waggons.'

A French pastor—a man of high character and unimpeachable veracity, writing from Dreux to the *Times*, describes, in thrilling terms, the barbarity with which the Germans, *acting by order*, burned the village of Cherizy, by sprinkling furniture and wood-work with a composition of petroleum, which they carried for incendiary purposes in revenge for their having been repulsed by Francs-tireurs a few days before in an attack on Dreux:—

'On their way back to Houdain they set fire to all the detached houses they found on their way, and having reached the hamlet of Meyangère they entered the first farm—a magnificent agricultural establishment, the monumental gate of which attracts the attention of passers by. The farmer, terrified by the fate of Cherizy, sought to escape it by offering all that he possessed. The soldiers accepted refreshments, but showed none the less their sinister intentions of executing the barbarous orders they had received. When the farmer saw them quietly taking up the matches from the mantelpiece, he entreated them with tears, for the sake of his wife and of his five children, to spare him. Vain supplications! useless tears! they went, without manifesting either emotion or regret, to set fire to the barns full of the products of the year's peaceful labours. I saw from my windows, in the space of three kilometres, four dwellings which reddened the sky with their gloomy light. It was a scene which filled the mind with an indescribable sadness. I went twenty-seven hours after into the hamlet, the houses of which were reduced to heaps of ruins. Having entered the farm once so

prosperous, I saw in one of the buildings to the left an enormous fire, which I perceived on approaching was consuming the last remains of the stores of corn.'

Again the same writer—

'The requisitions of the Prussians are without measure; they do not leave a village till they have carried off everything. So great is the terror they inspire that we hear on all sides of suicides; of women throwing themselves into wells; of old men hanging themselves; of whole families suffocating themselves. A great number of people have become mad.'

Another writer in the *Daily News*, dating from Thionville, describes the condition of Haute Yutz, a neighbouring village, distinguished by its wretched state:—

'It has lost everything. Early in the war the inhabitants were driven from it by Prussian orders, and had to take refuge in the country round. In some cases it was only at the point of the bayonet that the people were forced to leave their once happy homes. In the wars of Napoleon I. this village was burned by the Prussians. In the present instance the houses were left, but the people were forbidden to touch the potatoes in their fields. In disobedience to these orders one man, Jean Klupp, and two children were shot in the fields while trying to get some of their own potatoes. By this ruthless act seven orphan children have been left destitute. On their return to the village, after the fall of Thionville, the villagers found every house stripped to the bare walls, the furniture, doors, windows, and cupboards broken up and burned for firewood by the soldiery. Three houses were burned entirely, and the village altogether is in a sad state of destitution, 200 souls requiring immediate relief.'

Mr. Thomas, writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, from Marley, near Versailles, on 8th October, after describing the condition of many villages on the road which he traversed from Chalons to Versailles, thus continues:—

'But things got worse as we proceeded. At the village of Boissy St. Leger most of the inhabitants had fled. Here the place was entirely sacked, as also the town of Villeneuve St. George close by. The wanton destruction is beyond description. The soldiers seemed to take a savage delight in breaking everything they could not carry away or make use of. The horses were accommodated in the cafés, and the tables, chairs, cooking utensils, and beds carried into the fields for the soldiers

who were encamped there. All the live stock and the contents of the gardens are taken wholesale. I went into a very good house about fifteen kilometres from Boissy, on the road to Versailles. There was not a whole or sound thing in the house, except the piano, which was uninjured. Every cupboard, drawer, and desk had been smashed open, and the contents heaped together in endless confusion. In the bedrooms the contents of the wardrobes were lying about, the clothing of the family who inhabited the house being scattered all over the place. Even the children's toys were destroyed, the chimney and the looking-glasses sharing the same fate. At the Château of Grois Bois, the residence of the Prince of Wagram, I saw an officer carry off one of the carriages and some harness, although he had been entertained by the steward left in charge of the place. All the horses had been carried off, as well as the sheep and other animals. We stopped for two hours at a very large farmhouse and distillery on the north side of Paris. It was in a lamentable condition. Everything that man could do to destroy the place was done, except burning it. From the dwelling-house to the distillery literally everything was smashed and destroyed. In the distillery the machinery was all broken up, the wheels and pipes being rendered useless, and the staves of the barrels being driven in. There was a pond in the middle of the farmyard, and into this the carts and waggons had been upset.'

The conduct of the Prussians in every department of this cruel and sanguinary war was quite in keeping with these proceedings. Tours, as we have seen, was shelled without any notice being given to the inhabitants, and when there were no troops meaning to defend it. Strasbourg, though inhabited by those whom the Germans claimed as brethren, was to a great extent, and purposely, battered and burned down before any damage whatever was done to the ramparts. As soon as a conflagration broke out near the cathedral, destroying the ancient library with its inestimable treasures, a storm of projectiles was concentrated on the spot to prevent the working of the fire-engines. In numerous instances, as we have seen, villages and towns were destroyed, and the inhabitants butchered merely because detachments of Prussian troops had there been repulsed by Mobiles or regular forces. At Nemours,

for example, a patrol of forty-seven Uhlans had quartered themselves in an inn without sufficient precautions for their own safety. In the night 300 Mobiles arrived, and made them prisoners after a short resistance. A day or two after 5000 Prussians surrounded the town, pointed artillery against it, and a force of 1200 cavalry and infantry marched in, commanding all persons to retire within their houses. The authorities were summoned to hear the sentence—two hours' pillage and the burning of the quarter where the affair had taken place, as well as the houses of all the members of the Committee of Defence. By urgent entreaties the Prussians consented to burn only the quarter in which the inn stood; the floors were saturated with petroleum, and the houses fired with shells. The two railway stations and fifteen houses were burned in presence of the authorities, who were forced to witness the execution, and under the personal superintendence of the officers, whose answer to all appeals for pity and mercy was that they had *special orders*. After thoroughly pillaging the house of the commandant of the National Guard and another fine mansion, they left the town, carrying off the Maire and three of the chief citizens, whom they only sent back on payment of a ransom of 100,000 francs (£4000).*

A still more flagrant example of the manner in which the Prussians carried on warfare in France occurred at Nogent-le-Roi, near Chaumont, on the Haute-Marne.

'On the 6th of December a Prussian detachment paid a visit to that town, which contained 3800 inhabitants, to give effect to large requisitions. Some Mobiles, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, came up at once to drive them out. Next day they came back in force with artillery, but 400 Mobiles, who had come from Langres,

barricaded themselves in the town, replied to the fire, and killed thirty men. The enemy then retired the second time to Chaumont, but on the 12th, having learned that the Mobiles had evacuated Nogent, which was now left defenceless, they returned with artillery to the number of from 7000 to 8000 men, and bombarded the town—reprisals the more odious as the place was not responsible for the legitimate defence maintained by regular troops. Presently the Prussian commander, finding petroleum more expeditious than bombs, which, however, had done not a little harm, ordered his soldiers to enter the dwellings and to saturate with this liquid the houses and furniture, even to the mattresses. This unheard-of order was executed at once in spite of the protestation of the inhabitants, women and children, who affirmed, with perfect truth, that they had taken no part in the contest, and had offered no resistance. Eighty-eight houses were reduced to ashes, as well as the large and fine cutlery works of M. Vitry. All this time shots were fired in the streets at the wretched inhabitants as they fled, and six of them were killed. The principal citizens were arrested upon no charge and carried off to Chaumont. The *Adjudant*, M. Combes, was dragged thither through the snow on his naked feet, his arms bound and his head bare, without being allowed to put on his clothes.'

'Shortly before the cessation of hostilities, the railway bridge over the Meuse was blown up by a large detachment of French cavalry which had arrived from a distance, and the German guard were carried off prisoners. Such a brilliant feat called for vengeance, but on whom? The French cavalry were gone far out of reach, but Fontenoi was close by the broken bridge, and for no reason but this a detachment of troops was immediately sent from Nancy to destroy the village.'

But a darker indictment remains behind. The wholesale execution of Francs-tireurs has drawn down upon the German invaders the execration of the whole civilized world. Instructions were issued by the Prussian military authorities for the guidance of the Landsturm, or sedentary militia, in the event of Prussia being invaded in 1813. Every able-bodied man not serving with either the line or Landwehr was required to join the Landsturm battalion of his district to assist in that sacred struggle against an invader which sanctions every means of resistance. 'The clergy of all denominations are to be ordered, as soon as the war breaks out, to preach insurrection, to paint

* A similar course was followed during the invasion of Denmark in 1864. A squadron of Uhlans were surprised during the night at a place called Assindrup by a division of huzzars (Denmark had no volunteers or Franc-tireurs). In revenge for this purely military success, a considerable Prussian force speedily came and burned down the farm-houses where the Uhlans had been quartered.

French oppression in the blackest colours, to remind the people of the Jews under the Maccabees, and to call upon them to follow their example. . . . Every clergyman is to administer an oath to his parishioners that they will not surrender any provisions, arms, &c., to the enemy until compelled by actual force.' The men of the Landsturm were to wear no uniform but a military cap and belt; they were to shoot at their enemies from behind hedges, hay-stacks, and houses; to inflict every possible injury upon them; and, 'if the enemy should appear in superior strength, the arms, caps, and belts are to be hid, and the men appear as simple inhabitants.'

But a mode of resisting an invading army which was not only lawful but highly praiseworthy on the part of the Prussians was reckoned an unpardonable crime in the French people. The *Francs-tireurs* were not guerillas or armed peasants. They all wore a uniform—of many different fashions, indeed, but all distinctly and unequivocally differing from the dress of the peasantry. They were regularly commissioned and brigaded; they were attached to the armies of the districts in which they operated, and if captured could not conceal or disavow their character. But the Prussian military authorities seemed to be of opinion that, while they had a perfect right to invade and conquer France, the attempt of the French people to defend their country in the only manner left them was an offence justly punishable with death. A general order for the whole army was published forbidding most expressly to bring in the *Francs-tireurs* as prisoners, and ordering to shoot them down by drum-head court-martial wherever they showed themselves. These savage orders, worthy of an Attila, were carried out in the most ruthless manner, and wholesale executions of Frenchmen took place where the only offence was that they practised against the invaders of their country precisely the same means of injury and annoyance authoritatively prescribed for the guidance of the Prussian people.

Through the Geneva Convention the neutrality and immunity of ambulances, and of the attendants engaged in the benevolent work of ministering to the wounded and sick, were formally recognized by all European Governments. The Germans did not disavow the principle with which, previous to the war, they had expressed their concurrence, but they practically repudiated it whenever it suited their convenience to do so. An example of the heartless manner in which in many cases they disregarded the claims of humanity took place at Versailles itself, the headquarters of the King of Prussia. 'After the fight at Brié and Champagne the Dutch ambulance, under M. van der Welde, was taken possession of by the Prussians, the wounded French were thrown out on the floor, and the medical attendants were obliged to return to Holland with the loss of all their materials.'

The atrocities perpetrated by the German armies on the French people do not rest on the authority of the sufferers or of the correspondents of the English journals; they are recorded by their own papers, and sometimes boasted of, though occasionally reprobated, by their own journalists. The French Government entered its official protest against the German mode of warfare; and in a circular issued by Count Chandordy (29th November, 1870), specified a number of the atrocious deeds of the invaders. Prince Bismarck, in his very tardy reply, did not attempt to dispute the allegations of the French Minister, but met them by countercharges, such as firing on ambulances and *parlementaires*. These alleged occurrences, however, even if they had really taken place, which is more than doubtful, were attributable rather to the misconduct of individuals than to a system of warfare officially adopted. Even with regard to this class of offences, the German soldiers were at least as blameworthy as their opponents, while the atrocities of which the invading armies were guilty were executed in obedience to superior orders. In short, the Prussian mode of carrying on

hostilities, not only in France, but in Denmark and Austria, was a return to a system of warfare which was believed to have been repudiated by the whole of Europe, and was worthy of a savage rather than of a civilized people.

The German forces engaged in the siege of Paris, thinned by unceasing conflicts, and to some extent by exposure and disease, had a hard struggle to maintain their lines of investment on the one hand, and to repel the attacks of the provincial armies on the other. But it was impossible for them to abandon the contest on which they had entered, and their leaders were determined to carry it out at whatever cost. Accordingly a new levy of German Landwehr, to the amount of 200,000 men, was required from Germany; and though the people complained bitterly of the frightful sacrifices they were called on to make, they had no resource but to comply with the demand, and the new levies were sent across the Rhine about the middle of December.

Meanwhile Paris, the luxurious city, that 'lived deliciously with the great ones of the earth,' where 'gaud and glitter, vanity, frivolity, and vice' seemed the leading characteristics of the inhabitants, showed that there were sterling qualities beneath them which sustained the people under the pressure of an overwhelming crisis. It was a startling surprise that a population 'so vast, so various, so excitable,' whose lower classes were so turbulent and ferocious, and whose upper classes seemed so thoroughly saturated with frivolity and selfishness, should, under the pressure of adversity, have proved so patriotic and unselfish. But their sacrifices came too late to save the city or the country.

The hopes of deliverance cherished by the Parisians depended on the action of the three armies of the north, centre, and west, which were endeavouring to break through the lines of the enemies surrounding the city, and earnestly striving to force their way to its walls. But though their numbers were large, these armies con-

sisted for the most part of raw levies who had never fired a musket before, and were not able to cope with the well-drilled and experienced soldiers of Germany. Immediately before Christmas General Faidherbe fought a battle with Manteuffel, in which both sides claimed the victory, but the French General was soon after defeated by General Goeben. General Chanzy, who commanded one portion of the army of the Loire, had maintained the struggle with singular obstinacy, but his raw levies were defeated in front of Le Mans (11th January, 1871) with a great loss of prisoners. The only considerable French army now remaining in the field was marching north-eastward, under General Bourbaki, in the hope of overwhelming General Werder, who was posted at Vesoul for the purpose of covering the siege of Belfort.

It is the opinion of military critics that if Bourbaki's march eastward had been as ably executed as it was skilfully planned, he might have thrown Werder back into the valley of the Rhine, and seized upon the Paris and Strasburg Railway. In that case it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Germans to maintain the investment of Paris. But he was an incompetent commander, and his troops were badly equipped and disheartened by a long series of misfortunes. His movements were so dilatory that it took him five days to traverse 20 miles, and though he had 130,000 men under his command, while Werder had only 40,000, after losing 10,000 men during the three days' battle of Belfort, he failed to drive the Germans from their position, and gave orders for a retreat. Considerable numbers of his troops were intercepted and taken prisoners. Finally, forced away from their home communications, no road remained open to them but that into Switzerland, and at the beginning of February the remnant of Bourbaki's army, 80,000 in number, crossed the frontier in a state so deplorable as to recall the retreat from Moscow, and were disarmed by the Swiss militia, while the General

himself in despair attempted to commit suicide. With the exception of the disorganized bodies of Mobiles, commanded by Chanzy and Faidherbe, and of two or three remaining garrisons, there was no longer a French army in existence, and at all points the vast outer circle which covered the siege of Paris remained impenetrable.

Meanwhile the frost, which had set in with tremendous severity, had proved exceedingly trying both to the besiegers and the besieged. The German commanders had hitherto relied on famine to compel the final surrender of the city, but they now resolved that the long-threatened bombardment should no longer be delayed. On the last day of 1870 the besiegers captured Mount Avron, which was done with unexpected ease, owing to the French having been taken by surprise. In the course of the first week in January Forts Nogent, Rosny, and Noisy, on the east side of Paris, were silenced by the German batteries, and a cannonade was commenced against the southern forts. Several sorties were attempted by the French troops but without success, and at length a final effort was made on the 19th of January to break through the line of the besiegers. It was at first successful, and several positions were captured, but in the end the German reserves were brought up, and after heavy loss these positions were regained, and the assailants driven back into the city.

Matters were now rapidly approaching a crisis in the city. The death-rate was steadily increasing. The last week of 1870 had given a total of nearly 4000 deaths, and by the end of January, 1871, it had risen to 4465. Sickness and starvation were extending their ravages on all sides; the rations of bread were reduced, and 8000 horses, hitherto spared for the public service, were now slaughtered to furnish food for the people, many of whom were suffering great privations.

After the failure of the sortie on the 19th of January, the Provisional Government saw at last that their case was hopeless, and

after some preliminary negotiations, M. Jules Favre, on the 28th of January, signed the capitulation of Paris, including a general suspension of arms, except on the Swiss frontier, where at that moment imminent ruin was threatening the forces of Bourbaki, and the siege of Belfort was being pressed to a successful conclusion by General Werder. The terms of the capitulation were that the forts were to be occupied by the German troops, who were also to be allowed to enter Paris, and that the arms of the garrison were to be surrendered. But the National Guard, notwithstanding Bismarck's prudent warning, were permitted, at the request of Jules Favre, to retain their arms, for the professed purpose of maintaining order. True to their plundering propensities, the Germans required that Paris should pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within a fortnight. The definite conclusion of peace was referred to an Assembly to be immediately convoked at Bordeaux with sovereign powers.

It had been foreseen that as the surrender of Paris would not take place until the inhabitants were in imminent danger of starvation, prompt measures would require to be taken for their relief. Accordingly a large subscription had been collected in London for this purpose, and vast trains, laden with provisions, had, with the consent of the German commanders, been forwarded through their lines, even before the armistice was signed. As soon as intercourse with the outer world was restored, special trains were despatched day by day from London with additional supplies of flour, rice, biscuit, fish, and fuel, and with 7000 head of live stock. The distress had been greatest in the lower section of the middle classes and amongst the tradesmen, whose feeling of independence made them unwilling to claim a share of the public rations, and whose means were insufficient to meet the heavy price of provisions.

Gambetta, who had for some months exercised dictatorial power outside the walls of Paris, attempted to repudiate the

convention and to continue the war. He declared that 'no reactionary or cowardly Assembly should be summoned, but one which should be ready for anything rather than assist at the assassination of France,' and he issued a decree which purported to disqualify for a seat in the Assembly all members of the families that had heretofore reigned in France, and any person who had held office under the late Empire. But the Government of the National Defence declared this decree null and void, and on the arrival of some of its members at Bordeaux Gambetta immediately resigned his office.

The elections throughout France took place on the 8th of February. The candidates were connected with all the parties in France—Legitimists, Imperialists, Orleanists, and Republicans of every hue. But though Paris and other large towns returned a number of candidates of an advanced Radical type, such as Louis Blanc, Victor Hugo, Gambetta, and Rochefort, the great majority of those elected were of comparatively moderate and Conservative opinions. M. Thiers was returned for twenty out of the eighty-six departments, a decisive proof that he was regarded at this juncture by the great mass of his fellow-countrymen as the statesman who was most likely to extricate France from its overwhelming difficulties.

On the 13th of February the Assembly met at Bordeaux and appointed M. Grevy as its president. The Government of Defence then resigned their powers into its hands, and the Assembly unanimously resolved to appoint M. Thiers, as the most eminent of living Frenchmen, the head of the Executive Administration. He immediately selected M. Dufaure, Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and other public men of a similar stamp, to constitute his Ministry; and he had the shrewdness to associate with himself a Council of the Assembly, that it might share the responsibility of a peace which was certain to be unpalatable. The preliminaries of peace were signed at Ver-

sailles on the 26th of February, on the conditions imposed and inexorably insisted on by the conquerors. The province of Alsace, with the exception of Belfort and its environs and Metz, with the part of Lorraine which lies between that fortress and the former frontier, were ceded to Germany. A pecuniary compensation of five milliards of francs, or £200,000,000, was also extorted, to be paid by instalments ranging over three years. As security for the payment of this enormous sum, the German forces were to occupy, at the expense of France, the greater part of the territory which they had overrun, but the departments were to be successively evacuated in a specified order, as the instalments were paid. As the continuance of the war was simply impossible, the French negotiators had no alternative but to accept these terms, intolerably hard though they certainly were, and the Bordeaux Assembly approved them by a majority of five to one.

It had been stipulated by a separate convention that the Germans were to occupy a certain portion of the French capital as a sign and symbol of their triumph, and on the 1st of March 30,000 of their troops marched down the Champs Elysées, and bivouacked in the Place de la Concorde and the gardens of the Tuileries. The Parisian authorities took all possible precautions to prevent a collision between the inhabitants and their conquerors. A cordon of troops was posted round the whole quarter which the latter occupied, and the Germans found there only silence and emptiness. It was a great relief to the authorities on both sides when the invaders were safely beyond the boundaries of the city without any collision or mischief done.

The severity of the conditions of peace exacted from France excited strong disapprobation throughout Europe, and especially in Britain. Great popular meetings were held in London and in several provincial towns to express sympathy with the French people under the cruel treatment which they had received at the hands of the Prus-

sians. Special indignation was expressed at the forcible severance of Alsace and Lorraine from France, in spite of the protests and entreaties of the entire population of these provinces. The pretexts which Bismarck put forth to justify this violation of the rights of the people were contemptuously scouted by all unprejudiced and candid observers. It was simply absurd to suppose, after what had taken place, that Germany needed any protection against a French invasion, and if, as Bismarck alleged, the possession of Metz and Strasburg afforded peculiar facilities for aggressions on South German territories, that danger could have been completely averted by dismantling these fortresses. But the possession of these provinces had long been coveted by Prussia, and on the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 her leading statesmen addressed a memorial to the Allied Powers at Paris, advocating the policy of seizing Alsace and Lorraine, in order to afford territorial 'securitics' against future French aggressions. Great Britain and Russia, however, peremptorily refused to permit this spoliation. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual sagacity, set forth the grounds on which good policy would prevent the Allied Powers from insisting on territorial cessions such as would prolong the war-feeling among the French people. If such demands, he said, were enforced on the sovereign and people of France, 'there is no statesman who would venture to recom-

mend to his sovereign to consider himself at peace, and to place his armies upon a peace establishment. *We must, on the contrary, if we take this large cession, consider the operations of war as deferred till France shall find a suitable opportunity of endeavouring to regain what she has lost, and after having wasted our resources in the maintenance of overgrown military establishments in time of peace, we shall find how little useful the cessions we shall have acquired will be against a national effort to regain them.*'

Bismarck, however, instead of following the moderate and judicious policy recommended by Wellington, chose rather to act on the maxim of Machiavelli, to crush those whom you cannot conciliate. Believing, as he said, that France would never forgive her defeat and the injuries inflicted on her in the war with Germany, he resolved to disable her to the utmost extent possible. He speedily discovered, as he was compelled to admit, that this work had only been half done—that France possessed a wonderful power of recovery, which in no long time completely effaced all traces of the ravages of the war; while, on the other hand, Germany has left behind her in France a legacy of hatred and a thirst for revenge, which has compelled her rulers to impose intolerable burdens on their subjects in order to maintain, during peace, armaments and military preparations on the most gigantic scale.

CHAPTER XII.

The Red Republicans—Their Plots during the Siege—Mismanagement on the part of the Authorities—Murder of Generals Lecomte and Thomas—Lullier and Assi leaders of the Insurrection—Inefficiency of the Government—The Communal Elections—Outbreak of the Communists—Their Central Committee—Failure of Negotiations—Impolitic Conduct of M. Thiers—Commencement of Hostilities—Bombardment of the City—Dissensions among the Communist Leaders—Their Enforcement of Conscription—Capture of the Forts—Entry of the Besiegers into Paris—Burning of the Public Buildings by the Reds—Murder of the Hostages—The Pétroleuses—Conduct of the Communist Leaders—Frightful Slaughter of the Insurgents—Punishment of the Ringleaders—Payment of the German Indemnity—Withdrawal of the Invading Army—The King of Prussia made Emperor of Germany—Effect of the War on the Interests of his Country—Financial Difficulties—The Falk Laws—Bismarck's Social and Economical Policy—Socialism—Dishonourable Treatment of the King of Hanover—Corruption and Prosecution of the Press—Bismarck's Foreign Policy—His Attempt to pick a Quarrel with France—Pressure of the Military System on the Resources of the Country.

No sooner had Paris been freed from its foreign enemy than it was called on to encounter a more destructive adversary within its own walls. There had long been a band of Red Republicans in the French capital, the enemies of law, order, and property; and during the four long months of the siege, when Paris, to use the coarse and cynical expression of Bismarck, was 'frying in its own gravy,' they made repeated attempts to obtain the command of the city. But throughout that terrible period, when the resignation, self-sacrifice, and endurance evinced by the inhabitants surprised alike their friends and their foes, the patriotism and regard for order shown by the immense majority of the inhabitants repressed the insurrectionary projects of the turbulent faction of the Communists. The chief strength of this party lay among the white blouses of Belleville, led by Flourens, Pyat, and Blanqui. Flourens was the son of the celebrated physiologist, who was at one time secretary of the Academy of Sciences. He was a young man of decided ability and great scientific attainments, but reckless and chimerical, a mere fanatical revolutionist, who wished to overturn existing social institutions from their very foundation. Associated with him was Delescluze, a man well advanced in life—a grim, austere ascetic, who had had experience of nearly all the prisons of France and its colonies, and sacrificed everything in life to the pursuit of his own visionary political ideal.

Felix Pyat was justly accused by his associates of having passed his life 'in stirring up revolutionary fires, and then skulking off to leave his friends to brave the danger and consequences of the conflagration.'

Under the leadership of these 'professors of revolution,' repeated abortive plots against the Government were formed, and after the surrender of Metz a serious outbreak took place, accompanied by a demand for the Commune. A mob of 5000 or 6000 National Guards took possession of the Hôtel de Ville and made prisoners of the Government. Through a well managed stratagem, the building was recaptured by Trochu's party without bloodshed. The General now appealed to the citizens in support of his authority, and the result was an overwhelming vote of confidence in his favour. The Communists numbered only 54,000, while 340,000 votes were given for the Government. After this signal defeat the Red Republicans made no further attempt to overturn the Committee of National Defence until the 22nd of January, 1871. On that day an insurrection took place in the streets, and a good many lives were lost.

The intimation made on the 28th, that negotiations were being entered into for a capitulation caused prodigious excitement, which was greatly increased next day when the terms were made known. The elections followed, and it was soon discovered that a large proportion of the members of the Assembly were Imperialists and Royalists.

The Communists were infuriated almost to madness. The Committee of National Defence, notwithstanding the warnings they had received that revolutionary elements were smouldering in the city, were so infatuated as to stipulate, on the surrender of the city, for the retention of their arms by the National Guard, who were in consequence furnished with the means of an insurrection against the Government.

General d'Aurelle des Paladines, a strict disciplinarian, was appointed to the command of the National Guard; but his authority was disregarded by the battalions composed of the working classes, who had taken possession of the guns on the heights of Montmartre, as well as of a large park of fine bronze cannon in the Place Wagram (the product of a patriotic subscription of the National Guard) in order to save it from the Germans. After a fortnight spent in negotiation with the revolutionists, a detachment of regular troops was, on the 18th of March, ordered to take possession of the guns. At four o'clock that morning strong detachments of cavalry and infantry, commanded by Generals Vinoy and Lecomte, surrounded the heights of Montmartre and disarmed the sentinels who guarded the contested pieces. But the officers in command had most culpably neglected to provide horses for the conveyance of the guns from the place, and in the course of two hours a body of the National Guard assembled to prevent their removal. A captain of Chasseurs, who ordered his men to fire upon the National Guard, was shot dead, and his men, when commanded to fire, deserted to the insurgents, shouting 'Vive la Republique.' General Lecomte was carried off a prisoner. The attempt to seize the guns was now wholly frustrated. General Vinoy, who had planned it, retreated with his troops into the interior of Paris. General Thomas, formerly commander-in-chief of the National Guard, was discovered in plain clothes among the spectators of these proceedings, and was immediately taken to the house where General Lecomte was

confined. After a mock trial the two generals were dragged out into the garden of the house, and brutally murdered by the armed rabble.

The news of the assassination of the two generals sent a thrill of horror through the capital, but no steps were taken to punish the assassins. Uncertain of the fidelity of the army, the Government was for the time reduced to inaction. On the evening of the 18th the insurgents took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Justice, and the military headquarters in the Place Vendôme, and began to erect barricades in all directions. No one seemed to know who the men were that had thus taken possession of the capital, and whom the battalions of Montmartre and Belleville implicitly obeyed. It afterwards transpired that Lullier and Assi were the principal leaders in bringing about this movement. The former was a crack-brained naval officer, whose violent conduct, reckless courage, and power of speech, had given him great influence over the populace. He quarrelled with the Central Committee, of whose views he did not approve, and they had him arrested and shut up at Mazas. He made his escape, however, from prison, and at the time of its overthrow he was in secret correspondence with M. Thiers, having engaged himself to sweep away the Commune. Assi was a person of a different stamp. He was a hard-headed, resolute artisan, the ringleader of the famous strike at the Creuzot Ironworks in 1870, and a leading spirit of the 'International Working Men's Association.' The object of that notorious society was direct legislation by the people, the abolition of the law of inheritance, and the holding of land in common as collective property. Some of its leading members publicly declared that it aimed at the overthrow of all religion, the substitution of science for revelation, of human justice for divine justice, and the suppression of marriage. Assi's colleagues speedily became jealous of his influence, and under the pretext that he was in secret correspondence with M. Picard, they put

him in prison, so that curiously enough the two men who mainly brought about the revolution had little or nothing to do with its ultimate direction.

The Assembly had found it necessary to remove from Bordeaux, where it was difficult if not impossible to carry on the Government of the country. They could not, however, venture to remain in Paris, as General Vinoy said he would not answer for the fidelity of his troops, and they resolved to hold their meetings at Versailles. If the Government had acted with promptitude at this critical moment the insurrection might have been suppressed at once. The supporters of the Commune did not muster more than 50,000. The National Guards of the more orderly districts kept their ground, and showed a determination to put down anarchy and violence. The great body of the inhabitants displayed an excellent spirit. It was expressly stated that in less than three days 110,000 citizens, and the brave young men of the schools of Law and Medicine, had rallied to the flag of the Government elected by universal suffrage. But while the party of order was thus taking prompt measures for the protection of the lives and property of the citizens, the Assembly at Versailles was in a state of confusion and uproar, acting under an unreasoning hatred of the capital, involving the insurgents and the loyal inhabitants in one common condemnation. The only action taken by the Government was to remove General d'Aurelle from the command of the National Guard, and to appoint Admiral Saisset in his place. This choice was quite inexplicable, and proved most unfortunate. The Admiral was a simple-minded sailor, ignorant of the world, destitute of political experience and tact, and totally unfit for the duty intrusted to him. He seems to have lost his head, and doing nothing that he ought to have done, he disappeared from view for some days altogether, and finally made his escape to Versailles in disguise and on foot.

The Central Committee had appointed the Communal elections to take place on the 22nd of March. The whole of the journals of Paris of any consideration, without distinction, protested on the 21st against the elections being held on the 22nd, at the dictation of the Hôtel de Ville; but neither the Government nor the Assembly took the slightest notice of this powerful manifestation of opinion, though the insurgents were so far influenced by it that they delayed the elections till the 26th.

The party of order made a demonstration on the evening of the 21st, and two or three thousand strong, but without arms, they paraded the boulevards in procession, crying, '*Vive l'ordre!*' '*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*' '*Vive la République!*' On the next day a vast body, apparently unarmed, though it afterwards appeared that a considerable number carried revolvers and poniards, descended the boulevards in the same way, and marched to the Place Vendôme, where the insurgents had barricaded themselves. The front ranks on both sides got mixed up together, there was a great deal of shouting, and it is alleged that the Communists showed signs of yielding, and of an inclination to fraternize with the men of order. At this critical moment an insurgent officer in command gave orders to fire. Volley succeeded volley, numbers were killed or wounded, and the crowd fled in disorder.

Civil war was now imminent. The loyal and peaceable National Guard took up arms and prepared to resist the aggressions of the Communists. An influential deputation went to Versailles to ask for the assistance of only five or six thousand men to support the party of order in their defence of the city, but without effect. They were told that it would be better for the National Guard to establish order by their own unaided exertions.

The Communal elections took place on the 26th, and as the middle classes generally abstained from voting, the Reds obtained an easy victory. The Central Committee now formally abdicated its

functions. A provisional form of constitution was adopted. Nine committees were elected to preside over the nine different departments of the Government. These committees elected delegates to act as the ministerial body of the Commune. The notorious adventurer Cluseret was appointed Delegate of War, Jourde of Finance, Viard of Subsistence, Paschal Grousset of Foreign Affairs, Protot of Justice, Raoul Rigault of General Safety, Leo Franckel of Labour and Exchange, Andrieu of Public Works, with a committee of five members to assist each of the delegate ministers. In a short time considerable changes took place in this extemporized constitution. A committee of the National Guard, affecting to derive its authority from military election, and a self-elected Committee of Public Safety, divided the functions of government with the municipality. A *junto*, called the Central Committee, representing more especially the International, continually meddled with the operations of the other committee under the pretence of being the family council of the National Guard. The members changed as often as the forms, disunion and jealousy speedily arose among them, and one after another of the very leaders of the insurrection were sent to Mazas.

The Commune, without dictating to France, claimed to be supreme in Paris, which was to be a free city in a free state, to enjoy its own laws, its own executive, its own police; there was to be no army but the National Guard, which was to elect its own officers. The other large towns of France were to be organized after a similar fashion. The Committee issued a long list of decrees, some of them unjust, some of them absurd and impracticable, and most of them were habitually violated by the leaders of the Commune themselves.

'One of the avowed objects of the insurrection was that the National Guard should elect the whole of its own officers, including the Commander-in-Chief. Yet Eudes, Duval, Bergeret, Cluseret, Rossel, and Dombrowski were appointed and

removed one after the other as despotically as if they had been fighting for the Czar of all the Russias. The Commune proclaimed the inviolability of personal liberty, liberty of conscience, and liberty of labour, while they filled their prisons with arbitrary arrests, shut up the churches, and constrained workmen, by fear of execution, to leave their workshops and shoulder the musket. They invited free manifestation of opinion, while all public meetings but those they chose to authorize were forbidden by fear of a fusillade, and all newspapers but their own were suppressed. They announced the end of militarism and functionalism, and Paris was turned into a camp ruled by military law, although the state of siege was nominally abolished.'

The symptoms of a desperate struggle impending were now apparent, and the general uneasiness and suspense of the inhabitants showed that every one was aware of its character and dreaded its result. Few carriages were to be seen on the streets or boulevards, and the cafés and restaurants were deserted. During the last days of March not less than 160,000 inhabitants quitted the capital, and those who remained endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep quiet and out of sight. The chiefs of the Commune were never wearied ringing the changes on the prodigality of the Second Empire, but the number of pensions which they voted to the widows and relatives of soldiers was enormous, and they were by no means restricted to lawful widows or legitimate children.

Various projects of conciliation were set on foot by those who were anxious to terminate this inhuman strife and to avoid the horrors of civil war. But the Commune repudiated the authority of the Assembly, and declared that, having been elected for the special purpose of making peace, it ought to have been dissolved when that purpose was served. They demanded that whenever the rival jurisdictions came into collision the Council should supersede the Assembly. They also claimed to take possession of the Bank, and to control the finances. On the other hand, the Assembly and the Government regarded the Commune as a set of criminals with whom they

could make no terms. Nothing would suffice but absolute and unconditional submission. Delegates were deputed by the municipal council of Lyons to visit Paris and Versailles, and to use their utmost efforts to bring about a reconciliation; but they failed to make any impression upon the Commune, who doggedly refused to recognize the sovereignty of the Assembly. They were willing that the Commune should dissolve if the Assembly would also dissolve. On the other hand, M. Thiers could not be induced to give his consent to the restoration of the full municipal franchises of Paris, which it was believed would have greatly promoted the work of conciliation. The delegates pointed out to him that 'the extreme centralization to which France had been subjected had enervated the public spirit of the country, and was, in fact, the cause in great part of their recent calamities.' But on this point they found him immovable. So resolute was he in carrying out his ruinous policy of centralization, that when the Assembly, in a rare moment of good sense and moderation, voted that every town in France should elect its own mayor, M. Thiers compelled them, by a threat of resignation, to rescind the vote. Meanwhile the Government were collecting troops at Versailles with all possible expedition, for they had resolved not to commence operations against Paris until a sufficient force had been formed of released prisoners of war returned from Germany.

The first movement took place on the 2nd of April, when a corps of 10,000 men retook the Bridge of Neuilly, and drove the Communists into the city. Next day a body of the insurgent National Guard, 100,000 strong, marched out of Paris under Gustave, Flourens, Bergeret, and Duval. The right wing, under Bergeret, wavered and dispersed at the approach of a body of troops under General Vinoy. A division of 15,000 men, under Flourens, was defeated, and their leader was killed. Duval was captured, and as he was being led off to Versailles in company with other prisoners,

General Vinoy passed by, and observing from Duval's uniform that he was an officer, ordered him to be immediately shot.

Marshal MacMahon had by this time arrived at Versailles, and at the request of M. Thiers he assumed, on the 8th of March, the command of the forces under the National Assembly. The returned soldiers, who had been prisoners in Germany, were steadily pouring into France day by day. M. Thiers resolved, however, that he would not permit an advance against Paris until he had collected a sufficient army to make success certain. Military operations were therefore delayed for several weeks. Dombrowski, a daring and reckless Polish soldier of fortune, was appointed by Cluseret commandant of Paris, and resolutely encountered the assaults of the besiegers. The bombardment of the city commenced about the end of April, and was carried on with great vigour and effect. By the end of the first week in May no less than 128 batteries were in action against the besieged city. Fort after fort was captured, and it was evident that the insurgents could not much longer hold out against the besiegers. They were now indeed in a state of utter disorganization. Mutual suspicion and distrust had broken out among their leaders, and their jealousy and personal vanity involved them in incessant disputes and quarrels. 'It is neither dread of the Prussians,' said Rochefort in his paper, the *Mot d'Ordre*, 'nor the shells of M. Thiers which enervates Paris and kills our hopes; it is gaunt suspicion that weighs us down. The Hôtel de Ville distrusts the Minister of War, who distrusts the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Fort of Vanves distrusts Montrouge, Montrouge distrusts Bicêtre, Rigault distrusts Rossel, and Rossel distrusts Dombrowski.' Lullier, Bergeret, Assi, and Delescluze were one after the other dismissed and imprisoned. Cluseret, the War Minister, was superseded by Rossel, his aide-de-camp, a gallant but wrong-headed young officer, who had persuaded himself that the Government had forfeited its claim

to his allegiance by making terms with the invader. After a few days' tenure of his post, Rossel was in his turn dismissed and imprisoned, and during the last ten days of the Commune there was no permanent or recognized Minister of War.

The financial affairs of the Commune were in as unsatisfactory a state as their system of management. Nearly 26,000,000 francs had been paid into their Treasury, derived from *octrois*, the duty on tobacco, loans from the Bank of France, the sale of valuable church articles, the tax levied on railways, and the confiscation of the funds belonging to the International Society for Aid to the Wounded. But only 800,000 francs remained. Nearly 25,000,000 had been expended on the pay of the National Guard, reckoned at 190,000 men receiving, some $2\frac{1}{2}$, and others $1\frac{1}{2}$ francs a day, besides the pay of officers and special corps, the pay and maintenance of the members of the Commune and of other public bodies. Various projects of confiscation were started to meet the exigencies of the case, but ruin overtook the projectors before their schemes could be carried into effect. They made a commencement, however, of the work of plunder, by demolishing the house of M. Thiers, and confiscating his valuable collection of pictures, books, and statues. The column erected to the memory of Napoleon I. in the Place Vendôme was pulled down and broken to pieces; and the metal of which the column was composed, along with the statue of the Emperor by which it was surmounted, was ordered to be sold.

The military arrangements of the Commune had fallen into inextricable confusion. 'Every one,' as Rossel said, 'wished to deliberate, and no one to obey.' One of its earliest decrees was the abolition of conscription; but like the other decrees, it was completely disregarded. At first military service was declared obligatory only on unmarried men between seventeen and thirty-five; afterwards on all men, married or unmarried, between nineteen and forty.

Before the commencement of hostilities great numbers of young men, having a well-founded dread of the measures likely to be taken by the insurgents, left the city, and were allowed to depart without hindrance; but after the 5th of April all the railway stations and outlets of the city were watched, to prevent the able-bodied men from escaping. Numbers, however, contrived to evade the vigilance of the 'watchers,' and found their way outside the walls; some by means of false passports, some in the disguise of women and of carters, draymen, and porters, while some let themselves down from the walls by night. Every effort was made by the Commune to catch the fugitives. A decree was issued, calling upon the inhabitants to denounce them; a list was required from the *conciérge* of the inmates of every house. The punishment denounced at first on every recusant was that he should be disarmed. Then he was informed that he was incurring the risk of a court-martial, whose *only* punishment was death. Then a decree was issued that all who refused to fight should be seized and marched off to prison by an armed band of women. And finally, the refractory National Guard of the eighth arrondissement were required to present themselves, under pain of death, within twenty-four hours. Towards the end of the reign of the Commune the outlets of the streets were occupied by companies of the Communal soldiers, and the houses were searched for persons liable to serve who wished to escape impressment. An immense number of unfortunate men were thus compelled to take part in the insurrection, and the presence of these 'pressed' combatants in the ranks of the Communists contributed not a little to the ruin of the cause.

By the end of the first week in May no less than 128 battalions were in action against the besieged city. Fort Issy, with 109 guns, was soon taken, the insurgents evacuating it under cover of the night. On the 14th May the garrison of Fort Vanves,

finding this stronghold no longer tenable, made their escape by a subterranean passage communicating with Montrouge, leaving fifty guns and eight mortars behind them. By the capture of Fort Vanves the south-west front of the *enceinte* was deprived of the last of its outlying defences. The German forces, who still occupied the forts on the north and east of the city, prevented all egress on that side. The Bois de Boulogne was occupied by a strong body of Marshal MacMahon's troops. The siege had evidently reached its last stage; but it was unexpectedly brought to a termination by the entrance, on the 21st of May, of a body of 300 men into the city by the gate of St. Cloud, which had been left undefended. A private of the Municipal Guard, named Ducatel, who lived near that point, contrived to make the Versailles troops aware that that part of the *enceinte* had been abandoned by the insurgents. A strong body of troops immediately followed the first detachment; and in the course of Monday, the 22nd, the besiegers, 80,000 in number, were advancing steadily into the interior of the city. Next day the *Buttes Montmartre* and the Northern Railway Station were in their hands, and Generals Cissey and Vinoy were marching on the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries.

The insurgents were now filled with the madness of despair, and resolved to carry out a plan for the destruction of the city which had been long contemplated by their leaders as the probable termination of their resistance. 'Paris will be ours,' said Cluseret twelve months before, 'or it will cease to exist.' Jules Vallès proclaimed more than once that all precautions were taken to prevent Paris from falling into the hands of the enemy. 'If M. Thiers is a chemist he will understand us.' Placards were posted throughout the city by the Commune, giving formal instructions for charging all the sewers near the barricades with gunpowder. Large quantities of petroleum had been prepared, and requisitions of this and other formidable materials

were being made up to the last moment. The official journal of the Commune demanded that the citizens should render an account of all the chemical products they possessed, and warnings were issued that 'the possessors of phosphorus and chemical products which have not replied to the appeal of the official journal expose themselves to an immediate seizure of these articles.' On the 23rd of May an order was published by the Central Committee that 'every house from which a single shot is fired, or any aggression whatever committed against the National Guard, will be immediately burned.' Another order, also dated on the 23rd, and signed by Delescluze and other six of the leaders of the Commune, proclaimed that 'the citizen Millière, with 150 *fusees* (composed of the most worthless scoundrels, with the worst women and vagrant boys of each district), will burn the suspected houses and public monuments of the left bank. The citizen Dereure, with 100 *fusees*, will undertake the first and second arrondissements. The citizen Billioray, with 100 *fusees*, is charged with the tenth and twentieth arrondissements.' There is every reason to believe that the Communists intended to destroy the whole city; but the sudden and unforeseen entry of the troops disconcerted their plans, and prevented them from carrying their preparations fully into effect.

But deeds more atrocious far than the burning of the public buildings were perpetrated by these monsters in human form during the last days of their existence. After Duval was put to death by orders of General Vinoy the chiefs of the Commune, infuriated at this deed, resolved to adopt the Prussian system of seizing hostages.* They immediately arrested the Archbishop of Paris, the Curé of the Madeleine, and a great number of other priests and influential laymen. On the 5th of April the Commune published a decree that any execution of a

* The Commune avowed that they followed the example of the Prussians in the use of petroleum, as well as in the seizure of hostages.

prisoner of war of the Commune should be followed immediately by the execution of a triple number of the hostages in custody. It was not, however, till the night of the 21st—the night of the entry of the troops—that this sanguinary decree was carried into effect. The murder of the hostages was the work of Raoul Rigault and Ferré, his subordinate. Rigault came of a respectable family, and was educated for the bar; but the unbridled licentiousness and drunkenness in which he revelled seems to have turned his brain, and he was known among his comrades as ‘a mixture of shamelessness, blasphemy, and absinthe.’ He was at first appointed Delegate of Public Safety, and afterwards Procureur-Général of the Commune. When he relinquished the former office he appointed as his successor an accountant of the name of Ferré, ‘a man of his own age, but of still more odious and sinister character.’

These two kindred spirits, along with Protot, the Delegate of Justice, according to their usual custom spent the evening of the 21st at a small theatre called the *Délassements Comiques*, which during all the time of the Commune gave a series of burlesque performances, accompanied with singing and dancing. After the performance the triumvirate ordered supper for six in the adjoining café, where they were in the habit of supping in the society of three of the female performers. While they were waiting at the supper-table for the actresses to change their dress and join them they occupied themselves with drawing up a list of the hostages to be put to death next day.

The confusion into which the assassins were thrown by the sudden entry of the troops into the city delayed the execution of the horrid deed, but on the evening of the 23rd Rigault, accompanied by a party of armed men, repaired to the prison of St. Pelagie, and calling out Chandey, a late writer in the *Siècle*, caused him to be shot at once. Three sergents-de-ville were put to death immediately afterwards without even the pretence of a trial. On the follow-

ing night the convent of the Dominicans of Arceuil was assailed by a band of frenzied Communists, and the monks were shot down as they fled into the streets. The hostages had been transferred from Mazas to the prison of La Roquette, and on the 24th the miscreant Ferré repaired thither after having set fire to the Préfecture de Police, and given orders that the prisoners there should not be released but burned alive. A court-martial was held for the trial of the hostages, over which Ferré presided; but the principal persons among them were not brought before the court, but were simply called out of their cells and shot in batches. Monseigneur Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, a prelate of blameless character and tolerant disposition, was the first to suffer. Some of the party who were ordered to shoot him fell on their knees and implored his pardon, but were forced back with curses and blows by their comrades. Along with the Archbishop, M. Bonjean, the President of the Supreme Court of France, the Curé of the Madeleine, and other three priests were put to death. The rest of the hostages were shot in batches on succeeding days.

The court-martial, which continued to sit at La Roquette, was composed of a set of depraved, drunken wretches, who occupied themselves with condemning gendarmes and chance prisoners, especially priests captured in the streets. A guard consisting of young scoundrels and abandoned women brought in fresh prisoners for the firing parties. The assassins made sport of their victims, pretending that they were to be set at liberty, and shooting them when they were making their escape. They then rushed forward to make sure that they were dead and robbed them of their money. Monseigneur Surat was told that he might leave his prison, but as soon as he was outside its walls he was shot by a band of women armed with revolvers. At the close of this horrid butchery Ferré liberated a band of convicted criminals, put arms in their hands, and told them they were free, but that they must massacre

sixty-six defenceless gendarmes, whom they accordingly murdered. He then sent out another band of emissaries, laden with cans of petroleum, to spread the conflagration which by this time was raging in the city.

It was on the night of the 21st May that the most splendid edifices of Paris were set on fire. Next morning, when the Versaillist troops were pressing onwards, the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Rue Royale, the Ministry of Finance, and other public offices were all in flames. As the insurgents were driven back, step by step, they left nothing but ghastly ruins behind them. At every barricade which intersected the streets there was a large quantity of incendiary materials piled up, and when the National Guards were compelled to retreat they carried these inflammatory substances into the houses, and ordered the inhabitants to assist them in sprinkling petroleum on the walls and floors; if they refused they were shot or thrown into the flames. In almost all quarters of the city these deeds of incendiarism and murder were perpetrated.

‘One of the most frightful of these scenes took place on the 25th in the Boulevard St. Martin, between the theatre of that name and the Théâtre de l’Ambigu. The insurgents massacred all the inhabitants, women and children included, of every floor in the house, because, in the general pillage and havoc which they were making of the premises, one of the band got a blow from an indignant proprietor. They then set fire to the building and to the neighbouring theatre, which was one of the most popular in Paris.’

For two days and a night the contest continued to rage in the streets of Paris; shot and shell falling thickly around the houses; the insurgents falling back step by step, and fighting desperately from barricade to barricade. On Thursday M. Thiers telegraphed to the prefects of the Departments:—

‘We are masters of Paris, with the exception of a very small portion, which will be occupied this morning. The Tuileries are in ashes; the Louvre is saved. A portion of the Ministry of Finance, along the Rue de Rivoli, the Palais d’Orsay, where

the Council of State held its sittings, and the Court of Accounts have been burned. Such is the condition in which Paris is delivered to us by the wretches who oppressed it. We have already in our hands 12,000 prisoners, and shall certainly have 18,000 to 20,000. The soil of Paris is sown with corpses of the insurgents.’

On Friday Belleville, the stronghold of the Reds, was encircled by the forces of L’Admirault and Vinoy. The seven barricades by which it was defended were carried one after the other, and in the end the whole quarter was captured, along with a large body of the insurgents. The final struggle took place on Saturday and Sunday, in the cemetery of Père la Chaise. It was obstinate and sanguinary, though hopeless on the part of the insurgents. Women as well as men took part in the contest. No quarter was given, and in the end the Versailles troops remained masters of the field. The Buttes, Chaumont, and Mènel-Montant had meanwhile fallen into the hands of L’Admirault, and with the surrender of a detachment of National Guards at Vincennes, on Monday, the last show of resistance came to an end.

The leaders of the Commune showed in the final struggle their utter want of self-sacrifice, or of any patriotic or ennobling principle. Not one of them seems to have thought of anything but of his own self-conceit, fanaticism, or personal safety. Cluseret and Felix Pyat succeeded in making their escape from the burning city. Raoul Rigault was shot while defending a barricade in the Faubourg St. Germain, where his body was found, hideously mangled. Delescluze, when no hope of successful resistance remained, put on his hat and coat, took his stick and walked quietly up to the barricade of the Château d’Eau, where he speedily met the death he desired. Millière was taken to prison, and shot at the Pantheon, where the day before he had presided over the execution of thirty National Guards who had refused to fight at the barricades. With his last breath he cried ‘Vive la Commune!’ ‘Vive le Peuple!’ ‘Vive l’Humanité!’ Vallès was stabbed

and left to perish miserably in the streets. Dombrowski, Eudes, and Bergeret were killed or mortally wounded at the barricades. Rochefort fled from the city, but was captured and consigned to prison. Vengeance was inflicted without mercy on the leaders who were recognized at the moment, and on all who were found in arms or suspected of complicity in the insurrection, women as well as men. Multitudes were shot without trial, on mere suspicion, and no doubt many innocent persons perished. Stories got about, and in the panic were universally believed, of *pétroleuses* (a name coined for the occasion)—female incendiaries who were said to have glided furtively from street to street during the last days of the Commune, feeding the conflagration of the public buildings with petroleum and incendiary chemical compounds. It is impossible to say how much truth there was in these reports, but there is every reason to believe that they caused the summary execution of many hundreds of innocent persons. Paris was for some days a veritable charnel-house, and dead bodies lay in heaps amid the blackened ruins. At Belleville and Père la Chaise, where the contest had been most deadly, the air was poisoned with their numbers. It was estimated that no fewer than 10,000 of the insurgents had been killed during the last week of the Commune. The killed and wounded of the Versailles troops amounted to 2500. When the conflagration, which lasted for some days, was finally extinguished, it was found that the greater part of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, a portion of the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, the Ministry of Finance, the Théâtres Lyrique and Du Châtelet, and about two thousand private dwellings had been consumed in the flames. The Red Commune had threatened to perish in a sea of blood and under a canopy of fire, and it had kept its word!

The number of prisoners in the hands of the Government amounted to 33,000; of these upwards of 10,000 were liberated without trial. The members of the Com-

mune itself and its most conspicuous agents were brought to trial before a court-martial held at Versailles, which commenced its proceedings about the end of August. Lullier, the naval officer; Ferré, the infamous author of the massacre of the hostages, and Colonel Rossel were condemned to death. Urbain, Trinquet, Assi, Billioray, Paschal Grousset, Jourde, the Finance Minister of the Commune, Courbet, the painter, and five others were sentenced, some to imprisonment, others to transportation. The arch-agitator Henri Rochefort was condemned to transportation for life. The capital sentence passed on Lullier was commuted by the Committee of Pardons, but they refused to listen to the numerous and earnest intercessions on behalf of Rossel, who alone, among the leaders of the insurgents, deserved any sympathy. He was shot on the 28th of September, along with Ferré and Bourgeois, a sergeant. Vergdageur, the Communist officer in command of the company who murdered Generals Lecomte and Thomas, and seven accomplices were also condemned and executed.

The National Assembly had a very difficult task to perform in restoring order and framing a new constitution for the country. They were not well fitted for such a critical undertaking. Flourens described them as 'a Chamber, the counterpart of that of the Restoration; a chamber of ghosts of people who were thought to be dead long ago, and who appeared to be quite untouched, to be still alive; marquises and abbés who had, without doubt, sat in the States-General of 1789 on the benches of the nobility and clergy; a collection of bald heads, deaf ears, and eyes which blinked at any ray of sunlight. The Assembly ought to have had a grave-digger for doorkeeper. For such owls the cry of "*Vive la République!*" was an intolerable outrage.' A large majority of the '*Rurals*,' as this resuscitated party was called, were in favour of the restoration of monarchy in France. Some advocated the claims of the

Count de Chambord, grandson of Charles X., while others insisted that a constitutional monarchy should be established under the House of Orleans. A few would even have been willing to see the deposed Emperor resume the reins of power. M. Thiers himself was favourable to a limited monarchy, and it was well known that he was personally attached to the family of his old master Louis Philippe. But it was impossible, in the critical circumstances of the country, to come to any decision on the subject, and meanwhile a moderate Republic seemed to be the only practicable form of Government. By its own continued existence, and through the absence of competitors, it gradually became fairly consolidated, and notwithstanding the defeat and resignation of successive Presidents and Ministries it has continued to hold its ground, and bids fair to become permanent.

The financial condition of the country, the reconstruction of the army, the supplementary elections to the National Assembly, the remodelling of the old Departmental Councils, and the Bill for the indemnification of the invaded departments required the immediate attention of the Executive Government. They had also to make arrangements for the payment of the stipulated indemnity to the Germans. The first half milliard of francs was to be paid within a month after the re-establishment of order in Paris; a milliard during the course of the year; another half milliard on May 1st, 1872; the remainder of the indemnity on March 2nd, 1874. A deduction, however, was to be made of 325,000,000 of francs in consideration of the railway lines in Alsace and Lorraine, to be taken over by the Germans. These instalments were to be followed by the successive evacuation of the departments, which the invaders were to occupy as 'material guarantees' until the whole debt was discharged. M. Thiers had set his heart on getting rid as speedily as possible of the German army of occupation, not only on account of the cost of maintaining so large a body of men, but espe-

cially because their presence in the country was felt as degrading to the national independence and honour. Accordingly, by energetic financial exertions, and especially by the expedient of a national loan of £120,000,000, which was covered many times over by subscriptions, he quickly raised the sum required for the first instalment. In return for the concession to Alsace and Lorraine of free trade with France till the end of 1872 Bismarck was induced to accept Government bills for short dates as payment of another instalment, and six departments in the east of France were evacuated at once by the German soldiers. Thus, by the end of October, out of the thirty-six departments held by the invading forces in the month of February, only six remained in their hands. The facility with which the money was raised for this purpose shows the great wealth of France, notwithstanding the losses occasioned by the war. The arrangements for the payment of the balance of the indemnity were so successful that the German army of occupation was withdrawn in September, 1873—a year and a half before the time at which it was originally stipulated that the payment should be completed.

The victorious King of Prussia seems to have thought that it would crown his military successes and add to his dignity to appropriate the mantle and title of the Emperor whom he had dethroned. In his eagerness to secure this coveted prize he did not even wait till he had returned to his own capital with the spoils of France, but with singular bad taste he caused the inaugural ceremony to be hastily performed at Versailles. The title of Emperor was not conferred upon him by the acclamations of a free and united people or on the vote of a national Diet. It was tendered to him in private by a junto of petty princes, whose troops were at that moment serving under his orders. In the course of the autumn negotiations were instituted for the extension of the North German Confederacy



Engraved by W. H. H. from a Photograph

WILLIAM I.

KING OF PRUSSIA & EMPEROR OF GERMANY

to the Southern States, and an arrangement, including the reservation of certain sovereign rights to Bavaria and Würtemberg, was finally accepted by the North German Parliament. On the suggestion of the Grand-Duke of Baden, the King of Bavaria proposed to the other German Princes that the King of Prussia should be requested to assume the title of Emperor, and the North German Parliament despatched a deputation to Versailles to intimate its assent to his assumption of that dignity. The Imperial Constitution provides that the Emperor, as President of the German Bund, shall have absolute power of making war when there is any danger of invasion, and of making peace under all circumstances. When there is no such danger the Emperor can only make war with the support of a majority of the Federal Council, in which Prussia has less than a third of the whole number of votes. In the Parliament, which is elected by an extensive suffrage, the representation of every State is proportionate to its population. These arrangements, however, seemed to the advocates of German unity to come very far short of the national amalgamation which they desired and had been led to expect. The revived German Empire, they asserted, had given them the shadow only and not the substance. One of their leaders declared that by adopting this constitution the Germans 'have sacrificed the unity they have made such efforts to obtain, and for the sake of which they have abandoned so many liberties.'

The King of Prussia returned to his capital on the 16th of March, 1871, bedazzled with his new honours, and was received with enthusiastic acclamations. Bismarck was made a Prince, appointed Chancellor of the Empire, and received a magnificent estate in Lauenburg, one of the provinces of which Denmark had been robbed. Honours and liberal rewards were bestowed also on Count Moltke and Von Roon, who had contributed so largely to the triumph of the German arms. In no long

time, however, it appeared that their victories, like the book described in the Apocalyptic vision, though sweet in the mouth were bitter in the belly. The vast sums of money extorted from the conquered country speedily vanished, and while heavily taxed France, with an enormous debt, enjoyed a growing surplus, Germany, which had no public debt, found her revenue constantly decreasing. On the other hand, the expenditure both of the Empire and of the German States steadily increased. In 1873 the imperial budget amounted to 340,500,000 marks; in 1877 it was 540,500,000. The taxes imposed upon the people increased year by year, while the wealth of the nation as regularly diminished. But financial difficulties were by no means the most formidable troubles of the German Empire and the Prussian kingdom.

Bismarck's first contest was with the Roman Catholic Church. He had hitherto been favourable to that body, but finding that its prelates and priests were hostile to his policy he resolved to place them, on purely political grounds, under restrictions of the most galling and indeed unwarrantable character. He attempted to deprive the Church of that legitimate authority without which she could not discharge her functions. He required that Roman Catholic parents should send their children to receive religious instruction from a priest who had been superseded by his bishop. He induced the Reichstag to pass a law restricting the liberty of the pulpit, which caused great bitterness among the Roman Catholics. The priests were excluded by law from the inspection of schools, the Jesuits were expelled the country, and the exercise of ecclesiastical disciplinary power was put under the strict control of the president of the province. All existing places of ecclesiastical education were placed under civil supervision, both as regarded the teachers and the course of teaching. The appointment of every priest was subjected to the civil President or Prefect, so that the clergy were simply made civil functionaries. The

Falk laws, in short, as they were termed, from the Minister by whom they were proposed, deprived the Church of those rights and liberties which are essential to its very existence. They were condemned by the public opinion of Europe, and have completely failed of their effect. At the same time, though Bismarck did not intend to annoy the Protestant Church, the effect of his legislation was to make it the mere creature of the State, dependent upon a Chamber of which more than one-third consisted of Roman Catholics and Jews.

In order to carry through such laws as these the Chancellor was obliged to make concessions to the extreme Liberals on political, social, and economical questions which have proved most prejudicial to the welfare of the country. His legislation on social and economical questions in particular has exercised a very hurtful influence on the life of the German people. The removal of all restrictions on loans has brought usury to a fearful height. The absence of any check on the adulteration of food has opened a flood-gate for the manufacture and open sale of articles of the most deleterious kind. The unlimited liberty granted to joint-stock companies, together with the sudden influx of capital caused by the French indemnity, has led to the formation of gigantic schemes, which in many cases were no better than gross swindles, and of course ended in a ruinous collapse. Wholesale bankruptcies were the natural result of the corruption, falsehood, and venality in which these adventures originated. In the course of six years the number of spirit shops in Prussia was nearly doubled, and the consumption of alcoholic drinks was well-nigh quadrupled. Pauperism in the large cities increased fearfully, and so has crime of every kind, murder included. The charitable institutions are overcrowded with children wilfully abandoned. Depression and discontent prevail everywhere. Pessimism has become rampant in the higher classes, Socialism among the lower, and the country is under-

mined with secret societies. The life of the Emperor has been repeatedly attempted—and on the last occasion he was severely wounded—by emissaries of these societies. Severe penal laws have been passed for the suppression of Socialism, but without success. Measures of a different but still more injudicious character have been proposed by the Chancellor in order to conciliate the working classes, such as a scheme for increased taxation in order to create State funds for benefit societies, for temporary relief in case of sickness, or accident, or loss of work, and for pensions in case of permanent injury and of old age. But all these Socialistic plans have met with keen and persistent hostility on the part of the great mass of the people. The main body of the Liberals, with the Ultramontanes, who unite with them on these questions, and even the Socialists themselves, are of opinion that social evils cannot be removed or alleviated by such means as these. They see clearly that Bismarck's Socialism means at one extremity the pauperizing of the working classes, at the other an enormous increase of that system of centralization of which Germany has more than enough already.

Under the Bismarck system of government the Prussian press is either intimidated or bribed, and Germany has become 'the country where public opinion is fabricated, centralized, and monopolized in the service of the Government and the Exchange.' The independent and honourable newspapers are rigorously prosecuted on the slightest pretext, and especially for any expression of their disapproval of the Chancellor's policy. But bribery and corruption are more potent than even prosecutions in obtaining a paramount influence over the German press. The way in which Bismarck obtained the necessary funds for this purpose is singularly characteristic of the man. The late King of Hanover, previous to the seizure of his dominions by Prussia in 1866, sent a sum of nineteen million thalers from the Treasury

to London, in order to prevent the money from falling into the hands of the invaders. The Prussian Government, in their turn, sequestered the King's private property in Hanover. By the mediation of Lord Stanley an arrangement was agreed to by King George and Bismarck. His Majesty was to restore the money taken from the Hanoverian Treasury, and in return eleven millions were to be invested in Prussian $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents., and another five millions in other securities mutually to be agreed on, the King to receive the interest half-yearly. A treaty to that effect was signed and ratified by the ex-King of Hanover and the King of Prussia, and the Treasury funds were sent back from London and handed to the Prussian authorities. No sooner was this done than Bismarck professed to have discovered a vast Guelphic conspiracy for the restoration of King George to his throne, and he asked, and of course received, the sanction of the Prussian Landstag to retain the sixteen millions, and to employ the interest of the money to 'follow these reptiles into their holes.' Nothing more was heard of the Guelphic conspiracies, but the Prussian Premier, by this ingenious but most disreputable trick, obtained the command of a secret fund of about £100,000 a year, by means of which he has secured the support of a large number of journals, both in Germany and out of it. The advocacy of the financial journals is obtained in a way equally discreditable both to their owners and the Government.

The financial policy of Prussia after the war with France was as unsound and impolitic as its social measures. An attempt was made to obtain for the Government a monopoly of tobacco, but the Commission appointed to consider the proposal reported that it was too impracticable. The scheme for buying up the private Prussian railways fell to the ground as soon as it was launched, and the proposal to settle the fares of all German railways by decree of the Federal Council has also proved a

failure. Bismarck entered into negotiations with the various manufacturing and commercial interests in the country, and ended with producing a tariff which, as was well said of it, 'favoured the great landlords, the ironmasters, and the spinners; and damaged the small proprietors, the textile industry, and all those branches which use half-manufactured articles, the trading and the shipping interest, and all those consumers who live upon fixed salaries and wages.' The result, as might have been foreseen, has been most disastrous to the mercantile industries of the country, and both masters and workmen are suffering severely from this Protectionist legislation.

Prince Bismarck's foreign policy has always been his strongest point. He has shown himself utterly unscrupulous in carrying out his schemes, but they have generally been successful. The mode in which he managed to bring about a reconciliation with Austria, and then to unite that Power and Russia in an alliance with Germany, was a master-stroke of diplomacy. But even in this department he has met with signal discomfiture. He had hoped that France was crushed for at least one generation by the war with Germany, and was greatly alarmed by the astonishing elasticity which she had shown in recovering from her great defeat. He therefore resolved to pick a quarrel with her before her military reorganization was completed. His first step for that purpose was to send a confidential message to Prince Gortschakoff, expressing a hope that, in the event of hostilities with France, which he assumed to be necessary, he might rely on the friendly neutrality of Russia, offering in return to leave her free to execute her projects in the East. To his great disappointment and mortification, his overtures were at once rejected, his brother Chancellor drily remarking that his own information did not lead him to believe in the alleged hostile intentions of France, and that Russia had no intention whatever of disturbing existing arrangements in the East.

Notwithstanding this rebuff, Prince Bismarck did not relinquish his sinister designs against France. The official journals were instructed to indicate that war was in prospect, and that there were 'influential persons in France anxious to prevent the French Republic from being consolidated, and looking forward to an aggressive alliance with Austria and Italy.' Lord Derby, who was at that time Foreign Secretary, in his speech of May 31st, 1875, stated not only that expression was given to these sentiments by the press, but that 'persons of the highest authority and position had said that if war was to be avoided it seemed necessary that the French armaments should be discontinued, and that there seemed good ground to fear that the next step might be a formal request from Germany to France to discontinue arming. Had that request been made it would have been very difficult to preserve peace.'

The Emperor of Germany had been kept entirely ignorant of what was going on, but at this juncture the Russian Ambassador, on his way through Berlin to London, made him aware of Bismarck's designs, and informed him that the British and Russian Cabinets had resolved that they would jointly interfere to prevent war. The Emperor was surprised and alarmed at the information, and declared that he was firmly determined to maintain peace. On the following morning Bismarck had an interview with the Emperor, and when challenged by him for his hostile designs against France, he had the effrontery to declare that there was no truth in the allegation, and that the report had originated with stock-jobbers and Ultramontanes. The Emperor professed to credit his assertions, but he has since kept a vigilant watch over his Chancellor's policy towards France.

The danger of an alliance between Russia and France has always been prominently before the mind of the Prussian Chancellor, and the belief that a friendly understanding had been come to by these two powers was assigned as the reason for the extraordinary

activity displayed in 1879 by all the Prussian military departments. It was stated at that time, on high authority, that if Germany were about to commence immediate hostilities her preparations could not have been more energetic or complete. Altogether, there cannot be less than 1,500,000 in that country constantly withdrawn from industrial pursuits, and converted into mere consumers of the fruits of other men's labours, adding nothing whatever to the national resources. The forcible severance from France of two of her fairest provinces and her two strongest fortresses rankles in the minds of Frenchmen of all classes and of all political parties, and is regarded by the whole nation as an unpardonable injury which, sooner or later, must be avenged and redressed. The well-known existence of this feeling makes it necessary that the German army should be kept up, even in time of peace, on a gigantic war scale. The burden is already too heavy to be borne, and it is growing year by year more oppressive as the national resources are becoming exhausted. The withdrawal of so large a portion of the flower of the people from industrial pursuits must greatly diminish the amount of the fruits of national industry, and cripple the energies of trade and commerce, while, at the same time, it throws an increasingly heavier burden on the rest of the community. The demand for the necessities of life, and the exactions of the tax-gatherer, are augmenting, while the power of production is diminishing. But this is not the only or perhaps the worst evil which the present overgrown military system has entailed upon the country. A calm observer has said of Bismarck, he has increased Germany, but he has lessened the Germans. He has founded a German Empire, but he has lowered the character and intelligence of the German people. Not only is the country drained of its wealth, in order to support the huge army which his policy has rendered a matter of necessity, but the undue importance

attached to the military profession, and the rank assigned to military persons, tend greatly to lower the position of all other professions and pursuits. The prodigious and noxious shade of gigantic military institutions is fatal to the growth and, indeed, to the existence of free political life, and the national energies, violently repressed, are forced into irregular and secret channels, and ultimately find vent in general dissatisfaction, secret associations, conspiracies, and insurrections. It is this state of affairs that has originated those secret societies by which Germany is now honey-combed, and has mainly contributed to the wide diffusion of Socialistic and Democratic opinions among the professional class, as well as among artisans and mechanics, which it is vain to attempt to crush by additional restrictions on the freedom of the press and the expression of public opinion, or to hope to counteract by a Protectionist policy and reconciliation with the Vatican.

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The only effectual remedy for the social discontent which pervades the German people, and especially the Prussian nation, is disarmament, but this it is impossible to undertake, unless the other Continental Governments will mutually agree to reduce their military establishments. National jealousies, however, and selfish and sinister interests, to say nothing of the apprehension of outbreaks among their own subjects, render any such agreement hopeless. Above all, the consciousness that France is only biding her time, and will avail herself of the first favourable opportunity to avenge the humiliation and spoliation which she has suffered at the hands of Prussian statesmen and soldiers, makes the maintenance of a colossal army a matter of absolute necessity on the part of Germany, though her rulers are quite well aware that it is draining her resources, and raising a spirit of deep discontent and insubordination among her people.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Unscrupulous conduct of the Prussian Government—Their attempt to fix a quarrel on Britain—Russia's repudiation of the Treaty with the other European Powers—Connivance with Prussia—Conference of the Powers—Revision of the Treaty—Position of Spain—Assassination of General Prim—Disordered state of the country—Accession to the throne of Queen Isabella's son, Alfonso XII.—Meeting of the General Council at Rome—Its real character—Dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope—Overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Pontiff—Annexation of the Papal States to the Kingdom of Italy—Rome made its capital—Position and behaviour of the Pope—Condition of the United States—Assassination of President Lincoln—Conduct of President Johnston—The 'Carpet-baggers'—Corruption and jobbery in the South—Distressed condition of the Southern States—The 'Ku Klux Klan'—State of the Negro Population—Their gradual improvement—Mormonism—Joseph Smith—His character and fate—Migration of the Mormons to Utah—Causes of the increase of the Mormons—Influence of Polygamy.

It was noted as somewhat ominous that when the war with France was evidently about to have a successful issue, the Prussian Government showed a disposition to quarrel with Britain. The act of supplying belligerents with the means of carrying on hostilities had not hitherto been regarded as a violation of neutrality, and during the Crimean War arms and ammunition had been freely exported from Prussia into Russia. A similar course had been followed during the Franco-German War both by private American traders and even by the War Department at Washington, which had furnished the French with enormous quantities of rifled cannon and ammunition. Not only had no complaint against these proceedings been made by the Prussian authorities, but the North-German Government expressly forbade its consul at New York to interfere with this traffic in arms; and the relations between the Confederation and the United States continued friendly, and even intimate. But a comparatively insignificant exportation of arms from England to France was made the subject of repeated angry protests on the part of the Prussian Foreign Minister. It was difficult to avoid a suspicion that Bismarck had some sinister object in view in thus seeking to fasten a quarrel upon the British Government; and when, in November, 1870, Prince Gortschakoff announced that the Czar intended to repudiate the neutralization of the Black Sea imposed upon Russia by the Treaty of

Paris, no one doubted that Bismarck had been privy to this unprincipled and audacious deed. The prohibition of the maintenance of a Russian fleet and arsenal in the Black Sea was the main condition on which the Allies consented to make peace with Russia at a time when they were in full and absolute possession of that sea and Russia was completely exhausted. The renunciation of a treaty so deliberately made, and in which it was stipulated in express terms that it 'cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the Powers signing it,' was doubly mischievous. It not only renewed the danger of Russian aggression on Turkey, but dealt a severe blow to the faith of all treaties. The pretexts by which Prince Gortschakoff attempted to defend this flagrant breach of international law are unworthy of refutation. The Czar repudiated the obligations under which he had come as the price of peace, simply because he knew that the other parties to the treaty were either not able or not willing at that time to enforce them. Russia prevented Austria and Denmark from taking the side of France in the deadly war which was then raging, and now, in return, Prussia intimated her acquiescence in Russia's violation of the Treaty of Paris. The morality of the two Powers was quite on a par. 'The proceeding of Russia,' observed Earl Granville in his despatch to Sir A. Buchanan, 'annuls all treaties. The object of a treaty is to

bind the contracting parties to each other. According to the Russian doctrine every party submits everything to its own authority, and is only obliged to itself—a principle which is absolutely fatal to the existence and authority of all international contracts. His Lordship forcibly protested on behalf of the British Government against the Russian procedure, reserving the right of opposing any attempt to carry its doctrines into effect; and Austria, Italy, and Turkey united in support of the protest. The unprincipled conduct of Russia excited great indignation throughout the United Kingdom, but the immediate risk of a collision was happily averted by the general adoption of a proposal made by Bismarck that a conference should be held in London to discuss the affair ‘without any foregone conclusion as to its results.’ The Conference assembled on January 17, 1871. It first of all assented to a protocol declaring it to be an essential principle of international law that no State could release itself from the obligations of a treaty unless with the consent of the other contracting Powers. After various meetings and lengthened discussions it agreed (March 13) to a treaty, in which, among other provisions, an article was inserted abrogating the clause for the neutralization of the Black Sea. Permission was at the same time given to the Porte to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Turkish Government should think it necessary to do so in order to insure the execution of the Treaty of 1856. It was entirely out of the question for Britain to have gone to war for the purpose of compelling Russia to observe her treaty obligations; but the result of the Conference tended to weaken the power and to diminish the popularity of the Government.

Although the nomination of a Hohenzollern prince to the Spanish throne had been the spark which kindled hostilities between France and Germany, Spain, ‘like a traveller who has carelessly set an

avalanche in motion, pursued her own course without regard to the distant ruin.’ After an interval the proposal was renewed to offer the crown to Prince Amadeus, second son of Victor Emmanuel, and on the 16th of November the Cortes elected him king by the votes of a considerable majority of the whole number of members. The Republicans were exceedingly indignant at this step, and, with the lawless violence which has so often disgraced Spanish political factions, General Prim was assassinated before the newly-elected monarch could take possession of his throne. All sections of the Liberal party, however, rallied round the Government, and even Admiral Topete, hitherto the strenuous supporter of the Duc de Montpensier, gave it his support. It seemed for a short time as if the rule of the new sovereign were to be acquiesced in by all parties in the kingdom, and his spirited bearing and evident anxiety to identify himself with the Spanish nation appeared to have acquired for him general popularity. But the fierce struggles of the various factions, who made a stable government impossible, were speedily renewed; the insurrection in Cuba required the presence of not less than 80,000 troops to suppress it; and the supporters of Don Carlos once more rose in arms to maintain his pretensions to the crown. Progressists and Moderado Ministries replaced each other in rapid succession, while the Republicans opposed and embarrassed them all impartially, and some of the extreme members of that faction on two different occasions made an attempt on the life of the king. At length Amadeus, finding that his earnest efforts to govern on constitutional principles were completely baffled by factious partisans, abdicated the throne in 1873, and left the country. On his departure the Cortes acceded to the demand of the minority, and proclaimed a Republic. Immediately thereafter the Carlist rising spread and became more formidable. The Republican leaders were quite incapable of preserving order in a country disgraced by incessant disturbances

and savage massacres, and by chronic agitation and insurrections. The Republic, though not formally abolished, was put in abeyance, the Cortes was forcibly dissolved, and a Provisional Government was appointed, under Serrano, which lasted for two years. Another military revolution then took place in 1875, and the captain-general of Madrid suddenly proclaimed the son of Queen Isabella, a youth of seventeen, as king, under the title of Alfonso XII. The nation, though it was not consulted in regard to the matter, willingly acquiesced in the restoration of monarchy. Since the accession of the youthful monarch the Civil War has been brought to a close, and the Republicans have not renewed their agitation for the overthrow of the Constitution. Alfonso has conducted the affairs of his kingdom with moderation and prudence, and under his sway Spain is enjoying peace and prosperity, to which it had long been a stranger.

The annexation of Rome and its territory to the kingdom of Italy may be regarded as to some extent the result of the Franco-German war, and it is somewhat remarkable that within the same year the Papacy should have claimed the possession of the divine prerogative of infallibility, and been deprived of the imperial sovereignty which it had held for a thousand years. On 29th June, 1868, the Pope formally summoned the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church to meet in a General Council, to be held at Rome in December, 1869. The assembly, however, was not entitled to be regarded as a General Council in the sense in which that word was used in the earlier ages of the church, or even in the sense in which it was used at the time when a council was held at Trent. As was pointed out at the time when it was summoned—‘It is not a Council of the old Roman Empire. That is an institution which is dead and buried with the past. It is not a Council in which the laity are represented with the clergy. For the first time it excludes them. It is not a

Council in which all parts of Christendom are represented. The Eastern churches, though invited, have refused to come. The Protestant churches were merely insulted, and have not been invited at all. It is, therefore, a Council of the Latin Church and nothing more.’

The main object for which this assemblage of the prelates of the Latin communion was held was to issue a formal decree proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope, and every precaution was taken that this result should be a foregone conclusion. Somewhat unexpectedly, however, a spirited opposition was offered to this dogma by an able and intelligent minority, composed of the most accomplished English and American bishops; a portion of the French prelates, headed by the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Orleans, mindful of the old principles of the Gallican church; the most learned bishops of Germany and Austria; and the collective hierarchy of Hungary. They demonstrated with unanswerable arguments that the proposition under discussion was directly contradicted by history as well as by reason. But the great majority of the Council were imperious to argument. The Pope had anticipated opposition by largely adding to the number of prelates governing imaginary sees, and the crowd of subservient Italian bishops outnumbered the ecclesiastical representatives of the centres of civilization. The numbers present were the result of a gigantic sham, as the author who wrote under the designation of Pomponio Leto felt constrained to avow:—

‘There were five primates and above 130 archbishops. These, however, had not all the charge of a diocese; and among the patriarchs (none of whom were present) were some who had never in their lives left Rome. There were also a considerable number of archbishops and bishops *in partibus* (all nominated by the Pope), who were not diocesans, and scarcely knew the geographical situation of the territories whence they derived their designations; all these, however, were equally admitted to the Council and allowed to vote. Abbots and generals of orders had also a seat,

together with the power of voting, although without any real claim to that privilege.'

In this way the numbers present at the Vatican Council were swelled and the opposition swamped. Cordial acknowledgments, remunerations, and honours were showered on all who said or did anything in favour of infallibility, while those who were hostile or lukewarm received unmistakable indications that their conduct would not be overlooked. After a lengthened but utterly useless controversy the dissentients were made aware of what they might have known thoroughly from the beginning, that the Pope had set his heart on the acceptance of the dogma by the Council. On 3rd July their leaders held a meeting, in which they finally determined to desist from a contest henceforward useless and possibly dangerous; and when the debate was concluded and the decision given, out of nearly 200 non-contents, only two were found in their places who had the courage to say '*Non placet.*' One of these was a Neapolitan, and the other an American who presided over a see called 'Little Rock.'

The infallibility of the Pope was thus made an article of faith which all Roman Catholics are bound to believe on peril of their salvation. Archbishop Manning, who was rewarded with the rank of cardinal for his indefatigable exertions to induce the Council to adopt this dogma, affirms that the privilege of infallibility is personal, independent, absolute, and distinct.

'It can be circumscribed by no human or ecclesiastical law, and in the exercise of his supreme doctrinal authority he (the Pope) does not depend for the infallibility of his definitions upon the consent or consultation of the episcopate, but only on the Divine assistance of the Holy Ghost.'

'The General of the Jesuits,' says the Abbé Guetter of France, 'governs the Roman Church in the present day, and these Jesuits think it necessary for their plans that the Romanists all over the world should be under the absolute authority of one man whom they can turn to purpose. Accordingly, they have coerced the Council to declare, in the words of Dr. Manning, that the "Pope is the

supreme Judge on earth, and Director of the consciences of men, of the peasant who tills the field and the prince that sits upon the throne." The whole domain of human thought—religious, political, philosophical, scientific—is under his sole control. He stands in precisely the same relation to the family of mankind that Jehovah did of old to the trembling Israelites who encamped at the sacred mountain.*

The decree of the Council respecting the infallibility of the Pope was immediately followed by the downfall of his temporal power. At the commencement of the Franco-German War the Italian Government facilitated the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome by renewing the Convention guaranteeing the Papal territories from invasion. On the collapse of the military power of France, however, and the overthrow of the empire, a great agitation arose in Italy for the acquisition of Rome. It became evident that if the Government refused or delayed to take steps for that purpose the Movement Party would themselves invade the sacred city. The Italian Cabinet, therefore, having been released by the new French Government from engagements respecting the occupation of Rome contracted with the Emperor, induced Victor Emmanuel to take possession of the city on the pretext of protecting the Pope against revolutionary attacks. Accordingly, on the 20th of September a considerable body of Italian troops appeared before the gates of Rome. The

* Mr. Gladstone, in his pamphlet on 'The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance,' endeavours to show that 'since the Pope claims infallibility in faith and morals, and since there are no departments and functions of human life which do not and cannot fall within the domain of morals, and since he claims also the domain of all that concerns the government and discipline of the church, and moreover claims the power of determining the limits of these domains, and does not sever them by any acknowledged or intelligible line from the domains of civil duty and allegiance; therefore every convert and member of the Papal church places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another.' This attack on the decree of the Council led to a keen controversy, in which Cardinals Newman and Manning took part, and endeavoured, with little success, to prove that 'the Vatican Council has left the authority of the Pontiff precisely where it found it.'

Pontiff was by no means grateful for the protection thus thrust upon him, but finding resistance hopeless he prudently directed his troops to make only a formal resistance to the entrance of Victor Emmanuel's forces. A popular vote or *plébiscite* of the citizens declared almost unanimously in favour of annexation, and the Roman State was publicly proclaimed to have become a part of the kingdom of Italy. The Italian Parliament was then dissolved, and a new Assembly confirmed the annexation, and resolved that the seat of government should be transferred to Rome.

It was not to be expected that the Pope should acquiesce in his own dethronement, but he resisted the pressure put upon him by some of his cardinals to leave the city altogether and seek an asylum in some country still faithful to the Papal See. 'Many here counsel me to leave Rome,' he said, 'but where am I to go? There is not one of the Catholic powers that would not after a time find my presence an embarrassment, so that I should have to wander from one country to another; and it is very hard for an old man to turn vagabond.' Pius IX. knew well how hopeless it was to expect that any of the Catholic powers would help him in his hour of need. Spain, the most Catholic country in Europe, had just elected a king out of the family of the monarch who had deprived the Pope of his dominions. To his application for aid Austria had replied by a courteous but decided refusal, and Republican France was more hostile to the Papal authority and pretensions than some countries avowedly Protestant.

The Bill of the Papal Guarantees, which passed through the Italian Parliament in May, defined the position which the dethroned Pontiff was henceforth to occupy towards the kingdom of Italy. His person was declared to be sacred and inviolable, and he was to be received by the authorities with royal honours. He was to have as many guards as he pleased to protect his person and his palace. An annual

allowance was settled upon him of nearly £120,000, free from all rates and taxes. His Holiness was to retain possession of the Vatican, the Lateran, and Castel-Gandolfo, with all their out-buildings and furniture; and the palaces, as well as the libraries and the picture-galleries which they contained, were to be inalienable and free from all imposts. There was to be no restriction on the Pope's correspondence with his bishops and the whole Roman Catholic community, and he was to have a post office and telegraphic service of his own for each of his palaces. All the Papal seminaries, academies, universities, and colleges in Rome and the suburban dioceses were to be solely under his control. With regard to the relations between Church and State, the Government relinquished the privilege which it had hitherto possessed of presenting persons to offices and benefices in the Church, on condition that Italian subjects alone should be appointed. It also declared that the royal sanction should no longer be required to give effect to the decrees of the ecclesiastical authorities, with the exception of those relating to church property. No appeal was henceforth to be allowed against a sentence of the ecclesiastical courts; but on the other hand, the civil authorities were not to be permitted to assist in executing ecclesiastical sentences. In short, the new arrangements realized Count Cavour's memorable scheme of 'a free Church in a free State.'

The Pope was thus placed in a great dilemma by these liberal concessions, which conferred upon him greater authority than he had ever before possessed in the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Italy. He was most reluctant, however, to avail himself of the new powers conceded to him by the Italian Government, and for a time he preferred leaving vacant the sees that fell in to availing himself of the privilege to fill them without any reference to the royal sanction. When he at length held a Secret Consistory for the purpose of filling up the vacant sees in the Italian kingdom, he

availed himself of the opportunity to deliver an 'Allocution' inveighing against the Italian Government, repudiating the Papal Guarantees, and claiming to nominate the bishops, not in virtue of any boon conceded to him by the King of Italy, but by his indefeasible authority as the Vicar of Christ. Pius IX. continued till the close of his long life to confine himself to the Vatican, where he declared he was kept a prisoner by a sacrilegious government, whom he excommunicated and anathematized as 'Pharisees,' 'Philistines,' 'thieves,' 'revolutionists,' 'Jacobins,' 'impious,' 'children of Satan,' and 'enemies of God.'

While continental Europe was thus convulsed by sanguinary wars and agitated by secular and ecclesiastical revolutions, the United States of America were passing through a period of great difficulty and anxiety. Scarcely had the Northern States begun to feel grateful for the termination of the contest which had occupied their undivided attention and absorbed their energies for four years, when they were shocked by the assassination of the man who had presided over the affairs of the country during this protracted and sanguinary struggle. President Lincoln was shot in the theatre at Washington on the night of the 14th April, 1865, by a silly half-crazed actor of the name of J. Wilkes Booth, who it appears had long meditated this crime. On the same night Mr. Seward, who was confined to bed in consequence of an accident, was assailed and dangerously wounded, as were several members of his family, by a person of the name of Payne. Lincoln died next morning, but Seward ultimately recovered of his wounds. Booth and some of his accomplices were pursued and overtaken at a place called Bowling Green, in Caroline county, Virginia, where they had taken refuge in a barn. They refused to surrender, and Booth was killed by 'awkward or timid' officers of justice. Payne was captured, and he and three of his accomplices were tried before a military tribunal, found guilty, and hanged on the 7th of July. The only other

person who suffered capital punishment was a Captain Wirtz, the keeper of the Confederate military prison at Andersonville. He had under his charge a number of Federal prisoners of war, whom he was accused of having treated with revolting cruelty. He was tried by a military commission at Washington, and was found guilty, sentenced to death, and hanged in the early part of November.

The assassination of President Lincoln caused deep sorrow not only in the United States but throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain, where he was held in high esteem for the simplicity of his character, his straightforwardness, and integrity. The object which he had kept steadily in view throughout the struggle between the North and South was the maintenance of the Union, to which all other matters were subordinated. On more than one occasion he endeavoured to negotiate a peace on condition that the war should terminate; and it was well understood that an amnesty, without exception, would be offered to the Confederate chiefs. His untimely death at the termination of the contest by the hand of a wretched assassin, who combined 'the kindred characters of an unprincipled zealot and a histrionic charlatan,' was regarded with universal sorrow.

Mr. Andrew Johnston, Vice-President, on the death of Mr. Lincoln, assumed, according to constitutional law, the vacant office of President. Great distrust was felt towards him by the advocates of a peaceful and moderate policy. He was the only prominent Southern and slave-holder who had opposed secession, and he had in consequence suffered personally during the war. In his former office as Military Governor of Tennessee he had shown, in his maintenance of Federal authority, a high-handed disregard of the laws of the country, and he entered upon his new career in a manner calculated to raise a strong prejudice against him. One of his first acts was to issue a proclamation charging President

Davis and other members of his Government with being accomplices in the murder of President Lincoln, and offering large rewards for their apprehension. Davis was in consequence pursued with great alacrity, and was captured at Irwinsville, in Georgia, on the 10th of May. He was conveyed to Fort Monroe, where he was kept a close prisoner for some time, but was subsequently set at liberty.

A number of the extreme Republicans, such as Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens, demanded that the Confederate States should be treated as a conquered country, and that General Lee and other leaders of the Southern party should be brought to trial and executed; but General Grant interposed, and insisted that the capitulation should be maintained inviolate. The restored Union was thus saved from the great crime which her chief magistrate meditated in the newness of his power, and in his desire to obtain revenge for the sufferings and terrors which the country had endured. President Johnston after a time became more moderate in his demands, and devoted his energies not to the punishment of enemies, but their conversion into friends. He did not persist in his proposal to confiscate the estates of the richer Southern proprietors for the purpose of effecting, by the subdivision of land and the immigration of Northern settlers, a social as well as political revolution. He invited the Southern States to resume their position in the Union, and the performance of their Federal rights and duties, on terms which, though unpalatable to them, were on the whole not unjust. He required from State Conventions and Legislatures the repudiation of the ordinance of Secession and of the Confederate debt, the abolition of slavery and protection for the freedmen, and the adoption of the constitutional amendment by which slavery was to be prohibited throughout the Union.

Very serious difficulties had to be encountered in the reconstruction of the Union. The President and Congress differed widely in their views as to the manner in which

this should be accomplished, and the Republican majority became at last so hostile to his policy that they brought forward an impeachment against him, which, however, they were compelled to abandon. Actuated by a vindictive feeling towards the Southern aristocracy, they passed, over the veto of the President, a series of Acts providing for the assembling of a Constituent Convention, to be elected by universal suffrage, but excluding all persons who had taken an active part in the civil or military service of the Confederacy, thus enfranchising the negroes and disfranchising their late masters. The consequence of this enactment was that in nearly all the States the Conventions were elected by negro majorities, and that their leadership fell into the hands of 'carpet-baggers'—penniless adventurers from the Northern States, who were supposed to carry all their worldly goods in their carpet-bags, and who flocked to the South as mere seekers of fortune, 'with philanthropy on their lips and hopes of plunder in their hearts.' These unscrupulous adventurers had no difficulty in gaining the confidence of the negroes, and by means of their votes succeeded in getting into office and obtaining the control of the legislature. Their main object was, of course, to enrich themselves out of the State funds, and they availed themselves to the utmost of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them. The result was the transference to the South of the worst practices of the Tammany Ring in New York. 'Each State was ruled by a corrupt knot of obscure politicians, who amassed fortunes in a few months by embezzlement, by bribe-taking, and by the sale of offices, of influence, and of contracts. Corruption managed the Legislatures, prevailed in the State Houses, and sat on the bench of justice; while jobbery, collusion, and vulgar fraud wasted the finances and swelled the public expenditure. Half the proceeds of taxation never reached the State treasury, subsidies granted to railways went into the pockets of the "rings," the railways

contracted for remained unmade, and loans subscribed were stopped on the way to the relief of the State necessities. To keep up the system debt was heaped upon debt and tax upon tax, until the taxpayer, in multitudes of instances, allowed his land to go out of cultivation from sheer inability to meet the ever-increasing demands thus poured in upon him.' A Mississippi planter told the Committee of Congress that it took his whole crop of cotton in 1871 to pay his taxes. In Kershaw county, South Carolina, with a population of 11,000, tax executions were issued in 3600 cases. It was officially stated that in two years nearly 1,250,000 dollars had been paid out of the State treasury for which no vouchers could be found, while the expenditure on 'offices and salaries,' which amounted to 123,800 dollars in 1860, had become 581,640 dollars in 1871. The disbursements of the South Carolina treasury exceeded its revenue by 170,683 dollars. In all the Southern States, except Virginia and Tennessee, the State debts had enormously increased under the administration of these Northern adventurers. Alabama owed 5,000,000 dollars in 1866; it owed 24,000,000 dollars in 1872. North Carolina was 'reconstructed' in 1868; its debt was then 24,000,000 dollars—10,000,000 dollars more than it was in 1860. In four years it had grown to 34,000,000 dollars.

The devastated state of the South at the close of the war greatly aggravated the burden of taxation thus imposed upon it to fill the pockets of the 'carpet-baggers.' Mr. Somers, an Englishman, who spent several months in 1870 and 1871 in a tour of observation in the Southern States, says that in the magnificent valley of the Tennessee he found, even at that time, nearly six years after the close of the war—

'Burned-up gin-houses, ruined bridges, mills and factories, of which latter the gable-walls only are left standing, and large tracts of once-cultivated land stripped of every vestige of fencing. The roads, long neglected, are in disorder, and have in many places become impassable; new tracts

have to be made through the woods and fields, without much respect to boundaries. Borne down by losses, debts, and accumulating taxes, many who were once the richest among their fellows have disappeared from the scene, and few have yet risen to take their place. This unhappy valley is no exception; all over the South the same ruin is spread. The commercial ruin is even worse. The mere money loss in the abolition of slavery was £400,000,000 sterling, though the loss was one by which civilization and humanity have gained. The banking capital, estimated at £200,000,000, was swamped in the extinction of all profitable banking business, and finally in a residuary flood of worthless Confederate money. The whole insurance capital of the South—probably £100,000,000 more—also perished. The well-organized cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations, mills, factories, coal and iron mines, and commercial and industrial establishments, built up by private capital, the value of which in millions of pounds sterling cannot be computed—all sank and were engulfed in the same war.'

The census returns of the value of property in 1870, as compared with 1860, place in a very striking light the enormous losses inflicted on the Southern States by the war. The value of Virginia and West Virginia was 657,021,336 dollars in 1860; it had sunk to 480,800,267 dollars in 1870. South Carolina had diminished in taxable value during the ten years from 489,319,128 dollars to 174,409,491 dollars. Mississippi stood at a valuation of 509,427,912 dollars in the year before the war; four years after the war it was valued at only 154,635,527. Louisiana fell to about half its former valuation; Florida to less than half; Georgia to less than one-third. Mr. Wells, special commissioner of revenue, estimated the direct expenditure and loss of property by the Confederate States, in consequence of the war, at 2,700,000,000 dollars. He gives the following description of the condition in which the South was left:—

'In 1865 this section of our country, which in 1860 represented nearly one-third of the entire population and (omitting the value of the slaves) nearly two-sevenths of the aggregate wealth of the nation, found itself, as the result of four years' civil war, entirely prostrate, without industry,

without tools, without money, credit, or crops; deprived of local self-government, and to a great extent of all political privileges; the flower of its youth in the hospitals or dead upon the battlefield; with society disorganized, and starvation imminent or actually present.'

No wonder that in these circumstances the Southerners bitterly resented the treatment they received from conventions elected by the votes of the coloured freedmen, and ruled by greedy, grasping, and thoroughly unprincipled Northern adventurers. The veterans of Lee's victorious armies would have made short work with the 'carpet-baggers' had they been left with only negroes to back them, but as these men had been put in their places by the military governors appointed directly from Washington, it was to the politicians at the capital that they looked for support. The enormous sums of which these adventurers plundered the Southerners enabled them always to get matters settled to their entire satisfaction.

Whenever any 'carpet-bag' ring wanted additional authority to keep down the whites, or felt apprehensions on account of the scandal occasioned abroad by some nefarious transaction in which it had been engaged, a deputation from the Republican party in the State managed by the ring in question at once repaired to Washington, and by means of backstairs influence and bribery it almost always obtained its desires. Subjection to the domination of men of this class at length drove the Southerners out of all patience, and as soon as the Federal forces were reduced secret societies, known as 'Ku Klux Klan,' sprang up all over the South, and perpetrated the most atrocious outrages upon the negroes and such 'carpet-baggers' as fell into their power. The members of this secret organization, by moving in considerable bodies at night, clad in a peculiar costume and executing a wild justice, spread alarm both among Federal soldiers and negroes. When out on these expeditions they wore a uniform of black calico, called a 'shroud,'

and a long tapering hat, with a black veil over the face, completed the disguise. The secret of the membership was kept with remarkable fidelity. In no instance was a member of the Ku Klux successfully arraigned or punished, though their acts often flew right in the face of the reconstructed authorities, and were not in any sense legal.

'The overt acts of the Ku Klux,' says Mr. Somers, 'consisted, for the most part, of the disarming of dangerous negroes, the infliction of Lynch law on notorious offenders, and, above all, in the creation of one feeling of terror as a counterpoise to another. . . . A real terror reigned for a time among the white people, and in this situation the Ku Klux started into being. It was one of those secret organizations which spring up in disordered states of society, when the bonds of law and government are almost dissolved, and when no confidence is felt in the regular administration of justice. But the power with which the Ku Klux moved in many parts of the South, the knowledge it displayed of all that was going on, the fidelity with which its secret was kept, and the complacency with which it was regarded by the general community, gave this mysterious body a prominence and an importance seldom attained by such illegal and deplorable associations.'

In its later days the Ku Klux became a mere engine of robbery and violence, and remains of it were to be found for some time in the bands of robbers who infested the swamps and forests of North Carolina.

The most difficult part of the task which the close of the war imposed upon the authorities of the United States was the reorganization of the system of labour in the South, and the protection of and provision for 4,500,000 slaves suddenly transformed into freemen. The war had been waged not in the interest of the slaves, but for the preservation of the Union, and it was not until it was seen that this object could not be otherwise attained that slavery was abolished. In consequence, during the early years of the war, no arrangements were made for the support of the negroes who, whenever a Northern army appeared, sought refuge within its lines. At first they were most frequently repelled by the

commanders, most of whom were supporters of slavery, and were unwilling to give any countenance to the agitation for its abolition. The miserable creatures, thus driven away, died in thousands from want and disease, till their sufferings becoming matter of public scandal the Government was obliged to adopt measures for their relief. Congress established, as a temporary measure, the 'Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands,' to watch over the interests of the freedmen in the Southern States; to protect them in the exercise of all their civil rights; to feed and clothe them, find them work, superintend the contracts between them and their employers, and to enforce their execution on either side. This arrangement was attended with the most beneficial effects. At first, indeed, the freedmen, excited by the discussions which were going on about them, and stimulated by interested appeals from 'carpet-baggers,' were not disposed to work for hire. Cherishing some vague notions that they were now to become masters where they had hitherto been slaves, they made excessive and most unreasonable demands for wages, which it was impossible to satisfy; and 'they had to learn, by bitter experience, that the difference between slavery and freedom was simply that they might choose their own work, and select their masters, and own the proceeds of their labour.' In no long time the great body of the emancipated negroes settled down steadily to work. It was not to be expected that they would all at once toil with the zest and energy of freemen; but though the old stimulus of the overseer and his lash was wanting they soon began to feel the higher stimulus of reward. The pressure of necessity compelled them, in the first instance, to labour in order to live, and they gradually came under the influence of the higher motives arising out of their new condition. They learned, though slowly, to take care of themselves; to get rid of their improvident habits, and to cherish the feelings of independence and self-respect. Their desire to

own a mule and cart, or a house, or a strip of land, and to make a provision for sickness and old age, and for their families in case of death, contributed to make them work industriously and save money. In the course of five or six years a very large proportion of the deposit accounts in savings banks in the South were kept by negroes. It soon became evident that the productions of free labour were superior to those of slave labour. Mr. Wells, in his official report in 1872, says—'The new cotton is far superior in cleanliness, strength, and uniformity of fibre and absence of waste to any ever before sent to market; while a new variety, originating in Mississippi—"the *Peeler*"—has been introduced and brought to market, which commands a price from 25 to 30 per cent. higher than gram-seed cotton of the same grade, because of superior staple.'

The planters also have been under the necessity of adapting themselves to their new position as the employers, not the owners, of their labourers. The increasing demand for the rice, sugar, and tobacco, and especially for the cotton, grown in the greatest abundance in the Southern States, has enormously increased the demand for labourers to cultivate the soil; and those who need the services of the negro, and employ him, have learned in time to appreciate his good qualities and to exercise a good deal of kindly patience towards his bad ones. The large planters are dependent almost entirely on negro labour, and as they have no longer the lash at command to stimulate the indolent and careless, they have been obliged to adopt other and very different means to induce their hands to work. The system generally adopted is that of partnership between master and workmen in the products of the soil. The labourer receives as his wages half the cotton he picks or the corn he grows, and in addition has a free cottage, abundance of wood from the estate for fuel and for building his corn-cribs and out-houses. He is also allowed to keep hogs

and milch cows and young cattle, which roam and feed with the same right as those of the proprietor of the estate, and free of charge. In some districts the share system takes two forms—one-third of the crop with rations, one-half the crop without rations. Under this new social organization it is not surprising that there should have arisen a class of negro tenant-farmers and negro small landed proprietors, who, along with shopkeepers, teachers, and preachers, may be expected in time to form a negro middle class.

One of the most gratifying proofs of the elevation of the class of freedmen is the great increase in the numbers of their schools, teachers, and scholars. 'A surprising thirst for knowledge,' says General Howard, 'is manifested by the coloured people; children give earnest attention and learn rapidly, and the adults, after the day's work, often devote the evening to study.' In ten years the attendance of coloured persons at school had increased in Alabama from 114 to 15,185; in Arkansas, from 5 to 5784; in Louisiana the increase was from 275 to 11,076, and in South Carolina from 365 to 16,865.

Returning prosperity to the South, increasing trade, and communication with the North and with Europe, have all contributed to induce the planters to adapt themselves to their new position. In the course of time, after many fierce conflicts between the Republican and Democratic parties, the extensive and vindictive disfranchisements and disqualifications inflicted on all who in any way had given aid or countenance to the Confederate struggle were abolished. Roads, railways, and canals were repaired, ruined towns and villages were rebuilt, the desolate battlefields were covered with crops, and the outward traces of the long and sanguinary contests were effaced. But the moral and social effects of this convulsion are still visible, and in some instances are keenly felt. The Northern States took a most unfair advantage of their victory to establish

a prohibitory tariff, which imposes an overwhelming burden on the industry of the South. The planter is compelled to pay an exorbitant price for everything he requires—for his clothes, his tools, his household goods, his manures, his coal—in order that a few manufacturing 'interests' in the North may obtain large profits. Northern trade is protected at the expense of Southern agriculture. Mr. Somers says, that 'while cotton can be bought at Liverpool at 3 or 4 cents. per lb. above its price on the plantations, anything from Liverpool can only be bought on the plantations at 200 or 300 per cent. above its value there. One planter stated that there was not a negro on his cotton-growing estate who could afford to wear a cotton shirt, so expensive a luxury does protection make such an article of clothing. A pair of coarse negro boots—one of the cheapest articles in the stores—is charged five dollars.' The planters further complain that, in order to compete with new rivals in the market, they have to sell their cotton cheap, while they have to buy everything dear, and yet out of the small margin of profit thus left there is a vast taxation to pay. The direct taxes alone amount to one-fourth of a merchant's income. In these circumstances it is no wonder that discontent and irritation prevail everywhere throughout the South.

'The dissatisfaction of the country folks of South Carolina (and it was the same elsewhere) with the present state of the Government of the United States is palpable enough. They exclaim bitterly against the corruption which prevails in public life. They are utterly opposed to the high tariff on European goods, looking on it simply as a means of plundering the cultivators of soil in the South and West for the benefit of Northern manufacturers, overgrown, they say, in wealth and adepts in bribery and lobby-rolling. They point to the enormous prices of goods sold in the Southern towns, and long for the growth of manufactures among themselves, and the direct importation of foreign goods into their own seaports.'

The injustice which the Protectionist tariff inflicts on the South is greatly aggravated by the knowledge that the system

owes its origin and support not merely to the short-sighted selfishness of Northern politicians, but also and largely to the expenditure of vast sums of money by the protected 'interests' in bribing members of Congress and purchasing backstairs influence. The establishment of the system of 'lobbying' is undoubtedly one of the greatest evils that has sprung out of the Civil War, which, by its lavish expenditure and by placing supreme power in the hands of very worthless and corrupt men, has materially contributed to bring about a state of things that is eating like a cancer into American society. The whole revenue system of America became a mass of corruption, as the evidence taken before the American courts of justice, in some memorable cases, proved beyond the possibility of contradiction. The national treasury was plundered of at least £10,000,000 per annum by the notorious 'whisky ring,' which pursued systematically the business of deceiving or corrupting the Government officials. Nor was this an isolated case. 'The frauds in tobacco, fermented liquors, and coal-oil were believed to be relatively greater than those on distilled spirits. According to universal agreement, little more than half the internal taxes were now collected, while of the other half two-thirds probably went into the pocket of the fraudulent dealer, in order that the public might save the other third.' In these circumstances it need excite no surprise that the head of the most important service in the Government should calmly accuse his subordinates in a mass of being in collusion with thieves. The charge was not denied, and though no member of Congress, and indeed 'no man in the United States doubted its truth, yet nothing was done to correct this evil, which in England would have cost the strongest ministry its office, and the largest parliamentary majority its seats.

'Nor was it only in the national service that venality showed itself superior to Government and more powerful than law. The great corporations, whose wealth and

power were now extending beyond limits consistent with the public interest, found no difficulty in buying whatever legislation they wanted from the State Legislatures, and whatever justice they required from the elective judiciary of New York. The frauds and embezzlement in the management of the affairs of the city of New York were even more scandalous than those connected with Congress and the Executive. The taxation of one of the worst managed cities in the world amounts to about six millions a year, and three-fourths of that sum have been embezzled and squandered.'

In this necessarily very brief sketch of the condition of the United States after the great Civil War the remarkable Mormon organization cannot be passed over without notice. The tale has been often told, and is familiar to everyone, of the early history of this religious imposture—how Joseph Smith, a member of a family in Manchester (United States), notorious for 'indolence, foolery, and falsehood,' whose 'whole object in life was to live without work,' pretended to have found a sacred book with gold plates containing a divine revelation, which his own father-in-law declared to have been 'got up for speculation, and in order that the fabricators might live upon the spoils of the credulous.' There was, indeed, a combination of worldly schemes and spiritual pretensions through the whole of Smith's religious system. Thus he entitles himself, in one edition of the 'Book,' 'President, seer, translator, prophet, apostle, and elder of the Church of Latter-day Saints throughout the earth, dealer in town lots, temples, merchandisc, bank stock, and prairie lands, retailer of books, stationery, caps, letters, post and wrapping paper, and general of Nauvoo militia.' Thus the Great Temple was built 'for the glory of God, for all the kings of the earth to take refuge in,' and 'guaranteed to pay 5 per cent. to all the shareholders' in the edifice. Smith was certainly not a person of any moral

or intellectual eminence; but it is only fair to state that his honesty and fair dealing in business matters were unimpeachable. He was put upon his trial for numerous charges thirty-nine times before various tribunals, which could have no interest in treating him with favour, or even with mercy, and was uniformly acquitted. But though the charge of complicity in assassination and other criminal accusations were not established, those of voluptuousness, sensuality, and unscrupulousness were clearly proved.

As Mormonism took up an extra-legal unnatural position it was extremely unpopular among all classes, and its adherents received outrageous and ruffianly treatment from the populace of the different localities in which they attempted to settle. At last Smith obtained a location at Nauvoo from the State of Illinois, and there assumed an authority above the government and the laws of the country, decided all cases by a tribunal which was composed of seven of his adherents, and afforded an asylum to criminals who had escaped from the hands of justice in other parts of the United States. In 1844 he had no fewer than 10,000 devotees under his authority, who regarded his commands as the words of God. In that year he offered himself as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The number of his adherents steadily increased, and converts began to flow in from Europe. His imperious and arbitrary authority roused opposition even in Nauvoo, especially of those who had apostatized from the body. One of these men set up a newspaper at Nauvoo, and Smith, enraged at its attacks, in his capacity as mayor suppressed the paper and destroyed the printing-presses. The people in the vicinity of the settlement were roused to fury at this attack on the liberty of the press, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Carthage prepared to march on the Mormons with arms and artillery. Smith proclaimed martial law, but was persuaded to submit to the authorities at

Carthage, and under their guardianship he and his brother Hyrum were foully murdered by the populace on the 27th of June, 1844.

During the three years of persecution which followed this outrage the Mormons were compelled for safety to live as a military encampment, and endured great suffering and loss of life. They at length resolved to seek a new location in a district where they could be completely isolated from their fellow-creatures. One hundred and forty pioneers were sent out from Nauvoo in search of a future Eden, and were followed by the advanced guard of 4000 persons, headed by Brigham the Seer, who arrived at the Great Salt Lake on the 24th of July, 1847. In this valley, defended by sterile volcanic passes, and girt by vast waterless deserts 1000 miles on the one side and 600 on another from any settled country, the Mormons established their new settlement of Utah. In no long time this tract of land, which, whitened by an alkaline crust when they chose it as their refuge from persecution, bore little vegetation but the sage bush, and even old trappers promised to give 1000 dollars for every ear of corn that should be grown on it, was converted by their skilful organization and unremitting industry into a terrestrial Eden, where ninety-three bushels of corn were produced by a single acre. In the course of twenty years no fewer than 150,000 souls were settled in the City of the Salt Lake.

The hope of the Mormons, however, that they would be allowed to enjoy a kind of monastic existence in this secluded spot, was doomed to disappointment. The discovery of gold in California transformed their solitude into the great midway station between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. Tens of thousands of adventurers, many of them daring and unscrupulous, made Utah their temporary halting-place, and it required all the efforts of their chief and prophet, though armed with despotic power, to keep his subjects submissive to

his authority, and to prevent the inroads of the 'Gentiles' on the harems of the saints. A system of terrorism was established for this purpose, which was carried out by a band of ruffians at the command of the prophet. Shocking stories were told of the deeds perpetrated by them, and there is good reason to believe that assassinations of refractory disciples were of frequent occurrence.

The continued increase of the Mormon population is supplied, not by the United States, but by emigrants from Europe, who are in the proportion of ten to one of the native Americans. A considerable number come from Denmark and Switzerland, but England and Wales furnish by far the largest proportion. No fewer than ten Mormon 'branches' or congregations assemble every Sunday in London for religious worship, and they have numerous agents throughout the country, especially in Wales, who carry on the work of recruiting with great zeal and no inconsiderable success. Their converts chiefly belong to a section of the working classes who are low in social position, and are possessed of little knowledge, either secular or sacred. The inducements which Mormons hold out are artfully adapted to the character and condition of the agricultural population and the lower, or at least the more ignorant, grade of artisans, and are rather of an economical than a religious character. The practical advantages which they secure to the intending emigrant are not without their influence. It is certain that no ships under the provisions of the 'Passengers Act' afford such safe and comfortable accommodation as those under the administration of the Mormon agents. Instead of being exposed, like the ordinary emigrant, to all the annoyances and discomforts of a heterogeneous crowd during the voyage, and to the frauds and overcharges of the land-sharks the moment they touch the American shore, these converts live in the Mormon ship like one family, under firm yet kindly discipline, with every provision

for comfort, decorum, and internal peace. On their arrival in the New World they are welcomed by members of the confraternity, who have made all arrangements for their safe journey to their promised home. As they all bring with them some money or goods, these proselytes add to the wealth as well as to the industrial power of the Utah population.

With regard to the doctrines of the Mormons, the nonsense of the golden plates and the tables of the law seems now to be kept out of sight by the Prophet and the elders. Even the 'Book of Mormon,' which was compiled by Joseph Smith, has been to a considerable extent superseded by the 'Book of Doctrine and Covenants,' issued in 1841—an authorized collection of new revelations to explain and amplify the doctrine in the course of growth. One curious feature of this book is its distinct condemnation of polygamy. 'We believe,' it says, 'that one man should have one wife and one woman but one husband, except in the case of death, when either is at liberty to marry again.' The repudiation of this tenet of the revealed Mormon faith is no doubt so far borne out by the principle enunciated in 1856, that 'the knowledge and faith of the Church have greatly increased through the revelation of more advanced doctrines in the Gospel.'

Though the revelation sanctioning a plurality of wives was said to have been given to Joseph Smith in July, 1841, it was not until August, 1852, that it was solemnly published by his successor, Brigham Young, in the tabernacle at Great Salt Lake City. 'Without the doctrine this revelation makes known to us,' he said, 'no man could raise himself high enough to become a god.' From that time forth polygamy has taken its place among Mormon institutions without dispute or contradiction, and doubtless is the main source of attraction to a certain class of converts. The practice of indulging in a plurality of wives soon became general, and within six years of the promulgation

of the decree there were nearly 400 families in Utah containing seven or more wives, and few having only one. With regard to the moral influence of this system no better authority can be adduced than that of the late Mr. Horace Greely. In a lecture delivered at New York, giving the result of his personal observations at Utah, he dwelt at length on the curses being rapidly developed by the great social evil of the Mormons' polygamy, and while he characterized the people as industrious and peaceful, and did not question their honesty in the profession of their peculiar doctrines, he saw, he believed, in this vice alone the sure evidences of confusion and ultimate ruin.

'Talk of love!' he said; 'no man that was not stone-blind, who saw the stone walls that inclosed the prison-houses of the women, could assume that there was love among these people. It was safe-bind safe-find, the necessary law of such relations. Every day further developed the truth of this. The wealthy were building higher walls. It was but a repetition of the system which had proved the downfall of so many nations, and in Utah, as in these, either polygamy will be abolished or there will be many a bloody struggle. He had met there the son of one who had been a wealthy merchant in New York, and an alderman when that position was not synonymous with robber. The son was not as wealthy as the father had been. He had two wives nevertheless; one of them was the daughter of the other. The affair was looked upon quite as a matter of course by the saints, and he supposed worked as well as the three-cornered affair could be expected to behave itself, until he went home one day and found the young one had disappeared. She had not been heard of when he [the lecturer] had left, nor did he presume he had since recovered her. She preferred, no doubt, the favours which were not divided with her mother.

He had also, even among the bishops, met several not over-happy in their marital relations; one who had among his wives two of his nieces, another whose two wives (he was modest) never spoke to each other on any occasion, which made the house rather awkward to visitors. Only imagine [said the lecturer] a family of twelve children with four or five mothers; to bring them up in one house you have as fair a start for hell as you can well imagine. Ten years of such a purgatory would make a man long for the sound of Gabriel's trumpet.'

A system created by priestly despotism, and founded on a gross perversion of moral principle, is not likely to be of long duration. An open schism in opposition to it has been made by one of Joseph Smith's sons, and as might have been expected, the 'Josephites' are more obnoxious to the saints than the Gentiles are. An impression exists in the Republican party that the strong arm of the State should be invoked to put down polygamy, if not Mormonism itself. But unless the righteous indignation of the people on the one hand, and the imperious conduct of the Mormon despots on the other, should provoke a collision, the probability is that the policy of the more moderate party will continue to be followed—'to await and guide the natural causes which are operating to the overthrow of polygamy and the submission of the Mormon aristocracy; to maintain a sufficient military force to keep the peace and to protect the "Gentiles" in that freedom which the Mormons themselves offer to all settlers; to remove all Federal officers who practise polygamy; and for the rest to trust to the influence of free immigration, public opinion, Christian missions, and the Pacific railroad.'

CHAPTER XIV.

Death of Earl Derby—The Irish Land Tenure System—Mr. Gladstone's Land Bill—The English Education Bill—Dissatisfaction of the Nonconformists—Scheme for the reconstruction of the Army—Abolition of the Purchase System by Royal Warrant—Opposition of the House of Lords—Their censure of the Ministry—The *Alabama* Question—Abortive attempts to settle it—Commissioners sent to America—Treaty of Washington—Indirect claims of the United States—Geneva Convention—Decision of the Arbitrators unfavourable to Britain—Diminishing popularity of the Government—The Irish University Bill—Its rejection—Rearrangement of the Ministry—Dissolution of Parliament—Defeat of the Government—Their resignation—Formation of a new Ministry.

THE disestablishment of the Irish Church was not the only important measure relating to Ireland which Mr. Gladstone's Government intended to bring forward. The Premier at once prepared to deal with the Irish land system. In directing his energies to this much-needed reform he had no longer to encounter the formidable opposition of the leader of the Conservative party. Lord Derby died on the 23rd of October, 1869. His death made no great blank in public affairs, for he had virtually retired from active life on making over the premiership of his Ministry to Mr. Disraeli. His career had been energetic and influential, but he had no pretensions to the character of a statesman. In the earlier period, while he was colleague of Earl Grey, he carried the emancipation of the West Indian slaves, he established national education in Ireland, and by the abolition or amalgamation of several bishoprics he dealt the first blow to the Irish Church, of which he was the most strenuous defender. He was on the eve of becoming the leader of the Liberal party when he deserted its ranks, and after an interval became a member of Sir Robert Peel's second ministry. He was three times Prime Minister of a Conservative administration, and yet, in order, as he said, to 'dish the Whigs,' he became the instrument of passing a much more democratic Reform Bill than the Liberal party had ventured to propose. His debating powers were of the highest order, and Macaulay said of him that his knowledge of the science

of parliamentary defence resembled an instinct. The prominent features of his oratory are very happily described in 'The New Timon'—

'The brilliant chief, irregularly great,
Frank, haughty, rash—the Rupert of debate !
Nor gout nor toil his freshness can destroy,
And time still leaves all Eton in the boy.

Yet who not listens with delighted smile
To the pure Saxon of that silver style.'

'His charge is irresistible,' said Disraeli; 'but when he has driven the force directly opposed to him off the field, he returns to find his camp in the possession of the enemy.' He was a very formidable antagonist and a desperately hard hitter, as O'Connell and Shiel found to their cost; and his readiness, especially in reply, his remarkable fluency, the appropriateness as well as purity of his language, and the felicity of his illustrations and retorts, obtained for him a place in the front rank of the parliamentary orators of his day. His speeches have, however, not obtained a permanent place in political literature, and are already neglected and forgotten. His eminent abilities, playful humour, and genial disposition, along with his extensive estates and illustrious ancestry, made him admirably fitted for the position which he held, from the death of the Duke of Wellington till the time of his own decease, as the leader of the Conservative aristocracy of England, and the fit representative both of its good qualities and its defects.

Mr. Gladstone, during his electioneering campaign in Lancashire, had declared that

the Irish Upas-tree had three great branches—the State Church, the Land Tenure System, and the System of Education—and that he intended to hew them all down if he could. Having effected the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he now proceeded to deal with the Irish tenure of land, which had always been in a most unsatisfactory state. Various remedies had been proposed, and various efforts had been made to bring about a settlement of this much-vexed question, but none of them had given general satisfaction, or had been carried to a successful issue. The Irish agitators had painted ‘landlordism,’ as they called it, in the most odious colours, and they wrote and spoke as though there were no such things as good landlords or bad tenants in Ireland. Impartial and trustworthy persons who visited that country with the special object of ascertaining its true condition affirmed that they had found not a few tenants ‘so impoverished, so ignorant, so unimproving that their presence on a well-managed English estate would not be tolerated for six months.’ On the other hand, Mr. M’Lagan, member for Linlithgowshire, says—‘The class of noblemen and gentlemen owners of extensive estates generally show more consideration—I should say indulgence—for tenants on their estates than on almost any estate in England and Scotland. The farms are low-rented and the tenants contented, though they are only tenants from year to year. In many cases the tenants are now assisted in all permanent improvements; perhaps in some instances this is carried too far. . . . I do not say there are no bad landlords in Ireland. I know some cases of cruel oppression, and in legislating we should put it out of the power of a bad landlord to perpetrate injustice, cruelty, and oppression.’

Mr. Gladstone’s object was to put an end to cases of this kind, and to protect the tenants against the oppression of bad landlords and their agents. The possession of land was the only means of living to a

large portion of the Irish people. The need of it was therefore so vital that a rent was constantly offered which the tenants could never pay. Hence the arrears of rent accumulated to an enormous amount, and as a matter of course evictions, followed by outrage and murder, were of frequent occurrence. The return of evictions moved for by the Earl of Belmore showed that between 1861 and 1871 there had been in all Ireland 37,164 ejectments, of which two-thirds were for non-payment of rent. Various remedies were proposed for this great evil. ‘My plan,’ said Daniel O’Connell, ‘is that no man shall be a tenant for less than twenty-one years.’ It was alleged by some that a secured tenure for not less than thirty-one years would be practically a set-off against all claims on the landlord at the end of the lease for any improvements voluntarily executed during its term. Fixity of tenure was a general demand, by which one class meant only ‘a title to fair compensation to the tenant on the part of the landlord when the tenant may be leaving a holding that he has improved.’ The great majority, however, who used this cry meant by fixity of tenure ‘the right of occupiers to hold their farms for ever at a fixed rent, and to sell or bequeath their interest subject to certain conditions.’ Mr. Gladstone resolved to follow a middle course, and to confer upon the tenants throughout Ireland a legal right, founded on and closely resembling the privilege which custom has secured to the Ulster farmers. In that province a system had grown up, that had gradually acquired something like the force of law, under which a tenant was allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of his holding so long as he paid his rent. He was also entitled, on giving it up, to compensation for unexhausted improvements, and was at liberty to sell the ‘goodwill’ of his farm to the incoming tenants. Mr. Gladstone’s Bill legalized this custom, and made it universal. A tenant ejected from his farm was entitled to claim compensation for his improvements, and the tribunal

established for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the measure was authorized to take into consideration not merely the legal, but the equitable, conditions of each case. The Bill passed through both Houses of Parliament after a long discussion, but with comparatively little opposition, and received the royal assent on August 1, 1870.

The establishment of a system of education for England was the next great achievement of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry. The state of elementary education in England was extremely discreditable both to the Government and the nation. While Scotland, a comparatively poor and small nation, had possessed an efficient system of public education for three centuries, the common people in England, with all its wealth and enterprise, had been left in a state of gross ignorance. Efforts had been made by successive Liberal Governments to remedy a state of matters which was a standing reproach to the country, but these had all been frustrated, partly by the strenuous opposition of the Conservative party and the Church, and partly by the want of adequate support from the English Nonconformists. It was with the utmost difficulty that Lord John Russell obtained a scanty pittance from the Treasury to stimulate and assist private benevolence in providing instruction for the poor. Although the amount granted for this purpose was gradually augmented, and the number of schools established in connection with it correspondingly increased, the system failed to overtake the educational wants of the community. It had no claim to be called national, and in fact, owing to the shortsighted and disastrous policy of a large section of the English Nonconformists, it had been left mainly in the hands of the Church, and the friends of secular education of course protested against the enforcement of religious instruction which it involved. As the Government aid was contingent on strictly local exertions, it could not reach the most neglected and therefore the most needy localities, and

there was no authority lodged in any quarter to compel the attendance at school of the children of ignorant and careless parents. Notwithstanding the exertions made by voluntary and philanthropic benevolence and zeal, there were hundreds of thousands of children in the country for whose instruction no provision had been made. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were anxious to remedy these defects and to provide a system of national education adapted to the condition and commensurate with the wants of the people. Their object, as the Prime Minister himself said, was to give fair scope for educational action both to the party which desired a complete national system and only tolerated voluntary schools, and to the party which were only desirous of supplying, by the agency of the state, what that principle was unable to effect. The Education Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Forster on February 7, 1870, proposed to establish a system of School Boards in England and Wales, with authority to erect schools, to levy rates for their support, and to frame by-laws compelling the attendance of all children from five to twelve years of age within the school district. Existing schools might be adopted under the Bill, on condition that they were pronounced efficient, that they agreed to be examined by an undenominational inspector, and that they adopted a conscience clause as part of their regulations. In addition to the local school-rates the schools were to be supported by grants from the Treasury and by fees paid by the scholars. The Bill abolished the old restriction that all schools recognized by the Department should either be connected with some religious denomination or should read and teach the Scriptures. It also abrogated the rule that denominational schools should be inspected by members of their own denomination, and in addition prohibited all inspection of religious instruction. It provided that 'no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the schools,' but it placed

no restriction on the power to give religious instruction or to expound any creed.

The Bill at first appeared likely to meet with a favourable reception, but when its provisions were carefully examined, some of them provoked the hostility both of the Nonconformists and the advocates of secular education. The former were indignant at the proposal to continue grants from the Treasury to denominational schools, while the latter insisted that the instruction given in the national schools should be purely secular. Mr. Forster, however, pleaded that there were several powerful bodies in the country who were conscientiously opposed to the severance of secular from religious instruction, and would resist to the utmost any attempt to enforce such a regulation, and refused to go further than to compel all schools receiving State aid to adopt a conscience clause for the protection of parents and children prohibiting religious instruction during the hours devoted to the teaching of the secular branches. The Nonconformists, however, resisted so strenuously the proposal to continue grants of public money to denominational schools that, but for the support given by the Conservative party, there was a strong probability that the Government would have been defeated. When the Education Bill was introduced into the House of Commons it contained a clause authorizing School Boards to grant assistance out of the rates to denominational schools, but owing to the strong opposition which it provoked, this clause had to be withdrawn. In order, however, to pacify the supporters of the denominational system, Mr. Gladstone promised that the Privy Council grants to these schools should be augmented, and that the increase would probably amount to 50 per cent. In consequence of this policy the great body of the Nonconformists were alienated from the Government, of which they had hitherto been the main support, and they denounced Mr. Forster's Bill as, in the words of Mr. Bright, 'a Bill for encouraging denominational education.' But the measure, though

imperfect in not a few of its details, and open to serious objections even in regard to its principles, has nevertheless been productive of most beneficial results.

It is singular that almost all the reforms carried out by Mr. Gladstone's Government had the effect of weakening its strength and swelling the ranks of its enemies. The course adopted by the Government with respect to the organization of the army and the abolition of the system of purchase of officers' commissions excited strong dissatisfaction, not only in the whole Conservative party, but among a considerable number of staunch Liberals. This system began in the year 1683. Ten years later it was prohibited by William III., but in 1702 the purchase of a commission in the army was recognized by the Court of Chancery as a legal transaction. Various restrictions were from time to time imposed upon the sale of commissions, and ultimately a fixed scale of prices was arranged and sanctioned by the Horse Guards. The real price of a commission, however, greatly exceeded the regulation and legal price, and very large sums of money were often paid for commissions in favourite regiments. The abolition of the purchase system had been advocated from time to time by army reformers. But the system was cordially approved by the Duke of Wellington and other high authorities, who asserted that it was essential to the efficiency and almost to the existence of the army.

In 1871, however, Mr. Cardwell, the Secretary at War, brought forward a scheme for the reconstruction of the army, one important part of which was the abolition of the purchase system for officers' commissions, and the substitution of promotion according to merit. Reforms in the army, he declared, were impeded at every turn by the direct or indirect operation of purchase. The private interests affected by this proposal were to be dealt with not only justly but liberally, for the officers were to be compensated not merely for the legal value of their commissions, but for the excess of

prices beyond the regulation sum which they had paid in accordance with custom. Every effort was made by the Conservative party to obstruct the progress of the measure through the House of Commons. So obstinate was the resistance of the military members, that Sir Roundell Palmer said 'a course had been taken the like of which he never remembered. Other great measures affecting great interests had been opposed without the minority endeavouring to baffle the majority by mere consumption of time. Conduct like that followed in the present instance was neither in the interest of the country, of the army, nor of Conservative principles.' These obstructive proceedings were so far successful that after four months of discussion Mr. Cardwell informed the House that in consequence of the prolonged and obstinate resistance to the Bill, which, as Mr. Gladstone subsequently said, threatened to make legislation physically impossible, the Government found that it would be impracticable to carry through the scheme of army reorganization which they had introduced, and that they would only insist on the purchase clauses and the transfer of power over the militia and volunteers from the Lords Lieutenants to the Crown. The Bill thus altered and limited was read a third time in the House of Commons (3rd July, 1871), and was immediately sent up to the Lords. The strenuous resistance to the measure in the Lower House encouraged the Lords to oppose even the limited scheme, and at a meeting of the Conservative peers, held the morning before the second reading of the Bill was moved, it was resolved that it should be rejected. The Duke of Richmond, a highly respectable nobleman, of moderate abilities but of good position, was put forward to move an amendment declaring that the House of Lords was unwilling to pass the second reading until a comprehensive plan of army reorganization should have been laid before it. The discussion was conducted on both sides with great ability, and not only the leading Conservative peers, but influential

Liberals like Lord Dalhousie and Lord Grey, argued strongly against the abolition of purchase. Lord Sandhurst, however, a high military authority, warmly supported the scheme of the Government. He did not believe, he said, that the moral influence of a commanding officer could be maintained over a thousand men while they knew that his power to command was being put up to auction, and they sold like a flock of sheep. After a discussion, which lasted two days, and was characterized by great bitterness and vindictive feeling, the Government were defeated by a majority of twenty-five, composed entirely of Scottish and Irish peers who had been virtually nominated in a body by the Conservative leaders.

Mr. Gladstone, however, was not inclined to acquiesce in this decision, and he now adopted a course which led to a keen and bitter controversy. Affirming that the system of purchase was created by a royal warrant, he announced to the House of Commons that he had advised Her Majesty to issue a new warrant, declaring that all regulations made by her or by any of her predecessors regulating or fixing the prices at which commissions might be bought, or in any way authorizing the purchase or sale of such commissions, shall be cancelled. Admission to the rank of an officer was henceforth, in the great majority of cases, to depend on open competition, but two or three supplementary modes were provided, and the Brigade of Guards was not affected by the warrant. Promotion up to the rank of major was, as a rule, to be determined by seniority, and in the higher ranks by selection. This remarkable stroke of policy excited great astonishment, and was at first hailed with exultation by the Liberal party as a signal triumph over the Upper House. But on reflection this feeling greatly abated, and not a few of the leading Liberal journals expressed their disapproval of the new warrant. Mr. Disraeli denounced it as 'part of an avowed and shameful conspiracy against the undoubted privileges of the other House of Parliament.' The legality

of this exercise of the royal prerogative was unquestionable, but the propriety of the course which Mr. Gladstone had taken to bring the discussion respecting the abolition of purchase in the army to a close was regarded by influential Liberals as unfair to the House of Lords, and not worthy of the Ministry or of the principles which they professed. Sir Roundell Palmer, whose great legal knowledge and reputation for candour and impartiality entitled his opinion to peculiar weight, while expressing his conviction that the issuing of the warrant was within the constitutional power of the Crown, added (which was really a disapproval of the course taken by the Government), 'I should have been glad if it had been generally and clearly understood from the beginning that, subject to the sense of Parliament being ascertained with reference to the point of compensation, the form of procedure would be that which was eventually adopted, because it is certainly an evil that the adoption of one constitutional mode of procedure rather than another should appear to arise from an adverse vote of the House of Lords.'

The Peers were placed in a dilemma. If they had rejected the Bill after the warrant abolishing purchase was issued they would have deprived the officers who had bought their commissions of all compensation. They consequently felt that they had no alternative but to pass the measure which they had previously resolved to postpone; but they determined at the same time to pass a vote of censure on the Ministry for the manner in which they had contrived to abolish the purchase system. When, therefore, the second reading of the Bill was moved on July 31, the Duke of Richmond proposed to add the following words:—

'That this House, in assenting to the second reading of this Bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the Executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by Her Majesty's Government in order to attain by the exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object in-

cluded in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralize the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned; and that this House assents to the second reading of this Bill only in order to secure the officers of Her Majesty's army compensation to which they are entitled consequent on the abolition of purchase in the army.'

The motion of the Duke, after a keen debate, in which Earl Russell and several other Liberal Peers took part against the Government, was carried by a majority of eighty. Lord Derby, who had strenuously supported the abolition of purchase, 'heartily joined in the vote of censure.' 'The resolution,' he said, 'might not produce a political change, but it would place on record their opinion that astuteness was not statesmanship, and that smart practice did not pay in the long run.'

The abolition of the system of purchase, and the principle of promotion in the army by merit, have been productive of most beneficial results, and are now regarded with general approbation; but at the time this reform was very injurious to Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, and raised up a host of enemies who eagerly sought their overthrow. Thoughtful men of all parties concurred in the opinion expressed by M. Eugène Dufeuille:—

'There springs from this affair two charges against Mr. Gladstone. First, a want of knowledge and a want of respect for the Upper House, if he submitted without consideration to the opinion of the Lords a question with which they were not competent to deal; and second, a violation of the Constitution, if, as we are inclined to think, he has withdrawn from the authority of the Lords a question on which they were entitled to decide.'

The abolition of the system of purchase in the army was not the only question that arose at this time to trouble and injure Mr. Gladstone's Government. The United States began to press for a settlement of the *Alabama* claims. These claims were first presented by the American Minister, Mr. Adams, to Earl Russell in 1862; but the Premier and Foreign Secretary steadfastly

disclaimed responsibility for the acts of the *Alabama*, and refused to entertain the proposal for arbitration on this subject. When Lord Derby's Ministry came into power in 1866 negotiations were commenced afresh, and Lord Stanley expressed the readiness of the British Government to refer the *Alabama* claims to arbitration if the two Governments could agree upon the questions to be submitted to the arbiters. Mr. Seward, however, now contended that the arbitration should include the question whether Britain was justified in recognizing the Confederate States as belligerents. Lord Stanley absolutely refused to make this question the subject of any arbitration whatever, and the negotiations again fell to the ground.

The question was taken up for the third time on the arrival in this country of Mr. Reverdy Johnston, as the representative of the United States in London. Negotiations were continued after Lord Derby's Government went out of office in 1868, and a convention, which made several concessions to the American demand, was concluded under the auspices of Lord Clarendon in 1870. The Senate of the United States, however, rejected this convention, and Mr. Reverdy Johnston resigned his office. In 1871 the British Government proposed that a commission should be appointed to settle a dispute with the Americans respecting the Canadian fisheries, and Mr. Fish, the United States Secretary, suggested that the *Alabama* claims should be referred to the same body of diplomatists. The British Government gave their assent to this proposal, and sent out to Washington a commission, headed by Earl de Grey, to meet with a body of American commissioners, and to arrange all the various subjects of dispute unsettled between England and the United States. The Dominion of Canada was represented by Sir John A. Macdonald. After a long series of meetings the commissioners agreed on a basis of arbitration, which was embodied in the Treaty of Washington. It opened with an apology for the escape

of the *Alabama*, which was vehemently denounced as uncalled for and humiliating. 'Her Britannic Majesty,' it was said, 'has authorized her high commissioners and plenipotentiaries to express in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by these vessels.' An acknowledgment at the outset of this unusual kind indicated very clearly the spirit in which the arbitration was to be carried out. Three rules were laid down by the treaty for the guidance of the arbitrators. These were—

'A neutral Government is bound, first, to use due 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 which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whatever port within such jurisdiction, to warlike use. Secondly, 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. Thirdly, 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.'

The British Commissioners declared that their Government could not assent to these rules as 'a statement of principles of international law which were in force at the time when the claims arose,' yet, 'in order to evince its desire of strengthening the friendly relations between the two countries and of making satisfactory provision for the future,' it agreed that the arbitrators should act on these principles in deciding the *Alabama* claims. It was added that 'the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of other maritime powers, and to invite them

to accede to them.' The settlement of the *Alabama* claims was to be intrusted to a body of five arbitrators, one to be appointed by Queen Victoria, one by the President of the United States, and the other three respectively by the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil. The arbitrators were to meet at Geneva, and were to decide by a majority the questions submitted to them. The question of the northern boundary between the British North American territories and the United States was referred to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany. The Fishery question, which related to the reciprocal rights of British and American subjects to fish on each other's coasts, was to be settled by a Commission to meet at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The conciliatory spirit displayed by the British Government seems to have emboldened the American President and his Cabinet to put forward what were called indirect claims, which had very nearly caused the treaty to be broken off. They insisted that they had a right to receive compensation for the indirect losses arising out of the cruise of the *Alabama* and the other Confederate vessels. In other words, they called upon the arbitrators to declare that Britain ought to reimburse the United States for all the expenses incurred by the prolongation of the war after the battle of Gettysburg. This monstrous demand, which even Mr. Bright protested against as insufferable, excited strong indignation among the British people of all classes and parties. To make the matter worse, it was subsequently admitted by President Grant that the demand was not honestly preferred. He never believed in the indirect claims, he said. He did not think they would do any good. He 'knew that England would not consider them.' They were put forward to conciliate Mr. Sumner, whose fanatical hatred of our country was such that he insisted that the first condition of peace with Britain should be the withdrawal of her flag from the North American continent.

'But neither Mr. Fish nor myself,' said President Grant, 'expected any good from the presentation. It really did harm to the treaty, by putting our Government and those in England who were our friends in a false position. It was a mistake, though well intended. It is a mistake even to say more than you mean, and as we never meant the indirect claims we should not have presented them, even to please Mr. Sumner.' The claim was undoubtedly a serious mistake. It was simply dishonest, according to President Grant's own admission, and was therefore a blunder which Talleyrand said was worse than a crime; but it was unfortunately only too much in keeping with the habitual tactics of American politicians. The Government of the United States were fain to withdraw the obnoxious demands, and the Genevan arbitrators spontaneously declared that these indirect claims were invalid and contrary to international law.

The five arbitrators who were named under the provisions of the Treaty of Washington were — Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, appointed by Britain; Mr. Adams, by the United States; Count Frederick Sclopis, by Italy; M. Jacques Staempfli, by the Swiss Confederation; and Viscount D'Itajuba, by the Emperor of Brazil. They ultimately decided against Great Britain unanimously in the case of the *Alabama*, by a majority of four to one in the case of the *Florida*, and by a majority of three to two in the case of some acts of the *Shenandoah*. They dismissed all the other claims regarding the remaining vessels by a majority of three to two, and by a majority of four to one they awarded a gross sum of about three and a fourth millions to the United States in full of all claims, including interest. The result was indeed a foregone conclusion after the British Government consented that the arbitrators were to be guided by the principles laid down in the Treaty of Washington.

Sir Alexander Cockburn presented an exhaustive and eloquent protest against a

great part of the decision of the arbitrators. He argued the question in the most masterly manner, and he administered a well-merited rebuke to the railing accusations and the offensive and intolerable personalities of the American pleadings. The papers which they submitted to the arbitrators abounded in coarse and scurrilous invectives, which, if they had occurred in official despatches, would have led to a suspension of diplomatic relations. The American counsel and delegate had even the baseness to cast foul aspersions on the honesty and sincerity of Earl Russell. No man ever gives credit to another for higher motives than those by which he is himself actuated, and the low tone of morality which has long characterized American politicians, both Republicans and Democrats, makes it no matter of surprise that Messrs. Adam, Cushing, and Evarts should have had the audacity to call in question the integrity, the truthfulness, and straightforwardness which throughout Earl Russell's long career characterized both his public and private conduct. It is a significant indication of the low standard of morality among the American statesmen that, after satisfying to the utmost every claim made in connection with the acts of the *Alabama* and other Confederate privateers, they find in their hands more than two millions of the money received from the British Government for which no legitimate claim can be made.

The question as to the ownership of the small island of San Juan, near Vancouver Island, which had remained unsettled since the Oregon Treaty, was referred to the Emperor of Germany. He decided in favour of the American claim, and the island was evacuated by Britain, in consequence of the award, at the close of November, 1873.

The permanent opinion in our country respecting the Washington Treaty is that the policy which accepted it was honourable and judicious. It averted all danger of a fratricidal war and its dreadful consequences, and left our kindred in America

without ground for complaint. But at the time the treaty was regarded as an 'enormous concession to the United States,' from which we had derived no advantage to ourselves. The Government, it was said, had made uncalled-for sacrifices to conciliate the Americans, who had invariably overreached us in all our negotiations and treaties.

'From first to last the proceedings of our Government seem to have been little more than a registration of the terms on which the American Government was willing to receive the submission of this country. If the Government of Mr. Gladstone had cared to maintain any decent show of insisting that the negotiations should be conducted on a system of reciprocity, they would have firmly persevered in requiring that arrangements should be made for obtaining an arbitration on our claims in respect of Fenian raids on Canada. Whatever complaints the Americans can make against us for having shown unfriendly negligence in letting the *Alabama* escape, we might bring complaints against them of an unfriendliness tenfold greater shown in repeatedly permitting the organization within their territory of regular military expeditions designed to make war upon the king's dominions. But the Fenian raid claims were given up by our Government for no better reason than because the American people were said to be resolved never to listen to these claims. The American people seem to be regarded by Mr. Gladstone's Government with mingled emotions of fear and anxiety to please, which combine to render its claims tremulous in their diffidence, its concessions servile in their eagerness.'

Accusations such as these, which were not wholly unfounded, sank deep into the public mind, and contributed not a little to diminish the popularity of the Government. Various other incidents occurred which all tended towards the same result. The Premier was accused of worrying all classes and harassing all the important interests in the country by his uncalled-for reforms; and the powerful 'liquor interest' especially became the deadly enemies of the Government, on account of a measure brought forward by the Home Secretary for increasing the penalties inflicted for drunkenness, and for shortening the hours during which public-houses might be kept

open both on Sundays and week days. An agitation which sprang up among the agricultural labourers for higher wages and better treatment greatly alarmed both the landlords and the farmers, who somehow seemed to have imagined that it arose out of Mr. Gladstone's reforming schemes. The measures which had been passed for the settlement of the Irish Church and land had utterly failed to secure the loyalty and gratitude of the Irish people. They were indeed followed by a renewal of agrarian crimes, more open defiance on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, and by a clamorous demand for the establishment of Home Rule. In England, while the portentous rapidity with which Mr. Gladstone pressed on reforms in every department alarmed the thoughtful and moderate section of his followers, the extreme Radicals were complaining that he was advancing too slowly towards the end which they wished to attain. The English Nonconformists had been alienated by the Education Act; and the people of Scotland, though they had obtained one good measure—the reform and extension of their national system of education—complained that the interests of their country were almost wholly neglected. Some members of the Government, who took a foolish pleasure in parading with cynical contempt of public opinion sentiments the most opposed to the feelings of the people, contributed not a little by their personal administrative unpopularity to the decadence of the Ministry. The mean parsimony of the Treasury, which habitually treated every other department of the State as if it was conspiring to defraud the country, excited alternate ridicule and indignation. The supercilious and churlish tone of the subordinates in several of the departments towards the general public, and the open hostility of the permanent officials of the Treasury towards all the others, had become so notorious as to become a stock subject in the comic papers, and even in theatrical burlesques. To such a height had this spirit of discord risen that

Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to assume the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in addition to his other duties, for the purpose of improving the state of matters at the Treasury. To crown all, those same individuals whose conduct contributed so much to render their superiors unpopular were themselves almost all hostile to the existing Government and extremely desirous of a change. It must be admitted that Mr. Gladstone himself was somewhat to blame for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. He never could be brought to comprehend the objections which his party not unfrequently entertained towards the details of his measures—sometimes to their apprehended results—and had little or no forbearance with the notions, the crotchets, and prejudices of the rank and file of his followers. He could not understand how men professing to hold Liberal principles should entertain any objection either to his policy or to the purposes it was intended to serve. And as the road which he had selected always seemed to him to be not only the shortest, but the best fitted to reach the desired goal, he had no patience either with loiterers or reluctant travellers, and was prone to combat rather than to conciliate opposition. Add to these defects his habitual neglect of what may be called the smaller arts of party management, and it will not be difficult to account for the fact that 'under his guidance the machine creaked and groaned, and seemed to work under a painful stress.'

While the Government was thus steadily losing ground in the country, Mr Gladstone precipitated its ruin by an ill-judged attempt to remodel the system of university education in Ireland. He had long cherished a project of this kind. In 1866 he intimated the intention of Lord Russell's Government to alter the constitution of the Queen's University, but finding that the proposal was about to meet with determined opposition, he gave a pledge that it would not be carried into effect until the House of Commons had ample time to consider

and pronounce an opinion upon the subject. But after the resignation of the Ministry had been accepted by the Queen, and they were holding office only until their successors were appointed, they issued what they called 'a supplementary charter,' which completely subverted the constitution of the Queen's University, rearranged the Board of Management to meet the views of the Ultramontane party, and 'affiliated' Maynooth and the Roman Catholic University in Dublin with the Queen's Colleges under this new Senate. The Supreme Court in Dublin, however, pronounced the supplementary charter illegal, and the attempt to alter the constitution of the university was thus frustrated. Undeterred by the failure of their predecessors in office, the Conservative Government entered into negotiations with the Roman Catholic hierarchy for a charter and an annual grant from the public funds to the university, which had been established in Dublin by a papal rescript; but the exorbitant demands of the bishops, and the threatened opposition of a large body both of Liberals and Conservatives, compelled the Ministry to lay the scheme aside.

The disestablishment of the Irish Church might have been expected to put an end to Mr. Gladstone's schemes for the subversion of the undenominational system of University education in Ireland, but this proved not to be the case. He resisted Mr. Fawcett's motion for liberalizing Trinity College, Dublin, on the ground that it would not satisfy the demands of the Roman Catholics, and he made it known that he was still bent on carrying out his favourite scheme of including the Queen's Colleges, Trinity College, Dublin, and the various Romish seminaries in Ireland, in one body placed under the government of a University Board, in which should be vested the exclusive authority to examine candidates and confer degrees. It was not, however, until 1873 that Mr. Gladstone had an opportunity of laying his scheme before Parliament. During the interval the Gov-

ernment were repeatedly warned of the danger they would incur if they should venture to bring forward such a project. Since the Episcopal Church in Ireland had been deprived of its endowments, which had been devoted to teaching Protestantism in churches, it was extremely improbable that the people of Great Britain would consent to grant endowments to the Romish Church for teaching Popery in colleges, and at the same time indoctrinating its pupils with the notion that science is identical with infidelity, freedom with anarchy, and that civilization and human progress are hostile to the highest interests of humanity. Scotland with one voice forbade the adoption of such a system; all true English Liberals forbade it; all that is free and independent in Ireland forbade it; and it was certain that no support would be given to it by the Conservatives, who would, without doubt, avail themselves of the opportunity to overthrow the Ministry. This state of feeling was brought under the notice of the Premier, and he was assured that in the opinion of the most sagacious and steadfast friends of the Government, if he should renew his attempt to tamper with the national colleges in the hope of conciliating the Romish priesthood, he would assuredly make shipwreck of his Administration and seriously deteriorate his personal influence.

The warning, however, was disregarded. On the 14th of February, 1873, Mr. Gladstone submitted his long-projected scheme to the House of Commons. Ireland had at this time two Universities—that of Trinity College, Dublin, which had always been under Protestant management, though its classes were open to Roman Catholic students, and the Queen's University, instituted in connection with the four Queen's Colleges for secular instruction, in which the professorships and benefits of every kind were open to persons of all denominations. At the outset the Roman Catholic bishops expressed their cordial approval of this system, but on the introduction of the

Ultramontane policy into Ireland the colleges were placed under the ban of the hierarchy. Ireland, it was said, 'has a right to Catholic education, which is indispensably necessary for the faith and morals of the Catholic people.' The avowed object of the priests was to bring about the overthrow of the National System, and to replace it with 'a system of education Catholic in all its branches—primary, intermediate, and university'—in which the managers, teachers, inspectors, books, 'practices of piety,' and symbols shall be exclusively Catholic—all, of course, maintained by grants from the Treasury. Instead, therefore, of attempting to affiliate the Roman Catholic seminaries to the Queen's University, they demanded a charter for the Dublin University, and liberal grants of public money to augment the salaries of the professors, to provide bursaries for the students, to purchase books for the college libraries, and a scientific apparatus for the class-rooms. Mr. Gladstone was quite well aware that his scheme would meet with the most determined opposition from the Irish Protestants and the English and Scottish Nonconformists, to whom the endowment of Popery in the college is quite as obnoxious as the endowment of Popery in the church. He could not have expected any material support from the Conservatives, and he must have known that it was doubtful whether the Romish bishops would consent to accept his proposals as an instalment of their claims; but he nevertheless persisted in pressing his scheme on the Legislature and the country.

He proposed to create one central university for Ireland, and to make it both a teaching and an examining body. Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, and the Dublin Roman Catholic University were to be affiliated with the new university. The Queen's College at Galway was to be abolished. The theological faculty of Trinity College was to be transferred to the disestablished Church of Ireland. Moral philosophy and modern history were not to be taught in the new

university. The governing body of the university was to be composed, in the first instance, of twenty-eight members nominated by the crown, and included in the Act. Provision was made for filling up vacancies, and in addition to the ordinary members, one or two members of council were to be elected by the affiliated colleges, according to the number of pupils in each college. A portion of the revenues of Trinity College was to be appropriated to the support of the new institution, which was also to obtain a grant from the consolidated fund and a share of the surplus of the endowments of the disestablished Irish Church.

It soon appeared that the warning Mr. Gladstone had received as to the unfriendly reception which his scheme would meet with had been greatly understated. The opposition of the Irish Protestants, the Nonconformists, the Senatus of the Dublin University, and the friends of the higher education in Ireland might have been expected, but 'the unkindest cut of all' was the hostility of the Irish Roman Catholic members, whose votes against the Government showed the truth of what has been often said of them, that consistency, gratitude, or regard for the interests of their country, and for their professed political principles, are but as dust in the balance when set against the dictates of the Vatican and the promotion of the Papal policy. No Prime Minister that had ever presided over the Government of this country had ever done half as much to redress their grievances and to obtain for them entire equality with other sects as Mr. Gladstone had done. He had perilled office, power, and even reputation in the cause of the Irish Romanists. And yet now in his hour of need, at a time when he had put all at stake to do them service, they deliberately joined the ranks of his enemies because he refused to comply with demands unreasonable in themselves, and which it was out of his power to grant.

The defection of the Irish members

caused the rejection of the University Bill by a majority of three—287 having voted against the second reading, 284 for it—but no power or skill could have forced that measure through Parliament. The members who voted for it gave it their support merely to save the Government from defeat, with the confident expectation that it would be immediately thrown aside. The blow was fatal to the stability and prestige, though not immediately to the existence, of the Ministry. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues tendered their resignation, and the Queen sent for Mr. Disraeli, but he wisely declined to accept office at that juncture. He had experienced the humiliation endured by a Minister who holds office without power to carry out his policy, and he resolved to wait until the tide which had set in against the Government should have reached its height. Mr. Gladstone, though anxious to get free from the responsibilities of office, was obliged to return to his place and to carry on the administration of affairs as he best could with diminished power and discredited influence. He was still, however, supported by a large majority in the House of Commons, though now reduced in number and still more in unanimity and cordiality of action.

During the autumn the Premier made an attempt to give unity and strength to his Ministry by rearranging several offices. Mr. Monsell, who had renounced Protestantism, and whose presence in the Administration had been a source of weakness and distrust, was shelved with a peerage, and Mr. Lyon Playfair, who had opposed the University Bill, succeeded him in the office of Postmaster-General. Mr. Bruce was elevated to the Upper House, and made President of the Council in the room of the Marquis of Ripon. He was replaced at the Home Office by Mr. Lowe, whose administrative miscarriages and personal unpopularity had not been counterbalanced by any brilliant financial achievements. Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, took upon himself the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in

addition to the duties of First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Childers resigned the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and was replaced by Mr. Bright, whose health had now been restored. These various changes, however, did not strengthen the public confidence in the Ministry, and seat after seat was lost to them at by-elections. The defeat of the Liberal candidate for a Gloucestershire borough, which had repeatedly oscillated between the two parties, at last proved too much for Mr. Gladstone's forbearance, and to the astonishment of his friends, of his opponents, and of his own colleagues, a fortnight before the day appointed for the opening of the session of 1874, he announced the immediate dissolution of Parliament. He at the same time, in a lengthened address to the electors of Greenwich, submitted to the constituencies an elaborate financial scheme for the abolition of the Income-tax and a contribution from the national revenue in aid of local rates. It was impossible to give a careful and deliberate consideration to such proposals in the midst of the din of a fiercely-contested election, and nothing has since been heard of them; but the precedent of including a budget in an election address is not likely to be repeated.

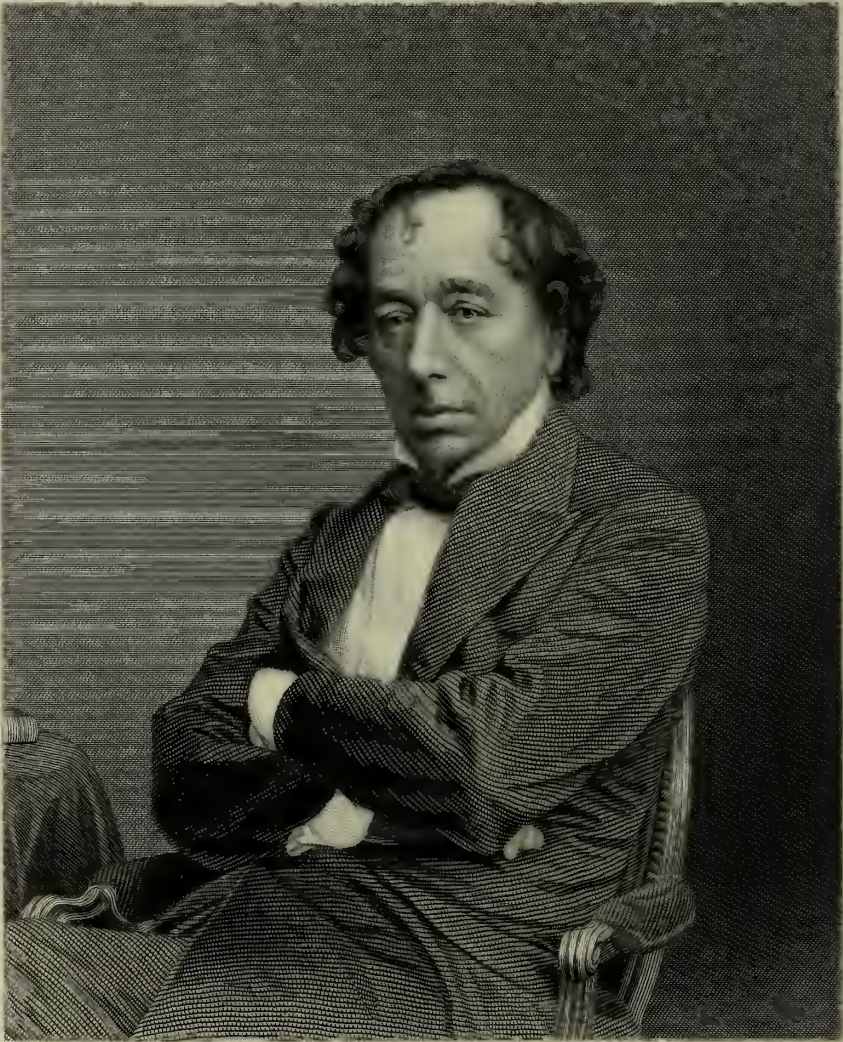
The rash and ill-advised step taken by Mr. Gladstone met with universal disapproval, and was followed by ruinous consequences to his Administration and his supporters. The Liberal party, taken quite at unawares, without organization or any definite object or measure round which they could rally, were totally unprepared for a struggle with a compact and well-drilled body of opponents. Divisions in their own ranks handed over a considerable number of seats to the Conservatives. Others were lost by the unpopularity of their candidates or by local questions. The result was, much to the general surprise, to sweep away completely the Liberal majority—to reverse the balance of power, and to send to the House of Commons a majority of fifty or sixty Conservatives. Mr. Gladstone

would have done well to have pondered the judicious remarks of Sir Robert Peel, in his 'Memoirs' (ii. 44)—'I was no advocate for frequent or abrupt dissolutions. I had more than once had occasion to express in Council my distrust in them as remedies for the weakness of a Government, constantly bearing in mind the remark of Lord Clarendon at the commencement of his "History of the Rebellion" upon the evil effects of an ill-considered exercise of this branch of the prerogative. "No man," says he, "can show me a source from whence these waters of bitterness we now taste have more probably flowed than from these unreasoning, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions of Parliament." And again—"The passion and distemper gotten and received into Parliament cannot be removed and reformed by the mere passionate breaking and dissolving of it."' 'The step taken by the Government,' it was justly said, 'was extremely analogous to the false tactical operation of the Emperor Napoleon and Marshal MacMahon when they resolved, in presence of a powerful invasion, to make a flank movement to the north-east of France instead of concentrating their forces and awaiting an attack, war having been declared with a very imperfect knowledge of the relative strength of the belligerents. The result in both instances was the loss not only of a battle but of an army.' In the hour of their unpopularity it seemed to be forgotten that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had been the successful authors of five or six measures of first-rate legislative importance—the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, the Irish Land Act, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, the Education Act, the Judicature Act, and the Ballot Act. They left the country at peace and in a state of great prosperity, and handed over to their successors a surplus of several millions in the Treasury.

On the conclusion of the elections Mr. Gladstone at once resigned office, and a new Administration was formed, with Mr.

Disraeli as Prime Minister. Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Earl Derby was made Foreign Secretary. The charge of the Indian Department was intrusted to the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Carnarvon was appointed Colonial Secretary, Sir Stafford Northcote, who had at one time been Private Secretary to Mr. Gladstone, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Somewhat to the surprise of the public, Mr. Cross, a Lancashire lawyer, who was new to office, was elevated to the position of Home Secretary, Mr. Gathorne Hardy was made Secretary for War, and Mr. Ward Hunt First Lord of the Admiralty. The Duke of Richmond, a cautious and inoffensive nobleman, of moderate abilities but sadly deficient in firmness, became Lord President of the Council and leader of the Government in the House of Lords.

Mr. Disraeli had already filled three parts—those of a political Free Lance, a leader of an Opposition, and the leader of a Ministry supported by a minority in the House of Commons. He had now to fill the part of a Minister supported by a large and docile majority in both Houses of Parliament, enjoying at the same time the cordial good-will of the Crown and the Court. He had conducted the affairs of his party in Opposition with consummate ability and tact, and had shown himself a master of all the arts of political strategy and warfare; but with all these advantages at his command, and supported by able and experienced colleagues, the business of Parliament under his management fell into a state of great confusion. He occupied himself chiefly with foreign affairs, and with what he regarded as an Imperial policy. Domestic matters were for the most part left to the heads of departments, whose measures were not regarded with much favour by the public, or in some cases even by their own party, and had to be withdrawn. But these questions can scarcely as yet be said to belong to the domain of history, and to discuss them is like walking over the ashes of hidden fires.



Engraved by Permission from a Photograph by Mayall

THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI.
EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, K.G.

CHAPTER XV.

Policy of the new Government—The Slave Circular—The Suez Canal—State of Turkey, Servia, and Montenegro—Insurrection in Herzegovina—The Berlin Memorandum—The Bulgarian Atrocities—Agitation in Britain—Russian Intrigues—Declaration of War by Servia—Pledge given by the Czar—Conference at Constantinople—Rejection of its Proposals by the Porte—War proclaimed by Russia—Progress of the War in Armenia and on the Danube—Turkish Disasters retrieved at the close of the Campaign—The Shipka Pass—Position at Plevna—Failure of Russian Attacks upon it—Change of Tactics—Surrender of Osman Pasha—Turkish Defeats in Armenia—Capture of Kars—Evacuation of Erzeroum—Action of the British Ministry—The Fleet sent to the Dardanelles—Submission of the Porte—Treaty of San Stefano—Proceedings of the British Ministry—Resignation of Lord Derby—The Berlin Congress—Its Results—Secret Agreement between Britain and Turkey—Cession of Cyprus to Britain—State of Feeling in the Country—Death and Character of Earl Russell.

It soon became evident that the new Prime Minister did not intend to devote much attention to questions of domestic legislation, but that he had resolved to carry out, on a great scale, measures for extending the influence of Britain on the Continent and in Asia. The first step taken by the Government, however, brought upon them no small odium. An elaborate circular on Fugitive Slaves was issued, which directed commanders of the Queen's ships not only to refuse an asylum to slaves in foreign waters, but to surrender, on their return to port, fugitives who might have come on board on the high seas. This unfortunate document, which apparently implied that an English man-of-war was subject to foreign jurisdiction, and flagrantly disregarded the national antipathy to slavery, was denounced by the whole community, and after a futile attempt to amend it, had to be withdrawn.

The purchase of the shares which the Khedive of Egypt held in the Suez Canal, for £4,000,000 sterling, was a much more successful stroke of policy, and took everyone by surprise. It was at once received with loud and general approbation, though the Liberal leaders objected both to the purchase and to the mode in which it was completed. But though the public enthusiasm on the subject speedily subsided, and at one time considerable dissatisfaction was expressed respecting the result of the transaction, it has come to be generally re-

garded as a well-timed and judicious stroke of policy for the protection of British interests in the management of a canal which now forms the highway to India. Mr. Disraeli and one or two of his colleagues, however, chose to represent the purchase as part of a grand scheme for the aggrandizement of British power and prestige in the East. The addition of Empress of India to the titles of the Queen was alleged to have a similar intention, but public feeling ran so strong against the assumption of this tinsel designation, that a provision had to be put into the Act against its use in the United Kingdom.

The Eastern question had for some time been apparently at rest, but it now became evident that it was about to be revived. The Crimean War had afforded a breathing time for Turkey for her much-needed political and social reforms, but she had not availed herself of the favourable opportunity. The large sums of money which she had borrowed from British capitalists had been squandered in extravagance and vicious indulgences. The populations in the various provinces misgoverned by the Porte had repeatedly risen in insurrection against their oppressors, and had been put down with the most shocking cruelty. The 'Sick Man's' condition seemed more hopeless than ever, and the vultures were once more preparing to devour the carcase. 'Russia,' as Lord Palmerston said, 'has always, from the time of Peter the Great,

systematically laboured without any deviation to realize the scheme of the conquest of Turkey. When checked in her advance she draws back, but only to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity.' She was now showing that she still cherished her old schemes for the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, and was making rapid strides towards regaining the position which she had occupied before the Crimean War. Province after province was escaping from the Turkish yoke. Serbia had become virtually independent, and the Danubian Principalities had been formed into the sovereign state of Roumelia under Prince Charles of Hohenzollern. Bosnia and Herzegovina seemed about to follow a similar course. An insurrection broke out in the latter, which was caused by the oppression of the officials who ruled the province and their underlings who collected the taxes, but there can be little doubt that it was fomented by foreign emissaries. The peasantry complained that though the harvest had been a failure the taxes had been greatly increased, and had been collected with gross unfairness; that Christians were made to undergo forced labour on the public roads; that their horses were used for the service of the army; that the Agas were tyrannical, the courts corrupt, and property, life, and honour insecure.

The Porte, quite unable to suppress the insurrection, appealed to the British Government and to Serbia and Montenegro to use their influence to induce Austria to prevent assistance being given to the insurgents across the Austrian frontier, but nothing effectual was done. Meanwhile the insurrection continued to spread, and Count Andrassy, the Austrian Minister, drew up a Note (30th December, 1875), signed by Austria, Germany, and Russia, urging the Porte to carry into effect the promises of reform which he had repeatedly made, and to redress the grievances of which the Christians complained, and intimating that if this were not done the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro would

be compelled by their people to give assistance to the insurgents against the Turkish rule. The only means of preventing the threatened civil war was to compel the Porte to remedy the gross abuses which had made its subjects rise in arms. France and Italy expressed their readiness to join in this remonstrance, but the British Government were unwilling to entangle themselves in negotiations of this sort, and did not consent to take part in this remonstrance until requested by the Porte to join in the Note. The Ottoman Government expressed their satisfaction with the demands addressed to them, and their willingness to carry out the suggestions made by the combined Powers, but, as was no doubt foreseen, not a single step was taken to fulfil their promises.

The next step taken, on the suggestion of Russia, was to hold a meeting of the Ministers of Austria, Germany, and Russia at Berlin for the purpose of considering in what way Turkey should be compelled to carry their recommendations into effect. A memorandum was drawn up representing the necessity of carrying out these reforms, not only for the welfare of Turkey, but in order to avert the danger which threatened the peace of Europe. The British Government, however, declined to join in the Berlin Memorandum, and it had to be laid aside. At this juncture there was an outbreak on the part of the fanatical Mussulmans of Salonica, and the French and German Consuls were murdered. A revolution at the same time took place at Constantinople, and the Sultan Abdul Aziz was dethroned on the 30th of May; and on the 4th of June he committed suicide. His nephew Murad was made Sultan in his room, but after a reign of only three months he too was dethroned, having proved himself to be either insane or 'incapable of exercising any independent faculties,' and was succeeded by his brother Hamid.

The change of ruler produced no amelioration of the condition of the Christian

population under the misrule of the Porte. Bosnia and Bulgaria had for a considerable time been on the eve of a revolt. Their sufferings at the hands of the Turkish officials and the tax-gatherers had at length become intolerable, and the extortions of the Greek clergy had greatly aggravated the sufferings of the Christian peasantry. Foreign emissaries took advantage of their situation to induce them to take up arms against their oppressors; but it is doubtful whether, even if left to themselves, the Bosnians and Bulgarians could have much longer borne the galling yoke of their Mussulman tyrants and tax-gatherers. 'No considerations of honour, or religion, or humanity restrain these wretches,' says Mr. Evans. 'Having acquired the right to farm the taxes of a given district the Turkish officials and gendarm-erie are bound to support them in wringing the utmost farthing out of the wretched taxpayers. . . . The insurrection in the Herzegovina has, on the whole, been directed more against the Mohammedan landowners than against the Sultan. It is mainly an agrarian war.' Dr. Brown says, 'It is an insurrection against the tithe-farmers; a civil war of classes, partaking of the character of a social war—a *Jacquerie*. The better the harvest is, the more industrious the peasant, the higher are the demands of the *multerim* (tax-farmers), and the less reaches the Treasury at Stamboul.'

Mr. Evans, an English gentleman who was travelling through the country at this juncture (August, 1875), making antiquarian researches, suddenly found himself in the very heart of a formidable insurrection. He says—

'It was on Sunday, August 15, that the peasants of that part of Bosnia who had been goaded to madness during the last few weeks by the exactions of the tax-gatherer (with whom this year the Government itself, unable to meet its creditors, had driven a harder bargain than usual) first took up arms. From the rapidity with which the revolt spread through Lower Bosnia there seems to have been a preconcerted movement. . . . The

first movement took place near Banjaluka, where the rayah villagers rose on the extortioners and slew eight tax-gatherers. This was immediately followed by other risings, extending along the Possávina to the neighbourhood of Brood and Dervent. Several of the noted towns along this frontier were surprised, and their Turkish garrisons massacred. . . . The news of the outbreak quite bewildered the authorities at Serajevo. Bosnia was bereft of troops, for the Seraskier at Stamboul, disregarding the earnest warnings of the Vali, had persisted in withdrawing the regulars stationed in the province till hardly any were left, and of these every available man, except those absolutely necessary for garrison duty, had been despatched to the Herzegovina.

'Meanwhile the Mohammedan population of Lower Bosnia has taken the law into its own hands, and the authorities have been forced to look on and see the Mohammedan volunteers, the Bashi-Bazouks—not long ago suppressed for conduct too outrageous for even the worst of Governments to tolerate—spring once more into existence. Such were the ferocious warriors whose acquaintance we made at Travnik. They are, from what we hear, mere organized brigands, headed by irresponsible partisans, and at present are committing the wildest atrocities—cutting down women, children, and old men who come in their way, and burning the crops and homesteads of the rayah. That the defence of Bosnia should have fallen into the hands of such men is one of the most terrible features of the situation; and nothing can better show the abjectness of her present governors than that they have now consented to accept the services of these bandits.'

An insurrection took place in Bulgaria about the middle of April, which, however, was of no great extent. The insurgents were few in number, and were in no way formidable. The Bulgarian peasantry are an industrious quiet people, not at all given to violence, but they were induced by these foreign instigators to believe that they were about to be massacred by the Mussulmans; while, on the other hand, the ignorant and fanatical Mussulmans were persuaded that the Bulgarians were about to massacre them. Both parties were excited by terror, and a conflict ensued which reduced the country to a state of total anarchy. The Turkish Government, instead of sending regular troops to maintain order, let loose on the people the

Bashi-Bazouks, the very fiends of war. The most shocking crimes were committed by these savage barbarians. Christian villages were burned, a wholesale massacre of women and children was perpetrated with the most revolting circumstances, and atrocities were committed almost unparalleled in modern history. Mr. Disraeli, unfortunately for his own reputation, cynically made light of these atrocious deeds, affected to think that they were at the least greatly exaggerated, and were mere 'coffee-house babble.' This levity was most offensive to all right-thinking persons of both parties, and it was soon ascertained that the numbers who were said to have perished in the fray, though exaggerated, were still very large. A correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was on the spot, declared that the insurrection had been of trifling extent, while its suppression had been marked by enormities of the blackest dye, by massacres of unarmed populations, and by the most inhuman treatment of women and children. And Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador at Constantinople, admitted that the cruelties which had been perpetrated by the Bashi-Bazouks justified the indignation which they had called forth.

Mr. Baring, the British Consul who was sent to Adrianople to make inquiries and ascertain the truth, fully confirmed the worst statements of the *Daily News* correspondent. There could be no doubt, he said, that an insurrection had been planned, and that the schoolmasters and priests were the leading movers in it, especially the former, many of whom had been educated in Russia. The chronic discontent of the people had been naturally heightened by the failure of the promised reforms of Mahmoud Pasha, by the deaf ear turned by the Porte to petitions from Bulgaria, and by the heavy pressure of taxation.

'The foreign agitators, and those natives whom they had succeeded in seducing, seized upon this apparently favourable opportunity to strike a blow; the peasants were deluded into leaving their villages by being told that the Turks were going to

massacre them, and the populations of the small towns were induced to take part in the insurrection by threats and by the most extravagant promises of foreign aid. The revolution was well planned, but miserably executed. . . . The insurgents put themselves in the wrong by killing defenceless Turks and committing other acts of insurrection, but the resistance they made when actually attacked was hardly worthy of the name. No sooner did the regular troops appear upon the scene than the insurrection was at an end. The Turks gained an easy victory, and abused it most shamefully, the innocent being made to suffer for the guilty in a manner too horrible to think of.'

In some places a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants took place without distinction of sex or age. Young women were carried off from different villages by the Bashi-Bazouks and kept in their harems. The prisoners were brutally ill-treated. They were marched to their destination heavily chained, and were pelted and insulted by the mob; five died on the road, and the remainder, several hundreds in number, were thrust into a loathsome den, where 'the stench became so fearful that the guards could not even sit in the ante-room, but had to stay in the street.'

The Turkish authorities tried to make it appear that the only deaths which had taken place were those of insurgents and Turkish soldiers who had fallen in open fight; but Mr. Baring and the *Daily News* correspondent saw great heaps of the dead bodies of women and children piled up in places where there were no dead bodies of combatants, and they came to the conclusion that 'no fewer than 12,000 persons perished in the *sandjac* of Philippopoli.' The total number of Mussulmans killed was only 183. The case of Batak, Mr. Baring says, was 'the most fearful tragedy that happened during the whole insurrection:—

'The Medjliss of Tatar-Bazardjak, hearing that preparations for revolt were going on in this village, ordered Achmet Agha of Dospat to attack it. On arriving at the village he summoned the inhabitants to give up their arms, which, as they mistrusted him, they refused to do, and a desultory fight succeeded which lasted two days, hardly any loss being inflicted on either side. On 9th May the inhabitants, seeing that things were going

badly with them, and that no aid came from without, had a parley with Achmet, who solemnly swore that if they only gave up their arms not a hair of their heads should be touched. A certain number of the inhabitants, luckily for them, took advantage of this parley to make their escape. The villagers believed Achmet's oath, and surrendered their arms, but this demand was followed by one for all the money in the village, which of course had also to be acceded to. No sooner was the money given up than the Bashi-Bazouks set upon the people and slaughtered them like sheep. A large number of the people, probably about 1000 or 1200, took refuge in the church and churchyard, the latter being surrounded by a wall. The church itself is a solid building, and resisted all the attempts of the Bashi-Bazouks to burn it from the outside; they consequently fired in through the windows, and getting upon the roof tore off the tiles, and threw burning pieces of wood and rags dipped in petroleum among the mass of unhappy human beings inside. At last the door was forced in and the massacre completed, and the inside of the church burned. Hardly any escaped out of these fatal walls. The only survivor I could find was one old woman, who alone remained out of a family of seven.'

After giving a description of the shocking scene which he witnessed when he visited the place more than two months and a half after the massacre, the bodies all lying unburied, Mr. Baring says:—

'It is to be feared also that some of the richer villagers were subjected to cruel tortures before being put to death in hopes that they would reveal the existence of hidden treasure. Thus Petro Triandaphyllos and Popa Necio were roasted, and Stoyan Stoychoff had his ears, nose, hands, and feet cut off. Enough, I think, has been said to show that to Achmet Agha and his men belongs the distinction of having committed perhaps the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century, Nana Sahib alone, I should say, having rivalled their deeds. . . . For this exploit Achmet Agha has received the order of the Medjidie. . . . The Porte has given a powerful handle to its enemies and detractors by the way it has treated those who took an active part in the suppression of the insurrection. Those who have committed atrocities have been rewarded, while those who have endeavoured to protect the Christians from the fury of the Bashi-Bazouks and others have been passed over with contempt.'

The tidings of the Bulgarian outrages produced the most extraordinary excite-

ment in Britain. As Mr. Bright remarked, it was an uprising of the whole nation against the Government which had employed the Bashi-Bazouks to massacre its subjects, and had condoned and rewarded their shocking deeds. The excitement was intensified by the information that Lord Derby had directed Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador at Constantinople, to lay the results of Mr. Baring's inquiry before the Sultan, and to demand the punishment of the offenders, but that no attention had been paid to the demand. Mr. Gladstone, who in the preceding year had formally abdicated the leadership of the Liberal party, emerged from his comparative retirement and his literary pursuits, and denounced in the House of Commons, at public meetings, and through the press the misrule and the crimes of the Turkish Government. He deprecated any attempt to prop up the Sultan's throne, and advocated the exclusion of the administration of the Porte from Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. 'Let the Turks,' he said, 'now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—viz. by carrying off themselves, their zaptiehs and their mudirs, their bim-bashes and their yuzbashes, their kaimakims and their pashas; one and all, bag and baggage, shall I hope clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

An agitation so impassioned could not long remain at fever-heat, and it speedily began to be moderated by the deep distrust of Russian policy which had long been entertained by the British people. They were reminded that in 1870 the Khedive of Egypt was urged by the emissaries of Russia to declare his independence and to make war upon the Porte, that in January, 1873, the Russian Ambassador declared in the most solemn official manner that it was so far from the intention of the Czar to take possession of Khiva, that positive orders had been sent to prevent it, or even a prolonged occupancy of it; and yet on August 24th of the same year a

treaty was signed between General Kaufmann and the Khan of Khiva by which the Khan acknowledged himself the humble servant of the Emperor of all the Russias, and renounced his commercial independence. The British people had not forgotten the manner in which the Russian Government had availed themselves of the crisis produced by the Franco-Germanic War to repudiate the obligations of the Treaty of Paris in a manner which struck at the root of all international obligations and good faith. It was pointed out that the very worst period of Turkish misrule was that during which the authority of General Ignatieff, the Russian Ambassador, was paramount at Constantinople; that he had never in any instance employed his influence to promote those reforms in favour of the Christian subjects of the Porte which Russia now declared to be absolutely necessary; that on the contrary he had aided, abetted, and encouraged the very worst acts of the Turkish Government for the purpose of rendering the Sultan's authority odious and intolerable, and inducing that wretched sovereign to throw himself upon Russian protection. It was generally believed that the insurrections in Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Herzegovina were instigated and fomented by Russian emissaries, and that General Ignatieff had dissuaded the Grand Vizier from sending regular troops to put down the insurrection at its commencement. The whole object, in short, of this insidious and immoral policy was, by dividing the councils of the European Powers, by encouraging internal insurrections in Turkey, and by lowering the credit and authority of the Porte both at home and abroad, to bring about the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire and the substitution of the power of Russia in its room.

The feeling thus excited, by no means without cause, contributed not a little to strengthen the Government, and to counterbalance the effect which had been produced by the atrocities perpetrated by Turkey.

It speedily became evident that Mr. Disraeli (now elevated to the Upper House as Lord Beaconsfield) was resolved at all hazards to maintain Turkey as a barrier against Russia for the promotion of British interests. This policy was denounced by a large and most influential party in Parliament and in the country as selfish and immoral. Affairs had become more complicated by the declaration of war on the part of Serbia and Montenegro against Turkey. It was well known that the sympathies of both principalities were in favour of the insurgents, but it was believed that without the permission of Austria and Russia they would not venture openly to aid them in the contest. Serbia took the lead at the close of June, 1876. On leaving Belgrade to join his army on the frontier Prince Milan issued a proclamation to his people declaring that since the insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina the situation of Serbia had become intolerable. 'To remain longer in moderation would be intolerable.' A large number of Russian officers joined the Servians as volunteers, but they were completely outnumbered by the Turkish forces, and were defeated near Novi Bazar, in Bosnia, on the 6th of July, with considerable loss. They were again hopelessly beaten at Alexinotz, and by the beginning of September the contest was virtually at an end. They were saved from conquest, however, by the intervention of the Great Powers. 'Thanks to them, Serbia lost no territory, had to pay no war indemnity, and their Prince did not give that personal token of submission which was so strenuously demanded by Turkish pride.' The Montenegrins, however, a race of hardy mountaineers, 'composing a band of heroes,' Mr. Gladstone said, 'such as the world has rarely seen,' stoutly maintained their ground against the Turks, but did not materially affect the issue of the war. An armistice was proposed by the British Government, but the Porte delayed, shuffled, and ultimately evaded the proposal till Russia intervened and insisted upon an imme-

diate armistice, which was then conceded for eight weeks.

The suspicion of Russia's underhand designs on Turkey, however, continued so strong that Lord Derby considered it necessary frankly to inform the Czar what was the prevailing feeling in England on the subject; and Alexander in reply (2nd of November) pledged his sacred word of honour that he had no intention of taking possession of Constantinople, and that if he were compelled by the pressure of events to occupy any part of Bulgaria it would only be provisionally, and until the safety of the Christian population should be secured. Lord Derby on this proposed a conference of the Great Powers, to be held at Constantinople, for the purpose of reconciling the conflicting claims of the various Turkish provinces with the preservation of the independence of the Ottoman Empire. The proposal was readily acceded to by the other European Powers, and it was arranged that Lord Salisbury and Sir Henry Elliot, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, were to attend as the British representatives.

Notwithstanding this agreement, on the 9th November, Lord Beaconsfield delivered a speech at the usual Ministerial banquet at the Guildhall, which was evidently intended as a menace to Russia. If the struggle should come, he said, England was better prepared for war than any other European country. 'In a righteous cause England is not the country that will have to inquire whether she can enter upon a second or a third campaign. In a righteous cause England will commence a fight that will not end until right is done.' There is reason to believe that a report of the British Premier's speech was at once transmitted by telegraph to Moscow, and next day the Czar delivered an address to the nobles at that ancient Russian capital, which was regarded as an answer to Lord Beaconsfield's challenge. If, he said, the other Powers would not unite with him in requiring from Turkey the guarantees which he

thought necessary, he was resolved to act independently, and he was convinced that Russia would heartily support him in this course of action. War between Britain and Russia now seemed imminent, but happily the danger was averted.

The Conference met at Constantinople on the 23rd of December, and prepared a scheme of reforms and guarantees. The ministers of the Porte attempted to evade these demands by announcing that the Sultan had granted a constitution to Turkey, and that a Parliament was to be convened which would be composed of representatives of all the provinces of the Empire; and straightway salvoes of cannon were heard proclaiming the inauguration of this august assembly. The representatives of the European Powers, however, were not to be deceived by such a shallow device, and no more was heard of this Turkish Parliament. The proposals of the Conference were pressed upon the Sultan and his advisers, but were evaded or declined, and their counter proposals were declared to be inadmissible. The European delegates made modifications and concessions until their proposals were reduced to two—viz. an International Commission nominated by the six Powers without executive authority, and the appointment of Valis (governor-generals) by the Sultan for five years, with the approval of the guaranteeing Governments. These modified demands, however, were rejected by the Grand Council as 'contrary to the integrity, independence, and dignity of the Empire.' There can be little doubt that the Sultan and his ministers believed that the British Government would support them at the last extremity, and it was currently reported, and credited at the time, that the new British Ambassador, Sir H. C. Layard, encouraged the Turkish Government to refuse to comply with the demands of the Great Powers. The Conference in consequence broke up without having attained the objects for which it had met, and having failed to obtain any adequate

guarantees for the better government of the Christian population of Turkey.

After the failure of the Conference efforts were made, by means of circular notes, protocols, and confidential missions, to effect an arrangement of the question at issue, but without effect. A circular letter was issued by the Ottoman Government indicating the course they had pursued, and it was followed by a similar document from Russia addressed to her representatives at the several European courts, explaining her own policy, and commenting on the obstinate refusal of the Turkish Government to yield to the advice of the Great Powers. A protocol was signed by the ministers at London on the 31st March, 1877, declaring their resolution to watch carefully the manner in which the promises of the Porte were carried into effect, and intimating that 'if their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturbed the peace of the East, such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general.' Russia had long been making her preparations behind the scenes, and on April 24, 1877, without any ultimatum to Turkey or any concert with the other Powers, she formally declared war against the Porte. In taking this step the Czar said he was persuaded that he was fulfilling 'a duty imposed upon him by the interests of Russia,' and likewise that he was 'consulting at the same time the views and the interests of Europe.'

Lord Derby, in a plain and explicit despatch, dated May 1st, expressed to the Russian Government the deep regret of the British Ministry at the independent and unwarrantable course which Russia, leaving the European Concert, had suddenly adopted, and in conjunction with France the Ministry issued a proclamation enjoining strict neutrality in the impending war.

On 24th April, the very day on which the manifesto of the Czar appeared, the Russian forces crossed the frontier in Asia, and in Europe they crossed the Pruth, thus inaugurating simultaneously two distinct campaigns. On paper the invading army in Europe consisted of 350,000 men, but it is well known that the Russian Army Lists are greatly exaggerated, and about 100,000 must be struck off the list in order to obtain the correct number. The Roumanian auxiliary forces, however, amounted to at least 40,000 men. The army told off for the invasion of Armenia was alleged to be about 150,000, but was in all probability not more than 120,000. The Turkish forces are supposed to have been about the same in number. Considerable delay took place in the commencement of actual hostilities on the Danube, but the troops destined to invade Armenia were early in the field. Having been massed during the winter on the frontier of the Transcaucasian provinces, they invaded that country in three columns, all directed for Erzeroum. The supreme command was intrusted to the Grand-duke Michael, under whom was the real director, General Loris Melikoff, a native Armenian and an incompetent officer. At first everything seemed favourable to the operations of the invaders. The southern column captured the fortress of Bayazid with little difficulty. Sabri Pasha, the commander of Ardahan, with a carelessness or incompetence which is almost incredible, permitted the Russians to take possession of a hill which commanded the detached works. He then quitted the place, and the garrison threw down their arms and fled in confusion, leaving 112 cannons and other munitions of war, along with commissariat stores, to fall into the hands of the invaders. A Turkish army commanded by Mukhtar Pasha was attacked by the Russians led by General Melikoff, and after two days' fighting was driven under the guns of Kars. An attack on Batoum, the most important port on the eastern coast of the Black Sea, was, however, repulsed with

considerable loss, but on the whole a military critic described the position of the Turks in Asia Minor in the beginning of June as 'about as bad as it could be.'

At this juncture, however, the tide began to turn. The siege of Batoum was raised by Dervish Pasha. Mukhtar Pasha, with a veteran force, arrived in the vicinity of Erzeroum just in time to retrieve the disaster brought about by the incapable Mahmoud Pasha, who rashly attacked the Russian central column advancing on the Soghanli Dag, and was defeated and killed in the battle. Kars was relieved and re-victualled. Towards the end of June the Russians were defeated with great slaughter at the decisive battle of Zewin, and by the middle of July were driven, in a series of disastrous conflicts, across the Soghanli Dag. The southern column, under General Terjukassoff, met with the same fate. At the end of July Ardahan alone remained to the Russians of all their conquests. In the month of August Mukhtar Pasha inflicted a series of defeats on the invaders in which they suffered great loss, and assailed their intrenched camp at Kizil-tepek. In other quarters the Turks crossed the frontiers, driving the Russians before them, and even threatened Crivan and Gumri. Altogether the invasion of Asiatic Turkey this year proved a failure.

The campaign on the Danube began much later. The work of moving 250,000 men to the banks of that river tasked the Russian resources to the utmost. Jobbery and speculation had as usual been busy in the commissariat; the arrangements and accommodation of the Russian railways are so imperfect that it is sometimes more expeditious to march troops along the roads, though knee-deep in mud, than to trust them to the chance of being frozen or starved to death on the railways. The spring was late on the Lower Danube in 1877. The rain fell in torrents, and floods, greater than had been known in Roumania for years, inundated wide tracts of country on the northern bank of the river, and for

a long time rendered the passage by an invading army impossible.

While the hostile armies were surveying each other from opposite sides of the river the Turks remained doggedly inactive in their fortresses, allowing the Russians to go on with their preparations, collecting boats, building pontoons, and constructing batteries, without molestation. Even the destruction of two of the Turkish monitors—the first by the blowing up of the powder magazine, the other by torpedos—failed to rouse them to activity. In the third week of June, while 120,000 Russian soldiers were passing quietly to the Bulgarian side of the Danube, Abd-el-Kerim, the Turkish Commander-in-chief, sat calmly in his tent maturing 'a plan' which, he informed the Sultan, 'would insure the total defeat of the enemy, not one of whom would ever return to his own country.'

The Russians were now pouring by thousands daily into Bulgaria, and the Turks continued so inactive that it was alleged that their leaders had been bribed by the enemy. On entering Bulgaria with his army the Czar addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants assuring them that he would secure 'the sacred rights of their nationality,' that all 'races and all denominations' would be equally treated, and order would be enforced. A pregnant commentary on these confident promises was afforded by the immediate appointment of a Russian governor of Bulgaria in the person of Prince Tcherkasky, one of the most execrable tyrants of Poland; and his first act was to begin the confiscation of the lands of the Mussulman proprietors. He was accompanied by a staff of officials with full power to suppress all the municipal and communal institutions of Bulgaria, and to substitute Russian laws, institutions, and officials in their place. Tirnova, the ancient capital of Bulgaria, was taken possession of without resistance. Early in July Generals Gourko and Skobeloff by a sudden dash crossed the Balkans into Roumelia, took in reverse the Turkish forces

which guarded the Shipka Pass, drove them away, and thus opened a communication across the Balkans with the headquarters of the army at Tirnova. Nicopolis, a strong town on the Danube, was carried by assault on the 16th of July, after a severe struggle; and 6000 prisoners, with guns and munitions of war, fell into the hands of the Russians. Such rapid successes gave rise to a general expectation that the invaders would in no long time force their way to Adrianople, where the Czar might dictate his own terms.

But these disastrous events proved the turning point of the campaign. 'The Turk,' it has been said by one who knew him well, 'only begins to fight when every other soldier would be thinking of yielding. He is apathetic and listless till the breach is practicable and he is summoned to surrender. Then he rushes to the ramparts, and either repulses the enemy, or dies the death of a hero on the walls.' New life was at this crisis infused into the counsels of the Porte. Redif Pasha, the Minister of War, was dismissed, and Abd-el-Kerim, the inert and incapable Commander-in-chief, was replaced by Mehemet Pasha, a Prussian by birth, and an educated and accomplished soldier, who had distinguished himself in the Servian campaign the previous year. Sulieman Pasha was recalled from Albania to take part in the struggle on the Danube. His veteran troops, 20,000 in number, were conveyed by the Turkish fleet, which had already been of great service in the war, from Albania to the Dardanelles, and thence by railway, in the very nick of time, to Eski Sagra, on the southern slope of the Balkans, where they joined the troops under the command of Rauof Pasha. The advance of the Russians in this quarter was completely arrested, and after one or two sanguinary encounters, in which both sides suffered severely, the forces commanded by Generals Gourko and Skobeloff were withdrawn, at the beginning of August, from Roumelia. The Shipka Pass, however, was retained

by the help of strong fortifications erected along the road. In the various battles across the Balkans the losses of the Russians and of the Bulgarian Legion which they had raised and armed amounted to 12,000 men.

If Sulieman Pasha had united with the other Turkish generals north of the Balkans in threatening the headquarters of the Russians at Tirnova, and in endeavouring to cut off their communications with Roumania, they would have been compelled to evacuate the Shipka Pass in order to concentrate their forces in Bulgaria. But instead of following this course, the Turkish general made a series of furious assaults during the last twelve days of August on the Russian positions in the Pass. He was nearly successful at the outset, but powerful reinforcements were hurried to the spot by the Russians, and the attacks of the Turks were invariably repulsed with great loss to both sides, but especially to the assailants. Sulieman renewed his assaults in September with the same result, and it was calculated that in these fruitless attempts to carry the Russian fortifications, which military authorities affirm might have been turned without much difficulty, cost him more than 25,000 men in killed and wounded.

A series of blunders of the same kind, and equally fatal, were committed by the Russian generals. A body of Turks under Osman Pasha had been despatched to the relief of Nicopolis, but arriving too late they took up a strong position at Plevna, a place about 20 miles south-west of Nicopolis, between the Vid and the Osma, two of the tributaries of the Danube, with both flanks resting on the former behind the town. As they thus threatened both the Russian headquarters at Tirnova and the passage of the Danube at Sistova, the Grand-duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander-in-chief, ordered Baron Krüdener, at the head of a strong body of infantry, with three brigades of cavalry and 160 guns, to drive them out. After a desperate

struggle the assailants were repulsed with the loss of 8000 killed and as many wounded. Apparently elated by this success, Osman Pasha, with 25,000 men, resolved to assail the Russo-Roumanian army commanded by Prince Charles of Roumania. He made a determined and well-sustained attack against the Russian left centre, but was repulsed and driven back with the loss of 3000 men. This success was followed by a renewed and more desperate assault (July 30) by the Russian and Roumanian forces on the Turkish position at Plevna, in which 'a holocaust of mangled humanity was offered up to the inefficient helplessness of the General Staff Departments of the Russian army.' The conflict lasted from early dawn till after nightfall. The assailants, commanded by Generals Krüdener, Schalkoffshi, and Skobeloff, suffered terrible losses, added to which 'all the wounded, except those of the body under Skobeloff's command, were ruthlessly cut off on the field by the Bashi-Bazouks.' The Grand-duke seems to have regarded it as a point of honour to carry the Turkish position in the way in which he had commenced the enterprise. He accordingly persisted in his blundering tactics, and made vigorous preparations for a third attack on Plevna, which he was determined should be successful. Reinforcements were therefore summoned from Russia, and among the rest the Guards from St. Petersburg, a splendid body of men mustering some 40,000 strong. Roumania had been already admitted to the honour of combating side by side with Russia. On their entrance into Bulgaria the Russians had treated Prince Charles and his Roumanians like beasts of burden, and hewers of wood, and drawers of water. Now, however, in their great straits they earnestly entreated them to come to their rescue on any terms they chose to prescribe. Prince Charles chivalrously responded to this appeal, and his troops were assigned the post of honour and of heaviest loss in the second murderous assault upon Plevna.

The Emperor himself repaired to the spot that he might be eye-witness of the valour and victory of his troops, and at the end of the first week of September all was ready for the third assault on Plevna. It was ordered to take place on the 11th to celebrate the Emperor's birthday, and a stage was erected from which he might witness the triumph of his arms. To make 'assurance doubly sure,' batteries mounting more than 300 heavy guns had been planted on the heights encircling the strong position of the Turks, and for some days an incessant hail of shot and shell was hurled against the earthworks. On the 11th General Skobeloff captured two small redoubts, but with heavy loss, and they were retaken the next day with still greater loss. On the following day the efforts of the assailants were concentrated against the great central redoubt of Gravitz, but the storming parties and their supports 'fell before the deadly precision of the Turkish fire like corn before the reaper.' At the close of the day the assailants abandoned the hopeless contest, and the Emperor, after witnessing the humiliating repulse of his troops, retired to his quarters. The Turks, secure in their victory, unfortunately quitted the redoubt, which was at once captured by a combined rush of a few Russian and Roumanian battalions. But they speedily discovered to their mortification that it was commanded by other redoubts skilfully constructed in its rear.

After the failure of this third attack, in which the Russians lost 30,000 men, even the Grand-duke saw the folly of hurling his men against impregnable positions tenaciously held by a body of troops fighting with the courage of combined fanaticism and despair. Prince Charles had pointed out at the first that Osman's earthworks could only be taken by a regular siege, and General Todleben, the defender of Sebastopol, who had been set aside as 'a German unfit to serve the Slav cause,' was sent for and confirmed this opinion. Recourse was therefore had to

the method of approaching the Turkish defences by sap and trench before again assaulting them. Plevna was now environed by a chain of redoubts with shelter trenches in front. One by one its posts of communication were taken and its supplies cut off, and it became evident that unless a powerful relieving force could break the iron coil that was thrown around it, the fall of Plevna and the surrender of Osman Pasha's force could only be a question of time. Before the place could be completely shut in Chefket Pasha contrived to throw in a reinforcement of 10,000 men and a convoy of provisions from Sophia. If Osman Pasha's skill as a general had been equal to his bravery as a soldier, he would have fallen back on Orchanie the instant that he perceived preparations being made for cutting off his communications. He could have done this without much difficulty as late as the end of September. Plevna had served its purpose in checking the advance of the Russians, and gaining time for the Porte to organize its means of defence. It was now the safety of the army, not the retention of the earthworks, that should have been Osman's main object. He clung to his position, however, until it was impossible for him to quit it, and equally impossible to obtain reinforcements or a supply of provisions. The attempts made by Mehemet Ali and Sulieman Pasha to relieve Plevna by a diversion failed. The stores being exhausted, nothing remained for the Turkish commander but to make a desperate effort to force his way through the Russian lines. On the 10th of December this effort was made at the head of 26,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. After a gallant struggle, in which Osman Pasha himself was wounded, the Turks yielded to overwhelming numbers, and laid down their arms.

While these stubborn conflicts were going on at Plevna and the Shipka Pass, the army commanded by the Czarewitch had made its headquarters at Biela, and its base of operations on the Danube at the

bridge or ferry of Pirgos, about two miles west of Rustchuk. At the commencement of the campaign it seemed about to meet with great success, and threatened to invest the strong fortress of Rustchuk. But when the unwieldy and incompetent Abdel-Kerim was replaced by Mehemet Ali as Commander-in-chief of the Turks the aspect of affairs was changed. Reinforced by a powerful body of Egyptians under Prince Hassan, and of veterans brought from Asia, Mehemet gradually drove the Russian outposts across the various branches of the Lom, inflicting heavy loss on them on several occasions, especially in the battles of Kacelyevo and Kara Nassankoi.

At the close of the campaign both in Europe and Asia general surprise was felt at the reverses of the Russians and the brilliant resistance of the Turks. Passing from one extreme to another the public, who at first confidently expected a succession of easy triumphs for the Russian arms and the speedy prostration of the Porte at the feet of the Czar, now as confidently predicted the complete failure of the attempt to compel the Sultan to submit to the terms dictated by Russia. The fact, however, had been overlooked that the reverses of the Russian forces were due to the want of knowledge, skill, and energy on the part of their own officers, rather than to the superior activity and generalship of the Turks. As Russia was vastly superior in military strength and resources, it was certain that in the end the contest must terminate in her favour.

In October the tide suddenly turned in Armenia against the Turks, and they lost at one blow all the fruits of a long and brilliant series of victories. On the 15th of that month the army commanded by Mukhtar Pasha met with a signal defeat. The right wing, with seven pashas and thirty-six guns, was compelled to lay down its arms, and the Commander-in-chief, with the left wing, retreated to Kars. An immense spoil, including thousands of tents and standards and vast quantities of

ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors. The remnant of Mukhtar's army took up a strong position at Kupri Koi, before Erzeroum, from which it was driven 'in wild confusion' on the 4th of November, the Turkish commander retreating towards Trebizond. On the 18th of that month Kars was taken by assault, but not, it was suspected, without the aid of treachery. The Turks lost 5000 in killed and wounded, while 300 cannons, 10,000 prisoners, and a large amount of spoil, together with this important fortress, came into the possession of the victors. The siege of Erzeroum was shortly afterwards commenced, and the surrender of Osman Pasha's army at Plevna, on the 10th of December, completed the tale of Turkish disasters, and laid open the road to Constantinople to the victorious invaders.

Meanwhile the British Government were preparing to take action in the contest. Parliament was assembled a fortnight before the usual time. Her Majesty in her speech from the throne said, 'I cannot conceal from myself that should hostilities [between Russia and Turkey] be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution.' A numerous party in the country—nicknamed the Jingo party—were clamorous for immediate and active interference in behalf of Turkey, and the Government seemed no way reluctant to follow this course. They ordered the Mediterranean fleet to pass the Dardanelles and to go up to Constantinople for the protection of British residents there, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that he intended to ask for a supplementary vote of £6,000,000 for naval and military purposes. On this Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, resigned. Lord Derby also tendered his resignation, but was induced to withdraw it. The British fleet, however, did not enter the Dardanelles. Vice-Admiral Hornby withdrew to Besika Bay on receiving notice from the governor of the Dardanelles that he was

without instructions, and could only allow the fleet to pass under protest.

Meanwhile the Russians continued to pour over the Balkans. On the 20th of February they occupied Rustchuk, thus obtaining a complete control of the passage of the Danube, and appeared fully bent on continuing their triumphant march to Constantinople. The war was at an end in Armenia also, and the Turkish garrison completed their evacuation of Erzeroum on February 21. Insurrections, followed by atrocious massacres, broke out in Thessaly and Crete. The utmost consternation prevailed at Stamboul, and the Ottoman Empire seemed on the eve of dissolution. In this extremity the Porte was compelled to sign an armistice and the preliminaries of peace at Adrianople. As soon as the news of these events reached London the Government issued explicit orders that the fleet should pass the Dardanelles, and it accordingly anchored a few miles below Constantinople. Russia professed to be indignant at this step, and protested that if the British fleet passed the Straits Russian troops would occupy the city. But an amicable arrangement was come to that the British troops were not to disembark, and the Russians were not to advance nearer the capital.

The Treaty of Peace, which was signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March, excited strong dissatisfaction in Britain as well as in Austria, and the British Government at once refused to recognize it. They justly contended that it set aside the most important articles of the Treaty of Paris, which could only be done with the approval of the Great Powers who were parties to that treaty. In flagrant violation of his solemn pledge given before the commencement of the war, and disregarding the interests and obligations of other States, the Russian Czar had availed himself of the opportunity to aggrandize his empire in every possible way at the expense of his enemy. The Porte was to recognize the independence of Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania; Bulgaria was to be consti-

tuted 'an autonomous' tributary principality, with a Christian Government and a national militia. The limits of the new State were to comprise the whole of what used to be called Turkey in Europe, with the exception of a small piece of land in Roumelia in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople, a small detached territory on the Ægean, and the province of Albania. The fortresses were to be demolished, and the territory was to be occupied by 50,000 Russian troops for two years at the expense of the province. A large accession of territory in Armenia was to be given to Russia, including the port of Batoum and the fortresses of Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid. An indemnity amounting to 1,410,000,000 roubles, or £210,000,000 sterling—a sum exceeding the five milliards of francs exacted by Germany from France—was to be paid to Russia. But as it was admitted that Turkey was wholly unable to pay this enormous fine, the Czar generously consented to accept territory, to be selected by himself, for four-fifths of the amount. The treaty goes on to claim other two sums in addition, one of £1,300,000 to indemnify the losses sustained by Russian subjects and establishments in Turkey, and a further amount of about £40,000,000, which was to remain as 'a sort of caution money or perpetual mortgage due from the Sultan to the Czar, and to be enforced whenever the latter should prefer a quarrel about money to any other of the hundred pretexts ready to his hand.'

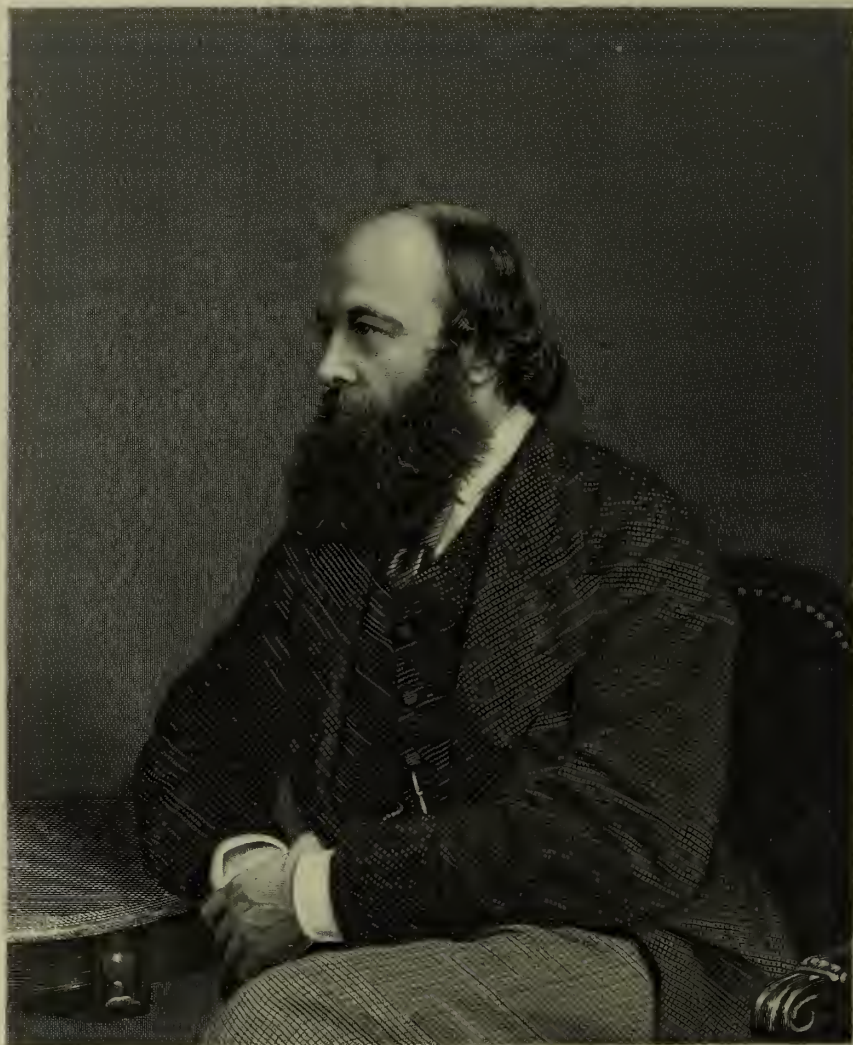
The ninth article of the Treaty of Paris declared that 'no Power shall collectively or separately interfere in *any case* with the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.' But the Treaty of San Stefano stipulated that 'the right of official protection is acceded to the Imperial Embassy and Russian consulates in Turkey, both as regards the persons of those above mentioned, and their possessions, religious houses, charitable institutions, &c., in the Holy Places and elsewhere.'

It was justly remarked at the time that 'no one can read the dispassionate record of these transactions without arriving at the conclusion that a more open defiance of truth, fair dealing, and public law has never been ventured upon by any European Power.'

Lord Beaconsfield publicly declared that 'the Treaty of San Stefano would put the whole south-east of Europe directly under Russian influence.' 'Every material stipulation,' said Lord Salisbury, 'which this treaty contains involves a departure from the Treaty of 1856;' and as the plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers, including Russia, recognized in 1871 that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement, Russia, one of the Powers which signed that declaration, is bound to submit its new treaty to Europe.

Russia was naturally very reluctant to submit to this demand. 'She leaves,' it was said, 'to the other Powers the liberty of raising such questions at the Congress as they may think fit to discuss, and reserves to herself the liberty of accepting or not accepting the discussion of these questions.' In other words, Russia insisted that the questions which in her opinion merely concerned Turkey and herself should be left to be settled between the Czar and the Sultan. It was impossible for the other Powers to accede to such a preposterous demand, to allow Russia to compel Turkey to submit to any terms she might think fit to dictate. The British Government came to the conclusion that the Czar imagined that they would confine their remonstrances to mere verbal protests; they resolved to show that they were in earnest, by calling out the Reserves, summoning a contingent of Indian troops to Malta, and making an armed landing on the coast of Syria. The determination to take these steps led to the resignation of Lord Derby, 28th

Donald B. Jones



Engraved by W. Parry from a Photograph by Elliott & Fry

MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, & C.

March, 1878. But though the Government was seriously weakened by the secession of two secretaries of state, its numerical strength was not lessened. Lord Salisbury was made Foreign Minister in Lord Derby's room. His first act in his new office was to issue a circular commenting in the strongest terms on the various provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano, denying the right of Russia to withhold from the consideration of Europe a single clause of that treaty, and declaring that it would be impossible for Britain to enter a Congress which was not free to consider the whole of its provisions. Naval and military preparations were commenced with great vigour. The announcement that Lord Napier of Magdala had been summoned from Gibraltar to take command of the expedition in preparation, and that Sir Garnet Wolseley was to be the chief of his staff, caused great excitement in St. Petersburg, and convinced the Russian Emperor and his advisers that the British Government were prepared to support their demands by arms. Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Minister in London, hastened to St. Petersburg, and with rare frankness and courage pointed out to the Czar the perils to which he was exposing his empire through the course he had been induced to adopt by the Pan Slavist party. His representations produced the desired effect, and Russia consented to enter, on the terms prescribed by Britain, a Congress at Berlin, to which Germany had invited the other European Powers. Greatly to the surprise of Britain, and indeed of Europe, it was announced that Lord Beaconsfield himself, accompanied by Lord Salisbury, would attend the Congress as the representative of Britain. This arrangement was quite unprecedented, and did not obtain universal approval even from the Conservative party.

The first meeting of the Congress of Berlin was held on June 13, and was presided over by Prince Bismarck. The result of their labours was the recognition of the complete independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro. The dominions of

Servia were extended as far as Nish; to Montenegro was given the town and harbour of Antivari, along with a considerable increase of territory on the north and north-east; the mountaineers were thus enabled to accomplish their great object of obtaining access to the sea. North of the Balkans a Bulgarian state was erected tributary to the Sultan and owning his suzerainty, but in other respects independent and possessing all the fortresses, including Varna and Sophia. No member of any reigning dynasty of the European Powers was to be eligible as a candidate for the office of ruler of this state. The region south of the Balkans was to form a different kind of state, to be called 'Eastern Roumelia,' to be governed by a Hospodar nominated by the Sultan and the Powers, and aided by a local elective Parliament. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be occupied and administered by Austria, in order, Lord Beaconsfield said, to place another Power than Russia on the road to Constantinople if the Turks should be expelled from Europe. But Austria alleged that she accepted this responsible and burdensome position solely out of regard for the common peace of Europe. Russia insisted, as a point of honour, upon recovering the strip of Besarabian territory taken from her by the peace of Paris at the termination of the Crimean War.* It was a question of filial

* This piece of land was taken virtually by force from Roumania, and in nothing was the utterly lawless and arrogant spirit of Russia more strikingly displayed than in her treatment of this State. After the disastrous repulse at Plevna the Grand-duke sent a telegram to Prince Charles, imploring him, in the most urgent terms, to come at once on his own conditions to the succour of the Russian army, which was being destroyed by the Turks. The Roumanians promptly responded to the appeal, and rescued the Russian troops from destruction. When the war was over Russia not only proposed to seize a portion of the territory of her ally, but arraigned, without the smallest reference to Roumania herself, that she should retain for a period of two years the right to use Roumania as a road for military purposes. The Roumanian Government protested; the answer was that all remonstrance was in vain, that indeed it was a matter which the Russian Government did not even choose to submit to the Congress if one should be held, because it would be an offence to the empire.

piety, it was said, for the Emperor to destroy this badge of Russian humiliation. Roumania was to be compensated by a portion of the Dobrudscha and some islands forming the delta of the Danube. As regards Asia, Russia was to receive Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum, which was to be converted into a free port and fortified. With regard to Greece, the British plenipotentiaries practically abandoned her cause altogether. Lord Beaconsfield steadily resisted her claims, and M. Waddington and Count Corti, the French and Italian representatives, who gallantly supported them, were able to do no more than to induce the Congress to recommend the Porte to grant to the Hellenes the territory south of a line to be drawn from the Salambria on the Ægean to the mouth of the Kalamas or Thyamis on the west coast.

It is probable that in any case strong objections would have been made to various provisions in this treaty, especially as regards the claims of Greece and the spoliation of Roumania; but the hostile feeling was vastly strengthened by the discovery that the greater part, if not the whole of the details, had been secretly prearranged between Russia and Great Britain. A clerk who had been temporarily engaged to assist in copying despatches in the Foreign Office sent to the *Globe* the text of a secret Anglo-Russian agreement which had been signed on 30th May at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff. Its authenticity was denied, in the first instance, by the Government—very little to their credit, for it very soon appeared that the document was without doubt genuine, and it corresponded exactly with the arrangements made by the Congress as to the settlement of Bulgaria and its future government, the cession of Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum to Prince Gortschakoff declared to the Roumanian agent that notwithstanding their clamouring both at home and abroad, the Russian decision was irrevocable. His Majesty orders me to tell you, he said, 'if you have the intention of protesting or opposing the article in question, he will order the occupation of Roumania and the disarmament of the Roumanian army.' So much for Russian good faith and gratitude.

Russia, and the surrender to that power of the coveted portion of Bessarabia. All the points, in short, which the people of Great Britain had been assured their plenipotentiaries would exert their utmost influence to obtain, had, it now appeared, been conceded by 'the Memorandum' which formed the 'mutual engagement in Congress for the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain.'*

It was shortly after discovered that this was not the only secret engagement which the British Government had entered into. A separate agreement had been made with Turkey as well as with Russia. On the 4th of June a secret treaty was signed with the Sultan, by which the Queen engaged in all time coming to defend the Asiatic possessions of the Porte 'by force of arms,' on condition that the Sultan should 'assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by Great Britain,' and should 'introduce all necessary reforms, as agreed on with his ally.' This anomalous and indefinite agreement imposed on the nation 'the duties and responsibilities attendant on the protectorate of a large continent, the defence of a vast and difficult frontier, and the arduous instruction of mixed and semi-barbarous races of men.'

The acquisition of Cyprus was regarded throughout the Continent with general approval, though not on any lofty grounds. 'England,' said one continental journal, 'has taken her share of the cake. She has acted like the dog with his master's breakfast slung round his neck, defending it only as long as it saw no advantage in taking its share.' 'Every national crow,' said another, 'is carrying off a bit of Turkey. Austria is pecking on the right, England on the left, and Russia at the heart, without reckoning the smaller fry who content themselves with a claw.' Russia approved of the cession, no doubt,

* Another and quite different document was sent to Mr. Layard, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, instructing him to resist to the utmost the concessions which had already been made in the secret agreement.

because it kept her own spoliation of Turkey in countenance. The transaction was regarded by all impartial observers as a dexterous piece of *legerdemain*—a '*magnifique coup de théâtre*,' as the Berlin courtiers termed it—rather than an act of judicious and high-minded statesmanship.

The proceedings of the Congress terminated on the 13th of July. The return home of the British plenipotentiaries was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. On reaching London the Prime Minister was met at the railway station by a tumultuous crowd of enthusiastic admirers, whom he addressed in characteristic terms from the windows of the Foreign Office, proclaiming in words which became proverbial, that he had brought back 'Peace with Honour' to his Queen and country. The proceedings of the Congress, the terms of the treaty, and the conduct of the Ministry underwent some sharp criticism in Parliament and in the country, but the House of Commons, by a great majority, expressed its approbation of the Ministerial policy.

During the excitement caused by these proceedings, the long and illustrious career of John Earl Russell, came quietly to a close (28th May, 1878), when he had attained the good old age of eighty-six.

Lord Russell was the last of that illustrious band of statesmen who carried out peacefully the greatest revolution that has taken place in our country since the Reformation. He was a younger member of one of those 'great old houses' who have for centuries been the bulwarks of national rights and privileges. One head of the house of Russell risked his life for the Protestant faith, a second jeopardised his estates in successful resistance to a despot, a third died on the scaffold for the liberties of his countrymen, a fourth took part in the Revolution which laid the keystone of our constitution, a fifth devoted his life and fortune to resisting the attempt of the Hanoverian sovereign to restore the arbitrary power of the throne, and a sixth—the elder brother of Earl Russell—powerfully assisted his rela-

tive in carrying through a bloodless but complete transfer of power from his own order to the middle classes of his fellow-citizens. As became both his ancestry and his early training at the University of Edinburgh, Lord Russell entered public life as the strenuous supporter of Liberal principles in Church and State, and he contributed more than perhaps any man of his age to make the history of the British Constitution and Empire during the long period of sixty-five years over which his career extended. His name is indelibly associated with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Roman Catholic Emancipation, the reform of Parliament, the abolition of slavery in our colonies, the amendment of our marriage laws, the revision of the Criminal Code, the reform of the Poor-laws and of the municipal corporations, the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, the Tithe Commutation Act in England and Ireland, the Irish Poor-law, the admission of Jews into Parliament, the opening of the China trade, Free Trade, and a host of minor measures. As Mr. Gladstone on one occasion remarked, not less truly than generously, if orders were given for civil as for military services, Earl Russell's breast would be studded with stars and crosses and ribbons. Sterling integrity and truthfulness and moral fearlessness were his Lordship's most prominent characteristics. Great virtues, however, are often closely akin to weakness, and Earl Russell's indomitable courage was apt to degenerate into rashness. His high qualities, both moral and intellectual, were probably never so conspicuously displayed as during the time when he represented the Melbourne Ministry in the House of Commons. The difficulties which he had to encounter were very formidable, but he was strong in his well-earned reputation for uprightness and integrity, in the sincerity with which he had adhered to his principles through good report and bad report. He was no less strong in the possession of debating powers, which, though not

of the very highest order, were formidable from their combination of earnestness of purpose with adroitness of tactics, and thus was able to steer the vessel skilfully and safely through the difficult and dangerous course it had to pursue, and to display throughout, in very trying circumstances, a moderation, firmness, fairness, and a sense of political justice not often exhibited by the leaders of great parties. It must be admitted that as First Minister of the Crown he was less successful in securing the confidence and attachment of his supporters, and that the frigidity of his temperament and occasional fits of waywardness contributed not a little to quench their zeal and to loosen the ties of party attachment. Probably the least successful part of Lord Russell's career was during his term of office as Foreign Minister, but his policy—mistaken and irritating as it often was—'meddling and muddling,' as the late Earl of Derby said of it—had yet stamped upon it a noble sense of the greatness and a laudable jealousy of the honour of Britain. His greatest mistakes may be traced to the want of those genial and sympathetic qualities which secure the warm affection of personal friends and the devoted attachment of followers. With his characteristic fearless frankness Lord Russell, in his autobiographical introduction to his speeches and despatches, says:—'My capacity I always felt was inferior to that of the men who have obtained in past times the foremost place in our Parliament and in the councils of our sovereign. I have committed many errors, some of them very gross blunders, but the generous people of England are always forbearing and forgiving to those statesmen who have the good of their country at heart. Like my betters I have been misrepresented and slandered by those who knew nothing of me; but I have been more than compensated by the confidence and friendship of the best men of my own political connection, and by the regard and favourable interpretation of my motives which I have heard expressed by my generous opponents, from the days of Lord Castlereagh to those of Mr. Disraeli.' The candour and frank simplicity of this statement is very characteristic of its author, who, in speaking of his own career and achievements, never in the remotest degree indulged in self-laudation. It must be admitted that Earl Russell had no pretensions to eloquence strictly so-called, and as a Parliamentary speaker he cannot be placed in the same class with Brougham, or even with Peel and the late Lord Derby. He wanted both the physical vigour and voice and glowing temperament of an orator, but he was a remarkably ready and effective debater; his language was eminently clear, precise, and incisive, and he was noted for his power of keen and direct retort. His ordinary mode of speaking in Parliament, however, was marked by a coldness and want of spirit and energy which detracted not a little from its effect, and his thoughts were not unfrequently commonplace, and his language bare and bald; but, as Lord Lytton remarked in the 'New Timon,' when 'the strain was on' this 'Languid Johnny soared to Glorious John,' and showed himself to be 'of Dryden's kind,' 'whose little body lodged a mighty mind.' As a statesman Lord Russell undoubtedly deserves to be placed in the foremost rank. Very few of those who have guided the councils of our nation in modern times could look back upon a career so brilliant and successful. The legislative achievements which he could claim as his own have altered the whole course of our national life. To crown all the departed statesman was a man of sterling Christian principles, and though petty faults not a few were mingled with his great qualities and somewhat marred his usefulness, they were mere spots in the sun; and men of all political parties and the mass of the people will long cherish a grateful remembrance of his many virtues, and especially of his integrity, sagacity, and disinterestedness, and the benefits which his patriotic exertions have conferred upon his country.

CHAPTER XVI.

Quarrel of the British Government with the Afghans—Demand for a British Resident at Cabul—Opposition of the Indian Viceroy—Opinion of Sir John Lawrence—The Marquis of Salisbury's policy—Lord Northbrook's resignation—Appointment of Lord Lytton as his successor—Russian Mission to Cabul—Refusal of the Ameer to receive a British Mission—The Peshawur Conference—The 'Scientific Frontier'—Declaration of War—Invasion of Afghanistan—Flight and Death of Shere Ali—Recognition of Yakoob Khan as Ameer—Treaty of Gundamak—Embassy at Cabul—Murder of the Envoy and his attendants—Vengeance taken by the British troops—Resignation of Yakoob Khan, and his deportation to India—Cruel treatment of the Afghans—Battle of Charasai—Holy War against the invaders—Attacks upon the British Camp—State of the country—Abdurahman recognized as Ameer—Defeat of the Afghans at Ahmed Khel—Change of Government at home, and of policy—Invasion of Ayoo Khan—Defeat of the British at Maiwand—Siege of Candahar—Withdrawal of British troops from Cabul—March of General Roberts to Candahar—Defeat of Ayoo Khan—Candahar given up to the Afghans, and Afghanistan abandoned by our troops—Cost of the invasion.

SCARCELY had the Eastern Question been settled, for a time at least, by the Congress and the Treaty of Berlin, than the British Government became involved in a quarrel with the Afghans, which resulted in a war that proved most disastrous. A few months after the accession of the Conservative Ministry to office (January 22, 1875), they insisted on the residence of a British instead of a native officer in the principal cities of Afghanistan, if not in Cabul itself, as an indispensable condition for the maintenance of our friendly relations with the sovereign of that country. This resolution was strenuously opposed by Lord Northbrook, the Indian Governor-General, and the whole of his Council, who stated at great length the strong reasons which made them regard it as both unwarrantable and dangerous. From the close of the first Afghan War it had been the fixed policy of all the Governors of India to efface the bitter recollections which that unfortunate event had produced on the minds of the Afghan people, and to dispel the suspicions which it had naturally produced with respect to the objects of the British Government. The treaty made with Dost Mohammed Khan in 1855 distinctly pledged Britain 'to respect those territories of Afghanistan then in his Highness' possession, and never to interfere therein.' This pledge was faithfully kept by successive Viceroys, who each in turn expressed cordial approval of the policy of

non-interference in Afghan affairs. 'Our relations with Afghanistan,' said Lord Canning, 'should always remain on this footing, and never be extended to any other aid than that of money, arms, and counsel. The appearance,' he added, 'of one or two European officers at Cabul in the Ameer's train was likely to raise in the minds of the people suspicion against himself as having sold them, and desire of vengeance against Englishmen.' 'Convince the Afghans,' said Sir John Lawrence in a hundred different ways, 'that we do not court and will not take a foot either of their few fertile valleys or of their thousand barren hills; that we will never attempt to force an English envoy or resident upon them, for we recognize that in their present state of civilization the instinct which makes them shrink from his presence is a sound instinct, an instinct of self-preservation.' In accordance with these views Lord Mayo, at his interview with the Ameer Shere Ali at Umballa in 1869, gave him a distinct assurance that 'no European officers should be placed as residents in his cities;' and Lord Northbrook renewed this pledge in still more explicit terms at Simla in 1873.

Lord Cranbourne (afterwards Marquis of Salisbury), when holding the office of Indian Minister in 1866-67, heartily concurred in the policy consistently carried out by his predecessors in office. But unfortunately his opinions underwent a great change when he returned to power in 1874.

There is reason to believe that this was brought about by a letter from Sir Bartle Frere, an old supporter of a 'forward policy,' who earnestly recommended the immediate occupation of Quetta, the construction of a railway across the desert to the Bolan Pass (by peaceable arrangement if possible, but if not, by force), the placing of British agents at Herat, Candahar, and Cabul, the establishment of a 'perfect Intelligence Department' in Afghanistan, and, if practicable, of our preponderating influence throughout the country. Lord Lawrence wrote a masterly reply to these recommendations, pointing out that 'the policy advocated by Sir Bartle Frere, so far from stopping the advance of Russia, would be likely to facilitate and accelerate it; that it would lead to difficulties and complications such as we had experienced in 1838, and that it would in this way prove ruinous to the finances of India. As for the occupation of Quetta, except as part of a policy of advance to Candahar and Herat, he affirmed that it would be costly; that it would be unsafe; that it would inevitably arouse the suspicions of the Ameer as the first step towards the invasion of his country; that the presence of British officers in Afghanistan must in the long-run turn the Afghans against us; that they would be got rid of by Afghan methods; that assassination would be followed by war, and that again by occupation or annexation.'

These warnings were unfortunately disregarded by Lord Salisbury, who now entered upon that course which destroyed in a moment the work of thirty years. It is important to notice that at this date there was no reason to suppose or believe that there were any Russian intrigues in Cabul. This allegation was not mooted until several years afterward. On the 22nd January, 1875, Lord Salisbury, without having previously consulted the Government of India, sent to Lord Northbrook the first of those disastrous despatches which directed him to enter upon the policy recommended by Sir

Bartle Frere, and to compel Shere Ali to receive a British resident at Cabul. The Viceroy, supported by the whole weight of his Council, containing Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir William Muir, and other men of the highest authority, including the Governor of the Punjab, expressed his disapproval of it. The Indian Secretary, however, was not to be turned from his purpose. He instructed Lord Northbrook to find an 'opportunity and a pretext for sending a mission to Cabul,' and to put forward some 'ostensible' plea, keeping the real object concealed. The Viceroy and the Council not only warned Lord Salisbury of the danger of this step, but objected to the dissimulation which he enjoined, and strongly recommended that the truth should be spoken, 'and that the real purpose of the mission should be frankly and fully stated to the Ameer.' For a whole year the Governor-General and his Council managed to fight off Lord Salisbury's proposals by argument and by pleas for delay, till at last, when the instructions became peremptory, Lord Northbrook resigned his office rather than carry out measures of which he strongly disapproved.

Lord Lytton was appointed to the vacant post, and his first practical step (January, 1877) was the occupation of Quetta, an advanced post 250 miles beyond its nearest supports. Considerable forces and supplies were collected at Rawul Pindee, as if in view of a campaign in Central Asia; a bridge was also projected over the Indus at Attock. These movements were naturally regarded with apprehension by Shere Ali, and he was impressed with the belief that an attack on his own dominions was contemplated by the Viceroy. Shortly before this time Lord Lytton reported that there were two Russian agents in Cabul, in violation of the understanding between the two courts. A remonstrance against this proceeding was made by the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, but Prince Gortschakoff affirmed that no communications had been made to the Ameer beyond

those of simple courtesy. Whatever may have been the truth in regard to this matter, it is certain that after our fleet had entered the Dardanelles, and troops had been brought from India to Malta, Russia resolved to make a diversion in Asia, and made preparations for an advance upon the Oxus, which, however, were immediately stopped when the Treaty of Berlin was signed.

Before the Treaty was concluded a Russian mission was sent to Cabul, which the Ameer affirmed he had been forced to receive. On this Lord Lytton made an immediate demand that the Ameer should receive a British mission, to be headed by Sir Neville Chamberlain. No reply being received to this demand the mission was nevertheless despatched. It was accompanied by an escort of 1000 men: 'too large for a mission,' said Lord Carnarvon, 'and too small for an army.' It was sufficiently large, however, to excite the apprehensions of the Afghans, not without good reason, that the mission was intended to be permanent. It started from Peshawur on September 21, 1878, but was stopped at Ali-Musjid, on the frontier, by the officer in command, who refused to allow it to pass until he had been authorized to do so by Shere Ali. This incident was represented as having been a gross affront offered to the British Government, which must be avenged by war, though it was admitted by the heads of the mission themselves that the utmost possible courtesy was shown on the part of the Ameer's officer.

Next came the 'Peshawur Conference' between Nur Mohammed, the representative of the Ameer, and Sir Lewis Pelly, the agent of Lord Lytton. But the negotiations came at once to a dead-lock, as Sir Lewis admits, because on the British side a preliminary discussion of the Ameer's complaints against us could not be agreed to, and on the Afghan side because Shere Ali's representative would not listen to our preliminary condition for future friendship—the presence of a British official at the Cabul court:—

'It is difficult even now, at this distance of time,' says Mr. Bosworth Smith, the biographer of Lord Lawrence, 'to read unmoved the earnest appeals of the Ameer to the faith of treaties and to the promises and untarnished honour of Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook; finally the piteous cry for mercy when this appeal to justice was unavailing, in order to ward off that which Lord Lytton laid down as a *sine quâ non* of any further negotiations—the residence of British officers in Afghanistan. "Matters," said the Afghan envoy, "have now come to a crisis, and the situation is a grave one. This is the last opportunity for a settlement, and God only knows the future. . . . The British nation is great and powerful, and the Afghan people cannot resist its power; but the people are self-willed and independent, and prize their homes above their lives. . . . You must not impose upon us a burden which we cannot bear; if you overload us the responsibility rests with you." When asked what the burden to which he alluded was, he at once replied, "The residence of British officers on the frontiers of Afghanistan. . . . The people of Afghanistan have a dread of this proposal, and it is firmly fixed in their minds and deeply rooted in their hearts, that if Englishmen or other Europeans once set foot in their country, it will sooner or later pass out of their hands." On this point the representative of the Ameer was immovable, emphatically declaring that he could not be responsible for the safety of British residents at his court. Lord Lytton, finding that his threats to "wipe Afghanistan altogether out of the map" in concert with Russia, and his comparison of the country to "a pipkin between two iron pots," had produced no effect, abruptly broke off the conference.* He repudiated all liabilities of the British Government to the Ameer, and shortly after withdrew his native envoy altogether from Cabul.'

'If Russia sent a mission to Cabul why had we not called Russia to account?' asked Mr. Gladstone. 'If an offence has been committed, I want to know whose has been the greater share of that offence? The Ameer was under no covenant that he was not to receive a Russian mission; we were under a covenant with him not to force on him a British mission. He was under no covenant not to receive a Russian mission; Russia was under a covenant with us to exercise no influence in Afghanistan. If there was an offence whose was the offence? The offence, if any, was committed

* It was known to the Viceroy that the Ameer, after the sudden death of his minister, in his terror and despair, was sending a new envoy to concede all Lord Lytton's demands rather than quarrel with the British Government, and with that fact in view the conference was closed.

by the great and powerful Emperor of the North, with his eighty millions of people, with his million and a half of soldiers, and fresh from his recent victories, and not by the poor trembling, shuddering Ameer of Afghanistan, with his few troops, over which he exercises a precarious rule. But now, having received from the Czar of Russia the greater offence, we sing small to Russia and ask about her mission; and when she says it is only a mission of courtesy we seemingly rest content, but we march our thousands into Afghanistan.'

On the 15th of June, 1877, in answer to questions asked by the Duke of Argyll in the House of Lords, the Secretary for India affirmed that the conference at Peshawur had been arranged at the Ameer's own request; that there had been no attempt to force a British envoy on the Ameer at Cabul; that there had been no change in our policy towards Afghanistan; and that our relations with Shere Ali had undergone no material alteration since the preceding year. When the publication of the papers connected with this wretched affair showed that these statements were entirely at variance with the facts of the case, Lord Salisbury pleaded that to have told the truth in reply to the questions of the duke would have been premature, and might have proved injurious to the policy of the Government.

At this critical moment Lord Lawrence, the venerable ex-Viceroy of India, raised his voice to warn his countrymen against the wicked and dangerous course which the Government was pursuing:—

'What are we to gain,' he asked, 'by going to war with the Ameer? Can we dethrone him without turning the mass of his countrymen against us? Can we follow the policy of 1838-39 without in all probability incurring similar results? If we succeed in driving Shere Ali out of Cabul, whom can we put in his place? And how are we to insure the maintenance of our creature on the throne except by occupying the country? And when is such an occupation to terminate? I have no doubt that we can clear the defiles and valleys of Afghanistan from end to end of their defenders, and that no force of Afghans could stand against our troops when properly brought to bear against them. The country, however, consists of mountain ranges for the most part

broken up into rugged and difficult plateaus, where brave men standing on the defensive have considerable advantages; and when we force such positions we cannot continue to hold them. The cost of invading such a country will prove very great, and the means for doing so must be drawn from elsewhere. The country held by the Ameer can afford neither the money nor the transport, nor even the subsistence in adequate quantity for the support of the invading army. It is impossible to foresee the end of such a war, and in the meantime its prosecution would utterly ruin the finances of India.

'Such are the political and military considerations which lead me to raise my voice against the present policy towards Ameer Shere Ali. Are not moral considerations also very strong against such a war? Have not the Afghans a right to resist our forcing a mission on them, bearing in mind to what such missions often lead, and what Burnes' mission in 1836 did actually bring upon them?'

This noble appeal to the conscience and to the judgment of the people of Great Britain was powerfully seconded by Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Grey, and other eminent men, who had always 'put principle above party, and morality above expediency.' But the Ministry were obstinately bent on pursuing their 'imperial policy,' and a decided majority of the English representatives in the House of Commons gave them cordial support. In consequence of the evasive replies given by Lord Salisbury to the questions put by the Duke of Argyll, Parliament was allowed to adjourn without any discussion on the subject. The Government were in consequence left at liberty, without check or hindrance, to follow their own devices, and they were encouraged by the approval of most of the metropolitan journals and the applause of their party to persevere in the unjust and impolitic course on which they had entered. On the 9th of November the Prime Minister startled his own colleagues and party, as well as the public, by the announcement that the war which was about to commence was undertaken, 'not to punish the Ameer for his reception of the Russian and his refusal to receive an English mission, but for a rectification of boundary—for the substitution of a scientific for a hap-hazard frontier.'

Lord Beaconsfield's conclusion, therefore, was that a new frontier being in his judgment required, he was entitled to take it by force at once, without the slightest regard to the rights of the Ameer or of the people of Afghanistan.

This coveted 'scientific frontier' was speedily shown to be impracticable. Lord Northbrook had pointed out that 'our present frontier is unassailable for purposes of defence, and to advance it further into Afghanistan would be most unwise.' Lord Lawrence had declared that by nature our present frontier is remarkably strong, and if necessary could be strengthened at a moderate cost when compared with what a new frontier in an advanced position would certainly require. But all was in vain.

The Government, however, persisted in the course which they had chosen, and they issued an Ultimatum which contained, according to the Duke of Argyll, four deliberately false statements. 'I confess,' he said, 'I cannot write these sentences without emotion. They seem to me to be the record of sayings and doings which cast an indelible disgrace upon our country.' The answer to this Ultimatum by the Ameer was considered unsatisfactory, and was at first most untruly affirmed to have been insulting. The poor chief, on the contrary, wrote in humble and piteous terms complaining of the 'harsh expressions and hard words, repugnant to courtesy and politeness,' which had been addressed to him. In his afflicted position (his favourite son Abdoolah having just died) 'patience and silence would have been specially becoming.' He contended that his officials had shown no enmity to the British Government, but if any Power, 'without cause or reason, shows enmity towards this Government, the matter is left in the hands of God and to His will.' A declaration of war immediately followed the receipt of this reply.

A vigorous effort was made at the last hour by the friends of justice and peace to avert a war which was as unjust in its origin

as it proved to be disastrous in its results. A committee was formed, composed of men of all political parties, and especially of men 'who were strong in their Indian experience and reputation,' whose chief object was to bring pressure to bear on the Government to postpone the actual commencement of hostilities till the papers on the subject had been made public, and till the Ameer should have had one chance more of making an explanation of his views and objects. Lord Lawrence was chairman of the committee, and on the 16th of November he wrote Lord Beaconsfield asking him to receive a deputation on the earliest possible day. But the Premier curtly declined the interview. Parliament met early in December to consider the question, but it was too late: hostilities had already commenced, and the invasion of Afghanistan had been entered on.

No one acquainted with the state of matters imagined that the advance of the British army into Afghanistan would meet with any formidable military resistance. As it turned out the resistance of the Afghans was even less than had been anticipated. They made no resolute attempt to hold their ground. Difficulties of transport were of course very considerable; the camels died by tens of thousands in the mountain passes, to which they were ill-adapted; the troops suffered great privations, and the hillmen threatened their lines of communication both for troops and supplies, and cut off their convoys. The invading army, under General Sir Samuel Browne, advanced through the Khyber Pass. General Roberts, after a sharp contest at the 'Peiwar Crest' with the Afghans, who fought with great bravery, forced his way through the narrow gorge called the Shaturgardan, 13,000 feet high, the possession of which gave him the command of all the passes between Khurum and Cabul. The division under Generals Biddulph and Stewart marched through the Bolan Pass, and early in January, 1879, took possession of Candahar with little

more than a show of resistance on the part of the Afghans; but the forces under Sir Samuel Browne halted at Jellalabad, and the division commanded by General Roberts delayed in the meantime their advance beyond the Shaturgardan.

Meanwhile the poor Ameer, overwhelmed by the perplexities and perils of his position, relapsed into the state of gloomy inaction which at previous critical junctures had oppressed him. Some of the chiefs fell away from him in the day of his adversity, and those who remained with him gave it as their opinion that further resistance was hopeless. He therefore quitted Cabul in company with the members of the Russian mission, who had remained there until this time. His object was to go to Tashkend to see General Kauffmann, but he was not permitted to cross the frontier. From Mazar-a-Sherif, near Balkh, he sent an embassy to the Russian Governor-General, but he was informed that the Czar declined to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. Worn out with hardships and disappointments, Shere Ali died on the 21st of February. On leaving Cabul he had released his son, Yakoob Khan, from the confinement in which he had kept him for years, and appointed him to act as regent in his name. The day before his father's death Yakoob made overtures for peace, and after some preliminary negotiations, which were protracted for several weeks, Yakoob, on the 8th of May, came in person to the British camp, which had been advanced from Jellalabad to Gundamuk. He was received with great ceremonial as the ruler of Afghanistan, but though his succession was acknowledged by his father's ministers and the chiefs by whom he was for the moment surrounded, his position was anything but secure. Badakshan was in open revolt, Ayooob Khan, Yakoob's brother, was Governor of Herat, and his allegiance was doubtful. Wali Mahomed, half-brother of Shere Ali, was a claimant for the office of Ameer, and Abdurahman, the late Ameer's old rival, was

a refugee in Turkestan, and was ready at any moment to cross the frontier and renew his claims. In these circumstances it was evidently of great importance to Yakoob to obtain the recognition of the British Government, which was certain to be followed by ample material assistance. On the other hand, the Indian authorities were anxious to find a chief with whom they could conclude a treaty which would secure them predominant authority in Afghanistan, and Yakoob lay readiest to their hand.

The new Ameer consented without hesitation to place his foreign relations and policy under British control. A definite treaty was signed at Gundamuk on the 26th of May, conceding all the demands made by Lord Lytton. The foreign affairs of the Ameer were to be conducted in accordance with British advice, and he was in turn to be supported by the British Government against foreign aggression. A British resident, accompanied by a proper escort, was to be stationed at Cabul, with authority to send British agents to the Afghan frontier on special occasions. The Khoorum, Pish-keen, and Sibu valleys were assigned to the British Government, who were also to have complete control of the Khyber and Michni Passes, as well as of the relations with the independent frontier tribes in whose territories these passes are situated. In return for these concessions the Ameer was to receive an annual subsidy of £60,000, contingent on his strict fulfilment of the treaty. The 'scientific frontier,' on which so much stress had been laid, was to be settled in a supplementary paper, which was to define its precise line and extent. The objects of the war had thus been secured on paper, but the penalty of these ill-starred and wicked proceedings was speedily exacted.

The news of the triumphant result of the Ministerial policy was received with loud rejoicings by the supporters of the Government and the multitude with whom success overrides all moral principles. The result, it was exultingly proclaimed, had proved

that Lord Lawrence and the other eminent authorities who had disapproved of the aggression in Afghanistan were wrong both in their premises and their conclusions. The great statesman, however, was in no way shaken in his views by the temporary success of the attack on Shere Ali. 'I fear,' he said, 'it can end in nothing but evil to us.' And when he heard that by one of the articles of the Treaty of Gundamak Sir Louis Cavagnari should remain with his escort at Cabul, 'they will be all murdered,' he exclaimed, 'every one of them.' Lord Lawrence and the other opponents urged that the real difficulties of the position the Government intended to assume in Afghanistan would begin precisely when the military difficulties were past. The prediction was speedily and thoroughly verified, and the tragic accounts of November, 1841, were enacted over again in Cabul in September, 1879. It seems almost incredible that the lesson which these events taught should have been forgotten or despised by our Government, and that the very same mistakes which proved fatal to the British envoys despatched to the Cabul court by Lord Auckland should have been repeated with the same result by Lord Lytton, and that what the Duke of Argyll called the lesson on foreign policy impressed on the Anglo-Indian mind by that solitary horseman who, on the 13th of January, 1842, staggered half unconscious into the gate of Jellalabad, should have been forgotten.

Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was selected to occupy the perilous position of British Envoy at Cabul, was an officer of extraordinary merit. It is said by one who knew him well that 'he had acquired a complete knowledge of the native character. His name and influence were known and felt on the whole north-west frontier. In spirit and gallantry he stood in the first rank. He had shown skill and prudence in negotiation,' and though well aware of the dangers to which he would be exposed from Mohammedan bigotry and Afghan

jealousy of foreigners, he hoped that by his good-will and personal influence he might become 'as safe among Pathans at Cabul as among Pathans at Peshawur.' Associated with him as his secretary was Mr. Jenkins, a young Scotsman who had already given marks of the highest promise in the Indian service, Dr. Kelly as surgeon, and Lieutenant Hamilton of the Guides, who commanded the escort, consisting of twenty-six troopers and fifty infantry. Hamilton was one of the bravest officers of the army, and had just gained the Victoria Cross for the extraordinary valour displayed by him in the action in which Major Wigram Battye was killed.

The Envoy was honourably conducted through the Ameer's dominions from Ali Khal, and was received at Cabul with apparent respect by the people—with cordiality by the Ameer. It is impossible to speak with certainty of the events which followed during the summer and autumn, but there appears to have been some symptoms of estrangement on the part of the Ameer, and various indications of a hostile disposition on the part of the Afghan chiefs and people, though no apprehensions of danger seem to have been entertained by the Envoy and his three British associates.

It speedily appeared that the Ameer was not the master of his own troops, of his own capital, of his own palace. On the 3rd of September a military revolt broke out, on the ground of arrears of pay, which instantly assumed the character of an attack on the British Residency, situated in the Bala Hissar, or citadel of Cabul. The defences were unfortunately ruinous, and the handful of the Guides were unable to hold the place against the mutinous soldiery, aided by the mob of the city incited by hatred of the stranger and the infidel. Driven from point to point of the indefensible fortress, the gallant Guides, led by the Envoy and his brother officers, made charge after charge and drove back their assailants, who, however, only returned in increasing numbers. Their leaders fell first, but the native

officers and the men continued the desperate contest. The assailants at last succeeded in setting fire to the building, and then the defenders, rushing out, perished fighting to a man. A few troopers and servants of the Embassy, who happened to be absent at the time of the attack, alone escaped. Before they were pushed to extremities several messages were sent to the Ameer, who promised that he would send help, but none came. He alleged in his letter to the Viceroy that he had sent Mollahs with the Koran to the mutineers to restrain them, and had afterwards sent his son and commander-in-chief for the same purpose. It is impossible to say whether he was helpless from terror, or was himself surrounded by the mutinous soldiery, or was inactive from treachery; he unquestionably failed in the courage and resolution he ought to have shown in defence of the British Envoy, actually within the shelter of his own palace. One thing this tragical event demonstrated, that the reluctance of Shere Ali to receive British residents in the interior of his dominions, on the ground that he could not insure the safety of their lives and property, was not unreasonable or insincere.

As soon as the news of the outrage on the Residency and the murder of our Envoy reached Calcutta the Viceroy resolved to take summary vengeance for the crime, and troops were despatched to Afghanistan with all possible expedition. As usual, however, there was a great deficiency of transport and supplies. General Baker's brigade, advancing by the Shaturgardan, occupied Kushi on the 24th of September. The Ameer, who had written to the Viceroy bemoaning his helplessness, presented himself almost as a fugitive in General Baker's camp on the 27th. With him came his father-in-law, his leading ministers, and Padishah Khan, the most influential of the Ghilzie chiefs. Next day General Roberts, who had been obliged to fight his way through hostile tribes, arrived, and received the Ameer at a *darbar* with royal honours.

The British General acted on the convenient theory that he had come merely to maintain the authority of the Ameer against rebels and mutinous soldiers, and issued a proclamation warning all persons of the penalties of resistance to their lawful sovereign. Marching towards Cabul, the British forces encountered, on October 5, a large body of the Afghans in a strong position at a place called Charasiab, and after a stubborn conflict put them to flight, leaving many guns and arms and a large quantity of ammunition in the hands of the victors. The hosts of Ghilzies and other hillmen who had hung round the rear and flanks of our army were for the time dispersed, but as General Roberts said, 'the whole country was seething.' He made his formal entry into Cabul on the 12th of October, without any apparent cordiality on one side or ill-will on the other.

Before the entrance of our troops into the capital the puppet ruler whom our Government had set up tendered his resignation. He was weary, he said, of the task of ruling such subjects as the Afghans had proved. His resignation was readily accepted, and suspicions of his fidelity having arisen the Viceroy directed that he should be sent to India. His father-in-law and others of his influential advisers were also sent out of the country. Two commissions were appointed, one to inquire into the circumstances of the attack on the Residency, the other to try prisoners accused of taking part in it, or of opposing the advance of the British troops. As might have been expected great difficulty was found in obtaining trustworthy evidence respecting the massacre, and though several persons were convicted of direct participation in it and were publicly hanged, there is reason to believe that most of the real criminals had fled from the city before the arrival of our troops.

No blame could be attached to the British authorities in inflicting merited punishment on the murderers of our Envoy and his attendants, but the case was

very different when they proceeded to treat the Afghan people, not as enemies to be subdued and compelled to submit to our arms, but as traitors to be treated with the penalties of treason. It was stated in a telegram from Lord Lytton to the Indian Office, of date October 18, that as 'the inhabitants have pertinaciously opposed the advance of our troops after warning *they have become rebels*; that Cabul and the surrounding country within a radius of ten miles will be placed under martial law; that rewards are offered for any person concerned in the attack on the Embassy, or for information leading to captures; that similar rewards are offered for any person who has fought against the British troops since 3rd September; and that large rewards are offered for rebel officers of the Afghan army.' A proclamation was issued by General Roberts declaring that 'persons who were guilty of instigating the troops and people to oppose the British troops will be treated without mercy as rebels.' These were not mere empty threats. The most stringent restrictions were imposed upon the correspondents of our public journals. No letter was permitted to leave the British camp without being subjected to the examination of certain military officials, who had authority to strike out every statement which they thought it inexpedient to publish, and the correspondent of the *Standard* was expelled from the camp. The object of these unprecedented precautions was to keep the public at home as far as possible in ignorance of the blunders committed by the Indian Government in the management of the war, and of the system of terrorism which under their orders had been instituted in Afghanistan. But enough transpired even from the meagre and mutilated reports which alone were allowed to be issued respecting the operations of our troops, to show that the proclamations were carried out with merciless severity. The chief Mollah of Cabul was hanged, it was said, by order of the Indian Government 'for preaching a

religious war, and giving the fanatics the standard.' The Kotwal (the chief police magistrate) of Cabul shared the fate of the ecclesiastical dignitary, on the ground 'that he had sent out a proclamation through the city calling on all Mohammedans to fight at Charasaib.' Along with him, besides the Mollah, two generals (one of royal blood) and a Chowdikas were put to death. It was not even alleged that these officials had taken any part in the murder of our Envoy. The sole offence laid to their charge was that they were 'prominent in inciting and organizing the resistance' to the British forces. Another telegram stated that 'no quarter is given to any one found firing upon us, and that *prisoners taken in fight are shot*.' In short, every Afghan who took up arms in defence of his country against a most unjustifiable and wicked invasion was treated as a rebel and a murderer, and even those who sheltered the disbanded soldiers in the day of their distress were treated as felons.

An expedition, under General Baker, was sent out in November, after the British forces were in possession of Cabul, to hunt out these fugitives from the villages in which they had found refuge. A village named Indikee was surrounded, and the headmen were ordered by the general, under pain of death and the burning of their dwellings, to deliver up the hidden soldiers, and only five minutes' grace was allowed them. But the Afghan warriors saved their hosts the dreadful alternative, and came forward at once and answered to their names on the roll-call of their regiment, which was in the hands of Baker. With an insensibility to the generous self-devotion of these men which is most shocking, they were ignominiously hanged as if they had been the vilest criminals, and a ruinous fine of 20,000 lbs. of grain and 600 loads of chopped straw for forage was extracted from the villagers under the threat of burning their dwellings to the ground. Other villages were treated in the same barbarous manner, and altogether

General Baker in the course of a hunt of three or four days captured eighty-nine wearied and wounded Afghans, of whom he executed forty-nine.* The only regret expressed by the perpetrators of these barbarous deeds was that the men thus mercilessly put to death were private soldiers, and that their generals, Karbel Khan, Nek Mahomed, and Mahomed Jan, for whose capture large rewards had been offered, had made their escape.

Another expedition, commanded by General Tytler, destroyed no less than twelve large villages stored with grain, leaving the helpless women and children in the depth of an Afghan winter to perish of hunger and cold. It need excite no surprise that such atrocities created a burning thirst for revenge among all the Afghan tribes, that the whole country rose in arms against its barbarous invaders, and that the immediate result was to place our troops in a position of imminent peril, in which they were compelled to fight for their lives and not for conquest. It may well be asked on what grounds did the Indian Viceroy and his Council order these Afghan soldiers to be put to death in cold blood? to what Government had they been traitors? against what sovereign had they rebelled? It could not be alleged that because they fought against the British troops who invaded their country they were therefore to be regarded and treated as rebels, for our Government had never claimed any right of sovereignty over Afghanistan. With almost as little reason could they be accused of treason against Yakooob Khan. It suited the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield and the Indian Viceroy to recognize him as Ameer; but he was not the nearest heir to the throne, and Shere Ali, his father, so strongly disapproved of his claim to the succession that he consigned him to a long and apparently hopeless imprisonment. A

considerable number of the chiefs refused to recognize the validity of his pretensions, and denounced him as the puppet of the British Government, and as a coward and a traitor to his country. The great body of the Afghan tribes, in fact, from the first repudiated his claims to the amcership, and never in any form acknowledged the treaty which our Indian Viceroy, under the dictation of the Home Government, wrung from the pretender whom he had placed on the throne. Yet under a contemptible quibble the Government instructed their officers to hang as traitors the soldiers who never owed allegiance to Yakooob Khan, and who simply did their duty as freemen and patriots in defending their hearths and homes against invasion.

This conduct must be regarded as still more indefensible when we take into account the fact that there is good reason to believe that in resisting the British troops the Afghan chiefs and their clansmen were obeying the secret orders of the Ameer himself. After the advance of the British army into Afghanistan he abdicated the sovereignty, as we have seen, was treated as a prisoner, and sent out of the country with a view to his being brought to trial on the charge that he had instigated or at least connived at the attack on the Residency. In these circumstances Lord Lytton was no more entitled to say as he did, that 'the British Government could justly destroy Cabul,' than Bismarck would have been warranted to say that the Prussian Government could justly destroy Paris; and General Roberts had no more right to treat as rebels the Afghan soldiers who fought against our troops at Charasaib in defence of their capital than Von Moltke would have had to hang the French soldiers who, after Sedan, fought against the Prussians in defence of Paris, or to offer rewards for the capture of their officers, in order that they might be ignominiously put to death.

At this period, however, the Ministerial journals had the effrontery to declare that religion and morality have nothing to do

* An attempt was made to minimize these atrocities after the public indignation was aroused against them, but the proclamations and telegrams speak for themselves, to say nothing of the mutilated and cooked letters of the special correspondents.

with the policy of a Government—that the interest of our own country was the sole object to be kept in view in our dealings with the Afghans, whose welfare was not for an instant to be taken into account by our rulers and their agents; and that in order to provide for the security of our Indian dominions the Government was entitled to lay waste the Afghan territory, to expel or imprison its rulers, to put to death the inhabitants who resisted our authority, and to reduce the country to a state of complete anarchy. When such cynically selfish and immoral pleas were unblushingly promulgated by the supporters of the Ministry at home, it was not surprising that the Indian Government and the commanders of our troops carried on hostilities against the Afghan tribes in a manner which violated both the recognized laws of war and the common dictates of humanity. The cruelty with which the Afghan soldiers were treated, together with the oppressive requisitions for forage and the exactions of revenue, roused the indignation of the headmen, and persistent attacks were made upon our troops. Priests and patriots were busy everywhere preaching the duty of fighting to the death against the infidel and the foreigner. At Ghuznee, to which the Cabul soldiers had fled, an aged Mollah became the prophet of a holy war, and insurgent bands collected in great numbers in the turbulent province of Kohistan. In Maidan the people rose and murdered the Governor, a son of Dost Mohammed, for no other reason than that he was appointed by the British General.

On the 10th of December a serious conflict took place between our troops and a large body of Ghuznee insurgents, who fought with desperate courage, unchecked by the fire of our artillery, and twice repulsed a cavalry charge. The guns were upset in the water-cuts and abandoned, though ultimately recovered, and our soldiers were compelled to retreat in great disorder. Incessant attacks of the

same kind by overwhelming numbers of hillmen were made upon our troops, and were repulsed with difficulty after heavy losses. In the end General Roberts found it necessary to withdraw all his men from Cabul to the fortified encampment of Sherpur, two miles north of the city, till the arrival of reinforcements. Towards the close of the year the attacks of the insurgents on his position were renewed with such determined resolution and perseverance that he found it necessary to dislodge them from the surrounding hills and villages. After a severe struggle he succeeded in driving them off with considerable loss; and Mahomed Jan and the other leaders fled to Ghuznee, taking with them the infant son of Yakoob Khan, whom he had declared Ameer. General Roberts then issued a proclamation, granting an amnesty to all who would return to their homes, with the exception of six leaders of the revolt against Yakoob Khan and the murderers of the Governor of Maidan.

Although the attack upon Sherpur had been repulsed, and our troops for the present relieved from imminent danger, vengeance was still sought upon the Afghan tribes. General Baker was sent towards Kohistan with a force of about 2000 men to 'punish' the tribes in that district who had taken an active part in the attack upon our intrenched camp. General Bright was meanwhile occupying himself in 'punishing' the tribesmen who had interrupted General Gough's march on Jugdulluck and Lataband and had harassed the British outposts. In this 'punitive expedition,' as it was termed, he 'completely surprised' their villages, and of course treated them after the example set by General Baker.

The unity of Afghanistan seemed now completely broken up by our wanton invasion. Province after province had broken away. The most important strongholds to the south and to the east were in the hands of the British forces, and various portions in other quarters were in the possession of chiefs striving for

independence. One section, headed by Mahomed Jan, declared for the infant son of Yakoob Khan, and was supported by the patriotic party and the fanatical Moham-medans. Abdurahman, the old rival of Shere Ali, was once more in the field, while the Governor of Herat, Ayoob Khan, Yakoob's brother, was preparing to assert his own claims. The British Government let it be understood that they were prepared to recognize as Ameer any fit and friendly Sirdar whom the representatives of the people might choose, but it was utterly impossible to obtain anything like unanimity in the choice of a person to fill the vacant throne. About the end of March Mr. Lepell Griffin, who had been Secretary to the Punjab Government, arrived at Cabul, and assumed the control of political affairs. He took an early opportunity of informing the Sirdars that it was considered advisable to divide the country into its old constituent provinces; and Shere Ali, cousin of the Ameer of the same name, was informed by the Viceroy that he was to be recognized as the independent ruler or Wali of the kingdom of Candahar. A British resident was of course to be appointed to his court, and a British force was to be stationed at Candahar for his protection. As a further indication of the good-will of the British Government, he was told that a battery of smooth-bore guns was on its way to him as a present. Negotiations were now opened with Abdurahman, and on 22nd July he was recognized as Ameer of Northern Afghanistan. He was put in possession of the fortifications constructed at Cabul, Jellalabad, and other strongholds. A large sum of money was given him, and he also obtained all the captured Afghan guns and stores of ammunition.

The troops which garrisoned Candahar had been detained on service since they had been sent up to Afghanistan in 1878, and were now impatient to leave the country. It was therefore decided to send up Bombay troops to relieve these Bengal regiments, and it was thought desirable that they

should proceed to India by Ghuznee and Cabul, instead of returning by Quetta and the Bolan Pass. On the arrival of the troops who were to replace them at Candahar, the Bengal force, numbering about 6000 fighting men, started in three divisions for Ghuznee under General Stewart. At Khelat-i-Ghilzye the three columns united. Their road lay through a dreary and desert country, which seemed to have been abandoned by the inhabitants. At a place called Ahmed Khel, about 23 miles south of Ghuznee, they were attacked (19th April) by a body of Afghans consisting of 15,000 foot and 1000 horsemen. After a desperate struggle, in which 3000 of the assailants are believed to have fallen, the Afghans were defeated and driven off. The loss of the British forces was only 17 killed and 124 wounded, and next day their advanced cavalry entered Ghuznee without opposition. After a short halt General Stewart started for Cabul, which he reached in safety, though he had repeatedly to defend himself on his march against the attacks of the hillmen, who hung upon his flanks and availed themselves of every opportunity to harass and annoy him.

On his arrival at Cabul General Stewart, as senior officer, took over the command from General Roberts. At this juncture the elections at home having gone decidedly against the Government, they had at once resigned. Lord Hartington was appointed Indian Secretary, and Lord Lytton was replaced by the Marquis of Ripon. The scheme of the Conservative ministry was virtually to make Candahar a protected state, under the control of the British Viceroy, and to allow Cabul and Northern Afghanistan to be governed by any friendly Ameer whom the chiefs might select. Communications had accordingly been opened with Abdurahman before Lord Lytton resigned office, and was continued by his successor, who made it known that our main object was to effect our retreat peaceably from the country, but that it was desirable that a settled Government should

be created. The new ministry, however, were evidently indisposed to retain Candahar and the other places made over to us by the treaty of Gundamak, or to take any steps which would involve the necessity of maintaining a permanent garrison in Afghanistan.

Negotiations were still continued with Abdurahman, though he was well known to be a Russian pensioner, and at last, on the 22nd of July, at a durbar held at Cabul, Mr. Griffin announced that the British Government recognized Abdurahman as Ameer of Northern Afghanistan. He frankly stated to Mr. Griffin that he did not desire our ostensible support, and that the presence of our troops would only alienate his followers and weaken his authority. No formal engagement was entered into with him, and he was not asked to receive a British resident, but he was assured that if he conformed to the advice of the British Government they would, if necessary, defend him against unprovoked aggression.

Meanwhile Ayoo Khan, one of the sons of the late Shere Ali, who had for some time been Governor of Herat, now began to press his claims to the ameership, and advanced towards Fara at the head of a numerous and well-equipped army. The new Viceroy, who appears to have been imperfectly informed as to the state of matters, was of opinion that Ayoo's passage of the river Helmund would endanger our position at Candahar, and gave orders that it should be prevented. General Burrows was sent at the head of a body of 2600 men, of whom only 497 were European infantry and 141 artillerymen, to arrest the progress of the invader. It was soon reported that the tribesmen were flocking in great numbers to Ayoo Khan's standard. The soldiers of the Wali of Candahar mutinied and hastened to join him, and some notables who had been long believed to be sincerely loyal disappeared secretly from Candahar to take part with the invader. In these circumstances

General Burrows decided to retire to the village of Khushk-i-Nakhud, 44 miles from Candahar, thus putting a desert tract of 30 miles between him and the Helmund. The moral effect of this movement was decidedly bad, as indicating a sense of weakness to Ayoo and the inhabitants of the district. The general's scouts were negligent or treacherous, and he was not aware that Ayoo had actually crossed the Helmund until the appearance of his cavalry a few miles from the British camp. Councils were held, at which great difference of opinion prevailed, and nothing definite was determined. About 12 miles north of Khushk-i-Nakhud is a village called Maiwand, and a pass over the hills, by which a force, avoiding the British camp, could march on to Candahar. On the evening of the 26th July spies reported that a small body of the enemy were making for the pass, and next morning General Burrows resolved to march out, in order to 'turn out the few hundred Ghazees' who occupied it.

The general was an 'excellent office-man, who had spent the best years of his life on the staff;' and though brave as a lion, he was incapable of appreciating the course he ought to have followed. As Ayoo was obliged to assume the offensive, Burrows ought to have taken up a strong position on the enemy's line of advance, and to have awaited his attack. He seems, however, to have had no definite plan but that of fighting the Afghans whenever he got the opportunity. On the 26th he heard that Ayoo's advance-guard had arrived at Garunavand and Maiwand, with the main body following, and he resolved to assume the offensive. His small force, weakened by sickness and encumbered by the huge train of baggage which it had to guard, had to engage an Afghan force of at least 12,000 men (General Burrows estimated them at 25,000, but his estimate was probably incorrect), of whom 5000 were cavalry. Lieutenant Maclaine, with his guns, crossed a broad torrent-bed which lay between the Afghans and the British force. It is said

that an order was sent to him to return, but for some unknown reason he failed to do so, and other two guns and some cavalry were despatched to his support. The general had no opportunity of reconnoitring the ground, or ascertaining the extent of the deep torrent-bed in front and on our right which concealed and sheltered the enemy; but he admitted that Lieutenant MacLaine's impetuosity in commencing the action sooner than was intended compelled him to open fire at once with the remaining guns. The details of the conflict cannot be ascertained with anything approaching to certainty. If the most daring courage could have made up for unskilful strategy, General Burrows 'would have won a Victoria Cross twenty times.' But under the attacks of the overwhelming numbers of the enemy the native troops became unsteady, and their line at length 'curled up like a wave.' The 66th British Foot displayed the most desperate valour in resisting the attacks of the surging masses of swordsmen, cavalry, and musketeers who pressed upon them from all sides, and they suffered severely in the conflict; but at length the few wearied remnants were swept to the rear in a surging mob of Sepoys and Afghans. The general, in order to save his infantry from annihilation, was compelled to give the order for retreat, which speedily became a flight. During the rest of the day, and all through the night till the morning of the following day, the fugitives continued to stream towards Candahar. The Afghans hovered in the rear and made frequent attacks, but failed to disperse our men, who, though worn out with thirst and hunger and fatigue, made a gallant resistance whenever an onset was made. Their rear was protected by the artillery, which kept up its military formation even to the walls of Candahar, and the limbers served as ambulances for the wounded. Altogether in the battle and the retreat nearly half the force perished.

It is only an act of justice to General Burrows to quote the testimony borne by a

distinguished officer to his conduct in this conflict. While admitting that he had committed serious mistakes in strategy, it was added, 'on the other hand, he never lost his head for a moment, and in the moment of the greatest danger and confusion exerted himself with the utmost gallantry and energy to restore order.' Indeed, that any of his force escaped at all is probably due to his calm courage. He showed that, if owing to a long career of desk work he was an unskilful general, he was, at all events, a fighting officer of whom the British army may be proud.

General Burrows undoubtedly committed a series of tactical errors of a grave nature, but the blame of this rash and unfortunate enterprise is not altogether due to him, but must be largely shared by General Primrose, who commanded in Candahar, and the Indian Government. The former was responsible for despatching General Burrows with only some 2600 men and twelve guns to hold in check an army of at least 12,000 men with thirty guns, and leaving him with no support nearer than 43 miles. He certainly ought to have sent to the assistance of Burrows at least the two regiments of native infantry which had arrived from the frontier in time for the battle of Maiwand. If he did not think fit to strengthen the brigade, he should have recalled it. Want of forethought and false economy on the part of the Indian Government had so denuded General Phayre, who was stationed at Quetta, of transport, that he could not push up any large force to Candahar.

Had ordinary foresight and prudence been displayed, General Phayre would have been able to have reached Candahar by August 15. But both the Government and General Primrose seemed to have failed to appreciate the position of affairs. Fortunately the enemy had suffered too much and were too weary with the efforts of the day to continue the pursuit very far; but bands of their cavalry hung for some miles on the rear of our forces, and when day

broke the villagers along the road poured out in great and ever-increasing numbers to harass and cut down the fugitives. But for the assistance given by General Brooke with a small party of soldiers who came out of Candahar to their assistance, probably few of the defeated troops would have forced their way through the crowds of assailants who sought to block the road to that city. Two of the Horse Artillery guns were captured, along with their brave leader, Lieutenant Maclaine, and five of the smooth-bores presented to the Wali were abandoned in the retreat. The behaviour of all the troops engaged in this unfortunate affair seems to have been good up to two o'clock, when the native infantry regiments were swept away by the rush of overwhelming numbers of Ghazees and horsemen. The native cavalry, however, behaved badly, and refused to charge the enemy at a critical moment of the battle. One proof of their demoralization is that not a single native officer was killed. Altogether the British loss, in killed and missing, amounted to about 1000 men out of the 2600 of whom the force consisted.

Such was the consternation caused by this defeat that General Primrose, who commanded at Candahar, precipitately abandoned the encampment and withdrew into the city—a step which was strongly condemned by Sir F. Haines, the Commander-in-chief. The victorious Afghans were said to have bought their victory so dearly that they hesitated to advance from Khushk-i-Nakhud. One portion of them wished to march on Candahar, another insisted on returning. Disputes ran so high, that from words they came to blows. In the end, however, they resolved to attack Candahar, and they set themselves at the same time to stir up the tribes along the route to Quetta. During the first week of August Ayooob's main body appeared before the city, and batteries were erected and villages and posts occupied on every side, save the north. On the 8th they began firing upon Candahar. Their artil-

lery had been splendidly served at Maiwand, and the practice was equally good at Candahar. A sortie, which was very injudiciously made by General Primrose, terminated in the loss of more than one-fifth of the troops employed, including the able and gallant Brigadier-general Brooke. But in a short time the enemy, who never really pressed the siege, practically raised it on hearing that a relieving force under General Roberts was approaching.

When the news of the disaster at Maiwand reached Cabul it was resolved that General Roberts should march to the relief of Candahar at the head of a picked body of the troops stationed at the capital, and that the forces not required for this purpose should at once withdraw from the country before the tidings of our defeat should rouse the tribesmen against us. Accordingly, two days after General Roberts had started for Candahar, General Stewart commenced his march to India with the less efficient troops, the sick, the swarms of camp followers, the Hindoo traders, and all the Afghans who thought it unsafe to remain after the British force had quitted the country. Not a shot was fired against them as they withdrew, they suffered no molestation during their homeward march, and with scarcely any of the illness and suffering which had been anticipated they regained their long-wished-for cantonments in India. Mr. Griffin said, in his address at the last durbar, that he hoped the recollections which the Afghans would have of us would not be wholly unfriendly, and certainly the inhabitants of Cabul, to which our armies had gone on a mission of vengeance, had reason to remember us with some gratitude, for, to say nothing of the lavish expenditure by which they had been enriched, and of the medical skill and medicines by which the sick had been benefited, our troops left the city fortified as it had never been fortified before.

Meanwhile General Roberts was on his march to the relief of Candahar. 'The road from Candahar,' says a distinguished officer, 'passed through a hostile country, in which

not only opposition but also scarcity of supplies was to be anticipated. A single route was available, and an army marching from Cabul was in this position—that it would quit a base which was being simultaneously evacuated and move on a beleaguered fortress. It would therefore be completely in the air. Such an operation was in complete violation of all the principles of strategy, and nothing but—not merely success, but rapid success, without a single check, could justify it. A more audacious march was therefore never undertaken. That it was completely—nay, brilliantly—successful reflects great credit on General Roberts, but does not absolve the Government from the responsibility which it incurred by having rendered the step necessary.’

Considerable anxiety was felt respecting the position of General Roberts, as from the time he left the Logar Valley none of the messages sent by him, till he arrived at Khelat-i-Ghilzye, reached the British authorities elsewhere. The General had under his command 2562 European soldiers, 7157 Natives, and 273 British officers. He was weak in artillery, having with him only eighteen mountain guns. The baggage was reduced to the smallest possible compass, but the army was encumbered with 8000 camp followers. The march commenced on the 9th of August; the first 98 miles were traversed in seven days, and on the 15th the forces reached Ghuznee. The soldiers were put to great trouble and toil in consequence of the desertion of the drivers belonging to the transport service, but they were not attacked or harassed during their march by the hostile tribes. On the 23rd the column reached Khelat-i-Ghilzye, having marched from Ghuznee, a distance of 134 miles, in eight days. Taking the garrison with him, General Roberts pursued his onward march, and on the 26th he learned that Ayoob Khan had on the 23rd abandoned the investment of Candahar, and had taken up a position north-west of the city, in the Argandab Valley, where he

evidently intended making a stand. On the 31st of August the relieving force reached Candahar, 318 miles from Cabul, which they had traversed in twenty-three days, including two halts of one day each. The discipline of the troops during this great march was no less remarkable than their spirit and endurance, and though straggling soldiers and some camp followers were in several instances murdered by the Afghans, who hung upon the rear of the column, no act of retaliation was committed. Supplies were paid for, and private property was everywhere respected.

General Roberts was instructed by the Government to seek out and defeat Ayoob Khan, and he lost no time in performing the duty intrusted to him. Reinforced by the garrison of Candahar, under General Primrose, consisting of 4500 soldiers, a battery of 40-pounders, a battery of field artillery, and four guns of horse artillery, he marched out to attack the enemy, who were strongly intrenched at the village of Pir Paimal, on a spur of a range of hills to the west of Candahar, and occupied in great force several villages in front of their position. They did not seem inclined to wait the attack of our men, but prepared to assume the offensive with great steadiness and resolution. The British troops, in forcing their way through lanes and inclosures surrounded by high walls, which had been loopholed, encountered a most stubborn resistance, and lost a large number both of officers and men. After severe fighting the village of Pir Paimal was carried soon after noon, and the Afghans retired to an intrenched camp to the south of the Babi Wali Pass, which leads to the Argandab Valley. They held this strong position for some time with great determination, but they were at length driven from it at the point of the bayonet, and fled in great disorder, pursued for 15 miles and cut up by the British cavalry. Ayoob's camp, which stood at Mazra, a mile beyond, was found completely deserted, and thirty-two pieces of artillery,

including the two guns captured at Maiwand, and other four afterwards brought in, fell into the hands of the victors. The lifeless body of Lieutenant Maelaine, Royal Horse Artillery, who was captured on 27th August, was lying outside a tent, close to Ayoob's own. He had been basely murdered by his guard just before they fled from the camp. This act of butchery may not have been ordered by Ayoob Khan, but he must be held directly responsible for it. The total loss of the British was 40 killed and 228 wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but it must have been very heavy, probably in killed alone upwards of 1200. Ayoob fled from the field early in the day, and attended by a compact body of horsemen he made the best of his way to Herat.

The policy of keeping a British force at Candahar was strongly advocated by an influential party both in England and in India, but the Home Government sent a despatch in November to the Viceroy, expressing 'in the strongest and plainest terms' their objection to any step that would involve the permanent retention of British troops at Candahar. In their opinion the apprehension of danger to India from the Russian advance was groundless. If we resolved to occupy Candahar we would inevitably be drawn on to make further advances, and we should be constrained to march to Herat by the same arguments as were employed to justify the retention of Candahar. Our occupation of that city, the ministers affirmed, would be followed by constant difficulties with the Afghans, would interfere with the establishment of a strong Afghanistan, and would involve the Indian Government in a great and unwarrantable expense. Lord Ripon was therefore instructed to withdraw our troops from Candahar at the earliest suitable time, which was accordingly done. The forts constructed in the Khyber Pass were handed over to the Afridis, the native tribe of the district, who, in return for a subsidy,

agreed to patrol the Pass, keep it open, and provide escorts. The Khurum Valley was delivered to the Turis, a local tribe who had assisted us in the war.

Sir John Strachey, the Indian Finance Minister, estimated that the total expenditure of the war down to the end of 1880-1881, would be £5,750,000, and that the cost of the two railways—one from Sakkar, on the Indus, to the foot of the Bolan Pass, the other towards the Khyber—would be £3,000,000. It was ascertained by the month of October that the military expenditure proper down to the close of the year would be £13,148,000, and that the expenditure on frontier railways would amount to £4,917,000. Thus the net cost of the war was the enormous sum of £18,065,000.

Such was the close of this second attempt to compel the Afghans by force of arms to submit to our authority, and to become our dependants. 'When General Roberts' brilliant march and victory,' says Mr. Bosworth Smith, 'enabled us to flatter ourselves that we had wiped out the memory of our disgrace, it was necessary for us to find or to make another king, and we fished out a Russian pensioner, whom we straightway put upon the throne to oppose Russian aggression! And then the Government which had succeeded, by no fault of their own, to the heritage of wrong left them by their predecessors, did the best that they could under the circumstances by withdrawing from the scene of our sin and shame; and we now have the satisfaction of feeling that we have thrown away twenty millions of money and thousands of lives, and the plighted word of successive Viceroyes, and the solemn pledges of treaties, in pursuit of a "scientific frontier," which has vanished clean away, and is never spoken of but with derision, that we have turned the whole Afghan nation into our deadly foes, and that we have not stopped the march of Russia towards India by one single day.'

CHAPTER XVII.

South African disturbances—History of Cape Colony—Position of the Boers—Their slaves and treatment of the Hottentots—Abolition of Slavery—Collisions between the Boers and the Kafirs—Decision of Lord Glenelg and the House of Commons respecting the ease of the Kafirs—Exodus of the Boers to the Orange territory—Natal Colony—Another Kafir War—Annexation of Kafirland, Basutoland, and the Orange River Free State—A third Kafir War—The Orange River State declared independent—Atrocities committed by the Boers—Hostilities between the Basutos and the Orange River State—Appeal of that State to Britain for help—Renewed hostilities with the Basuto chief Moshesh—His entreaty for protection—His tribe made British subjects—Discovery of the Diamond Fields—Dispute about the sovereignty of the country—Its settlement—Supply of firearms to the natives—Its consequences—Constitutional Government granted to Cape Colony—Failure of the experiment—Another Kafir War—Lord Carnarvon's proposal of confederation—Quarrel between the Boers and the Zulus—Cetewayo—Defeat of the Boers by Sekokuni—Annexation of the Transvaal—Sir Bartle Frere's policy—His ultimatum to Cetewayo—Defeat of the British troops at Isandula—Rorke's Drift and Ekowe held against the Zulus—Death of the ex-Imperial Prince of France—Defeat and capture of Cetewayo—Terms granted to the Zulus by Sir Garnet Wolseley—Cetewayo's visit to England—His restoration—Opposition to it—Its result.

WHILE war was still raging in Afghanistan serious disturbances broke out in South Africa, which led to hostilities both with the native tribes and the Dutch Boers, and terminated in a most unsatisfactory result. The peninsula of Table Mountain was occupied by the Dutch East India Company in 1652, and they gradually extended their authority as far as the Great Fish River on the east of Grahamstown. The Dutch settlers proved bad neighbours to the native races, and at the close of last century, in addition to 26,000 slaves—descendants of Malays or of imported negroes—they had reduced the Hottentots to a state of serfdom. The conquest of Holland by Napoleon created a sudden danger that the Cape might be seized by the French, and at the request of the Stadtholder the British Government took temporary possession of it in his name in 1795. At the Peace of Amiens the colony was restored to Holland, but in 1806 the danger recurred, and Sir David Baird was despatched to recover possession. The Hollanders in Cape Town had become infected with the French revolutionary notions, and made a vigorous resistance to the British troops, but were defeated, and the colony became again provisionally a British possession. The occupation was intended to be only temporary, but at the Treaty of Paris in 1815 Holland agreed to accept

other territories in exchange for her South African possessions, and the Dutch at the Cape became British subjects.

For the first quarter of a century after the transference of the colony to Britain matters proceeded pretty smoothly between the new Government and the Boers. They retained their laws, their religion, and their language, and they were permitted to govern their slaves and Hottentot serfs in their own way. In 1828, however, the law of settlement, which confined the Hottentots to special locations and obliged them to work for their livelihood, was repealed, and they were left free to go where they pleased. This step gave great dissatisfaction to the Boers, and in the long-run proved the reverse of advantageous to the Hottentots, who have now almost entirely disappeared. Then followed the abolition of slavery in the colony. The slavery of the Cape was mainly patriarchal, and differed widely from the system prevalent in the West Indies and the United States. It still was slavery, and its abolition was just and expedient, but this was carried out in a manner that excited a sense of indignant resentment among the Boers. They claimed £3,000,000 as the value of their slaves, but the indemnity was cut down to £1,200,000, and by a piece of perverse official mismanagement the money was made payable only at the Bank of

England. The Boers petitioned that they might receive what was due to them in Treasury drafts payable in the colonies, but their request was refused, and not knowing how to obtain payment they were induced to sell their certificates to some sharp English speculators at a loss of from 20 to 30 per cent. 'The consequence was that families whose estates were mortgaged were utterly ruined, while many wealthy Dutch settlers refused in silent pride to receive the miserable sum which was allotted to them, and dismissed their slaves without any indemnity at all.' The abolition of slavery at the Cape produced a great change in the domestic life of the Boer. His every-day relations to those around him were altered for the worse. His familiar modes of discipline were prohibited. His servants were at liberty to rebel against his authority. 'He was called on to treat them with a consideration to which neither he nor they were used—a disturbance of relations degrading to his self-respect and not without a certain demoralizing effect on them. If slavery was to be really abolished all this was unavoidable. But he saw no reason why slavery should be abolished, and it was plain that at least a generation must pass away before the new state of things could be recognized as enduring. Before that time fresh causes of quarrel had arisen in connection with the management of the natives.'

The Kafirs, a brave and enterprising race, had been driven back from the Fish River to the Kieskamma, forty miles beyond the old boundary, and they naturally resented their exclusion from the territory which they regarded as their own property. In retaliation they stole the cattle of the border farmers, and carried off their booty into the mountains. The Boers in turn collected in armed bands called 'commandos,' and made raids into the Kafir territory to recover the stolen cattle and to punish the thieves. Lives were lost on both sides, and a hostile feeling was

engendered which was certain to break out some day into open warfare. The Kafirs were driven further and further back, and of course resisted and resented the loss of lives, cattle, and territory. Having obtained guns and powder through the merchants who traded at the mission stations, they prepared in the end of 1834 for a general rising. On the 22nd of December they poured across the frontier along a line of 400 miles, destroying all before them. A vast amount of property, valued at £300,000, and many lives were lost, and the whole country was laid waste almost to Port Elizabeth. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, hastened to the rescue, accompanied by Colonel (afterwards Sir Harry) Smith. The invading Kafirs were driven back, several thousands of them were killed, including Hintza, the Chief of Kaffraria and the contriver of the inroad, a part of the stolen property was recovered, and a large tract of land was appropriated. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, praised the Governor's energy but condemned his severity, and having satisfied himself that the Kafirs had been 'amply justified' in endeavouring to 'extort by force the redress which they could not otherwise obtain,' he ordered their lands to be restored. The House of Commons, after inquiry, approved of what Lord Glenelg had done, and reaffirmed that the war had arisen from systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice on the part of the colonists.

The Dutch were furious at this decided disapproval of their old 'rough and ready' methods of dealing with the native tribes to which they were immovably attached, and 'believing,' as one of their defenders said, 'that in their own way they could establish more wholesome relations with the native tribes than under the uncertain dominion of Great Britain, they determined to seek a new home on the plains of the interior.'

Having made treaties with the Bechuanas, the Basutos, and the Griquas, about a

thousand families broke up at once from their old homes in the eastern provinces of the colony, and were followed by numbers more, and took up their residence on the rich grazing land beyond the Orange River. Natal is separated from this territory only by the Drachenberg Mountains, through which there are easy passes. At the invitation of Dengaon, the Kafir chief, whose brother Chaka had depopulated the lower and richer portion of Natal, several hundreds of the Dutch immigrants crossed the mountains to this inviting territory, which was then quite unoccupied. Under circumstances of the grossest treachery a portion of them were massacred by the savage Kafirs, but a fierce and sanguinary engagement ensued, in which Dengaon was defeated and killed, and the Dutch became masters of Natal. They desired to be recognized as independent, but Sir George Napier, the new Governor, reclaimed them by force as British subjects, and Natal thus became a British colony. A few of the Dutch immigrants remained there, along with an influx of British settlers, but the great majority retired over the mountains into the Orange River territory.

The restoration of their lands had failed to conciliate the Kafirs, who continued, on a large scale, their depredations on the cattle of the Dutch settlers in the Transvaal, and in 1846 they again invaded the territory of their neighbours—this time without provocation. The war was suppressed by Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Harry Smith at a serious cost of money and lives. As soon as this was done Sir Harry very injudiciously accepted the offer of the Kafir and Basuto chiefs to place themselves under British sovereignty, and the Kei River became once more the boundary. A section of the Orange River settlers made the same request, and on the 3rd of February, 1848, Sir Harry proclaimed her Majesty's sovereignty over the country inclosed between the Vaal River, the Orange River, and the Drachenberg Mountains.

The arrangements thus so unadvisedly made by the Governor were not of long duration. He had no sooner left the territory than the Orange River people were again in arms, dismissed the British Commissioner, and resumed their independence. Sir Harry hastened back with his troops, and defeated the Boers (27th August) at a place called Bounplatz. Part of them retired over the Vaal River, under their leader Pretorius, and founded the South African Republic. The others remained in the Orange River district, in which a considerable number of British immigrants had now settled. But fresh disturbances speedily arose, in consequence of the manner in which the new British Commissioner, Major Warden, who was connected with the Dutch by marriage, thought fit to treat the Basutos, 'in order to court favour with the Boers.' A third, and the most severe, of the Kafir wars now broke out, largely owing to the mismanagement of Sir H. Smith, who had added Moshesh, the most powerful chief of the Basutos, to the list of our enemies. He was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart was sent out in his place. After eight months of hard fighting the Kafirs were compelled to submit. Sir George then crossed the Orange River, and defeated Moshesh and the Basutos.

The question now arose whether the British Government should retain or abandon the Orange River territory. Earl Grey, who was at this time Colonial Secretary, was decidedly of opinion that 'beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station the British crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining a territorial dominion in South Africa.' The British settlers, the Cape merchants who had lent their money and sold their goods to the immigrants, and the Cape farmers were desirous that the new acquisition should be retained, but Sir George Cathcart reported that the Dutch refugees, who formed seven-eighths of the

population, were decidedly averse to submit again to the yoke of British domination. Above all, the abandonment of British sovereignty over the territory would save expense and trouble to the Home Government, and accordingly the British authority was withdrawn from the country north of the Orange River; and by a convention signed between British Commissioners and the Transvaal refugees in January, 1852, the Boers of the territory were declared to be, to all intents and purposes, 'a free and independent people, and their Government a free and independent Government.' The Boers at the same time became bound to permit no slavery or trade in slaves within the territory.

Rumours had for some time been prevalent that the Boers were kidnapping children to be made slaves, and the convention was scarcely concluded when the truth of the statement was proved by conclusive evidence. The illustrious Dr. Livingstone, who was at that time stationed in this district, informed the Colonial Office that the Boers had attacked a chief named Seeheli, simply because he had allowed some Englishmen to pass through his country. They had plundered Livingstone's own property, destroyed Seeheli's town, killed sixty of his people, and carried off 200 women and children. Many of the women, Livingstone said, would probably escape, but the children 'are reduced to a state of hopeless slavery.' Two missionaries, who had about this time complained to the Transvaal authorities of the capture of some children, were expelled at once from the country. One of them at his trial having stated that the law of the commando had been 'to shoot down all Kafirs, armed or unarmed, old or young men,' Pretorius frankly declared that he had given that law, and that 'the Boers did not think it cruel thus to act; but it was goodness and mercy to bring the children out from their wretched heathen parents that they may live among Christians.' The Boers attempted to show that such practices were not a violation of

their convention with Britain, because, as they alleged, these kidnapped children were not reduced to slavery, but apprenticed in solitary farms—'the girls till twenty years of age, the boys till twenty-four.' A knowing old Boer, however, remarked that 'this was done under circumstances which made it unlikely they would ever find out that they were free.'

Even in the Transvaal there were those who sought to put an end to these atrocities, and one of them, Mr. Steyn, 'one of the oldest residents in the Republic, and formerly Landdrost of Potchefstroom,' wrote to Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Cape Colony, declaring that the annual wars between the Boers and the native tribes were 'solely caused by several of our frontier Boers making unprovoked commandos on some Kafir kraals. They shoot the men, and in some instances the women, and capture the children, whom they soon turn over to the profitable account of slavery.' Mr. Steyn was, in consequence of his having made this communication, imprisoned and put in chains, to answer to a charge of high treason preferred against him by the Attorney-General on the special instruction of President Pretorius. The charge was officially offered to be withdrawn if Mr. Steyn would say that he had been misinformed, but he treated the offer with contempt, and refused to flinch, as he said, from what he 'conscientiously believed to be the undeniable truth.'

The Legislative Council of Natal in 1868 declared that the South African Republic had since 1848 'carried on a system of slavery under the guise of child apprenticeship, such children being the result of raids carried on against native tribes, whose men are slaughtered, but whose children and property are seized, the one being enslaved and sold as apprentices, the other being appropriated.' The messengers of an African chief called Langa informed Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who gave implicit credit to their statements, that 'it is a common practice of the Boers to make

raids during the planting season and carry off all the children they find with their parents in the fields, shooting all those who are too old to forget their homes.'

In sending these statements home Lieutenant-Governor Keats says—

'Captives taken in war, children or adults, are valuable property. The slave-ships take the adults, because when carried beyond the seas they cannot by absconding return to their homes. This slavery in the Transvaal territory on the native soil of the slave gives rise to the most atrocious crimes. It requires and leads to the extermination of the parents and friends, whenever possible, of the captured children, who otherwise might be sought for and inveigled away. It makes desirable, too, for its purposes the annihilation of the very common instincts of human nature.'

The Lieutenant-Governor proceeds to give an example of this which we cannot venture to quote.

While these atrocities were being perpetrated by the South African Republic disputes had arisen between the Orange River Free State and Moshesh, the Basuto chief, respecting boundaries. The Basutos proved the stronger, and in the spring of 1858 President Bishof, reduced to great extremities, made an earnest appeal to Sir George Grey, the Governor of Cape Colony, to 'put a stop to all the bloodshed and spoliation which has already taken place.' Sir George at once interposed in behalf of the settlers, and induced Moshesh to suspend hostilities and to accept of British arbitration. Negotiations terminated in the chief's consenting to a boundary line highly advantageous to the Free State.

Troubles, however, speedily arose again, and Moshesh appealed to Sir George Grey to allow him to obtain ammunition and to be taken under British protection, pleading the readiness with which, through the Governor's mediation, he had consented to enlarge the boundary line, even after it had been defined in the treaty of peace. The request of the Basuto chief was not attended to, and difficulties continued to increase. A joint commission was appointed to investigate the complaints on both sides respect-

ing thefts. In one district it was reported that 'the thefts of stock *from* the Basutos had very far exceeded those which they had committed on the subjects of the Free State.' This unwelcome result of investigation prevented the inquiry from being extended to the other districts. Mutual recriminations continued to be made, and at last war recommenced, and once more the Basutos gained the superiority. Again British intervention was 'earnestly implored' in 1864 by the President of the Free State. Sir P. Wodehouse, the new Governor, promptly acceded to this entreaty and gave an award, to which as before the Basuto chief agreed.

The position of the two parties rendered it very difficult for them to live at peace, and war broke out again with merciless severity. The crops were destroyed to create a famine, and the natives were robbed of their cattle and slaughtered, even their women and children being put to death. The Boers were at length victorious, and compelled Moshesh to sign a treaty which surrendered to them all his really useful land, and confined his tribe to a district which was totally insufficient for their support. But the Basutos speedily found it impossible for them to observe a treaty which had been extorted from them by starvation, and war was renewed. Moshesh repeated his entreaty for help from the British Government, which had been previously refused, but was now at last granted, and the Basuto chief was taken under British protection. A small extension of frontier was granted to the Free State, which was guaranteed against further aggressions from the natives, who were now made British subjects. One party complained that the Governor had been too lenient to the Boers, while the other denounced his intervention as depriving the Free State of the rewards of victory; but impartial observers approved of the course which he followed as in every way the best for both parties, allowing both the settlers and the natives alike to enjoy the fruit of their

labours. 'Looking to the claims of the native chief—a man who had been our friend as steadily as his nature permitted, who had spared his enemies at our request, who had been denied the means of defending himself, who had constantly asked the privilege of becoming our subject, and whose tribe was about to perish by immediate or protracted starvation; looking to our own interests, which forbade us to allow the establishment on our borders of a focus of those infectious diseases—robbery and disaffection; looking to the position of the Free State, which had revolted from us because they were wedded to the "rough and ready" methods which we, from motives of interest and humanity, had struggled to put down, whom we had once or twice saved from the consequences of their "wholesome" methods, and who notwithstanding were pursuing them unremittently to our embarrassment; looking, lastly, to the result, which has as yet been more than all that could be expected in the way of general peace and prosperity—we do not think that any man, who has either sense to see what is wise, or humanity to feel what is righteous, will find fault with what was done.'

In 1871 diamonds were discovered in great abundance in what is now called West Griqualand, and as soon as the diggings were opened there was a rush of rough and unscrupulous adventurers to the diamond fields, who soon numbered 8,000 or 10,000, and eventually reached 50,000. Hordes of the natives also were attracted to the spot by the enormous wages that could be earned there. It was computed that from the date at which the mines were opened down to 1878 the value of the diamonds found in them reached £10,000,000 sterling, and that the wages paid to the natives at the diggings in four years amounted to £1,800,000. So vast was the consequent increase of wealth in the colony that the revenue was trebled, and the prices of oxen, horses, and sheep were quadrupled. There was a dispute, how-

ever, pending at the time of the discovery of the diamonds between the Free State and a Griqua chief called Waterboer respecting the sovereignty of the land. It was evident that neither possessed the power to compel the obedience of a mixed multitude composed mainly of the waifs and strays of humanity, to punish criminals, and to suppress insurgent natives. The dispute was referred, after much wrangling, to Sir Philip Wodehouse, but he left the colony without disposing of it. The Free State moved forward a burgher force to support their claims; the diggers, who wished to be under British protection, prepared to resist them. The Governor of the Cape was authorized by the Home Government to receive Waterboer as a British subject, leaving, however, the claim to the diamond fields (which only concerned a part of his territory) open to arbitration. Negotiations with this view were resumed, but without any satisfactory result, till at last President Brandt, who had come to London on this and other business, and Lord Carnarvon, the new Colonial Secretary, settled the matter in a personal meeting, and it was agreed that the sum of £90,000 should be paid to the Free State as compensation for its claims. The propriety of this arrangement was long 'a vexed question,' and a good deal has been plausibly said with great ability on both sides. The territory was constituted a Crown colony, under the designation of West Griqualand.

One great evil speedily arose out of the discovery of the diamond fields and the action of the authorities in the new Crown colony. The South African States had been obliged, from a regard to self-preservation, to restrict the supply of fire-arms to the native tribes, and especially to the Kafirs, who are a numerous, enterprising, and warlike race. But the Griqualand Government broke through this salutary and universal rule. In order to induce the natives to labour at the mines a free trade in fire-arms was openly allowed there. The Zulus, Kafirs, Basutos, and other tribes

eagerly flocked in thousands to the diamond fields, in order that they might be able to obtain rifles, fresh relays of them succeeding one upon another, and after a fortnight's labour returning home with their rifles on their shoulders and their powder-bags by their sides. The consequences of this insane proceeding speedily began to show themselves. The young men of a chief called Langabalele, who resided in Natal, obtained guns and powder at the mines, and brought them back on their return. In Natal the possession of guns was illegal. They did not understand that what was lawful in one Crown colony might be unlawful in another, and when required to send on their guns to Maritzburg the chief did not immediately obey. His 'young men,' he said, had worked for them, and had bought them openly under the sanction of the British Government in another province. Langabalele was summoned to appear before the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, but was afraid to come, and disobeyed the summons. His tribe, consisting of about 1500 souls, began to fly from Natal to the territory of the Basutos. The Natal Government, imagining that they would return in arms with their allies, declared war against them, carried fire and sword through their territory, and in a fit of rage perpetrated the most shocking atrocities. The chief was taken prisoner, and brought to trial on a charge of treason, sedition, and rebellion. The trial was a complete mockery, and was carried out in a manner equally illegal and discreditable. The proceedings were brought under the notice of the Home Government, and after a careful investigation Lord Carnarvon reversed the decision of the colonial authorities, and ordered reparation to be made, as far as possible, to the injured tribe. Sir Benjamin Pine was at the same time informed that he must resign the administration of the colony.

In 1853 constitutional government was established at the Cape of Good Hope, which had previously been a Crown colony. In

1872 Lord Granville, Colonial Secretary, proposed to carry out at the Cape the principle which had already been adopted in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and to give that colony the constitutional management of its own affairs. This was all the more desirable since the people of the United Kingdom derived no direct advantage from the colony except that of having an important naval and commercial station at Cape Town and in Simon's Bay. The colonists, however, were very unwilling to accept the boon, knowing that it would throw upon them, to a large extent, the obligation to pay for their own defence. The Responsible Government Bill, as it was termed, was passed by a majority of only one in the Cape Parliament. The Home Government and Legislature thus resigned completely the control over the conduct of the internal affairs of the colony, stipulating, however, that there were to be no political disqualifications of colour—that white men and black men were to vote on equal terms. It is admitted on all hands that the experiment has not been a success. None of our self-governing colonies have shown such unwillingness to meet the wishes of the mother country, or such jealousy of imperial advice. The ministers of the Cape Colony thwarted and opposed, for their personal and local interests, all the efforts of the Imperial Government to deal in a becoming spirit with the interests of South Africa. They utterly neglected the defence of the provinces, and made no provision for the improvement of the colonial military establishment, and yet the Colonial Parliament could not be induced to enlarge their police force for the proper control of the frontier. Their finances fell into disorder, and year after year the expenditure exceeded the revenue. The Home Government could not get from the Cape the pecuniary contribution to which they were entitled, and were at length compelled to declare that unless the payment was made the troops would be withdrawn, except such as might be required for Imperial purposes

at Simon's Bay. It became painfully evident that South Africa was as yet totally unfitted for self-government, and the only practical effect of forcing on it a constitution which the colonists did not want was to 'tie our own hands, while our obligations were just where they were.'

The selfish and short-sighted conduct of the Cape Government brought on another—the sixth—Kafir war, the burden of which had, as usual, to be borne by the home country. One of the satirists of the day represents a Kafir in war-paint and feathers, equipped with a rifle and an assegai, saying to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'You don't happen to have a couple of millions about you for which you have no use?' As long as the Cape was under British rule the supply of fire-arms to the natives was strictly prohibited, but as soon as it became self-governing the restriction, though not formally repealed, was allowed to fall into abeyance. An impost of £1 was charged upon every gun imported into the colony, and so large was the demand that in the course of four years no less a sum than three quarters of a million was paid into the colonial exchequer on gun-barrels and powder. The Cape merchants made enormous profits, and the colonial ministers rejoiced over their overflowing treasury, apparently without a thought of the inevitable result. They left the border defenceless, as if to tempt the natives to rise. The Kafirs availed themselves of the favourable opportunity thus afforded them, and had to be resisted and driven back by British regiments, with the result of causing a heavy drain on the imperial treasury, as the colonial ministers knew would be the case.

When Lord Carnarvon came into office he proposed to form a South African confederation for the union of all the European states in that country into a single dominion like that of Canada. The scheme failed mainly through the exorbitant pretensions and intrigues of the Cape politicians, but it would in any case have been exceedingly

difficult if not impossible to have induced such discordant populations as the Dutch farmers, the Anglo-African traders and adventurers, and the half-civilized natives to act together peacefully and harmoniously. Lord Carnarvon, however, succeeded, as we have seen, in making an amicable and satisfactory arrangement with the Orange Free State, but the Boers of the Transvaal proved utterly impracticable, and displayed the most bitter hostility to the British Government. Their president, Mr. Burgess, came to Europe, and not only repelled the friendly advances of Lord Carnarvon, but entered into relations with Holland and Portugal. He projected a railroad to Delagoa Bay in order that the Transvaal might establish a foreign trade of its own and form its own foreign alliances. He even went so far as to talk of adopting measures to deliver the whole country from a foreign yoke. Lord Carnarvon warned Mr. Burgess of the danger he was incurring by this rash and foolish talk, but without effect, and he was speedily made to feel his utter inability to defend the Transvaal even against the native tribes by which it was surrounded.

The relations between the Boers and these tribes had long been of an unsatisfactory nature, and had caused great annoyance and even danger to the European settlers. In October, 1875, Sir Henry Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, drew the attention of the Home Government to the prospect of a serious collision between the powerful tribe of the Zulus and the Transvaal in consequence of the aggressions of the Boers. They had made an alliance with the Amaswazi, who were at feud with the Zulus, and proposed to use their services in a contest which they seemed bent on provoking. They addressed a message to Cetewayo, the Zulu chief, demanding the surrender of certain fugitives, acquiescence in their protectorate over the Amaswazi, and—the main item—the acknowledgment of their right to a new boundary which they had proclaimed. They at the same time forbade the Zulus resident in the

disputed territory to cultivate their ground, and drove them away from their kraals. Cetewayo was not at all disposed to submit to this claim. He at once called out his regiments, despatched messengers to Natal complaining of the aggression of the Boers, asking 'what he had done to be turned out of his own house,' and declaring that he would fight to the death against the attempt to appropriate his territory.

This was by no means the first time that the Zulus had been obliged to appeal to the Natal Government against the encroachments of the Boers, and the commissioners who reported on the boundary question after our annexation of the Transvaal bore emphatic testimony to the self-restraint and moderation which the Zulus had displayed in reference to this matter. Sir Henry Bulwer, the Governor, urged pacific counsels on both parties, and the Boers were informed that Her Majesty's Government would not recognize an extension of their territory at the expense of the natives. They were also warned of the danger which encroachments on these tribes would bring, not only on themselves, but on the whole European population in South Africa.

The Boers, however, did not long remain quiet, and in the course of a few months they quarrelled with a powerful chief called Sekokuni respecting their claim to a district lying to the north of the Leydenburg gold-fields. The British authorities at Cape Town and Natal were of opinion that the claim was unjust, and viewed with alarm the ferment which the aggressive action of the Boers was causing among the native chiefs. But, despising all warnings, President Burgess undertook an expedition against Sekokuni, and met with a serious reverse. The aspect of affairs became very threatening. A combination was said to be forming among the natives to the north of the Transvaal, and Cetewayo was about to avail himself of the opportunity to avenge his own wrongs on the Boers. The Natal Government, however, with some difficulty persuaded him to remain quiet. Indeed

the invasion of the Transvaal at that time by the Zulu chief would have set the whole colony in a flame.

Mr. Burgess, with the assistance of a body of volunteers from the diamond fields, gained some advantages, and a peace was made with Sekokuni on tolerable terms. The Republic, however, was exhausted and the State bankrupt, and it was evident that if the Boers were left to fight out their quarrel with the native races the result would be their extermination. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent as a Special Commissioner into the Transvaal. He saw that the white population was surrounded on all sides by overwhelming masses of natives, most of them in a state of barbarism, who might combine for their destruction, and he came to the conclusion that it was 'absolutely necessary that the different colonies and states should be united under one general bond for the protection and promotion of every civil, social, and religious interest.' Acting on this opinion, he proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1877), and the Republic became a Crown colony.

The step thus taken seemed at the moment to meet with almost universal approbation. The Cape Government, the Chambers of Commerce at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, the British traders, the speculators in land, and the friends of the native races all expressed their anxious desire that the annexation should take place. Mr. Trollope, who shortly afterwards visited the district, says that every man he met in South Africa, except Mr. Burgess, the late President, approved the annexation. But it proved in the end to have been a great mistake.

No sooner was the Transvaal annexed than we were brought face to face with the Zulus. Their chief, Cetewayo, was a worthy successor to Chaka and Dengaana, the fiercest and ablest of African chiefs. He was ambitious and crafty, as well as energetic and brave, had concluded alliances with the Amatengoes and Swazies, and had

organized a large and powerful army, which he was eager to employ against the Transvaal Boers. Sir Theophilus Shepstone very unwisely added to the danger to the province of Natal arising from the vicinity of such a potentate and warrior by assisting at his coronation, with ridiculous honours, as King of the Zulus, and thus lending him the support of British influence. It was evident that this bloodthirsty barbarian, having crushed all the Kafirs and Bechuanas in his vicinity, would not remain at peace longer than he could help it, and when exhorted by the Natal Government to live on terms of amity with his neighbours, and remonstrated with because he had put some young women to death on account of their refusal to marry his soldiers, he returned a fierce and defiant answer, declaring—‘I do kill, but do not consider I have done anything yet in the way of killing. I have not yet begun. I have yet to kill; it is the custom of our nation, and I will not depart from it. Why does the Governor of Natal speak to me about my laws? Do I go to Natal and dictate to him about his laws? I shall not agree to any laws or rules from Natal, and by so doing throw the large kraal which I govern into the water.’

Apprehensions were entertained that the Zulu king intended to let loose his army upon Natal, but Mr. Finney, who was sent on a visit to Cetewayo in June, 1877, to ascertain as far as possible his real sentiments and intentions, found that these fears were ‘greatly exaggerated, if not entirely groundless.’ Though the Zulu king had been greatly perplexed about the annexation of the Transvaal, he professed his friendship for the Natal Government and his belief in British justice. But he made no secret of his bitter detestation of the Boers, and his desire that they should be all ‘packed out of the country.’ He longed to attack them, and to ‘wash the spears’ of his warriors in blood. He begged as a special favour to be allowed to ‘make one little raid—only one small swoop,’ just to

keep Zulu customs, and to please the young warriors of his nation. This request of course could not be granted, but the Zulu chief was assured that justice would be done to him in regard to the disputed territory. Considerable delay, however, took place before the matter was settled. A Commission was nominated by Sir Henry Bulwer to hear the rival claims of the Zulus and Boers, and to take evidence on the spot, and it was agreed, with the full consent of Cetewayo, that the decision of the Commission should be referred for confirmation to Sir Bartle Frere, who at this juncture had been appointed High Commissioner in South Africa.

Unfortunately Sir Bartle had formed lofty ideas respecting Imperial policy, and as it afterwards appeared had adopted the notions of the Cape politicians, who talked of carrying the British flag to the Zambesi. He came out professedly as a missionary of peace, but wherever his foot trod war immediately sprang up. In his estimation the boundary question was a matter of comparatively little consequence. He had adopted strongly the colonial feeling that the military organization of the Zulus was a standing menace to the South African colonies, and especially to Natal, and he was determined that it should be broken up. Sir Henry Bulwer urged that the settlement of the boundary question would go far to produce pacific relations with the Zulus, and that it was a matter to which our good faith had been pledged. The Commissioners decided unanimously against the claims of the Boers, and held that ‘no cession of territory was ever made by the Zulu people,’ but still, on the ground of the unchallenged occupation for several years, they awarded to the Boers a portion of the disputed lands. Sir Bartle Frere, after a good deal of correspondence with the Governor of Natal, agreed to confirm the award of the Commissioners, but in spite of the earnest remonstrances of Sir Henry Bulwer he determined to accompany the announcement of the award to

the Zulus with certain demands respecting their military organization. There can be very little doubt indeed that he had resolved at an early period on war, though he had not obtained the sanction of the Home Government, and had evidently made up his mind to act without it. He moved troops from Cape Colony into Natal, and sent detachments forward to the Zulu frontier, though these movements were deprecated by Sir Henry Bulwer as fitted to cause mischief. He sent a request to the Home Government for reinforcements, but was informed (17th October, 1878) that the Ministry were not prepared to comply with it, and 'that all the information which had reached them with respect to the position of affairs in Zululand appeared to them to warrant a confident hope that by the exercise of prudence, and by meeting the Zulus in a spirit of forbearance and a reasonable compromise, it would be possible to avert the very serious evil of a war with Cetewayo.' Sir Bartle renewed his request, and reinforcements were sent in the end, accompanied by a distinct intimation that they were to be used for the *defence* of Her Majesty's territories, and to prevent any irruption into them, but not for the purpose of invasion and aggressive operations. The High Commissioner, however, persisted in carrying out the policy which he had adopted, and on the 11th of December, 1878, his decision on the boundary question was announced to a body of Zulu delegates sent for the purpose, accompanied by an ultimatum specifying the guarantees which he required from their chief. He was to abstain from the indiscriminate shedding of the blood of his people, he was to abolish his present military system—in particular the law prohibiting the Zulu young men from marrying till they had reached the age of forty. He was also required to disband his army, as he had no need of troops now that the Transvaal was annexed, to accept the presence and advice of a British resident, to permit the return to Zululand of the missionaries and

their converts who had fled from the country, and to engage for their future protection; and he was required to surrender certain criminals, and to pay certain fines. Sir Bartle intended to allow only a period of fifteen days for compliance with these demands, but at the request of Sir Henry Bulwer the time of grace was extended to thirty days.

Sir Bartle entirely failed to show that any sudden emergency had arisen which compelled him to disobey the instructions which he had received from the Colonial Secretary, and if he really believed the Zulu army to be so extremely formidable, and their determination to invade Natal to be fixed, his conduct in entering upon a war with the small force of three or four battalions at his command was entirely inexcusable; on the other hand, if he imagined that Cetewayo's army could be so easily defeated, he could not have really apprehended so much danger from its attacks. The 11th of January was the limit of the period fixed for Cetewayo's submission, and as he showed no signs of yielding to the imperious demands of the High Commissioner, Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces in South Africa, crossed the frontier on the next day.

The British forces advanced in three columns: one under Colonel Pearson, by the Lower Tugela; another under Colonel Glyn, by Rorke's Drift; while a third, under Colonel Wood, was to move from Utrecht on the Transvaal. On the 11th Colonel Glyn's column, consisting of 2100 British troops and 2000 natives, under the direct command of Lord Chelmsford, crossed the Buffalo River at Rorke's Drift, and on the 21st encamped at Isandula. Colonel Durnford's column, consisting of 3300 natives and 200 Europeans, had meanwhile crossed the Tugela and marched up the left bank of the river by Rorke's Drift. Cetewayo was quite prepared for the operations of the invading force, and his object was to draw them in separate columns into his country, that they might be the more easily

destroyed. Six thousand of his men were to attack Pearson's column. Of these 4000 marched to meet that force, and 2000 threatened the Natal frontier to detain troops there, though the Zulus did not intend to cross it. Fifteen thousand were told off to attack the headquarters column, and 4000 to encounter the reserve at Rorke's Drift. The skilful plan of the savage chief showed a much better knowledge of strategy than was displayed by the British Commander-in-Chief, who had divided his weak forces into three columns, 'so far separated that they could not support each other, leaving to the enemy the advantage of throwing large masses of men from the centre to the circumference.' There appears to have been no scouts sent out by Chelmsford, and no signalling or telegraphic communication between the different columns; even the ordinary precaution of fortifying the camps to resist attack was omitted.

The camp at Isandula was pitched on a site singularly exposed and indefensible; it was not protected even by a shallow trench, nor were the waggons *laagered* or formed in a ring all round in the Dutch fashion; no orders had been given to strike the tents on the approach of the enemy, and so carelessly were the arrangements for scouting made that a large Zulu force was assembled unpereceived within a few miles of the camp.

Major Darnell had been sent from the camp to Matyana's stronghold, about ten miles from Isandula, to reconnoitre. A despatch was received from him early on the morning of the 22nd to say that the enemy in front was in great force. Lord Chelmsford and Colonel Glyn marched out with all their available force to his assistance, leaving Colonel Pulleine in command of the camp. Orders were sent to Colonel Durnford to bring up his natives from Rorke's Drift to reinforce the camp.

It was afterwards ascertained that on the morning of the 22nd the main Zulu army, 25,000 strong, had come unpereceived within five miles of the camp, but did

not intend to fight that day, as the 'moon was dead.' Colonel Durnford, however, on reaching the camp, sent out some of his men to reconnoitre, who, coming unexpectedly upon the Zulus, fired upon them. A report that the enemy were retiring induced the Colonel to move out in pursuit. No consistent account of what followed could be obtained. 'The head camp was no camp,' wrote a person who resided in the district; 'all waggons, tents, &c., scattered about anywhere, and the Zulus came on like the waves on the ocean-shore—never stopped, never shouted or said a word till our fellows, black and white, were surrounded; then they gave a shout and dashed at the camp, and in five minutes there was not a man left.' Taken at a disadvantage every way our men, forming themselves into squares and little groups, fought with desperate courage till their ammunition failed or they were overwhelmed by repeated charges of the Zulus and showers of assegais. One square of only sixty men maintained their ground for a considerable time against the attacks of several thousands of the enemy, and crowds of Zulus were kept at bay by a wounded officer who had taken up a position on a waggon. A few mounted officers succeeded in making their escape across the Buffalo River, and reached Natal in safety. Lieutenants Melville and Coghill made their way to the river with the colours of the regiment, but were overtaken there and killed. The 24th Regiment of the Line was annihilated.

While these gallant soldiers were thus falling victims, through the folly of their own leaders, to the fury of a horde of savages, Lord Chelmsford had reached Major Darnell's corps, and had attacked and driven back its assailants, whom he regarded as the main body. The Commander-in-Chief was leisurely returning to the camp when Commandant Lonsdale, who had ridden for his life, came up with the news that the camp was in the hands of the enemy. The troops were immediately drawn together

and advanced in fighting order. On reaching the camp after dark they found that it had been abandoned by the enemy, who had fled when they saw Lord Chelmsford unexpectedly approaching. The ground was covered with the dead bodies of men, horses, and cattle, and the débris of the plundered tents and waggons. Worn out with a march of at least thirty miles that day, with no spare ammunition, and a few biscuits for food, all the ammunition and stores having been carried off, they were compelled to pass the night on the spot without shelter and in momentary expectation of being attacked by the enemy. At early dawn next day the force started for Rorke's Drift.

That post was held after the departure of Colonel Durnford by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, with eighty men of the 24th Regiment. Tidings of the disaster at Isandula were brought by some fugitives who had escaped the slaughter, and these gallant officers resolved to hold the Drift if possible till help should come, in order to prevent the victorious Zulus from crossing into Natal. They had scarcely had time to prepare a barricade of bags and biscuit tins when the Zulus, numbering about 4000, were upon them and began to pour in their fire. The struggle lasted during the greater part of the night. The assailants succeeded no less than six times in penetrating within the barricade, but were driven out at the point of the bayonet. They succeeded, however, in setting fire to the hospital; but completely baffled by the handful of British troops who held the post, they withdrew at dawn. When Lord Chelmsford's jaded troops approached the Drift they found to their great relief that it was still in possession of our men. Around the hastily improvised intrenchment lay the dead bodies of 315 Zulus.

Cetewayo had thus far shown great military sagacity and courage in his operations, and was for some weeks master of the situation, but fortunately for the colony of Natal, and indeed for our position in

South Africa, he appears not to have known how to turn his success to advantage. If he had let loose his victorious 'young men' upon the British territory immediately after the destruction of our troops at Isandula, he might have inflicted incalculable injury upon the European settlers and their property in the Cape Colony.

The 6000 Zulus who had been detached to attack Colonel Pearson's column came up with him ten miles south of Ekowe on the day on which the camp at Isandula was surprised. Though they fought with their usual valour, their position was carried by the Naval Brigade, and they were compelled to withdraw northwards. Colonel Pearson, however, was quite aware that the attack would be renewed by them in greater force. He therefore sent back to his base, Fort Tenedos on the Tugela, a convoy of waggons and the troops on which he could least rely. With the rest, 1200 in number, he prepared to hold the position which he had intrenched round the mission buildings at Ekowe. After the disaster at Isandula the native levies, which had been found not only useless but dangerous, were disbanded; but volunteers came forward readily from Natal. The 88th Foot were sent with all speed from Cape Colony, and troops arrived from Ceylon and marines from St. Helena. The Zulus, to the surprise of every one, remained inactive. The panic which the Isandula affair had produced began to abate. Colonel Wood, who had defeated a body of from 3000 to 4000 Zulus near Intamba Mountain, made a successful attack on the Bagulisini kraal, and continued to harass the enemy in his neighbourhood. On the other hand, reverses were suffered both by Colonel Wood, who fell into a trap and lost seventy men and seven officers, and by a detachment of the 80th Regiment, who were unexpectedly assaulted by a body of 4000 Zulus, and only fifteen out of sixty soldiers escaped.

Lord Chelmsford was in the meantime making preparations for the relief of Colonel

Pearson, whose supplies would not last longer than the end of March. The Zulus were swarming around Ekowe, though they did not venture to attack it; but they broke up the road to the Tugela, and prepared ambuscades and intrenchments along the route, evidently with the expectation that supplies could be prevented from reaching the beleaguered garrison, and that they would be starved into surrender. Towards the end of March Colonel Pearson made known by telegraphic signals that his supplies would soon be exhausted. Though all the expected reinforcements had not arrived from England, Lord Chelmsford set out from the Tugela on the 29th with a force consisting of 4000 British troops and 2000 natives. Taught by dear-bought experience, every precaution was taken to prevent any surprise on the part of the enemy—the encampments were intrenched, and the men slept in hollow squares round the waggons. The force encamped at a place called Gingchlovo on the night of April 1, which was dark and wet. At early dawn next day the Zulus, 10,000 strong, were seen approaching in their usual horse-shoe formation, evidently bent on a close encounter, but a shower of bullets from rifles and Gatling guns, accompanied by a storm of rockets, compelled them to pause. They repeatedly made a rush towards the camp, but got no nearer than twenty yards. After a struggle of an hour and a half they broke and fled, pursued by the cavalry and the native contingent. About 1500 of them fell in the battle and the flight. The loss of the British was trifling. The Ekowe garrison were brought out in the course of the night and escorted to the Tugela. An attack was made on Colonel Wood's intrenched camp at Kambula by a body of 20,000 Zulus, who fought for four hours with the most desperate courage, and at times penetrated into the camp, but were at last completely routed.

The news of the serious disaster at Isandula produced a great sensation in England, and clamorous demands were made for the

recall both of Lord Chelmsford and Sir Bartle Frere. When the despatches were laid before Parliament it appeared that the Government had not been responsible for the policy of the High Commissioner, and that, on the contrary, they had stated distinctly to him that they 'had been unable to find in the documents he had placed before them that evidence of urgent necessity for immediate action which alone could justify him in taking, without their full knowledge and sanction, a course almost certain to result in a war which, as they had previously impressed upon him, every effort should have been used to avoid.' But notwithstanding this severe censure on Sir Bartle the Government declined to recall him, and though their refusal to take this step was strongly condemned by leading members in both Houses of Parliament, it was approved by large majorities.

Lord Chelmsford's delay in adopting vigorous measures to bring the war to a close was loudly condemned in the colony, and the special correspondents of the Home journals were almost unanimous in blaming his feebleness and vacillation. Even in the camp there was a considerable feeling of impatience and dissatisfaction. He was painfully sensible of the responsibilities of his position, and spoke of himself as worn out by the strain of prolonged warfare. But he had very great difficulties to contend with owing to the scarcity of supplies, the want of roads and of proper means of transport. At length all the reinforcements from England were landed by the middle of April, and the Commander-in-Chief was at last in a position to recommence his invasion of Zululand. Taking with him two months' supplies, he broke up his camp on the 1st of June, 1879, and commenced his march into the interior. On the following day the ex-Imperial Prince of France, who, though he had been allowed to proceed to Africa only as a spectator of the campaign, had been attached to the staff, was sent with a small escort of troopers to examine the proposed line of

march and fix the site of the next encampment. They were surprised by some Zulus who crept through the tall grass and came upon them unawares, and the Prince and two of the troopers were killed. Great sympathy was felt for the ex-Empress Eugenie, the mother of the poor youth, and there was a general outburst of indignation at Lord Chelmsford's carelessness in allowing him to be employed on such a dangerous errand. As the troops proceeded on their march repeated messages came from Cetewayo declaring that he did not want war, and that he wished to have an opportunity of talking over matters. It was alleged that the messengers were not of sufficient rank, and were not properly accredited, and that they did not offer on the King's part to submit to the terms of our ultimatum. But Bishop Colenso insisted, with great appearance of truth, that the refusal to receive them was a wanton repulse of peaceful overtures. The British forces, consisting of about 4000 Europeans and 1100 natives, with twelve guns and two Gatlings, continued their onward march towards Ulundi, Cetewayo's kraal. They were attacked by a force computed at 20,000 men, whom they defeated after a sharp contest with the loss of ten men, while about 1000 of the Zulus were killed. Ulundi and several other military kraals were then taken and burned.

Before the battle was fought Lord Chelmsford had been superseded by Sir Garnet Wolseley, but before that officer reached the spot victory had been gained. A difference of opinion had taken place between the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of Natal respecting the proper mode of conducting the war. Sir Henry objected to raids and to martial law, and the General complained that his plans were thus thwarted. The Home Government therefore decided to intrust all authority, civil and military, to one person, and sent out Sir Garnet Wolseley with full powers in all matters relating not only to Zululand, but also to Natal and the Trans-

vaal. He was allowed a wide discretion as to the terms of any settlement of the war with the Zulus, but annexation of their territory was forbidden. Nearly all the leading chiefs sent in their submission, but the King himself, though a fugitive with only a few followers, was still at liberty. A band of mounted men, under Lord Gifford, was despatched to hunt him down, and on the 28th of August they surrounded the kraal in which he had taken refuge, and he was compelled to yield himself a prisoner. On the 1st of September, the anniversary of his coronation in 1873, Cetewayo left Ulundi a prisoner. He was taken by sea to Cape Town, and was confined in comfortable quarters in the Castle. With his capture the Zulu War terminated.

On the day Cetewayo left Ulundi 300 chiefs assembled there to learn from Sir Garnet Wolseley the arrangements which he was authorized to make respecting their country. It was to be divided into thirteen districts, in each of which a separate chief was to rule. The revival of the military system and all restrictions on marriage were positively prohibited. All the cattle of the King and all the arms in the country were to be at once surrendered to the British authorities, and henceforth no importation of arms was to be allowed without the special sanction of the Resident. No practice of witchcraft was to be permitted, and no one was to be put to death except upon a fair trial by the chief men. The chiefs were to be independent, but they were not to be allowed to make war on any of their neighbours. No land was to be alienated or sold. The chiefs might, if they thought fit, allow missionaries to settle on their territory, but they were not to be compelled to receive them. This settlement effectually extinguished the power of the Zulus as a united and military nation, but it invested no one with sufficient authority to control a fierce and warlike race; and the Colenso party argued that for this purpose Cetewayo ought to have been restored to his former

position, but with a duly restricted power ; and as all the conditions which had led to former wars with the natives were left to operate it was predicted that as soon as the British troops were withdrawn the Zulus would resort again to their military system. Strong objections were made to the creating of an Irish adventurer named John Dunn, a kind of African Mormon, a chief over a part of Zululand, and altogether it was foreseen that the settlement made could not be permanent.

After the overthrow of Lord Beaconsfield's Government Cetewayo was allowed to visit England, and was kindly treated, though no public reception or acknowledgment was given him. The opinion had by this time become widely prevalent that the Zulu king had not received justice at the hands of Sir Bartle Frere, and it was resolved by Mr. Gladstone's Administration to restore the deposed chief to a part of his former territory and power. The Legislative Council of Natal and the white population protested in the strongest terms against this step, 'as fraught with imminent peril and disastrous consequences to the colony.' The Home Government, however, persisted in carrying out their resolution. The ex-king landed at Cape Town on September 25, 1882. In consequence of the indignant opposition of the people of Natal it was resolved that he should not proceed to Zululand by the direct route from Durban across the Tugela, but should be transported by sea to Port Durnford and landed there. On December 11 Cetewayo signed the conditions for the resettlement of Zululand. He complained bitterly of the conditions of restoration, which were as follows:—The deposition of all the chiefs but Usibepu,

who was to retain his position but to exchange a part of his territory with Umgojama ; all Zululand south of the Umhlatusi to become reserved native territory under a Commissioner, to whom the headmen were to have the right to appeal ; Dunn and Hlubi to receive tracts of land large enough to provide for their immediate followers, over whom they were to rule as headmen ; all the remainder of Zululand was to be governed by Cetewayo. These terms were as unpalatable to Dunn's men and many of the other Zulus as, for a different reason, they were to Cetewayo himself. His restoration was generally regarded in South Africa as a great and dangerous mistake, and so it appears likely to prove. He was escorted to his own country by a body of British troops early in 1883. But almost immediately on his return disturbances broke out. Some of Cetewayo's subjects, indignant at the favours bestowed upon a person whom they regarded as a rebel and a traitor, attacked Usibepu, it is alleged, without orders from Cetewayo. The new chief retaliated by a sudden raid upon Ulundi, killed a number of his rival's men, and destroyed his kraal. Cetewayo narrowly escaped with his life, but contrived to reach the reserve, where he continued to live under British protection until his death, which took place from natural causes. These events left Zululand a prey to anarchy, of which a number of Boer adventurers took advantage to effect a settlement in the country, seizing tracts of lands, and finally proclaiming a Boer republic, with the results explained in a subsequent chapter. It soon became clear that the Wolseley settlement was one which could not stand the test of time.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Result of annexation of the Transvaal—Dissatisfaction of the Boers—The British Party—Insurrection of the Boers—Unprepared state of the Government—Treacherous surprise of British Troops—The invasion of Natal by the insurgents—Defeat and death of Sir George Colley at Majuba Hill—Armistice—Terms of peace—Condemned by the Opposition in Parliament—Defence of the Government—Settlement made by the Royal Commission—Conduct of the Boers—Their attacks on the natives—Their defeats—Present state of the Transvaal—Troubles with the Basutos—The Disarmament Act—Insurrection of the Basutos and of other native tribes—Recall of Sir Bartle Frere—‘Chinese Gordon’—Present state of Basutoland—Its administration resumed by the Home Government.

THE Home Government had sanctioned the annexation of the Transvaal in the belief that this step was desired by the great body of the people, but it speedily appeared that this was a mistake. In various ways the Boers made it evident that they had only acquiesced under the pressure of their difficulties and dangers in the supremacy of the Queen, trusting that it would be only temporary. They had made a formal protest in 1877 against the annexation, but the British party in the state affirmed that it was merely formal; that the great body of the Boers were very glad to be rescued from imminent ruin, even at the cost of their independence; and that only now, when the British Government had at their own cost, without any help from the Dutch settlers, conquered Cetewayo and Sekokune, and paid the debts of the Boers, they were anxious to reclaim their independence in order to escape the restraints of orderly and firm rule.

In December, 1879, a great mass meeting was held at Wenderfontein, at which the protest against annexation was renewed, and a committee was appointed to give effect to the ‘determination’ of the meeting. The British party in the Transvaal was estimated at 5000, comprising the majority of the townspeople, traders, and miners. A great number of the Boers themselves, including some of the largest proprietors, were open advocates of British rule. But there still remained about five-sixths of the people whom the mass meeting claimed to represent. It was alleged, however, that a

large portion of these were at heart unfriendly to the claim of independence, and were coerced by an active and turbulent minority to take part in the protest against British rule; and Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Garnet Wolseley, and Sir Owen Lanyon all declared that in private many of the persons who took part in the public demonstrations said that personally they would greatly regret the severance of the connection with Britain, but that they dared not resist the pressure of the active agitators for independence. On the other hand, the leaders of the Dutch settlers asserted that they had great difficulty in restraining the people from open revolt. The local foremen, however, were the persons who really fomented the agitation. Not a few of them had been notorious for their disregard of the authority of their own Government and its courts, and they were eager to get rid of the more stringent rule of the British Governor.

They remained quiet, however, in the meantime, in the expectation that Mr. Gladstone, who had expressed his disapproval of the annexation, and had just come into office, would support their views; but their sanguine hopes were doomed to disappointment. The Queen’s speech expressed the intention of the new Government ‘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,’ but at the same time clearly intimated that Her Majesty’s

supremacy over the Transvaal was to be maintained. This 'bitter disappointment' led to a resolution on the part of not a few of the Boers to pay no taxes except to their own duly constituted Volksraad, while others paid under protest. The attempt to seize and sell the property of the defaulters led to open resistance, and it became evident that a rupture was at hand. Another great mass meeting was held on the 16th December, 1880, at which the restoration of the Republic was formally proclaimed, and soon after Messrs. Pretorius, Joubert, and Kruger were appointed a triumvirate to carry on the Provisional Government.

The aspect of affairs became so threatening that the British officials intrenched and fortified the camp outside the town of Potechefstroom, and also prepared the courthouse for defence. They were taken at unawares, and were ill prepared to suppress an insurrection, for a considerable portion of the army of occupation had been withdrawn, and only a small body of troops remained in the Transvaal. The Boers were quite well aware of the state of affairs, and on them must rest the responsibility of having fired the first shot. By a treacherous surprise they attacked and nearly destroyed a detachment of 250 men of the 94th Regiment of the Line proceeding under orders from Leydenburg to Pretoria. One hundred and twelve of that number were either killed on the spot or afterwards died of their wounds, while the Boers had only one killed and four wounded. In January, 1881, the insurgents crossed the border of Natal, and occupied the important position of Laing's Nek. They even patrolled as far as the Ingogo River, within sixteen miles of Newcastle. In the meantime Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, prepared to march to the relief of Pretoria, where a British garrison was blockaded by the Boers. On January 24, having provisioned Newcastle for thirteen days and put it into a state of defence, he advanced into the Transvaal with a column consisting of 1000 men. After

crossing the Ingogo River he encamped within four miles of Laing's Nek, which was held by the Boers, between 2000 and 3000 strong, and on the 28th he marched out to attack them. He was repulsed, with the loss of eighty men killed, including Colonel Deane of the 58th and six other officers, and 100 men wounded.

After this defeat General Colley retired to his camp, and remained there for a week unmolested, keeping up his communications with Newcastle, to which he had sent his wounded. On the 7th of February, however, the post was stopped by a strong patrol of the enemy, and next day the General marched out to restore communications. But shortly after crossing the Ingogo River he was attacked by the Boers, whom, after a severe struggle, he repulsed, but with the loss of six officers and sixty-two men killed and sixty-four wounded. After obtaining some reinforcements Sir George, on the night of February 26, quitted his camp at the head of 627 men to occupy Majuba Hill, which overlooked the enemy's position at Laing's Nek. They reached the summit after eight hours' hard climbing, but were too much fatigued to intrench their encampment. Early on the morning of the 27th they opened fire upon the Boers. At the outset everything seemed to favour the attack, but in the end the enemy, by a sudden and unexpected rush, gained possession of the hill. General Colley was killed, and his men were driven back to the camp with heavy loss.

On receiving news of this disaster Sir Evelyn Wood, on whom the chief command and the Governorship of Natal now devolved, hurried up from Maritzburg. On the 6th of March he held a conference with Joubert, the commander of the Boers, and an armistice for eight days was agreed upon, to enable the Boer President Kruger to reply to the communications which had been previously made to him by Sir George Colley. The armistice was extended to give time for the arrival of Kruger; and on March 21 a conference was held between

Sir Evelyn Wood and Colonel Buller on the part of the British authorities, and Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert as the representatives of the Boers, the following terms of peace being agreed to and subsequently sanctioned by the Home Government:—The suzerainty of the Queen over the Transvaal was to be acknowledged, complete self-government was to be given to the Boers, but control over their foreign relations was reserved. A British officer was to reside at the Transvaal capital. A Royal Commission, consisting of Sir E. Wood, Sir H. de Villiers, and Sir Hercules Robinson, was to consider the provisions for the protection of native interests and questions of frontier, and whether any portion of territory eastward should be severed from the Transvaal. The Boers were to withdraw from Laing's Nek, British garrisons were to remain in the Transvaal till a final settlement was made, but Sir E. Wood was not to advance or to send military stores into the Transvaal.

An incident occurred at this juncture which caused a good deal of ill-feeling. The garrison of Potchefstroom surrendered on the 21st of March, owing to the failure of provisions, and Crouje, the Boer in command of the besieging force, was justly accused of bad faith in having kept back the news of the armistice from the garrison. Sir Evelyn gave notice that he would claim the return of the guns and other Government property at Potchefstroom in virtue of the terms agreed to on the 21st. Eventually the guns were returned, but the rifles which were surrendered had been carried off by the Boers and could not be recovered.

Throughout Natal the action of the Government was loudly condemned, but the House of Assembly at the Cape unanimously passed a resolution expressing their satisfaction with the peace. An elaborate attack was made in both Houses of Parliament by the Opposition on the policy of the Government in the Transvaal, and it was asserted by Lord Carnarvon that in

making peace we had 'abandoned our allies—the Dutch loyalists, the English residents, and the friendly natives.' 'By the course it had pursued,' said Sir M. Hicks Beach, 'the Government had betrayed its friends, yielded to its enemies, and destroyed all its chances of exercising influence in South Africa.' By its 'half-hearted action the blood of British soldiers had been shed in vain, and the defeat upon British arms had never been redressed. If matters had been properly managed the Government might have brought the war to a successful termination, and then have yielded to a beaten foe terms which had now been extracted by a victorious enemy.'

On the other hand it was pleaded by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues that the overtures for peace came in the first instance from President Brand of the Free State, and secondly from Mr. Kruger, President of the Boer insurgents. The latter wrote to Sir George Colley that he was willing to submit his case to a Royal Commission. On this basis Sir George was ordered by the Government to arrange for a settlement. In the midst of the negotiations the British troops on three occasions met with a repulse, but in each case they were the aggressors, and therefore their defeat did not seem to the Government to constitute a reason for withdrawing the terms previously proposed. To have withdrawn the terms which were offered before the disasters, on a military point of honour, and to insist on a certain number of victims being slaughtered to expiate our defeats, would have been wicked, cruel, and mean. Mr. Gladstone contended therefore that the Government had done everything that could have been done to vindicate the authority of the Queen except by shedding more blood. He justified in detail the settlement effected with the Boers, especially dwelling on the protection secured to the native races, which he affirmed was more efficient than if we had set up parliamentary government in the Transvaal. This was far wiser and more honourable than to carry

on a contest with the whole Dutch population of Africa, and at the end of which we should have done exactly what was being done now.

The House of Commons, by a majority of 315 against 204, expressed its approval of the South African policy of the Government, and there can be little doubt that the decision was in accordance with the feeling of the country.

The Royal Commission, of which Sir Hercules Robinson was President, held their first sitting at Pretoria, on 14th June, and their sittings continued until August. They settled the troublesome question of the boundaries in such a way that several influential chiefs were left independent outside the Transvaal. On the question of 'compensation for losses through war,' they decided, in opposition to the opinions of the Boer leaders, that taking property without paying for it is not an act 'justified by the necessities of war,' and a subconvention was appointed to adjudicate on the claims for compensation on the part of the individuals whom the Boers had deprived of their property. It was agreed that the British Resident should be invested with the control of the foreign relations of the state, the control of the frontier affairs, and the protection of the interests of the natives. As under the South African Republic natives were not allowed to acquire land by individual title, it was arranged that the Secretary for Native Affairs should act as their trustee in this matter. Liberty of movement, subject to the pass laws, was granted to the natives, and the provisions of the Sand River Convention, prohibiting slavery, were reaffirmed—much to the displeasure of the Boers, who alleged that this was unnecessary, seeing, as they asserted, quite untrue, that they had never violated this enactment. It was also provided that a power of veto on all measures affecting the natives should be reserved to the Suzerain. The liabilities of the new state, exclusive of compensation for war losses, amounted to £428,893, and it was agreed that a sum

not exceeding £500,000 should be advanced by Her Majesty's Government to the Transvaal, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and a payment of £2 10s. 9d. per £100 was to be made to form a sinking fund to extinguish the debt in twenty-five years.

It was settled that the 'ratification of the convention' should take place within three months, that the civil government should be handed over to the Boers as soon as this was concluded, but that the troops should not be withdrawn until the vote of approval by the Volksraad had been given. If this were not done Her Majesty would resume her sovereignty over the Transvaal. It was not, however, till the termination of the fixed period was close at hand that the Volksraad could be induced to ratify the convention, and after the British Government had peremptorily refused to make any alteration in its terms.

No one acquainted with the past history of the Boers, their obstinate adherence to their 'rough and ready' method of dealing with the natives, their unwillingness to pay taxes and to obey the laws of their own government when they were independent, could have expected that they would long continue to live quietly and peaceably when they became once more their own masters. It was foreseen that in all probability the independence of the Transvaal Boers would involve incessant friction with the native populations which lie adjacent to our borders as well as to theirs. They began by petitioning in favour of the abolition of the recently imposed taxes and of the High Court. On January 22, 1882, a force of 300 Boers and 600 of their native allies, with three guns, crossed the Convention boundary of the Transvaal and attacked an independent native chief named Montsioa, but were defeated. They were again beaten by him on February 21 and 25, one day losing all their cattle and another falling into an ambuscade. In March a body of Boers, Korannas, and Batlapins attacked on three several occasions Taoums, the headquarters of a chief

called Mankoran, but were repulsed, and the Boer commander and the Batlapin chief were killed in the fight.

The Boers next trumped up charges against the British Government amounting to £176,757, and requested that this sum should be deducted from the amount which the Convention decided to be due from the Transvaal. Secocoeni, whom Sir Garnet Wolseley had defeated and compelled to submit, but whom the Boers had restored, was killed, with his son and fourteen followers, on the 13th of August, by Mampoor, the chief whom the British Government had put in his place. Then the Boers sent a force of 2000 men against another native chief called Mapoch, who had openly defied the Transvaal Government, but they were defeated by him in November in two engagements with very heavy losses, and compelled to retreat into their own territory. They had then recourse to the use of dynamite to blow up the caves of the native tribes, and in this way killed great numbers of them.

In 1884 a deputation from the Transvaal, including President Krüger, visited Europe, and during their stay in England induced the Government to consent to several important modifications of the Pretoria Convention. The debt due to the British Government was reduced from £380,000 to £250,000, and an extension of frontier was permitted to the Boers, at the expense of the neighbouring tribes against whom they had been waging war. At the same time, to prevent if possible a continuation of such native wars, the British Government decided to establish a protectorate over Bechuanaland, a large and somewhat undefined extent of country lying to the west of the Transvaal, the native chiefs having expressed a desire to be taken under the direct protection of the Imperial Government. It was also provided that the trade route from Cape Colony into the interior did not necessarily pass through Transvaal territory, as there were well-grounded fears that in such a case the Boers might place

restrictions on trade. The Queen's suzerainty as regards the relations of the Transvaal Republic with foreign nations was at the same time abandoned.

It was hoped that this liberal treatment of our late enemies would result in soothing the feelings of race-hatred which had been aroused by the war, and which had been considered dangerous even within the Cape Colony, which has a large population of Dutch descent. The people of the Transvaal may have a right to govern themselves, but they cannot be permitted to adopt towards the African races a policy of aggression which keeps South Africa in a state of perpetual turmoil.

Meanwhile serious troubles had arisen with the Basutos, who complained bitterly of the treatment which they had received from the Government of the Cape Colony. In 1868 Moshesh, the great Basuto chief, reduced to the last extremity by the Free State Boers, gladly accepted the protection of Great Britain, and transferred his sovereign rights to the Queen. In accordance with the wishes of the chief, Basutoland was annexed to Cape Colony, and not to Natal. The Basutos prospered under their new governors, were peaceful, were loyal in their behaviour, and had made a progress in civilization quite unparalleled among the African races. But in 1879 the Cape Government resolved to apply to the Basutos the power which the Parliament had intrusted to them in the previous year of disarming such native tribes under colonial jurisdiction as they might think necessary, and the Act was accordingly proclaimed in Basutoland on April 8, 1880. It thus became illegal for the natives to possess or to carry arms, including assegais as well as guns, after a date specified by the proclamation, which was originally declared to be May 21, but was afterwards extended to July 12. The greater part of the natives refused to obey this order. They pleaded that their guns, of which it was now proposed to deprive them, had been earned by labour at the diamond fields,

and the Colonial Government had sanctioned their obtaining these weapons. They fought on the British side in the Zulu War, and their loyal and peaceful behaviour showed that they would make no use of their guns against the whites. To deprive them of weapons which they valued so highly would be not only a dishonour, but an evidence of undeserved distrust. The Colonial Government, however, refused to be turned from their purpose. The loyal Fingoes on one side of the Orange River, they said, had given up their guns, and the not more loyal Basutos could not be exempted.

The dispute was embittered by the proposal of the Cape Government to throw open the confiscated lands of the rebel chief Moirosi to settlement for whites and the natives of other tribes, while the Basutos insisted that these lands should be reserved for their own tribe alone. The Home Government condemned the confiscation of Moirosi's lands, and enjoined moderation and caution in carrying out the decree of disarmament; but it appears to have been conducted with little tact or discretion, and in August, 1880, the Basutos took up arms in defence of what they regarded as their rights. The accounts of the first collision between them and the Cape Mounted Rifles are very confused, so that it is difficult to decide by whom the first shot was fired. Simultaneous attacks were made by the Basutos on three stations held by the colonial troops, and they proved very formidable antagonists, and held their own in their conflicts with the regular forces. They were not, however, left alone in their conflict with the Colonial Government.

It had often been predicted by those who disapproved of the disarmament that the natives throughout the South African district would make common cause with the Basutos, and so it proved. Hardly had the Rifles crossed into Basutoland when the natives began to rise in arms, and in a short space of time a general insurrection took place throughout the extensive region for-

merly known as Independent Kafirland, and not fewer than 200,000 natives were in arms. The Fingoes alone remained loyal to the Government. Traders' stores, mission stations, and the seats of the magistrates were attacked and sacked. The insurgents were meanwhile kept in check by the volunteers and the yeomanry, along with the regular troops, 1000 strong, under Colonel Carrington. But it was not until near the end of the year that the neck of the rebellion was broken by the defeat of the Pondimisi chief.

While South Africa was in this critical position, Sir Bartle Frere was recalled by the Home Government. Although his policy had not received the approval of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration, and had been strongly condemned by the Liberal party when in Opposition, he was not recalled when they assumed office. They alleged that it was a matter of vital importance that the confederation of the South African colonies should be carried into effect, and that Sir Bartle Frere, owing to his personal influence in Cape Colony, was more likely than a new Governor to promote the success of the project. Resolutions were proposed by the Colonial Ministry to the effect that it was expedient that a conference of representatives should ascertain the practicability or otherwise of a legislative and administrative confederation of the various British South African colonies, but the opposition was so strong that they were withdrawn. As soon as the despatches containing an account of the failure of the scheme reached England Sir Bartle Frere was recalled. He was informed that he had been kept in office only to promote the scheme of confederation, and as there was no longer any hope that this would be carried into effect, and he was on other matters not in accord with the views of the Ministry, it would be unfair both to him and to the Government to maintain him longer in his position. Sir Bartle's recall was regarded in the colony with varied feelings, as party views

and interests were promoted or hindered by his proceedings. While one section declared that his recall was the necessary condition for a safer and juster policy in South Africa, 'crowded and enthusiastic meetings in most of the towns condemned the step taken by the Home Government, applauded the policy which led to the Zulu War, and spoke of the departing Governor as the saviour of South Africa. Even his political opponents joined in the testimony to his personal courtesy and the purity of his aims.'

The war with the Basutos still continued, and several engagements were fought with varied success. Sir Hercules Robinson had been instructed to mediate between the natives and the Colonial Government if both parties were willing. Lerothodi, one of the most powerful and turbulent of the chiefs, having sued for peace, an armistice for six days was agreed to on February 18, 1881. Sir Hercules informed the Basutos that if they would place themselves 'unreservedly in his hands' he would insure them 'just and generous terms,' but he insisted on their laying down their arms at once as a preliminary condition. This, however, they refused to do, and hostilities were resumed, and carried on in a desultory manner until April 9, when Lerothodi again asked for peace. The Governor then consented to act as mediator, and made an award which appeared to be fair to both parties. A general amnesty was to be granted; the Basutos were to be disarmed, but licenses to carry arms were to be issued on a liberal scale; there was to be no confiscation of territory, but the natives were to pay a fine of 5000 head of cattle. These terms were assented to by the chiefs, who began to collect the cattle required for payment of the fine, and the Colonial troops were withdrawn from Basutoland. The disarmament, however, proceeded very slowly, and the loyal Basutos were still afraid to return to their villages. The country, though comparatively quiet, continued in an unsatisfactory state, and little

regard was paid to law and order. In February, 1883, the Home Government and the Cape Ministry agreed to inform the Basutos that unless Governor Robinson's award were carried out it would be cancelled, the Geethong district would be disposed of to loyal Basutos and Europeans, the position at Masau would be strongly garrisoned, and the rest of the territory would be abandoned. The effect of this announcement was to reunite the Basutos as one tribe in making preparations for war. The colony was not in a condition to carry on hostilities, and as there was practically no government in Basutoland, the Resident was powerless to enforce order. The Cape Parliament met at this critical stage (March 17), and a strong feeling was manifested in favour of the repeal of the Annexation Act and the abandonment of the country. But the Government insisted on steady persistence in a policy which aimed at the restoration of law and order, and were supported by large majorities. The Legislative Council, however, by fourteen votes to six, adopted a resolution recommending the abandonment of Basutoland by the Cape Government, and calling upon the Imperial Government to resume the responsibility of the administration of that country. But Lord Kimberley, the Colonial Secretary, replied that under no circumstances would this request be granted, and the Cape Ministry were left to carry out their policy on their own responsibility.

General C. G. Gordon, so well known subsequently, who assumed the command of the colonial forces on 1st July, gave it as his opinion on the Basuto question, that the limits of the native locations should be at once permanently fixed by legal deeds, and that legal proceedings should be taken against all who encroached upon the territory of the tribes—a course which he believed would make the natives quiet and contented. The Secretary for Native Affairs and General Gordon visited Basutoland in September, in the hope of arranging matters

between the natives and the white squatters. They were cordially welcomed by all the Basuto chiefs except Masupha, and disgust at his conduct and an ardent desire for peace were professed by all the others. While negotiations were going on with Masupha, and General Gordon was urging him to pay the hut tax and submit to the Government, news arrived that an expedition under Lerothodi, with the sanction of the Cape Ministry, was on its way to attack the refractory chief. Masupha was so enraged at the tidings that he immediately broke off negotiations, and General Gordon, in great displeasure at such a step having been taken at a moment when he thought his efforts might prove successful, tendered his resignation to the Cape Government, which was accepted with unseemly haste, and he forthwith started for England. The loss to the colony of a man like Gordon, it was justly said, at such a critical time was most serious, and indicated a want of justice and wisdom on the part of the authorities that betrayed either weakness or division. The departure of Gordon did not tend to lessen the disturbances in Basutoland or to make Masupha more peaceful or conciliatory. The mission of the Premier and

the Secretary for Native Affairs proved a failure. The authorities of Cape Colony, after expending three millions of money and sacrificing many valuable lives, found the administration of Basutoland a task too heavy for them, and entreated to be relieved from it. In these circumstances the Imperial Government very reluctantly consented to resume, under certain conditions, the responsibility and the authority which they formerly transferred to the colonists, having some reason to hope that the Basutos would be more peaceable and contented under the direct government of the Crown than under the management of the Cape Ministry. It appears certain that the natives have much greater confidence in the justice of the Imperial Government than of the colonists, a majority of whom it must be remembered are of Dutch descent and more or less inclined to the peculiar ideas of the Boers on the treatment of natives. This fact has also materially increased the difficulty of dealing with the constant aggressions of Boers from the Transvaal and elsewhere, as it is always desirable to avoid if possible any cause of collision between the Imperial and the Colonial Governments.

CHAPTER XIX.

Financial Condition of Egypt—Arrangements made by Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert—Misconduct of Ismael Sadyk Pasha—Committee of Inquiry—Their Arrangements—Deposition of the Khedive and the appointment of Tewfik Pasha in his place—The Commission of Liquidation—The Military Mutiny—Caballing of the Officers—Inefficiency of the Government—Military Revolt—Concessions of the Khedive—The National Party—Conduct of Arabi, its leader—Demands of the Chamber of Notables—Alleged plot to murder Arabi—Intervention of France and Britain—Conference at Constantinople—Arabi's proceedings at Alexandria—The British Government forbid the strengthening of the defences—Bombardment of the Forts—Resignation of Mr. Bright—Evasive and tortuous policy of the Porte—British force despatched to Egypt—Strategy of Sir Garnet Wolseley—His seizure of the Suez Canal—Troops landed at El-Kantara and Ismailia—Encounters with Arabi's forces—Battle of Tel-el-Kebir—Complete defeat of the Egyptians—Surrender of Arabi—Termination of the War—Trial of Arabi—His sentence and exile to Ceylon—The Suez Canal—Its origin, construction, and present state.

EGYPTIAN financial affairs, which had long been in an unsatisfactory state, now forced themselves on the attention of the British and French Governments. Mr. Cave, who was sent out by the bondholders of the Egyptian loans, reported that in 1875 Egypt owed £75,000,000 sterling, most of which had been spent on the Suez Canal, railways, and other public works. He did full justice to the improvements which had been made under Ismail Pasha's administration, but he declared that 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 civilization of the West.' The Khedive had attempted, with a limited revenue, in the course of a few years, works which ought to have been spread over a far longer period, and would have taxed the resources of much richer exchequers. The precarious tenure of office caused dishonesty to go wholly or partially unpunished; the peculation and neglect which pervaded every department gave rise to intrigues that sooner or later brought about the downfall of honest officials. 'As therefore,' he concluded, 'every security of real value is pledged, and as without the means for meeting the floating debt a very serious crisis in the financial affairs of Egypt must take place, which would be fatal to the bondholders of the various loans, it would

seem that the most feasible mode of averting the danger would be to buy up, for the purpose of consolidation, the loans of 1860 and 1873, and the bonds of the floating debt.'

Mr. Cave's report revealing the perilous condition of Egyptian finances made it evident that prompt and vigorous measures had become necessary to save the property of the bondholders from destruction. Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert were sent out, the former as the representative of the British, the latter of the French creditors, armed with unfettered authority, to make arrangements with the Khedive and his ministers. The knowledge that Mr. Goschen was backed by the almost unanimous support of the various creditors of Egypt in this country gave him an influence in negotiating with the Egyptian Government which he could not have had in other circumstances.

The person who was mainly responsible for the gross mismanagement of Egyptian finance and the accumulation of debt was Ismael Sadyk Pasha, who entered the service of Ibrahim Pasha, the father of the Khedive, in 1836, an uneducated fellah, and had now become Minister of Finance, with paramount influence over the policy and actions of the Khedive. Being well aware of his real character and of the necessity of getting rid of him, Mr. Goschen on his arrival refused to call upon Sadyk Pasha. The slight was keenly felt by the Finance Minister, and with an audacity and viru-

lence hitherto unknown in Egypt, he set himself to excite an agitation among the village *fellaheen*, and pushed to the verge of rebellion his opposition to the schemes of the foreign deputies. He then sent in his resignation in a long letter bringing the most serious accusations against the Khedive himself. Five days later the Khedive, in true Oriental fashion, took him a quiet drive which ended at the Palace, where he was delivered over a prisoner to a strong guard in waiting for him, and was despatched to a penal settlement on the Upper Nile.

The main obstruction having thus been got out of the way, Mr. Goschen and his colleague, M. Joubert, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements to save the money of the shareholders and to retrieve the position of the Khedive. After making a considerable reduction on the interest of the loans and on the bonus that was proposed to be given to the holders of Treasury bonds, and assigning a fixed allowance of about £4,000,000 sterling to the Khedive, they put the whole system of Egyptian finance under European control. Europeans were to manage the railways, to superintend the collection of all the revenues of the state, to regulate all disbursements, and to watch over the funds to be applied to the payment of the Khedive's creditors. These arrangements were sanctioned by the Khedive, became law in 1876, and if honestly carried out they would no doubt in time have produced a most beneficial effect upon the stability of the Egyptian Government and the welfare of the people. The financial system, however, introduced by Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert in 'this most distressful country' was not successful, and a new Committee of Inquiry was ordered, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, formerly of the British Treasury, took the leading part. Prince Mohammed Tewfik, the hereditary Prince, made an offer to cede to the Committee all his estates, the annual rental of which amounted to £30,000. His example was followed by the daughter and second

son of the Khedive, and ultimately by his mother, whose estates were worth £20,000 a year. The Khedive himself soon after intimated his intention to follow the same course, and to give up all his private estates to the Financial Commission, to accept the European system of constitutional government, and to make Nubar Pasha the head of his administration, while Mr. Rivers Wilson was to be the Minister of Finance, with a French Minister of Public Works as his colleague. 'My country,' he said, 'is no longer African; we now form part of Europe. It is proper, therefore, to abandon our old ways and to adopt a new system more in accordance with our social progress. Above all we must not be satisfied with mere words, and for my own part I am determined to prove my intentions by my deeds.'

The report of the Egyptian Commission of Inquiry revealed a state of matters which urgently demanded reform. 'No tax in Egypt,' it said, 'is regulated by law. The superior authority asks, the inferior authority demands, and the lowest authority takes just what the Treasury has ordered, and there is no appeal. New taxes are imposed at discretion, and are occasionally quite absurd. All who do not own land pay the tax on professions, because not being land-owners they might take to professions if they liked. The conscription is forced on everybody who cannot bribe the Sheik, the regulation price for exemption being £80, which an Egyptian peasant can no more raise than an English labourer could.' These taxes are all levied by 'moral pressure,' says the Inspector-General, and that means, in fact, the threat of torture.

If Ismail ever intended to act in accordance with his professions and his promises his intention was very short-lived. Matters went from bad to worse, and at last it became indispensably necessary to depose him from his office. He was induced to abdicate, under pressure from the British and French Governments, August 8,

1879, and his son, Mohammed Tewfik, was appointed by the Sultan of Turkey (also acting under pressure) to succeed him. The European Controllers, appointed by a decree of the new Khedive, dated November 10, 1879, and nominated respectively by the British and French Governments, steadily carried out their projected reforms, satisfying honest claims, but firmly rejecting those which were either unjust in themselves or had been scandalously exaggerated above their real amount. A Committee of Liquidation was appointed with extensive powers. Its proposals, which were ratified by the new Khedive and his Ministers, gave general satisfaction to the Egyptian creditors, and a hopeful future seemed at length to have dawned upon the unhappy country. The native cultivators, though still subjected to conscription, were no longer drawn in crowds to swell a useless army, or employed upon useless works; the land tax, though heavy, was collected with comparative fairness, and even the labourers were able to lay aside some savings. The use of the whip in the collection of taxes was abolished, and yet the taxes were paid quite readily. 'It leads one to hope,' said Mr. Malet, the British Agent and Consul-General, 'that the condition of the fellah is at last permanently changed for the better, and that the misrule and oppression to which he has been subject for centuries has passed away.'

A great deal, however, had still to be done before it could be said that Egypt was well governed, but an important step was taken towards this desirable result when the Law of Liquidation was drawn up, on the recommendation of the Commissioners of Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany. This law 'drew an absolute line of demarcation between the past and the future, settled the conditions on which all public debts prior to December 31, 1880, were to be regulated, fixed the amount and interest of the consolidated debt, appropriated to it certain revenues, and laid down the rules by which

the other sources of income were to be distributed between the service of different branches of the administration and the paying off of the consolidated debt.' But at this juncture a military revolt unfortunately broke out, which appears to have arisen from dissatisfaction caused by the pay of the troops having fallen into arrears, a reduction in the regiments from motives of economy, and the promotion to the higher grades of Turks and Circassians by the Minister of War, to the exclusion of native officers. The movement speedily spread over the country; no portion of the troops could be relied on to suppress the mutiny, and even the black regiment at Tonrah prepared to join the mutineers. In these circumstances there was nothing for it but to yield to their demands. The Minister of War was replaced by Mahmoud Pasha Samy, the Minister of Religious Institutions, whose nomination was favourably received by the soldiers, and they retired to their barracks with shouts of 'Long live the Khedive!'

But though the mutiny was at an end for the present the soldiers had learned the secret of their strength, and they soon made it evident that they knew that they were completely masters of the situation. The officers who had taken the lead in this outbreak were under an apprehension that sooner or later they would be made to feel the vengeance of the Khedive and his Ministers, whose authority they had successfully defied, and in order to protect themselves they opened secret communications with all who on any ground were dissatisfied with the political position of Egypt. The Ministry were soon made aware of this caballing, but they took no active measures to suppress it. They made an effort to conciliate the army by inquiring into and remedying any grievances of which the soldiers had reason to complain, and they at once raised the pay of all ranks from 20 to 30 per cent. The military party, however, of which Ahmed Arabi Bey was now the recognized head, persisted

in holding meetings in Cairo, at which speeches were made denouncing the Riaz Ministry and the foreign element in the administration of the country. The Khedive wanted the courage and decision necessary to support his Ministry against their enemies or to vindicate his own authority, and the agitation, which had originated with the army, was fomented and extended throughout the whole country.

In this state of matters a crisis was evidently impending, and it was brought on partly by accidental circumstances, partly by a want of forethought and firmness on the part of the Khedive and his ministers. It was not unknown to them that the military leaders held meetings on September 7 and 8, at which it was resolved to make a demonstration to intimidate the Khedive and compel the resignation of the ministers, whom they suspected of designs on their liberty, if not on their lives; but no steps were taken to counteract these intrigues. Quite unexpectedly the Minister of War was informed, at one o'clock in the afternoon of September 9, by a letter from Arabi Bey, that at three o'clock on the same afternoon the army would present itself on the square before the palace of Abden, to demand the execution of the political programme agreed upon by their leaders. This consisted of three points—the instant dismissal of the Ministry, the summoning of the Chamber of Notables, and the carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission, which, among other matters, included the augmentation of the army to 18,000 men. Even at that late hour, if the Khedive had put himself at the head of the 1st Regiment of Guards, who had received him with every mark of respect, and had marched at once to Abden, as Mr. Colvin recommended him to do, before the arrival of Arabi Bey from Abassieh, all might have gone well. But the well-meaning though weak ruler still clung to the notion that he might persuade the leaders of the army to come to an amicable arrangement. On reaching Abassieh, however, in company

with Mr. Colvin, he found that Arabi had already marched with the troops, taking with him eighteen pieces of artillery to blockade the palace of Abden. When the Khedive returned thither at full speed he found the square in front of his palace occupied by 4000 soldiers, and loaded cannon pointed at the windows. Arabi Bey reiterated the three demands of the army—dismissal of the Ministry, convention of the Chambers, and the carrying out of the recommendation of the military commission. But through the intervention of Mr. Cookson, the British acting agent, it was agreed that the Ministry should resign, and that Cherif Pasha should be asked to form a cabinet, on condition that the troops should be at once withdrawn.

The crisis had thus far passed over without bloodshed, but matters were still in an unsatisfactory and critical state. Cherif Pasha at first refused to accept office at the bidding of the mutineers, and was at last induced to undertake the task only by the persuasion of the British and French agents, and on condition that the officers should quit Cairo, leave him the untrammelled choice of his Ministers, and forbear to insist on the immediate augmentation of the army. The conditions were faithfully carried out on both sides. On the 22nd September the Khedive issued decrees regulating the pay, the promotion, and the retirement of the officers on the lines laid down by the military commission, and on the 4th of October appeared a decree for the opening of the Chamber of Delegates.

The success of the revolt, however, rendered a compromise impracticable. The national party, which had been composed mainly of uninfluential mercenary theorists, now became numerous and powerful, and absorbed into itself all the various elements of opposition to the system under which the control of the political and administrative affairs of the country had been intrusted to foreigners. The native aspirants for public employment, the military agitators, the Sheiks, and the Notables—

all, in short, who were interested in the maintenance of time-honoured abuses, and had been accustomed to jobbery and speculation under the former mode of government, united in bitter opposition to the foreigners, while the fanaticism of the Mussulman population was roused by the inflammatory articles issued by the native press. The success of the financial measures under the administration of the British and French officials was very marked. The revenue had exceeded the estimated amount by nearly £600,000, while the expenditure had fallen short of the estimate by £731,000. But this result afforded no satisfaction to those who had been in the habit of enriching themselves at the public expense.

The first session of the Egyptian Parliament was opened on the 2nd of December, 1881, by the Khedive in person. He expressed his confidence that it would respect the Law of Liquidation and all other international engagements; but it speedily appeared that a majority of the members were resolved to follow a different course. The Parliament and the people of Great Britain had no desire to extend their interference with Egyptian affairs, but on the contrary were prepared to welcome every attempt to diminish it. But as Sir Charles Dilke remarked—'Britain and France occupy a position towards Egypt which entitles them to give advice, and to expect that it should be followed. If it is galling to the Egyptians to see certain administrations in their midst in foreign hands—such as the railways, the Port of Alexandria, the Domains, and the Daira-Sanieh—it must be remembered that these revenues were assigned in mortgage for moneys spent on Egypt, and that the redemption of that debt, which is progressing rapidly under the Law of Liquidation, will render those mortgage liquidations needless. But for the present the co-operation of England and France in their administration is as necessary as the control of which they form a component part; and being there it forms the rampart against confusion, and a co-operation with

France deliberately created by our predecessors must be loyally maintained.'

Arabi, however, and the party of which he was the recognized leader, regarded affairs in a very different light. He had retired to Ouady with his regiment according to the agreement made with Cherif Pasha, but returning suddenly to Cairo at the beginning of the year 1882 he was appointed Under-secretary of War by the Minister whose policy he had done all in his power to defeat. This sudden and unexpected arrangement indicated the apprehension which Cherif Pasha entertained of his rival's power, and a manifesto, which was generally ascribed to Arabi, was immediately issued on his advent to office, proclaiming his views on the condition of the country. In this startling document it was insisted that for the time the army represented the people, and that it was trusted by the people; that Egypt was sick of the European Control, and of its highly-paid and often incompetent officials; and that Europeans should be replaced by Egyptians, even were it deemed expedient to carry out the financial policy inaugurated by the Control, which it was evident he had no intention to do. In a word, the cry was raised of 'Egypt for the Egyptians,' and it was clearly the design of Arabi and his party to repudiate the scheme, and to put an end to the Anglo-French Control. It was strongly suspected that the Sultan, and probably the Khedive also, were favourable to this policy. In these circumstances the British and French Governments deemed it necessary to make known their resolution to maintain the existing Joint Control, which had been established, with the sanction of the other European Powers, alike for the good of Egypt, the peace of Europe, and the benefit of the bondholders. And they at once addressed to the Khedive an Identical Note, in which they expressed their determination 'to ward off by their united efforts all causes of external or internal complications which might menace the regime established in Egypt.'

The Chamber of Notables, however, were not prevented by this firm expression of opinion on the part of the representatives of the two governments from claiming the right to regulate the National Budget. Cherif Pasha tried in vain to divert them from their purpose by offering to increase the numbers and pay of the army. The Notables would be content with nothing short of the actual abrogation of the Joint Control. Cherif Pasha, in consequence, resigned, and a new Ministry was formed—not by the Khedive, who shrunk from the performance of his duty—but by the Chamber, to which he left it to make its own selection. Mahmoud Pasha Samy was made the nominal President of the new Cabinet, but Arabi was advanced to the post of War Minister, and was in reality the head of the Government. Gambetta, the French Premier, was ready to take summary measures to check the proceedings of the military party; but at this juncture he went out of office, and the policy of M. de Freycinet, who was placed at the head of affairs, was wholly opposed to that of his predecessor. The Egyptian Notables at once came to the conclusion that a divergence of views between Britain and France would leave them at liberty to carry out their own plans, and therefore, under the advice of Arabi, they continued to insist that they should have the right to settle the budget, which had hitherto been framed in accordance with the views of the British and French representatives. These officials strongly protested both to the Khedive and to their own Governments against this attempt to usurp their powers, as calculated seriously to prejudice the interests of Britain and France. Their recommendations were adopted by their respective Governments, and were embodied in a Joint Note to the Khedive, who, however, was powerless to arrest the action of the military party. So completely, indeed, was he in their hands that he was obliged to create Arabi a Pasha, to promote seventeen of the principal officers who had supported

him to colonelcies, and to confirm the Bedouins, on whom Arabi depended for support, in all their privileges.

The system of allowing the War Minister to govern through a Cabinet nominally in power lasted only a few weeks. On April 11 a plot was said to have been discovered for the murder of Arabi by certain Circassian officers, who had been passed over in the wholesale promotions of the preceding month. Thirty-one of the alleged conspirators were arrested, thrown into prison, and tried by a secret court-martial. Arabi wished to make an example of the ring-leaders, but the Khedive, who was smarting under the domination of the military leader, decided to commute the sentences of the inculpated officers, and to place them on half-pay. The President of the Council, who was a creature of Arabi, was so angry at the refusal of the Khedive to condemn the Circassians to degradation and exile for life, that on May 10 he convoked the Chamber of Notables without even consulting the Khedive, and intimated that until its assembling no further communication would be held with the nominal ruler of the country.

An unsatisfactory correspondence had been carried on for some time between the British and French Governments as to the steps which should be taken to bring about a restoration of peace and security in Egypt, and various proposals for that purpose had been made and rejected by one party or other. At length the French Government proposed to despatch at once half a dozen ships of war to Alexandria, and that Britain should send thither a similar force. To this plan Lord Granville gave his consent, and instructions were simultaneously sent by the two Governments to recommend the Khedive to proclaim a general amnesty, to call for the resignation of the Arabi Ministry, and to demand that the President of the Council, the Minister of War, and other three military Pashas, should leave Egypt for a year. Arabi, like the great body of his countrymen, was under the impression

that the two Western Powers would not despatch any troops to Egypt, and at first refused either to resign office or to leave the country ; but after a few days' reflection the Ministers resigned in a body. The Khedive was informed that the army absolutely rejected the Joint Note, and awaited the decision of the Sultan, to whom they had appealed. The proposed deposition of the Khedive was discussed by the military junta, but was negatived, and it was resolved that he should be called on to reinstate Arabi as Minister of War.

Invitations to a conference at Constantinople were issued to the European ministers, but owing to its limited action nothing came of it. The presence of the allied fleet at Alexandria produced a feeling of anxiety, and the Egyptian troops at once began to throw up batteries and earthworks. The feelings of the citizens were decidedly and increasingly hostile to Europeans. The danger became very great. 'During twenty-four hours,' wrote Mr. Cookson to Lord Granville, 'the town was in continual danger of being stormed by the soldiery, who actually had cartridges served out, in response to their demand, to be used against Europeans. The crisis is only suspended, but all elements of danger which existed yesterday remain to-day. The small squadron in port could only silence the fire of the Egyptian forts, and when these forts are disabled, then would commence a period of great danger for Europeans, who would be at the mercy of soldiers exasperated by defeat. Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiers and their growing defiance of discipline.'

Arabi, though only nominally War Minister, was practically sole dictator, and by his orders the Alexandrian forts were put into a condition of defence, and long lines and earthworks were erected to cover the entrance of the harbour. Although the Khedive and the British Admiral sent him repeated orders to desist from the erection of these works, he persisted in the construction of batteries round the harbour.

He gradually drew around him the select soldiers of the Egyptian army, including those regiments on whose support he imagined he could rely, but he soon found that he was quite unable to rule and restrain the forces he had collected. On the 11th of June a serious riot broke out at Alexandria, in which Mr. Cookson, the British Consul and Judge, the Greek Consul-General, and a French Consular dragoon were attacked and seriously injured, and a considerable number of British and French subjects were killed, variously estimated at from fifty to 200.

'The record of events in Egypt during the last few months,' wrote Lord Granville to Lord Dufferin on the 11th of July, 'shows that the whole administrative power has fallen into the hands of certain military chiefs devoid of experience and knowledge, who, with the support of the soldiers, have set at nought the constituted authorities, and insisted on compliance with their demands. Such a condition of affairs cannot fail to be disastrous to the welfare of any civilized country. There seemed to be a moment when a firm assertion of authority by the Khedive, with the countenance of the sovereign Power, backed by evidence of the support of England and France, and with no uncertain prospect of material intervention if the necessity arose, might suffice to produce submission on the part of the officers, and to bring the movement within bounds. The attempt was made, and unhappily has failed.'

'Her Majesty's Government now see no alternative but a recourse to force to put an end to a state of affairs which has become intolerable. In their opinion it would be most convenient, and most in accordance with the general principles of international law and usage, that the force to be so employed should be that of the sovereign Power. If this method of procedure should prove impracticable, in consequence of unwillingness on the part of the Sultan, it will become necessary to devise other measures. Her Majesty's Government continue to hold the view expressed in their circular of February 11, that any intervention in Egypt should represent the united action and authority of Europe. They have, in fact, no interests or objects in regard to Egypt which are inconsistent with those of Europe in general, nor any interests which are inconsistent with those of the Egyptian people. Their desire is that the navigation of the Suez Canal should be maintained open and unrestricted, that Egypt should be well and quietly governed, free from predominating influence on the part of



J. Ramsay

E. P. Brandard

ALEXANDRIA.

any single Power; that international engagements should be observed, and that those British commercial and industrial interests which have been so largely developed in Egypt should receive due protection, and should not be exposed to outrage—a principle which is not applicable only to Egypt, but is essential for national progress in all parts of the world. The policy pursued by them has been consistent; they have loyally acted up to their engagements with France; they have been anxious also that the other Powers should be informed and consulted in all matters affecting the position of the country. The action to which their admiral has been compelled to resort has not altered their views in this respect.'

The course of events at Alexandria obliged the Government to adopt decisive measures to carry out the policy which they had resolved to pursue. It had become evident that nothing short of force would avail to suppress the military party, which had now usurped the complete control of the Government and the country. As soon as Arabi became master of the situation he set about putting the forts round Alexandria in a condition of defence, and though for a time, on the remonstrance of Admiral Seymour, he had desisted from the erection of the earthworks to cover the entrance of the harbour, he now resumed the undertaking. The British Government had instructed their Admiral 'to prevent any attempt to bar the channel into Alexandria harbour, and to acquaint the Military Governor that such an attempt would be considered a hostile act and treated accordingly; if work were resumed on the earthworks or fresh guns mounted, to inform the military commandant that he had orders to prevent it, and if not immediately discontinued to destroy the earthworks and silence the batteries if they opened fire, having given sufficient notice to the population, shipping, and foreign men-of-war.'

Arabi persisted in his denial that works were going on in the forts, but the British Admiral was satisfied that the statement was at variance with fact, and the orders of the Khedive, of the Sultan, and of Derwish Pasha, his representative, that the works should be discontinued met only

with evasive replies. A threat on 6th July from the Admiral that he would open fire on the works in progress was followed by a repeated assurance on the part of the military commandant that none were in progress at that time. At length, on the 10th July, Lord Granville telegraphed his approval of a notice being given that in twenty-four hours from that time the British fleet would commence action unless the forts of the isthmus and those commanding the entrance of the harbour were temporarily surrendered for the purpose of being demolished. By this time almost the whole of the European inhabitants of Alexandria had embarked on board the ships provided for their reception, and no satisfactory reply having been received from Arabi the British vessels at nightfall withdrew from the inner harbour and took up the respective positions assigned them. Though the French Government professed to concur with the British in the end to be attained, they differed in regard to the mode in which it was to be brought about. Their ironclads, therefore, returned to Port Said, leaving the British Admiral to vindicate alone the policy of which the other European Powers had expressed their approval.

The fleet appointed for this service consisted of thirteen vessels, of which eight were ironclads and five gunboats. They carried 3539 men and 112 guns. The first shot was fired at 7 a.m., July 11, and it was not until 5.30 p.m. that the order to cease firing was given from the flagship. The Egyptian guns were vigorously served, and with creditable skill, but they were speedily overpowered by the weightier metal of the British fleet, and the forts were completely destroyed.

Next day, under cover of a flag of truce, Arabi withdrew the whole of his troops. Before they evacuated the city the prison doors were thrown open (it is not known by whose orders), and the convicts rushed out to plunder and destroy the European quarter. Bedouins and soldiers then aided them in the work of devastation, which was

carried on for two days, and it is calculated that upwards of 2000 Europeans, chiefly Greeks and Levantines, lost their lives. A large portion of the city was burned, and a vast amount of valuable property destroyed.

The report of the British Admiralty respecting the cost of the bombardment shows how expensive modern warfare has become. Every shot from the 81-ton guns cost £25 10s.; of the 25-ton guns, £7; of the 18-ton guns, £4 4s.; of the 12-ton guns, £3 12s. 6d. The cost of a single shot from the 9-ton guns was £2 15s.; from the 6½-ton guns, £1 15s. The 64-pounders and 40-pounders cost respectively 18s. and 12s. to fire.

The steps taken by the Government to compel the submission of the military party in Egypt met with general support at home, but they were regarded with strong disapprobation by an influential though not numerous party in the country and in the House of Commons, and on the 15th it was announced that Mr. Bright had withdrawn from the Cabinet.

‘The House knows,’ he said, in stating his reasons for his retirement, ‘that for forty years, at least, I have endeavoured to teach my countrymen an opinion and doctrine which I hold, namely, that the moral law is intended not only for individual life, but for the life and practice of states in their dealings with one another. I think that in the present case there has been a manifest violation both of international law and of the moral law, and therefore it is impossible for me to give my support to it. I cannot repudiate what I have preached and taught during the period of a rather long political life. I cannot turn my back upon myself and deny all that I have taught to many thousands during the forty years that I have been permitted, at public meetings and in this House, to address my countrymen. Only one word more. I asked my calm judgment and my conscience what was the part I ought to take. They pointed out to me, as I think, with an unerring finger, and I am endeavouring to follow it.’

The British Government had from the first been anxious to obtain at least the moral support of the other European Powers in their Egyptian policy, and they proposed that the Sultan should be a party to any steps that might be taken to restore order

in Egypt. Prince Bismarck declared himself personally favourable to the intervention of the Sultan as sovereign in Egypt, should intervention become necessary; the Italian Government were of the same opinion, as likely to lead to fewer complications; but the new French Ministry expressed their reluctance to admit of the Turkish interference in any form, lest it should lead sooner or later to the armed intervention of the Porte, and to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. But the policy of the Sultan and his advisers was, as usual, underhand, tortuous, and insincere, and in the end they were caught in their own net.

Immediately after the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts the representatives of the six European Powers at Constantinople presented to the Porte an Identical Note urging the immediate despatch of Ottoman troops to Egypt, limiting, however, their stay in that country to three months, unless invited by the Khedive to remain. Instead of complying with this request the Turkish Cabinet made a tardy promise that they would send a representative to the Conference, who would there state the conditions under which an army of occupation would be despatched to Egypt. Negotiations were carried on for some time respecting this matter; but the British Government would not consent to the landing of Turkish troops on Egyptian soil unless the Sultan would give positive assurance that he intended to restore the authority of the Khedive, and in proof of his sincerity would declare Arabi a rebel. Unless this were done the Turkish and Egyptian troops might not improbably unite and make common cause against the Europeans in Egypt. It was also proposed that the Turkish forces should be placed under British command. These stipulations were, of course, resisted by the Sultan and his counsellors; but the British Ambassador stood firm, and as time passed Turkish co-operation became a matter of comparatively little importance. The



Engraved by G. J. Stodart from a Photograph by Mauld & Co.

GENERAL LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

Porte at length became anxious to come to an agreement, lest Turkey should be left out in the cold at the settlement of Egyptian affairs. A proclamation against Arabi was therefore at last issued, and the terms of a convention for sending a Turkish army to Egypt were drawn out. But by this time intelligence had been received from the seat of war which showed that the intervention of the Sultan was now unnecessary, and the Turkish Ministry discovered when too late that they had outwitted themselves by the intrigues which they had so long and so persistently carried on. Earl Dufferin, the British Ambassador, intimated that as matters now stood a convention would be of no use, and that the landing of Turkish troops in Egypt was no longer desirable. The troops destined for this service, numbering 4100 men, had by this time assembled at Suda Bay, in Crete. Dervish Pasha was nominated Commander-in-Chief, with two British officers to assist him, and Baker Pasha was appointed chief of the staff; but there was evidently no expectation that they were to be immediately despatched to the seat of war, as both officers and men were constantly on leave at Constantinople.

It was at first expected that there would be a joint intervention of the two Western Powers for the purpose of restoring order in Egypt; and there can be no doubt that this would have taken place if Gambetta had remained in power, but his successor adopted a different line of policy, and expressed himself disinclined to any armed intervention in Egypt; and as the National Assembly refused a grant for the purpose, the French Government were unable, even if they had been willing, to take part in any active measures. Britain was therefore left the sole representative of the 'united action and authority of Europe' in dealing with the Egyptian question.

Mr. Gladstone declared that the policy of the Government had been to work in harmony with all the European Powers, to maintain all established rights, and to

provide guarantees for these rights. They earnestly desired to retain the co-operation of France and to respect the feelings of the Sultan; but now that they were left alone to carry out the policy of which all the European Powers had expressed their approval, they were determined to carry it through firmly and consistently; and as no alternative remained but an armed intervention to put an end to the anarchy which now prevailed in Egypt, they appealed to Parliament for the necessary funds (July 27), and then hurried up the troops with which they intended to suppress the rebellion and reinstate the Khedive in the government of Egypt.

The force despatched from England at the beginning of the war numbered 22,216 men, including officers; a division sent from India, under General Macpherson, amounted to 7376, in all 29,580 men; but reinforcements sent out during the war brought the whole strength up to 45,500 men. Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Commander-in-Chief. The career of this distinguished officer had been remarkably rapid and brilliant, and he had been throughout noted for his courage and skill. He was wounded at Sebastopol and also in the Indian Mutiny, and was knighted for the ability and success with which he commanded the Red River expedition in 1870. The manner in which he brought the Ashantee War to a triumphant close had placed him in the foremost rank of British generals, and his subsequent services in South Africa had shown that his prudence and skill were equal to his daring. The appointment of this gallant and experienced officer to the chief command of the expeditionary force gave universal satisfaction. His chief of the staff, Lieutenant-General Sir John Adye, was deservedly regarded as an officer of great ability and high attainments. The Brigadier-Generals were the Duke of Connaught, Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir Edward Hamley, Major-General Graham, and Sir Archibald Alison. The cavalry brigade was under the command of Major-General

Drury Lowe, the artillery was commanded by Major-General Goodenough, and the Royal Engineers were under the command of Major-General Nugent. The corps was completed by the necessary field hospital, ambulance, field-post, commissariat, and transport corps.

Sir Archibald Alison was the first general officer to reach the seat of war, and his first act was to make a reconnaissance in person, on the 5th of August, to discover the position and strength of the insurgent forces. It led to an engagement, in which an ironclad train, manned by sailors, was of important service. The object of the reconnaissance was attained with trifling loss to the British, but between two and three hundred of the enemy were killed. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had suffered from fever before leaving England, and had been advised to proceed to Egypt by sea, arrived at Alexandria on the 15th of August. On the following day he issued a proclamation to the natives, informing them that the British troops had come solely to re-establish the authority of the Khedive, and would therefore fight only against those who were in arms against His Highness. All peaceable inhabitants were assured that they would be treated with kindness, and that no violence would be offered to them, their religion, their mosques, or their families—that their property would be respected—and that any supplies that might be required would be paid for.

Arabi, on retreating from Alexandria, had taken up a strong position at a place called Kafr-Dowar, about a mile and three-quarters from the commencement of the isthmus, between Lakes Aboukir and Mariût, under the expectation that the British attack would be made on that side; but Sir Garnet Wolseley had formed a totally different plan of operations, and before he left England had pointed out Tel-el-Kebir as the exact spot where the final struggle would take place. The long line of fortifications stretching from Fort Aboukir to Fort Rosetta, which were of remarkable

strength, and armed with heavy guns, along with the new earthworks which Arabi had been occupied for months in adding to the inner lines, therefore never came into operation.

Of the three courses open to the British general—a landing at Aboukir combined with a flank attack on Kafr-Dowar, or a march through the Libyan desert to Cairo (the route chosen by Napoleon), or an advance by the ancient Pelusium, now the Bay of Tini (the road by which the ancient conquerors of Egypt entered the country)—Sir Garnet Wolseley decided in favour of the last, and even the carping German military critics have been obliged to admit that he made a judicious choice. By seizing the canal not only would he open communication between his troops at Suez and those at Alexandria, but his base of operations would be placed much nearer Cairo. The fact that the railway by Ismailia and Zagazig to Cairo is twenty-four miles, or two days' good march, shorter than that from Alexandria to the capital, was also a consideration not to be overlooked.

It was of great importance to the success of his plan that the British General should keep it secret, and this was no easy task. Alexandria, as he knew, was full of spies, and the correspondents of the newspapers, both British and Continental, eagerly vied with each other in discovering and making known his intended mode of attack. Sir Garnet, in his 'Soldier's Pocket-Book,' gives it as his opinion that correspondents are the curse of modern warfare, but on this occasion he made them of service in disseminating false intelligence. He had purposely allowed the notion to be spread abroad that he intended to effect a landing at Aboukir, and to make an attack on the position at Kafr-Dowar in front and flank; and on the afternoon of August 18th a fleet of eight men-of-war, with 6000 troops—the whole of the First Division—on board, accompanied by Sir Garnet himself, with the chief of his staff, steamed out from Alexandria in an eastward direction and

halted at Aboukir, where it anchored till the evening; then leaving a few men-of-war there it proceeded further to the east, and by daylight next morning was off Port Said. So well had the secret of the real destination of the expedition been kept that it was not known even to the Brigadier-Generals on board. General Hamley, left at Alexandria in command of the Second Division, had received orders to proceed to Aboukir on the 20th and to seize the town. It was not until he had reached Aboukir Bay and opened his sealed orders that he was made aware of Sir Garnet's real plans. The Khedive had some time before this given authority to the British General to occupy the ends and other important points on the Suez Canal. M. Lesseps had hastened to Egypt for the purpose of preventing this step, against which he made a vigorous but useless protest. He even appealed to Arabi, and obtained from him a document guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal on the part of the Egyptian forces. It was absurd to expect that any weight should be attached to such a guarantee. Even an unfriendly German critic admits that from a military point of view the British were perfectly right in occupying the canal, as it was indispensable to them to be able to unite without disturbance the two forces that were to act together in Egypt, and that from a commercial point of view also it was necessary to preserve this important sea-passage from destruction. Accordingly on the 19th of August a British gunboat, in spite of a renewed protest from M. Lesseps, was stationed at the Suez entrance of the canal to block in the meantime the passage of all foreign merchant vessels, and on the 20th a body of 600 seamen and marines landed and took possession of Port Said, at the entrance from the Mediterranean. The British fleet then proceeded down the canal and disembarked the troops at El-Kantara and Ismailia. At the same time a detachment from Suez marched northwards and took possession

of Shalouf, a station on the railway from Ismailia to Suez, and arrived just in time to prevent the destruction of the Fresh-water Canal by the Egyptian troops. Thus, through these swift and skilful operations, the whole course of the canal was occupied without difficulty on the 20th by the British.

The troops on landing discovered that the Egyptians had erected dams across the Sweetwater Canal, and as Ismailia was entirely dependent for its drinking water on this canal, it became necessary to destroy these obstructions. Accordingly on the 24th of August Sir Garnet Wolseley himself moved out of the camp at the head of a body of cavalry and 1000 infantry, and with a loss of six killed and twelve wounded cleared off a dam made of fascines which Arabi's troops had formed between Magfar and Mahuta. On the following day our troops came into collision with a strong body of the enemy, supposed to amount to 10,000 men, with twelve guns in position. The Egyptians fought with great courage, but in the end an attack of the Household Cavalry on their flank and rear decided the day. Arabi's troops fled in great confusion, and their strongly-intrenched position at Tel-el-Mahuta, along with five Krupp guns, a large quantity of ammunition, a considerable number of rifles, and seventy-five railway trucks with provisions, fell into the hands of the British. The demoralization of the Egyptian forces at this moment was so manifest and so great that General Wolseley at once decided to push forward next day and take possession of the important position of the Lock at Kassassin.

At this juncture (17th August) a detachment of Turkish troops, in the steamship *Calypso*, arrived at Port Said, but were not allowed to land on any part of the territory occupied by the British troops. The *Calypso* in consequence continued her voyage through the canal, accompanied by a steam sloop, to the Red Sea.

On the 28th of August a determined

assault was made at Kassassin upon the British advanced guard under General Graham. The attack, supported by twelve guns well served and well directed, was carried on for several hours with marked courage and persistence, and the position of the British force was at one time somewhat critical, as its two wings were separated by the canal, and might in case of disaster have been unable to present a firm and united front. But the arrival of the heavy cavalry, under General Drury Lowe, decided the fate of the day. At sunset the Household Cavalry, 7th Dragoon Guards, and Horse Artillery, under the command of Sir Baker Russell, concealed by a ridge until they were within a few hundred yards of the enemy's position, suddenly burst at full speed upon the Egyptian batteries, sweeping through the infantry and cavalry by which they were supported, and throwing the whole corps into confusion. The enemy immediately broke and fled, and for two or three hours were pursued through the darkness by our troops.

By this time the Indian division had arrived, and was stationed in and around Ismailia. The Third Brigade, consisting of the Highland regiments under General Hamley, was conveyed by sea from Alexandria to Ismailia on the 28th. Sir Garnet, however, resolved to wait the arrival of his expected reinforcements from England before making his final attack on Arabi's intrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir. At Ismailia the soldiers suffered severely from the heat of the sun and the toilsome labours which they had to perform in the burning sand of the desert. Besides marching and fighting they had to erect temporary fieldworks, to repair railways and canals, and to undertake other work of a similar kind, to which they were quite unaccustomed. A number of the officers as well as of the men suffered from sun-stroke, and Sir Garnet himself lay ill of dysentery for some days at Ismailia.

Meanwhile Arabi, not content with adding daily to the strength of his fortifications

at Tel-el-Kebir, and occupying a strong position at Salahyeh, on the British flank, resolved to assume the offensive, and on the 9th of September, at the head of 20,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, 62 guns, and 3000 Bedouins, he made in person a vigorous attack on the British front. A well-planned flank attack was ordered to be made from Salahyeh at the same time. The force stationed at Kassassin was comparatively small, and the attack was quite unexpected by General Willis, who commanded there. The troops were in consequence for some time in serious danger, but once more a brilliant charge of the cavalry, under General Drury Lowe, repulsed the enemy, who, however, retreated in good order. They lost 250 men in this sharp encounter, and four guns were left in the hands of the victors, who estimated their loss at 100 men killed and wounded.

The position of the Egyptians at Tel-el-Kebir had been skilfully chosen and very carefully fortified. The front, which was about four miles in length, extending into the desert as far as El Koran, was composed of friable earthworks, with hurdle revetments. At intervals along the line redoubts had been erected, connected by trenches, and mounted with guns so placed as to deliver both a front and a flanking fire. In support of the front there were strong redoubts crowning natural elevations, which had been greatly strengthened by artificial defences. The flanks were protected by similar works, an intrenched front line, and redoubts. This strong position was defended by 20,000 regular troops, of which 2500 were cavalry, with seventy guns, and 6000 Bedouins and irregulars.*

The preparations of the British general were now completed, and orders were issued by him for the concentration of the troops

* This is Sir Garnet Wolseley's statement of the enemy's force given in his telegram reporting his victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Hermann Voght, in his 'Egyptian War of 1882,' states it at 19,000 regulars, 900 cavalry, forty-four Krupp guns, twelve mountain guns, six rocket tubes, and 8000 Bedouins.



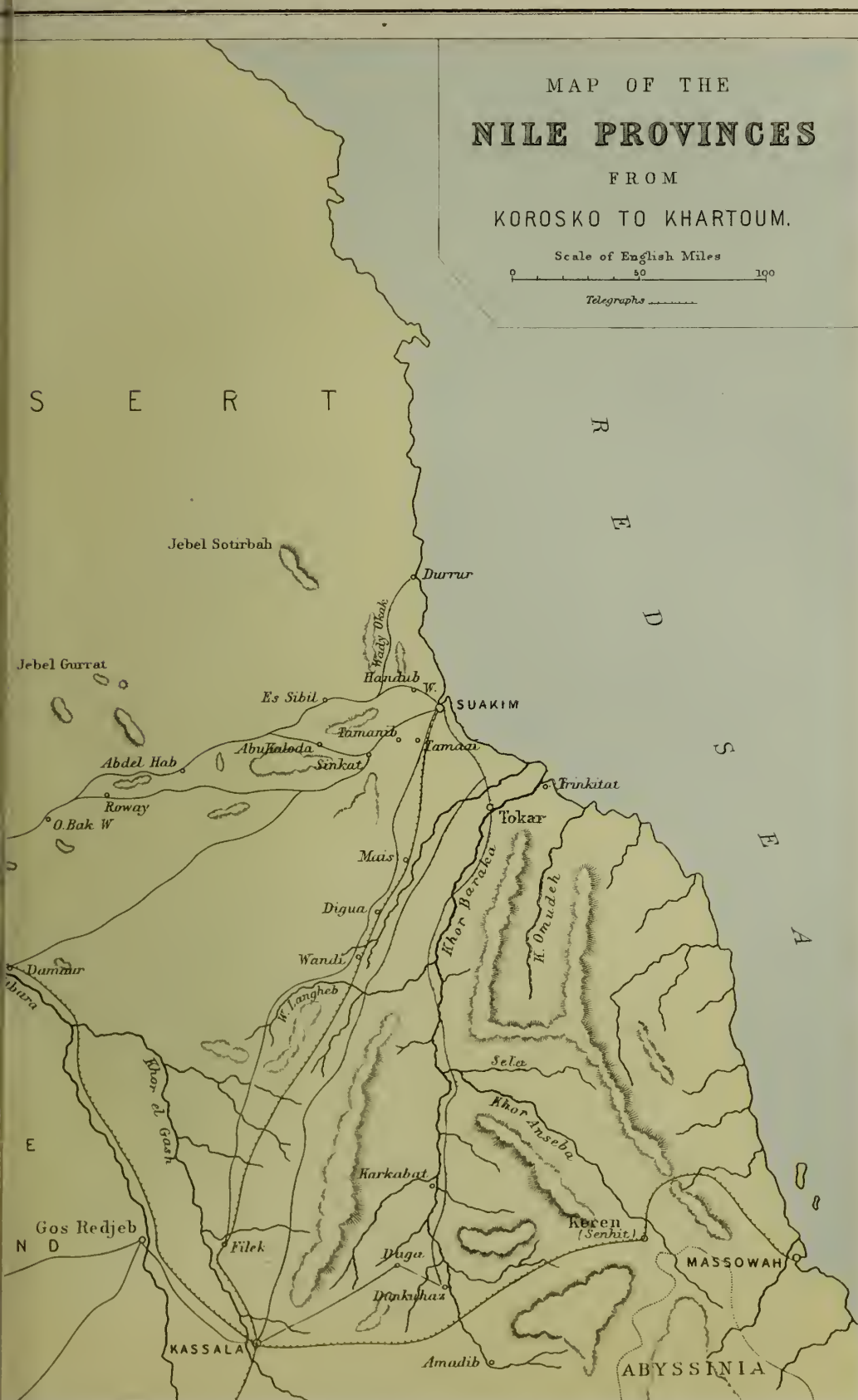
MAP OF THE NILE PROVINCES

FROM
KOROSKO TO KHARTOUM.

Scale of English Miles

0 50 100

Telegraphs



to the front. On the 12th of September he communicated to the other generals on the spot his dispositions for the attack, and gave orders that it should be made at an early hour next morning. He had under his command 11,000 bayonets, 2000 sabres, and sixty guns. The camp at Kassassin Lock was struck at nightfall, and the troops moved silently forward to the high ridge above the camp. Here they bivouacked on the sand, no light or fire being allowed. They remained in this position until half-past one in the morning, when the order to advance was given, and the troops proceeded to traverse the distance of six miles that lay between them and the enemy.

'Never did a body of 14,000 men,' wrote Mr. Cameron, the correspondent of the *Standard*, 'get under arms more quietly. The very orders appeared to be given in lowered tones, and almost noiselessly the dark columns moved off, their footfalls being deadened by the sand. The silence, broken only by the occasional clash of steel, the certainty that the great struggle would commence with the dawn, and the expectation that at any moment we might be challenged by the Bedouin horsemen far out in the plain in front of the enemy, all combined to make it an impressive march, and one which none who shared in it will ever forget. "There were frequent halts to enable the regiments to maintain touch, and to allow the transport waggons, whose wheels crunched over the sandy plains with a noise which to our ears seemed strangely loud, to keep up with us."

'On our right was Graham's Brigade, which has already done good service by twice repelling the assaults of the enemy upon this camp. Next to them came the Guards Brigade, which was, "when the action began," to act in support of that of Graham. Between these and the canal moved the forty-two guns of the Royal Artillery, under General Goodenough. On the railway itself the Naval Brigade advanced with the 40-pounders on a truck. South of the canal the Highland Brigade led the advance, followed by the Indian troops in support. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery had started due north to make a long detour, and to come down upon the enemy's line of retreat. By early dawn the troops had arrived within 1000 yards of the enemy's lines, and halted there for a short time to enable the fighting line to be formed and other preparations to be made. A perfect silence still reigned over the plain, and it was difficult to credit the fact that some 14,000 men lay in a semicircle round the enemy's lines, ready to dash

forward at a signal at the low sandheaps in front, behind which twice as many men slumbered, unsuspecting of their presence. As is usual in a movement carried out in the darkness, many detached parties altogether lost their way. I was with the mounted police, and for a while we completely lost the rest of the force, and moved hither and thither all night, until just at daybreak we nearly stumbled into the enemy's lines.

'The attack began on our left, and nothing could be imagined finer than the advance of the Highland Brigade. The 74th were next to the canal; next to them were the Cameronians; the Gordon Highlanders continued the line, the Black Watch upon their flank.

'Swiftly and silently the Highlanders moved forward to the attack. No word was spoken, no shot fired until within 300 yards of the enemy's earthworks, nor up to that time did a sound in the Egyptian lines betoken that they were aware of the presence of their assailants. Then suddenly a terrific fire flashed along the line of sandheaps, and a storm of bullets whizzed over the heads of the advancing troops. A wild cheer broke from the Highlanders in response, the pipes struck shrilly up, bayonets were fixed, and at the double this splendid body of men dashed forward.

'The first line of intrenchments was carried, the enemy offering scarce any resistance; but from another line of intrenchments behind, which in the still dim light could be scarcely seen, a burst of musketry broke out.

'For a few minutes the Highlanders poured in a heavy fire in exchange, but it was probably as innocuous as that of the unseen enemy, whose bullets whistled harmlessly overhead. The delay in the advance was but a short one. Soon the order was given, and the brigade again went rapidly forward. Soon a portion of the force had passed between the enemy's redoubts and opened a flanking fire. This was too much for the Egyptians, who at once took to their heels and fairly ran, suffering, as the crowded masses rushed across the open, very heavily from our fire, being literally mown down by hundreds. Meanwhile the fighting had begun upon the other flank. The Horse Artillery shelled the enemy's extreme length. Here the Egyptians seemed more prepared than they had been on their right, and for a time kept up a steady fire. The 18th Royal Irish were sent to turn the enemy's left, under the guidance of Major Hart, who accompanied them as staff officer, and at the word dashed at the trenches and carried them at the bayonet's point, so turning the flank of the defenders' position.

'Next to the 18th came the 87th, and next to them the 84th, the Guards being close up behind in support. These regiments advanced by regular

rushes. For a short time the enemy clung to his line of intrenchments; but his fire was singularly ineffective, and our troops got fairly into the trenches in front of them. Then the enemy fought stoutly for a few moments, and the combat was hand-to-hand. Major Hart shot one man as he was trying to wrest his revolver from his hand, and this even after the trench had been turned by our advance on their flank. Then as our troops poured in the Egyptians fled as rapidly as those upon the other side of the canal had done before the Highlanders.

'The fight was now practically over, the only further danger arising from the bullets of our own troops, who were firing in all directions upon the flying enemy, as with loud cheers our whole line advanced in pursuit. The Egyptians did not preserve the slightest semblance of order, but fled in a confused rabble at the top of their speed.'

The battle thus gained, General Wolseley acted promptly upon the maxim, 'When once the Oriental has been put to flight he must not be allowed to rest.' The Indian contingent, under General Macpherson, pressing rapidly over the battlefield, entered Zagazig, 15 miles beyond Tel-el-Kebir, on the evening of the 13th, and took possession of five railway trains with their locomotives. The cavalry and mounted infantry, under General Drury Lowe, striking southwest by a desert road, seized upon Belbus the same evening. After a few hours' rest they were again astir long before dawn, and by a forced march of 39 miles, most of it under a blazing sun, they reached Cairo on the evening of September 14.

Arabi, who had fled from the battlefield on horseback, had arrived at the capital before them. He seems not to have entirely lost hope even after his defeat at Tel-el-Kebir. He directed his troops to move from Salahyeh to Damietta, to which it is probable most of the fugitives had fled. He gave orders that the dams should be cut, in order to lay the Delta under water, and evidently intended to defend the capital. But when he reached the city alone and a fugitive instead of a victor, as he had led the citizens to believe, they at once turned against him. Fortunately his orders to cut the dams had not been obeyed.

He saw that further resistance was useless, and at once surrendered himself a prisoner to General Drury Lowe. Toulba Pasha, the commander at Kafr-Dowar, who had also come to Cairo, gave up his sword at the same time. Meanwhile Sir Garnet Wolseley had led the Indian troops in person as far as Benha, 20 miles beyond Zagazig, which he reached early on the 15th. In the course of the same day he pushed on to Cairo, with a portion of his infantry, by the railway. He was welcomed with loud acclamations by the populace, and immediately telegraphed to London, 'The war is over; send no more troops to Egypt.'

The total loss of the British in the battle of Tel-el-Kebir did not exceed fifty-four men killed, of whom eleven were officers, and 342, including twenty-four officers, wounded. The losses of the Egyptians could not be accurately ascertained, but not less than 1000 are believed to have fallen in the conflict, 3000 surrendered, while the remainder, numbering 15,000, threw away their arms and for the most part returned to their homes. Sixty guns, with an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. Deep regret was felt at the murder of Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, Lieutenant Carrington, R.N., and Captain Gill, R.E., by the Bedouins, instigated by the Governor of Nakl, for the sake of the large sum in gold Professor Palmer had with him for the purchase of camels for the Indian troops. The Governor, with some half dozen of the principal murderers, was caught and executed.

As soon as peace was restored, and the Khedive and his Ministers were re-established in Cairo, steps were taken to bring Arabi to trial. The British Foreign Office demanded that the proceedings should be conducted in a fair and open manner, but the Khedive's advisers insisted that the arch-rebel should be tried by Egyptian laws. Lord Granville, however, stood firm, and the Khedive compelled his ministers to comply with the prescribed conditions.



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The prisoner was allowed the assistance of British counsel to meet the charges against him. As soon as the trial commenced Arabi handed over to his counsel a number of documents, which were found to implicate the Sultan and Ismail Pasha, the ex-Khedive, and a number of Egyptian officers of high rank, in his attempts to overthrow the Government. In order to avoid the public exposure which these documents would have made of the intrigues of the Porte and the Pasha, the Khedive was urged to stop the trial and to exile Arabi by decree. But this summary mode of procedure was prevented by the British Government, and the trial dragged on for six weeks without any appearance of being brought to a close. On the 7th of November, however, Lord Dufferin arrived at Cairo, and by his influence the trial was brought to a speedy conclusion, without any public disclosure of the complicity of Turkish and Egyptian officials in the insurrection. Arabi pleaded guilty (December 3) to the charge of rebellion, and was sentenced to death by a court-martial on the following day, but the sentence was immediately commuted by the Khedive into one of perpetual banishment. Some of the other ringleaders in the military revolt were tried by a court-martial and condemned to minor punishments; the officer who directed the burning of Alexandria was sentenced to death and executed. Ceylon was selected as the place of exile for Arabi and a few of his fellow-rebels.

The Egyptian Government addressed a request in November to the British and French Cabinets that their joint control over the country should terminate. After some objection on the part of the latter the joint arrangement was annulled, and in the end Lord Dufferin was able to prepare a plan for the reconstruction of Egypt and its finances which, if vigorously and honestly carried out, seems likely to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. A scheme for the reorganization of the army was also drawn out and intrusted to

Baker Pasha, providing for an army of 10,900 men, based upon the principle of conscription and eight years' service with the colours. One-half of the officers are to be British, while the non-commissioned officers are to be selected from the disbanded Egyptian forces, supplemented by Bosnians, Albanians, and Bulgarians.

Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Frederick Beauchamp Seymour were raised to the peerage, and received at the same time the grant of a considerable sum of money, as a reward for their services.

The necessity of providing for the security of the Suez Canal, in order to protect the passage to India, makes it difficult for the British troops to withdraw at once from Egypt. Britain has an incomparably greater interest in keeping this great waterway free than all the rest of Europe put together. To say nothing of the greater safety to navigation, it shortens the road to India by no less than 1710 geographical miles, and yet, strange to say, the construction of this magnificent work received no countenance from the British Government. Lord Palmerston, indeed, was strongly opposed to the scheme, mainly, it is believed, from an apprehension that it would tend to diminish the security of our Indian Empire. The canal owes its origin to M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, Consul-General for France in Alexandria, and through his persevering exertions the 'Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez' was founded under his presidency. Said Pasha, the Viceroy, gave the scheme from the outset his cordial approval and support, and in addition to the requisite concessions for carrying it into effect, he conferred upon the company the exclusive right to the use of the canal during a period of ninety-nine years from the date of its opening. He also promised the company the services of 20,000 fellaheen in monthly relays to execute the work, who, however, contrary to the practice in Egypt, were to be paid for their labour. But after a time the Egyptian Government were constrained by the

remonstrances of the British Ministry to discontinue the supply of forced labour.

The original capital of the company was fixed at eight millions sterling, in £20 shares. More than one-half of these shares were taken up in France; the Khedive himself subscribed for a fourth; the remainder were taken up in about equal proportions in Austria and Russia. Strange to say, Germany, as well as Britain, held aloof from the undertaking, and few or no applications for the original shares came from these countries. Additional capital, to a large amount, had afterwards to be raised, and the outlay to the end of the year 1878 reached upwards of £19,167,000. The cost of plant and buildings alone in 1874 was estimated at £871,821 16s. In 1875 Lord Beaconsfield, as a measure of national policy rather than a commercial speculation, purchased the Khedive's shares for the sum of £4,000,000. The Khedive on his part engaged to pay the sum of £200,000 as annual interest on the purchase-money he had received, as the shares did not participate in the dividend. The transaction was blamed at the time by the leaders of the Opposition, but it has proved very advantageous to our country.

The construction of the canal was begun in 1859. It was completed and declared navigable in 1869, and on 16th November of that year it was opened, with great ceremony, in the presence of an immense concourse of people from all the countries in Europe. Its financial success seemed at first to be somewhat doubtful; down to 1876 its available assets scarcely balanced its liabilities. In 1880, though the gross receipts were £1,671,000, the net profits did not reach half-a-million sterling, but they have since largely and rapidly increased. The number of vessels that passed through the canal in 1880 was 2017, of which 1579, with a tonnage of 360,977, belonged to Great Britain. The

total tonnage was 438,064. The great extension of the traffic which has already taken place, with the certainty that it will continue to grow in magnitude, made it evident that some measure must be taken at an early date for the improvement of the waterway across the Isthmus of Suez. The British Government accordingly entered into negotiations with M. de Lesseps for the construction of another canal under his auspices. They offered to procure him the loan of eight millions sterling for that purpose, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., receiving in return a larger share in the management of the canal, and a reduction of the tolls when the profits should reach a certain specified amount.

The terms of the agreement, however, were received with almost universal disapproval, especially by the mercantile classes in Great Britain, and the scheme was in consequence abandoned; but negotiations were opened between M. de Lesseps and a representative committee of British shipowners. These finally led to the Canal Company undertaking to provide additional accommodation by enlarging the canal as early as practicable, and meantime by increasing the number of stations where vessels could pass each other; to increase the number of British directors to ten, three representing the British Government and seven the English users of the canal, in a council of thirty-two directors in all; to open an office in London; and finally, to make certain concessions to customers as regards the rates charged in proportion to the increase of traffic. An international commission of engineers was appointed to ascertain the best means of widening the canal throughout at the earliest possible date, so that vessels might pass each other in any part. More stations for this purpose were at once provided, and the use of the canal at night was allowed to all vessels provided with the electric light.

CHAPTER XX.

Opening of Session of Parliament, 1880—Dissolution—Lord Beaconsfield's Manifesto—Mr. Gladstone's Address—Midlothian Campaign—Sir Stafford Northcote's Address—Liberal Successes—Defeat of Conservatives—Formation of Liberal Cabinet—The Bradlaugh Question—Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Abolition of the Malt Tax—Ground Game Act—Employers' Liability Bill—Burials Bill—Customs and Inland Revenue Act—Grain Cargoes Act—Seamen's Wages Act—Illness of Mr. Gladstone—Tactics of the Fourth Party and Home Rulers—Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood—The Land League—Boycotting—Prosecution of Mr. Parnell—Protection of Life and Property Bill—Suspension of the Irish Members—Peace Preservation Bill—Irish Land Bill—Death of Lord Beaconsfield—Proposal to erect a National Monument to him—Mr. Bradlaugh's Trial—Prorogation of Parliament, 1881.

WHILE the attention of the country was directed almost exclusively to foreign affairs, domestic legislation had been to a great extent neglected. At the opening of the session of 1880 some attempts were made to deal with the most pressing questions connected with home affairs; but they were speedily arrested by the unexpected announcement that Parliament was about to be dissolved. The triumph of the Conservative candidates at the bye-elections in Liverpool and Southwark was regarded by the Ministry and their supporters as satisfactory evidence that the country approved of their policy; and the Metropolitan Water Works Purchase Bill, introduced by the Home Secretary, met with such general and strong opposition that it seemed highly probable that the Ministry would be wrecked upon it. In these circumstances the Government resolved that the Parliament, which was now in its sixth session, should be dissolved. The announcement, which was made on the 8th of March, took everybody by surprise; but as it had been foreseen that this step could not be much longer delayed, neither party was placed at a disadvantage by the suddenness with which it was intimated.

A manifesto was immediately issued by the Prime Minister in the form of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord-lieutenant

of Ireland. It began by referring to the measures taken for the relief of the impending distress, the care which the administration had shown for the improvement of Ireland, and their success in solving its difficult educational problems. It then referred to a danger in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine—the attempt of a portion of the population to sever the constitutional tie which unites Ireland to Great Britain; insinuated that the Opposition sympathized with this movement, and accused them of ‘having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition.’ Her Majesty's present ministers, it affirmed, had hitherto been enabled to secure the peace of Europe, but that ineffable blessing could not be obtained by the passive principle of non-interference. Peace, it was said, rests on the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the councils of Europe. As might have been expected, these statements excited a good deal of comment and hostile criticism, and even the leading Conservative journal asserted that ‘there was rather too much sonorousness for the fastidious ear in the manifesto of the Premier.’

The leaders of the Opposition lost no time in issuing their counter-manifestoes. Lord Hartington challenged the accuracy

of the Prime Minister's assertions, and affirmed that it was owing to the measures advocated by the Liberal party that the 'colonies are at this moment more loyal to the throne, more attached to the connection with the mother country, more willing to undertake the common responsibility and burdens which must be borne by all the members of a great empire, than at any former time.'

Mr. Gladstone's address to the electors of Midlothian had none of the diffuseness with which his oratory has often been charged; but, viewed as a composition, was a masterpiece of terseness and condensation. He retorted on the Ministry that it was they who had endangered the union with Ireland by maintaining there an alien church, an unjust land law, and franchises inferior to our own. 'As to the colonies, Liberal administrations set free their trade with all the world, gave them popular and responsible government, undertook to defend Canada with the whole strength of the empire, and organized the great scheme for uniting the several settlements of British North America into one dominion.' Mr. Gladstone proceeded to say that the true purpose of the Premier's 'terrifying insinuations was to hide from view the acts of the Ministry and their effect upon the character and condition of the country;' and to these he drew pointed attention.

'At home,' he said, 'the ministers had 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.' '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,' he added, 'to material results, they have aggrandized 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.'

Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, issued an address to his constituents containing an elaborate defence of the Ministry, declaring that 'its foreign, its colonial, and its domestic policy have all been animated by the same spirit and the same determination to uphold at once the greatness, the integrity, and the constitution of the empire, and to knit together the various races who own the sovereignty of the Queen, and the various classes of society which constitute the strength of her people.' But the deficit of £8,100,000 in the national accounts told heavily against his argument, as well as his diversion of his Sinking Fund to the partial payment of the extraordinary floating debt.

Addresses were, of course, issued and speeches delivered by all the leading members both of the Ministry and of the Opposition. Sir William Harcourt's trenchant review of the foreign and domestic policy of the Government was one of the most powerful contributions to the force of the Liberal attack. Mr. Bright's masterly description of the obligations of the working classes to the Liberal party produced a powerful impression. Mr. Cross, the Home

Secretary, and one of the candidates for the south-western division of Lancashire, was the most active member of the Government in the contest, and a kind of political duel which took place between him and Lord Hartington, who contested the north-eastern division, excited a good deal of attention. But Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian campaign was by far the most interesting feature of the contest. He set out for Scotland on 16th March, addressing enthusiastic audiences wherever the train stopped—at Grant-ham, York, Newcastle, and Berwick; and it was afterwards noted that at every halting place where Mr. Gladstone made a speech the Liberal party gained a seat. His first speech to the electors of Midlothian was delivered in Edinburgh on the 17th. And he went on day by day addressing audiences in other parts of the country, directing prominent attention to the foreign policy of the Government, but dealing also with the land laws, local government, home rule, the national debt, and various other important subjects, imperial and local. 'If the Midlothian campaign continues as it has begun,' said the *Times*, 'the newspapers will have no opportunity of allowing anyone else to be heard.' So little, indeed, did the metropolitan journals understand the state of feeling throughout the country, that they confidently asserted that Mr. Gladstone was only injuring his own cause by his long-winded orations, which they alleged were wearying out the public mind. The *Times* declared that the language of the ex-Prime Minister was as fervid and solemn 'as if the issue of the battle of Armageddon depended upon the verdict of the country;' and in common with the other professed leaders of public opinion, it refused to believe that there was any feeling in the country at all in harmony with the strength of Mr. Gladstone's language. 'The popular interest in the coming elections is very keen,' it said, 'but there is no animating movement of public opinion like that which brought Sir Robert Peel into power in 1841, or Lord Palmerston

in 1857, or Mr. Gladstone in 1868. The apologetic tone of responsible statesmen on both sides is conclusive proof that there is no such change in the balance of political power impending as has sometimes followed an appeal to the constituencies.'

Before the formal dissolution of Parliament took place the issues between the two parties had been placed fully before the country by their respective leaders. Probably on no former occasion were the conflicting questions so fully discussed. It was stated at the time that Mr. Gladstone had made no less than fifteen great speeches, Lord Hartington twenty-four, Colonel Stanley nine, Mr. Bright, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. W. H. Smith six each, besides countless speeches on lesser occasions. The constituencies were roused to unusual activity, for while in 1859 101 constituencies were contested; in 1865, 204; in 1868, 277; in 1874, 199; no fewer than 352, or nearly double the average number, were contested in 1880.

When at length the contest came to a definite decision the city of London as usual took precedence, and returned three Conservatives and only one Liberal, who was at the bottom of the poll with little more than half the number of votes obtained by his opponents. In Westminster also, which used to be a stronghold of Radicalism, the Conservative candidates triumphed by a great majority. So far the confident expectations of the Ministry and their supporters seemed fully justified, but in the course of a few hours the news from the provinces presented a startling contrast. The result of the first day's polling (Wednesday, 31st March), in sixty-nine constituencies showed a net gain of fifteen seats to the Liberal party. The metropolitan boroughs Hackney, Finsbury, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, and Tower Hamlets returned eleven Liberals, and only one Conservative, who owed his seat to a split in the Radical party, which caused them to start three candidates. On the two following days the Liberal successes continued in

the same proportion, and by Saturday they had gained no fewer than fifty seats, and had completely annihilated the ministerial majority. The counties which had been regarded as the stronghold of the Conservative party followed in the same groove as the boroughs. The West Riding of Yorkshire returned six Liberals, Lancashire sent four in the room of four Conservatives, Derbyshire five out of its six representatives, while Northumberland, Durham, Lincoln, Northampton, Hants, Bucks, Beds, Gloucester, and other counties helped to swell the Liberal triumph. At the end of the following week the Liberal gains were reckoned at ninety-nine, while only thirty seats remained unfilled. A large majority of the Welsh representatives belonged to the Liberal party, and in Scotland, where the Conservatives held nineteen seats, having gained ten in 1874, their number was reduced to seven, mainly in consequence of the neglect and mismanagement of the affairs of that country by the Home Secretary and the President of the Council. The Parliament of 1874 contained 351 Conservatives, 250 Liberals, and 51 Home Rulers, while it was computed that in the new House of Commons there would be 349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers.

There was, of course, a great deal of profitless discussion respecting the causes of this startling change in the representation of the country, but this was soon forgotten in speculations as to the result of the Liberal victory. Lord Beaconsfield, following the precedent which he had set in 1868, and which had been set by Mr. Gladstone in 1874, sent in his resignation instead of deferring that step until the meeting of the new Parliament, as some members of his Cabinet advised. But the absence of the Queen on the Continent for ten days, during which the question of the premiership was keenly discussed, deferred for some time any decision on that important matter. The feeling was all but unanimous throughout the community that

Mr. Gladstone's claims to be the head of the new Ministry were paramount, and his late colleagues were evidently of that opinion. Lord Hartington and Lord Granville, who had acted as leaders of the Opposition while the Conservatives were in office, had an interview with the Queen on the 23rd of April, and it was understood had recommended Her Majesty to send for Mr. Gladstone. That same evening it was announced that he had undertaken to form a Ministry, and would himself discharge the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer along with those of First Lord of the Treasury. The greater part of the members of the new administration had been Mr. Gladstone's colleagues in his previous Ministry: Earl Granville became again Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Hartington, Secretary for India; Lord Kimberley, Secretary for the Colonies; Sir William Harcourt, Home Secretary; Lord Selborne, Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Bright had a seat in the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Northbrook was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Childers, Secretary for War, and Mr. Forster, Irish Secretary. The Radical party in the Commons claimed the admission of one of their members to the Cabinet, and after some negotiation Mr. Chamberlain was appointed President of the Board of Trade; Sir Charles Dilke was made Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Fawcett, Postmaster-General; Mr. Mundella, Vice-President of the Council; and Mr. W. P. Adam, who had rendered eminent services to the Liberal party in Scotland, was appointed First Commissioner of Works. Mr. Goschen, who declined to join the Government on the ground of his opposition to the extension of the franchise in counties, was shortly after sent as Special Ambassador to Constantinople. Lord Lytton resigned the Governor-generalship of India, and was replaced by the Marquis of Ripon, whose appointment to such an important post excited a good deal of dissatisfaction on account of

his having recently become a Roman Catholic.

The new Parliament was opened by commission on 29th April. Mr. Brand, one of the members for Cambridgeshire, and second son of the twenty-first Lord Daere, who was first chosen Speaker in 1872, and again in 1874, was unanimously re-elected to preside in the House of Commons.

It speedily became apparent that the Government, though supported by an overwhelming majority, might lay their account with being obstructed and thwarted in every possible way. At the very outset a question arose beset with difficulties on every side. Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the members for the borough of Northampton, who had described 'himself as 'a propagandist of atheism' during the swearing in of the members, presented a written claim to be allowed to make an affirmation or declaration of allegiance instead of taking the oath. At a later period the opinion was generally entertained that the Speaker ought to have allowed Bradlaugh to make an affirmation at his own risk, leaving him to be sued in a court of law by any person who questioned the legality of his procedure, for the statutory penalties for sitting and voting in the House without the statutory qualification. Unfortunately the Speaker adopted a different course and referred the matter to the judgment of the House. A keen and protracted struggle in consequence ensued between the two parties. After a great deal of discussion a select committee was appointed to consider and report their opinion on the construction of the statutes upon which Mr. Bradlaugh founded his claim. They decided by a majority of one that he had no right to make an affirmation. Then on the 21st of May Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House for the purpose of taking the oath. An objection was immediately made to his being allowed to do so. It was alleged, on the other side, that it was doubtful whether the House of Commons was empowered by

the law to prevent an atheist from taking the oath, and Mr. Gladstone proposed the appointment of a select committee to consider and report upon this difficult and delicate question. The Opposition, however, maintained that the House was in a position to decide at once against Mr. Bradlaugh's claim. 'The question,' said Sir Stafford Northcote, their leader, 'is, are we, who recognize an oath as a solemn and religious act, prepared to admit that a member who has declared that he will take the oath, knowing it to be an idle and meaningless form, should be allowed to do so with consent and approbation?' An eloquent and powerful appeal was made by Mr. Bright to the House to discuss the question simply as a question of right and a question of law, and not with reference to religious views; but a large portion of the members were determined to discuss it solely on the latter ground. Speaker after speaker denounced Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions, repudiated the proposal to settle the question on legal grounds, and clamorously insisted that it ought to be determined on the broad constitutional ground that a declared atheist could not take an oath. The motion for the appointment of a committee, however, was carried by 289 to 214 votes, but the dispute was prolonged on successive amendments as to the terms of the reference and the names of the committee. These matters were at length settled, and the committee proceeded to consider the question remitted to them. After several sittings they decided, by a large majority, that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to take the oath, but recommended that he should be permitted to make an affirmation at his own risk—that he might be sued for the penalties recoverable for taking his seat without the statutory qualification. A proposal, made on 21st June, that Mr. Bradlaugh should be admitted to make an affirmation or declaration, was met by an amendment that he should not be permitted either to make an affirmation or to take the oath. After a very

exciting debate the amendment was carried by a majority of 275 to 230. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House and claimed again the right to take the oath. The resolution of the previous day was read to him, and he was ordered to withdraw. He asked permission to be heard before the resolution was put in force, and the House consented to hear him at the bar. After a brief speech, in which he insisted upon his right to take the oath, and earnestly deprecated a conflict between the House and his constituents, he was called in to hear the decision of the House on his claim to take the oath. He refused to obey the Speaker's order to withdraw, and was in consequence removed by the sergeant-at-arms. He immediately returned, however, saying that he admitted the right of the House to imprison him, but he admitted no right on the part of the House to exclude him. On the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote Mr. Bradlaugh was taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. But next day, a good deal to the surprise both of the House and the public, a motion for his release was made by Sir Stafford Northcote and was adopted without opposition.

Ireland, however, as had been anticipated, mainly occupied the time of Parliament. Under the Land Act of 1870 the court had no power to award compensation to an evicted tenant who owed a year's rent, unless the court was of opinion that the rent was 'exorbitant.' A bill was now introduced by Mr. O'Connor Power, one of Mr. Parnell's followers, for the purpose of repealing that limitation and securing that compensation should be awarded in all cases. The Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill, as it was termed, excited the keenest opposition from the Conservative party. The Government, who at first appeared to be unfriendly, ultimately agreed to support it, but a considerable number of their followers regarded the measure with great aversion. It was denounced as 'the commencement of a campaign against the landlords; the first

step in a social war; an attempt to raise the masses against the propertied classes.' It was alleged that it would destroy 'the cardinal and leading feature of the Land Act—the inviolability of the rent which the landlord demanded and the tenant agreed to pay; it would deprive the landlord of his only means of enforcing the payment of rent, obliging him to choose between foregoing what was due to him, or paying seven years' rent in order to get one.' On the other hand, it was asserted that the measure was exceptional and demanded by strong necessity. In some parts of Ireland the impoverished circumstances of the tenant had placed in the hands of the landlord a weapon which the Government never contemplated, and which had enabled him, at a sacrifice of half a quarter's rent, to clear his estate of hundreds of tenants, whom in ordinary circumstances he would not have been able to remove, except upon payment of a heavy pecuniary fine. In answer to the argument that the passing of the bill would deprive the landlords of all means of enforcing payment, it was asserted that the landlord was left in possession of every power of eviction which was given him by the Acts of 1851 and 1860. The bill only provided that if the landlord used his power of eviction the tenant might bring him into court. Under the bill the tenant had to make good his claim, and if the landlord could show that he had been actuated by one particle of moderation or forbearance towards the tenant, such as every good landlord exercises, then the case of the tenant would fail.

It was affirmed, in support of the measure, that evictions had increased and were increasing. For the five years ending in 1877 the average for each year was 503; in 1878 the number of evictions was 743; in 1879 it was 1098; and up to the 20th of June, in 1880, it had been 1073. It was alleged, however, on the other side, that the processes of ejectment had, in these calculations, been confounded with actual evictions, and the number of the

former was much greater than the number of the latter.

After three sittings had been spent in discussing the measure, the second reading was carried by 295 to 217. About fifty Liberals abstained from voting, and twenty voted against the bill. It was contested at every step. Eight sittings were devoted to its discussion in committee. Another sitting was given to its consideration when the report was brought up, and it was keenly debated once more on the third reading, which was carried on 26th July, by a majority of 303 to 237. But all these protracted discussions, and the enormous labour which the House of Commons had bestowed upon the bill, went for nothing. The House of Lords rejected it on the 3rd of August after two nights' debate, by the overwhelming majority of 282 to 51. Lord Beaconsfield summed up the general feeling of the House in his three objections to the measure. 'The bill,' he said, 'contained three proposals, and he objected to all three of them. His first objection was that it imposed a burden upon a specific class; his second, that it brought insecurity into all kinds of transactions; his third, that it delegated to a public officer the extraordinary power of fixing the rents of the country.' The debates on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill occupied a very large portion of the session, and it seemed very doubtful whether the Government would be able to carry the other measures announced at the beginning of the session, but they made extraordinary efforts to do so and also to complete their business at the usual time.

The most important measure brought forward at this stage was the abolition of the malt tax, which from time immemorial had been regarded as a grievance of the agricultural classes. The history of this tax is curious and interesting, and previous attempts to abolish it had oftener than once brought the existence of the Government of the day into imminent peril. It originated in the reign of Charles I., and was

one of the unpopular expedients devised by his counsellors to replenish the exhausted treasury of that ill-starred sovereign. It appears to have been either abolished or to have dropped out of sight during the troublous times of the great Civil War and the Commonwealth, but it was re-enacted after the Revolution of 1688 at the rate of 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per bushel to enable William III. to carry on war with France. The impost was from the first exceedingly unpopular in England, and its introduction into Scotland was regarded not only as an aggressive burden, but as a violation of one of the provisions of the Union Treaty, and nearly led to a general insurrection.

The subject was lost sight of amid the excitement caused by the Jacobite rebellion, the war with our American Colonies, and the French Revolution; but in 1803, when the ministry of the weak and incapable Addington were engaged in imposing taxes on every article that the people eat or drank or used from their cradle to their grave, the tax on malt was raised to 2s. 5d. a bushel. In the following year an additional 2s. was imposed, which was commonly known as the "war malt tax." At the conclusion of the continental war on the downfall of Napoleon, the Ministry were compelled very reluctantly to surrender this addition, which involved a loss of £2,700,000 a year. In 1819 Vansittart, their finance minister, in the worst of his many bad budgets imposed an additional duty on malt which yielded rather more than £1,000,000 a year. But the country gentleman, Tories and Whigs alike, proved restive under this burden, and in 1821 Mr. Western, one of the members for Essex, succeeded in carrying against the Government a motion for the repeal of this additional impost; and though this decision was reversed a few weeks later, the Ministry were compelled to give way in 1822, and the duty was thenceforth fixed at 2s. 7d. a bushel or £1 0s. 8d. a quarter. The agriculturists, however, had never submitted with patience to the continuance of the tax, and in the

first reformed Parliament (26th April, 1833), partly with a view to retain their hold upon the farmers, partly in order to embarrass the Whig Government, the Opposition proposed the reduction of the duty on malt from £1 8s. to 10s. a quarter. It was strongly advocated by Cobbett and the Radical members, and a large number of the supporters of the Government had dropped away owing to the negligence of the Treasury Whips. Some even of the Cabinet ministers were absent under the impression that the motion would not come on. Thus the division was taken unexpectedly, and to the general surprise the motion was carried by a majority of ten.

This result nearly led to the dissolution of the Government, and might have been followed by the most disastrous consequences. Earl Grey thought the defeat so 'infinitely serious' that he hastily called a meeting of the Cabinet, and intimated his intention of resigning. On this the supporters of the Ministry 'back recoiled' in affright at what they had done, and expressed their deep regret and penitence. A few days later Lord Althorp availed himself of the opportunity afforded him by a motion for the repeal of the assessed taxes to propose an amendment to the effect that the deficiency in the revenue occasioned by the reduction of the tax on malt to 10s., and by the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax on property and income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which at present would be inexpedient. This amendment was carried by a majority of more than two to one, and the storm in the meantime blew over. But not for long. The agriculturists had learned their strength, and having been on the point of securing a victory they renewed the attack next year again under the leadership of Sir W. Ingleby, one of the representatives of the great agricultural county of Lincoln, which enjoys exceptional advantages for the cultivation of barley. The

bucolic baronet argued that the deficit which the repeal of the malt tax would make in the revenue could be made up by an increased tax on spirits and wine, and a duty on beer and on leather, aided by a poll tax on the peers, baronets, and knights, and on gambling houses. These suggestions, as might have been expected, proved fatal to his proposal, which was rejected by a large majority.

When the Tories, the farmers' friends, as they then chose to designate themselves, came into office the hopes of the agriculturists were raised to the highest pitch, especially as the Marquis of Chandos, their leader, Sir Edward Knatchbull, and one or two other agricultural grievance-mongers, were members of the Government. But the Marquis resigned at once on learning that the demands which had been useful when his party were in opposition were to be quietly shelved now that they had come into power, and as might have been expected he heaped unmeasured abuse on his associates who refused to follow his example. H. B., the famous caricaturist, wittily expressed the general feeling on the subject by representing Sir Edward Knatchbull and his friends as impaled between two huge horns on the head of a fierce bull (the Marquis of Chandos), on one of which was inscribed 'Resignation of office,' on the other 'Violation of pledges.' Sir Robert Peel, the premier, was believed to have rather enjoyed the dilemma in which his agricultural colleagues were placed; he certainly did nothing to relieve them from their painful and perplexing position.

From that period down to the present day the repeal of the malt tax was never mooted when the Tories were in office, nor its removal attempted even when they were all powerful. Its abolition was, however, warranted by a wise policy as well as by the principles of sound political economy. The pecuniary relief to the farmers has not been so great as they expected, but the transference of the tax from the raw material to the manufactured article has

relieved them from various annoying restrictions, and from a troublesome and expensive surveillance, has set free the springs of industry and production so far as this branch of manufacture is concerned, and has placed the fiscal burden exclusively on those who voluntarily take it up.

Another important measure which, after protracted and keen discussion, became law, was the Ground Game Act for the protection of farmers against injury to their crops by hares and rabbits. It authorized the occupier of land to kill and take ground game concurrently with the landlord or any other persons authorized by the landlord. All agreements to the contrary were declared to be null and void. The occupier was not permitted to contract himself out of this right. As might have been expected, the bill was vehemently opposed by the country gentlemen, who predicted the most direful results from the measure if it should become law. Hares and rabbits, they affirmed, would be exterminated. The people would thereby lose an enormous amount of valuable food, and the working man would be deprived of his favourite Sunday dinner.

On the other hand, it was contended that the tenant's inalienable right would be no protection to him, for he would be kept from exercising it by fear of eviction. But the farmers, as a whole, were well satisfied with the measure, and it ultimately passed both Houses with little alteration.

The Employers' Liability Bill, which was also brought in by the Government, and carried through both Houses, encountered a great deal of opposition on the ground that it interfered with the freedom of contract and the rights of property. The courts of law had decided that though an employer was bound to compensate persons who had been injured by the negligence of his servants, no damages could be claimed when the injured person was in the same employment with the individual whose negligence caused the injury. The great body of workmen complained that this treatment was unjust, and demanded that

no distinction should be made as regards injuries between them and persons who were not in the same employment with them. The Government refused to accede to this demand, but brought in a bill which made the employer liable for injuries sustained by his workmen when the injury was caused by defect in the machinery, by the negligence of an authorized superintendent or manager, or by any act or omission done or made in obedience to the employer's rules or by-laws.

The Burials Bill, which put an end to a grievance long and deeply felt by Dissenters in England, was introduced into the House of Lords early in the session, and as it was a compromise, it was, of course, assailed on both sides. It enacted that a burial might take place in a churchyard or cemetery 'either without any religious service, or with such Christian and orderly service at the grave' as the person having charge of the funeral shall think fit, and that the service might be conducted by any person invited or authorized by him. At the same time the bill proposed to relieve the clergy from the obligation to read the burial service at the interment of any sectary in whose behalf it might be demanded. The measure was vigorously opposed in the House of Lords by a powerful party led by the Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Cranbrook. The spiritual peer affirmed that Dissenters would not be satisfied with admission to the churchyards; they would next demand admission to the churches, and his assertion was confidently re-echoed by the temporal peer. Their apprehensions, however, were not shared by the majority of the House, and the second reading was carried by 126 votes to 101, though an attempt was made to restrict the measure to parishes in which there was no unconsecrated burial-ground. This limitation, however, was struck out by the Commons, and the restriction to Christian services, after a warm discussion, was carried only by a majority of three.

In addition to the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, the Ground Game Act, the

Employers' Liability Act, and the Burials Act, two useful additions were made to the statute book—a Grain Cargoes Act, to prevent improper and dangerous loading of ships with corn, and a Seaman's Wages Act, to put an end to the system of advance notes for the payment of a seaman's wages conditionally on his going to sea. A Savings Banks Bill and a Post-office Money Order Bill, valuable measures both, were carried without opposition.

In the midst of the most active business of the session, Mr. Gladstone was attacked by a very serious illness, the result of over-exertion and cold. A bulletin was issued by his physician on the 2nd of August, announcing that the Premier was suffering from fever, with slight congestion of the base of the left lung. The excitement which it produced was intense, and with the single exception of the case of the Prince of Wales, which was entirely a matter of sympathy, the interest taken in Mr. Gladstone's recovery has had no parallel in the history of our country. During the first three critical days of his illness, Downing Street was crowded from morning till night with persons of all classes and conditions, from the royal duke to the coatless costermonger, vying with each other in their eagerness to learn how it fared with the patriotic statesman who had devoted his long life and his great abilities to the service of the people. The interest was not confined to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. As the electric wire flashed hour after hour from country to country, and from continent to continent, intelligence of every change in Mr. Gladstone's condition, and of the opinion of his physicians, the striking spectacle was witnessed of men who speak the English language or acknowledge the sway of the British sovereign scattered over the whole world (to say nothing of foreign monarchs and statesmen) expressing the greatest anxiety respecting the critical condition of the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

There can be little doubt that it was

owing to a high appreciation of the services which had been rendered to the country by the great statesman—a 'pillar of state,' even yet at threescore and ten 'fit to bear the weight' of the heaviest toils and cares—and especially from a high sense of the value of his life to the Liberal cause, rather than mere personal affection and esteem, that such widespread anxiety was felt respecting Mr. Gladstone's illness; and there can be no doubt that his removal at this period would have been 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to the Liberal cause. But the interest taken in his recovery was by no means confined to the party of which he was the head. The leaders of the Opposition were among the first to make visits of kindly inquiry at the door of his house in Downing Street, and the Conservative journals vied with their Liberal rivals in their expressions of respect and solicitude. 'A statesman,' wrote the *Standard*, the most influential Conservative paper, 'so enthusiastically attached to his own opinions as the Premier, and so persistent in advocating them, must necessarily excite no small amount of political antagonism which will sometimes seem to degenerate into personal animosity. But it only needs an occasion like the present to convince us that the language of politics is invariably tinged with exaggeration, and that the most resolute opponents of the Prime Minister in Parliament entertain for him feelings of perfect kindness and of genuine admiration.' In a few days Mr. Gladstone's illness took a favourable turn, and he made rapid progress in recovery. On the 28th of August he was able to re-appear in his place in Parliament with every appearance of restored health and renewed strength.

During Mr. Gladstone's illness the leadership of the House of Commons devolved upon Lord Hartington, who discharged its duties, in very trying circumstances, with admirable temper and discretion. A systematic attempt to obstruct all legislation had been made throughout the session, not

only by the Parnellites, but by a Fourth Party, consisting of only four members, three of whom were noted for their loquacity, violent language, and pertinacity in obstructive devices. Lord Hartington's firmness and dexterity in putting down opponents of this class by sharp, pungent, and telling retorts took them by surprise, and established his reputation as a first-rate parliamentary leader. A week before Mr. Gladstone resumed his post an oft-repeated accusation was made that the Government were hurrying through measures at a period of the session when reasonable time could not be afforded for their discussion. Lord Hartington quickly remarked in reply that the introduction of measures was subject not only to 'reasonable time,' but to discussion at 'a reasonable length.' He then proceeded to supply the House with some statistics which exposed in a most effectual way the tactics of the Parnellites and of the Fourth Party. Lord Randolph Churchill, the leader of that party, had made seventy-four speeches and had asked twenty-one questions; Sir Henry D. Wolff, another of its members, had made sixty-eight speeches and had asked thirty-four questions; while their coadjutor, Mr. Gorst, had made 105 speeches and asked eighty-five questions. And with respect to the Parnellites, Mr. Biggar had made fifty-eight speeches and had asked fourteen questions; Mr. Finigan, an ex-journalist, had made forty-seven speeches and had asked ten questions; and Mr. A. O'Connor had made fifty-five speeches, but asked only two questions. Six members, continued the marquis, amid continual bursts of laughter, intermingled with some irate cheers, had thus made 407 speeches; and allowing ten minutes to each speech [three times ten might have been allowed], they had occupied about a fortnight of the working time of the House. If all of the 652 members occupied a similar time, the session would last about four years, which, said Lord Hartington, winding up the calculation, as Euclid remarked in similar

circumstances, was absurd. The offending members had frequently stated that they had no desire to obstruct; but his lordship went on to ask, amid the excited cheers of the Ministerialists, what would be the time occupied if a similar number of members *had* desired to obstruct? This might be freedom of discussion for these members, but it was complete exclusion from discussion for the vast majority of the members of the House. This state of things would soon become intolerable; it was not, the noble lord added, amid loud and prolonged cheers, very far from that position now.

Irish affairs had occupied a very large portion of the time of the session, and the rejection of the Disturbance Bill by the Lords was followed by several violent motions and still more violent speeches in the Commons, 'the wickedness' of one of which, by Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Forster said, 'could only be equalled by its cowardice.' After Parliament was prorogued on the 7th of September, agitation was transferred to the country, and was carried on in the most unscrupulous and violent manner. An 'Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood' was organized in the United States of America, the avowed objects of which went far beyond those of the Land League. The nominal programme of that league was the 'three Fs'—'fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale;' free sale, that is, of the tenant's interest. But the language of its leaders greatly exceeded such demands as these, and fell nothing short of the abolition of landlordism and the transference of the land to the occupying tenant. 'Your right,' said Mr. Parnell, 'is that the man who tills the soil may own it.'

A land commission had been appointed by the Government to make a full and searching inquiry into the land system in Ireland; but the Land League set its face against this commission, and warned the farmers not to give evidence before it. The tenant who should bid for a farm from which another tenant had been evicted was

to be shunned in the street, Mr. Parnell said, in the shop, in the market-place, even in the place of worship, 'as if he were the leper of old.' More violent measures and shocking murders followed this threat. On 25th September Lord Mountmorris was found near his residence in county Galway shot dead, with six revolver bullets in his body. A cottager near the spot where his body was discovered would not allow it to be brought into his house that a surgeon might ascertain whether life was completely extinct. His lordship's body had to be escorted by armed policemen, the car-drivers refused to assist in carrying the coffin from the hearse, and the surviving members of the poor peer's family were persecuted with threatening letters and denied the smallest service and the common necessities of life. The most violent outrages were perpetrated on process-servers, care-takers, and bailiffs, who were everywhere in imminent danger of their lives; cattle were maimed; land-agents threatened and shot at, and landlords murdered in the most barbarous manner.

The most efficient instrument, however, in the hands of the Land Leaguers for carrying out their sinister designs, was the system recommended by Mr. Parnell, to treat a hostile or even neutral person 'as if he were the leper of old,' and neither buy, nor sell, nor work with him. One of the advices which the League most persistently pressed on the farmers was that they should go in a body to the agent and offer what they considered a fair rent. If their offer was refused they should pay nothing. This course was adopted in the case of Captain Boycott, who rented a large farm near Lough Mask, in Mayo, and was also the agent of Lord Erne in that neighbourhood. The tenantry acted on the advice of the Land League, and in consequence Captain Boycott took out ejectment processes against them. A band of men came immediately to his farm and warned all his servants to leave him, which they did. He was left without a single farm labourer, while his corn lay uncut and all his crops ungathered

in the fields. The local shopkeepers were warned not to deal with him; his blacksmith and his laundress were forbidden to work for him; and even the post-boy who carried his letters was threatened.

This treatment of Captain Boycott for simply doing his duty as an agent excited great sympathy throughout the country, and a body of Ulster men went to his relief, and, under the protection of a detachment of troops, they succeeded in saving Captain Boycott's crops and in returning in safety to their homes in Cavan and Monaghan, bringing with them the agent and his family.

This incident, which has added a word to the English language, taught the League the most efficacious way of carrying out their newly discovered system of 'Boycotting' obnoxious individuals. Confidently trusting to its protection, the farmers acted on the advice to offer only what they considered a fair rent, and to pay nothing when this offer was refused. A tenant who paid his full rent was at once boycotted. The priest who did so was deprived of his stipend and the doctor of his practice, by orders of the executive of the local branch of the League. And not only was this treatment given to evicting landlords, agents, and tenants guilty of the unpardonable offence of paying their rent, but tradesmen who ventured to hold dealings with boycotted persons were placed under the same ban. The system was soon carried a step further, and employed as an instrument for increasing the membership and the funds of the League. Shopkeepers who refused to join and to subscribe were deprived of their custom, and farmers who held aloof could find no one to purchase their crops and cattle. The case of Mr. Bence Jones, a large farmer and proprietor in the county of Cork, affords a striking proof of the extent and influence of this reign of terror. After his servants had been compelled to leave him, a herd of his cattle were taken to market at Cork, but could not find a purchaser. Mr. Jones then proposed to send them by ship to Liver-

pool; but after they were taken on board they had to be put on shore again, in consequence of the cattle-dealers' threat that they would boycott the shipping company if Mr. Jones' stock were not withdrawn. They were next consigned to Dublin, but even there their owner had the utmost difficulty in obtaining shipment for his cattle, and succeeded at last only by inducing two of the principal shipping companies, after much hesitation, to convey each a lot of the outcast herd, and to share the risk of drawing down upon themselves the anathema of the Land League.

These outrageous proceedings made the Government at length resolve to prosecute certain leaders of the Land League; and on the 2nd of November a criminal information was filed against Mr. Parnell and other thirteen persons, who were charged with conspiring to prevent payment of rents, to defeat the legal process for the enforcement of rent, to prevent the letting of evicted farms, and to create ill-feeling between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The policy of the prosecution was questioned by a section of the Liberal party; but it was justly urged that after the law officers of the crown had come to the conclusion that the action of the Land League agitators was contrary to law, no other course was open to the Government than to prosecute Mr. Parnell and his associates. It was confidently predicted, however, by the Opposition that no Irish jury would be found to return a verdict of guilty, and the members of the Land League endeavoured to secure this result by threatening the class in Dublin from whom the jury must be selected with commercial ruin if they should dare to decide against the Irish patriots. The Government were quite well aware of the risk involved in the course which they had adopted; but they felt that they could not appeal to Parliament for additional powers until they had made it evident that exceptional legislation was necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

The prosecution of the Land Leaguers was fixed for 28th December. It was doubtful, however, whether a jury could be found to serve on the trial. A panic prevailed among the class in Dublin who were liable to be called on to act as jurymen, and it was confidently affirmed that they were ready to submit either to fine or imprisonment rather than undertake the perilous duty. The panel was reduced from forty-eight to twenty-four by striking off names on each side in the Crown Office; but only eighteen were in attendance at the opening of the trial. Of these three were excused on the ground of age and infirmity, one was exempted on the plea that he was a servant of the Crown, and two were challenged by the counsel for the defence. Thus the exact number required was left. It was confidently predicted that the jury would never convict the accused Land Leaguers; indeed it was believed to be impossible for the Government, in the existing condition of the country, to find twelve men who would be willing to return a verdict of guilty against Mr. Parnell, and surprise was felt at the time that two men on the jury had the courage to hold out against his complete acquittal. As might have been expected, the failure of the state trials greatly emboldened the Irish party; their language became more violent and their conduct more outrageous now that they believed they could carry out their revolutionary projects with impunity. On the other hand, moderate men of all parties were now convinced that it had become absolutely necessary that the Government should be intrusted with additional powers for the protection of life and property in Ireland.

Accordingly when Parliament assembled on the 7th of January, 1881, the Queen's speech declared that, though there had been 'a great diminution of the distress in Ireland owing to an abundant harvest, the social condition of the country has assumed an alarming character. Agrarian crimes in general have multiplied far beyond the ex-

perience of recent years; the administration of justice has been frustrated with respect to these offences through the impossibility of procuring evidence; and an extended system of terror has been established in various parts of the country, which has paralyzed almost alike the exercise of private rights and the performance of civil duties.' It was then intimated that a demonstration of the insufficiency of the ordinary powers of the law having been amply supplied by the present circumstances of the country, proposals would be submitted to Parliament for intrusting the Crown with additional powers, necessary not only for the vindication of order and public law, but likewise to secure, on behalf of Her Majesty's subjects, protection for life and property and personal liberty of action.

Intimation was also given that measures would be introduced for the further development of the principles of the Irish Land Act of 1870, and for the establishment of county government in Ireland founded upon representative principles. Immediately on the assembling of the House Mr. Forster, the Irish secretary, gave notice that on the following day he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the better protection of persons and property in Ireland, and another to amend the law relating to the carrying and possession of arms, and for the preservation of public peace in that country.

The announcement that coercive measures were to be submitted to Parliament led to a most violent and protracted resistance to the Address on the part of Mr. Parnell and his followers. He moved an amendment to the Address, declaring that the peace and tranquillity of Ireland could not be promoted by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the Irish people. The debate on this amendment lasted seven nights, and was then negatived by 435 votes to 57. The minority consisted of forty-eight Home Rulers and eight English Liberals of the most extreme type. Not a single Scottish member voted in its favour.

On the following day another amendment was proposed by Mr. Justin M'Carthy, to the effect that the Crown should be asked to refrain in the meantime from using naval, military, or constabulary forces in enforcing ejectments for non-payment of rent. But after a lengthened and tedious discussion it found only thirty-seven supporters, all of them Irish, against 201 opponents. A third amendment was moved praying Her Majesty to assimilate the Irish borough franchise to that of England, which was negatived by 274 to 36. Then another prayer to Her Majesty was proposed that she should guarantee the right of public meetings to the Irish people, which was rejected by 173 votes to 34, and the Address in answer to the Queen's speech was, after eleven nights of keen discussion, formally agreed to.

The Ministry had so carefully kept their own counsel that it was not until Mr. Forster asked leave to introduce the first of their two coercive bills that anything was known of the real nature of the measure. The Irish Secretary gave a striking sketch of the condition of Ireland and its progress in lawlessness through the preceding autumn and winter. The total number of outrages returned for the year 1880 was 2590, which exceeded by 600 the total of any year since 1844, although in the interval the population had fallen from 8,000,000 to 5,000,000. The Land League meetings had everywhere been followed by the most shameful outrages on property and torturing of cattle, which seemed the means by which that body enforced its unwritten laws. Personal insecurity had increased so rapidly that no less than 153 persons were attended night and day by two constables each, and 1149 others were watched over by the police. Tenants who paid their rent were the objects of outrage as well as their landlords. The serving of processes was as impossible as the collection of rent, and the shopkeepers were as unable to obtain justice as the landlords. There was a reign of terror over the whole country. No man

durst take a farm from which another had been ejected, nor work for a tenant who paid his rent or refused to join the Land League. People did not dare to claim compensation for outrages committed upon them, to prosecute the persons who committed such outrages, or to convict such offenders if they were members of the jury by whom they were tried. The fact was that those who defied the existing law were safe, while the honest men who kept it were in danger. These criminals, Mr. Forster went on to say, might be divided into three classes. There were, first, the survivors of the old Ribbon and secret societies of former days; in the second place, there were a large number of Fenians, who had taken advantage of the present state of affairs to promote their own peculiar views in regard to the political situation in Ireland; and in the third place, there were a large number of contemptible, dissolute ruffians and blackguards, who were the terror of their whole neighbourhood, and were the most active instruments in enforcing the orders of the Land League. In order to remedy this state of matters the Government proposed to entrust the Lord-Lieutenant with power to issue a warrant for the arrest of any person whom he might reasonably suspect of treasonable or agrarian offences, and to detain him without trial till 30th September, 1882.

The proposal to introduce such a measure was, of course, vehemently resisted by the Home Rulers, who moved that the introduction of the Coercion Bill should be postponed until the remedial measures of the Government should be brought forward. After the first day's debate Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to obtain the consent of the House to the postponement of all other business in favour of the bill. The proposal was, of course, violently opposed by the Irish party, who were repeatedly called to order by the Speaker, and Mr. Biggar, one of their number, was suspended during the remainder of the sitting. His colleagues now set themselves

to wear out the patience of the members by alternately moving the adjournment of the debate and of the House, and speaking against time. The leaders of the Opposition expressed their resolution to support the Government against this deliberate attempt to arrest the progress of legislation, and the chiefs of both parties agreed to relieve each other by turns in watching the movements of the Home Rulers. Mr. Gladstone quitted the House about two o'clock, leaving the leadership to Mr. Forster, and the Parnellites were allowed to pursue their course, and to follow one another in speeches, both irrelevant and indecorous. At four o'clock in the morning Mr. Childers returned and relieved Mr. Forster and Sir William Harecourt, who had remained throughout the night, and soon afterwards the Speaker, who had occupied the chair for fourteen hours, was replaced by Mr. Playfair, the Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Committees. Sir Stafford Northcote and Colonel Stanley entered the House shortly after nine o'clock, and a little later Mr. Gladstone made his reappearance. The Irish party continued their stream of monotonous reiteration of the same threadbare assertions and threatenings, broken only by a division at intervals on the motion for an adjournment. They were at length compelled to yield, and about two o'clock on Wednesday the House divided on Mr. Gladstone's proposal, that precedence should be granted to the Government Bills, which was adopted by 251 votes to 33. The adjournment of the House, which had been sitting for twenty-two hours, was then agreed to.

The Parnellites were still determined, however, to persist in their obstructive tactics, and another 'all-night sitting' took place on Monday, 31st January, the text of Mr. Forster's Bill having, by some mistake on the part of the permanent officials, been prematurely circulated affording a theme on which they could make speeches. They travelled over the same well-worn ground, reiterating the same irrelevant assertions,

and were constantly on the verge of drawing down upon themselves the rebuke of the Speaker. The motions for an adjournment and the general question were discussed in this manner by turns until nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, when the Speaker at length interposed. The present sitting, he said, had lasted for forty-one hours. An important measure, recommended in Her Majesty's speech and declared to be urgent in the interest of the State by a decisive majority, had been impeded by the action of an inconsiderable minority of members who had resorted to those modes of obstruction which had been recognized by the House as a parliamentary offence. 'The credit and authority of this House are seriously threatened, and it is necessary they should be vindicated. Under the operation of the accustomed rules and method of procedure the legislative powers of the House are paralyzed. A new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded; and I am satisfied I shall but carry out the wish of the House if I decline to call upon any more members to speak, and at once proceed to put the question to the House. I feel assured the House will be prepared to exercise all its powers in giving effect to these proceedings.' The Speaker then put the question, when there appeared—For the amendment, 19; against it, 161. The Speaker then put the main question, that leave be given to bring in the bill. One of the Parnellites rose to address the House, but the Speaker declined to hear him, while there were loud cries of 'Order' on the Ministerial side of the House. The Home Rulers rose from their seats, and for some time, with uplifted hands, shouted 'Privilege,' and then left the House.

Leave was then given to bring in the bill, and it was immediately brought up from the bar by Mr. Forster. The second reading was proposed to be taken that day at twelve o'clock. Before the House adjourned, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of the following resolution for the better regu-

lation of its procedure:—'If, upon notice given, a motion be made that the state of public business is urgent, and if, on the call of the Speaker, forty members shall support it by rising in their places, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, no debate or amendment or adjournment being allowed, and if on the voices being given he shall, without doubt, perceive that the "Noes" have it, his decision shall not be challenged, but if otherwise, a division shall forthwith be taken; and if the question be resolved in the affirmative, by a majority of not less than three to one, the powers of the House for the regulation of business on the several stages of the bill and upon motions and all other matters, shall be and remain with the Speaker, until the Speaker shall declare that the state of public business is no longer urgent.'

After an adjournment of less than three hours the House met again on Wednesday, 2nd February, but the whole of the sitting was wasted in a wordy discussion by Mr. Parnell and his followers, on an attempt to raise the question that by his order the Speaker had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the House. The Speaker, however, ruled that there was no question of privilege in the case—only one of order—that the matter must be brought before the House by motion. This behaviour on the part of the obstructionists strengthened the public conviction that stringent measures were necessary to prevent the recurrence of the deadlock, and caused Mr. Gladstone's resolution, which embodied three important principles—the initiative of the Government, the authority of the House, and the power to stop discussion—to be regarded with general approbation. An incident which occurred at this time rendered the feelings of the Home Rulers against the Government and the House more bitterly hostile, and brought them once more into collision with the authority of the Speaker.

Mr. Michael Davitt had been the practical organizer and founder of the Land League.

Unlike not a few of his coadjutors in agitation, his personal sincerity and freedom from selfish views were undoubted. He had been convicted of participation in the Fenian plot of 1867, and sentenced to a long imprisonment. He was liberated, however, in 1879, on a ticket-of-leave. On regaining his freedom he at once threw himself headlong into the new agitation and became a leader in the Land League. He spent some time in America in promoting this association, and on his return to Ireland, in the beginning of 1881, he once more devoted all his energies to excite the people against the landlords, spoke of the murders caused by their evictions, and declared that the loss to Irish population of 3,000,000 since 1845 was due to landlord tyranny. A few days later, at a meeting of the Land League held in Dublin [on 2nd February, he made a fierce attack on the 'renegade members,' as he termed them, who had abandoned Mr. Parnell in the face of the enemy. The forbearance of the Government was at length exhausted by this outrageous conduct, and on the following day Mr. Davitt was arrested and at once conveyed to England.

When the House met on the afternoon of 3rd February, the Home Secretary was immediately asked whether the report that Michael Davitt had been arrested that day was true. Sir William Harcourt, amid general cheers, answered in the affirmative, adding that the law officers of the crown had come to the conclusion that his conduct as one of the most energetic apostles of the Land League was not compatible with the ticket-of-leave of which he was the holder. Mr. Gladstone was then called upon to move his resolution, but Mr. Dillon, one of the most violent of the Parnellites, attempted to address the House, and though informed by the Speaker that Mr. Gladstone was in possession of the House and entitled to proceed without interruption, he refused to give way, and cried, 'I demand my privilege of speech.' A scene of the greatest confusion and

excitement followed, and the Speaker was at last compelled to address him in the terms of the standing order, 'I name you, Mr. Dillon, as wilfully disregarding the authority of the chair.' The refractory member was immediately suspended for the remainder of the sitting, on the motion of Mr. Gladstone, by a majority of 395 to 33. The Speaker then intimated to him that it was his duty to withdraw, but he doggedly kept his seat, and amid frenzied cheers from his associates declined to comply with the Speaker's order. Though the sergeant-at-arms was then directed to remove him he still refused to move, but when five messengers came in and prepared to eject him by force he at length walked out of the House.

This lamentable exhibition did not deter the other members of the Irish party from following the same course. Their leader, Mr. Parnell, was the first to draw down upon himself the censure of the Speaker. He too moved, in a most excited tone, that Mr. Gladstone be not heard, and though warned of the risk he was incurring, he, after consulting his friends, called out a second time, 'I insist on my right to move that Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard.' He was then 'named,' suspended by 405 to 7—his followers having refused to leave their seats—and removed in the same way as Mr. Dillon. Mr. Finigan came next, and his suspension was carried by 405 to 2, and his removal took place after the fashion of those who had preceded him. In this division also the Irish members refused to go into the division lobbies, though warned by the Speaker. They were 'named' one by one as disregarding the authority of the Chair. Twenty-eight in all were suspended *en masse* and ejected *seriatim* by the sergeant-at-arms by direction of the Chair. Of the remainder two were named, suspended, and removed on successively repeating the motion that Mr. Gladstone be not heard, and three for declining to take part in the division. By 8.30 all the thirty-six Parnellites had been sus-

pending, and the decorum of the House was restored.

Mr. Gladstone was at length allowed to move the resolution of which he had given notice. In a speech, even more than usually eloquent and impressive, he pointed out the fatal consequences of obstruction to public business in an assembly like the House of Commons, and denounced with withering scorn the conduct of the men who had forced the House to pass through the successive stages of embarrassment and discredit, and were ready to bring it into ridicule, contempt, and disgrace. He concluded by imploring the members as they valued the duties that had been committed to them and the traditions they had received—as they estimated highly the interests of this vast empire, to rally to the performance of a great public duty, and to determine that they will continue to be as they had been, the mainstay and power and glory of their country, and that they will not degenerate into the laughing-stock of the world.

On the suggestion of Sir Stafford Northcote, it was agreed that the Ministers should declare the reason of urgency, and by a majority of 234 to 156 that the majority should consist not of 300, as the leader of the Opposition insisted, but of three to one in a House of at least 300.

The second reading of the Protection of Life and Property Bill was moved on 4th February by Mr. Forster in a speech of studied conciliation, and the debate was continued for two more nights and throughout a morning sitting, but without producing any angry recrimination or excitement. On the fourth day the second reading was carried by 359 votes against 56—seven English Radicals having voted with the minority.

Shortly before the close of the debate the Speaker laid on the table of the House the new rules of procedure which he had framed, in pursuance of the resolution passed on 3rd February. These rules, which were only to be applicable when

business was urgent, dealt with motions for adjournment, irrelevant speaking, putting the question, motions to report progress, and other forms of the House. The Speaker proposed in them that the initiative of suggesting the closure should always rest with the Chair, and the only protection which the House retained against its own Speaker was, that the motion must be carried by a majority of three to one.

When the Coercion Bill went into committee endless amendments were moved on nearly every line of every clause; and so slow was its progress that after four days' debate, although the new rules had been twice called into use, the committee had only disposed of the first subsection of the first clause. It was thus obvious that the new rules required to be supplemented, in order to render them sufficient for the purpose of shortening discussions. Accordingly the Speaker, on the fifth day of the committee (18th February), laid on the table additional rules for expediting business. Their chief feature was the establishment of the closure in its most stringent form. They enabled the chairman of a committee on a bill declared urgent, either to report it to the House on or before a certain day or hour, or to bring to a conclusion the consideration of any such bill as amended by a certain time. In either case a majority of three to one was to be required, but when once this vote was taken new clauses and amendments might be summarily disposed of by causing them to be forthwith put by the member who moved them, when only he and one other member could be heard. If the proceedings were not concluded at the appointed hour, the chairman was to leave the chair and report the bill, whether the additional clauses had or had not been put to the committee.

The debate on the Coercion Bill was resumed on 18th February, and a great number of amendments were proposed, none of which were adopted, but their

discussion served to waste the time of the House. On the following Monday (21st February), when Parliament reassembled, Mr. Gladstone moved his resolution, that if the committee were not closed before midnight, the remaining clauses and any amendments and new clauses should be put forthwith. This was agreed to without a debate by 415 to 63, the minority including, along with the Home Rulers, thirteen Conservatives and eight Radicals. Under the impulse thus given to the proceedings of the House, the committee made considerable progress in its work, and when midnight came the chairman stopped one of the Home Rulers in the midst of a rambling and tedious speech on a proposed new clause, and put the question. A division took place at once, and the clause was negatived by 392 to 43. The remaining new clauses were declared out of order. The motion that the bill as amended be reported to the House was then put, and carried by 377 to 47, and the final question, that the chairman do leave the chair was carried, amid prolonged cheering on both sides of the House, by 324 to 32. The whole of the next evening's sitting was spent on the discussion of the bill as amended and of certain new clauses, proposed by the Home Rulers, all of which were negatived. But as the debate had not terminated during the sitting, the strongest powers available under the new rules were brought into operation on the following day. Of the nineteen amendments which were still undisposed of when the House met, two were negatived, six were declared to be inadmissible, two were not pressed, and the remaining nine were rejected by very large majorities. Mr. Forster then moved the third reading of the bill, which had now been for three-and-twenty days under discussion. Its rejection was moved by one of the Home Rulers, and supported by the other members of the party. The debate was prolonged until another evening, and the bill was finally carried by 281 to 36.

In the House of Lords the Coercion Bill was carried through its various stages in three consecutive days, was read a third time and passed on 2nd March, and obtained the royal assent and became law on the same day.

On the 1st of March the Home Secretary moved for leave to introduce the Peace Preservation Bill, the chief objects of which were to render illegal the possession of arms and ammunition within proclaimed districts; to give power to search by day suspected persons and houses; and to prohibit or regulate the sale of arms. The introduction of the measure was opposed in the usual manner; but after two divisions leave was given to introduce the bill, which was read a first time by 188 to 26. The debate on the second reading commenced on the following day, and the motion was carried by 145 to 34. The discussion ran much the same course as on the Coercion Bill. There was a similar shoal of amendments moved in committee, similar lengthened and irrelevant speeches, violent language, and disorderly conduct, followed by the suspension of Home Rulers. The third reading was agreed to by 250 to 28, and the motion that the bill do pass was carried by 236 to 26. It passed through the House of Lords without alteration or amendment, and received the royal assent on the 21st of March.

The Government, having now obtained those means of protecting property and preserving life in Ireland for which they had so long struggled, proceeded to lay before the House and the country the great measure which they had prepared for the purpose of relieving the distress and ameliorating the condition of the Irish people. On the very day that the Arms Bill received the royal assent Mr. Gladstone announced that the Irish Land Bill would be introduced before the Easter recess, and on the 7th of April he explained minutely the various provisions of the measure in a plain and business-like speech. The cardinal feature of the bill was the institution

of a court invested with authority to deal with the differences between landlord and tenant, and to protect the tenant against arbitrary increase of rent. Every tenant then existing in Ireland would have a right to go into the court to have fixed for his holding 'a judicial rent,' which, when fixed, would last for fifteen years, during which time there could be no eviction of the tenant, with or without the leave of the court, except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during that period, even with the leave of the court, and the landlord's remedy would take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant-right. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years application might be made to the court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. If it were renewed the conditions as to eviction would remain, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if the latter wished to sell. When a tenant assented to an increase of rent there would be no reason to invoke the action of the court; for under the Act the tenant, by accepting the increased rent, would acquire fixity of tenure for fifteen years. If he should not assent to the increase he might sell his interest and obtain from the landlord ten times the difference between the increased rent and that settled by the court, or he might claim compensation for disturbance, in accordance with the terms settled by the Act of 1870.

With regard to the court which was to be intrusted with these powers, and was also to act as a land commission, it was to consist of three members, one of whom must always be a judge or an ex-judge of the Supreme Court. It would have power to appoint assistant commissioners and sub-commissioners to sit in the provinces. It would also have authority to advance to tenants intending to purchase, on approved security, three-fourths of the purchase-money. Advances might be made by the commission for agricultural improvements

and for the reclamation of waste lands by companies or by individuals, whether tenants or owners, provided that the aid from the Treasury was met by a corresponding outlay of private capital. Advances, to be determined by Parliament, would also be made for the purpose of assisting emigration. Summing up the bill Mr. Gladstone said its general outcome would be that increase of rent would be restrained by certain rules; compensation for disturbance would be regulated according to different rates; the right to sell the tenant's interest would be universally established; evictions would only be permissible for default; and resumption by the landlord would be impossible except for cause both reasonable and grave, which cause might be brought in question before the court.

Impartial and candid persons regarded the bill as on the whole calculated to satisfy every legitimate claim that could be urged on behalf of the Irish people, while it would not give the owners of landed property any serious cause for complaint. Some even of the more moderate of the Home Rulers expressed their conviction that the Land Court and its functions would be looked upon by the people of Ireland as satisfactory, and described the measure as a great act of justice, which, without assailing any right of property, would confer on the Irish tenant free sale, from which would naturally flow fair rents and permanence of tenure. The more extreme men of the party were of course dissatisfied with the bill, which they could not, they said, regard as an honest effort to settle the relation between landlord and tenant. They protested against the proposed arbitration by county court judges, and declared their preference for migration to emigration. The Conservatives, while approving of such proposals in the bill as peasant proprietorship, the reclamation of waste lands, and state-aided emigration, complained that the bill would insure universal and perpetual litigation; that the landlords were badly treated; that millions

would be taken from them without compensation, not for the benefit of the community at large, but for a single class—the present tenants. They alleged also that the most absentee landlord was placed on the same footing as the best landlord, and that the principle of the three Fs—fair rent, fixed tenure, and free sale—in an unavowed but practical form, was virtually conceded.

Old Whigs, like Earl Grey and the Marquis of Lansdowne, were not friendly to the measure, and the Duke of Argyll was so strongly dissatisfied with it that he resigned his office and withdrew from the Cabinet. His place as Lord Privy Seal was filled by Lord Carlingford, who, while a commoner, had for a considerable time held the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

When the House of Commons re-assembled on 26th April all these conflicting views were expressed at great length on the motion for the second reading of the bill. The leading members of the various parties in the House took part in the debate, which was protracted over three weeks. The amendments proposed by the Conservatives were rejected by large majorities. The more extreme of the Home Rulers stood aloof, in obedience to the advice of Mr. Parnell, who characterized the measure as a miserable dole, and a half remedy. The second reading was carried by 352 votes to 176. Sir Baldwin Leighton was the only English Conservative who supported it, though many of the party withdrew before the division was taken.

Before the bill could be got into committee (26th May), there was a long array of 'instructions' to the committee which had to be disposed of; but all except one were swept away at once by a decision of the Speaker that no proposal which could be discussed in committee could be debated before that stage was reached. The order-book, however, swarmed with notices of amendments to almost every line of each clause, and in some cases there were as many amendments to a line as words. So tedious and protracted were the debates on

these amendments that when the House adjourned on 3rd June for the Whitsuntide holidays, only six lines of the Land Bill had been agreed to.

During the recess the contest respecting this novel measure was carried on with great vehemence by prominent members both of the Government and the Opposition; and when the Parliament met again on 13th June the debates on the bill were resumed as keenly as ever. On the 27th of that month only four clauses had been agreed to, and Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to ask the House to give up all its time to the discussion of this one important measure, and to this proposal no serious objection was raised. The emigration clauses were assailed with exaggerated bitterness and violence by the Parnellites, and their conduct in obstructing a bill against which they did not dare to vote was indignantly denounced by Mr. Bright, and by Mr. Gladstone, who expressed the pain with which he had witnessed the degradation inflicted on the House by a small section of the Irish members, who, having miserably failed in their attempts to denounce the bill in Ireland, now sought to retrieve their damaged reputations by obstructive opposition.

The fiftieth and last clause of the bill was voted on the morning of 20th July. Two days later the new clauses proposed by private members were disposed of, and the bill as amended was reported to the House, amid loud and continued cheering on the Ministerial side. On the bringing up of the report an attempt was made to exclude holdings above £100 per annum from its operation, which was defeated by the narrow majority of 242 against 205. The third reading of the Land Bill was at length taken on 30th July, and by a majority of 220 against 14 the measure, which for nearly four months had occupied the almost undivided attention of the members, was carried through its final stage in the House of Commons.

The Irish Land Bill had, however, still

to pass the more difficult and dangerous ordeal of the House of Lords, to which it was carried and read a first time within a few minutes of its passage through the House of Commons. The second reading of the bill was moved on Monday, 1st August, and gave rise to a debate, which was marked by great ability, not unmingled with asperity, and the measure was criticised very severely, not only by the Conservative Peers, but by the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Lansdowne. It had been resolved, however, at a private meeting of the Opposition party, that they would not reject the bill on its second reading, but would endeavour to introduce in committee various important amendments which would render it less obnoxious to them. The bill was accordingly read a second time without a division, but when it went into committee a number of very sweeping changes were made in its provisions. One of them enacted that the landlord should have a right of veto on the sale when the improvements on a farm had been made by him or his predecessor. Another deprived the tenant of the power of free sale when the landlord had purchased the tenant-right. A number of minor amendments followed, all of which had for their object to free the landlord from the ascendancy of his tenants, or to place the tenants under the control of the landlords. The proposal of Mr. Heneage, to exempt English-managed estates from the operation of the bill, which had been rejected by the Commons, though by a diminished majority, was now adopted, as was a motion by Lord Salisbury, though opposed by a considerable number of Conservatives, that no tenant's rent should be reduced on account of any money he might have paid for any tenant-right on coming into possession. Their lordships also withdrew from the Land Court the power given to it in the bill to revise the rent at the end of existing leases, and they struck out the clause empowering the court to quash any lease made since 1870 under undue influence. They also ex-

punged without a division the amendment inserted at the instigation of Mr. Parnell, which authorized the court to stay proceedings against a tenant in arrear, pending the decision of his application for a judicial rent.

When the bill, which was read a third time on 8th August, was returned to the House of Commons, it became evident that the Government were firmly resolved not to acquiesce in amendments which had fundamentally changed the character of the measure. They showed, however, their willingness to accept most of the minor changes and corrections which the Lords had introduced, but upon all questions of principle they maintained their own views, and expunged most of the more important amendments which had been adopted by the Upper House. They agreed to allow the landlord the power to prohibit free sale when he and his predecessors had not only made, but maintained permanent improvements. They accepted the proposal to restrain the tenant's right to erect additional dwelling-houses on his holding without the landlord's permission, but limited to such houses as the tenants themselves proposed to occupy. They also agreed, in spite of the Parnellites and some Radicals, to acquiesce in the provision under which a landlord's claim was recognized as the first charge on the purchase money of any holding; and Mr. Gladstone expressed his willingness to allow the landlord, as well as the tenant, to go into court after they had failed to come to an agreement.

On the morning of the 12th of August the amendments of the Peers were disposed of after three protracted sittings. A committee was appointed to confer with the Lords, and the bill was at once carried to the Upper House. When the Lords assembled on the evening of that day, it became at once evident that the Opposition had resolved to deal with the measure in the spirit of 'no surrender,' and they insisted on the restoration of those of their

amendments which the Commons had declared to be contrary to the principles of the bill. The attitude assumed by the majority of the Peers caused great dismay throughout the country, and alarmed not a few influential members of the Conservative party. It was evident that the Government, supported by the great body of the representatives of the United Kingdom, could not give way, and there was no expectation that Lord Salisbury could form an administration capable of carrying on the public business of the country, or that a dissolution would give him a majority in the House of Commons. A hope, however, was cherished that a compromise might be made, and when Parliament assembled on the 15th it was evident from Mr. Gladstone's studiously moderate language that he wished to give a bridge of gold to the Peers. He offered several not unimportant concessions. He proposed to extend considerably the right of appeal from the decisions of the Land Court; to exclude leaseholders from the benefit of the bill; to amend the Ulster tenant-right custom; and to expunge the Parnell clause intended to protect evicted tenants in the interval previous to their obtaining a judicial lease. On all other points the House, on Mr. Gladstone's motion, by very large majorities, agreed to dissent from the amendments of the Lords. These concessions were regarded as satisfactory by the Opposition Peers; the amendments, as finally adjusted, were agreed to; the protracted debates on the Land Bill, which had occupied so large a portion of the session, were finally closed on the 16th of August, and on the 22nd the royal assent was given to it by commission.

Shortly after the commencement in Parliament of the contest between the parties respecting the Irish Land Bill, the leader of the Conservative party passed away on the 19th of April. At the opening of Parliament in January Lord Beaconsfield was present in the House of Lords, and apparently in good health. He took

part several times in discussions on foreign affairs, especially on India. His last great speech in Parliament was on the debate on the motion of Lord Lytton (10th March), condemning the conduct of the Government in withdrawing from Candahar. He was already suffering from the illness which proved fatal to him, but the speech was none the less characterized by great ability and vigour. At the close of a severe winter he was attacked by bronchitis and gout, to which he succumbed after a long and painful struggle. The interest and deep sympathy with which his illness was watched by the whole nation was a convincing proof that he was personally liked even by those who disapproved of his policy.

The career of Lord Beaconsfield is in many respects the most remarkable in the political annals of our country. At the very outset, before he had entered on public life, he avowed his determination to become some day Prime Minister of Great Britain, and during the forty years which elapsed before his ambitious longings were crowned with success he never lost sight of this great object of his life. To an impartial observer the difficulties in his way must have appeared almost insuperable. The son of a respectable *litterateur* of moderate means, 'foredoomed' to the drudgery of a conveyancer's office, with no apparent opening to either fortune or fame, and a descendant of a despised race at that time excluded from fashionable as well as political life, and whose indelible stamp he bore on his features as well as in his name, he had to cut his way to the summit of distinction and power through obstacles which might have daunted the stoutest heart. Lord Beaconsfield's success is the triumph of an amount of labour, watchfulness, courage, patience, and perseverance probably without a parallel in the political history of Great Britain. It is to his industry, tact, marvellous dexterity, and indefatigable perseverance that the Conservatives were mainly indebted for the

recovery of their position and power in 1874. But it must be admitted that many even in his own party disapproved of the means by which he gained his end. Lord Salisbury, who afterwards became his colleague, denounced in strong terms the 'political sleight of hand' and 'flexible and shameless tactics' of the 'professional politician,' who by a strange turn of the wheel had become the leader of the country gentlemen of England. He even asserted that Mr. Disraeli's 'shabby policy' had 'misguided and misdirected' the great Conservative party, and that the contest to which he led them was not a fight for real principles, real blessings, real truths, 'but merely a low-minded struggle for office.'

Lord Beaconsfield, however, held on his course unmoved, and unflinchingly adhered to the policy which he had deliberately chosen. On each of the three occasions, prior to 1868, when Lord Beaconsfield was in office the measures which he brought forward were dictated by his opponents and passed by their assistance or connivance, and it was not until 1874 that he found himself at the head of a large and docile majority in both Houses of Parliament. His reputation as a statesman must, therefore, depend on the character of his administration from 1874 to 1880. The 'interests' by whose aid he was enabled to climb to power—the Church, the brewers and licensed victuallers, and the Services—were pampered at the expense of the nation and to the great increase of the public expenditure. The proceedings of the Government respecting the Slave Circulars, the alteration of the English Education Act, and the opposition to the Burials Bill were regulated by a regard to political expediency rather than to equity. The foreign policy of the Ministry, which he assumed as his special province, excited great dissatisfaction among a large portion of the community. Throughout the whole Eastern crisis he employed the influence of Great Britain on the side of the Turkish Government, notwithstanding the atroci-

ties which they permitted and condoned in Bulgaria. The mode in which he conducted negotiations at Berlin, the secret agreement with Russia, balanced by the equally secret convention with Turkey; the acquisition of Cyprus; the protectorate in Asia Minor—all showed Lord Beaconsfield's fondness for a sensational policy, for concealment, mystery, and surprises. But the weightiest objection to him as a politician was his unconstitutional proceedings, his attempts under the veil of secrecy to evade or set aside the control of the House of Commons over ministerial policy, and to substitute personal for parliamentary rule. He had long held a theory of government somewhat akin to that of Bolingbroke respecting the rule of a patriot-sovereign exercising supreme and dominant authority, based on the suffrages of the lower orders of the community, not only over the executive, but even over the legislature itself; and during his last ministry he did what he could to reduce it to practice. The title of Empress of India conferred upon the Queen arose out of that notion, and was no doubt intended to lead the way to that result. Under his direction the power of the sovereign was augmented, while the authority of the Parliament was lessened. The movement of the British fleet up the Dardanelles, the transportation of the Sepoys from India to Europe, the annexation of Cyprus, and the protectorate over Asia Minor—all these moves on the political chess-board, involving tremendous responsibilities and enormous and immediate expenditure, were made without the authority and even the knowledge of Parliament. The natural fruit of such a policy was a period of turmoil and confusion, of suffering at home and of difficulty and trouble abroad, involving not only vast expense to the tax-payer and a severe blow to national industry, but social dangers of a very serious kind. It was mainly the alarm which this policy excited that led to the defeat of the Conservatives at the general election in 1880.

Though a most successful parliamentary debater, Lord Beaconsfield had no pretensions to the character of a great orator. He had nothing of the warmth, the fertility, versatility, and passion and power of Mr. Gladstone, or of the impressive simplicity, pure English diction, and stirring eloquence of Mr. Bright. His most elaborate speeches were often little more than stilted and high-flown essays, and were characterized by showy rhetoric rather than by natural feeling and passion. The passages in which he displayed his talent for wit and humour and keen personal satire were the portions of his speeches which mainly delighted his hearers at the time or that will be remembered hereafter. His sarcastic hits and witty repartees have often been quoted and are singularly felicitous. Such are his description of Sir Robert Peel as having caught the Whigs bathing and having stolen their clothes, and of Peel's colleagues as 'political peddlers,' who 'bought their party in the cheapest market and sold them in the dearest;' his comparison of the conversion of the Peelites to free trade to that of the Saxons by Charlemagne, who 'according to the old chronicle were converted in battalions and baptized in platoons;' and his likening the Whig occupants of the Treasury bench to 'a range of exhausted volcanoes, not a flame flickers in a single pallid crest; but the situation is still dangerous, there are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea.' The nicknames with which he labelled his opponents were also very felicitous. His reference to Mr. Beresford Hope as the 'embodiment of Batavian grace,' to Mr. Lowe as an 'inspired schoolboy,' and to Mr. Horsman as the 'superior person' of the House of Commons, are all perfect of their kind, and will probably retain a permanent place in what may be called the personal political history of our country. As regards his personal character, according to the testimony of his friends, Lord Beaconsfield was amiable, kind, and obliging. He was a good talker,

and his wit, delicate irony, and adroit adaptation of his conversation to his company, made him an exceedingly amusing and agreeable companion; but his enmities were, unfortunately, as lasting as his friendships. His novels, like his speeches, contain many clever and spirited sketches, shrewd and striking remarks, sparkling passages, and witty expressions. But they have continued to be read mainly on account of the high position and reputation of their author, and are not likely to retain a permanent place in the literature of our country.

A few weeks after the death of the Conservative leader Mr. Gladstone, in response to the general wish of the country, proposed that a national monument should be erected to his deceased rival. The eulogium which he pronounced upon the ex-premier was dignified and unstinted. He spoke of the high position which Lord Beaconsfield had held in the deliberations of the national senate and the counsels of the sovereign, and the prominent part which he had taken in administering the affairs of the country; but he dwelt more especially upon the private character of the departed statesman, his indomitable will, his intellectual gifts, and his domestic virtues. The opposition to the vote received only fifty-four supporters in a House containing 434 members.

An unusually large number of petitions was presented against the return of members chosen at the general election in 1880, and the election of the sitting members had in so many instances been declared void that the public had been obliged to come to the conclusion that some measures were imperatively required to check the widespread electoral corruption. Special commissions were appointed to investigate the corrupt practices which had been shown to prevail in no fewer than eight boroughs, and as the inquiry was searching and protracted, the reports were not presented to Parliament until the session of 1881.

The writ was suspended in eight boroughs

—Boston, Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, Knaresborough, Macclesfield, Oxford, and Sandwich—and when the Redistribution Bill (1885) was passed Sandwich and Macclesfield were disfranchised, and each of the other boroughs was deprived of one member.

The greater part of both the corrupters and the corrupted escaped punishment. A large portion of them, indeed, had given evidence against themselves, and thus obtained certificates which protected them from ulterior proceedings. But of those who were brought to trial at the assizes for criminal offences, by far the larger portion were acquitted. In Boston, out of nine persons indicted for bribery and perjury, only one was convicted, and for the latter offence alone. At Chester, the agent for the Liberal candidate was convicted of bribery and making a false return. At Sandwich and Macclesfield the law officers of the Crown were more successful in bringing the guilty to punishment, and penalties, varying from six to eighteen months imprisonment with hard labour, were imposed upon ten persons of different stations in life, some of them indeed occupying a good position in society. It is a striking proof of the low state of morality in regard to bribery in certain districts of England, that this tardy vindication of the law excited great disapprobation, and was followed by an agitation to obtain a remission of the sentences pronounced upon those who had been found guilty of this crime. The offence of bribery, they alleged, had been so often condoned that to brand it as a degrading crime was the sure way to arouse public sympathy in favour of those who had been made the first victims of the law. Memorials, signed by 43,841 persons, among whom were 32 peers, 75 members of the House of Commons, both Liberals and Conservatives, 313 bankers, 1113 clergymen, and 3597 solicitors, were presented to the Home Secretary praying for the remission of the sentences. But Sir William Harcourt declined to interfere, though in

the case of one prisoner, whose health had given way, he subsequently consented to his discharge.

The bills relating to Ireland had occupied so large a portion of the session that the other measures promised in the Queen's speech had nearly all to be postponed. Some reforms were effected in the administration of the army—corporal punishment was totally abolished, and a summary punishment by way of restraint was substituted in its room. A bill was passed abolishing the responsibility of newspaper proprietors for impartial reports of words spoken at public meetings, enforcing the compulsory registration of the names of newspaper owners, and requiring the consent of the Attorney-General to criminal proceedings being taken against a newspaper proprietor for libel.

The House of Commons was a good deal annoyed throughout the session by the persistent efforts of Mr. Bradlaugh to take possession of his seat. At the commencement of the year he was sued under the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866 for the penalties he had incurred by sitting and voting in Parliament without having first taken the oath, which he claimed his right to do under cover of a resolution passed on 1st July, 1880, 'subject to any liability by statute.' Judgment was given against him on the 11th of March, but he immediately gave notice of appeal, which was heard on 31st March before three of the judges. On the following day they delivered their judgment, upholding the decision of the inferior court. A new writ was immediately issued for the borough of Northampton, and Mr. Bradlaugh was again elected, though by a greatly diminished majority. He immediately renewed his efforts to take his seat, but a resolution moved by Sir Stafford Northcote, and carried by 208 votes against 176, declared him incompetent to do so. Though this result was formally announced from the chair, Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table, but was directed by the Speaker to withdraw.

This he declined to do, and the Speaker asked the House for directions. A resolution was adopted without a division that he should be directed to withdraw. He still, however, refused to obey what he called an illegal order. He was then removed by the sergeant-at-arms, who went with him to the bar; but he immediately returned, and had to be forcibly ejected by the messengers. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh once more presented himself at the table of the House to be sworn, and having refused to withdraw on the order of the Speaker, he was again removed by the sergeant-at-arms. Towards the end of July his case came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Grove and a special jury, at the instance of an informer, who claimed half the penalty of £500 fixed by the Act for each offence. The jury gave a verdict against him, and the judges refused to grant a fresh trial. On the 2nd of August the persistent member held a meeting in Trafalgar Square, attended by many thousands of sympathizers. Encouraged

by their support he went down to the House on the following day, and though he was aware that a resolution had been passed excluding him from its precincts, he advanced to the door with the intention of entering. The passage, however, was barred by the deputy sergeant-at-arms and other officials, and on Mr. Bradlaugh's attempting to force his way past them he was seized by a number of policemen and, in spite of his struggles, was carried down into the courtyard, with his clothes torn and in disorder. He proceeded at once to the Westminster police court and applied for a summons for assault against the police. But the magistrate, after taking time to consider the case, decided that the police were protected by the privilege of Parliament, the alleged assault having been committed within the precincts of Westminster Palace.

The Parliament was at length prorogued on 27th August, having sat, with but short intermissions at Easter and Whitsuntide, for nearly eight months.

CHAPTER XXI.

Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade—Ladies' Land League—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and other Irish Leaders—Suppression of the Land League—The Bradlaugh Affair—The Lords and the Land Act—Release of Messrs. Parnell, O'Kelly, and others—Assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. T. H. Burke in Phoenix Park, Dublin—Revival of the Alien Act—The Crimes Bill—Arrears of Rent Bill—Parcels Post Bill—Married Women's Property Bill—Rules of Procedure in the House of Commons—The Closure—Murderous Outrages in Ireland—The Maamtrasna Case—Formation of the Irish National League—Attempt on the Life of the Queen—Opening of Parliament, 1883—The Kilmainham Treaty—Bankruptcy Bill—Patents Bill—Trial of the Phoenix Park Murderers—Attempts to blow up the Local Government Board Office and other Places throughout the Country—The Explosives Act Amendment Bill—Relief Bill—Mr. Bradlaugh on the Affirmation Bill—Corrupt Practices Bill—Agricultural Holdings Bill—National Debt Bill—Grants to Lords Wolseley and Alcester for Services in Egypt.

No sooner was Parliament prorogued than an agitation was commenced throughout the country by the leaders of the two great political parties. Within a week Sir Stafford Northcote was seen at Sheffield expounding the views of the Conservatives on Free Trade in somewhat ambiguous terms. On the other hand a few days later Lord Derby, in a speech delivered at Southport, showed that all classes were better off in 1880 than they had been in 1870. In that period the exports of the country had increased nearly fifty millions, and the imports more than a hundred millions. In 1870 the income liable to income tax was £445,000,000; in 1880 it had risen to £578,000,000; whilst in the Savings Banks deposits had risen from £43,000,000 to £58,000,000. A great campaign followed in the North, in which Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Randolph Churchill took part on the one side, and Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Chamberlain on the other. The principal subjects discussed were the rival claims of Fair Trade and Free Trade, the Irish Land Bill, and the foreign policy of the Government. Sir Stafford Northcote at Newcastle said he did not himself advocate the imposition of a five-shilling duty on corn, but many of his party did, and therefore, without putting forward Protection as an article of faith, he saw no objection to its being accepted as "a pious

opinion." Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, at Leeds, ridiculed the idea of retaliatory tariffs, and denounced Fair Trade unsparingly as Protection in disguise.

While the controversy respecting Free Trade and Fair Trade was carried on thus vigorously in England and Scotland, the leaders of the Land League were showing their anger and disappointment at their failure to prevent the passing of the Coercion Bill by their furious vituperation of the Government, and their efforts to induce the tenants to hold aloof from the Land Act. Rioting and outrages on the part of their deluded followers naturally resulted. Process-servers performed their duties at the peril of their lives. Affrays with the policemen and bloodshed were the result of the attempts to carry out the eviction of tenants who refused to pay their rents. Boycotting was used with greater vigour than ever. A Ladies' Land League was formed, with Mr. Parnell's sister for president; and though it was immediately denounced by Archbishop McCabe of Dublin as immodest and wicked, the conduct of its promoters was vigorously defended by Archbishop Croke of Cashel, who, in consequence, became the idol of the Home Rulers, and wherever he went throughout the country was hailed with enthusiasm by the Irish peasantry. The doctrines of the League were now frequently proclaimed from the pulpits of the Catholic priests, great numbers of whom became the

avowed partisans of that association. The reluctance shown by the Government to avail themselves of the extraordinary powers intrusted to them, seemed to justify the assertion of the National leaders that coercion could not be carried out. Under the impression that the Government was afraid of them, the leaders became every day more violent in their language and more daring in their operations. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech at Leeds, criticised with special and marked severity the conduct of Mr. Parnell, the present leader of the Irish Home Rulers, and contrasted it with that of Daniel O'Connell, who availed himself of every measure which tended to promote the welfare of the Irish people, however much it might fall short of his wishes. Mr. Parnell, on the contrary, inculcated discontent and covetous desires for other men's property, and substituted for O'Connell's aim of friendship with England the new policy of hatred of England and everything English. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone commented on the sluggishness of loyal Irishmen, especially among the wealthier classes, who seemed incapable if not unwilling to do anything to help themselves; contrasting their attitude with the readiness with which elsewhere loyal citizens would have rallied in support of the laws. Mr. Parnell replied to this withering exposure by a denunciation of the Prime Minister so violent that it at once brought matters to a crisis. A meeting of the Cabinet was summoned on the 12th of October, and after four hours' deliberation an order was given to arrest Mr. Parnell. It was quietly carried into effect on the following morning, and the leader of the Land League was removed from his hotel in Dublin to Kilmainham gaol. Before the end of the week Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. Kelly, M.P., both extreme Home Rulers, were likewise lodged in prison, along with a considerable number of the leading members of the Land League. That body, furious at the arrest of its leaders, issued a circular, signed by the imprisoned Land Leaguers, enjoining all farmers to refuse

payment of rent until Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were unconditionally released from prison. The Government on this formally suppressed the Land League, which was declared to be "an illegal and criminal association." No attempt at resistance was made, and in a few days the extensive organization which had seemed so formidable had ceased to exist.

When the Parliament was prorogued at the end of August, 1881, it was confidently expected that, after two sessions of absorbing and exciting controversy over Irish affairs, the business of England and Scotland would in the following session receive a proper share of attention. This hope was, however, sadly disappointed. Many of the measures enumerated in the Queen's speech were not even brought in, and only one or two of minor importance were placed upon the Statute-book at the close of the session.

It was universally understood that one subject not mentioned in the speech from the throne was to take precedence of all other business. Accordingly on the opening night of the session Mr. Gladstone laid the proposed new rules of procedure on the table. But before it was possible to proceed to their consideration the attention of the ministry and of the House was occupied by a renewal of Mr. Bradlaugh's attempt to take his seat, which terminated in the adoption of a resolution almost identical with that agreed to by the House in 1881, and in Mr. Bradlaugh's expulsion on the ground of contempt and contumacy; and a new writ was issued for Northampton. He was re-elected, however, by a larger number of votes than he had polled in 1881, and made another futile attempt to take his seat, which led to an unseemly and prolonged wrangle.

At the very commencement of the session the Irish party renewed their attacks upon the Government, declaiming against the working of the Protection Act, denouncing Mr. Forster in extravagant and violent language, demanding the release of Mr. Parnell and the extension of the

Land Act, and raising irregular discussions on every possible opportunity. These Irish questions occupied a large part of the protracted debate on the Address. The Home Rulers demanded the abrogation of all coercive measures and the full recognition of what they called the rights and liberties of the Irish people. But their main object was to assail Mr. Forster's administration and to defend Mr. Parnell, who, they asserted, was unwisely as well as unjustly imprisoned. The Irish Secretary, however, made a triumphant defence against the charges of his assailants. He laid before the House numerous examples of the terrorism of the Land League, and of the treasonable speeches and practices of its leaders, and of the acts of violence by which the 'No-rent' manifesto was enforced. He expressed a confident belief, however, that the state of matters was improving. Landlords were obtaining payment of their rents; farmers were finding out that they had been misled by the Land League; and juries were doing their duty.

While the Commons were engaged in this discussion the House of Lords had greatly complicated matters by appointing a select committee to inquire into the working of the Land Act. The proposal was strongly resisted by the Government, on the ground that it was premature, as the Act had been barely four months in active operation, that it had no precedent and had nothing to justify it, but it was carried by ninety-six votes to fifty-three. In consequence a resolution was moved in the Lower House by the Prime Minister, condemning the proposed inquiry 'as tending to defeat the operation of the Land Act, and injurious to the good government of Ireland.' The Opposition evaded a direct challenge upon the issue raised by Mr. Gladstone and voted for the previous question, but were defeated by 303 votes to 235.

The House of Commons now took into consideration the procedure resolutions, which one party asserted were too strong

and another held to err on the score of weakness. They reproduced, with some additions and alterations, the rules of urgency framed by the Speaker after his intervention to terminate the debate in the previous session. The rule as to closing debate was to be applied on the initiative of the Speaker, subject to ratification by a bare majority of the House. A new feature, on which Mr. Gladstone insisted strongly, was the 'delegation' to two standing committees of the consideration of all bills relating to law and courts of justice, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures. A very large number of amendments were proposed upon the whole body of the procedure resolutions; but the conflict centred upon the first, to which an amendment was moved declaring that no alteration of the rules of procedure would be satisfactory which allowed the closure of debate by a majority. The discussion on this question began on the 20th of February, and was then suspended for a whole month by the debate on the Lords' committee. When the consideration of the rules was resumed on the 20th of March Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, declared their intention to stand by the principle of closure by a bare majority. After a debate on this central clause of the first resolution, which lasted three nights, the proposal of the Government was carried by 318 votes against 279, a larger majority than the most sanguine Ministerialists had expected. Only five Liberals voted against the resolution, though a number were absent from the division. A powerful speech from Mr. Bright was believed to have contributed greatly to this successful result.

When the House met again after Easter the debate was resumed on the remaining amendments. A proposal to intrust the initiative to the Ministers, instead of the Speaker, was rejected. Then the curtain suddenly fell, and the attention both of the House and the country was directed almost exclusively to a change of policy in regard to Ireland and the shocking tragedy in the Phoenix Park, Dublin.

A strong feeling had arisen among the Liberal party that the arrest and detention of several hundreds of 'suspects' were unjust, and had apparently been followed by no beneficial results. The Irish landlords, on the other hand, urged the Government to obtain stronger coercive powers, and threw out vague suggestions respecting a commission of judges and suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was admitted that the "No-rent" manifesto in Ireland had failed, and there was every reason to believe that the deeds of violence which continued to disgrace that unhappy country had been resorted to for the purpose of punishing disobedience to that manifesto. The victims of many of these outrages were poor men—farmers suspected of paying rent, farm-servants who had ventured to work for 'boycotted' persons, and bailiffs who had the courage to serve notices of legal process. One of the most shocking of these crimes was the murder of an old man and his grandson, named Huddy, who were sent to serve processes in the Joyce country, Connemara. They mysteriously disappeared, and their bodies were afterwards found in Lough Mask. They had evidently been shot and then tied up in sacks with stones, and flung into the Lough. A few weeks after the perpetration of this atrocious deed a labourer, named Bernard Bailey, who was supposed to have given some information to the police, which led to an extensive seizure of arms, was shot in Skipper's Alley, Dublin, at a time when the place was crowded with people and policemen on duty were in the immediate neighbourhood. The offer of a reward of £500 failed to elicit any information which could lead to the discovery of the assassin. Mr. Herbert, a small landlord in Kerry, who had faithfully performed his duty as a juryman, was shot as he was returning from the petty sessions. Mrs. Henry Smythe, when returning from church in a carriage with her brother-in-law (a large landowner in Westmeath) and Lady

Harriet Monck, was killed by shots fired by three men with blackened faces, who were lying in wait for Mr. Smythe. The assassins, as usual, made their escape, and have never been discovered. This was regarded as a peculiarly atrocious murder, for it had hitherto been maintained that no matter how unpopular a landlord might be he was always safe so long as he was in the company of a woman.

Undismayed by these shocking deeds, Mr. Forster steadily persevered in his efforts to break the power and defeat the aims of the Land League, with the conviction that success in this enterprise would cut at the root of organized crime. Threatening letters were showered upon him, and one at least contained explosive materials, which were rendered harmless in consequence of suspicions having been aroused respecting its contents. It was afterwards discovered that repeated plans had been concocted for his assassination. Secret societies renewed their operations, and a new and dangerous organization, headed by a mysterious individual known as 'Captain Moonlight,' became specially notorious for midnight marauding, farm burnings, mutilations of cattle, and similar dastardly crimes. At last the police succeeded in arresting a man named Connell, who had for some time been skulking among the Cork and Killarney hills, and papers found on him showed that he was no other than Captain Moonlight himself. Connell turned informer to save his life, and on his testimony, with corroborative evidence, several important convictions were obtained at the Cork Winter Assizes with a restricted jury panel. But generally the ordinary juries failed, either through terror or sympathy with the criminals, to convict even upon the clearest evidence.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of Ireland, a number of Radical politicians, especially those whose constituencies contained a large number of Irish voters, pleaded for the release of Mr.

Parnell and his fellow-prisoners in Kilmainham gaol; but up to this time the Government had given no indication that they intended to make any concessions to the party of disorder and lawless violence. Mr. Forster stoutly, and it was thought successfully, resisted this policy, when suddenly, on the 2nd of May, the country was astonished to learn that Earl Cowper, the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Forster, the Chief-Secretary, of Ireland, had resigned. The former, it appeared, had quitted office for private reasons, not on account of political differences; but the resignation of the Irish Secretary had been caused by his disapproval of the 'new departure' which the ministry had resolved to take in dealing with that country. The abandonment of the Protection Act was immediately announced along with the release of the three Irish members—Messrs. Parnell, O'Kelly, and Dillon—who were still imprisoned in Kilmainham gaol. The surprise excited by these grave proceedings was not unmingled with dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased when the facts of the case became fully known. Mr. Forster, in stating to the House the reasons of his retirement from office, explained the grounds on which the three Parliamentary leaders of the Land League had been arrested and detained so long in prison. They had organized and were working out a system by which their unwritten law would have superseded the written law in Ireland. He would have released them whenever one of three conditions had arisen: if they had given a public and voluntary promise that they would not set up their own law against the law of the country, if Ireland had become quiet and orderly, or if fresh powers had been given to the Government. But none of these conditions had been obtained, and he urged the ministry not to buy obedience nor to attempt any 'black-mail' arrangement. Matters had no doubt improved in Ireland; 'boycotting' had been stopped, the Land League had been defeated, and

its leaders had been obliged either to take refuge behind the ladies, or to flee to Paris for safety. On the whole, the state of the country—thanks mainly to the Protection Act—was much improved; still it was very bad, and outrages were numerous, but it would be better to struggle, even unsuccessfully, against crime than to rely for its repression upon the aid of its organizers and the law-breakers, their followers.

Subsequently the grounds of the Kilmainham Treaty, as the alleged understanding between the Government and the Land League party was termed by the Opposition, were warmly discussed in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone declared that there was no arrangement between the Government and Mr. Parnell, but that they had acted upon 'information' of the willingness of Mr. Parnell and his associates to range themselves on the side of law and order, conditional upon the passing of an Arrears Bill on the lines proposed by Mr. Redmond. Mr. Parnell and the other two members denied that they had any communications with the Ministers on the subject of their release, but he admitted that he had said and written in a letter to Mr. O'Shea, who seems to have acted as a go-between, that a settlement of the arrears question would have an enormous effect in the restoration of law and order, and would take away the last excuse for outrage.

Mr. Forster was succeeded in the office of Secretary for Ireland by Lord Frederick Cavendish, a younger son of the Duke of Devonshire, who had for some time discharged with exemplary diligence the duties of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He reached Dublin in company with Earl Spencer, the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, on the morning of Saturday, 6th May. After the two officials had made their formal entry into the city and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity, Lord Frederick entered upon the duties of his office. On the evening of that very day as he and Mr. T. H. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary, were walking through Phoenix Park,

they were assassinated by a band of men, who escaped on a car, leaving no trace of their identity. Extraordinary efforts were made and immense rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers, but for a considerable time without effect. The atrocity of this unprovoked crime produced a profound impression on the public mind in England and Scotland. A hurried meeting of the Cabinet was called next day (Sunday), and it was resolved to postpone the consideration of the procedure resolutions, and to press through Parliament with all possible speed bills for amending and extending the Land and the Coercion Acts of the previous session. Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, the Secretary to the Admiralty, was at once appointed Secretary for Ireland. The financial secretaryship of the Treasury was conferred upon Mr. L. H. Courtney, and Mr. Campbell Bannerman passed from the War Office to the Admiralty.

The two Houses of Parliament met on 8th May, and the leaders in both expressed in generous terms their appreciation of the services rendered to the country by the two secretaries so 'foully done to death' by brutal assassins. The funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish, which took place at Chatsworth on the 11th of May, was attended by 300 members of the House of Commons representing all parties, and the procession, which was headed by the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Gladstone, was followed by upwards of 30,000 persons.

When the House assembled at nine o'clock in the evening of that day, the Home Secretary moved for leave to bring in a Bill to adopt measures to meet the necessities of the situation. As jurymen were prevented by intimidation from doing their duty, it was proposed to dispense with their attendance in certain cases; and whenever the Lord-Lieutenant was of opinion that an impartial trial could not be obtained for treason, murder, attempts to kill, crimes of aggravated violence, and attacks on dwelling-houses, he should be empowered to appoint a special commission of

three judges to sit without juries, and to decide questions both of law and fact. It was further proposed that in proclaimed districts the police should have power to search either by day or night for the instruments of crime, daggers, masks, threatening letters, &c., and to arrest persons prowling about by night unable to give an account of themselves. The Alien Act was to be revived, and the Government was to be empowered to arrest strangers and to expel from the country those who were dangerous to public safety. Incitements to crime, membership of secret societies, controlling newspapers, aggravated assaults on the police and process-servers, and intimidation were to be summarily dealt with and punished, and the Lord-Lieutenant was to be authorized to deal specially with unlawful assemblies. Compensation was to be levied in districts in which murders and maiming had been perpetrated with impunity. After a sharp debate, in which Mr. Forster and Mr. Bright vigorously supported the Government, leave to bring in the Bill was given by 327 to 22, the minority consisting of the more extreme Home Rulers and two English Radicals.

Meanwhile it became evident that the agitators were not able, even if they were willing, to put down criminal outrages, whether agrarian or political. A few weeks after the Phoenix Park tragedy two double murders were perpetrated in Connaught. Mr. Bourke, a retired Anglo-Indian, and a corporal of the Dragoon Guards who acted as his escort, were shot from behind a loopholed wall near Gort in Galway, on the 8th of June, and on the 29th of the same month Mr. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and Mr. Keene his steward, were killed in a similar manner. In neither case was any clue to the assassins discovered. Attacks still continued on policemen, on bailiffs, on those who held aloof from the Land League policy, and especially on persons suspected of giving aid or information to the police. In these circumstances the urgent necessity of

coercive measures to secure the protection of the people and the peace of the country was acknowledged by all candid and impartial persons.

The Conservative leaders, however, in both Houses saw that the communications between the Government and the leaders of the Land League might be turned to account. Questions were asked with a view to elicit the precise nature of these communications, and a violent and indeed vituperative debate followed, which, however, terminated without a division. A week later the House of Lords became the scene of a heated but informal discussion on the same topic, which ended in a similar way.

The debate on the second reading of the Crimes Prevention Bill commenced on the 18th of May. Though it was undoubtedly the strongest measure of the kind ever introduced, with the exception of Earl Grey's Coercion Act, it was supported by all parties in the House, except Mr. Parnell and his extreme followers. One of them (Mr. Dillon) openly defended 'boycotting' on the ground that it would be more effective than murder and outrage. When the bill went into committee a number of the Radical members united with the Parnellites in supporting the proposal that treason and treason-felony should be omitted from the list of offences which could be tried without a jury, but it was rejected by 227 to seventy. Mr. Parnell's motion to exclude murder from the retrospective action of the bill only obtained twenty-two supporters. The main struggle was made on the attempt to exclude 'boycotting' from the offences included in the bill, but after a slight concession the proposal was rejected by 266 votes to forty-five. The other amendments proposed by the Home Rulers shared the same fate. The provision respecting the power to expel suspicious strangers was extended to the whole of the United Kingdom, and the right of search was restricted to the daytime, except when there was reason to suppose that an illegal meeting was being held. An

acrimonious debate, which lasted through two sittings, arose on the sixteenth section of the bill, which proposed to levy compensation in cases of murder and maiming on the ratepayers of the district.

The committee had now sat twenty-two nights, and yet only sixteen out of the thirty clauses contained in the bill had been passed, and at every stage the obstruction of the Home Rulers became more persistent and annoying. At length matters came to a crisis on the seventeenth clause, providing the means by which the assessment was to be levied. The discussion upon it commenced on the afternoon of 30th July and continued until the evening of the following day. The Parnellites even exceeded themselves in the frivolous amendments which they proposed on this clause, and the abusive language which they employed in their attacks upon the members of the Irish administration. The patience of Mr. Playfair, the chairman, and of the House was at length exhausted, and he named sixteen members who had been guilty of 'wilful and persistent obstruction,' and who were suspended in a body for the remainder of the sitting. At a later stage other nine of the Home Rulers, who resorted without disguise to obstructive motions, were named and suspended. Two more retired after a protest, and only two of the prominent members of the party were left. On a subsequent day Mr. O'Donnell, member for Dungarvan, who was reported to the House as having insulted the chair, was suspended for fourteen days. The remaining clauses of the bill were then adopted, and a continuous sitting of thirty hours came to a close at eight o'clock in the evening. Thirty-one divisions had taken place during the sitting, the minority in no case rising above forty, and more frequently numbering from fourteen to twenty. After the first batch of suspensions eight divisions were taken on motions to report progress and that the chairman leave the chair, the minority never exceeding a dozen.

On 4th July Mr. Gladstone moved a

resolution declaring the state of business to be urgent, which was carried by 402 votes against nineteen. The Speaker then laid upon the table the urgency rules that were in force during the previous session, supplemented by an additional rule under which the closure might be imposed in committee by a majority of three to one. The Home Rulers then tendered a protest, declaring in very angry terms that they would take no further part in the proceedings in committee on the Coercion Bill, and left the House in a body, amid the loud cheers of the Ministerial party. In the discussion of the subsequent clauses a critical question arose in connection with the promise which the premier had given to Mr. Parnell, that night searches should be excluded except when there was reasonable cause to believe that a secret society was holding a meeting. This concession was disapproved, not only by the Conservatives but by a number of Liberal members, and the amendment was rejected by 207 to 194, twenty-four Liberals voting in the majority, and a much larger number of the usual supporters of the Government having abstained from voting. The Parnellites, on whose behalf the proposal was made, were seated in a body in the gallery, and refused to take any part in the division, though aware that their votes would have carried the amendment, which was introduced at the instance of their leader.

The Crimes Bill passed through its subsequent stages in the Commons without opposition. It was read a second time in the Upper House on 10th July; on the following night it went through committee without alteration, and was read a third time and passed. A few hours after leaving the Lords it received the royal assent, and before the evening of 12th July it became law.

A bill to deal with the arrears of rent had been introduced early in the session by Mr. Redmond, one of the Home Rulers, who proposed that all arrears up to the eve of the passing of the Land Act in 1881

should be cancelled, and that the funds of the Irish Church should be applied to the payment of the residue. The Government refused to support the second reading, as they disapproved both of the tenure and the purchase clauses of the bill; but they recognized the duty of legislating at an early period respecting the arrears of rent on a basis which should be at once impartial, in accordance with public opinion in Ireland, and also effectual. The Government measure was introduced on the 15th of May. Its operation was limited to holdings under £30 a year, and only to such tenants as could show that their rent between November, 1880, and November, 1881, had been paid. The benefits of the bill were to be open alike to landlord and tenant, the principle of compulsory purchase or sale being thus made equitable. The tenant would be required to give proof before a competent tribunal of his inability to pay his arrears of rent before his demand upon the landlord or the state could be entertained. In cases where the claim was fully made out, the state would pay one-half of the arrears accruing before November, 1880, or one year's rent, by a free gift of the amount required. When both the tenant and the state had paid their respective contributions, the whole of the remaining arrears would be cancelled, and the courts would register the arrangement.

In moving the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the interference of the State in the settlement of debts by means of compulsion and gifts could not be justified on either economic or constitutional principles. But a precedent had been set by the House of Commons in previous sessions in dealing with this question; and the failure of one portion of the Land Act might thus be retrieved. In dealing with the financial provisions of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone stated that he expected the Irish Church surplus to yield more than a million and a half; the claims might amount to two and a half millions, but he did not think they would be as much as two mil-

lions. The number of tenants having holdings of less than £30 annual value was 585,000, but he did not expect more than a third of them to make claims.

The proposal was denounced by the Opposition as demoralizing, and calculated to teach the Irish people a lesson full of evil for the future. They maintained that it was neither equitable in its operation nor sound in the principle on which it was based, nor effectual for its purpose. The chief argument on the other side was the contention that clearance of accounts all round was necessary to enable both landlord and tenant to take advantage of the fresh start offered to both by the Land Act. An amendment moved by Mr. Sclater-Booth, that it was inexpedient to charge the Consolidated Fund with any payment except by way of loan in respect of arrears in Ireland, was negatived by 296 votes to 181, and the second reading of the Arrears Bill was carried by 269 to 157.

On July 5th Mr. Gladstone moved that the House should go into Committee on the bill. In the debate which followed, the old arguments were repeated on both sides. On the one hand the measure was declared to be necessary to the restoration of peace and order in Ireland; on the other its acceptance was denounced as a still further demoralization of the Irish people, as based upon unsound principles, and as an injury to honest tenants who had already paid their rents, as well as to landlords who, no matter how liberal they might have been, would in all cases be mulcted of a certain part of the rent fairly due. The motion against going into committee was rejected by 283 against 208. Although a good many amendments were proposed both by the Conservatives and the Home Rulers, the Bill went through Committee without any material alteration. But the career of the measure was different when it reached the House of Lords. It was agreed to give the landlord the option of refusing to compound for the arrears of rent due to him—an alteration which aimed

at the vital principle of the Bill, and was regarded as certain to lead to a trial of strength between the two branches of the legislature. It was also resolved that in the event of the tenant-right being sold, the tenant should, out of the proceeds, repay the sum which the landlord was compelled to forego under the provisions of the Bill. At the final stage of the Bill the Duke of Abercorn moved an amendment, which was agreed to, requiring that the Commissioners 'shall' (instead of 'may') take the saleable value of the tenant's interest into consideration in determining whether he was able to discharge his arrears. The ministry declared it impossible to accept the amended bill, and rumours were rife of a determined conflict between the Peers and the Commons. When the House of Commons, however, took into consideration the amendments of the Lords, it treated them in a most conciliatory spirit. Mr. Gladstone, in a speech equally distinguished by its moderation and its tact, stated the concessions which the Government were prepared to make to the opponents of the Bill. They could not agree to the first amendment of the Lords, as it would allow the landlord to debar the tenant who was really unable to pay. They agreed to recommend the House to accept the second amendment, but to confine its application to sales effected within seven years, and to limit the amount thus recoverable to one year's rent. They proposed also to concur in the amendment of the Duke of Abercorn, with the addition of the words, 'as far as the Commissioners think it reasonable.'

The conciliatory spirit in which the Conservative members received these concessions removed all apprehensions of a collision between the two Houses. A private meeting of the Opposition Peers was held to consider what steps should be taken by the party in the existing political situation. Earl Cairns and the Duke of Richmond deprecated the attitude of uncompromising hostility which the Marquis of Salisbury

wished to assume; and out of a hundred Peers who were present at the meeting, less than a score, on a show of hands, supported the proposal that the House of Lords should adhere to their amendments. Lord Salisbury felt keenly this rebuff, and confessed with profound chagrin that an 'overwhelming majority' of his followers were in favour of accepting what the Government offered. He would, he said, have thrown out the Bill if he had had the power, but finding himself in a small minority, he would not divide the House. The bill received the royal assent, and became law on the 18th of August.

Irish measures had so completely monopolized the attention of Parliament that very little time could be devoted to the other measures brought forward by the Government. The Corrupt Practices Bill had to be abandoned in consequence of the persistent opposition with which it was received. The Ballot Act was continued and two useful Scottish Bills became law—the one appointing a commission dealing with educational endowments, the other defining and extending the powers of the Fishery Board. Two administrative yet highly important measures—Mr. Chamberlain's Electric Lighting Bill and Mr. Fawcett's Parcels Post Bill—were also carried through both Houses of Parliament. The Married Women's Property Bill, consolidating and amending the law on this subject, which was introduced into the Upper House by the Lord Chancellor, and was passed in the House of Commons at the eleventh hour, has had the effect of placing married men and married women on a footing of absolute equality before the law; and the Settled Lands Bill, of which Earl Cairns was the author—probably the most important measure which became law—has removed the chief obstacles and restrictions in dealing with entailed estates.

The extent to which the time of the Lower House had been wasted by the obstructive proceedings of a comparatively small body of members, made it evident

that the rules of procedure required to be amended and extended, and the Government resolved to hold an autumn session for that purpose. The Parliament accordingly reassembled on the 24th of October, and though efforts were made to introduce other questions, the ministers adhered steadfastly to their promise that they would deal with the new rules of procedure alone. The debates were protracted and keen, no less than thirteen days were spent on the first rule, which proposed to give the Chairman of Ways and Means as well as the Speaker the right of closing a discussion. An amendment proposing to reserve the power to the Speaker alone, was rejected by 202 votes to 144. A proposal to exempt proceedings in a Committee of Supply from the operation of the resolution was also negatived, as was an attempt to enact that the Speaker or Chairman should put the closure in operation only at the request of a minister of the Crown, or of the member in charge of the bill. Various other amendments were made and rejected by large majorities; but the main struggle between the two political parties was respecting the constitution of the majority by which a debate was to be closed. So important was this question reckoned, that a preliminary meeting of the Conservative party was held to consider the manner in which the contest should be protracted. It was moved by Mr. Gibson, one of their leaders, that the vote of two-thirds of those present should be required to make the closure operative. Mr. Gladstone in reply declared that a two-thirds majority closure system would not only be inefficient, but would be worse than no closure at all. For small minorities the rule provided ample securities, and to gag a large minority was absolutely impossible. The amendment was rejected by 322 to 288—a majority nearly double that which had been predicted, although half-a-dozen 'pure Whigs' and three or four prominent Radicals voted in the minority.

The various amendments thus proposed

having been defeated, Sir Stafford Northcote moved the rejection of the first resolution as it now stood. For three days the debate dragged its slow length along. At length, on the fifth day (10th November), a division was taken, and the rule was adopted by 306 votes against 262. The minority included nearly all the Parnellites and four English Liberals. None of the Scottish Liberal members were found among them.

Two days were devoted to the discussion of the second resolution, which was intended to put a stop to the constantly increasing practice of moving the adjournment of the House during 'question time,' in order to provoke an irregular discussion on some point of ministerial conduct or policy. Various modifications were made upon the new rule, the most important of which was that any member stating that he desired, with the leave of the House, to discuss a matter of urgent importance, should be allowed to do so, on condition that forty members rose in their places to support the proposal. Other rules were adopted authorizing the Speaker or Chairman, on motions of adjournment, to confine the debate strictly to the motion, and to silence a member for continued irrelevance and tedious repetition. It was agreed to exempt motions for leave to bring in bills, and bills which had passed through Committee, from the operation of the rule which prevented opposed bills from coming on for discussion after half-past 12 o'clock; and it was decided that the notice of opposition, signed by one member, should be valid only for a week, though it might be renewed. The power intrusted to the Speaker and Chairman of suspending members for wilful and persistent obstruction was confirmed and made more stringent, but a restriction was put upon collective suspension, which had been exercised by the Chairman in July in a manner that had produced a good deal of unpleasant feeling on all sides of the House. It was agreed that suspension should be

for a week for the first offence, a fortnight for the second, and a month for the third. The Speaker was also empowered to refuse to put a motion for an adjournment, when he was of opinion that it was 'an abuse of the rules of the House.'

After the new rules of procedure had been discussed and adopted, Mr. Gladstone submitted to the House his project of appointing two Grand Committees for the consideration of all legal and commercial bills. Each committee was to be composed of not less than sixty and not more than eighty members, but twenty were to be a quorum; their proceedings were to be public, and all bills referred to them and reported to the House were to be proceeded with as if reported by a committee of the whole House. The experiment, which was agreed to, was to be limited to one session. Although the autumn session was held for the special and sole purpose of adopting the new rules of procedure, the irrepressible Home Rulers contrived to bring on a discussion on the working of the Irish Land Act, which was declared by them to be a practical failure owing to the limited period of grace allowed to the tenant for the payment of the rent for 1881. They asserted that the Healy clauses of the Act were not carried out, that the farmers were consequently losing thousands a week, that the Bright clauses did not work, that unfair leases were not declared void, and they demanded that reductions of rent should date from the passing of the Act, and that costs should be given where rack-renting was proved. The inaccuracy of the statements made by the Parnellites and the unreasonableness of their demands were fully exposed by Mr. Trevelyan, the Irish Secretary, and the House turned a deaf ear to the clamorous demands of men whose continual cry, like the daughters of the horse-leech, was 'Give, give.'

The strain of work, after so short an intermission, and the protracted debates of the autumn session, exhausted the energies of several of the leading statesmen on both

sides, and Mr. Gladstone himself at length broke down under the combined pressure of labour and responsibility. Before, however, this untoward result of the autumn session occurred, he had completed the fiftieth year of his parliamentary service (on the 13th of December), and his 'political jubilee' was celebrated with great cordiality and hearty congratulations by the Liberal party. It was now manifest that even the adamant frame of Mr. Gladstone could not continue to bear the threefold burden of the Premiership, the leadership of the House of Commons, and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. There were also two several provisional arrangements which had to be readjusted. Earl Spencer, while acting as Viceroy of Ireland and a member of the Cabinet, was also nominally President of the Council, and Lord Kimberley had added the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to that of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

After the close of the autumn session there was a new arrangement made of the Cabinet offices, by which the loss of Mr. Bright, Mr. Forster, and the Duke of Argyll was repaired, and the burden of official work more evenly distributed. The Earl of Derby, who had some time before publicly given in his adherence to the Liberal party, entered the Cabinet as Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Hartington was removed to the War Office and Lord Kimberley to the India Office. As Mr. Goschen's views on the extension of the County Franchise prevented him from joining the Ministry, Mr. Childers was appointed to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, at length vacated by Mr. Gladstone. A place in the Cabinet was subsequently found for Sir Charles Dilke by the transfer of Mr. Dobson from the Presidency of the Local Government Board to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Meanwhile, though minor acts of violence had diminished in Ireland, murderous outrages still continued with unabated atrocity. One of the most brutal and shocking of

these deeds of blood was perpetrated on 17th August, at Maamtrasna, in the Joyce country, where there had previously been four agrarian murders. A gang of disguised men in the middle of the night forced an entrance into the house of John Joyce, a peasant farmer, and massacred the whole family, consisting of the husband, his wife, aged mother, two sons, and a daughter, with the exception of one of the boys, who recovered, though dangerously wounded. It appears that the murderers had some reason to suspect that the Joyce family knew of the murder of Lord Ardlau's bailiffs, and had given some information regarding that foul deed. Fortunately the assassins had been seen and tracked by three farmers, who afterwards gave evidence which led to the arrest of the gang.

The vigorous measures taken to bring the perpetrators of these atrocious deeds to justice alarmed the desperate confederacy who had planned and carried out the Phoenix Park tragedy, and they took steps to intimidate the persons who might be selected as jurymen on the trials that were coming on at the November Commission, when the Maamtrasna and the Lough Mask murders were to be investigated. Mr. Justice Lawson narrowly escaped the meditated attack of an armed assassin employed by an association which had assumed the name of the Invincibles. A small body of detectives employed in watching suspicious characters were set upon by a gang of armed ruffians, and one of them was killed. Mr. Field, a juror on the trial of a man named Welsh, who was executed for the murder of a policeman at Letterfrack, was attacked by assassins at the door of his own house, in the dusk of the evening, stabbed several times, and left for dead, but he fortunately recovered in the end from his injuries.

In spite of these dastardly attempts to intimidate jurors convictions were obtained against the man who was employed to assassinate Mr. Justice Lawson, and he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude,

and against the brutal murderers of the Joyce family at Maamtrasna. Three of them were found guilty, condemned to death, and executed on the 15th of December. Five others pleaded guilty, but the penalty of death pronounced upon them was commuted by the Lord-Lieutenant. Convictions were also obtained, though not without a second trial, in the case of the Huddies at Lough Mask. Two men named Higgins, and a third named Michael Flynn, were charged with this murder, on the evidence of an informer, and Flynn and one of the Higginses were condemned and executed.

Notwithstanding all the concessions made by the Imperial Parliament the Home Rulers still contended that it had failed to conciliate Ireland, or to satisfy the just demands of that country. A National Conference was held in Dublin on the 17th October, for the purpose of forming an organization which should unite in one body all sections of the Irish party, whether Nationalists, Land Leaguers, or Home Rulers. The new confederacy was styled 'The Irish National League,' and its objects, as stated by Mr. Parnell, were—'National self-government, land-law reform, local self-government, extension of the parliamentary and municipal franchises, and the development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland.' At first the proposed new organization seemed likely to cause a split among the Home Rulers. Mr. Parnell and his immediate friends were in favour of persevering in parliamentary action, and wished in the meantime to make peasant proprietorship the basis of their demands. Mr. Michael Davitt, followed by another section, was for far more violent measures, and was an enthusiastic advocate of the nationalization of the land. At the Dublin conference these conflicting views almost led to an open rupture, but in the end Mr. Davitt had to yield to the superior influence of Mr. Parnell, and for a time the appearance of disunion among the party was averted. The difference of policy, however,

led to a split among the National Irish in the United States, and the *Irish World* and its followers warmly espoused Mr. Davitt's actions and fiercely assailed Mr. Parnell and his parliamentary adherents.

Towards the close of 1882 the Irish executive resolved to take proceedings against several of the leading Home Rulers, who had been making violent attacks on the Government and the Legislature. The first of the offenders dealt with was Mr. Biggar, who had made a characteristic and scurrilous attack at Waterford upon the Lord-Lieutenant and the Dublin jury who returned a verdict of guilty against the murderer Hynes. He was brought before the Waterford Sessions on the 2nd of January, and committed for trial at the Spring Assizes. The authorities, however, seem to have felt that there was no hope of obtaining a verdict against the Belfast provision dealer, and after allowing him to find and give securities, they dropped the prosecution. They dealt more severely with Mr. Healy, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Quin, the Secretary of the National League. All three had addressed harangues to public meetings of the most violent and inflammatory kind, and were in consequence summoned before the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, and after being heard in defence of their speeches, were ordered to give bail for their good behaviour or to go to prison for six months. They of course refused to obey the order of the court, being well aware that their giving the securities required would have discredited them in the estimation of their followers, while, on the other hand, their imprisonment was certain to add largely to their popularity and influence in the country. They were consequently locked up in Kilmainham Prison, and were of course regarded as martyrs in the National cause.

At this time, too, Mr. William O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, was committed for trial for 'a false, malicious, and seditious libel,' in an attack upon the Government of Earl Spencer, asserting that the Lord-

Lieutenant had bribed juries to secure convictions for murder. He had shortly before offered himself a candidate for the small, and by no means immaculate, borough of Mallow. At the general election Mr. Johnson, an Irish Liberal lawyer, was elected for that borough by a considerable majority over his Conservative opponent. On the formation of Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Johnson was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland; his re-election for Mallow was opposed by a Home Rule candidate, who, however, received a considerably smaller number of votes than the Conservative had polled at the previous election. At the commencement of 1883 Mr. Johnson was raised to the bench, Mallow again became vacant, and Mr. Naish, the new Solicitor-General, offered himself to the constituency. The Home Rulers started an opposition candidate in the person of Mr. O'Brien, one of the most extreme and violent members of their party. His committal, aided by the most open intimidation, secured his election. Flagrant as was his offence the trial came to nothing, owing to the disagreement of the jury.

Among the social events of the year may be noted the attempt on the life of the Queen. On the 2nd of March, as she was entering her carriage at Windsor station, she was fired at by a half-crazed creature named Roderick Maclean, who was at once arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to penal servitude. Fortunately neither the Queen nor anyone else was injured. This incident was followed by Her Majesty's visit to Mentone for much-needed quiet and rest. Soon after her return Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, was married at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to the Princess Helen of Waldeck. This splendid ceremony was succeeded by one of more popular interest—the formal dedication of Epping Forest, secured from further 'inclosure' by the exertions of the corporation of London, to the use and enjoyment of the people. The Queen's appearance in state on this occa-

sion, and again much later in the year, when she reviewed in St. James's Park the troops returned from the Egyptian expedition, was surpassed in the imposing effect of magnificent costume and applauding multitudes by her Majesty's visit to the Royal Courts of Justice, which were opened formally on the 4th of December. On this occasion Lord Chancellor Selborne was advanced to the rank of Earl, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon the Treasurers of the various Inns of Court.

It was noted that the record of 'Death's doings' during the year 1882 was more than ordinarily long, and contained the names of more celebrated persons in politics, science, and literature, and in the clerical and legal professions, than almost any of its predecessors.

The year 1882 had been remarkable for a succession of unexpected and stirring events in the domain of politics, foreign as well as domestic. It closed amid anxiety mingled with hope that commercial depression was about to be largely alleviated, if not entirely removed, that the state of Ireland would no longer absorb so large a portion of the attention both of the Parliament and the public, and that effective steps would be taken to solve the pressing questions of municipal reform and overtake reform of bankruptcy legislation, of local self-government, and county enfranchisement. These and numerous other measures were discussed during the recess, both by members of the Government and by independent Liberals, and it was made evident that most of them were ripe for settlement. The Premier, on whom the pressure of toil and anxiety had told heavily, went for a few weeks to Cannes, returning with renovated health and strength in time to encounter the labours of the session, though unable to be present at its commencement.

The strain and exhausting work of the autumn session had been seriously felt by the members of the Lower House, and in the confident hope that the new rules of procedure would greatly accelerate business,

and make up for loss of time at the outset, the meeting of Parliament was delayed until the 15th of February. There was a general desire that the session should be devoted to practical and as far as possible undisputed affairs. It was felt that the country needed rest from agitation and constitutional changes, and there were unmistakable signs of gathering discontent among the constituencies of England and Scotland at the manner in which their affairs had been neglected, and their claims to a share of the consideration of the legislature thrust aside in order alternately to conciliate and to coerce the Irish people. It was confidently expected also that legislative progress would be greatly promoted by the vigorous enforcement of the new rules for suppressing obstruction and expediting business. The result unfortunately did not fulfil these expectations. When the session opened the Prime Minister was still absent in the pursuit of health at Cannes, and did not return till the 5th of March. The speech from the throne dwelt with some complacency on the success of the ministerial policy in Ireland and in Egypt, and after noticing the liberal amount of time devoted in recent years in providing for the most urgent needs of Ireland, it pointed out that Parliament must now pay a just regard to the claims of general legislation and of other portions of the United Kingdom. Measures were promised for the promotion of trade and commerce, the suppression of corrupt practices, the conservancy of rivers and the prevention of floods, for securing to tenants compensation for their improvements, the reform of the Scottish Universities, and the regulation of the police in Scotland. Hopes were also held out of an Education Bill for Wales.

A sharp debate took place in the Upper House mainly respecting Ireland and Egypt, but the address was agreed to without any amendment being moved. In the House of Commons Mr. Gorst, one of the four members of the Fourth Party, moved an amendment condemning by implication the

Kilmainham transaction; and the Parnellites moved two, one denouncing the Crimes Act, the other recounting all the alleged remaining grievances of Ireland; but all three amendments, and a fourth by Mr. A. Balfour condemning the mode in which the Egyptian affairs had been managed, after protracted discussions were rejected by large majorities. During the debate on Mr. Gorst's amendment, the ex-Secretary for Ireland made a powerful and scathing onslaught upon the Home Rule leader. 'I charge against Mr. Parnell and his friends,' he said, 'that he has allowed himself to continue the leader and avowed chief of an organization which not merely advocated and ostensibly and openly urged the ruin of those who opposed it by "boycotting" them, making life almost more miserable than death, but which prompted or organized outrage and incited to murder. The outcome of the agitation was murder, and Mr. Parnell ought to have known that this would be the natural result; and it is hard to understand how he did not know it, and why he did not separate himself from it altogether, and disavow and denounce it.' Whether or not the member for Cork inquired into the actions of those with whom he was associated, 'he was and is responsible for them; and the only ground on which he can escape responsibility is utter ignorance of their conduct; and if there was utter ignorance, it was a careless and, I may say, a reckless ignorance.' Mr. Forster proceeded to quote from the Nationalist newspapers violent speeches by the organizers or officials of the League, which he said were nothing less than incitements to murder. He also read passages of a similar tendency from the *Irish World*, whose subscriptions were the backbone of the League, and extracts from the *United Ireland*, of which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Mc'Carthy, another Home Ruler, were proprietors, in which murder, arson, attacks on women, and other similar atrocities were described as incidents of the campaign, and 'indications of

the spirit of the country.' 'No wonder that from such an agitation as this has followed the first political assassination that has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years. There is abhorrence of it in England and Scotland.'

The opening of the seventh night of the discussion was looked forward to with much interest, as it was universally felt that the explicit and straightforward challenge which Mr. Forster had given to the head of the Land League demanded an equally frank reply, which, however, it did not receive. Mr. Parnell made no attempt to deal with the grave accusations brought against him by Mr. Forster, but contented himself with attempting to refute some minor charges and with heaping scurrilous abuse upon the ex-Secretary. The almost unanimous opinion of the House and the public was, that by his passing over in silence the challenge made to him Mr. Parnell had virtually confessed that he had connived at the outrages perpetrated in Ireland; that he had never used his influence even to prevent murders when the opportunity offered; that he had deliberately closed his eyes and ears to what was done by the League, of which he was the head, and was content to profit by the terrorism practised in his name. These reiterated and protracted discussions delayed the voting of the Address till the 1st of March.

A long and keen discussion took place respecting the policy of the Government in South Africa, the affairs of the Transvaal, and the barbarous and dishonest behaviour of the Boers towards the natives, but it led to no definite result. The Bankruptcy Bill was read a second time before Easter, and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade, consisting of sixty-four members, presided over by Mr. Goschen, and the Patents Bill followed on the 16th of April. Both these measures were in charge of Mr. Chamberlain, who, says the *Times*, 'displayed in his conduct of them not only ability and zeal, but much tact and sound

sense.' No division was challenged in either case. The object of the Bankruptcy Bill was to secure an independent examination into all the circumstances of an insolvency, and it was proposed to transfer to the Board of Trade the powers hitherto vested in the judge of bankruptcy. The measure was fully and candidly discussed in the Grand Committee, and various concessions were made which satisfied objectors. The bill passed through the House of Lords almost without debate. The Patents Bill, which provided for the encouragement and protection of inventors, especially by the reduction of fees, made much more rapid progress both through the Lower House and the standing committee, and also passed without discussion in the House of Lords.

While the Parliament was thus engaged in the consideration of measures for the promotion of trade and commerce and the social welfare of the country, a series of remarkable trials at Dublin were absorbing the interest of the community. On the 15th of January a sudden and mysterious raid was made on various houses in the Irish metropolis, which resulted in the arrest of no less than seventeen persons charged with conspiracy to murder certain Government officials. Most of the accused were persons in humble life; but one of them, named James Carey, was a tradesman in comfortable circumstances. Two days later other three men were arrested. Attempts were made on behalf of a number of the prisoners to obtain bail, but it was in every case steadily refused.

The news of these arrests created great excitement throughout the country, and an earnest hope was expressed 'that there was at length a probability of securing the clue to a series of atrocious crimes perpetrated with a cold-blooded deliberation and remorseless purpose not easily paralleled, save among the fanatics of Nihilism.' This hope was speedily realized. As usual among Irish conspirators, one of their number, a labourer and an old Fenian, named

Robert Farrell, turned informer. His evidence, which was of a most startling nature, made known the existence of a treasonable organization, inside of which there was another gang selected from the larger body for the express purpose of assassinating Government officials and other persons obnoxious to the society. The arrangements were made with great ingenuity and cunning. The members of the inner circle were not acquainted with the main body of their associates. Each man only knew the person who introduced him and administered to him the oath of membership, and who was known as his 'right,' and another, who was introduced by himself, was styled his 'left.'

One main object of this inner circle was to assassinate the Chief-Secretary, Mr. Forster. Several plots in succession were concocted for that purpose, but in every instance they failed in consequence of some unforeseen occurrence. At one time the preconcerted signal was bungled, and repeatedly the conspirators were foiled by a mistake respecting the hour at which Mr. Forster's carriage would pass the spot where they lay in wait for him. Even when Mr. Forster resigned his office, and was about to take his leave of Ireland, yet another plot was formed for his assassination, which, on account of an unexpected alteration in the time of his leaving, failed also.

Another informer of the name of Lamie gave evidence involving other four of the prisoners in this dastardly plot, and also described the manner in which vigilance committees were formed to see that the orders of the leaders of the association were carried into effect.

While these revelations were proceeding it was whispered that the police were in possession of information which would bring home to the persons in custody the murders in the Phoenix Park; and so it proved. On the 3rd of February evidence on this point was commenced, and was read with thrilling interest by the whole

community, especially in England and Scotland.

Several witnesses identified Brady, O'Brien, and M'Caffrey as having been seen in the park on the evening of the murder, and Brady as one of the men seen on a car which passed out of the Chapelizod Gate. At this stage Kavanagh, one of the prisoners—a car-driver—turned informer, and stated that on 6th May, 1882, he drove Brady, Kelly, and two other men whom he did not know, but one of whom he identified as Patrick Delaney, to the Phoenix Park, where they found James Carey; that it was Carey who gave the signal for the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke by raising a white handkerchief. Kavanagh testified that he saw the murder committed by the men whom he had brought to the spot. After the perpetration of the bloody deed they got on again to his car, and he drove off as rapidly as possible, returning to the city by a round-about way. He also declared that on the night when Mr. Field was attacked he drove Brady and Daniel Delaney to Hardwicke Street, where they met Kelly and Hanlon, and after the assault he drove Brady and Kelly away.

The net was evidently closing fast around the prisoners, and two of the most prominent of their number, Carey and Curley, offered to give evidence against their associates. Though the authorities must by this time have been aware that Carey was the worst of the lot, his offer was preferred, because he was able to lay bare the whole organization and machinery of the murderous gang. He was in a superior position in life to his associates in crime, and a councillor of the Dublin corporation. He had joined the Fenians in 1861, and was a prominent member of that association until 1878. He had been arrested under the old Coercion Act on suspicion of being concerned in an outrage in Dublin. This was quite sufficient to recommend him to the favour of the Home Rulers of that city, and when on his release he became a candidate for a

seat in the Town Council, he was elected by a very large majority over a Liberal and Roman Catholic opponent. In 1881, when the Invincibles were formed of men drawn from the Fenian ranks, Carey became the leader of this new association. He admitted that he had persuaded other men to join the society, had arranged all the details of the Phoenix Park assassination, and had given the signal to the men by whom the bloody deed was perpetrated. He asserted, however, that the real head of the organization was a person whose identity was carefully concealed, whose name he never knew, but who was always called No. 1, and that it was by this man that Mr. Burke was selected to be the victim, after the attempts on Mr. Forster had failed, and he and Earl Cowper had resigned. It was made evident that the under-secretary's life was aimed at because he was regarded as the most formidable enemy of the Fenian and other secret societies. Lord Frederick, who was personally unknown to the assassins, was murdered simply because he had happened to join Mr. Burke, and was in his company when the attack was made upon him.

The trial of the murderous gang began in April. The evidence against Brady, Curley, and Fagan was conclusive. Kelly also was found guilty, though in his case the jury twice disagreed. All four were sentenced to death. So were M'Caffrey and Delaney. The sentence of the latter was commuted to penal servitude for life; the other five were hanged. Mullet and Fitzharris were condemned to penal servitude for life, and the remaining prisoners to various periods of penal servitude.

Carey declared that some of the subordinate members of the Land League were concerned in the Phoenix Park murders, and though there was no evidence to show that there was any direct connection between the two organizations, there were strong grounds for suspicion that the money with which the Invincibles were supplied came from the Land League treasury. A man named Sheridan, who was implicated

by Carey's evidence, turned out to be the person who, in connection with what was termed the Kilmainham Treaty, Mr. Parnell proposed should be permitted to return to Ireland, as he would be able to assist him in putting down conspiracy and pacifying the country. He was a released 'suspect,' against whom the Government had at that time a fresh warrant, and who, under various disguises, had eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, to the outrage-mongers in the West. He succeeded in making good his escape to the United States. True bills were found by the Dublin grand jury against Sheridan and two other persons who had been in close relations with Carey—Walsh and Tynan—the latter being identified with the mysterious No. 1. There was no chance however of obtaining their extradition from the American Government.

The whole conduct of Carey in connection with the murders, and the cool effrontery with which he gave evidence against the men who were his tools, made him the object of general abhorrence. He was, of course, regarded with malignant hatred by the whole body of the Land Leaguers and Fenians. No one but himself doubted that he would have been torn in pieces if he had appeared in the streets of Dublin. The authorities therefore detained him for some time in Kilmainham prison, apparently against his will, for he seemed to have so little notion of his danger, and of the light in which he was generally regarded, that he wrote letter after letter to the Town Council announcing that he intended soon to take his seat among them again. He expressed great indignation against the Irish authorities for their refusal to give him any reward for his evidence. He at length consented to leave the country, and was sent off secretly under an assumed name, along with his wife and children, to South Africa. But while at sea, between the Cape and Natal, he was shot dead by a man named O'Donnell, who was brought

to England, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed early in December.

So completely was the country pervaded by a murderous spirit that even Ulster did not escape the infection. A conspiracy was entered into there, scarcely less deadly than that of Dublin, for the purpose of assassinating a number of the local landlords against whom umbrage had been taken. The conspirators, however, were betrayed by one of their number, named Patrick Duffy, who turned informer. Twelve of them were brought to trial and were all found guilty. Ten were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude; of the remaining two the one was awarded seven, the other five years' imprisonment.

The punishment of the north of Ireland conspirators was followed by the prosecution of Mr. Edward Harrington, editor of the *Kerry Sentinel*, for the issue of a seditious proclamation, alleged to emanate from the Invincibles, calling upon the people to assemble in a specified place for the purpose of being sworn in; and threatening those who refused with the fate of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The document was anonymous and had no printer's name attached to it; but it was traced to the office of the *Kerry Sentinel*, whose proprietor, Mr. Timothy Harrington, brother of the editor, had been sentenced to imprisonment in the preceding year for a seditious speech which he had delivered. The editor of the *Sentinel* and his foreman were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and two compositors to two months' imprisonment each.

An incident which occurred at this time threw an instructive light on the state of feeling in Ireland. A subscription had been set on foot, for the purpose of rewarding Mr. Parnell for his services, and had been promoted by Archbishop Croke of Cashel and the priests in his diocese. The Vatican regarded the movement with strong disapprobation. Dr. Croke received a rebuke for his activity in this affair, and a letter was addressed by the Roman pontiff to the

Irish bishops discountenancing the projected subscription in the most uncompromising terms. The Nationalists, however, in the most peremptory and indignant manner, refused to obey the papal injunction, and its only effect was to stimulate the efforts of the party to increase the amount of the tribute to the Home Rule leader, which ultimately reached the sum of £38,000.

The attempts to overawe the Government and the Legislature by means of murderous outrages were not confined to Ireland; the allies of the Home Rulers made several attempts to transfer their operations to England and Scotland. Simultaneous efforts were made in the spring to blow up the Local Government buildings and the office of the *Times*. Similar attempts were made in Glasgow and other places, which were fortunately unattended with loss of life. For some time the perpetrators of these dastardly outrages escaped detection, but at length, by the skilful exertions of the police, a secret manufactory of nitro-glycerine was discovered at Birmingham, and evidence was obtained of the proprietor's communications with a number of men, chiefly Irish Americans, who had been arrested in London, Glasgow, and elsewhere, with explosives in their possession. These discoveries excited great alarm throughout the country, and Parliament lost no time in taking measures to protect society. As the Explosives Act of 1875, in spite of its stringency, had been found powerless to stop the illicit manufacture of nitro-glycerine, the Home Secretary brought in a bill to amend the existing law. The danger, he said, which Parliament had now to face from the enemies of society—the pirates of the human race—was known to everybody, and he could assure the House that it was grave and imminent. The front line of defence was the police, to whose splendid services he paid a well-merited tribute of confidence and admiration, and the second was the penalties of

the law. The danger was great, and must be dealt with at once, and by the strong hand. This feeling was shared by both sides of the House, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed with all the stages of the Bill at once. The Bill was then brought in, read a first and second time, passed through Committee, read a third time, and sent up to the Lords, the whole proceedings having lasted only an hour and a half.

The Peers had been kept together in the Upper House beyond their accustomed hour of separation, discussing in a very lifeless manner the Ilbert Bill, until the arrival of the Explosives Act Amendment Bill from the other House. It was passed by the Lords with equal promptitude, although two or three of the Peers criticised the wide scope of the interpretation clause and found fault with the permanent character of the measure. The standing orders having been suspended, the bill went through its various stages in a single sitting, and the royal assent was given to it next day (10th April).

When the trial of the persons arrested on suspicion of their connection with the explosives project came on, one of the prisoners, named Norman, turned informer, and five of the others, convicted of having planned the destruction of several public buildings, of having brought over friends from America for the purpose, and of having explosives in their possession ready for use, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. A similar conspiracy at Glasgow was afterwards brought to light, and the criminals were tried, convicted, and punished at Edinburgh.

The Government, in fulfilment of their promise, brought in a Relief Bill, allowing any member to make a simple affirmation instead of taking an oath if he should think fit to do so; but the motion for the second reading was defeated by a majority of 3—289 having voted for, and 292 against it.

After the rejection of the Affirmation Bill and the Whitsuntide holidays, the Government days during the month of

May were chiefly devoted to the consideration of the estimates. But the most important measures of the session had still to be disposed of. The London Municipality Bill was postponed, and afterwards abandoned. A controversy arose respecting the respective claims of the Agricultural Holdings Bill and the Corrupt Practices Bill to precedence. The latter was preferred, though not without a good deal of opposition. The bill was read a second time on the 4th of June, and the House went into committee upon it on the 7th. The debates on the various clauses were long and dreary, and occupied nearly the whole time of the House throughout the month of June and the first thirteen days of July, though no questions of general interest had arisen during the discussion. The principle of the restriction of expenditure upon elections to a fixed amount was not contested, but the proposal to throw the expenses upon the rates was resisted by Mr. Gladstone as a breach of faith with the Opposition, and was rejected by 247 to 80 votes. The Home Rule party strove, without success, to exclude Ireland from the operation of the Act. A prolonged debate took place respecting 'undue influence.' Although declared to be a corrupt practice, it was left undefined in the original draft of the bill, and the Home Rule leader protested against the attachment of the severe penalties of the bill to an offence so vague, and of which the punishment would vary with the bias of the judges. The Attorney-General consented to substitute for the general words of the existing law a definition which would include spiritual as well as temporal injury in the acts of intimidation to be punished. The new clause declared that 'every person who shall directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, make use of, or threaten to make use of, any violence or restraint, or inflict or threaten to inflict, by himself or by any other person, any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss,'

would be regarded as having been guilty of using undue influence.

The penalties for corrupt practices were limited in cases of treating and undue influence to candidates personally implicated. The responsibility of candidates for the illegal acts of their agents was warmly discussed, and the Government at length consented to introduce an equitable clause exempting the judges from the necessity of maintaining a hard-and-fast line. The prohibition of the use of public houses as committee rooms, of the hire of conveyances, of payments for the display of flags and placards, was debated at great length, but was ultimately adopted. In a very thin House, Mr. A. Balfour carried by sixty-nine to twenty-two a clause extending from £50 to £100, the amount which a candidate might personally pay without the intervention of his election agent. The attempt to extend the duration of the Act to 1888 instead of 1884 was negatived without a division. The Bill at length went through committee on the 13th of July, and was read a third time and passed without any change in principle, and with no important modification in details. The measure was very promptly disposed of by the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury noting the fact that the measure was a temporary one, and would have to be revised by fresh legislation, contented himself with pointing out some dangerous provisions which it contained, and prophesying its failure.

The Agricultural Holdings Bill was read a second time on the 29th of May, after a short discussion and without a division. It was avowedly a compromise, and on that account was opposed by the mouth-pieces in Parliament of the Farmers' Alliance. The object of the Bill was to entitle tenants to obtain compensation from their landlords on the termination of their tenancies for any improvements they may have made. Compensation for tenants' improvements was recognized as a right inalienable in ordinary cases by contract; the measure of the compensation was to be the value of

the improvement to the incoming tenant. The landlord's consent was required for the execution of permanent improvements, such as 'the erection or enlargement of buildings, the laying down of permanent pasture, the making and planting of osier beds, the making of water meadows or works of irrigation, the making of gardens, the making or improving of roads or bridges, the making or improvement of water-courses, ponds, wells, or reservoirs, and of works for supply of water for agricultural or domestic purposes, the making of fences, the planting of hops, the planting of orchards, the reclaiming of waste land, and the warping of land.' Temporary improvements, among which were specified the boning and chalking of land, liming, marling, and the application to land of artificial or other purchased manures, could be carried out without the consent of the landlord. For drainage, which was placed in a class by itself, the tenant was required to give notice to the landlord, with the option to the latter of executing the work himself, and charging interest on the outlay. The mode of procedure for ascertaining the amount of compensation was to be arbitration, with a reference in the last resort to the County Court. Existing contracts were brought under the operation of the Bill, but only in a modified form. Compensation for improvements already executed was not to be payable except in the case of temporary improvements, for which the tenant would not be entitled to any compensation under contract, custom, in the Act of 1875. 'Distress' was not altogether abolished, but the sum for which a landlord might distrain was reduced to one year's rent, and the distress was not to be made on live stock taken in to graze, or on agricultural machinery which had been hired.

The representatives of the Farmers' Alliance denounced both the English and the Scottish bills, which they declared fell far short not only of their expectations, but of the declarations made by some members

of the Cabinet. The Government, represented by Mr. Dobson and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, steadily refused, however, to recognize the claim of the 'sitting tenant' to compensation. On the other hand an amendment, moved by Mr. A. Balfour, limiting compensation to the amount of the actual outlay, was carried against Ministers by a majority of 141 to 133, though it was reversed on the report. The Bills were regarded by the public with satisfaction, and accepted as a reasonable and moderate compromise by the landed proprietors as a body, both Liberal and Conservative. They were read a third time without opposition or even debate. When they were sent up to the House of Lords they were read a second time (August 7), in spite of the opposition of the Earl of Wemyss and a few zealous supporters of free contract. But in committee Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Argyll, and others, joined in carrying a series of amendments which greatly restricted the operation of the English Bill and tended to defeat its object.

When the Bill was sent back to the Commons the Government yielded on one or two of the alterations made on it, and especially accepted, with some modification, the Duke of Richmond's amendment, that in estimating the value of any improvement there should not be taken into account, as part of the tenant's improvement, what was justly due to the inherent capabilities of the soil; but they refused to acquiesce in the stipulations that a specific agreement existing at the commencement of the Act between landlord and tenant was to bar compensation; that the interest charged on advances for drainage was to be £4 per cent., not £3; that the landlord was to be entitled to compensation for waste committed within seven years of the termination of the tenancy; that the tenant, in respect of manures during the last year of his tenancy, was not to be limited by the average of similar expenditure during the three preceding years; that the right of distraint was to be extended to two

years, and that holdings of less than two acres were to be excluded from the bill. As it was evident that the Government were determined to adhere to their resolution not to accept these changes on the measure, the Upper House abandoned practically all the amendments which the Lower House had refused to adopt, except one moved by Lord Salisbury on the second clause—the ostensible effect of which was to deprive of the right of compensation tenants who had undertaken, by express or implied agreement, and in consideration of a reduction of rent, to make improvements themselves. The division resulted in a tie—forty-eight Peers voting on each side. According to the custom of the House, the Lord Chancellor, who had previously voted with the Government, now voted with Lord Salisbury against the motion disapproving of the amendment. Lord Salisbury's amendment was then put as a substantive motion, and the arrival of Lord Gerard, a Conservative and Roman Catholic Peer, caused it to be carried by a majority of one. Its eventual rejection, however, was certain. The staunchest Conservatives and the truest friends of the landed interest protested against any course which would place the Bill in jeopardy. The Commons again refused to accept it; and on the second return to the Upper House, the leader of the Opposition declined to carry his resistance any further, and the Bill passed in the form in which the House of Commons had sent it back to the House of Lords.

Several non-political measures were dealt with in the course of the session. The Grand Committee on Law, presided over by Mr. Selater-Booth, reported the Criminal Appeal Bill to the House on May 30, with the amendments made in committee, but it had ultimately to be abandoned by the Government. So had the Criminal Code Bill, which was read a second time on the 12th of April. This measure, which was of vast extent, embodied the recommendations of the Royal Commission in regard

to procedure. The Home Rulers violently opposed it, alleging that it introduced sweeping changes into the law, and they especially condemned the employment of the continental practice of examining suspected persons. Their hostile amendments were rejected by overwhelming majorities, but the Standing Committee, now under the chairmanship of Sir M. W. Ridley, could not take up the Bill till it was manifestly too late to work through 130 clauses and over 400 amendments in time to carry the measure through the remaining stages in both Houses. After a few sittings of the committee, it became evident that it would be a waste of time to attempt to proceed with the Bill, and a special report to this effect was made to the House.

The Government were, however, more fortunate with their National Debt Bill, which provided for a system of terminable annuities on the lapse of those expiring in 1885, to absorb for twenty years to come the margin between the actual interest charge of the debt and the permanent debt charge of £28,000,000. The important effect of the bill was, that if it became law, it would put it out of the power of any future Government to tamper with the fund created in 1875. By the arrangement then made, the annual service of the debt was fixed at £28,000,000, a sum each year becoming more and more in excess of the requirements of the interest. By 1885 the interest of the debt would be reduced to £22,500,000. With the permanent surplus of £5,500,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to create new annuities which, falling in from time to time, would operate almost automatically and permanently towards the reduction of the debt, of which upwards of £170,000,000 would be liquidated, with the prospect of a refunding operation. The scheme was strongly opposed by many members on both sides of the House, who pleaded that it was neither fair nor politic to set apart each year so large a sum, which might be

more profitably devoted to the relief of taxation.

In the debates on the Address, unabashed by the revelations of Carey and the challenge thrown out to them by Mr. Forster, the Home Rule members assailed the Government for declining to give up the greater part of the time of Parliament to Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's patience, however, was exhausted, and he refused to discuss a Bill brought in by Mr. Parnell reopening the questions settled by the Land Act. The committee of the Upper House appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Act issued a final report, severely censuring its administration. The debate which followed upon this report showed that the views of the Government and the Opposition upon this subject were totally irreconcilable.

The Irish Police Bill, founded upon the Report of the Royal Commission, had to be withdrawn in consequence of the violent opposition of the Home Rulers. They successfully urged the advancement in its stead of the Irish Registration Bill, which was opposed by the Conservatives as being substantially a measure for extending the franchise, and was rejected by the Upper House. A coalition of the Irish members compelled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give his assent to a Loan for Fisheries Bill and to the Tramways Bill, for constructing, with the aid of a State guarantee, tramways and light railways in Ireland, 'and for other purposes.' The emigration proposal contained in this Bill was strongly opposed by the Parnellites, and in order to pacify them a grant was made for an alternative and experimental scheme of 'migration.' These concessions, however, left the enemies of the connection with Great Britain as clamorous as ever. Mr. Trevelyan, who, by his good temper and tact, had managed to keep his assailants at bay through the session, was informed that 'he had treated the Irish members as his enemies, and he could not expect them to treat him otherwise than as their enemy in

that House.' Mr. Gladstone condescended to expostulate with Mr. Healy on his using deliberately such inflammatory language, but all in vain. He was told in reply that 'war between the two countries was only prevented by physical force, and the Irish members were only able to express by their speeches the hatred they felt towards their rulers.' There could be no doubt, however, that the Home Rulers were aggravated by the gradual disappearance of disaffection in many districts of Ireland through the firm and impartial rule of Earl Spencer.

The question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister has for a good many years excited a great interest in certain circles. It has been repeatedly brought under the notice of the Legislature, but had always met with summary rejection from the Peers. This year, however, it advanced a considerable step on the road to success. Under the skilful management of the Earl of Dalhousie, supported by the whole of the court party, led by the Prince of Wales and his brother, the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords (11th June), by 165 votes to 158, after a very short discussion, in which only four speeches were made in opposition to the measure. Before going into committee (19th June), Lord Dalhousie gave notice of an amendment to legalize marriages celebrated not only in churches, chapels, and registrars' offices, but in any place within the realm; and also of another to make the Act retrospective, placing all who had married in opposition to the existing law on the same footing as those who might take advantage of the permission to be granted by the present Bill. The first proposal was withdrawn, and the second was postponed, at the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom were, however, opposed to the Bill, but were prepared, if it should pass, to support some measure by which the legitimacy of children the issue of marriages already contracted might be

secured. The Bill passed through committee with slight and chiefly verbal modifications, and when it was reported to the House Lord Dalhousie's amendment affirming the legality of all marriages of this class contracted previous to the passing of the Act, and the legitimacy of all children born of these marriages, was accepted as satisfactory. At the same time the proposal made by Earl Fortescue, that the clergy should be relieved from penalties for refusing to perform marriages under the Act, was negatived without a division. But when the third reading of the Bill was moved (28th June), the Duke of Marlborough, who took the lead in opposing the measure, moved its rejection partly on the ground of the small majority by which the second reading was carried, but mainly on account of the evils to which he alleged it would lead. He predicted that if it became law the measure would produce a conflict between the law of the land and the law of the church, and would be a step towards destroying the union of church and state. He was supported by the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Chancellor, and the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, and the Bill was rejected by 145 votes to 140. Only two prelates—the bishops of Worcester and Ripon—were favourable to the proposed change of the law.

A subject which excited a great deal of attention and controversy at this period was the state of the Suez Canal. A widespread dissatisfaction had for some time existed on account of the delays, exorbitant charges, mismanagement, and neglect of sanitary precautions on the part of the agents of M. de Lesseps' company; and the loud complaints of the mercantile and shipping interests at length compelled the Government to deal with the question. Negotiations were opened with M. de Lesseps, and various schemes were proposed and discussed with great keenness, but the construction of a second canal across the Isthmus of Suez seemed to meet with the

greatest amount of support. M. de Lesseps, however, claimed the exclusive right to form this canal and to establish a company to work it. But the British people denied that the concession granted to him in 1854 conferred any monopoly, and maintained that even if it had been confirmed by the then Sultan, which it had not been, it was impossible to recognize the right of M. de Lesseps to the whole isthmus in perpetuity. Many questions were asked in the House respecting the course of the negotiations, but the Government refused to furnish any information on the subject. They at length gave an assurance to the representatives of the shipping interest, that before any bargain was concluded with M. de Lesseps the terms should be laid before the House of Commons. On the 11th of July the Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted the heads of an agreement under which the Suez Canal Company were to construct a second canal, as far as possible parallel to the present canal, to make a gradual reduction of the dues, and to admit additional English directors, in consideration of a new and enlarged concession to be obtained by British influence, and the extension of the original concession for as many years as would make a new term of ninety-nine years from the date of the completion of the second canal; and also of a loan from the British Government of £8,000,000 at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The proposed terms were received by the public with mingled surprise and dissatisfaction. British shipowners and merchants saw with alarm the official recognition of M. de Lesseps' claim to a monopoly, which was denied on the highest legal authority, though the opinion of the law officers of the crown was alleged to be in favour of it. Popular feeling ran so strongly against the agreement as to make it clear that should it be pressed the Government would be defeated on the adverse motion of which Sir Stafford Northcote had given notice. On the 23rd of July Mr. Gladstone announced that

having regard to the feeling roused by the agreement, it was thought advisable to abandon it. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, taking advantage of some ambiguous references made by the Premier to the claims of M. de Lesseps, took the unnecessary and imprudent step of making a formal motion, declining to admit them, which was rejected by 282 votes against 183. Mr. Norwood, who represented the shipping interest, proposed an amendment reserving entire freedom of action for Britain, and which, being taken as a declaration that the House did not assent to M. de Lesseps' claim of a monopoly, was accepted as sufficient by the Liberal party.

The people of Scotland had long been dissatisfied with the manner in which their affairs had been mismanaged and neglected. The grievance was of long standing and had become chronic. Under all Governments, Conservative and Liberal alike, the result was the same. So far back as the year 1836 Lord Cockburn wrote in strong terms respecting the mode in which the public affairs of Scotland were managed by the Government and the Legislature.

In former times, when the public business of Scotland was small, and there was no independent Scottish public and no self-willed Scottish members, and 'no change' was the avowed and inflexible principle of the Government, matters went on smoothly enough under the rule of some powerful nobleman or statesman, like the Duke of Argyll and Lord Melville, who was held responsible for the peace and contentment of the country. But the case was entirely altered when the whole management of Scottish business in Parliament, and all the patronage of the country, civil, legal, and ecclesiastical, fell into the hands of the Lord Advocate. The aggressions of the permanent officials at Whitehall upon Scottish institutions greatly aggravated the evils of this state of matters. Ireland was allowed to retain her Privy Council, her Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Chief-Secretary, Commander of the Forces, State

Steward, Comptroller, Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, and other dignified and highly-paid officers. But the corresponding offices in Scotland, such as those of the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Judge Admiral, the Admiral on the North Station, and the Lord Justice General, which might have been rendered highly efficient, were all either abolished or reduced to a mere nominal existence. The Lord Advocate became the only official administrator, dispensing nearly the whole patronage of the country, and the sole ministerial representative of Scotland in Parliament. This had led to the systematic neglect of Scottish legislative questions by the House of Commons, and of administrative affairs by the Government. When legislation is required for Scotland, the Lord Advocate has been almost always left without either encouragement or assistance to carry his measures. In 1877 a conference of Scottish members of Parliament was held in Edinburgh to devise a remedy for the persistent neglect of the affairs of Scotland by the Government and the Legislature, and they came unanimously to the conclusion that the only effectual remedy was to revive the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, with a seat in the Cabinet. But Lord Beaconsfield's Government declined to accede to the recommendation, and Sir Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, proposed instead to appoint another Under-Secretary to assist him in the discharge of his duties in regard to Scotland, and to appropriate the salary of the Lord Clerk Registrar to meet the expense. This proposal, however, being strongly opposed, had to be withdrawn. In January, 1881, a memorial in favour of a Secretary for Scotland was presented to Mr. Gladstone, signed by thirty-three Scottish representatives, including the leading men of both parties. But the Premier, instead of granting the request of the memorialists that a Cabinet minister should be appointed to manage the affairs of Scotland, thought it sufficient to nominate the Earl of Rose-

bery Under-Secretary in the Home Office, with the charge of Scottish business. Lord Rosebery's great ability, high standing, and personal influence gained a little more attention than was previously given to Scottish affairs, but it was acknowledged on all hands that the scheme had proved a failure. Lord Rosebery resigned his office, and the public business of Scotland fell back into the old rut.

An agitation was immediately renewed in favour of the proposal that the management of the affairs of Scotland should be intrusted to a member of the Government whose position would give him adequate authority to carry his measures into effect. The Ministry were at length constrained to take steps to gratify the public wish; but the bill which they brought in for that purpose, entitled the 'Scottish Local Government Bill,' was quite unsatisfactory, both as regards the position of the proposed Secretary for Scotland and the extent of his powers. 'An official,' said the *Times*, 'was to be called into existence not so big as a Secretary of State, but somewhat bigger than an Under-Secretary. The president of the Scottish Local Government Board was to be provided with a salary which it was understood was to be taken from the office of the Lord Privy Seal.' The bill excited as little enthusiasm as hostility. The Liberal party were prepared to accept it as an instalment, and the Scottish Conservative members acquiesced in it as likely to do some little good and no harm. It passed through the Lower House without opposition, but the Upper House threw it out on the second reading.

For some time the crofters or small tenants in the Highlands and islands of Scotland had been complaining of their position, which entailed upon them great poverty and privation, owing partly to the formation of large sheep farms, partly to the extension of deer forests. Their crofts were too small to maintain a family in comfort, or even to afford an adequate supply of the bare necessities of life. The crofters were

in many cases rack-rented, and as they had no leases they were entirely at the mercy of their landlords. These complaints were of old standing, but the relief granted to Irish tenants emboldened the Scottish crofters to claim the interference of the legislature on their behalf too. A Royal Commission, of which Lord Napier and Ettrick was chairman, was appointed to make full inquiry into the condition of the Highland crofters and cottars, and after a lengthened and patient investigation on the spot during 1883, they came to the conclusion that their complaints were well founded. They testify that 'through past evictions the Highland crofter has been confined within narrow limits, sometimes [they might with truth have said *often*] on inferior and exhausted soils; that he is subject to arbitrary augmentations of money rent; that his habitation is usually a wretched hut, devoid of comfort and injurious to health; that he suffers from insecurity of tenure, want of compensation for improvements, high rents, defective communication, and withdrawal of the soil for the purposes of sport, until, unless he has a good fishing season, it is impossible for him to live.'

On receiving the report of the commissioners, the Government brought in a bill to redress these grievances, which was fitted to give satisfaction to all reasonable persons, but it had to be withdrawn, along with other Government measures, in 1884. The crofters and cottars were in general a peaceable and law-abiding people, but they were illiterate and ignorant, and had been wrought upon by political adventurers to demand terms which it was impossible to grant. Before the Commission was appointed they had in various instances taken the law into their own hands, had seized lands of adjoining farmers, had refused to pay their rents, had deforced sheriff-officers, and had threatened violence against obnoxious individuals. It became necessary, in consequence, to vindicate the law by imprisoning the law-breakers. The great body of the crofters and cottars, how-

ever, notwithstanding the pressure of painful distress, remained patient and quiet in the hope that their sufferings would be speedily redressed by the legislature.

Private members and partisans of sectional interests complained loudly of the monopoly of the time of the House of Commons by the Government during the session of 1883. Their efforts, however, were more than usually successful. Mr. Pell's motion in favour of local taxation, and Mr. Chaplin's in favour of a more stringent exclusion of diseased cattle, were carried against the Government by narrow majorities. Sir Wilfred Lawson's resolution in favour of Local Option, which received for the first time the formal support of the Government, was also successful, and the opponents of the liquor traffic were encouraged to press forward a number of Sunday Closing Bills for different counties, one only of which, the Durham Bill, reached the second reading. Mr. Stansfeld moved his often-repeated resolution condemning the Contagious Diseases Acts, and secured a majority of seventy-two on a division. It was stated during the debate that the Ministers, with only three exceptions, could not remain responsible for these Acts, and it was subsequently announced that the Government, without bringing in a repealing measure, would extinguish them by ceasing to provide for their administration.

The grants proposed to be given to Lords Wolseley and Alcester for their services in the Egyptian campaign met with unexpected opposition. The royal messages recommended in each case annuities of £2000 per annum for two lives; but when the bills for carrying these proposals into effect were brought in, a section of the Liberal members below the gangway, assisted by the Home Rule party, opposed them bitterly, and much time was spent in discussing them when it could be ill spared. Objections were taken both to the nature of the services which the military and the naval officer had rendered, and to the mode and the amount of the reward bestowed

upon them. The applause with which the attacks on the pension bills was greeted by the Liberal party evidently took the Government by surprise, and a concession was made to the opponents of the Bills by substituting in each case a slump sum of £25,000 for an annuity for two lives. The feeling displayed on this occasion makes it probable that in future pecuniary rewards to successful generals and naval commanders will take the form of a slump sum and not of a pension.

Outside Parliament the celebration of Mr. Bright's semi-jubilee at Birmingham (11th to 16th June) was the most imposing political manifestation of the year. Mr. Bright had represented that town for twenty-five years, and for forty years, with a very short intermission, he had sat in Parliament as the spokesman of the Free Trade and advanced Liberal party. He received a most enthusiastic reception from the citizens of Birmingham and the multitudes from the country who crowded the town to do honour to the great tribune of the people. A procession, in which the principal trades of Birmingham were represented, traversed a route of 5 miles, which was densely thronged by the people from all the surrounding districts. At a later period 150 addresses from Liberal associations throughout the country were presented, all of them acknowledging the debt of gratitude which the Liberal party owed to a disinterested, consistent, and eloquent leader. The chiefs of the party of all shades, from Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Granville, took part in one or other of the

entertainments of the week, and bore cordial testimony to the claims of Mr. Bright to the gratitude, not only of the party, but of the whole community. The Whig nobleman, Lord Granville, in particular, at the banquet given to the member for Birmingham, made a graceful and sympathetic reference to his former colleague's career, and to his association with Mr. Cobden.

On 13th June Mr. Bright was presented at the Bingley Hall, in presence of 20,000 persons, with his portrait and a magnificent desert service. He availed himself of the opportunity to direct attention to the great benefits which the repeal of the Corn Laws had conferred upon the working classes. The wages, he said, of both the agricultural labourer and the factory hand had doubled since 1843 owing to free trade. He reproached the United States with throwing away their magnificent opportunities of abolishing tariff restrictions. In their unexampled surplus of £30,000,000, however, he saw the doom of a tariff policy; he foresaw the day when their two great political parties would bring to an issue the question of free trade or protection, and did not despair that the outcome of the struggle would be an alliance between the two great free-trade powers of the world—the United States and Great Britain—which would wage a peaceful war upon the tariffs of Europe, and in destroying them render the maintenance of standing armies impossible, because kings and emperors would find themselves powerless to embroil nations whose interests were bound up with the freedom of industry.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Leeds Conference—The Franchise Agitation—Opening of Session 1884—Votes of Censure on Government's Egyptian Policy—Introduction of the Franchise Bill—Successful Passage through the House of Commons—Its Rejection by the Lords—Vote of Credit for the Gordon Rescue Expedition—London Conference on Egyptian Affairs—Death of the Duke of Albany—Recess Agitation regarding the Franchise Bill—Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian—The Autumn Session—The Franchise Bill passed—Compromise on Redistribution—Dynamite Explosions in London—Re-opening of Parliament 1885—Passing of Redistribution Bill—Its Details—The Secretary for Scotland Bill—The Russians and Afghanistan—Attack of the Russians on Penjdeh—Visit of the Ameer to the Indian Viceroy—Threatened Rupture between Britain and Russia—Grant of Eleven Millions for War Preparations—Settlement of the Dispute—The Budget of 1885—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—Formation of Conservative Cabinet—Its Policy—The Election Campaign—Results of General Election 1885—Meeting of Parliament—Defeat and Resignation of Conservative Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's return to Office—His Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills—Division of Opinion—Defeat of the Government—Dissolution and General Election 1886—Its Results—Formation of Conservative Cabinet—Irish Policy—Resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill—Crimes and Land Bills introduced by the Government—Budget of 1887—The Royal Jubilee.

DURING the recess the contest between the Government and the Opposition was transferred from the floor of the House of Commons to the public platform. Both parties evidently felt that the next session would be a critical one. The Conservatives assailed the whole policy of ministers both at home and abroad, blaming especially the management of affairs in Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa. Sir Stafford Northcote undertook a political pilgrimage through Ulster, denouncing the Irish policy of the Government. Meanwhile Lord Salisbury denounced the policy of the Government, both foreign and domestic, in an article which appeared under the title of 'Disintegration' in the *Quarterly Review*. 'The dangers we have to fear,' he said, 'may be roughly summed up in the single word—disintegration.' The concession of Home Rule, as a whole, was impossible, he said, 'even by the advanced section of the Liberals, but under the guise of legitimate indulgences or of carrying out accepted principles, the nation ran the danger of being led into concessions which would make Home Rule inevitable. The air is filled with rumours of new negotiations and successful bargains. Another "deed without a name" is likely to place the Irish vote at the disposal of the Government for the purposes of a Reform Bill. Such complaisance at such a crisis well deserves warm recognition, and it will be duly given in the form of a bill for the establishment of local government in Ire-

land, which is to be conducted by elective councils. No doubt the day will come when votes will be again in request for a critical occasion, and the entire emancipation, and possibly the consolidation, of these councils will be the price.'

The Liberal leaders had no doubt that they had a valid defence to offer on all the measures assailed by the Conservatives, but they were well aware that a purely defensive position is always more or less a weak one in politics, and they felt that the time had come to lay aside secondary projects of legislation, and to bring forward prominently measures which might be supposed to address themselves more powerfully to popular conviction and sentiment. A conference of the representatives of Liberal organizations was held at Leeds for the purpose of deciding what measures were most urgent and important, and should take precedence in legislation. On the 17th of October upwards of 2500 delegates, representing 500 Liberal associations in all parts of the kingdom, met to express their wishes on this subject. A lengthened discussion took place respecting the expediency of giving the reform of the government of London and a Local Government Bill a prominent place in the legislative programme of the ensuing session. But in the end the meeting was unanimous in thinking that the extension of household suffrage to the counties was a measure of paramount importance, and it was ultimately agreed that

precedence should be given to it by the Government. It was a novel procedure, and one of doubtful propriety, that a conference should thus attempt to usurp a function hitherto zealously guarded by the Cabinet, and a direct resolution was proposed, but failed to obtain the support of the majority of the meeting, that the arrangement of the reform questions should be left to the responsible ministers.

The agitation thus set on foot for the equalization of the franchise in counties and boroughs speedily extended to all parts of the country. The attitude of the Conservative leaders was one of 'cautious observation,' a policy which Sir Stafford Northcote subsequently recommended to his party; but it was not one calculated to produce a striking effect upon public opinion. Even Lord Salisbury in England and Mr. Gibson in Scotland, contented themselves with suggesting difficulties, and insisting that the whole of the proposed scheme should be disclosed before a decisive judgment was demanded upon it from Parliament and the country. Extreme views on this question were expressed by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley, but their opinions did not meet with the approval of the whole Liberal party.

Mr. Goschen, who may be regarded as the representative of the moderate Liberals, in the address which he delivered at Edinburgh on the 31st of October, said he recognized with unfeigned regret that the country, or at least the Liberal section, had made up its mind for a reduction of the county franchise. It was owing, indeed, to his refusal to concur in this measure that he declined a seat in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. As to redistribution, they were all agreed that there must be a large redistribution, but he was totally opposed to equal electoral districts. His opposition to the demands of the Home Rulers was expressed in very decided terms. Mr. Bright, much to the annoyance of the Advanced Liberals, on the question of 40s. freeholders and on property qualifications in general, showed himself at

variance with the more Radical section of his colleagues, and was consequently taunted with becoming Conservative in his old age. Mr. Bright's rejoinder was that the British constitution was not based on, and never aimed at, the principle of universal suffrage, and that the aim of every reformer who was not at heart a revolutionist should be to enlarge as far as possible the existing basis of the constitution, and not to substitute some alien foundation.

Mr. Parnell was the first to break silence after the close of the session, and though complimenting the Government for passing several important and highly useful measures for Ireland, he took care to declare emphatically that he regarded them as only an instalment of the measure of self-government which Ireland would ere long obtain. On this point there was, however, no ambiguity of speech on the part of the Advanced Liberals, on whom the Home Rulers seemed at one time to rely for support. Mr. Leatham, brother-in-law of Mr. Bright, spoke out on this subject at Huddersfield with a boldness and firmness which had a very beneficial effect. 'We must persist,' he said, 'in our policy of absolute and unfaltering justice; but, on the other hand, there must be no trifling about the maintenance of the Union. . . Sincerely as I am attached to the Liberal party, and warm as is my allegiance to those who lead it, I would renounce both rather than admit that upon this supreme and cardinal question it was possible to give way. The country which begins to parley with its own dissolution is lost. The obligation to maintain the body politic is vital.'

Political affairs, however, did not entirely engross public interest; there were several social questions which engaged the attention of leaders on both sides. One of the most prominent of these was 'the housing of the poor.' The evils of overcrowding and of unhealthy dwellings had been often pointed out by religious and philanthropic workers among the poor, but little or noth-

ing had been done to remedy this crying evil, and to sweep away the filthy, squalid, and pestiferous hovels—the foci of disease, the nurseries of the gin-shop, the poor-house, and the gaol—which abound in all the large towns of the United Kingdom. At this time, however, the question began to assume a practical shape, and a scheme was proposed by an anonymous writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, of which the principal features were that the municipality should be compelled to undertake improvements declared to be necessary by municipal medical officers of health, or by medical officers appointed by the Government for the purpose; that the municipality should have the right of compulsory purchase; that the price should never exceed ten years' purchase of the rental, and the cost should be met by a tax on the owners of house or real property in the district. A pamphlet entitled 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' written by a missionary working among the poorest districts of that city, aroused public sympathy for the miserable and degraded condition of the masses huddled together in foul and narrow courts and lanes, living in crowded, ill-ventilated, unwholesome dwellings, surrounded by abominations of every kind, destitute alike of physical comfort and of intellectual and moral culture. This appeal was followed by a paper from Lord Salisbury on 'Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings,' which had the effect of directing the attention of statesmen to the subject. His lordship was of opinion that the time was favourable for dealing with this question, since it had not as yet been made the subject of political controversy. He pointed out that new streets, railways, and public buildings, erected under the authority of Parliament, had swept away the dwellings of thousands of the poorer classes, for whom no adequate accommodation had been provided elsewhere. He recommended that, first of all, an inquiry should be made into the extent of the existing evil, and that an endeavour should be made

to ascertain how far the earnings of the very poorest can go towards the payment of decent lodgings. He thought loans should be made from the public funds to the Peabody trustees to extend their buildings and to procure fresh sites; that facilities of access to the suburbs should be afforded by all railways, and that all buildings erected on speculation in London and its suburbs should be carefully inspected by sanitary officers. These remedies, however, Lord Salisbury regarded as only palliatives at the best, and he was inclined to think that the ultimate solution of this difficult question would be found in an extension of the system, devised by Miss Octavia Hill, of purchasing the leases of dilapidated buildings inhabited by a dense neglected population, putting the buildings in repair, and endeavouring to induce the tenants, by personal influence, to keep their houses clean and comfortable. The success of the scheme was undeniable, for Miss Hill had managed to reach the very lowest class that had any settled habitation, and had succeeded in improving their condition without increasing their rent. As the returns yielded from 4 to 5 per cent. on the money invested in the scheme, all appearance of charitable relief or eleemosynary aid was carefully avoided.

A question of this kind was not likely to be left long in the hands of any one political party, and Mr. Chamberlain hastened to claim a share of the credit which might accrue from the solution of this perplexing social problem. In an article which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* in December, 1883, on the 'Houses of the Poor,' he claimed for himself the merit of having for years been crying in the wilderness against the apathy in considering the necessities and claims of the poor. With regard to the main remedy for overcrowding, which is the result of the constant migration from the agricultural districts, he argued that no satisfactory settlement of social questions could be possible until the arbitrary and

anomalous system 'by which in England alone, of all great civilized countries, the actual tillers of the soil are practically forbidden even the hope of ownership, has been changed into something humane and sensible.' He contended that the main cause of the failure of previous legislation on this subject was the want of an efficient and thoroughly representative municipal government, intrusted with adequate powers to overcome the opposition of the small house property owners to any form of sanitary improvement; and that nothing would be done until public opinion had considerably advanced on the relative rights of property and the rights of the community, and until Parliament was prepared to recognize the obligations, as well as the privileges of ownership, and to insist that the traffic in misery and vice should no longer be a source of profit to those who aided or assented to its existence. While Lord Salisbury appealed to private charity to remedy the evils referred to, Mr. Chamberlain called for the interference of the State to deal with the authors of the mischief, and asserted that the only solution of this great and important question was to 'throw the expense of making towns habitable for the toilers who dwell in them upon the land which their toil makes valuable, and without any effort on the part of its owners.' On the other hand, Lord Shaftesbury and other distinguished philanthropists practically acquainted with the condition of the poor, protested against the method of proceeding proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, not only as unjust, but as fatal to voluntary effort and the working out of natural remedies. The more drastic remedies suggested for evils deplored by all right thinking persons were looked upon with the more alarm and suspicion, inasmuch as during the year a socialist propaganda advocating the doctrines of 'Land Nationalization' developed in America by Mr. Henry George, had been active and noisy, and had diffused their revolutionary notions widely among the community.

These and other schemes for the promotion of social changes showed that a great revolution had taken place in the public mind, especially among Advanced Liberals, respecting the functions of the Government, and that the popular distrust of State interference, at one time so prevalent among this class, had been almost entirely removed. The legislation on compulsory education, ships and sailors, the prevention of accidents in mines, the limitation of the hours of labour in factories, and the land agitation—all showed that the principle of 'let things alone,' which fifty years ago was strenuously upheld, was now generally renounced. The demand for Government interference was no doubt often inspired by honest aims and an impatient desire for the removal of glaring abuses, but it was attended by serious difficulties and dangers.

In the midst of the widespread agitation for these domestic changes, and continued depression, both of the agricultural and the commercial interests, the year 1883 was brought to a close.

The result of the agitation, which had been carried on with such activity and earnestness during the recess, was to make it evident that the great majority of the Liberal party were in favour of the introduction during the coming session of a bill for equalizing the franchise in counties with that in boroughs. Even Mr. Goschen, who was opposed to the majority of his party on the county suffrage question, addressing his constituents at Ripon (30th of January, 1884), admitted that the question of the suffrage was virtually settled. He would waste no time, he said, in flogging a dead horse, but he wanted some pledge that the Redistribution of Seats Bill should be fully applied to Ireland before giving Mr. Parnell the advantages of the Franchise Bill.

Mr. Goschen, in his reference to Ireland, touched upon a question which was exciting a good deal of anxiety in the Liberal ranks, the propriety of including that country in the proposed franchise bill. Notwithstanding

ing all that had been done for the Irish people they remained as turbulent and disaffected as ever, and to lower the franchise in those circumstances was simply to increase the power of the Home Rulers.

The Government were thus fully forewarned respecting the reception which their intended bill for the reduction of the franchise would meet with from the Opposition.

The fifth session of the tenth Parliament of Her Majesty's reign opened on 6th February, 1884. The Queen's speech announced that measures would be laid before Parliament for the extension of the franchise, the reform of local government, the extension of municipal government to the whole metropolis, and bills relating to the Security of Life and Property at Sea, the Railway Commission, the Repression of Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, the better administration of Scottish business, for the promotion of education, the closing of public-houses on Sunday in Ireland, and the improvement of intermediate education in Wales. As might have been foreseen, only a very small part of this Ministerial programme was carried into effect. No amendment on the address was moved in the House of Lords, but in the House of Commons the Egyptian policy of the Ministry was at once challenged on an amendment to the address moved by Mr. Bourke, condemning the inadequate recognition of Britain's responsibilities and the disastrous results of a vacillating and half-hearted policy. While the debate was proceeding, and before any member of the Government had spoken, the news of the defeat of Baker Pasha at El Teb reached this country, and in the confusion which ensued a division was allowed to be taken without an answer having been given to Mr. Bourke. As might have been anticipated, this sudden collapse of the debate led to a good deal of angry recrimination, but Mr. Gladstone declared that he and his colleagues were as much taken by surprise as the Opposition were by that un-

toward event, and he threw oil on the troubled waters by promising that full opportunity should be provided for a more complete discussion.

Meanwhile notice had been given in both Houses of a vote of censure on the Government for what was termed their vacillating and inconsistent policy in Egypt, and it was agreed that the debate on the address should be suspended in order that this question should be discussed and the opinion of Parliament ascertained respecting the course which the Ministry had followed in dealing with Egyptian affairs. But, as usual, Irish grievances and the complaints of the Home Rulers stopped the way. An amendment was moved by Mr. Parnell, censuring the Irish Executive for interfering with public meetings, and for leaving unpunished the conduct of Lord Rossmore and the Orange leaders. The accusation was characteristically absurd, for the Orangemen were not less bitter against the Lord-Lieutenant and his advisers for their removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace on the ground that he had taken an active part in organizing one of the Orange counter-demonstrations against the 'Nationalist Mission' into Ulster, which led to serious riots. Mr. Trevelyan, on behalf of the Government, showed that political and agrarian crime had greatly diminished, that rents were well paid, and that the tone of public meetings had been greatly improved. He explained the principles on which the Irish government had acted in prohibiting and permitting meetings, five having been permitted for every one prohibited, and showed that they had endeavoured to hold the balance even between the two hostile parties. Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by a great majority.

On the 13th of February Lord Salisbury proposed a vote of censure on the Government for their alleged mismanagement of Egyptian affairs. After a keen debate, in which the proceedings of ministers were attacked by Earl Cairns, Lord Dunraven,

and Lord Cranbrook, and defended by the Lord Chancellor, Earl Derby, and Lord Kimberley, the motion was carried by 181 votes to 81, a number of Liberal peers voting in the majority. On the same day Sir Stafford Northcote moved the resolution of which he had given notice, declaring that the 'recent lamentable events in the Soudan' were due to the hesitation and inconsistency of the Government. He contended that ministers had adopted a wrong policy, and had refused to strengthen the Egyptian army in the Soudan, to counsel the Egyptian Government, and to overrule their proceedings in respect to the Soudan. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, pointed out the discrepancy between Sir S. Northcote's motion and his speech, inasmuch as he had not advanced a single proof of 'inconsistency' or 'vacillation,' but had simply censured the Government throughout for pursuing a mistaken policy. The Government, he declared, had not made but had found the situation, and tracing all the mischief to Lord Salisbury's 'Dual Control,' he asserted that they had never had any option as to the policy they might have desired to inaugurate. They had inherited certain engagements, and from these engagements it had never been in their power honourably to extricate themselves. He pronounced a glowing eulogium on General Gordon, 'the Christian hero,' who had undertaken the work of rescue at Khartoum, and defended delay in sending an expedition to Suakim. It was only on the previous night that they had learned from Admiral Hewett that the efforts to effect the release of the imprisoned garrisons by diplomatic agency had failed, and they had immediately given orders for collecting a British force at Suakim, amounting to about 4000 men, but this step did not imply any departure from their resolution that they would give no countenance to any attempt to reconquer the Soudan. At a later period of the debate, when Sir Wilfrid Lawson argued that the Ministry should be pledged not

to interfere further with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own government, Mr. Gladstone decidedly opposed this amendment, but at the same time stated that the policy of the Government could not be more happily described than by Sir Wilfrid's motto, 'rescue and retire.' In the five nights' debate on Sir Stafford Northcote's motion all the leading members of the House on both sides took part. Among the most remarkable speeches were those of Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen, who found fault with the want of courage and consistency in the proceedings of the Government, but believing that there was a decided change of policy on their part, that British authority would be asserted on the Red Sea coast, that General Gordon would be supported, and that our responsibility for order and progress in Egypt would not be ignored, both announced that they would vote against Sir Stafford's motion. On a division, Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution was rejected by a majority of 311 against 262, thirty Home Rulers and four Liberals having voted against the Government. The address was agreed to on the fourteenth night of the session.

It was known before the opening of Parliament that Sir Henry Brand was unwilling to face the fatigues of another session in the Speaker's chair, and the choice of his successor was awaited with much interest. First of all Mr. Goschen was requested by the Ministry to allow himself to be put in nomination, but after considerable hesitation he was obliged to decline on the ground of his imperfect eyesight. The choice of the Government fell ultimately upon Mr. Arthur Peel, M.P. for Warwick, the youngest son of the great statesman, who had been nearly twenty years in Parliament, and who had filled several subordinate offices under successive Liberal Governments.

The Opposition were by no means disposed to allow the Egyptian question to rest, and fresh complications gave rise to renewed debates. There was considerable

diversity of opinion on the subject both among the Conservatives and the Liberals, and though both criticised and blamed the policy of the Government, they were very rarely united in action. On one occasion, however, at a Saturday's sitting, on 15th March, for the purpose of voting the supplementary estimates at the close of the financial year, Mr. Labouchere suddenly moved a vote of censure upon the unnecessary waste of human life in the Soudan, and received unexpected aid from the Opposition. The Government and the Liberal party were taken by surprise, and the ministers during the greater part of the sitting were absent at a Cabinet meeting. On the division the Ministry narrowly escaped defeat by a majority of 111 against 94. Some three weeks later Sir Stafford Northcote, dissatisfied with the replies given to his questions respecting the position of General Gordon and the government of the Soudan, moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing 'the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the affairs of Egypt,' and attacked them for their alleged desire to avoid responsibility and their repeated attempts to throw it on the shoulders of others. Mr. Gladstone at once rose to reply, and fell upon his assailant with a vigour of rhetorical passion and an ingenuity in the use of invective rarely witnessed in Parliament. The Opposition, who had risen up as accusers, found themselves arraigned as culprits, and their conduct in having devoted no less than seventeen nights to the discussion of the affairs of Egypt was denounced as totally without precedent, mischievous to the public interests, and calculated distinctly and undoubtedly to weaken the hands of the British Government, and likewise of every man acting for it in Egypt.

This magnificent outburst of indignation had the effect of silencing the Opposition for a time, but on the 12th of May another vote of censure was moved by Sir M. Hicks Beach, attributing to the Government an

indifference to the success of Gordon's mission and to his personal safety. Mr. Gladstone's defence against this new attack was not regarded as so successful as his reply to Sir Stafford Northcote in February, and though he admitted the obligations of the Government to General Gordon, he gave no definite assurance that it was their intention to send a relief expedition. The dissatisfaction felt with the Prime Minister's speech was visible in the course taken by Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen, who, along with some thirty Liberal members, abstained from voting in the division. The debate, which was the most critical of the session, terminated in the rejection of the vote of censure by 303 votes to 275.

The progress of the legislative measures of the Government was so much hindered by the Egyptian controversy and other obstructions, that the Franchise Bill was not brought in by Mr. Gladstone until the 29th of February. The bill, he said, was introduced in fulfilment of a pledge, in compliance with a widely-expressed demand, and for the purpose of making 'an addition of strength to the State.' In an expository speech of great moderation he explained the various enactments of the measure, which in the main left existing rights of franchise untouched, but grafted upon them provisions of a much wider scope. The £10 occupation franchise in boroughs was made to include land without buildings. A 'service franchise' was to be granted to persons occupying tenements without paying rent, but in virtue of some office or appointment, thus including bank agents and numerous other officials, as well as out-door servants. This new franchise, together with the household and lodger franchises already established in boroughs—which included every householder who had been twelve months in occupation previous to the last day of July, and who had paid all poor's rates payable in respect of his dwelling to the 5th January preceding, and all lodgers

who had occupied apartments for at least a year which would let unfurnished at £10 per annum—was to be extended to the counties. ‘Faggot votes’ were not abolished, but provision was made to prevent their future creation. The simple property qualification in counties, under which all freeholders of the annual value of 40s. and upwards had been entitled to vote for centuries, was not altered, and the condition of residence was not required as essential to obtain a vote. The borough and county franchises in the three kingdoms were to be placed on an identical footing, and in each of the three the occupation franchise would be four-fifths of the whole. Mr. Gladstone refused to deal with redistribution in this measure. The Government, he said, looked not to the perfect, but to the attainable, and they would not incur the certainty of foundering by ‘deck-loading’ their measure. He indicated, however, in general terms, the principles which he thought should be followed, maintaining the distinction between rural and urban constituencies, but refusing to form equal electoral districts. He did not believe that public opinion at all required such an arrangement, and he doubted whether public opinion would warrant it. He suggested that some addition might be made to the number of members, in order that additional representatives might be provided for Scotland, but he would not reduce the proportional share of representation at present possessed by Ireland. Some regard, he said, should be had to relative nearness and distance; and distance from the seat of Government, he argued, gave a title to an increased share of representation. He laid special emphasis on the proposal that the bill was to apply to the United Kingdom as a whole. Ireland, he contended, must not be left to take the chance of obtaining a measure of reform for itself after the franchise had been equalized in England and Scotland. The precedents of previous reform bills must therefore be

departed from, and since it was impossible for Parliament to deal with the whole question, including extension of the franchise, registration, and redistribution in the entire United Kingdom in a single year, attention must for the present be exclusively devoted to the extension of the franchise.

Mr. Gladstone’s speech, which lasted nearly two hours, was listened to with marked attention by a crowded house, and was received with enthusiasm by all shades of the Liberal party. The Conservatives for the most part based their objections to the measure on the plea that the Government had refused to bring forward a Redistribution Bill at the same time, though Lord Randolph Churchill asserted that the Government proposed to enfranchise 2,000,000 of persons who were for the most part grossly ignorant and cared nothing for politics. Mr. W. H. Smith also limited his speech almost entirely to discussing the dangers to be apprehended from conferring the franchise upon a mass of people sunk in poverty and ignorance, and guided by leaders who were disloyal and anarchical. The general opinion respecting the bill was tersely expressed by the *Times*, that it was ‘simple in its structure, comprehensive in its effects, and conservative in its spirit,’ though the leading journal concurred in the opinion expressed by the Conservatives, that redistribution should not be separated from the question of the franchise.

The second reading of the Franchise Bill was moved on the 24th of March by Lord Hartington in a few words, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, owing to a somewhat severe and prolonged indisposition. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Manners disapproving of the bill as imperfect, and declining to proceed with it till the Government had made known their scheme of redistribution. The debate was protracted over six nights, but all life had gone out of it, and the speeches for the most part consisted simply of a

reiteration of the same well-worn platitudes. In the end the amendment was rejected on a division by a majority of 340 against 210, and the bill was read a second time on the 7th of April without a division.

On the motion for going into Committee on the Franchise Bill (28th April), the question of redistribution was again brought up on an instruction, moved by Mr. Raikes, to the Committee to make provision for a redistribution of seats, and for the representation of populous urban districts, but it was negatived by 174 votes to 147. Another instruction was at once moved by Mr. Tomlinson relating to the extension of borough boundaries, which was rejected by 158 to 132. Mr. Chaplin objected to the inclusion of Ireland, but withdrew his amendment, and the bill was allowed to go into Committee without a division on that point. But on 6th May, when the consideration of the clauses began, an amendment was moved by Mr. Broderick, limiting the operation of the measure to England and Scotland. The Liberal party generally opposed the amendment, and Mr. Gladstone vehemently declared that he would never consent to divide the people of Ireland into a loyal minority and a disloyal majority. The great body of the Conservatives supported the amendment, but Lord Randolph Churchill declared that if there was to be a bill at all Ireland ought not to be excluded. The amendment was rejected by 332 votes to 137. A very keen contest took place on the amendment proposed by Colonel Stanley, that the operation of the bill should be postponed till a measure for the redistribution of seats should become law. Sir Stafford Northcote said that there were among the Conservative party a considerable number who were of opinion that the borough and the county franchise should be assimilated; while others did not desire that this should be done, though they would acquiesce in it. But whether they were opposed to it, or approved it, or acquiesced in it, or desired it, there was only one

feeling among the Conservative party on this point, that they could not give their sanction to any such bill unless it were accompanied with a measure of redistribution, or at least unless they had some security that a Redistribution Bill was to be introduced and passed. The Government, however, were supported on this clause by a majority of 276 to 182. The remaining clauses passed without serious resistance or material change, but an important discussion took place on a new clause moved by Mr. Woodall, proposing the extension of the franchise to women. Several members of the Government, and Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord John Manners, were already committed to the principle of the female suffrage, and a number both of Liberals and Conservatives were known to be favourable to it. The question thus raised was somewhat critical, but Mr. Gladstone at once declared emphatically against the proposal, and intimated that the Government could not be responsible for the bill if it were accepted. It involved, he said, an entirely new question, which ought not to be determined by party considerations, and on which, as affecting the political status of 500,000 persons, the opinion of the country ought to be taken. After this explicit declaration that a decision in favour of the amendment would be treated by the Government as a decision fatal to the Franchise Bill, the great body of the Liberal party felt constrained to vote against Mr. Woodall's proposal, which was rejected by a majority of two to one. The only remaining point which gave rise to serious controversy was raised by Mr. Albert Grey's amendment postponing the operation of the bill till the 1st of January, 1887, unless Parliament should otherwise determine. The Government refused to accept this suspension of the Act, but intimated their willingness to agree to the proposal that it should not come into operation until the 1st January, 1885, which was adopted by a majority of 256 to 130.

The third reading of the bill was moved by the Prime Minister on 26th June, in an impassioned and impressive speech, referring to the ominous intimations made in the House and out of doors, that it was the intention of the Upper House to throw out the bill. The attitude of the Government hitherto, he said, had been, in Shakspeare's words, 'Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but being in, bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.' Everything had been done on the part of the Government to avoid a quarrel. A collision between the two Houses on this question would open a prospect more serious than any since the first Reform Bill; and he looked forward to the consequences of it with grave apprehension, although he had no fear of the result. The Government, he said, had carefully and strenuously endeavoured to fulfil the sacred duty of preventing such a conflict by all reasonable means. The Opposition, by previous concert, withdrew from the House and did not take a division on the third reading. The bill accordingly passed without any formal expression of dissent, and the fact that it was read a third time *nemine contradicente*, was recorded in the journals of the House.

The Franchise Bill was brought up from the Commons and read a first time in the Lords on 27th June. Lord Cairns at once gave notice of his intention to move 'That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the second reading of a bill having for its object a fundamental change in the electoral body which is not accompanied by provisions which will insure the full and free representation of the people by any adequate security that the bill shall not come into operation except on an entire scheme.' Several influential Conservative peers protested against this amendment as reckless and unnecessary, but the great body of the Opposition gave it their support. The feeling throughout the country was unfavourable to this policy.

Lord Salisbury, however, declined to yield, but intimated that the Opposition would not refuse to bow to the will of the country, whether on the question of procedure or of principle, after the matters in issue had been decided by a general election. Indeed it was clearly his object to force a dissolution. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a brief speech, announced that he would vote for the second reading of the bill, and his example was followed by all the other eleven members of the Episcopal bench who took part in the division except one. The debate was conducted with great ability by the leaders on both sides of the House, and the amendment was carried by a majority of 59—205 having voted for and 146 against. It was then agreed, on the motion of Lord Dunraven, that the House should explicitly declare its assent to 'the principles of representation contained in the bill.'

The amendment which had been adopted was not, by the rules of the House, fatal to the Bill, but the Government resolved to regard it as equivalent to the rejection of the measure, and they at once announced their resolution to prorogue Parliament as speedily as possible, with the view of holding an autumn session at which the Bill should be re-introduced. With this view 'a sweeping and impartial sacrifice' was made of all the principal ministerial measures—a step which occasioned a good deal of dissatisfaction, as several important and unopposed bills could have been passed through both Houses without difficulty or delay. Meanwhile a very general feeling was expressed in favour of a compromise. Indeed, before the division on the second reading an attempt had been made by Lord Granville and Lord Cairns to effect an arrangement which would be acceptable to both parties, but their efforts were unsuccessful. The Earl of Wemyss, a Conservative peer, made an effort to revive the Franchise Bill by proposing a resolution, which the Government expressed themselves willing to accept—that the House

should proceed to the second reading of the bill, on the understanding that a Redistribution Bill would be brought in and pressed forward at the autumn session. But the proposal was resisted by the Opposition, and was rejected (17th July) by a majority of 182 to 152.

After this distinct refusal of a compromise no time was lost in bringing the session to a close, and Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August. The only measures of all those that were introduced by the Government or by private members which became law, were the Act for the Repression of Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, the Act relating to the Contagious Diseases of Animals imported from abroad, and the Act for the Extension of the hours of Polling in Boroughs.

Shortly before the close of the session the Government had at last decided that it was necessary to take steps for the rescue of General Gordon, who was still beleaguered in Khartoum, and they obtained from the House on 5th August a vote of credit for £300,000 for this purpose. A number of whaleboats were constructed in England for the river navigation, and the advance up the Nile commenced in September, which afterwards proved to have been too late. The expedition and its results are fully described in another section of this work.

The financial affairs of Egypt having become hopelessly involved in consequence of the claims of the inhabitants of Alexandria for indemnity, and other charges entailed by the war and subsequent British occupation, a conference of the representatives of the leading European powers was invited by the British Government to meet in London in July, to consider the question. The proposal of the British was that a pre-preference loan of £8,000,000 should be raised to meet those claims, and that the interest on the Egyptian debt should be reduced by one-half per cent. The latter proposal was agreed to by Italy and Turkey, but was resolutely opposed by France, while Russia, Germany, and

Austria declined to give an opinion on the difference between France and England. The conference was broken up by Lord Granville on 2nd August without having come to any conclusion, and the Government announced that they had decided to send Lord Northbrook as high commissioner to investigate the difficulties of Egypt on the spot. This intention was carried out, but as the report of Lord Northbrook was not made public it was understood that his recommendations had not met with the approval of the majority of his colleagues.

The lamented death of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, the eighth child of the Queen, which took place suddenly at Cannes, on the 28th of March, of course did not pass unnoticed in Parliament. The leaders of both parties joined in expressing the national sorrow and sympathy with her Majesty and the widowed Duchess in their bereavement. The Prince had from childhood been of delicate health, and being thus precluded from the pursuits of active life he devoted himself to the study of letters, science, and art, and applied the results of these studies in persistent efforts to raise all classes, especially the lower classes, to a higher level of knowledge, comfort, and enjoyment. He was by far the most accomplished and best beloved of the royal princes, and his untimely decease was lamented by the whole nation.

During the recess the agitation which had arisen respecting the extension of the franchise was transferred from Parliament to the country. Meetings attended by great crowds were held by both parties in every district, and the conduct of the leaders on each side was alternately lauded and denounced. The great Reform procession which passed through the streets of London on 21st July was rivalled, and even in some cases surpassed, by an immense number of similar gatherings on the same side throughout England and Scotland. It soon became evident that the meetings convened by the Liberals were far more numerous

and attended by far larger numbers than those of their opponents. Ominous indications were also given that if the contest lasted much longer reform or abolition of the House of Lords would accompany or follow on the heels of any measure for the reform of the House of Commons. The main obstacle in the way of a compromise was the apprehension cherished by both parties that any concessions they might be willing to make would place them at a disadvantage should an agreement not be concluded. The Liberals were afraid that if they brought forward a Redistribution Bill side by side with the Franchise Bill the representatives of the boroughs that were to be disfranchised would go over to the enemy and oppose both measures. On the other hand, the Opposition suspected that if the Franchise Bill were passed by itself they would be compelled, by the additional power thus given to the Liberals, to pass any kind of Redistribution Bill the Government might think fit to introduce, and, as Lord Salisbury said, to legislate with a pistol at their head. Lord Hartington retorted that 'the pistol is a pistol not aimed at the head of the Conservative party by the Liberal Government, but it is a pistol which Lord Salisbury places at the head of the Government and at the head of the Liberal party when he says, "Give us a Redistribution Bill which shall be to the advantage of the Tory party, or you shall have no Franchise Bill."'

The most noteworthy event during the recess was Mr. Gladstone's visit to Midlothian. His journey from Hawarden to Dalmeny, Lord Rosebery's country seat, was a triumphal progress. He received a most remarkable ovation at Edinburgh; all business was stopped; the streets were filled with closely-packed, enthusiastic crowds; and the whole way from the railway station to Dalmeny was thronged by thousands eager to do honour to their representative. His first speech (August 30) to the electors of Midlothian was mainly devoted to the Franchise Bill, which he

showed to be a most moderate measure, full of concessions to Conservative feeling. The Commons had accepted it by large majorities; its stoppage by the Lords on the ground of the absence of a Redistribution Bill was a dishonest plea, and the claim of the Peers to dictate a dissolution was novel and unconstitutional. The constitutional position of the House of Lords had been vehemently assailed by the Radical portion of the Liberal party; but the Prime Minister carefully refrained from a direct attack upon the Second Chamber, though he said the conviction forced itself upon his mind that 'the legislative action of the House of Lords for the last fifty years has not been a benefit or a blessing to the country,' a statement which was enthusiastically applauded by the meeting. He appealed, however, to the reason of that assembly, not to its fears. He believed it possible that it could go back with dignity and with honour, and he would not abandon the hope that reason would prevail until painful demonstration compelled him to relinquish it. Mr. Gladstone's speeches in the north of Scotland were in the same strain, and were received with equal enthusiasm. He indicated, however, that he was not unwilling to consider a compromise which had been proposed by Earl Cowper, and assured his audience that no effort should be wanting on his part and on that of his colleagues to effect a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of the question.

The impression which the agitation during the autumn and the innumerable speeches delivered on what was termed the 'informal plébiscite' left upon the minds of all moderate and right-thinking men was that there was no insuperable difficulty in the way of reconciling the demands of the two parties in Parliament now that they had been brought so near to each other. Accordingly, when Parliament reassembled for the autumn session on the 23rd of October, though high and defiant language was still used on both sides, events and the desires of reasonable men were working in this

direction. The bill was reintroduced and passed rapidly through the Lower House, where the second reading was carried, with the somewhat unexpected aid of the Home Rulers, by a majority of 140. The immediate result of a majority so decisive in favour of the Franchise Bill at once revived the hopes of a compromise. The main lines of the Government plan of redistribution were pretty well known from statements made by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, and especially from a document which, by a betrayal of trust on the part of some subordinate in a Government office, was published in one of the metropolitan journals. An authoritative announcement was immediately made that the scheme had not come under the consideration of the Cabinet, and was one of several schemes that had been proposed; but the public believed that the draft rested upon an official basis, and it was subsequently admitted that it gave a correct account of the proposals of a committee of the Ministry to which the work of drafting a redistribution measure had been intrusted. The publication of this scheme was fitted to remove any scruples or hesitation felt by the Opposition as to the propriety of accepting the Franchise Bill. It was introduced into the House of Lords and read a first time on the 13th of November. By this time it was understood that private negotiations were going on between the leaders of the two parties. On the 18th the Bill was read a second time without a division, and explanations were then given as to the communications on the subject which had passed between the Government and the Opposition. The committee stage was postponed for a fortnight to give time to bring the question to a final and satisfactory settlement.

It was agreed between the negotiators that the draft Redistribution Bill should be submitted to the Conservative leaders, and discussed by them along with certain representatives of the Government—Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote on

the one side, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Sir Charles Dilke on the other—that on their acceptance of the measure as mutually settled, the former were to give the Ministry ‘adequate assurances’ of their intention to carry the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords. The Government on their part agreed to introduce the Redistribution Bill in the Lower House, and to carry it to the second reading, while the Opposition should at the same time redeem their pledge by allowing the Franchise Bill to become law. The Government were content to trust for the ‘adequate assurances’ to the honour of the Conservative leaders; and in the same spirit the chiefs of the Opposition accepted the ministerial promise, that the Redistribution Bill should be pushed through Parliament at an early period of the next year, and that all the general principles of the bill would be considered a vital question by the Cabinet. The second reading was taken three days after this arrangement was concluded, and was carried without a division, and the House of Lords at the same time passed the Franchise Bill through its remaining stages on 6th December, 1884. Parliament adjourned the same day to 19th February, 1885, when the Redistribution Bill was to go into Committee.

The details of this measure attracted more attention than the Franchise Bill, though that bill added some 2,000,000 voters to the electoral rolls, probably because it affected not the new electors so much as the old constituencies. The claims of Scotland to additional members were partially satisfied by an addition of twelve members to the House, the numbers of representatives of each country thus being—England, 465; Wales, 30; Scotland, 72; Ireland, 103. Boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants were to be disfranchised and merged in the surrounding country districts; so were some rural boroughs, like East Retford, Shoreham, and Cricklade. The corrupt

boroughs—Macclesfield and Sandwich—were also to be merged in their respective county divisions or districts. Boroughs with less than 50,000 inhabitants were henceforth to be represented by only one member each, and the county of Rutland was placed in this class; boroughs with between 50,000 and 165,000 inhabitants were to return two members each. All urban constituencies with more than 165,000 inhabitants, and all counties, were to be divided into districts, each represented by a single member. The city of London was henceforth to return two members only, instead of four, Liverpool was to obtain six additional members, Glasgow and Birmingham four each, Manchester and Sheffield three each, and Leeds two.

The advocates of proportional representation were strongly opposed to this scheme, and contended that any measure brought forward by the Liberal party should 'aim at making the House of Commons the council of the nation by bringing within it, in due proportion, representatives of all forms of political thought.' Mr. Courtney, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to adopt his views, resigned his office as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. His proposals were supported by some of the Conservative party, but by far the greater number were of opinion that their leaders had acted wisely in agreeing to the single-member system. Apart from this, both parties felt that the honour of their leaders was pledged to carry through unchanged their mutual agreement.

As usual the Home Rulers were incessantly active during the year in their attacks on the Executive. They set themselves with especial determination to discredit the convictions obtained in the prosecutions under the Crimes Act. Lord Spencer, after private investigation, refused to reverse the decisions of the courts of law. He was in consequence held up to infamy in the Nationalist press and in Parliament as having compassed the death of innocent men by subornation of perjury and sup-

pression of evidence. The American Irish Fenians persisted in their 'dynamite' plots against life and property in all the three kingdoms. Happily their skill was not equal to their malignity. Three times within the year the destruction of life and property in London was attempted through the agency of dynamite. In February an explosion occurred at Victoria Station, shattering several rooms; but luckily there were no passengers about the station at the time. Preparations for a similar crime were discovered at Paddington, Charing Cross, and Ludgate Hill. In May simultaneous explosions took place in St. James' Square and at Scotland Yard, and in December an attempt was made to blow up London Bridge. On the 11th of April an Irishman named Fitzgerald was apprehended in the neighbourhood of Whitehall in connection with these Fenian outrages and removed to Dublin for trial. Next a Fenian of the name of Daly was arrested at Birkenhead, and almost simultaneously another Fenian named Egan, in whose house Daly had been a lodger, was arrested on a charge of conspiracy. He and Egan were tried for treason-felony at the Warwick assizes (2nd August) and found guilty. Daly was sentenced to penal servitude for life and Egan for twenty years. The punishment inflicted on these miscreants did not, however, deter others from following their example. On 26th January, 1885, an attempt was made to destroy by means of dynamite the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and part of the Houses of Parliament. Fortunately no lives were lost, though the buildings were damaged, and several persons were seriously injured. Two of the perpetrators of these outrages were discovered, tried, and condemned to penal servitude.

Parliament reassembled on the 19th of February, 1885, and the House of Commons resumed consideration of the Redistribution Bill in Committee. No direct opposition had been offered to the scheme as a whole, but strong objections were now

made to particular clauses. The Ulster Conservatives complained that the small boroughs in the north, where the strength of their party lay, were to be abolished, and urged that other places hitherto distinct from these boroughs should be grouped with them, so as to make up at least the minimum population to which in future representation was to be granted. The groups of burghs in Scotland were in various instances most inconveniently arranged, and a new and much more suitable arrangement was proposed. On the other hand, some Conservative members insisted that these groups should be extended by the addition of other places at present included in the counties. But these and various other proposals were rejected by large majorities on the ground that both Liberals and Conservatives were bound in honour to adhere to the compromise which had been settled by the leaders of the two parties. The bill therefore passed through Parliament without undergoing any material alteration.

The following English boroughs, returning eighty-three members, have been disfranchised—viz., Abingdon, Andover, Aylesbury, Banbury, Barnstaple, Beaumaris (district), Berwick-on-Tweed, Bewdley, Bodmin, Brecon, Bridgnorth, Bridport, Buckingham, Calne, Cardigan (district), Chichester, Chippenham, Chipping Wycombe, Cirencester, Clitheroe, Cockermouth, Cricklade, Devizes, Dorchester, Droitwich, East Retford, Evesham, Eye, Frome, Great Marlow, Guildford, Harwich, Haverfordwest (district), Helstone, Hertford, Horsham, Huntingdon, Kendal, Knaresborough, Launceston, Leominster, Lewes, Lichfield, Liskeard, Ludlow, Lymington, Maldon, Malmesbury, Malton, Marlborough, Midhurst, Newark, Newport, New Shoreham, Northallerton, Petersfield, Poole, Radnor (district), Richmond, Ripon, Rye, St. Ives, Shaftesbury, Stamford, Stroud, Tamworth, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thirsk, Tiverton, Truro, Wallingford, Wareham, Wenlock, Westbury, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Whitby, Wilton, and Woodstock. Of these boroughs Aylesbury, Berwick, East Retford, and New Shoreham returned two members each, the others had only a single representative.

In Scotland the Haddington and the Wigtown districts of burghs alone were disfranchised.

In Ireland the list of the boroughs which were to cease as such contains Armagh, Athlone,

Bandon, Carlow, Carrickfergus, Clonmel, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Dungannon, Dungarvan, Ennis, Enniskillen, Kinsale, Lisburn, Mallow, New Ross, Portarlington, Tralee, Wexford, and Youghal.

The following English boroughs, hitherto returning two members, have lost one member each:—Bedford, Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester, Coventry, Dover, Durham, Exeter, Gloucester, Grantham, Hastings, Hereford, King's Lynn, Lincoln, Maidstone, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Oxford, Penryn and Falmouth, Peterborough, Pontefract, Reading, Rochester, Salisbury, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Taunton, Wigan, Winchester, and Worcester.

In Ireland Galway, Limerick, and Waterford are in future to return only one member each.

A third schedule contains the names of the boroughs which are to obtain additional members. In England Liverpool is to have nine members; Birmingham seven, Manchester six, Leeds and Sheffield five each, Bristol four, Bradford, Hull, Nottingham, Salford, and Wolverhampton three each; and Swansea (district) two. In Scotland Glasgow is to obtain seven members, Edinburgh four, and Aberdeen two. In Ireland Belfast and Dublin are to return four each.

The fourth schedule contains a list of the new boroughs in England—viz., Islington, Lambeth, and St. Pancras are to return four members each; Camberwell and Hackney three; Battersca and Clapham, Bethnal Green, Kensington, Marylebone, Mile-End Old Town, Newington, Paddington, Poplar, Shoreditch, and West Ham two; while Aston Manor, Barrow-in-Furness, Bermondsey, Chelsea, Clerkenwell, Croydon, Deptford, Finsbury, Fulham, Great Yarmouth, Greenwich, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Hanley, Holborn, Lewisham, Limehouse, Rotherhithe, St. George-in-the-East, St. George's Hanover Square, St. Helen's, Southwark, Strand, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, Wandsworth, West Bromwich, and Woolwich are to have one representative each.

Great Yarmouth formerly returned two members, but was disfranchised for bribery and corruption. It is now conjoined with a portion of Norfolk and Suffolk, and one member is restored to it. Forty-seven members are to be elected by constituencies which virtually form part of the metropolis, though some of them, strictly speaking, are beyond its boundaries. Twenty-seven English boroughs, three Scottish, and two Irish have had their boundaries altered, and the boroughs subdivided, one member being allotted for each division.

The counties also have been rearranged, and in a good many cases have obtained enlarged representation—one member for each division. Yorkshire has obtained twenty-six members—four for the North Riding, three for the East Riding, and

nineteen for the West Riding; Lancashire has obtained twenty-three; Chester, Devon, Durham, Essex, Kent, eight each; Derby, Lincoln, Middlesex, Somerset, Stafford, seven; Cornwall, Norfolk, Surrey, Sussex, six; Glamorgan, Gloucester, Hants, Suffolk, Wilts, Worcester, five; Cumberland, Dorset, Hertford, Leicester, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Salop, Warwick, four; Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Monmouth, Oxford, three; Bedford, Carmarthen, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Hereford, Huntingdon, Westmorland, two; and Rutland, one.

In Scotland an addition has been made to the members returned by several of the counties. Lanark has six members allotted to it—an addition of four; Fife, Perth, and Renfrew, which have hitherto returned only one, are henceforth to be represented by two each.

In Ireland also extensive alterations have been made. The county of Cork is to obtain seven members; Antrim, Donegal, Down, Galway, Kerry, Mayo, Tipperary, and Tyrone, four each; Armagh, three; Cavan, Clare, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Kilkenny, King's County, Leitrim, Limerick, Londonderry, Longford, Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Queen's County, Rosecommon, Sligo, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford, and Wicklow, two each; and Carlow, one.

The only measure of importance besides the Reform and Redistribution Bills that was passed through Parliament and became law this session was the Secretary for Scotland Bill. In its first shape this measure gave no satisfaction to either party, and though it was allowed to pass the Commons it was thrown out by the Lords in 1883. A great meeting of influential persons was, however, held in Edinburgh, the Marquis of Lothian in the chair, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted in favour of placing the administration of Scottish affairs under the charge of a minister who should be eligible for a seat in the Cabinet. Supported by such a powerful manifestation, the Government in 1884 brought in a greatly enlarged and improved measure, though still defective in its omission of national education from the subjects which were to be placed under the charge of the new secretary. The bill, however, was withdrawn along with all the other Government measures when the Lords refused to pass the Franchise Bill unless accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. In

1885 the measure was reintroduced in an improved form, mainly owing to the exertions of Lord Rosebery, who was now a member of the Cabinet. It provided for the appointment of a Secretary for Scotland who should have charge of all the affairs peculiar to that country, with the exception of law and justice, and it now for the first time included Scottish education among the subjects intrusted to his care. The measure was cordially supported by the Marquis of Salisbury and other leading Conservative Peers, and was feebly opposed by only two or three members of the Upper House of no great influence. The opposition which it met with in the Commons, though more energetic, was equally ineffective, and the bill became law at the close of the session.

While the British Government was engaged in the unsuccessful attempt, elsewhere described, to relieve Khartoum and rescue General Gordon, a characteristic outrage on the part of Russia suddenly roused the attention and indignation, not only of Britain, but of Europe. That power had steadily persisted in carrying out its hereditary policy in Central Asia. One stronghold after another had been appropriated, and one district after another annexed, notwithstanding reiterated protestations that these successive encroachments on the territories of the independent tribes would not be made.

After the occupation of Merv by the Russians, as their outposts continued to be pushed forward towards Herat and the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and a collision was not improbable, a proposal had been made by Russia and acceded to by the British Government on behalf of the Amcer, that a joint commission should be appointed for the settlement of the frontier line between Afghanistan and the Turcoman territory on the north and north-west of the Amcer's dominions. General Sir Peter Lumsden was nominated the English representative in the autumn of 1884. He reached Penjdeh early in December, and

along with his staff of engineers and scientific men and an escort of cavalry and infantry, proceeded to Bála Murgháb, where they intended to winter. The Russian Commissioners were to have met them there in February, but, with consummate effrontery, it was publicly announced that the Chief Commissioner on the part of the Czar, General Zelenoy, had just started to enjoy a holiday at this critical juncture, at his country residence, near Tiflis. There can be no doubt as to the purpose which the failure of the Russian Commission to meet the British Commissioners at the appointed time was intended to serve. Meanwhile the Russian troops were busily occupied, in the guise of surveying parties, in the districts which were to be 'delimited,' and Sir Peter Lumsden found a Russian force encamped at Pul-i-Khatun, on the ground to which the British Commission had been invited, in the name of the Russian Government, to lay down the frontier line.

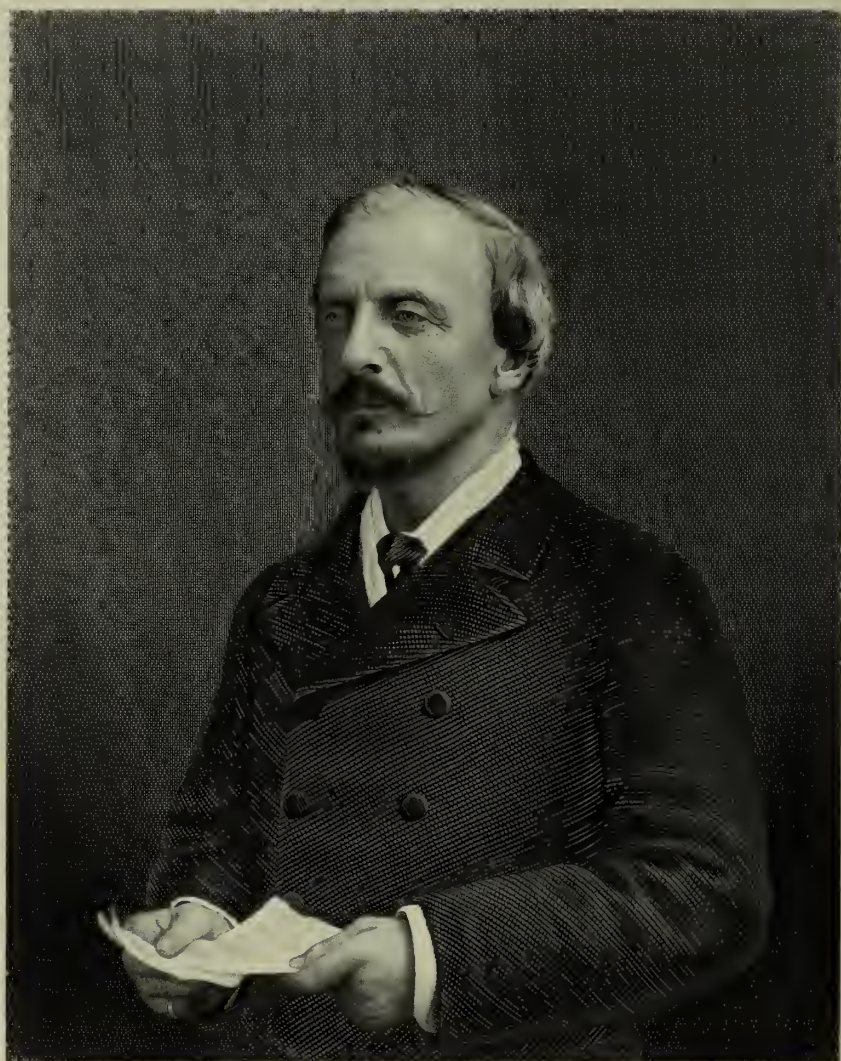
As little confidence could be placed in Russian promises and protestations, the Indian military authorities had taken alarm at these movements into the northern passes of Afghanistan, and preparations for the protection of our ally, the Ameer, had fortunately been made by the Indian Government. The war party at St. Petersburg evidently imagined that Britain would be so fully occupied with operations in the Soudan that it would be impossible for her to raise an adequate force to oppose a Russian advance into Afghan territory, and they thought that this juncture afforded them a favourable opportunity to push on towards Herat. Before the Easter recess, Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that an arrangement had been come to between the British Government and that of St. Petersburg, that the Russian and Afghan outposts should maintain their present positions until some definite scheme of delimitation had been arrived at. Our Government had made the Russians distinctly aware that an advance on their part would be considered a breach of the

entente cordiale then existing, and on the 17th of March they were assured that the Russian forces would not advance from the positions they occupied, provided that the Afghans did not advance or attack them, unless some extraordinary circumstances should happen, such as a disturbance at Penjdeh. The Russians were drawn up in force, almost within range of the Afghan position, though the Afghans had neither attacked nor advanced, and Penjdeh remained perfectly quiet.

The Ameer informed Sir P. Lumsden that from the time of the arrival of the British Commission in his territory the Russians intended to pick a quarrel, and there can be little doubt that the opinion was well founded. General Lumsden states that every endeavour was made by the Russians to provoke the Afghans to begin a fight. Twice they attempted forcibly to pass through the Afghan pickets. On the failure of these attempts Captain Yate, a British officer with the Afghans, met the chief of the Russian staff by appointment, and was assured that no such arrangement as that made on the 17th of March respecting the non-advance of the Russian troops, had been intimated to him. Further, the chief of the staff refused to give Captain Yate an assurance that the Afghans would not be attacked without previous notice, and he claimed the right to turn out the Afghan posts whenever they might inconvenience the Russians without reference to a third party.

On March 29 Sir Peter Lumsden desired Captain Yate again to see the Russian commander to endeavour to effect an amicable arrangement. But on the following day, without any previous notice or declaration of war, the Russian General, Komaroff, attacked the Afghans in their entrenched position at Penjdeh, and after a stubborn conflict defeated and dispersed them, with the loss of their artillery and provisions and several hundred men. The Afghans fought with the greatest gallantry, though with very inferior arms. Two companies were said to have been killed to a man in

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Engraved by H. Stodart from a Photo. by Elliott & Fry.

THE HON. F. T. BLACKWOOD,
 CHIEF SECRETARY, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

their entrenchments. The Russian authorities affirmed that orders were duly sent to General Komaroff not to advance beyond the position occupied by his outposts prior to 17th March, provided that the Afghans did not advance from Penjdeh. The General on his part alleged that the Afghans left Penjdeh in large numbers, crossed the river, and established themselves in menacing positions on his left and in his rear; and he pretended that their movements indicated an intention to make a night attack on the Russian camp. The British officers, who were only a few miles distant from Penjdeh, but remained neutral, deny that any provocation was given by the Afghans. The only pretext for this lame defence was the fact that the Afghans, seeing the hostile proceedings of the Russians, moved out of Penjdeh and took up what seemed a more favourable position for resisting the threatened attack on the left bank of the Kushk River. But Sir Peter Lumsden denied that this movement constituted an advance; it was merely a measure of necessary precaution. It afterwards transpired that General Komaroff did not advance of his own accord, but by the express orders of his chief, Prince Dondoukoff-Koroakoff, Governor of the Caucasus, who could have known nothing of the Afghan movements on which the General rested his justification. The attack of the Russian General therefore was not unpremeditated, and could not have been precipitated by the alleged hostile attitude of the Afghans.

The news that hostilities had broken out on the Afghan frontier caused a panic not only in the stock exchanges of Great Britain, but on the *bourses* of the Continent. War was believed to be imminent. British forbearance had long been on the verge of exhaustion, and the indignation of the whole country at this unprovoked aggression on the territory of an ally was so strong that no conciliatory phrases or delusive promises could possibly allay it. The tidings of the Russian attack on the Afghans caused a profound sensation in

India. It was generally believed for a month past that the failure of the Russian delimitation Commissioners to keep their appointment was solely to gain time to bring up troops and supplies, and that the Penjdeh outrage was a proof that the Russian commander thought that the time had arrived for throwing off the mask and undertaking aggressive operations. The feeling throughout India, both among the British subjects and the native princes, ran strongly in favour of our Government. Russian rule and policy were well known among them and appreciated at their true value. The crisis brought out the clearest evidence that the princes and the people of India are devotedly attached to the British Crown, and were eager to prove their loyal trust in the Government. Offers of assistance in the expected war immediately poured in, not only from the native princes, but from the wealthy men of all races and classes, who gave the most convincing proof of loyalty by liberal tenders of pecuniary help.

Fortunately, at this juncture the Ameer of Afghanistan was on the most friendly terms with the British Government. At the time when the Russian attack on Penjdeh took place the Ameer was on a visit to the Viceroy of India, whom he met at Rawul Pindi. He was welcomed with marked cordiality, and every possible attention was paid him. He expressed himself strongly in favour of a British alliance, but made some moderate demands, including a supply of arms and ammunition and an increase of the annual subsidy, which were at once acceded to by the Indian Government. The Ameer repeatedly gave expression to his feelings of gratitude at the magnificent reception accorded to him, and the friendly welcome and treatment he had received at the hands of the Viceroy. He said that the remembrance of all that had passed would remain engraven on his heart, and that he would ever remain the grateful and devoted friend of the British Government. On receiving the news of

the Russian attack on Penjdeh he declared to the Viceroy his determination to resist to the utmost any invasion of Afghan territory, and while most anxious to avoid war and to arrive at an amicable settlement with Russia on the boundary question, he asserted that his people would rise up as one man and fight desperately in defence of their families and country, nor would they give up an inch of their territory or allow their country to be the highway of a Russian army. He readily agreed to leave the entire management of the negotiations with Russia in the hands of the British Government.

The attitude assumed by the Ministry towards the aggressors in this affair was firm, indeed stern, though not uncourteous. They assumed that Russia would be willing to make redress for the unprovoked attack upon the Afghans, and offered all proper facilities for an honourable retreat, but at the same time they made prompt and vigorous preparations, if need be, to repel force by force. They resolved that the reserves should be called out, and that the regular forces should be largely increased. Recruiting was commenced at once, and great numbers of young men hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of the army. Preparations on a large scale were commenced at the dockyards throughout the country, and at Woolwich arsenal, and the necessary arrangements were made with all possible speed for the despatch of reinforcements to India. Most significant of all the indications that the British Government and legislature were firmly resolved to vindicate the rights of the Afghans, was the unanimity with which a vote of credit of £11,000,000 was granted to defray the necessary expenditure. Warlike preparations on an extensive scale were made at every military centre in India. Seventy thousand transport animals, laden with provisions and military stores, were at once despatched to Pishin. The Anglo-Indian troops were in complete readiness to take the field by the 1st of May, and it was

announced that 26,000 of these could be massed at Pishin within twenty days.

The Muscovite Government were completely taken by surprise at the spirit displayed by the British Ministry and people. It appears that they never imagined that their encroachments would be resisted by force. They supposed that Britain was fully occupied in the Soudan, and that they could steal a march upon her with impunity. At the outset, however, the Czar and his advisers attempted to brazen out the outrage of which they had been guilty, and statements were made by them as to the grounds of the attack on the Afghans, which, as General Lumsden showed, were utterly devoid of truth. Rewards and decorations were conferred upon General Komaroff and other officers concerned in the attack upon Penjdeh. Vehement declarations were made of Russia's determination to maintain the position she had assumed, a provisional government was appointed at Penjdeh by General Komaroff, a Russian squadron was ordered to the Baltic, an army of 30,000 men was concentrated in the Caucasus, and the official journals recommended that the Russian forces on the Afghan frontier should march at once upon Herat.

At first it seemed that the military party at St. Petersburg would completely sway the policy of the court. But when it became evident that persistence in this course would inevitably lead to war, a better spirit began to prevail, and the tremendous dangers of such a contest cooled the hot-headed ardour of the military party. The opinion of all the continental sovereigns and their ministers must have greatly influenced the Czar and his chancellor, M. de Giers, who had always wished to avoid war. A conciliatory answer was returned to the remonstrances of the British Ministry, and after a good deal of negotiation it was ultimately agreed that the affair at Penjdeh should be referred to arbitration, and that meanwhile the negotiations for the settlement of the frontier should go on.

The Ameer stated at the outset that he was indifferent to the retention of Penjdeh, which was of no material use to him, but he attached vital importance to the possession of the Pass of Zulfikar, Gulnarai, and Maruehak. After several inadmissible proposals on the part of Russia, and various attempts to mislead and overreach the British negotiators, it was agreed that while giving up Penjdeh the Ameer should retain Zulfikar. Lord Kimberley (April 14) expressly informed the Russian ambassadors, M. de Staal and M. de Lessar, that it was a *sine qua non* that the Zulfikar Pass should be left in possession of Afghanistan; M. de Giers, in a telegram to the ambassador of 16th April, expressed his approval of this arrangement, and the Ameer informed the Viceroy of India that he most willingly accepted the line described. It very soon appeared, however, that the Russians were not satisfied with the definition of the boundary agreed upon by their own envoys and approved by M. de Giers. They first of all tried to obtain Maruchak. When this was refused by the British Government they next laid claim to the Pass of Zulfikar; but it was pointed out that M. de Giers, on the 16th of April, agreed to the exchange of Zulfikar for Penjdeh, and that to give Zulfikar without the command of the pass would make the possession of it valueless to the Afghans. This contention was strenuously supported by the Indian Viceroy, who intimated that he had already informed the Ameer that the frontier would be drawn to the mouth of Zulfikar Pass, and that he strongly deprecated any further concessions to the Russians, as such concessions would discredit our character for constancy and good faith in the eyes of the Ameer and his people.

At this juncture Mr. Gladstone's Government went out of office, but their successors held firmly to the ground which they had taken up. Colonel Ridgway, who was on the spot, informed the Marquis of Salisbury, the new Foreign Secretary, that the object

of the Russian claim was to obtain cross communications between the rivers Kushk and Heri-Rud. The Russian claim would practically secure the first line of cross-communications and absolutely secure the second. The crest of the hills claimed commands and renders useless Zulfikar Pass, and also the road at its foot, which is essential to the Afghans. It likewise gave the Russians command of other two passes, and thus secured their right flank against attack. Fortified by this information Lord Salisbury stood firm, and insisted on the fulfilment of the agreement which M. de Giers had sanctioned. In the end the western or Zulfikar Pass proper, on which alone the officers, whose means of local knowledge entitled them to express an opinion, placed great value, was entirely secured to Afghanistan, and in order to leave the Afghans full command of it the frontier was pushed back from the crest of the heights bordering the pass to a distance in every case not less than 1000 yards, and generally to a much greater distance. The eastern pass, which was of no value to the Afghans, was made over to the Russians. This arrangement was regarded as an adequate solution of the difficulty in the interests of the Ameer, to whom it was quite satisfactory.

The Ministry, though they had succeeded in carrying their Franchise and Redistribution Bills through both Houses of Parliament, had continued to lose ground during the progress of the session. A considerable number of their supporters were dissatisfied with their Soudan policy as deficient in promptitude, vigour, and consistency, while another section strongly disapproved of their interference in any form with the affairs of that country. Others, again, complained that their proceedings in Egypt were directed to the promotion of the interests of the bondholders rather than to the welfare of the people. They were harassed, too, by persistent obstruction in every possible form, and by votes of censure repeated time after

time by the regular Opposition, assisted by the Parnellites. To crown all, Mr. Gladstone, notwithstanding his transcendent abilities, has always shown himself deficient in the power of managing his party and keeping them firm in their allegiance to their leader. But no apprehension was entertained that the Government would not be able to retain their places until a new Parliament was elected, and least of all was it thought probable that they would be overthrown on a question of finance.

In order to meet the deficiency in the revenue and to defray the large additional expenditure caused by the threatened rupture with Russia, Mr. Childers, who had succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to add 2*d.* per pound to the income-tax, and to increase the succession duties on real property, which was lightly taxed in comparison of personal property. He regarded it as unfair, however, that the additional burden should be borne exclusively by the upper and middle classes, and therefore resolved that a portion of the necessary revenue should be raised by indirect taxation. He proposed to effect this by imposing an additional tax of 2*s.* per gallon on spirits and an additional 1*s.* per barrel on beer.

The proposal, however, to increase the tax on beer and spirits met with strong opposition. It was argued that the duty on spirits was already so high that it was doubtful if the increase would be economically successful, for an addition of 20 per cent. to the duty would diminish the consumption, and it was insisted that there was serious danger that a greater proportion of coarse and adulterated spirits would be consumed. It was also urged that it is unjust to tax the alcohol in spirits at a rate so very much higher than the alcohol in wines. It is calculated that while whisky at 18*s.* per gallon pays an *ad valorem* duty of 200 per cent., sherry at 30*s.* per dozen pays 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., and champagne at 60*s.* only 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. But a still stronger argument against the proposed additional

heavy duty on spirits was the fact that it would increase the already unequal fiscal burdens in the different parts of the United Kingdom. If the Scottish and Irish people, it was said, choose to drink more whisky and less beer than Englishmen do, this may or may not be the worse for them, but it is certainly no reason why they should be more heavily taxed. The figures showing the contribution to the revenue last year on beer and spirits by each of the three kingdoms serve to roughly indicate the inequality of the burdens. England paid 11*s.* 8*d.* per head of the population, Scotland 18*s.* 10*d.*, and Ireland 13*s.* 10*d.*; so that on an average each person in Scotland paid 7*s.* 2*d.*, and each person in Ireland 2*s.* 2*d.*, more than each person in England. If the enhanced duties were imposed the inequality would be still greater. In Scotland the revenue per head of the population would be 22*s.* 7*d.*, in Ireland 16*s.* 3*d.*, and in England only 13*s.* 9*d.*

It need cause no surprise that such proposals as these excited a great deal of discontent, and that strong pressure was brought to bear on the Government to reconsider the justice and political expediency of taxing spirits so much more heavily than other alcoholic liquors. As a matter of course the Opposition were not slow to take advantage of the prevailing dissatisfaction, though their main object was to defeat the attempt to increase what some termed 'the death duties.' On 9th June Sir Michael Hicks-Beach moved a resolution to the effect that the increase proposed in the duties levied on beer and spirits is inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the duties on wine, and that fresh taxation on real property should not be imposed until effect had been given to the resolution passed by the House in favour of the reduction of local taxation. After a sharp debate this motion was carried by a combination of the Conservatives and Parnellites.

Upwards of fifty of the usual supporters of the Government were absent from the

division. A considerable number pleaded that they were not aware of the importance of the division, and thought that their presence was unnecessary. But in truth the main reason was the apathy and indifference of a large portion of the absentees, and the apprehension on the part of others that their vote in favour of the budget would have offended influential members in their constituencies.

Mr. Gladstone immediately waited upon Her Majesty and tendered the resignation of the Cabinet, and Lord Salisbury was summoned to Balmoral, where the Queen was then residing, and intrusted with the formation of a Ministry. His lordship resolved to accept the commission intrusted to him by the Queen on condition that the late Ministry and their adherents would consent to support him during the remainder of the session. This request was declined, but Lord Salisbury was assured that the leaders of the Liberal majority in the House would offer no factious opposition to him and his friends if they should think fit to assume office. In these circumstances the Conservative leaders, with visible reluctance, but in compliance with the urgent pressure of the younger and more impatient members of the party, undertook the formation of a Government. The Marquis of Salisbury became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, but Sir Stafford Northcote was set aside from the leadership of the House of Commons, at the instance, it was generally believed, of Lord Randolph Churchill, and was appointed to the nominal office of First Lord of the Treasury, with a peerage. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach succeeded him as leader of the House, with the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Sir Stafford held in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry; Sir Hardinge Giffard was appointed Lord Chancellor; Colonel Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary for India; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary of War; and Lord John Manners, Postmaster-General. The Duke of Richmond was made Presi-

dent of the Board of Trade, an office which he shortly after exchanged for that of Secretary for Scotland. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, was nominated President of the Local Government Board, and Lord George Hamilton was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. After some hesitation Sir Richard Cross was reinstated in his former office of Home Secretary; Lord Cranbrook was appointed President and Mr. E. Stanhope Vice-president of the Council, but he subsequently succeeded the Duke of Richmond as President of the Board of Trade, Sir Henry Holland replacing him in the Privy Council office. The Earl of Carnarvon became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Gibson Lord Chancellor, with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Webster was appointed Attorney-General and Mr. Gorst Solicitor-General for England; Mr. Holmes, Attorney-General for Ireland; and Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald, Lord Advocate for Scotland. It was noted that offices were found for all the four members of the Fourth Party.

The position of the new Ministry, supported only by a minority in the House of Commons, rendered it impossible for them to bring forward any new measures or to inaugurate any policy of their own. They could do little more than continue to carry out the policy of their predecessors and bring the session to a close with all convenient speed. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer dropped the spirit duties and the succession duties proposed by his predecessor, but adopted the addition to the income-tax, which thus amounted to 8*d.* per pound. He provided for the deficit by appropriating the sinking fund for the current year, and suspending the payment of terminable annuities amounting to £4,670,000. The Ministry took charge of the Secretary for Scotland Bill as soon as it reached the House of Commons, and successfully resisted all attempts to impair its efficiency. They carried out the negotiations which the late Government had commenced with Russia in the settlement

of the Afghan frontier, and also the arrangement with the other powers respecting the Egyptian loan which they conjointly guaranteed. Sir H. Drummond Wolff was sent out as a special commissioner to report on the state of affairs in Egypt, but as it was considered essential that whatever was done in that country should be with the sanction and goodwill of Turkey, the British commission proceeded first to Constantinople, where, after prolonged negotiations, and a delay of some months, it was agreed that the Sultan should also send a special commissioner to Egypt to make a joint inquiry with Sir H. D. Wolff, and Moukhtar Pasha, a well-known Turkish general, was appointed for this duty, though his leaving Constantinople was delayed until 22nd December, 1885, by the disturbing events in the Balkan Peninsula, elsewhere narrated.

Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August, and was dissolved on the 18th of November. During the previous six months the whole country was in a state of

ferment, and the result of the elections was looked for with the most anxious solicitude.

The first general election, under the extension of the Franchise and the Redistribution Acts, was regarded with unusual interest and anxiety, for it was impossible to predict with any degree of certainty in what way the 2,000,000 of new electors in the counties would vote. The issue was rendered still further doubtful in consequence of the attitude assumed by the leader of the Irish Nationalists, who recommended the Irish electors in England and Scotland to vote for the Conservative candidates. His scarcely concealed object was to place the Liberal party in the new House of Commons in a minority, or if this could not be accomplished, to bring the two parties so near to equality in numbers that the Nationalists should hold the balance between them, and maintain either party in office at their pleasure.

The results of this highly important election will be clearly understood from the tabular statements here given.

RESULTS OF GENERAL ELECTION, 1885.

	Seats.	Elected.				Returned Unopposed.		
		Liberals.	Conservatives.	Nationalists.	Independent.	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Nationalists.
ENGLAND.								
Counties,	234	134	100	—	—	1	1	—
London Boroughs, . .	59	23	36	—	—	—	—	—
Provincial Boroughs, .	167	87	78	1	1	3	—	—
Universities,	5	1	4	—	—	1	4	—
Total,	465	245	218	1	1	5	5	—
SCOTLAND.								
Counties,	39	32	7	—	—	2	—	—
Burghs,	31	30	1	—	—	3	—	—
Universities,	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—
Total,	72	62	10	—	—	5	1	—
IRELAND.								
Counties,	85	—	11	74	—	—	2	17
Boroughs,	16	—	5	11	—	—	—	2
University,	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—
Total,	103	—	18	85	—	—	4	19
WALES.								
Counties,	19	18	1	—	—	1	—	—
Boroughs,	11	9	2	—	—	3	—	—
Total,	30	27	3	—	—	4	—	—
Grand Total, . . .	670	334	249	86	1	14	10	19

In the case of the St. Andrews Burghs a double return was made, the unusual circumstance having happened of two opposing candidates receiving exactly the same number

	Con- tests.	Votes Recorded.					Total.
		Liberals.	Conser- vatives.	Nation- alists.	S. L. R. L.	Inde- p'dents	
ENGLAND.							
Counties, . .	232	1,029,855	909,770	—	—	296	1,939,921
London Boroughs,	59	166,679	198,014	—	—	160	364,853
Provincial Boroughs,	164	654,385	593,654	3,489	—	14,471	1,265,999
Universities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total, .	455	1,850,919	1,701,438	3,489	—	14,927	3,570,773
SCOTLAND.							
Counties, . .	37	160,953	93,026	—	74	—	254,053
Burghs, . .	28	131,201	58,384	—	2,285	1,321	193,191
Universities	1	2,453	2,840	—	—	—	5,293
Total, .	66	294,607	154,250	—	2,359	1,321	452,537
IRELAND.							
Counties, . .	66	24,365	85,371	253,614	—	2,017	365,367
Boroughs, . .	14	4,847	29,550	48,374	—	—	83,080
University,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total, .	80	29,212	115,230	301,988	—	2,017	448,447
WALES.							
Counties, . .	18	82,172	49,172	—	—	1,907	133,251
Boroughs, . .	8	21,086	18,178	—	—	—	39,264
Total, .	26	103,258	67,350	—	—	1,907	172,515

of votes. Both being, however, adherents of the Liberal party, the figures in the above table remain unaffected.

Altogether there were 1336 candidates for 670 seats. Forty-three members were returned without opposition, and 1293 candidates contested the remaining 627 seats.

These results showed that neither of the two great parties in the state could count upon a working majority, as a combination of Conservatives and Nationalists would no more than equal, under ordinary circumstances, the Liberal voting power. This state of affairs was so unusual as to cause great perplexity among the party leaders; but after consultation with his colleagues Lord Salisbury decided to retain office until the meeting of Parliament.

The new Parliament met on the 12th January, 1886, for the swearing-in of members and election of Speaker. Mr. Arthur Peel was again chosen for this office, and one of his first official acts was to put an end to the Bradlaugh question, by refusing to allow anyone to interfere with Mr. Bradlaugh taking the oath like any other member.

On the 21st, Parliament was formally opened by the Queen in person. The Queen's speech, which was read from the woolsack, referred to the satisfactory arrangement of the question of the Russo-Afghan frontier, the Roumelian question, and the annexation of Burmah, which had been proclaimed on 1st January. In reference to Ireland, it declared positively against any disturbance of the legislative union between that country and Great Britain, and expressed the confidence of ministers that, if necessary, Parliament would grant them special powers to enforce respect for the law in Ireland. At the same time it promised a measure for the reform of county government in Ireland, and a similar measure for England.

On the 16th January were published certain letters between Lord Carnarvon and the Marquis of Salisbury announcing the former's retiral from the post of lord lieutenant. No new appointment was made, but Mr. W. H. Smith was appointed Irish secretary in place of Sir W. Hart Dyke.

On the 26th Sir M. Hicks Beach gave notice that on the following Thursday Mr. W. H. Smith would introduce a bill to suppress the National League and check 'boycotting' in Ireland; but on the same

evening an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, was moved by Mr. Jesse Collings in favour of measures to facilitate the acquirement of allotments by farm labourers, which was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, but opposed by Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington, as well as by the Government. It was, nevertheless, carried by 339 against 250 votes, and the House was at once adjourned, on the motion of Sir M. H. Beach.

On the 1st February the resignation of the ministry was announced by Lord Salisbury and Sir M. H. Beach, and Mr. Gladstone was summoned to Osborne and undertook the formation of a Liberal cabinet, which was composed as follows:—Mr. Gladstone, first lord of the treasury; Sir Farrer Herschell, lord chancellor; Earl Spencer, lord president of the council; Mr. Childers, home secretary; Earl of Rosebery, foreign secretary; Earl Granville, secretary for the colonies; Earl of Kimberley, secretary for India; Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, secretary for war; Sir W. Harcourt, chancellor of the exchequer; Marquis of Ripon, first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Chamberlain, president of the local government board; Mr. Trevelyan, secretary for Scotland; Mr. Mundella, president of the board of trade; Mr. J. Morley, chief secretary for Ireland. The Earl of Aberdeen became lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Mr. Goschen, and Sir Henry James did not enter the new Ministry, owing to their distrust of the Irish policy with which Mr. John Morley's name was associated. When Parliament assembled on 18th February, it was intimated that the Government intended to spend some time in inquiring into the Irish difficulty. After many delays, notice was given of the introduction, on the 8th April, of a Bill granting Home Rule to Ireland, to be accompanied by another Bill dealing with the land question. The retiral of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan from the cabinet immediately followed, and both these states-

men took an active part in opposing Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme. This scheme proposed the establishment in Ireland of a separate executive government, responsible to a legislature sitting in Dublin, and with complete power over the civil and criminal law, including existing contracts, and the protection of life and property. The army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs, trade, navigation, and the endowment of religious bodies were excluded from the powers of this 'statutory Parliament.' The Irish assembly was to be divided into two 'orders,' the first order to be composed of representative peers and members with a pecuniary qualification, elected by persons with an income not under £250 a year—the second elected under the suffrage already in use. In the event of disagreement between these orders, the measure voted upon would be suspended for three years, or until a dissolution. All the Irish members were thenceforth to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament, while the Irish customs and excise were to remain under control of this Parliament. The Irish contribution to Imperial charges, to be produced from these sources, was fixed at the sum of £3,242,000 per annum. The Land Purchase Bill, which was said to form an indispensable part of the scheme, was introduced on 13th April. Every landlord was to have the option of selling his land to a state authority under the Irish Parliament, which would transfer the land to the tenants, and take payment from them in instalments payable during forty-nine years. The price of the land was to be fixed by a new Land Commission on the basis of twenty years' purchase in normal cases, and the purchase-money was to be advanced by the Imperial Government, who took power to make a special issue of Consols (amounting to fifty millions) to provide the necessary funds. The repayment of principal and interest was to be made by the tenant in the form of a rent charge, to be collected by the Irish Government, and

paid over to a receiver-general appointed by the British Government, into whose hands were to come the entire proceeds of Irish taxation, upon which these repayments were to constitute a first charge. It was stated by Mr. Chamberlain, that the sum originally proposed to be advanced by the Government for this scheme of land purchase was £120,000,000, and it was generally agreed, that if at all extensively taken advantage of £50,000,000 would prove quite inadequate.

Both bills were met by strong opposition in Parliament, coming not only from the Conservatives, but from such prominent Liberals as Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Bright, Sir Henry James, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Trevelyan. The bills were defended by Mr. John Morley, who was understood to have had much to do with their production, and the remainder of the Liberal Cabinet, and were accepted, though with some hesitation, by the Home Rule party, who in the subsequent divisions voted with the Government. A general agitation was carried on throughout the country during the Easter recess, and it was found that while opinion on the Home Rule Bill was very much divided, it was evident that the Land Purchase Bill was distinctly unpopular.

As it became evident, in the course of the prolonged debate which followed in the House of Commons, that the Government were in a minority, Mr. Gladstone proposed to accept an assent to the second reading of the bill as an affirmation of its principle, and promised to withdraw it and re-introduce it in a modified form in an autumn session. Even this, however, failed to conciliate its opponents, who pointed out that it was precisely the principle of a separate and virtually independent Government for any part of the United Kingdom to which they objected. The division was taken at the close of the sitting on 7th June, when the Government were defeated by 341 votes to 311.

The Government at once announced

that a communication had been made to the Queen, and that all contentious business would be dropped for the remainder of the session, from which it was understood that an immediate dissolution and appeal to the country had been resolved on.

The dissolution of Parliament took place on the 25th June, and the electoral campaign which followed was brief but sharp. The Conservatives combined with those Liberals who opposed the Home Rule scheme of Mr. Gladstone, while the Parnellite party were instructed to vote for the Gladstonian candidates wherever they could not count on carrying one of their own. The result was that the new House of Commons, the second elected by the reformed constituencies, numbered 316 Conservatives, 76 Unionist Liberals, 192 Gladstonian Liberals, and 86 Parnellites. Only one of the latter sat for an English constituency, one of the divisions of Liverpool, all the rest being returned in Ireland. The Conservative leaders were generally returned by great majorities, but Mr. Goschen and Sir George Trevelyan failed to obtain re-election as Liberal Unionists.

The Government of Mr. Gladstone at once resigned, and Lord Salisbury, after some negotiations with Lord Hartington, in which the latter declined to take part in the formation of a Cabinet, but promised the general support of the Liberal Unionists to any Government formed on Unionist principles, undertook the formation of a Conservative Cabinet, in which Lord Iddesleigh was Foreign Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Londonderry); Mr. Henry Matthews, Home Secretary; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary for War; Lord Salisbury, First Lord of the Treasury; Viscount Cranbrook, Lord President of the Council; Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor; Right Hon. E. Stanhope, Colonial Secretary; Right Hon. Viscount Cross, Indian Secretary; Right Hon. Lord

George F. Hamilton, First Lord of Admiralty; Right Hon. Lord Stanley, President of Board of Trade; Right Hon. Lord John Manners, Duchy of Lancaster; and the Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The new Government had to deal at once with serious riots which had broken out in Belfast during June, between the Protestant and Catholic factions, and in which many lives were lost. By strong reinforcements of troops and police these were now quelled, and a commission of inquiry into their origin was appointed under the presidency of Mr. Justice Day. Another commission, under Earl Cowper, was appointed to investigate the working of the Land Act and the obstacles to the payment of the judicial rents fixed under it. General Sir Redvers Buller was sent also, with the powers of a special magistrate, to organize and command the police force in Kerry and Clare.

A Bill for the relief of tenants by the stoppage of any proceedings against them, on their applying for a revision of the rental fixed under the Land Act, and paying into court half of the rent due, was introduced by Mr. Parnell, but was rejected by the House, chiefly on the ground that County Court judges already possessed powers of staying evictions on reasonable grounds. This was followed by the promulgation, under the auspices of prominent members of the Irish National League, of a scheme (which they called a 'Plan of Campaign') whereby the tenants on any estate might combine to offer their landlord any rent they considered proper, although less than the Judicial Rent fixed under the Land Act, and in the event of his refusal to accept this, the sum was to be lodged by the tenants in the hands of secret trustees, who should apply it in supporting any tenants who might thereafter be evicted. Strong comments were made on the morality of this scheme, which was described by Lord Salisbury as 'organized embezzlement,' but the Plan was extensively advocated by Irish newspapers and members

of Parliament, and was soon put in operation. The Government, after obtaining an opinion from the Irish Courts of Law that the scheme was an illegal conspiracy, seized some of the agents who were employed in collecting rents, in pursuance of the scheme, with part of the money in their possession. A proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices declaring the Plan illegal and criminal, and proceedings were taken against Mr. Dillon and other leaders of the League. At this junction Mr. Parnell, who had for some time been absent from London, reappeared there and surprized his followers by declaring that he knew nothing of the scheme, and suspended his judgment upon it.

On the 23rd December the country was startled by the announcement that Lord Randolph Churchill had resigned his post in the Cabinet. The explanations given were that he had objected to the extent of the naval and military estimates, but that the heads of those departments had not seen their way to reduce the amounts demanded. Negotiations were again opened by Lord Salisbury with the leaders of the Liberal Unionists, and it was finally agreed that Mr. Goschen should enter the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer. As he was without a seat in Parliament he decided to contest a vacancy in the Exchange Division of Liverpool, which, after a keen contest, was lost by a small majority in favour of the Gladstonian candidate, who had the assistance of the Irish vote. A seat was finally found for him as representative of St. George's (Hanover Square) Division of London. Mr. W. H. Smith became leader of the House of Commons, and his first important duty in the session of 1887 was to introduce, on 21st February, a series of new Rules of Procedure for the House, based on the report of the Select Committee on Procedure of the previous year. The first of these Rules gave the power of closing a debate to a bare majority of the House, 'provided the closure be supported by more than 200 members, or if supported

by more than 100 members and opposed by less than 40.' The debate on these Rules was continued by the Government until the first Rule was passed and came into operation. Meantime Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in consequence of the rapid failure of his eyesight, had been compelled to resign his post as Irish Secretary, and he was succeeded by Mr. Balfour, hitherto the Secretary for Scotland, whose first duty in his new office was to introduce a Bill for the 'prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland.' This Bill, unlike its predecessors, was not limited in point of time, and incorporated in the law of Ireland several features borrowed from the law of Scotland, especially the power of judicially examining persons suspected of connection with crime, without a preliminary charge being made. It allowed certain classes of offences to be tried without a jury, by two magistrates, with a maximum power of sentencing to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. Clauses also were introduced enabling the Lord Lieutenant to "proclaim" those districts in which the law could not otherwise be enforced; and finally, in cases where it was believed a fair trial by jury could not be obtained in Ireland, powers were asked to remove criminals to England for trial, the Crown defraying the extra expenses involved. This clause excited pretty general dissatisfaction, but the Bill was otherwise heartily supported by the Liberal Unionists as well as the Conservatives, and though vigorously opposed by the Gladstonians and Home Rulers, the second reading was carried on 18th April by a majority of 101 votes. At the same time a Bill was introduced (31st March) in the House of Lords to amend some of the provisions of the Irish Land Act of 1881. Leaseholders were to be admitted to the benefits of this Act, and its powers were to be extended to 'town parks;' sudden evictions were to be discouraged by allowing a period of six months, during which defaulting tenants might remain as caretakers,

and might redeem their holdings by payment of the rent due. In certain cases County Court Judges were to be empowered to grant certificates of insolvency.

A further measure of relief was promised in the shape of a comprehensive scheme of land purchase, to be introduced after the first two bills should be disposed of. On the 22nd April the Budget was introduced by Mr. Goschen, who was able to announce a net surplus of £776,000 as compared with £255,000 estimated by Sir William Harcourt. He estimated the surplus for the year 1887-88 at £974,000, which he proposed to increase by £100,000 by readjustment of the duties in transfer of shares, &c. Finally, he proposed to reduce the fixed charge for debt from £28,000,000 to £26,000,000, which he estimated would make the surplus £2,700,000, and enable him to reduce the Income Tax by one penny, and to reduce the duty on tobacco from 3s. 6d. to 3s. 2d., its former amount; to increase the grant in aid of roads in England and Scotland by £280,000, and in aid of arterial drainage in Ireland by £50,000. There would finally remain a net surplus of about £300,000.

In January, 1887, occurred the very sudden and unexpected death of Lord Iddesleigh, while actually engaged in paying a visit to the Prime Minister. The deceased statesman, better known while in the House of Commons as Sir Stafford Northcote, had first resigned his post of Foreign Minister to facilitate the reconstruction of the Cabinet, consequent on Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, and a painful impression prevailed that the worry caused by these changes had shortened his life. His high personal and political character caused his loss to be sincerely mourned by politicians of every shade of opinion, as well as by the country at large.

The year 1887 was marked by the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the

accession of Queen Victoria to the throne. Only one reign, that of George III., had extended in modern times over so long a period, and the celebration of the 'jubilee' was the occasion of heartfelt demonstrations of loyalty from all parts of Her Majesty's dominions. In India and the neighbouring territories, the celebration took place as early as 16th February, and was taken part in by most of the wealthy natives in the great cities as heartily as by the European population. In England and most of the colonies, the celebration took place at the anniversary of the accession, the 20th June. At the suggestion of the Prince of Wales, the event was marked by the foundation in London of an Imperial Institute, intended as a bond of union and common centre of information regarding every part of the British Empire, the funds for which were raised by public subscription. The event was celebrated by numerous local demonstrations, the chief of which were the Jubilee Exhibition opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Manchester in May, 1887, and another at Newcastle-on-Tyne in the same year. Liverpool and Edinburgh had anticipated the event by holding similar exhibitions in 1886, at the commencement of the fiftieth year of Her Majesty's reign. The occasion was also considered a favourable one for calling a Conference at London between representatives of the chief colonies and of the Home Government on the defence of all portions of the Empire, postal and telegraphic communication, and other non-controversial matters of Imperial interest. It was believed that such a meeting would materially strengthen the feeling, which has been the most marked characteristic of recent years, of solidarity among all the subjects of the British Sovereign, and pride in their common citizenship of the greatest empire of modern times.

CHAPTER XXIII.

France and Tunis—French Elections, 1881—The Gambetta Ministry—Recall of M. de Freycinet—Egyptian Question—Fall of the De Freycinet Ministry—Death of Gambetta—Madagascar—Tonquin—Berlin Conference on African Affairs—Recognition of Congo Free State—Fall of Ferry Cabinet—Adoption of *Scrutin de Liste*—French Elections, 1885—Strained Relations with Germany—The Cholera—Death of the King of Spain, and Birth of an Heir—Bismarck's Workmen's Accident Insurance Bill—German Elections, 1882—Repeal of Falk Laws—Passing of Workmen's Insurance and Biennial Budget Bills—Anarchist Outrages—Expansionist Movement in Germany—Caroline Islands Dispute—Addition of 40,000 Men to the Army—National antipathies in Austria—Rising in Dalmatia and Herzegovina—Nihilism in Russia—Assassination of Alexander II.—Repressive measures of Government—Outrages on Jews—Nihilist Trials—General Skobeloff's Paris Speech—His Death—Coronation of Alexander III.—Assassination of Colonel Soudaikin—Greek Frontier Dispute—Conference at Constantinople—Trial of Turkish Ex-ministers—Events in Servia—Revolution in Eastern Roumelia—Union with Bulgaria—Servian Invasion—Bulgarian Victories—Austrian Intervention—Kidnapping of Prince Alexander—His Return and Abdication—Appointment of Regency—Election of another Prince—Opposition by Russia, and consequent deadlock—Belgium—Denmark—Norway—United States—Assassination of President Garfield—Trial of Guiteau—Presidential Election, 1884—Death of General Grant.

WHILE Great Britain was thus occupied with domestic legislation and internal reforms, the various continental countries were in an unsettled and by no means satisfactory condition, though no appeal had been made to arms. France, under the presidentship of M. Grévy and by the exertions of M. Gambetta and other influential statesmen, having recovered from the effects of the German War and the atrocities of the Red Republicans, began to exhibit symptoms of the revival of her old aggressive spirit. She had long laid claim to a right to interfere in the affairs of Tunis, and taking advantage of a dispute respecting the purchase by the Société Marseillaise, a French financial association, of a vast tract of territory, called the Enfida Estate, which was disputed by a Maltese named Levy, the French Government sent a strong body of troops to Tunis and compelled the Bey to submit to a French protectorate. This violent intrusion on the rights of the Porte excited a strong feeling of disapprobation not only in Turkey but in Italy, and was not regarded with favour by the British Government. Germany, however, followed by Austria, abetted the aggressive action of the French Ministry, in the hope of causing ill-blood between France and Italy. But Italy, though deeply incensed at the unjustifiable conduct of the

French Government, was not able, unaided, to do more than protest.

The chief measure of domestic importance which occupied the attention of the French Chambers at this time was the proposal to substitute *Scrutin de liste* for *Scrutin d'arrondissement* in the election of deputies to the Chamber. The former signifies the election of all the members for each department in a block; whereas by the latter, which was the existing mode, they were chosen by single-member wards. Even the thoroughgoing Republicans were by no means unanimous in their desire for a change, and the other parties were decidedly opposed to it. M. Lanfrey, who was noted for his loyalty to the Republic, said, 'This scheme has been conceived with the object, decidedly laudable, of bringing to the front men of general rather than local celebrity. But this advantage loses much of its value if it must be bought at the price of an honest voter. In the bosom of the department the majority of the electors are strangers to the men who solicit their votes. A few are known by reputation; but as to the greater number, the electors are obliged blindly to trust to the recommendation of a committee. They are asked, therefore, for a vote of confidence, and a vote of confidence is essentially anti-Republican.' M. Gambetta had from the first most strenuously

advocated the proposed change, but the parliamentary committee, to which the Bill was referred, reported against it, and M. Boysset, in giving in the report, declared that *Scrutin de liste* would serve to make M. Gambetta's power in Parliament absolute. The Bill was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by 299 votes to 222, but on the 3rd of June, 1881, it was rejected by the Senate by a majority of 34.

The elections which speedily followed resulted in considerable gains to the Republicans—the Bonapartists having lost no less than thirty-seven seats. But throughout the electoral campaign there were alarming rumours respecting the state of affairs in South Algeria and Tunis; and though the Government endeavoured to reassure the public mind, bad news continued to arrive. An insurrection of the native population of Sfax took place early in July, and the bombardment and occupation of the town by the French did not terminate the disturbance. The tribes to the west of Tunis revolted; the Arabs in the Kroumir Mountains joined the insurgents, and in Algeria the Sahel gave ominous indications of their intention to rise in arms. A large body of Turkish troops, with several batteries of artillery, disembarked at Tripoli, as the French were suspected of an intention to invade that country. Lord Granville significantly informed the French Ministry that 'Her Majesty's Government could not regard interference of whatever description on the part of the French Government in that province, in the same manner as they viewed the recent occurrence in Tunis.' The French Ministers declared that 'they had already put down the insurrection in Tunis in concert with the Bey;' and added, that 'the conquest of Tripoli was a dream.' But the insurrection in Tunis was not put down, and continued to be a subject of embarrassment and anxiety, although the French, by the middle of September, had upwards of 50,000 men in Africa. The condition of Algeria, too, was causing great uneasiness, which was deepened by the

reports as to the sufferings and privations of the troops. The dissatisfaction thus produced proved fatal to the Ministry, and they resigned in the beginning of November. A new Cabinet was formed, with M. Gambetta as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Premier; but the most influential statesmen refused to take office along with him, and he was forced to form his administration of men of lower standing. 'The Ministry is by no means great,' it was said, 'but M. Gambetta occupies a very great place.'

The new Cabinet announced that their future policy was 'to reorganize all our judicial institutions; to follow up perseveringly the work of national education so well begun by our predecessors; to take up again and complete, without loss of time, our military legislation; to try to find, without injury to France, the best means of reducing the military and naval charges borne by the country; and to alleviate, without disturbing our finances, those which weigh down agriculture; to fix, by commercial treaties, the economic conditions of our different industries, and to develop our means of production, of transport, and of exchange; to foster provident and friendly associations; to insure, by the strict application of the provisions of the Concordat, respect for the established powers in the relation between Church and State.'

This programme, extensive though it was, did not come up to the expectations which had been formed respecting the sensational policy of the 'great minister.' General dissatisfaction was felt concerning the Tunisian expedition; the renewal of the commercial treaty with England presented serious difficulties, and questions of the gravest importance arose in connection with the preparation of a prospective budget. The position of the new Ministry was evidently critical, and M. Gambetta saw clearly that he was the object of strong and general suspicion. He resolved, therefore, to challenge a vote of confidence, and to stand or fall by a scheme which he pro-

posed for the establishment of the *Scrutin de liste* as the mode of electing departmental deputies, and for an alteration in the method of appointing the Senate and in the extent of its powers. It was rejected by a large majority, and he immediately placed his resignation in the hands of M. Grévy. There can be little doubt that this adverse vote was not inspired by any dislike to the change proposed, but by the apprehension that it would indirectly add to the power and popularity of a minister whom they regarded as both too popular and too powerful already. Moderate men had been alarmed by the restlessness of the Ministry, while the Radicals detested their 'opportunism.'

M. de Freycinet was recalled to power, with M. Leon Say, M. Jules Ferry, M. Tirard, Admiral Jauréguiberry, and other men of experience and parliamentary weight as his colleagues. At this period a commercial crisis occurred which severely tasked the skill and energies of M. Leon Say, the Minister of Finance. A financial company, called the 'Union Générale,' had been formed in 1881, it was said with capital chiefly derived from the religious orders, and was designed to oppose the operations of the great Jewish capitalists in every quarter of the world. The directors were all men of known ability, with the Duc de Decazes at their head. Its success seemed certain. The shares, which commenced at 500 francs, were quoted at the meeting of shareholders on 5th November at 2500 francs. On that occasion MM. Bontoux and Feder, the promoter and the manager, stated that the profits of the society, up to 30th September, amounted to 36,000,000 francs, and added that the profits already insured for the next three years exceeded that figure. M. Bontoux on this occasion denied also that the Union Générale was backed by the religious orders. 'I know,' he said, 'many of these, but they only beg, and do not bring us capital. We possess the funds we state, and the profits we declare really exist. We have half

a million of capital at our disposal, and our operations extend from Brazil to Russia.' In the course of a few months, however, the bubble burst: the company became bankrupt and caused the most terrible disasters. All classes of society were involved in the failure of the Union Générale, and the French Government, aided by the Bank of France and other powerful establishments, was obliged to take special measures to mitigate its injurious effects. MM. Feder and Bontoux were arrested on 2nd February, 1882, and after a long trial were condemned to different terms of imprisonment. In this state of affairs M. Say remarked, 'There can be no question for the moment of the purchase of railways by the State, or of the issue of new loans.' On the contrary, he felt that it would be desirable for some time to restrict as far as possible all appeals to the national credit, and he promised to modify the existing law in respect of commercial enterprises, so as to introduce effective guarantees for private interests and public morality.

M. Gambetta's friends and the Extreme Left proved equally powerless against the De Freycinet Ministry in domestic affairs. Many important and disputed questions were dealt with or discussed—the election of mayors, primary and compulsory education, the Concordat and divorce—the Ministry steering skilfully between extreme opinions. There was no suspicion entertained that M. de Freycinet's Government was destined to fall through a too cautious evasion of national responsibility; yet so it was. France indeed went hand in hand with England, though slowly and hesitatingly, in dealing with Egyptian affairs down to the critical moment when it became necessary to support diplomacy by action. But fears began to be entertained by the French people that their country might be drawn by Britain into an armed intervention in Egypt, and when M. de Freycinet made known the intention of the Governments of France and England to send a squadron to Alexandria, the greatest

alarm was manifested lest they should be dragged into a new adventure, more serious even than that of Tunis. Hence the French squadron took no part in the bombardment of Alexandria, but proceeded to Port Saïd before it commenced. M. Gambetta exhorted the Government and the Chamber to adhere to the British alliance at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. To quarrel with Britain, he said, would be the rashest and most unjustifiable of adventures, and would be fatal to the authority and influence of France in Egypt. The warning was unheeded. M. de Freycinet's moderate proposals for protecting the Suez Canal were resisted by a strange combination of members who were in favour of energetic intervention, and of those who were in favour of complete non-intervention, and the vote of credit to meet the necessary expenses of guarding the canal was negatived by 416 votes to 75. M. de Freycinet and his colleagues immediately sent in their resignations, and after many difficulties President Grévy succeeded in forming a 'Ministry of Affairs' under M. Duclerc, from which the Radical element was excluded. The British Government was, in consequence, left alone in dealing with Egyptian affairs, and the French public speedily exhibited their bitter mortification at the position in which their country was thus placed.

When the Note of the Egyptian Government abolishing the Dual Control was communicated to the French Cabinet on 12th November, 1882, M. Duclerc intimated to Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, that France would regard this measure as inspired by the British Government, and urged that the Joint Control having been established by the French and English Governments, its suppression by the Government of the Khedive could not properly take effect until both the other contracting parties had sanctioned it. Other propositions, which were made by the British Government in order to soothe the irritable sensibilities of the French, were rejected as not

consistent with 'the legitimate interests of French influence' in Egypt. Even the offer to France of the presidency of the Public Debt Exchequer was rejected by the French Ministry, who availed themselves of the opportunity to set forth the political character of the interests which France meant to preserve in Egypt alongside of, or apart from, the financial interests professed by her citizens, to whom also she owed protection.

The death of M. Gambetta, a few minutes before midnight on the last day of 1882, was deplored as a national calamity. It came upon France like a thunderbolt, and the disruption of the Republican party, of which he was the mainstay, seemed in consequence certain. This catastrophe was averted, however, by the folly of Prince Napoleon, who issued a manifesto treating the downfall of the Republic as imminent, and demanding a *plébiscite*, and thus caused the Republicans to close their ranks.

The winding up of the negotiations connected with the new commercial treaties occupied public attention for several months. Those between France and the other continental countries were ratified, but the legislature of Holland rejected that which had been concluded with the Dutch commissioners, and ten months' fruitless negotiations with Britain were ended by the introduction to the French Chamber of a bill enacting that goods of British origin or manufacture should be subject, on entering France, to pay the same dues as those of the 'most favoured nations.' Home administration, however, did not at this time greatly occupy the attention either of the legislature or the public in France. There was a marked revival of the old spirit of intervention abroad, as was shown by projects for exerting French influence with a high hand in Tonquin, Madagascar, and Equatorial Africa. The Ministry complained that in Madagascar the Hova Government had promulgated a law prohibiting natives from selling land to foreigners, and that the Hova flag had

been planted at Passandava Bay, over which the French had thought fit to claim a protectorate. They alleged also that the legitimate influence of France was seriously menaced by British influence exercised upon the Hovas. The Queen of the Hovas sent ambassadors to Paris in order to effect a peaceful settlement of the points in dispute, but after meetings with the French negotiators the Malagasy envoys refused to grant the French demands, which proved to be much more extensive than they had at first put forward. They claimed, first, a protectorate over the north-west coast of Madagascar; secondly, ninety-nine years' leases of land; thirdly, general rights over the whole island.

The ambassadors left Paris for London on 27th November, and the French Ministry immediately proclaimed that they were resolved to 'enforce the respect of the rights and interests of France in Madagascar—rights and interests which have been disregarded by the Queen of the Hovas. Orders in conformity with the situation have therefore been sent to the commander of the French naval station.' On the 10th of December a semi-official note appeared in all the journals, stating that the British Foreign Office had proposed to the French Government a basis for an understanding with regard to Madagascar; but that there was no foundation for the report that there was a conflict between the two governments on that matter—the British Cabinet would leave the French Republic free to act as it thought fit. A few weeks later, however, the British Ministry offered to act as mediators between France and Madagascar, but their friendly offices were declined by the French Government.

The task of enforcing the French claims on certain portions of Madagascar was intrusted to Rear-Admiral St. Pierre, who was appointed to command the naval division of the Indian Ocean. Admiral Pierre was one of a class of French officers who, 'clothed in a little brief authority,' always attempt to carry matters

with a high hand, and show a total disregard of the rights of others. No one who knew his character, or the habitual policy of the French Government in dealing with weak countries, felt any surprise when, on the 25th May, 1883, a telegram was received by the Cabinet from Admiral Pierre, announcing that in putting into execution the instructions which he had received from his Government, he had destroyed all the military posts that the Hovas had established on Sakalava territory, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and that he had seized the custom-house station of Mayunga, which commands the road and river leading to Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar. The Hova garrison occupying that station, he said, had been driven out. On the 31st of the same month the *Flore*, carrying the admiral's flag, arrived off Tamatave, and on the evening of 1st June he handed an ultimatum to the governor of Tamatave to be forwarded to the Hova Prime Minister at Antananarivo, demanding the recognition of all rights claimed by the French in virtue of all treaties they had made with the Malagasy, the right to become proprietors of land, and an indemnity of 1,000,000 francs in payment of certain claims which had been made by French citizens. The Malagasy Government refused to concede these demands, and on Sunday, 10th June, the day after their reply reached the French consul, the French fleet, consisting of six vessels, opened fire on the fort situated at the base of the point on which the town is built. The Hovas, shortly after the firing commenced, evacuated their position, and retreated in good order to the hills. The French flag was hoisted on the fort, and Tamatave and the adjacent territory occupied by the French were declared by Admiral Pierre to be in a state of siege.

The injury inflicted by these unjustifiable proceedings was chiefly felt by the European residents, who were for the most part British merchants or missionaries, for the Hovas had retired into the interior, where

the invaders were unable to reach them. Their Queen died at this critical moment, but her niece was quickly accepted as her successor. Admiral Pierre proceeded in the same high-handed manner in his treatment, not only of the natives, but also of the British authorities. He ordered the arrest of the secretary of the British consul, one Aelrienizza, a Hova by birth, on the charge of conniving with the enemy. He ordered Mr. Pakenham, the British consul, to quit the town within twenty-four hours, though Mr. Pakenham was seriously ill at the moment, and died seven hours before the expiry of the prescribed period. The admiral also arrested Mr. Shaw, the agent of the London Missionary Society at Antananarivo on charges afterwards admitted to be baseless, and detained him long in strict custody on board a French ship. Lastly, the reckless and imperious French officer prevented an English man-of-war, the *Dryad*, from communicating with the shore, in spite of the request of the captain, who showed both spirit and dignity in very trying circumstances. The flags of all foreign consuls at Tamatave were at the same time pulled down.

The intelligence of this outrageous conduct excited great indignation in Britain, and the Ministry at once communicated the information they had obtained to the French Government, by whom it was received with the utmost incredulity. On investigation, however, the French Ministry were obliged to admit that the allegations were correct, and they sent a despatch to the British Government containing a general expression of regret. An indemnity to Mr. Shaw of 25,000 francs was agreed to by them. The death of Admiral Pierre on his return to France, and the fact that he had been suffering throughout from a painful and enfeebling disease, justified the abandonment of any further personal questions.

After a protracted blockade of the ports and coast an arrangement was agreed to by the Madagascar Government, whereby the

French obtained a naval station on the north-east coast, the practical control of the foreign relations of the country, and the right to collect the dues at Tamatave and some other ports until their war expenses should be defrayed. Considerable disputes afterwards arose as to the exact nature and extent of French control admitted by this document, France repudiating the appendix defining the terms of the main instrument, and the Hova Government refusing to abandon that security for their freedom from internal interference.

While France was thus attempting to extend what is miscalled her 'colonial empire' in Madagascar, she had commenced another task of the same kind, but of still greater difficulty and danger, in the 'far East.' The treaty of 1874 gave France a protectorate over Annam, but the French colony of Cochin-China had grievances of long standing against the Annamese respecting their failure to perform their share of the treaty, and they especially complained of the robberies perpetrated by the semi-piratical bands designated Black Flags. A force of 750 marines was despatched from France, under the command of Major Rivière, in order to reinforce the French troops already in that country. The French Cabinet resolved also to despatch a commissary to the court of Hué, the capital of Annam, with a new treaty which the king was to be called upon to sign, as the treaty of 1874 did not 'specify with sufficient clearness' the rights conferred on France. An expeditionary corps of 3000 men was despatched at the same time, to give 'the Government commissary all the necessary influence to insure the acceptance of the treaty.' Supported by this body of troops M. Harmand, the commissary, seems to have had no difficulty in inducing the sovereign of Annam to accept the conditions thus forced upon him by the French Government. The Black Flags, however, still, as the French alleged, obstinately resisted the force under Commander Rivière, and

the Ministry complained that the Annamese Government had violated the treaty in recognizing the suzerainty of China, and that they had permitted the persecution of French subjects and encouraged brigandage. The Cabinet, therefore, resolved to put an end to this state of affairs, to insist upon the reduction of Annam to a position of dependency, and to obtain supreme authority in Tonquin.

It is doubtful, however, whether the proposal of the Ministry to pursue an 'adventurous and energetic policy' in Tonquin would have met with the support either of the Chambers or the public—especially as China had already entered a grave protest—if the national pride had not been wounded by the repulse of Rivière's expedition and the death of its brave leader. He had been compelled by the attacks of the Black Flags to make a sortie from Hanoi, accompanied by only fifty men, the main body of his troops, numbering 400, having been left in the citadel. With this handful of men he encountered a strong band of the enemy on ground covered with a bamboo thicket, and under its shelter the Annamites shot down the French troops without the chance of resistance, Rivière himself being among the slain. Three ironclads were immediately despatched from French ports, under Admiral Courbet, to avenge this defeat. Reinforcements were also sent to Tonquin by the governor of Cochin-China, and several companies were despatched from New Caledonia, so that in July the French were able to resume the offensive in Tonquin. After some successes they were forced by the flooding of the river banks to retire. Meantime Admiral Courbet advanced on Hué and deposed the king. The anti-war party, encouraged by this turn of affairs, set up a king who was ready to agree to all the terms exacted by the French commissioner. The conditions embodied in the treaty were—full and entire recognition of the French protectorate over Annam and Tonquin; the definite annexation of the province of

Binh-Thuan to French Cochin-China; occupation by the French troops of the forts of Jhuan-An, at the mouth of the river of Hué; the immediate recall of the Annamite troops from Tonquin; the issuing of orders that all mandarins should take up their posts, and confirmation of all nominations made by French authority. The French on their part undertook to expel from Tonquin the bands known as the Black Flags, and to insure freedom of trade.

The French Ministry must have been quite well aware that this treaty contained provisions certain to be unacceptable to China. M. Duclerc had sent M. Bourée to Peking to make an amicable arrangement on the subject of Tonquin with the Chinese Government; and both M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and M. Gambetta had acknowledged that China had a right to concern herself in the affairs of Tonquin. But now M. Challemel-Lacour affirmed that Tonquin was 'outside the frontiers of the Chinese Empire,' and disavowed the arrangement which M. Bourée had made with the court at Peking, on the pretext that he had acted spontaneously and precipitately. The Chinese authorities, however, speedily made it manifest that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the protectorate of France over Tonquin. The Marquis Tseng stated explicitly that 'the French proposals were inconsistent with the interests of China in Annam. . . . In the absence of the old arrangements by which the King of Annam was independent (as previous to 1876) of any power but the Emperor of China, no other could be accepted which did not give China exclusive control over the Red River.' But China, he added, was prepared to open that river for commerce to all nations having treaties with the empire.

Negotiations were then shifted to Europe, where the Marquis Tseng defended the rights and interests of his country with remarkable patience and tact. Mediation between France and China was spoken of from time to time, but the pretensions of the rival powers were found to

be irreconcilable, and neither would yield. China declared that she would neither recognize the Treaty of Hué nor consent to the occupation of Tonquin by France. On the other hand, the French Government declared their determination to keep Tonquin in subjection and to turn the delta of the Red River into a kind of intrenched camp by taking possession of Sontay, Bac-ninh, and Hong-Hoa. For this purpose the number of land troops in Tonquin was to be increased to at least 8000. The French Ministry were under the delusion that China would yield when she found herself confronted by a determined opposition, and that they might therefore safely adhere to their exorbitant and unwarranted demands; and M. Ferry, who was now Minister for Foreign Affairs, in spite of severe and just criticisms on the inconsistencies and unfairness of his treatment of the Chinese ambassadors, obtained, after a stormy debate, a decided majority on what was nominally a vote of credit, but was really one of confidence. In the Senate it was carried almost unanimously; and the appeal of the Minister of War to the army was responded to by a vast number of volunteers. The facts that a dangerous movement took place at this time at Hué; that Hiep-Hoa, the king whom the French party had set up, was poisoned, and that the national party had regained the ascendancy, were pleaded by M. Ferry as reasons why the garrisons in Tonquin should be reinforced; and in spite of the distinct intimation that Sontay and Bac-ninh, against which the French troops were advancing, were held by regular Chinese soldiers, the French forces pressed on, and after some sharp fighting captured Sontay on the 20th of December, 1883.

It was not, however, until 8th March, 1884, that the French troops advanced against Bac-ninh, which surrendered on the 12th after a slight resistance. Conferences were held between Commander Fournier, the French senior naval officer, and Li-Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Petcheli, with a

view to a peace, and a treaty was actually signed on 11th May. But misunderstandings arose respecting the terms, and on 23rd June a French corps, on its way to take possession of Lang-Son, was driven back by the Chinese after a sanguinary encounter. Negotiations were again entered into with a view to a settlement of the quarrel, but failed to effect it, and hostilities were resumed. The Chinese forts and towns were bombarded and their ships destroyed; but notwithstanding their successes, which were greatly exaggerated, the French made no progress in compelling the acceptance of the conditions of peace which they demanded. The Chinese people were patriotic and united in their resistance to foreign aggression, while the French troops were decimated by the effects of a deadly climate and of cholera. Hostilities continued to be carried on until April, 1885, when the French Government found it necessary to bring to an end a war which they had so unjustifiably forced upon China, and which had brought them nothing but discredit and an enormous waste of blood and treasure. They withdrew all claim to an indemnity, which they had at one time fixed at 250,000,000 francs, and concluded a peace upon terms in every way honourable to China.

The invasion of Tonquin, which led to hostilities with China and Annam, was commenced by the French Government on the most flimsy pretexts, and was carried on in a manner which displayed grievous mismanagement; it has led to military disasters and humiliations, has wasted the lives of their best troops, has depleted the arsenals, and well-nigh broken down the military system of the country. It inflicted serious injury on foreign trade with China, and was especially detrimental to British commerce. In Annam and Tonquin it has led to demoralization, bloodshed, and ruin, and has been the cause of the recent massacre of many thousands of native Christians and European missionaries. The French people themselves have suffered

very severely from the ill-starred enterprise, which from first to last must have cost them not less than £20,000,000 sterling, and they have not yet seen the last of this great scheme of colonial aggrandizement.

The reckless colonial policy of France was displayed on the West Coast of Africa as well as in the South Pacific and the extreme East. The African traveller, M. de Brazza, who appears to have explored the Congo chiefly at the expense of the King of the Belgians, took possession of a large tract of country claimed by the Portuguese, and made a treaty with a chief named Makoko, in the interest of France. A bill ratifying this treaty was at once voted both by the Chamber and the Senate, and a large sum of money was granted to defray the expenses of the expedition to the Congo. This new and by no means judicious attempt to extend the colonial possessions of France, brought the French Ministry into unpleasant contact both with Portugal and with Britain.

The International Congo Association (a body founded by the King of the Belgians with the view of opening up the Congo district to European commerce) had established itself on the Upper Congo, under the charge of Mr. H. M. Stanley, who had succeeded in making roads past the rapids and establishing numerous trading stations on the river. The Association was attempting to form a treaty with the Portuguese Government in order to facilitate the entry of goods at the mouth of the river. France and Germany were also putting forth conflicting claims. In these circumstances the British Ministry resolved to recognize the claims of Portugal to the territorial possession of the district, although she had never actually exercised sovereignty there. A treaty embodying this recognition was laid before Parliament. It was not looked upon with much favour, however, by the mercantile class in Britain, was regarded with jealousy by the Portuguese, and was opposed by Germany and by France, which had acquired a considerable territory north of

the Congo, and had obtained the right to a reversion of the claims of the International Association in case of its being dissolved. A European Conference was convened by Prince Bismarck at Berlin to consider the subject of African claims and annexations generally. It met in November, 1884, and its sittings were continued until February 26, 1885.

The claims of France to the right bank of the Congo above Manyanga up to within one degree south of the equator, together with the country extending thence to the west coast, were acknowledged. The admitted rights of Portugal comprised a portion of the left or south bank from the sea-coast up to Nokki, and a small detached piece of coast further north, not touching the river. The north bank of the river up to Massabé, with a portion of coast near the mouth, was thus handed over to the International Association, along with a great tract of land in the interior, extending from the French territory to Lake Tanganyika; and finally, the territory of the Association was recognized as an independent state, with the title of the Congo Free State, and treaties or conventions were made with it by most of the Great Powers. Mr. Stanley, the discoverer of the greater portion of the Congo, was fitly appointed the first governor of the infant state.

During these colonial adventures the position of France in Europe was in many ways an uneasy one. Much ill feeling, suspicion, and recrimination were displayed through the press between that country and Germany, and found vent in the scandalous treatment of King Alfonso in Paris. It was highly discreditable to the Parisians, that on his arrival, and when calling on President Grévy, the King of Spain was received with hooting and other manifestations of hostility, simply because he had accepted at Berlin the honorary colonelcy of an Uhlan regiment. This behaviour was so offensive that the President of the Republic was forced to make an ungracious and lame apology, which the Spanish Gov-

ernment insisted should be published in the *Official Journal*. The result was that Spain followed the example of Italy in connecting herself with the Austro-German Alliance. France had also, as we have seen, aroused the jealousy of Portugal by her proceedings on the Congo and the Niger, and Switzerland had taken offence at the encampment of French troops and the commencement of certain strategic works on a portion of Savoy which had been declared neutral. In consequence the isolation of France on the Continent was almost complete, and the breach with the Vatican and with Germany and her allies was steadily widened. The death of the Comte de Chambord, the head of the elder branch of the Bourbons (24th August, 1883), freed the Republic from the annoyance of Legitimist banquets, though not from any real danger; but it added not a little to the influence and importance of the Orleanist Princes.

On the arrival in Paris of the news of General Négrier's retreat before the Chinese forces, great excitement was manifested in the Chamber. The demand of M. Ferry, on 30th March, 1885, for priority for the vote of a credit of 200,000,000 francs was refused by 308 to 161, and the Ministry at once resigned. MM. de Freycinet and Constans having successively failed in forming a cabinet, on 7th April M. Brisson, the President of the Chamber, was induced to take office, with M. de Freycinet as Foreign Minister, and M. Allain-Targé as Minister of the Interior. M. Brisson at once demanded a credit of 150,000,000 francs for carrying on the Tonquin expedition, which had scarcely been voted when news arrived that an armistice with China had been signed, and that negotiations for peace were in progress, which shortly afterwards brought the war to an end.

In June, 1885, a new electoral law establishing the system of voting by *scrutin de liste*, which Gambetta had vainly striven to institute, was passed by the Chambers, and the elections under the new system were

fixed to take place in October. The first balloting was on 4th, and the second on 18th October, 1885. The results showed a great gain to the Conservatives, though the majority of the Chamber still remained Republican. The members of the new Chamber were grouped as follows:—Irreconcilables, 68; Opportunists, 306; Monarchists, 132; and Bonapartists, 69. The Brisson Ministry decided to remain in office. On 22nd December news was received in Paris that a treaty of peace had been concluded with Madagascar, the French to have a resident at the capital with a sufficient guard, and to have entire control of the foreign relations of the country.

The Brisson Ministry lasted until after the re-election of M. Grevy as President of the French Republic, but its position had never been strong in the Chamber, and in January, 1886, it gave place to one headed by M. de Freycinet, one of whose first acts was to proclaim an amnesty releasing the greater number of so-called political prisoners in France, including Prince Krapotkin and Louise Michel. An act which excited greater controversy was the expulsion of all the members of families which had reigned in France. This was effected on the transparent pretext that the Comte de Paris had held a gathering of his adherents on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. The Comte, Prince Napoleon, and the Duc d'Aumale had all to leave the country. On 12th November it was announced that M. Paul Bert, who had accepted the Governorship of Tonquin, had fallen a victim to the climate of that dependency. By a vote of both Houses he was accorded a public funeral.

On 4th December the Freycinet Ministry were defeated on the Estimates and resigned, and were succeeded by M. Goblet, a statesman of no marked reputation, who constructed a Cabinet out of the remains of M. de Freycinet's. A very strained state of relations with Germany occurred towards the end of the year 1886, arising out of

some remarks of the French War Minister, General Boulanger, but they died away without any serious result. They were again revived in April, 1877, when the arrest of a French police official by German agents near the Alsatian frontier caused considerable excitement in both countries for a time, but it was ended by the Germans agreeing to release their prisoner on the ground of some irregularities in the arrest.

An outbreak of cholera had taken place in Egypt in the summer of 1883, where it caused great mortality among both the natives and the British troops, but died away at the approach of winter. It made its appearance, however, in the south of France early in the summer of 1884, producing widespread dismay all over the Continent. It subsequently appeared in Italy, and late in the autumn the epidemic was for a short time very fatal in Paris. It next broke out in Spain, where all through the summer and autumn of 1885 it raged with the utmost violence. Many thousands of all classes were cut off by the pestilence, and extreme excitement prevailed among the ignorant and fanatical, who regarded medical men as responsible for its ravages. The courage and sympathy displayed by King Alfonso amid these terrible scenes and the widespread panic greatly strengthened his hold on the affections of his people. The untimely death of the young sovereign (November, 1885) was universally lamented, and the accession to the throne of an infant born 18th May, 1886, after the death of his father, excited great apprehensions for the stability of the throne and the peace of the country.

The internal affairs of Germany were still in an unsatisfactory state. The imperious and arbitrary policy of Prince Bismarck was continued in the most aggravating form. The gigantic military system, and the oppressive burden of taxation which it imposed on the people, were unchanged, and in consequence the secret societies by which Germany was honeycombed were as active as ever in their

machinations and operations. The complaints of the people became louder and more urgent, and the members of the legislature had become restive under the yoke of bondage imposed upon them by the Emperor and his chief counsellor. A series of disgraceful outrages upon the Jews also took place, and though these anti-Jewish riots, which occurred in Berlin and other large Prussian towns, were the work of the lower classes, excited by Socialist agitators, yet in not a few instances the leaders were men of education and position, and the students of the University of Berlin were among the most rancorous assailants of the Jewish race.

The Chancellor was still bent on carrying his measures of fiscal policy and state socialism, notwithstanding the resolute opposition of a decided majority of the Parliament and of the people. The first scheme which he laid before the new Economic Council was one for establishing a system of compulsory insurance against accidents to workmen in mines and manufacturing factories. According to this plan the workmen in question were to be compelled to insure in a Government office against accidents which resulted in loss of life or inability to work. In the case of workmen with salaries of more than 750 marks, half of the premium was to be paid by the masters, and the other half by the workmen themselves. Where the salaries were smaller the masters were to pay two-thirds of the premium, and the remainder was to be defrayed from the poor-rates. The insurance thus obtained would, with aid from the State, provide also for widows' pensions, allowances for orphan children under fifteen years of age, and medical attendance for workmen who were injured. Another proposal, which was justly regarded as even more socialistic in character, was to revive the artisan guilds of the middle ages with a view to improving the condition of the working classes.

These schemes, as soon as they were made public, excited great opposition all

over Germany, especially in the smaller States. The Liberals considered that Prince Bismarck's object was to weaken the influence of Parliament, and to make the poorer classes of the Empire personally dependent upon the imperial authorities, while the upper classes would not only be compelled to pay heavier taxes, but would be deprived of all independent influence in the management of public affairs. The Chancellor, however, as usual, doggedly persisted in the prosecution of his plans, and in the speech from the throne at the opening of the Imperial Parliament (15th February, 1881) it was announced that the Emperor had laid before the Federal Council a 'Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill,' which was described as part of 'the legislation directed against the tendencies of social democracy,' the inadequacy of the existing provisions for working men when laid aside by age or accidents 'having contributed,' it was alleged, 'not a little to induce them to seek means of relief by supporting Socialist schemes.' Among other measures to be introduced for a similar purpose was a Bill for facilitating the formation into corporate societies or guilds of persons employed in the same trade, 'thus raising their economic capacity as well as their social and moral efficiency.' It was also announced that 'a very considerable increase having taken place in the number of crimes and offences committed in a state of drunkenness,' an extension of the criminal code would be proposed to provide for such cases; and that the Bill for the establishment of biennial budgets, which had fallen through in the previous session, would again be laid before the House, 'as the allied Governments are now, as formerly, under the weight of difficulties inseparable from the annual and simultaneous sitting of imperial and provincial parliaments.'

It speedily became apparent that these schemes were not likely to meet with much favour from the German Parliament. Their economical unsoundness and de-

moralizing character were exposed with great ability by Herr Richter, who pointed out the sufferings inflicted upon the people by the protectionist tariff, condemned the 'Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill' as a step towards Socialism, and described the present condition of Germany as a 'medley of confusion and absolutism.' When Bismarck rose to reply to this pungent and powerful attack, most of the members left the House—an exhibition of feeling which seems to have made him lose his temper, and he defied Herr Richter to turn him out of office so long as he enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He went so far in his anger as to say that the occasion might arise when a dictatorship would be preferable to parliamentary government. This unwise bluster, however, produced no impression either upon the deputies or the country, and pointed attention was called to the fact that France, notwithstanding the heavy losses and sufferings it had undergone ten years before, was at that moment materially far more prosperous, and politically far more free than Germany, which now found it difficult to obtain sufficient funds to provide armaments which France was preparing without any apparent effort.

Prince Bismarck, however, was bent on carrying his measures of State socialism, and all the members in any way connected with the Government were warned to vote for and with the king's ministers. In his eagerness to secure a majority he even tried to conciliate the clerical party by a revision of the Falk Laws. His efforts, however, were in vain. His Accident Insurance Bill—his Bill for laying a special tax on persons exempted from service in the army or navy—his Tobacco Monopoly Bill, and his scheme for a biennial budget, were all rejected by large majorities. His proposal to pay salaries to the members of an Economic Council was denounced by all parties as an engine for the suppression of parliamentary liberty, and for the increase of the already excessive personal influence

of the Chancellor, and was indignantly thrown aside.

The German Parliamentary elections took place in October, 1882, and though every effort was made to secure a majority for the Government, the result was most unfavourable to them. All the Liberal leaders—even those most obnoxious to the Chancellor—were returned, while, on the other hand, most of the Conservative leaders, including the Chancellor's own son, were rejected. So also was Herr Stöcker, chaplain to the Emperor, who had taken a prominent part in the disgraceful agitation against the Jews. He was defeated by a majority of nearly two to one by the distinguished Professor Virchow, the first eminent German who denounced the discreditable attempt of the *Judenhetze* to inflame the prejudices of the Christian inhabitants of Berlin against their Jewish fellow-townsmen. A significant fact connected with this general election was that all the newly-elected members in Alsace-Lorraine belonged to the party which protests against annexation. The Socialists gained several victories, although all agitation in favour of their candidates had been prohibited under penalties, and voters had even been imprisoned for cheering them.

When the Parliament was opened, 17th November, it speedily appeared that Prince Bismarck, like the Bourbons, 'had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.' Although the opponents of his policy were more numerous than they had been in the late Parliament, his scheme for biennial budgets, the Accident Insurance Bill, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, and the other obnoxious measures which had been rejected by large majorities, were again introduced and were once more thrown out. A keen debate took place respecting the improper influence exercised by the Government on the elections. The Home Minister went so far as to assert that it was the duty of all administrative officials to support the Government candidates, and that those who had done so would receive the thanks of the Emperor.

This imprudent statement produced a storm of indignation, and the motion for an inquiry by the Committee for the Verification of the Elections into 'the faults of the present system, as shown by the last elections, and more especially as regards their secrecy and independence,' was adopted unanimously. So deeply mortified was the Chancellor at the result of the elections, and the rebuffs which he received from the Parliament, that he had recourse to his old expedient of threatening resignation. The semi-official *Post* of Berlin announced that the Chancellor was 'weary of being made the butt of all the wickedness, baseness, calumny, and envious suspicions of 45,000,000 people;' and that he would therefore shortly tender his resignation to the Emperor, 'as it is impossible to govern Prussia on the monarchical system and at the same time on the principles of the Progressist party.' This threat, however, was only laughed at, for the public remembered that only a few months previously the Prince had stated that he intended to retain office so long as the Emperor should wish him to do so, and that 'the Emperor's will alone would lift him out of the saddle.'

Bismarck now set himself, with his accustomed energy, to break up the hostile phalanx and to detach the Conservatives from the ranks of the Opposition. About the end of January, 1883, a conciliatory letter which the Emperor had addressed to the Pope was made public, along with a reply from the pontiff in a corresponding spirit. After a good deal of finessing respecting the extent of the concessions to be made by the Government, a Bill was introduced into the Prussian Parliament which enacted that ecclesiastical appointments should be notified to the Government before they were carried out, but limited the obligation to permanent appointments bestowed upon ordained priests. The authority to exercise spiritual functions was extended to all the sees in the kingdom, while questions relating to ecclesiastical offices, the appointment of teachers in ecclesiastical training

colleges, and the exercise of episcopal rights in vacant sees were transferred from the ecclesiastical courts to the Minister of Public Worship, whose interest it is to cultivate the goodwill of the hierarchy. The Bill was, of course, opposed by the Liberals, but it was passed by the Parliament. The Vatican, however, was still not satisfied, and further concessions had to be made by the Government. The Bishop of Limburg, one of the most strenuous opponents of the Falk Laws, was re-installed in his see, and payment was resumed of the State contributions for the maintenance of Roman Catholic priests and bishops in the dioceses which had been suspended during the contest. It was thus admitted by the Government that Bismarck's arbitrary treatment of the Roman Catholic Church had failed of its effect, and that the Pope had triumphed in the long struggle between Prussia and the Vatican.

The repeal of the Falk Laws by the Prussian Parliament made it evident that Prince Bismarck's wish was to govern henceforward not in spite of, but with the help of the Vatican, and that his tendency was to rely more and more in the Imperial Parliament upon the Centres, of whom the Clericals formed an important section, against the Socialists, the Advanced Liberals, and the Separatist parties.

Compensation for this defeat and the humiliation of being obliged to yield to the Papal court was obtained by the Chancellor's success in procuring at last the approval of the Parliament, at the urgent request of the Emperor, to the biennial budget and the Working Men's Insurance Bill, which led to the resignation of his seat by Herr von Bennigsen, the leader of the moderate Liberals, a statesman of great ability and experience.

Great apprehensions were excited by anarchist plots and by the great and growing strength of the Social Democrats, in the large towns especially, of Germany. Several infamous attempts were made to destroy life and property in that country

by dynamite, the most atrocious of which was the conspiracy against the life of the German Emperor, and the vast gathering of spectators assembled at the unveiling of the Niederwald national monument, 28th September, 1883. Several persons were tried at Leipzig for this crime and for an explosion planned at Elberfeld, and were convicted and sentenced to death.

The foreign policy of the Chancellor, however, was as vigilant, vigorous, and arbitrary as ever. A decree issued by the Prussian Ministry, ordering the Danish residents of North Schleswig to become Prussian subjects when they reached the age of twenty-one or to leave the country, was indignantly denounced both in the Danish and the Prussian Parliaments. The threat of Marshal von Manteuffel, uttered at Strasburg to the provincial council of the conquered province, that Germany would never grant full constitutional rights to Alsace-Lorraine until the agitation for its restitution to France should cease, caused a great deal of irritation both in the department and throughout France, and the public journals of that country expressed bitter and unceasing hostility to the German nation and rulers. The violence of these attacks provoked such an outburst of indignation in Berlin that Prince Bismarck thought it necessary to issue, through his organ in the press, a very significant warning to those who were risking an open breach between the two countries. 'France,' the article said, 'appears to be the only power which is constantly menacing the peace of Europe; and it must be recognized that such a state of things cannot continue without seriously compromising that peace whose maintenance is the aim of all serious politicians.' This warning, however, was unheeded, as was shown by the treatment given to the King of Spain by the Paris mob, already mentioned.

The expansionist movement in France found a strong response in Germany, which, as elsewhere related, caused strained relations with England in connection with

German annexations at Angra Pequena, and at the Cameroons on the west coast of Africa, as well as in New Guinea. The Conference summoned by Prince Bismarck, which met at Berlin to consider the whole question of African annexations, showed the strong interest taken by him on this subject. In 1885 an attempt on the part of Germany to annex the Caroline Islands very nearly provoked a rupture with Spain. The question was, however, referred to the Pope, who decided in favour of the latter country, reserving certain trading rights to Germany.

Towards the close of 1886 the threatening nature of events in the east of Europe, the renewal of rumours of a Russo-French alliance, and the strong anti-German feeling evinced by French politicians and journalists, induced Prince Bismarck to demand an addition to the German army of 40,000 men. The demand was supported by Von Moltke in a very alarming speech, in which he said that in his opinion its rejection would certainly be followed by war. Notwithstanding the strong influence brought to bear on the Reichstag, the Bill was rejected, and a dissolution and general election followed. The most alarming rumours were current during the elections, as to the relations with France and Russia, and one result of these was that the new Reichstag, though not differing very much in political complexion from its predecessor, agreed to vote the increase in the army almost without discussion. The rumours of war thereafter died away, and an attempt was even made to establish cordial diplomatic relations between France and Germany, which were, however, very nearly interrupted in April, 1887, by the arrest, close to the Alsatian frontier, of a French police official, on an accusation of being connected with treasonable conspiracies in Alsace. Some irregularity appeared to have existed in the means by which the arrest was effected, and after a brief period, in which peace again seemed in grave danger of being broken, the Ger-

man authorities consented to release their prisoner.

Austria, with her strongly-marked class divisions and her numerous heterogeneous nationalities, each clamouring for home rule, was greatly in need of freedom from external annoyances in order to enable her to cope with grave internal troubles. Scandals showing the existence of much political corruption, Socialist conspiracies and prosecutions, street riots, and strikes disquieted the Cisleithan kingdoms. The peasants in Upper Austria complained of the large proportion of the land-tax which they were called on to pay compared with the amount demanded of the landed proprietors. They formed themselves into a society called the Upper Austrian Peasants' Union. Similar associations were formed in the other Austrian provinces, and a 'new interest—that of the peasantry as distinguished from the clergy and landowners—was thus added to the numerous ones which are incessantly in conflict with each other throughout the motley territories of the Austrian Empire.' The antagonism between the German Centralists and the Slavs now became exceedingly bitter, and such questions as the ordinance regulating the use of the German and the Czech languages in courts of law, the right of the supreme court to decide on the validity of elections, the reduction of the term of attendance in the elementary schools from eight years to six, were discussed by the two parties, who invariably took opposite sides, with such violence as had nearly led to blows in the Parliament House. This was actually the result of a debate in the Dalmatian Diet, in which three nationalities are represented—the Croatian, Italian, and Servian. Then an absurd quarrel arose between the Czechs and the Hungarians respecting the language in which the new Hungarian money should be printed. In Dalmatia and Herzegovina insurrections broke out, aided by Pan Slavist propagandists in Montenegro, Servia, Russia, and Italy; and were only overcome after

months of hard fighting and a large expenditure of money, their share of which the Hungarian Delegation, jealous of the interests of Slav subjects, voted with great reluctance. The hostility of the Croatians to Magyar rule led to serious disturbances in the Transleithan kingdom. The extension of Hungarian authority was openly resisted; martial law had to be proclaimed, and riots put down by military force.

The ill-feeling against the Jews, who were regarded as accomplices of the tax-gatherer, led to a series of most disgraceful outrages, which are alleged to have been connived at by the authorities. The hatred of the populace to the Semitic race culminated during the trial of the Tisza-Esslar murder case. Some Jews at that village were accused of having put to death a Christian servant girl named Esther Soly-mosi as a sacrifice at the celebration of the Passover. The charge depended almost wholly on the evidence of the son of one of the persons accused, who, partly by threats and partly by promises, was induced to swear to a monstrous and utterly incredible story. The case broke down entirely on the trial, which lasted from June till August, and ended in the complete acquittal of the accused, although even the magistrates and the police showed a strong bias against them. But the populace throughout the country, and in Russia also, were furious at the escape of the Jews.

The year 1886 was a particularly trying one in Austria, in consequence of the exciting events in Bulgaria, which seemed at one time to be on the point of precipitating a struggle between Russia and Austria. The good offices of Germany, it was believed, were chiefly instrumental in averting this crisis. The cholera, which broke out again in Italy during the year, reached Trieste, where 15,000 persons were said to have died of it, and some cases even occurred in Vienna, but the disease was checked by the approach of winter before it had taken much hold there.

The foreign policy of Russia since 1881

had been less active and aggressive than in former years, mainly in consequence of the domestic difficulties of the Government. Discoveries of secret societies and arrests of Nihilists were reported from time to time; and in the month of February, 1881, a store of revolvers and daggers, with a secret printing-press and a large number of revolutionary proclamations, were discovered by the police; but nothing was done to redress the previous wrongs which had engendered discontent and a thirst for vengeance among the people. All classes sympathized with the demand for reform. At a meeting of the Assembly of the Nobles of St. Petersburg, held on the 4th of March, M. Schadeyeff had the unheard-of courage to denounce the illegal and oppressive proceedings of the Government officials, and to propose that the Assembly should petition the Czar, Alexander II., to abolish the system of banishing political offenders without trial. 'We live in a time,' he said, 'when officials supersede the courts of justice, arrest people at their pleasure, chiefly at night, and banish them, without any legal regulation or judicial sentence, to distant provinces of Russia. . . . The ranks of the exiles were filled with young men under age, whose only crime was, in the majority of cases, to be related or known to some one whose loyalty some official suspected. How could one believe that Russia is on the path of peaceful progress when a thoughtless word, a misunderstood letter, or the false testimony of a subordinate official daily increases the list of these unfortunate exiles? The arbitrary conduct of the administrator even goes so far as to banish people for offences of which they have been acquitted.' M. Schadeyeff's motion was unanimously adopted, and the proposed petition was duly presented to the Czar, but was of course unheeded.

Repeated attempts had been made by the Nihilists to assassinate the Czar—two in 1879 and one in 1880—but all had failed. They persisted, however, in their sanguinary plots, and at length succeeded in executing

their nefarious deed. A mine had been laid below the Sadovaya Street, in St. Petersburg, through which it was expected the Czar would pass, and it was arranged that if his carriage went in another direction a signal should be given by Peroffskaya, a female member of the organization, which should indicate to the assassins where they were to meet their victim. On the 13th of March, 1881, accompanied by his brother the Grand-duke Michael, the Czar was being driven in a closed carriage from the Winter Palace, and was passing along the banks of the Catherine Canal, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when a dynamite bomb, thrown by a man named Ryssakoff, exploded just behind the carriage, killing a Moujik standing near, and wounding a Cossack, one of the royal escort, and several other persons. The carriage was somewhat shattered, and was brought to a standstill, and the Czar, apparently unhurt, stepped out before his brother on the road. He ordered that all attention should be paid to the injured persons, and that the assassin, who had in one hand a revolver and in the other a dagger, and was surrounded by a crowd of people, should be removed. He then turned to walk home, but had only gone a few steps when another young man threw a bomb at his feet. A tremendous explosion followed, which was heard all over the city. As soon as the smoke had cleared away the Czar was seen to be lying on the ground in a pool of blood. Many other wounded persons were lying near him, and the conspirator who threw the missile, a student named Grèvenetzky, was found to have been mortally wounded by the bomb which he had thrown with such fatal effect at the feet of the Czar. His Majesty was conveyed to the Winter Palace, and four physicians were immediately in attendance. His body was dreadfully mangled, and it was at once seen that his case was hopeless. He died at a few minutes before four o'clock. Ryssakoff, who threw the first bomb, had been a student for the last two years at

the Mining Academy. Of the others who were found to have been implicated in the crime, one, the brother of an officer of grenadiers, shot himself with a revolver as the police broke into his lodgings, and others were arrested before the murder for having dynamite and other explosive materials in their possession. Most of them belonged to the peasant class. Their trial began on the 7th of April. Nearly all of them acknowledged their guilt, and declared that their object in planning the murder of the Czar was to rescue the working classes from the oppression which they suffered under the existing system of government. The accused, six in number, were all found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. One of them, a woman, was reprieved; the other five were executed.

The executive committee of the revolutionary organization immediately issued two proclamations, which were posted on the walls of St. Petersburg. In the first of these documents the committee showed how their peaceful efforts to raise the Russian workmen and peasants in the scale of civilization, without interfering with political questions, had been rewarded by the Government by cruel persecution; thousands of the members of the Society were in prison or in the mines of Siberia; thousands of families had been ruined or had perished miserably. The revolutionary party had, in consequence, been gradually driven to resist the agents of the present system. The Government punished resistance with death. No alternative was therefore now left to the revolutionists but physical and moral annihilation, and they accordingly determined either to destroy the despotism of centuries which was paralyzing Russian life, or to perish in the attempt. The struggle against the foundations of despotism had thus been organized, and the catastrophe which had befallen Alexander II. was a single episode of that struggle. The manner in which the contest was carried on was brought about by the

inhumanity of the Russian Government, and a Russian had now no means of emancipating himself except by blood.

In the address to the new Czar, Alexander III., after calling attention to the manner in which the Government of the late Emperor had sacrificed every freedom, the interests of every class, the interests of industry, and even its own dignity to crush the revolutionary movement, the committee affirmed that the movement had nevertheless increased in strength, had drawn to itself the most energetic and devoted men of Russia, and had for three years carried on a guerilla war against the Government. The innocent and the guilty were hanged, the prisons and the distant provinces were crowded with exiles; ten so-called leaders of the movement were executed, dying with the courage and the tranquillity of martyrs, yet the movement continued and grew stronger, 'for it does not depend on individuals, but is an outcome of Russian society and a protest against an order of things which has become antiquated.' 'If,' the address continued, 'the Government does not change its policy, a revolution completely subverting the present order of things is inevitable.' The only way in which a revolution of this destructive character could be prevented was by the Government complying with the wishes of the people. 'We approach your Majesty,' said the committee, 'with the advice that you should adopt this alternative. We will then voluntarily abdicate our functions and devote ourselves to the work of advancing the prosperity of the nation. We will forget that you are the representative of the power which has so often deceived the people, and has done it so much evil, in the hope that no personal feeling of bitterness will stifle your sense of duty. You have lost your father; we have lost, not only our fathers, but our brothers, wives, children, friends, and property. Yet we are ready to suppress all personal feeling for the good of Russia, and we expect the same of you.' The 'wishes

of the nation' were declared to be a general amnesty for all political offenders; the convocation of all classes of the Russian nation for the revision and reform of the organization of the State and of society; freedom of election, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of public meeting.

To carry out reforms so extensive as these was far beyond the ability of the new sovereign, even if he had been disposed to undertake them. He had not the strength of character or intellectual power adequate to solve the perplexing problem submitted to him. It was, indeed, no easy task to provide a remedy for the enormous abuses of the bureaucratic system from which Nihilism had sprung, and at the same time to give, with safety to the country, a system of self-government to a nation of 80,000,000, of whom only a small fraction could be regarded as qualified for the discharge of that duty. The young Emperor made no attempt to grapple with the difficulty. He shut himself up in his summer palace at Gatschina, taking as careful precautions for his safety as if he were sustaining a siege. The old methods of repression were zealously pursued. St. Petersburg was declared to be in a state of siege, and every citizen, except those who belonged to the first three classes, was made liable to be imprisoned by the police for a fortnight as 'a suspect.' At one time people were forbidden to walk in the streets without a passport. The officer in command of the city was empowered to order offenders to be tried for ordinary civil crimes by the military tribunals, and a commission, specially appointed for the purpose, was authorized to pronounce sentences of banishment limited to a period of five years. So great was the panic of the imperial court, and so widespread were the apprehensions entertained of all classes, that on 4th April the Grand-duke Nicholas, son of the Grand-duke Constantine, brother of the late Czar, was arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in political intrigues with members

of the revolutionary organization, and his father was dismissed shortly after from all his dignities on a similar charge. As might have been expected, the Nihilists pursued their carefully concealed plots and machinations more vigorously than before, and their secretly-printed newspapers and proclamations were circulated as freely and widely as ever, penetrating even into the precincts of the imperial palaces. The police exerted themselves, with only partial success, to discover these Nihilist plots and to arrest the conspirators; while the people looked on with apathetic indifference, or with scarcely dissembled sympathy with the revolutionists.

Several changes took place at this time in the Ministry. M. Sabouroff, the popular minister of education, was replaced by Baron Nikolai, a man of great energy, who was expected to exercise a more vigorous control than his predecessors over the rebellious students. Count Loris Melikoff resigned in consequence of the refusal of the Czar to adopt a judicious and statesman-like scheme he had proposed for carrying out the agrarian reforms which Alexander II. had inaugurated by the emancipation of the serfs, and his place as minister of the interior was filled by Count Ignatieff, the author of the treaty of San Stefano.

To add to the troubles of the Imperial Government at this time the most shocking outrages were committed by the peasantry on the Jews in southern Russia. The Czar and the ministers made a feeble attempt to conciliate the people by appointing commissions for reducing expenditure, reorganizing the administration of the army, simplifying the police system, regulating the peasant question, diminishing drunkenness, and effecting other social reforms. But very little was done to any purpose. No one believed that the projected reforms would ever be carried out, and in the course of a few months the commissioners excited no feeling but that of ridicule.

The guerilla war between the Imperial

Government and the Nihilists was carried on with unabated ferocity. Most of the Liberal newspapers were suppressed or 'warned,' numerous arrests were made, and secret printing presses seized. State trials were followed by fresh outrages and new trials. On 21st February, 1882, twenty-two persons were tried for the murder of General Mezentzeff in 1878, and for complicity in the assassination of the Czar. Ten of them, including a woman, were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, and the remainder were condemned to various terms of penal servitude. But these punishments in no way daunted the revolutionists or induced them to desist from their deeds of blood, for on the 30th of March General Strelnikoff, the public prosecutor at the military tribunal of Kieff, was assassinated while he was sitting on the boulevard at Odessa. The assassins were caught red-handed and hanged three days after.

At the beginning of February General Skobeloff, who, in consequence of his achievements in the war with Turkey, had become a kind of national hero, caused an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe by an indiscreet speech which he delivered at Paris to a deputation of Servian students there. He asserted that Russia was hindered in the fulfilment of her mission as a Slavonic power, both at home and abroad, by German influence; that the German is everywhere and everything in Russia, and that the Russians are 'dupes of his policy, victims to his intrigues, and slaves to his strength.' He went on to declare that 'Russia can only be delivered from the baleful influence of Germany by the sword: a struggle between the Teuton and the Slav is inevitable.' Such statements as these naturally caused great excitement, and led some to believe that they foreboded a war of races in Europe, in which Germans and Slavs would be ranged on opposite sides, with France as the auxiliary of Russia. It was probably owing to this cause that the existence of a treaty of alliance between

Germany and Austria, concluded in 1879, was made known, stipulating that if either of the two should be attacked it should be assisted by the whole of the military power of its ally. But the Czar's dread of sharing his father's fate made him averse to intermeddle with schemes of foreign aggression. General Skobeloff was recalled, and his death was announced shortly after his return to Russia; the Russian Foreign Minister expressed his disapproval of the general's speech; and the Czar made known his intention to pursue 'a policy faithful to the historical traditions and friendships of Russia—a policy essentially pacific in character and devoted to the economical, civil, and social development of the country.'

The Panslavist agitation, which brings Russia into repressed conflict with Germany, Austria, and Turkey, was discouraged not only by the censure passed upon General Skobeloff's harangues, but also by the dismissal of Count Ignatieff and the appointment of M. de Giers as Prince Gortchakoff's successor in the office of minister of foreign affairs. This change in the Russian ministry produced great satisfaction in Germany and Austria, as Prince Gortchakoff had of late shown a decided leaning towards the Panslavists and a personal dislike of Prince Bismarck, of whom, it is alleged, he had been the dupe.

The long-delayed ceremony of the coronation of Alexander III. was performed at Moscow in May, 1883. A splendid national and international exhibition took place, with extraordinary precautions against outrage, and was accompanied by the most gorgeous ceremonials, religious, civil, and military. Representatives of all the sovereigns and governments of Europe were present at this magnificent and perhaps unequalled display. A majority of the rulers of the petty kingdoms and principalities of the Continent were represented by members of their own families; every province and town of the empire of the Czar sent delegates to the brilliant assemblage before the

sacred relics of the Kremlin; and, for the populace, there was provided a carnival of mediæval magnificence and lavishness; but to the great disappointment of the people no promise of any liberal reforms was made by the Czar on the occasion. During the series of splendid ceremonials, which lasted a week, no disturbance was created by the Nihilists; but the dismissal from the army of five officers in February, on account of their connection with this secret organization, showed that it still had members in the higher ranks of the army, and the facts disclosed at the trial of eighteen Nihilists at St. Petersburg in April made manifest the extraordinary ability and daring with which its operations were conducted. It was discovered that the ramifications of the conspiracy extended even to the public prisons, whose officials must have given direct assistance to a treasonable correspondence between the Nihilist prisoners under their charge, and their friends who were at liberty.

A new proof of the vitality of the organization was given on 28th December by the murder of Colonel Soudaikin, the chief of the secret police, who had for some time shown himself the most formidable enemy of the Nihilists. This murder produced great alarm throughout the empire, and renewed the panic which took place in the capital on the assassination of the late Czar. For some months, however, there was no further tangible result of the Nihilist agitation, though its continued existence was made known in various ways. Several proclamations were issued by the so-called constitutional party to the organization, and widely circulated, declaring that they did not approve of the assassinations perpetrated by the Terrorist section of the Socialists; but were determined to carry on the struggle with the Government, not by violent means, but by propagating their opinions among the mass of the people, by means of secret printing presses, and other modes of influencing public opinion. Like the other section of their party, they demanded an amnesty for all political offences,

religious freedom, abolition of the censorship of the press, and a convocation of representatives of the people to a special assembly for the purpose of considering and discussing the proposed new laws—the Czar being left at liberty to adopt the views of the majority or minority at his pleasure, and the power of legislation being left, as hitherto, in his hands.

The issuing of these proclamations stimulated the police to renewed efforts to discover the society from which they had emanated, and their efforts were successful in detecting a plot against the lives of the Czar and his eldest son, which had its chief seat at Moscow, the headquarters of the executive committee of the Terrorist party. Five of the principal conspirators were captured, together with a large sum of money and several dynamite bombs. At the beginning of October, 1884, fourteen Nihilists, including a staff-officer, a lieutenant-colonel, and three women—one of whom was the wife of a physician—were tried at St. Petersburg for high treason. One of the women, named Vera Figner, was found guilty of being an agent of the Nihilist society, and of having taken part in the preparation of the bombs used in the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II., and of General Strelnikoff at Odessa. She was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted by the Czar to five years' imprisonment with hard labour. A military and a naval officer were hanged on the 22nd of October for taking a leading part in organizing secret military societies.

The occurrence of a most skilfully planned attempt to assassinate the Czar as he was driving through St. Petersburg on the 13th March, 1887, which was only frustrated by a change of plans on his part, and of another reported attempt on his life at his palace at Gatschina, proved that the spirit of Nihilism had struck too deep root in the nation to be extirpated. Army officers of high rank were found or suspected to be guilty of complicity in these plots. Several are reported to have been secretly executed.

The internal troubles of Russia had prevented her from intermeddling with the affairs of her neighbours; and Turkey, thus left to follow its own devices, had given a good deal of annoyance to the great powers of Europe by the persistent refusal of the Porte to carry into effect the stipulations of the Berlin Conference respecting Greece. A proposal of arbitration was made, but was not accepted by either party. The Sultan proposed that a conference, composed of the representatives of the six Powers and of Turkey, should be held at Constantinople, to settle the question. Prince Bismarck recommended the adoption of this proposal, as 'he knew of no effectual settlement of the Greek question which would not involve coercive measures;' but nothing was done in the matter until Mr. Goschen's arrival at Constantinople in February, 1881. He had taken Berlin and Vienna on his way, and had suggested that Prince Bismarck should take the initiative in recommending the mode of settlement proposed. The Prince consented to follow this suggestion, and the other Powers agreed to follow the initiative taken by Germany.

The Conference which was then decided on continued its deliberations from the 7th until the 27th of March, and accepted, with some modifications, the last of the lines of frontier proposed by the Porte. This line, which extended from a point between the mouth of the Salamurias and Plataniona on the Ægean Sea to Arta, with a provision for the free navigation of the Gulf of Arta, and the disarmament of the fortifications on its shores, was much less favourable to Greece than the line sanctioned by the Berlin Conference. But the Porte could not be induced to make any further concession, and none of the powers were prepared to employ force to compel the Sultan's acceptance of the Berlin frontier. The Greek Government complained, with great justice, that Europe had 'allowed her work to be done over again in order to show forbearance to Turkey,' and adduced un-

answerable arguments to show that Greece had been treated with great injustice by the decision of the Conference. The Powers could only plead that 'it had proved impossible to carry out by peaceful means the conclusions embodied in the award of the Conference of Berlin;' that in consequence the line now settled should 'henceforward be finally substituted' for that of the Conference; and that they intend, 'in the interests of the general peace, to abide by this solution, which must from this time forward be considered as the final decision of Europe.' They at the same time threw out a significant hint that if the Cabinet of Athens should refuse to accept this decision they would alienate the sympathies of Europe, incur immense responsibility, and expose their country to 'the complete isolation which would be the first and inevitable consequence of a refusal.'

As it thus became evident that if Greece made war on the Porte in order to obtain the enlarged frontier of the Berlin Conference none of the Powers would support her, the Greek Cabinet, with the consent of the Chamber, gave a reluctant and tardy assent to the new arrangement, and a convention carrying it into effect was signed on 24th May. Its chief provisions were—first, tracing out the new frontier according to the line agreed upon by a commission of delimitation composed of delegates of the Powers and the two parties concerned; secondly, protection for the lives, property, and customs of such of the inhabitants of the ceded districts as will remain in them, and security for the enjoyment of the same civil and political rights as are enjoyed by Greek subjects of Hellenic origin; thirdly, all rights of property established under the Turkish administration to be respected; fourthly, complete liberty of religion for the Mussulmans in the ceded territories; fifthly, such of the inhabitants of the ceded territories as may wish to remain Ottoman subjects to be allowed to transfer their domiciles to the Ottoman Empire within a period of three years, and

during the same period no Mussulman to be held liable to military service; and sixthly, a complete amnesty to be granted by both powers to persons implicated in political events relating to the Greek question. These stipulations were duly carried out. Most of the Mussulman inhabitants emigrated into Turkey, and a 'burning question,' which threatened to rekindle the flames of war, was thus peacefully, if not equitably, settled.

At this juncture Europe was startled by the news that some ex-ministers of the Porte, Midhat Pasha, Raschid Pasha, Mahmoud Damad Pasha, Noury Pasha, ex-Marshal of the Palace, and various other persons who had formerly been employed there, had been arrested on a charge of having murdered the late sultan, Abdul Aziz. The trial of the prisoners commenced on the 27th of June. Mustapha, a wrestler, and a gardener of the same name declared that they had committed the murder at the instigation of the other prisoners. Midhat asserted that the whole story was a tissue of falsehoods concocted for his ruin and that of the other persons accused. He did not deny, however, that Abdul Aziz had been put to death; but alleged that the Council of Ministers had decided the measures which were taken, and that if these measures were regarded as criminal the whole of the Council should have been put upon their trial. The other prisoners pleaded the improbability of the charge brought against them. There can be little doubt that the sentence pronounced upon the accused was settled at the palace before the trial commenced. The proceedings throughout were conducted in the most irregular manner, and public indignation throughout Europe at the injustice shown to the ex-ministers was so strong, that though all of them, except the palace officials, were condemned to death (29th June, 1881), the Sultan ultimately commuted the sentence to banishment to Taif, in Arabia.

Questions arising out of the war indemnity

at one time threatened to embroil Turkey and Russia, but they were settled after a series of palace intrigues and ministerial changes. The policy of Abdul Hamid on this and other points was vacillating and feeble.

The minor states of Eastern Europe have been, as formerly, the scene of constant intrigues on the part of Austria and Russia, in which Germany was not an uninterested spectator. At Vienna, and indeed at Berlin also, the importance of seeking a counterpoise for Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula was clearly seen, and close relations were established between Austria and Servia. A successful attempt to free the Greek Church in the Servian kingdom from Russian control had alienated King Milan and his subjects from their former protectors. Montenegro was in consequence conspicuously patronized by Russia, and the marriage of a claimant to the Servian throne with a daughter of the prince of that state naturally excited Servian suspicion. Russian influence had for some time been on the wane in Bulgaria and Roumelia; in both countries the interference of the Russian officials was bitterly resented, and in Bulgaria the Russian members of the Cabinet had been removed from office. No apprehensions were, however, entertained in any quarter that a revolution was imminent. But in 1885 Eastern Roumelia unexpectedly threw off the Turkish suzerainty and declared for union with Bulgaria.

It appears that for several months societies had existed both in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia whose object was the promotion of Bulgarian union. On the 16th of September, 1885, information was sent to the committee of one of these societies at Philippopolis, the capital of Roumelia, that action would be taken on the following day. Accordingly on the morning of the 17th 1000 Bulgarians crossed into the Southern Province, near Bellove, and proceeded by railway to Philippopolis. On their arrival they were joined by the main body and the leaders of the movement,

and the regular troops and the gendarmerie also fraternized with them. The Governor-General, Gavril Cristovich or Gavril Pasha, and the members of the Permanent Committee of the province were arrested by the insurgents. A provisional government was proclaimed, and a deputation despatched to Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, who met them at Tirnova. He immediately convoked the National Assembly of Bulgaria, which voted by acclamation the acceptance of the offer, and also granted the vote of credit of 5,000,000 francs asked for by the Government for extraordinary expenses. Prince Alexander, thus encouraged by the cordial support of the deputies and the people, accepted the Roumelian sovereignty and started at once for Philippopolis, which he reached on the 20th, and was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by an enormous crowd. Formal intimation was immediately given by him to the diplomatic agents at Sofia that the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia had been proclaimed, and that he had been elected by the Roumelian people as Prince of South Bulgaria. The reserves and volunteers were called out, and a strong body of troops was sent to the frontier to prevent the entry of Turkish troops on the southern side. The news that a revolution had taken place in Eastern Roumelia caused great excitement throughout Europe, indicating, as it unquestionably did, the reopening of the dangerous Eastern question. The Porte lost no time in addressing a circular to the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, protesting against the conduct of the Prince of Bulgaria, and declaring that the Sultan would insist on retaining the rights conferred on him by that treaty.

A conference of representatives of the Great Powers was convened at Constantinople for the purpose of effecting a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of affairs in the Balkans. But before any decision was arrived at, Servia suddenly declared war against Bulgaria. For some days

previously extensive military preparations had been observed, and suspicious movements of Servian troops had been made on the Bulgarian frontier. On the 14th of November, King Milan formally declared war against Bulgaria, and at the same time issued a proclamation to his subjects, setting forth the ostensible reasons which had led him to take this step. He alleged that an attack had been made by Bulgarian troops on the Servians in the neighbourhood of Trn; but in addition it was declared that the introduction of 'unwarrantable customs regulations,' the 'violent ill-treatment' of Servians in Bulgaria, 'the blockade of the frontier,' the 'assembly on the Servian frontier of undisciplined bands,' the 'armed raids made by them,' the 'support given to traitors in their revolutionary enterprises directed against King Milan,' and the fact that Bulgaria had 'disturbed the equilibrium' in the Balkan peninsula, 'constituted an intentional provocation which he could no longer endure with equanimity.'

King Milan lost no time in carrying out his threatened invasion of Bulgaria. Before his declaration of war could have reached Sophia his troops were put in motion in three divisions. The Bulgarians, taken by surprise, were quite unprepared to offer an immediate and effective resistance to this unprovoked attack. Step by step they were driven back, though not without a gallant struggle, through the passes leading to Sophia; and so successful seemed the operations of the invaders that it was decided at King Milan's headquarters to annex to his state for 'railway' purposes certain tracts of Bulgarian territory lying conveniently to his own, including the district of Widdin and the celebrated fortress of that name on the Danube. In order, however, to reach the Bulgarian capital, it was necessary to capture Slivnitza, and there Prince Alexander, who had hurried back from Philippopolis with reinforcements, made his first great stand. On the 18th of November the invaders attacked this

strong position, but after a series of desperate fights they were repulsed with heavy loss, and driven back upon the Dragoman Pass in disorder. Prince Alexander, who commanded the Bulgarian army in person, displayed both skilful generalship in his arrangements and great gallantry in the contest. On the morning of the 19th he assumed the offensive, and after a battle which lasted till six in the evening, and in which he was constantly in the thick of the fight, the Servians were completely defeated and pursued for five miles. Although the Bulgarians were unable from lack of cavalry to improve their success to the utmost, a great many prisoners were taken, and King Milan's plans were utterly foiled. On the 22nd, however, they again attacked the Servians, who occupied the Dragoman Pass and neighbouring heights in great force, and after a long and obstinate resistance, which lasted till night, the Servian positions were stormed, and they were forced to retire towards the frontier.

The Serbs retreated along the whole line, and the Bulgarians followed up their victories with unrelenting energy. On the 24th they attacked and carried the Servian position at Podgoritzza, from which the defenders retreated in disorder. On the following day King Milan sent a flag of truce to the Bulgarian headquarters, making a proposal for peace at the request of the Great Powers; but the proposal was declined until the Servians should have evacuated Bulgarian territory in the Widdin district, and the amount of the war indemnity to be paid by Servia should have been fixed. A proposal for an armistice, which was next sent, was also refused; and the victorious Bulgarians continued their onward march. On the 26th they crossed the frontier, and after a desperate conflict, which lasted two days, they carried Pirot, where King Milan's headquarters had been fixed. The Servian assaults on Widdin were at the same time repulsed with heavy loss. At this stage, however, the representatives of the Great Powers interposed

and insisted on an armistice, which was signed on 21st December, and extended to 1st March, 1886. In this interval negotiations were commenced with a view to peace.

Much difficulty was caused by the refusal of both Serbia and Bulgaria to demobilize their armies, and by the conduct of the Greek Government, which made preparations for war, and declared that if any extension of territory were granted to Bulgaria, Greece must receive compensation at the expense of Turkey. The British Ministry finally, in concert with the other Powers, found it necessary to send a fleet to the Greek Archipelago to blockade the Greek ports, which resulted in the resignation of the Greek Ministry of M. Delyannis, and the formation of a Cabinet by M. Tricoupis to carry out disarmament, which was effected, though not before conflicts had actually occurred between soldiers of the Greek and Turkish forces. Meantime the representatives of the Powers had induced Serbia and Bulgaria, and Turkey as suzerain of the latter, to send delegates to a conference at Bucharest, where a treaty of peace between Serbia and Bulgaria was finally signed on 3rd March, 1886.

Russia, however, had viewed with great disfavour the movement at the head of which Prince Alexander had placed himself. All Russian officers serving with the Bulgarian army had been recalled, and the Prince himself deprived of his honorary rank in the Russian army. His subsequent successes against the Servians, which raised his popularity in Bulgaria to the highest point, only served to further increase the disfavour with which the Czar regarded him. Every obstacle that diplomatic ingenuity could devise was raised to the recognition of the *de facto* union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The fact that the British Government were disposed to favour the union, and ready to consent to such a modification of the Treaty of Berlin as to make it legal, seemed only to increase the distaste of Russia to an

event which she had originally been most anxious to bring to pass.

The Bulgarian elections in June, 1886, showed that the Prince's popularity remained as great as ever, and resulted in a great National majority, under M. Karaveloff—the Russian party, under M. Zankoff, being completely outnumbered.

Nevertheless, towards the close of August, Europe was startled by the news that the Prince had been seized at night in his palace at Sophia, by a body of bribed or disaffected troops, compelled to sign some papers purporting to be an abdication, and carried off to some destination unknown. It was subsequently found that he had been put on board one of his own yachts on the Danube and carried to Reni Russi, in Bessarabia, where he was handed over to the Russian authorities. The latter, either from the strong feeling expressed throughout Europe at these proceedings, or from other causes, appeared considerably embarrassed by their charge. They declined to keep him in custody or to allow him to enter Roumania, and he was finally sent into Austria through Russia. On his arrival at Lemberg he was enthusiastically welcomed by the Austrian population.

Immediately after the kidnapping of the Prince, Zankoff had proclaimed a provisional Government in the Russian interest, aided by the Metropolitan Clement. Colonel Mutkuroff, however, with the greater part of the army which the Prince had led to victory, declared against the conspirators, who fled almost at once, and the Prince was requested to return to his people with all speed. His reception on entering Bulgaria, and during his progress towards the capital, was most enthusiastic, all classes hastening to express their joy at his return. Russia, however, remained obdurate, and in answer to an appeal sent by Prince Alexander to the Czar, a reply was sent which was believed to threaten a Russian occupation of Bulgaria if the Prince remained. To save the country from this misfortune he for-

mally signed his abdication, committed his powers to the charge of a Regency, consisting of the three National leaders, Stambouloff, Mutkuroff, and Karaveloff, and left the country in spite of the almost forcible resistance of his army.

Under the Regency the elections to a new Sobranje, or national parliament, were completed in spite of the most strenuous endeavours of Russian partisans to excite disorder, and of the very irregular conduct of an envoy of Russia, General Kaulbars, who went about the country denouncing the Regents and their government. The Sobranje was opened on the 1st November, and proceeded at once to elect, in room of Prince Alexander, Prince Waldemar of Denmark, who, however, in consequence of the expressed hostility of Russia and her avowal that she would not recognize any candidate elected by the Sobranje, which she declared to have been illegally elected, declined the honour offered to him. The Prince of Mingrelia, a Russian subject, was subsequently proposed by Russia as a candidate for the vacant throne, but was so extremely unpopular in Bulgaria as to have no chance of election. The Bulgarian Regency next despatched a delegation to the various capitals of Europe to seek counsel and support in their difficulties. They were refused access to St. Petersburg, but were received in other capitals with varying degrees of cordiality, but without any definite result being attained. In Bulgaria repeated attempts at insurrection by outlying garrisons, bought over, it was believed, by Russian gold, were vigorously repressed by the Regents; Russia interfering, however, to prevent the punishment of the guilty persons, who were in one instance executed without awaiting her opinion. The Sultan, through his envoy at Sophia, did his utmost to induce the Regents to make submission to Russia, but without effect, while in Austria, England, Germany, and Italy strong sympathy with the Bulgarian people was expressed, but the

Governments held back from any political action through fear of provoking a Russian occupation and the reopening of the whole Eastern question.

Of the minor Western European States—HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, SWEDEN, and PORTUGAL—there is nothing to record, except that they have continued in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity.

A serious political crisis arose in BELGIUM, which, in consequence of a sudden change of public opinion, overthrew the Liberal majority and placed a clerical administration in power. The new ministry lost no time in making several alterations in the management of affairs highly favourable to the Roman Catholic Church, and they proposed and carried through a new law of public instruction, that completely subverted the system which the Liberal party had established and maintained during six years. A reaction immediately took place; the educational policy of the new Government provoked violent opposition throughout the country, culminating in serious riots in Brussels. In the end the Ministry had to be remodelled, and the Premier, with two of his colleagues, retired from office.

During 1886 the Socialist movement which had troubled most continental states took the form in Belgium of serious riots, originating in local strikes at Liège, but requiring the intervention of the military and resulting in serious loss of life before they were quelled.

In DENMARK a chronic struggle between the King and the Parliamentary Liberals has become acute and threatening. Repeated dissolutions caused great excitement throughout the country; but the only result was to strengthen the Radical majority. Ten years since the Folkething, or House of Commons, in its well-known address to the King, gave a clear and definite expression to the growing desire of the people for parliamentary government. But though the Liberal and Radical parties have steadily increased in numbers and influence year by year, no

practical result has been attained. The King still persists in keeping the Conservative Ministry in power, and gives no sign of yielding to the people's demand for a popular administration. In consequence legislation is at a deadlock. The Folkething systematically rejects the proposals of the Government, and the bills brought in by the Liberal majority, though duly passed by their own body, are rejected by the Landsting or Senate, in which the Conservatives are predominant.

A contest of the same kind, but far more dangerous, has been going on in NORWAY, where the ministers have been not only censured, but impeached and fined, and King Oscar II. of Sweden and Norway personally denounced. At the close of 1882 the leading ministerial organ very unwisely urged upon the King the necessity of a *coup d'état* in order to put an end to the struggle, and the dissolution of the Storthing at the point of the bayonet. Although this would be an act of high treason, the Norwegian Conservative press did not hesitate to point, in guarded terms, to this solution as the most desirable and effective mode of terminating the contest. Thus challenged, the Liberal majority of the newly-elected Storthing resolved to take decisive measures to bring matters to an issue, and to resort to the last constitutional means in their power to obtain the dismissal of the Ministry. Accordingly, as soon as the usual formalities connected with the first assembly of a Parliament had been observed, a committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the conduct of the Government. Early in March, 1883, the majority of the committee came to the decision that there were grounds for censuring the Ministry. Efforts were made to effect a compromise, but without effect, and after a debate which lasted over eighteen sittings, the report of the committee was agreed to by fifty-three votes to thirty-two, and the impeachment of the Ministry before a division of the Storthing sitting as the Rigsretten or supreme court of the realm,

was thus definitely settled. The charges brought against the Ministers were that they had acted contrary to the interests of the country in advising the King to refuse his sanction to the amendment of the constitution admitting the Ministers to seats in the Storthing; to a bill involving the question of supply; to a grant of money to volunteer corps established in various parts of the country; and to a bill conferring upon the Storthing the right to appoint two additional members on the directorate of the state railways. It was decided that the eleven Ministers should be tried separately, and that the trial of Mr. Selmer, the Prime Minister, should be taken as a test case. The sittings of the court began on the 18th of May, 1883, but the preliminary proceedings occupied so much time that it was not until the 7th of August that Mr. Selmer was finally summoned to appear before the court. The actual trial did not commence until 4th October. The interest excited by the trial was very great, and party feeling ran high. The proceedings were very protracted, and did not terminate until February, 1884. After five days' deliberation judgment was delivered on the 27th of that month, and the Prime Minister was found guilty on all the charges. The court sentenced him to be discharged from his office of Minister of State, and to pay the fees of the prosecuting counsel, amounting to about £1000. The cases of Mr. Selmer's colleagues were brought successively before the Supreme Court, and were decided in the same way, only the fines inflicted on them were much lighter than that which was imposed upon the Prime Minister. The King was so injudicious as to express his strong disapprobation of the judgment of the court against his late Prime Minister, whom, as an acknowledgment of his past services, he created a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim, the highest order in Sweden. He appointed a new Conservative Ministry, composed of men without political reputation or ability, who were shortly after compelled to resign. Various abortive efforts

were then made to form an administration that would be acceptable both to the King and the majority of the Storting. In the end His Majesty was compelled to intrust the formation of a Ministry to Mr. Johan Sverdrup, the leader of the Liberal party, who had no difficulty in constructing a Liberal Cabinet. The protracted struggle was thus brought to a close.

The tranquillity of the United States remained practically undisturbed during this period, and there public attention was completely absorbed by domestic affairs. Political corruption, bribery, and frauds on the revenue were still carried on unchecked. President Hayes admitted that reform of the civil service had become indispensable, but when he went out of office in 1881 he left the corrupt system, which had long prevailed in public life, unreformed, and even unchecked. The contest respecting the succession to his office as President turned mainly on this question, and after the most strenuous exertions on both sides, it terminated in the election of General Garfield, the candidate of the reformers, by a small majority over General Hancock. The new President entered upon the duties of his office (4th March, 1881) with great alacrity and zeal, and after a fierce struggle inflicted a signal defeat on the two senators, Messrs. Conkling and Platt, who were the leaders of the opposition to his reforming policy. But on 2nd July, as the President was about to leave Washington for New York by train, he was mortally wounded by a pistol-shot fired by a person named Charles Guiteau, a lawyer in Chicago, and a disappointed place-hunter. For two months the President hovered between life and death, but he expired suddenly in the end on 19th September. This vile deed was regarded with deep indignation by the whole civilized world, and messages of sympathy with the family and nation were sent by Queen Victoria and all the other European rulers. The assassin, of course, suffered the just punishment of his crime, but his trial

at Washington degenerated unto an unseemly farce, to which, it was justly said, the postponement of the convict's execution added a ghastly element.

President Garfield was succeeded by Vice-President Arthur, who from the first showed a decided leaning against his predecessor's policy. His administration very soon fell under the 'stalwart' wing of the Republican party, and hopelessly lost credit and authority in the country. The 'Reformers' and 'Independents' protested against the power placed in the hands of 'machine politicians,' whose chief aim was the promotion of their personal and selfish interests. A schism in consequence took place in the Republican party, which, divided and discontented, was vastly outnumbered by the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and retained only a bare majority in the Senate. The Republicans were loud in their denunciations of 'contract labour,' whether from Europe or Asia, but the President vetoed a Bill prohibiting Chinese immigration. He afterwards, however, allowed another to pass, limited to a period of ten years.

On the approach of the Presidential election in 1884, the Republican National Convention, on 3rd June, nominated Mr. J. G. Blaine of Maine for President, and Mr. J. A. Logan for Vice-President. They adopted as their 'platform' the maintenance of protective duties. Mr. Blaine was an experienced and influential politician, skilled in all the arts of party management, but conspicuously hostile to every plan for administrative reform. The 'Independent' and 'Reforming' sections of the Republicans at once declared that if the Democrats chose at their Convention a candidate of high public character, such as Mr. Cleveland, the Governor of New York State, they would vote for the 'Democratic ticket.' He was accordingly chosen, by the Democratic National Convention, 8th July, with Mr. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. Mr. Cleveland was a man known and respected for the courage with

which, in his office as Governor, he had combated both municipal corruption and 'rings' managed by intriguing capitalists, and had shown himself the enemy of all jobs and jobbers. His nomination was therefore cordially welcomed by the disinterested portion of the community. The contest, which was unusually keen, terminated (7th November) in the election of Mr. Cleveland and the restoration of the Democratic party to the control of the executive, from which they had been excluded nearly a quarter of a century.

The year 1885 was marked by the death, on 23rd July, of General U. S. Grant, whose success in bringing to an end the Civil War of 1861-65 caused him to be regarded as a national hero. His funeral took place at New York, on 8th August, on the grandest scale, the cortège numbering over 200,000 persons. All parties were represented in this national demonstration, including the chief opponents still living

of the deceased general in the Civil War. A funeral service was also held in Westminster Abbey on 4th August.

In 1886 trade was partially paralyzed by a series of extensive strikes throughout the chief industrial centres of the Union, which were partly the work of the Socialist organization. In Chicago serious riots occurred, in quelling which the police were obliged to fire upon the rioters, causing serious loss of life. An attempt made by Herr Most to provoke a similar riot of the unemployed in New York led to his arrest, trial, and imprisonment. An unfortunate dispute with Canada, arising out of their interpretation of the fishing rights in their territorial waters, and the seizure of some American vessels accused of violating these rights, led to the passing of an act by the United States legislature, authorizing the President to retaliate by closing their ports to Canadian traffic when he should think necessary.

CHAPTER XXIV.

British India—Ilbert Bill—Lord Dufferin appointed Viceroy—War with Burmah—Occupation of Mandalay, and Deposition of Theebaw—South Africa—German Annexation of Angra Pequena—Visit of Boer Deputation to Europe—Sir Charles Warren's Expedition—Proposed Annexation of New Guinea—Australian Federation—Insurrection of Half-breeds in Canada—Expedition under General Middleton—Defeat and Capture of Riel—His Trial and Execution—Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway.

IN the history of the British dependencies during the last few years, our Indian Empire demands first notice.

After the settlement of the Afghan question and the restoration of Candahar to the Ameer, India continued to enjoy peace and prosperity. But in the beginning of 1883 the Marquis of Ripon, the Viceroy, involved himself in a contest with the non-official European inhabitants of unprecedented keenness and asperity. Mr. Ilbert, the legal member of Council, introduced a bill, which came to bear his name, giving native magistrates in the interior the same jurisdiction over European British subjects as was possessed by native magistrates in the three Presidency towns. The non-official Europeans, who, since the development of tea-planting, railway construction, and other forms of private enterprise, have become an important element in the community, protested against the withdrawal of their right to be tried by 'their peers' in deference to a claim affecting only a limited number of native civil servants. In Calcutta a storm arose among the non-official classes, which soon spread to the planting centres all over the province and throughout the Upper Provinces and the Punjab. A powerful organization was established to oppose the Ilbert Bill, and was supported at home by the vast majority of retired Indian officials. A counter-agitation was got up by a large class of educated natives, and their views were advocated by Mr. Bright and other influential Liberals at home, on the ground of justice, and equality of rights and privileges. The conten-

tion between the two classes grew keener and keener, and led to a state of social alienation and hostility unparalleled since the time of the Mutiny. After the agitation had lasted nearly a year, a compromise was effected in January, 1884, giving to Europeans charged before a district magistrate or sessions judge, whether European or native, the privilege of claiming a jury of which at least one-half the members should be Europeans. The controversy respecting the Ilbert Bill had a most injurious effect on the harmonious administration of the provinces more immediately affected by it. It led also to the unprecedented and discreditable incident of a public insult being offered to the Viceroy on his return to Calcutta in November, and to the almost entire cessation of social intercourse between him and the non-official Europeans.

In consequence of these difficulties and of failing health the Marquis of Ripon expressed a wish to resign his post of Viceroy, and the Government selected as his successor the Earl of Dufferin, British ambassador at Constantinople. The new Viceroy, whose appointment was extremely popular in England, arrived at Calcutta, 13th December. He was warmly welcomed by the Europeans in India, while the natives were equally demonstrative of their respect for the departing Viceroy, Lord Ripon.

The other legislative measures of the period in our Eastern Empire were of comparatively little consequence, with the exception of one most important piece of legislation, the 'Bengal Rent Bill,' introduced to give the ryots 'security of tenure.'

Lord Dufferin's skilful conduct of Indian affairs at the time of the Penjdeh incident in Afghanistan, and his meeting with the Ameer at Rawul Pindi, have been already narrated. It is not too much to say that the preservation of peace during that trying time was due, in no small measure, to his energy and resource.

On the eastern frontier of India events were not quite so satisfactory. The relations between the British Government and Theebaw, the king of Burmah, had for some time been considerably strained. That monarch had rendered himself infamous for his cruelty and oppression. He had massacred from time to time not only great numbers of his own subjects, but even the members of his own family. His administration had been allowed to fall into such a state of disorder as to fill the country with marauders, and to expose the neighbouring British possessions to their inroads. His reign had been marked throughout by the violation of treaties, by acts of aggression on the British frontier, by outrages on British subjects and injustice to British trade, and by an external policy systematically opposed to British interests. An attempt to exact from the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation a large sum of money at length brought matters to a crisis, and exhausted the forbearance of the British Government. That corporation had for years been engaged in business in Upper Burmah. During that period they had paid the Burmese Government enormous sums of money, and had contributed in no small degree to develop the resources of the country by opening up districts hitherto neglected and unknown. During the reign of the late King of Burmah no difficulty or dispute ever arose between the Government and the corporation. But since the accession of Theebaw, owing to his extravagant expenditure, never-ceasing demands were made on the corporation for loans and advances. An attempt to plunder them of a sum amounting to nearly £250,000 sterling compelled them at last

to refuse any further compliance with these demands. The judges of the Burmese High Court, before which the claim was brought, gave judgment in favour of the Government, as they were obliged to do, on peril not only of their offices, but of their lives. The majority of them, however, privately suggested to the corporation to appeal to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah for protection. The case was at once taken up by the Indian Government, and as no redress could be obtained, an ultimatum was sent to the Burmese sovereign demanding the acceptance of certain definite proposals for the settlement of this affair, and for the establishment of the future relations between the two countries upon the basis of excluding the right of any other foreign power to interfere in Burmah. These proposals, as was foreseen, were met by a distinct refusal to abandon the claims in dispute, and an evasive reply as regards the future relations of Burmah and England.

In consequence of this refusal the Viceroy of India declared war against the Burmese sovereign on the 13th of November, and General Prendergast, an experienced Indian officer of high reputation, was ordered to cross the frontier at the head of a force about 10,000 strong, to compel compliance with the demands of the Government and to expel Theebaw from the throne. On entering the Burmese territory the General issued a proclamation for the purpose of allaying the fanatical feeling which their sovereign had attempted to excite among his people, and assuring them that their private rights and their religious and national customs would be scrupulously respected. The first object of the expedition was to capture Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, which is 250 miles from the frontier of British Burmah. Of the three routes which led to it, General Prendergast chose the river route up the Irawaddy. It was well understood that whatever opposition the Burmese could

offer to the British would be made at Minhla, a town of about 5000 inhabitants, situated at a bend of the river. A fort of modern construction, called Kuligon, about a mile below the town, commands the channel, which at this point is a mile and a half broad. A strong resistance was here expected; but it soon appeared that the Burmese were little inclined for desperate fighting in their sovereign's cause. The forts at Minhla were captured on the 17th November with very little loss on the part of the British. Further up the river, at Pagán, the Burmese had raised some earthworks, and seemed disposed to make a stand. But their battery was easily carried by the British. Two days later the town of Myin-Gyan was taken, the enemy being driven out by the fire of the gunboats. On the 27th November the British reached Ava, a fortified position about 30 miles below Mandalay. Here they were met by a boat with a message from the king asking for an armistice, and proposing to treat. General Prendergast replied that if the king, his army, and Mandalay at once surrendered, his life would be spared, provided the European residents were unharmed. This was agreed to the next day. The Burmese laid down their arms. The British took possession of the fortifications at Ava and destroyed the guns, and then proceeded to Mandalay, which was surrendered without any resistance. King Theebaw was deposed and exiled to India, and the government was at first undertaken by the British provisionally. But on 1st January, 1886, a proclamation was issued by the Viceroy of India formally annexing Upper Burmah to her Majesty's dominions. The Viceroy paid a visit to the newly-annexed territory in the month of February, remaining some days at Mandalay, to consult with the British and native authorities as to the future government of the country.

After his return to Calcutta a series of most destructive fires broke out in Mandalay and the chief Burmese towns, which were attributed to 'dacoits'—consisting

mainly of the disbanded soldiers of the late Burmese army. Increasing in boldness these bands began to attack outlying British posts, and in some cases with success. Strong reinforcements had to be sent from India, under command of General Sir Herbert Maepherston, who unfortunately was attacked by fever almost immediately on his arrival, which proved fatal on 21st October. His place was then taken by Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and under his vigorous direction the bands of dacoits were gradually broken up. Many of their leaders were captured and others induced to make their submission, so that by February, 1887, it was thought practicable to recall to India a portion of the troops, replacing them by a strong native police force. Occasional skirmishes with dacoits, however, still continued in the forests and jungles of Upper Burmah. The heads of the Buddhist clergy in Burmah declared themselves on the side of the British, on receiving assurances that their religion would not be interfered with, and an arrangement was come to with China, regarding certain claims for tribute which she asserted was due her by the Burmese Government, which was continued in the form of a decennial "present" to be offered by an embassy consisting of Burmese only. China, on her part, abandoned her claim to Bahmo, and promised to open the trade with Yunnan.

Among the colonial dominions of the British Empire those in South Africa were the cause of great anxiety. Zululand continued in a state of anarchy. The difficulty which was felt at the close of 1883 as to the disposal of Cetewayo was solved by his death, 9th February, 1884, at Ekowe, where he had been living under British protection. His decease, however, did not bring peace to the district, for almost immediately afterwards hostilities were renewed between the contending tribes. A pretext was thus afforded to the Transvaal Boers to interfere on behalf of the Usutus, who, with their aid, defeated Usibepu. On the

21st of May they installed, with great pomp and ceremony, Dinizulu, son of Cetewayo, as King of Zululand, whom they evidently intended to use as their tool. For some weeks before his coronation several hundreds of the Boers settled in Central Zululand, and towards the end of August a proclamation was issued at Pretoria and signed by King Dinizulu, announcing the establishment of a Boer Republic in Zululand, which was declared to be under the protection of the Transvaal republic. A much more serious step was taken by the puppet king in selling to a certain Herr Lüdevitz of Bremen 100,000 acres of land near St. Lucia Bay, in virtue of which it was rumoured that Germany was about to take possession of that territory, which had been ceded to Britain by the Zulu King Panda forty years before. But the Natal authorities anticipated this step by raising the British flag on the debatable ground at St. Lucia Bay.

Germany, however, though balked in this instance, was more successful in the claim to the territory extending from the recognized frontier of the Cape Colony to the Portuguese dominions. The British Government in the first instance, in reply to an application by Germany, declined to give protection to German subjects in those regions as not being British territory. Thereafter Germany asserted her right to annex the unoccupied coast. Lord Granville then argued that though Britain had not claimed the territory in question, she could not part with the right to annex it at some future period. The Cape Government also advanced claims to the unoccupied district termed *Angra Pequena*; but it was impossible to maintain them in the face of the earlier disclaimer of the Ministry at home, and Prince Bismarck proceeded to annex the disputed territory in a manner very humiliating to our national pride.

The aggressions of the Boers on the lands of the natives still continued, and President Kruger, who with two other representa-

tives of the republic visited England early in 1884, obtained several important modifications of the Pretoria Convention, in favour of the Transvaal. The colonial secretary very unwisely included within the frontier new territories belonging to the natives, and reduced the debt due to the British Government from £380,000 to £250,000. An excellent choice was made in the appointment of the Rev. John Mackenzie as British resident-agent under Sir H. Robinson, the governor of Cape Colony. The Boers, however, imagined that they could extort further concessions by obstinate resistance. They set Mr. Mackenzie's authority at defiance, declared war against the native chief Montsioa, whose rights had been specially reserved, and compelled him to accept a treaty which virtually placed his lands at their disposal. The High Commissioner and the British Government were grossly insulted, lawless bands harassed the country, and Mr. Bethell, an English gentleman acting as agent for one of the Bechuana chiefs, was brutally and treacherously murdered. It therefore became necessary to compel the Boers to observe the terms of the Convention, and the task of restoring order in Bechuanaland and of protecting Montsioa was at length undertaken by the Imperial Government. The British Parliament voted three-quarters of a million for the expenses of an expedition for these purposes, which was placed under the command of Sir Charles Warren, with full powers, both military and political. Although his plans were thwarted at every turn by the Cape Government, and it was said, by Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, Sir Charles succeeded in enforcing British authority on the contending parties in Bechuanaland, restoring order, and compelling the land-grabbing Boers to respect the rights of the natives. But soon after the accession of the Conservatives to office, Sir Charles was recalled by the Colonial Secretary on the plea that his work was done.

An arrangement was concluded in 1886

with the Boers, who had entered Zululand and forcibly taken possession of the most fertile portion of the country, whereby they were recognized as forming an independent republic, while the eastern part of the country was taken under British protection. Although protests were made against this settlement by the colonists of Natal, and by those in England who thought the rights of the natives had been sacrificed, it was ultimately ratified by the Imperial Government, who had also consented in 1884 to take under British protection a large and not very well-defined tract of native territory called Bechuanaland, lying to the west of the Transvaal, and having an estimated population of 33,000, by which means it was hoped that further encroachments by the Boers, and consequent disturbances with the natives, might be prevented.

In Australia several important questions have recently come to the front, which required to be handled with combined delicacy and firmness. The Australians, who were justly alarmed at the extension of the French penal settlements in New Caledonia, and the probability that by the *Récidivists* Bill, introduced by M. Ferry's Ministry, the evil would be enormously increased, pressed upon the home Government the necessity of resisting the exportation of the offscourings of European gaols to the Southern Pacific, and also of annexing New Guinea on account of its proximity to Australia. The colonial office officials were startled at the proposal to annex an island as large as Great Britain and France combined, and as a plea for delay requested that the colonists would furnish them with a preliminary scheme of intercolonial federation. They probably did not expect a prompt compliance with their request. But a federal scheme was at once prepared by the delegates of the several Australian colonies assembled in conference at Sydney. The Government of New South Wales subsequently withdrew from the arrangement, but the governments of Victoria, South Australia, Queens-

land, West Australia, and Tasmania formally approved it, and petitioned the colonial secretary to pass an 'enabling' Act without delay. Lord Derby addressed a remonstrance to the French Minister on the subject of the *Récidivists* Bill, and succeeded in obtaining the postponement of any decision adverse to the claims of the colonists. In regard to the annexation of New Guinea, the hand of the Imperial government was almost forced by an energetic act of the Queensland authorities at the close of 1884. The Australians had been much impressed by rumours that France and Germany were about to assert claims to the sovereignty of New Guinea, the new Hebrides, and other islands not far distant from Australia, and the Queensland Government, as a measure of precaution, sent an official to Port Moresby in April, 1883, to declare New Guinea a part of the dominions of the Queen. The Imperial Government declined to sanction this proceeding, but decided that a British Protectorate should be proclaimed over a portion of the southern coast of the island, which was done in November, 1884. This decision by no means satisfied the aspirations of the Australian Colonies, though they jointly guaranteed the cost of the Protectorate. Their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the announcement at the close of 1884 that the German Government had taken possession of the north-western coast of New Guinea, as well as of New Britain and the adjacent islands. There is reason to fear that this step may lead to future complications and misunderstandings, as it did at once lead to a dispute respecting the exact limits of the British Protectorate, which was, however, settled amicably. The federation of the above-mentioned Australian Colonies was, with the sanction and cordial approval of the Imperial Government, carried into effect 9th November, 1885—a step which has been regarded, with good reason, as foreshadowing the ultimate establishment of a great English-

speaking power on the Australian continent worthy of the extent and resources of that country.

In 1883 the Marquis of Lorne retired from the office of Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion, which he had filled with much efficiency, and with great satisfaction to the people. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Lansdowne, a generous and popular Irish landlord, who was violently denounced by some of the American-Irish agitators, but there was no response in Canada to their appeals. An outbreak which took place in 1885 caused a good deal of trouble to the Canadian authorities, as well as loss of life. The tardiness of the Dominion Government in dealing with the claims of the half-breeds in the North-west in the matter of land grants had excited not a little discontent among them; and their complaints were unfortunately neglected by the proper authorities until it was too late. It was not until the close of March, 1885, that commissioners were nominated to investigate their claims; but they were already in arms, and the whole North-west was ablaze. The principal occupation of these half-breeds had hitherto been freighting. Before the opening of the Pacific Railway they drove over the prairies with long trains of ox-carts, carrying furs, pemmican, and supplies to Fort Garry, returning with merchandise from the Hudson Bay Company's posts; but the route to Winnipeg being now considerably shortened by the railway, the freighters were thus deprived of a large part of their regular business. This loss, added to the failure of the previous year's crops, impoverished them to such a degree that they were prepared to listen to incendiary advice from any quarter, and to undertake anything that promised them relief.

They found a leader in Louis Riel, a half-breed who had taken a prominent part in stirring up the previous rebellion in 1871 against the Canadian authorities. He was the son of a French Canadian, who some

thirty years before had started a sawmill on the Red River, a short distance above Winnipeg. He was educated with a view to the priesthood at Montreal, but did not take orders. After the suppression of the last rebellion Riel made his escape from the Dominion, and spent some time among the half-breeds of Montana, exciting a rebellious spirit there. After the expiry of his period of banishment he returned to Winnipeg, and in 1884 went among the French half-breeds round Prince Albert, whom he urged to stand up for their rights and no longer submit to oppression. He advised them to arm themselves and fight, as it was evident to him that justice could not be obtained by any other method. They immediately broke into a settlement store, seized the guns, and made prisoners of the storekeepers. Riel then proceeded northwards to invite some of the Indian bands in that quarter to join him, and sent a party of his own half-breeds to Duck Lake to take possession of some Government stores lying there. On the way they came into collision with a small detachment of mounted police, two of whom and ten or twelve half-breeds and whites were killed in the encounter. Tidings of risings among the Indians speedily followed, and the destruction of straggling settlements in different localities. A shocking massacre took place at Frog Lake, 40 miles north of Fort Pitt; where eight or ten white persons, including two priests, were put to death in a most atrocious manner, and the women were carried off captive. The Indians at Saddle Lake, 100 miles north-west of Edmonton, plundered the Government stores and warehouses at that point, and then set out on a marauding expedition. In consequence of these and other similar outrages the people of Battleford, terror-stricken, took refuge in the fort, leaving their homes an open prey to the marauding Indians, who speedily pillaged and then burned the dwellings. Fort Carlton, which was one of the old Hudson Bay trading forts, strengthened by

pallisades, had to be abandoned, as it was situated near the river under a high bluff, which completely commanded it. The garrison set fire to the fort before leaving it, for the purpose of destroying the stores which they could not carry with them, and then retired to the little town of Prince Albert. The evacuation of Fort Carlton, and its burning, contributed not a little to encourage the insurgents. Riel formed a provisional government, under the name of the Republic of Saskatchewan, and constituted himself President; Alexander Fische, Lieutenant-Governor; Gabriel Dumont, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and five members of council, some of whom were prominent in the rebellion of 1871. He issued a manifesto reciting the wrongs of the half-breeds, stating that in 1876 and the two following years they had made urgent representations to the Government officials without effect. He blamed the surveyors for cutting up their lands, and the inspectors for depriving them of their wood and water rights. 'Under these circumstances,' he said, 'death at the hands of the public executioner or in battle must be our fate. We must die fighting.'

For the purpose, in the first instance, of relieving the beleaguered settlers in Fort Battleford, and then of seeking out and crushing the insurgents, General Middleton set out at the head of 800 men, consisting mainly of the colonial militia. Another detachment of 470 men, under Colonel Otter, with two Gatling guns, was sent to Swift Current, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and thence to sail down the Saskatchewan River to effect a junction with General Middleton at Clark's Crossing. At that season of the year the melted snow makes the roads almost impassable, but the troops pressed on across the water-soaked and half-thawed prairie and alkali plains north of Qu'Appelle—and in spite of all obstacles they made a rapid advance—the Hudson Bay Company's officials supplying the transport most efficiently. On the 24th of April General Middleton came into

contact with the rebels at a place called Fish Creek, on the right bank of the Saskatchewan, about 15 miles south of Batoche. They had selected for their ambushade a long and deep ravine, with steep sides and a sort of quagmire at the bottom, overgrown with a dense mass of scrub willows thickly matted together, under and through which any person ensconced there could crawl and escape, after delivering his fire, to another spot, where he could repeat his operations. When the troops reached this spot a heavy fire was opened upon them by 200 Indians and French half-breeds who lay in ambush. Their fire was very effective, being especially directed against the staff: and the large number of wounded among the troops showed the skill of the assailants as marksmen. The half-breeds rallied again and again, keeping up an incessant fire. The loyal forces were beginning to show signs of exhaustion, when, fortunately, Lord Melgund, who was in the vicinity with another detachment, came up from the opposite side of the river and turned the enemy's position. During the engagement there was a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied with wind and hail. The grass of the prairie was set on fire, but fortunately its progress was arrested by the storm, otherwise a serious catastrophe might have taken place. The loss on the side of the loyalists was seven killed and fifty-five wounded. The number of killed and wounded on the side of the rebels could not be ascertained, but must have been large. It was reported that Riel himself was not present, and that he was strongly intrenched at Batoche, some 15 or 20 miles distant.

On the 9th of May General Middleton again encountered the rebels at a place near Batoche, and after a smart conflict put them to flight with considerable loss.

On the other hand, on the 3rd of that month, the flying column sent to relieve Fort Battleford was led into an ambush at Chief Poundmaker's reserve, through the treachery of a half-breed, and was at one

time completely surrounded. Owing, however, to the steadiness of the men, and the destructive fire of the Gatling and the two guns they had with them, they not only drove off the enemy, but retaliated on the Indians by destroying fifty tepees and burning Poundmaker's camp.

On the 11th of May General Middleton attacked the main body of the rebels under Riel, who were intrenched in a strong position at Batoche, and were further protected by a network of rifle pits. But the Royal Grenadiers charged them in the most gallant style, driving them out of their position with heavy loss at the point of the bayonet. In the rebel camp were found a number of persons who had been held prisoners by Riel for some time, and whom before the battle he had threatened to kill if the General did not retreat or grant an interview. It is probable, however, that he had no intention to carry this threat into effect. After the battle Riel, Dumont, and three others fled from the field on horseback, but were pursued by three scouts, who succeeded in capturing the rebel leader and brought him into General Middleton's camp. The signal defeat at Batoche, and the capture of Riel, broke the back of the rebellion. The other leaders were speedily either hunted down or voluntarily surrendered themselves to the authorities.

Riel was brought to trial at Regina, and condemned to death. His counsel appealed to the Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and sought to prove that he was not responsible for his actions on the ground of insanity, but the plea was found quite untenable. Another appeal was then taken to the Privy Council upon a question of jurisdiction. It was contended that the Court of Regina had no competent right to try the prisoner for high treason. But the Privy Council found that no appeal from the Dominion Courts could lie in a criminal case unless under very exceptional

circumstances. Riel's fate was therefore left to the Dominion Government. On account of his race the French Canadians were importunate in their demands that he should not be subjected to the extreme penalty of the law. But this was not the first time that Riel had raised and headed a rebellion, and his second insurrection was much more destructive and unpardonable than the first, and was especially aggravated by the fact that he had stirred up the Indian tribes against the Government and the settlers. The leniency shown to him on the previous occasion had only had the effect of encouraging him to renew his efforts to overthrow the Government. A second extension of clemency to a person guilty of such a serious crime would have greatly tended to make the half-breeds and the Indians regard rebellion as a venial offence. The Canadian authorities therefore resolved to allow the law to take its course, and Riel was accordingly hanged on the 16th of November, 1885. His chief accomplices were also condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted into imprisonment.

The year 1886 was rendered memorable by the completion and opening for traffic of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the length of the main line, from Montreal to Vancouver, being 2893 miles, of which 1908 had been constructed in less than five years. The first through passenger train started from Montreal 30th June, 1886, and reached Port Moody, the western terminus, on 6th July. The existence of this trunk line, connecting the eastern with the western coast of the British possessions in North America, has already produced a marked effect in stimulating the settlement of the fertile districts it opens up. It is expected that a service of steam packets will be opened between the western terminus and Yokohama and the British settlements in Asia, which it will practically bring about 900 miles nearer Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXV.

PAST AND PRESENT.

British Colonial Empire—The Dominion of Canada—Australasian Colonies: New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia—State of the Continent at the close of the war with France—Social condition of the People—System of Slavery—Female labour in England—Employment of Children—State of Education—The Electoral System—Pension List Sinecures—The Corn Laws—Taxation—Municipal Corporations—The Postal System—Test and Corporation Acts—Bible Monopoly—Sanitary System—Vast improvements made in social matters—Mechanical agency—Agriculture—Education—Bible Societies—Benevolent Associations—Christian Missions.

ONE of the most striking features of the present age is the extraordinary development of the British Colonial Empire. In 1815 only 2000 persons quitted the kingdom for the purpose of settling in another country. Since that time upwards of 8,000,000 have left the British Islands to find homes beyond the sea. The largest and most important of our colonial possessions is on the North American continent, where it extends to three millions and a half of square miles. The Dominion of Canada, as it is called, consists of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec (formerly Upper and Lower Canada), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. In former times, when these large provinces were governed from London and treated as if they existed solely for the benefit of the parent country, there was no end of disturbances and insurrections against the imperial authority. But now that self-government has been conceded to them our North American provinces have enjoyed an unbroken peace and prosperity. They have ceased to be burdensome to the mother country, as they now bear the charges of their own government and defence. They were united under the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed in March, 1867. It declares that the constitution of the Dominion shall be 'similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom,' that the executive

authority shall be vested in the Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and carried on in her name by a Governor-General and Privy Council, and that the legislative power shall be exercised by a Parliament of two Houses, called the 'Senate' and the 'House of Commons.' Provision is made in the Act for the admission into the Dominion of Newfoundland, which is still an independent province of British North America.

The members of the Senate of the Canadian Parliament are seventy-seven in number, and are nominated for life by the Governor-General. The House of Commons of the Dominion is elected by the people for five years, in the proportion of one representative for every 17,000. The qualification of the electors varies in the different provinces. The seven provinces forming the Dominion have each a separate local Parliament and administration, with a Lieutenant-Governor at the head of the executive. They have full powers to regulate their own local affairs, to dispose of their own revenues, and to enact such laws as they may deem best for their own external welfare, provided only that they do not interfere with the action and policy of the central administration under the Governor-General.

There is no State Church in the Dominion, or indeed in any part of British North America; but these provinces possess an excellent system of public schools,

supported partly by Government, partly by local self-imposed taxation, and occasionally by the payment of a small fee for each scholar. The total actual revenue of the Dominion in the financial year ending June 30, 1881, was £8,880,831; the expenditure during the same period was £9,644,640. The public debt of the Dominion, incurred chiefly on account of public works, and the interest of which forms the largest branch of expenditure, was at that time £39,972,307. The Dominion had then a network of railways of a total length of 7595 miles. There were at the same period lines of a total length of 2910 miles in course of construction, and 3000 miles more had been surveyed and the necessary concessions granted by the Government. A railway has been projected to cross the whole Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the construction of which the British Government has promised a guaranteed loan of £2,500,000.

The troops maintained by the Imperial Government have now been reduced to 2000 men, forming the garrison of Halifax, which is considered an 'imperial station.' But a large volunteer force and a militia have been provided for the defence of the Dominion. The militia is divided into an active and a reserve force, the former comprising 45,152 officers and men, the latter amounting to 655,000 rank and file. The average increase of the population of the Dominion in ten years has been at the rate of 18·05 per cent.; in 1881 it amounted to 4,324,810. The trade of the Dominion is chiefly with the United States and Great Britain, the greater part of the imports being derived from the former, and the greater part of the exports going to the latter. In 1881 the total exports from the Dominion to Great Britain amounted in value to £10,705,363, the imports of British home produce to £7,959,388. The two staple articles of export to the United Kingdom are breadstuffs and wood. In 1881 the value of the former was

£3,066,233, of the latter £3,876,645. The principal articles of British produce imported into the Dominion in 1881 were iron, wrought and unwrought, of the value of £1,779,741, woollen manufactures, of the value of £1,424,087, and cotton goods, of the value of £1,190,057.

A few years ago the Dominion acquired from the Hudson Bay Company a territory equal in extent to three-fourths of the area of Europe, which proves to be of astonishing fertility, and is attracting so much attention that during the last ten years the average increase of the population has been 289 per cent., and in a single year three millions of acres were put for the first time under cultivation. The total number of immigrants to the Dominion in 1872 was 52,608; in 1881 they amounted to 117,016.

Next in importance to the provinces of North America are the British Colonies of AUSTRALASIA, comprising New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia, which comprise altogether an area of at least 2,500,000 acres. They all enjoy the privilege of self-government and elect their own Legislative Assemblies, which, with Legislative Councils, are intrusted with the power of making laws and imposing taxes, while in each the executive is in the hands of a governor nominated by the Crown. In all these colonies the staple article of export is wool, and next to that gold, tin, copper, tallow, corn, flour, preserved meat, &c. NEW SOUTH WALES, the oldest of the Australasian colonies, was first discovered by Captain Cook in 1770, and eight years later was converted by the British Government into a penal settlement for convicts condemned to transportation for life. For half a century this most injudicious and mischievous practice was continued, and the very offscourings of the home population were sent to lay the foundations of new empires in the southern seas. As might have been foreseen, emigrants of a respectable character were slow to settle in a country inhabited by the sweepings

of our jails, and both the population and the trade of the colony made comparatively little progress. In the course of time, however, the virtuous and reputable portion of the inhabitants presented a determined opposition to the practice of contaminating their territory by shiploads of criminals, and in the end the Government was compelled to abandon the exportation of the convicts. A stream of free immigrants immediately set in, and has become every year more extensive and important.

The discovery of the gold mines in 1851 in the portion of New South Wales which then bore the name of the Port Philip district, but is now designated Victoria, gave an extraordinary impulse to the tide of immigration, and very speedily led to a corresponding extension of trade and commerce throughout the whole of the vast British territory in Australasia. In 1821 the inhabitants of New South Wales only amounted to 29,783, but in 1881 the population of the comparatively limited territory which now bears that name amounted to 751,468. The trade more than quadrupled in the fifteen years from 1850 to 1864. In 1881 the exports of the colony reached in value the sum of £16,049,503, and the imports £17,409,326. In that year there were 87,739,914 lbs. of meat exported, of the value of £5,304,576. The gold mines of New South Wales cover a vast area. Their produce in 1875 was estimated at 552,592 oz., of the value of £2,097,740; in 1881 it had diminished to 145,532 oz., of the value of £550,111. But the produce of the copper, tin, and coal mines had greatly increased, and so had the numbers of sheep, cattle, and horses.

The population of NEW ZEALAND when the census was first taken was 26,707, exclusive of the aborigines. In 1881 it reached 534,032, including 44,099 Maories. The commerce of the colony between the years 1859 and 1878 increased twenty-fold. In 1881 the imports amounted to £7,457,045, and the exports to £6,060,866.

New Zealand contains large gold-fields, which were discovered in 1857. The exports amounted in 1875 to 355,322 oz., valued at £1,407,770; in 1878 to 310,486 oz., valued at £1,240,079; but in 1881 the quantity had sunk to 250,683 oz., valued at £996,867.

QUEENSLAND, formerly known as Moreton Bay, which was separated from New South Wales in 1859, comprises the whole north-eastern portion of the Australian continent, having an estimated area of 668,224 square miles, with a sea-board of 2250 miles. It was originally a convict settlement, established in 1825, but was thrown open to free settlers in 1842. Four years later the total population, free and felon, amounted to 2257. In 1881 it increased to 213,525. Its imports in that year amounted to £3,601,906, its exports to £3,289,253.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA was first colonized in 1836 by emigrants from Great Britain, sent out under the auspices of a company called the South Australian Colonization Association, which in the preceding year obtained a grant from the Imperial Government of the lands of the colony. The population, which in 1844 was 17,366, amounted in 1881 to 279,865. Its imports in the latter year were valued at £5,890,000, its exports at £5,280,000. It is peculiarly rich in minerals.

TASMANIA, formerly known as Van Diemen's Land, was from 1803 to 1815 merely a place of transportation from Great Britain and from New South Wales, of which it was a dependency. After transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1841, Tasmania, to which Norfolk Island had been annexed, became the only colony to which criminals from Great Britain were sent; but at length it too was freed from this obnoxious burden, and transportation to Tasmania was abolished in 1853. The estimated population of the colony on December 31, 1881, was 118,933. Its imports that year were £1,488,524, and its exports £1,555,576.

VICTORIA, which was first settled in 1835,

formed for a time a portion of New South Wales, but was made a separate colony in 1851, having an area of 87,884 square miles, or 56,245,760 acres. In 1836 it contained only 224 persons. In 1854 the population amounted to 236,798, and in 1881 it had risen to 862,346, and of these only about 13,000 are Chinese and aborigines. The discovery of the gold-fields was, of course, the chief cause of this large and rapid increase. The revenue of the colony for 1883 is estimated at £5,528,104, and the expenditure at £5,574,073. Its total imports amounted to £16,718,521 in 1881, and its exports to £16,252,103. In the ten years from 1852 to 1861 the exports of gold amounted to upwards of 2,000,000 oz. per annum. The total quantity of gold raised from the first discovery in 1851 to the close of the year 1881 is estimated at 50,418,529 oz., valued at £201,674,118.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA, which contains 1,057,250 acres, was first settled in 1829, and for many years the population was small. In 1850 the colony contained only 6000 inhabitants. At the census of 1881 the total number of inhabitants was 29,708, exclusive of the aborigines. It is mainly an agricultural colony, and its exports consist almost entirely of wool and lead ore. Of the former the quantity exported in 1881 was valued at £221,389, and of the latter at £8631.

In all these Australian colonies great energy has been displayed in the formation of railways and other public works, and there can be little doubt that they are destined to form a mighty empire.

Great Britain possesses in all thirty-eight separate colonies, or groups of colonies, varying in area, from Gibraltar, with its two miles, to Canada, with 3,500,000. The African and Asiatic colonies comprise each 1,000,000 square miles. Great Britain now rules over one-third of the surface of the globe and one-fourth of its population.

The changes that have taken place during the Age in which we live are far more

extensive and important than were effected during the preceding three centuries. At the close of the Continental war, the constitutions which the various sovereigns had promised in the day of their danger and distress were, by a shameful violation of good faith, refused, and despotic authority was re-established in every part of the Continent. France was reduced to its old dimensions, and placed under the rule of its ancient dynasty. Germany received back its host of petty princes, united, however, in a confederation, of which Austria and Prussia were the supreme directors. Italy became once more a mere territorial designation. Lombardy was restored to Austria, and Venice, without a shadow of right, was placed under the absolute rule of the Kaiser. The Bourbons regained the throne of Naples. The Pope resumed his temporal sovereignty. Genoa was handed over to Piedmont in spite of the indignant protest of its citizens. Tuscany, Modena, and Parma were restored to their Dukes. Belgium was forced into union with Holland, and Norway was annexed to Sweden. The old partition of Poland was confirmed, and a noble race, numbering 15,000,000 souls, was formally handed over to Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The social condition of the Continental nations was on a par with their political degradation. The great proportion of the peasants in Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Hungary were serfs. The slave trade had been declared illegal by America, but it was still connived at by her authorities, and slavery was firmly established in the Southern States. The trade in slaves had been abolished by Great Britain in 1806, but the system of slavery, with all its atrocities, was maintained in British colonies, and stoutly defended by the Government and the Legislature at home. Flogging was still freely used to enforce labour on our West Indian plantations, and it was not until some years after the termination of the Continental war that a Government order was issued forbidding the infliction of this

punishment on women. Females, old and young, were compelled to work in coal-pits, and to carry huge loads of coal on their backs up steep and slippery ladders, and children of six years of age were employed in these pits, from fourteen to sixteen hours daily, dragging waggons by a chain fastened round the waist, and were beaten, mutilated, and sometimes even killed, by the brutalized miners among whom they laboured. Little boys, and sometimes even little girls, of five or six were employed to sweep chimneys, and had not unfrequently to be driven by blows to the horrid work. Severe injuries were often the result, and sometimes the poor wretches were taken out dead. The extension of the factory system led to a great increase in the demand for juvenile labour. Children of six were often put to work in factories. At this period there was no limit laid upon their period of labour, which ranged from thirteen to fifteen hours daily, and sometimes even rose higher when trade was brisk. The physical deterioration which was thus produced was visible to the most casual observer. The poor creatures subjected to such treatment became stunted in size, pallid and emaciated, scrofulous and consumptive, and great numbers of them died before they attained maturity.

Scotland had long enjoyed a system of education which had qualified her youth to discharge with success the active duties of life, and to raise themselves in every quarter of the world to positions of great influence and usefulness, but no system of education then existed in England. The children of the working classes, both in the towns and in the rural districts, were allowed to grow up in a state of almost total ignorance. Even after the first quarter of the present century one-half of the men and one-third of the women who came to be married could not sign the register. In the manufacturing districts 40 per cent. of the men and 65 per cent. of the women could not write their own names. There was only one in seventeen of the population

attending school. And yet every attempt to establish a system of national education adapted to the condition and commensurate with the wants of the people was defeated by the opposition of the privileged class, who thought that educating the poor would prove dangerous to property and rank.

When the Age we live in commenced, the House of Commons was entirely under the control of an oligarchy numbering less than 200 individuals. They had complete command of the Upper House, and with regard to the Lower House, out of 658 members no fewer than 487, including the whole of the forty-five members returned by Scotland, owed their seats to nomination, and not to election in the proper sense of the term, and 245 of these were returned by the influence of 128 peers. A considerable number of the pocket boroughs had scarcely any electors at all. A ruined mound, three niches in a wall, and a park returned two members each to the House of Commons, while Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and other large towns were entirely unrepresented.

As the Government was kept in office by the borough-mongers and great landed proprietors, without whose support it could not have existed for a month, its patronage was exercised mainly for their benefit. The Pension List swarmed with the female relations of the aristocracy. Sinécure offices, with large salaries attached to them, nestled in every nook and corner of the public service, and were almost universally held by the male relatives of peers and borough-mongers, or even by great noblemen themselves. This mode of providing, at the public expense, for the families of the upper classes was followed in the civil service, in the army and navy, and more especially in the church. Clerical nepotism had become a scandal and a by-word. Of 10,421 benefices in England and Wales between 6000 and 7000 were held by incumbents who were non-resident. In the army commissions were frequently given

to boys in the nursery or at school, and the legal and judicial departments were places of refuge, with large pay and little or no work, for the relatives or friends of the heads of the law. The legislation of that day, like the administration of public affairs, was mainly directed towards the class interests of the few, to which the rights of the many or the welfare of the nation were made quite subordinate. The Corn Laws were avowedly intended to keep up the price of wheat to 80s. a quarter, and of other cereals in the same proportion, for the benefit of landed proprietors; and duties, not for the sake of revenue, but of protection to home industries, were levied at British ports on many hundreds of articles largely used by the people. The East India Company had a monopoly of the trade with both China and India, and no merchant or trader unconnected with the Company was allowed any share in the traffic. The whole system of taxation was so framed as to levy a heavy assessment on the articles which formed the main support of the middle and lower classes, and to press lightly on the luxuries of the rich. It was estimated about the close of the Continental war that a workman paid nearly £11 annually to carry on the machinery of the Government and to protect native industry, and this at a time when the ordinary workman did not earn more than twice that sum. Even thirty years later, when the condition of the working classes had begun to improve, it was calculated that they paid in taxes from 4s. to 16s. of every pound which they expended on the main articles of their consumption, to say nothing of the tax which they paid on bread and beef, which could not well be estimated. For every 20s., Mr. Cobden said, which they ex-

pended on tea they paid 10s. of duty, for every 20s. they expended on sugar they paid 6s. of duty, for every 20s. they expended on coffee they paid 8s. of duty; on soap 5s., on beer 4s., on tobacco 16s., on spirits 14s.*

The municipal corporations were composed of a small body of freemen notoriously corrupt, who monopolized important trading privileges and immunities, jobbed every office, and squandered municipal property in the most scandalous manner, while the great body of the citizens were powerless spectators of the abuses under which they suffered. In England a Poor Law was in existence which had degraded a race of freemen into a horde of paupers, and was as ruinous to the morals of the working classes in the agricultural districts as it was injurious to the interests of farmers and landlords. Under the operation of this system hundreds of farms were tenantless, because no possible reduction could make the occupier become liable for the payment of the poor-rate. The press was the victim of oppressive legislation in every form. The paper on which the newspaper was printed was taxed, the advertisements which were inserted in it were taxed, and the newspaper itself was subjected to a duty of 4d. on each copy issued. Over and above, a journal that ventured to criticise and condemn the proceedings of the Government, no matter how arbitrary or unjust, or to expose the tyranny of some local magnate or official, was liable to a criminal prosecution, which in not a few cases subjected the writer to a lengthened imprisonment, and proved ruinous to the proprietor. The law of libel, indeed, was one of the most oppressive instruments in the hands of the Government for the repression of the rights and liberties of the people.

* The system of taxation existing in these days has been no less truly than wittily described by Sydney Smith:—'The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon which has paid 15 per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent.,

and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel, his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more.'

The postal system was so arranged that the working classes could rarely if ever avail themselves of its benefits. The conveyance of a letter from Glasgow or Edinburgh to London cost a sum nearly equal to the day's wage of an ordinary labourer, and the postage of a letter from any town ten miles distant cost a third of that sum, and was frequently forty-eight hours on the way. The Test and Corporation Acts excluded from municipal offices and Government employment all who declined to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in connection with the Church of England. Roman Catholics, Jews, and members of the Society of Friends were ineligible for a seat in Parliament. The universities and public schools in England were strictly closed against dissenters, and even against members of the Scottish Church; while in Scotland members of that Church alone were eligible to the office of professor in the universities or of teacher in the national schools. The Irish Church, with all its sinecures and abuses, was then held inviolate, and its tithes were collected in a way that led frequently to scenes of violence and bloodshed. The privilege to publish the Bible was a strict monopoly, and it was sold at a price which placed it beyond the unaided reach of the poor, while it converted the royal printers into extensive landed proprietors. The laws of health were imperfectly known and were generally neglected. In London and all the large towns in the three kingdoms tens of thousands of the working classes were compelled to live in cellars and pestiferous hovels, the seats of dirt and disease, the nurseries of the hospital, the workhouse, and the jail. Fever was rarely absent from the crowded streets and lanes. One-tenth of all the deaths was caused by small-pox, and preventible diseases of every kind swept away annually one in twenty-four, sometimes one in eighteen, of the inhabitants of our great cities. Even in the rural districts undrained fields generated intermittent fevers, and miserable cottages, scanty food and clothing,

and want of medical attendance, pressed heavily on the agricultural labourers, and destroyed many lives. The mortality was increased by the custom of burying the dead in crowded city graveyards, which not only infected the air in their vicinity, but in some cases poisoned the wells from which the people procured their supply of water.

The criminal population in all our large towns amounted to many thousands, the number of crimes laid to their charge was appalling, and though the penal code was of the most sanguinary character, it had no effect in diminishing the amount of crime. In England, down to 1836, a prisoner under trial for felony was not allowed the assistance of counsel. Stealing from the person or from a shop an article of the value of 5s., or from a dwelling or a ship an article of the value of 40s., was punishable with death. So was picking pockets, and theft from a bleachfield, and poaching by night, and stealing cattle or sheep. So was forgery, writing a threatening letter to extort money, returning from transportation before the period adjudged by the court, cutting down young trees, shooting at rabbits, appearing disguised on public roads—even injuring Westminster Bridge. Altogether there were no less than 223 capital offences in the criminal code of Great Britain. Well might Sir Samuel Romilly declare that there was no other country in the world 'where so many and so large a variety of actions were punishable with loss of life.' Even in the year 1834 four hundred and eighty persons were condemned to death—though most of them had their sentences commuted—and eight hundred and ninety-four persons were sentenced in the same year to banishment for life.

The state of the prisons was a disgrace to humanity. The cells were small, dark, damp, unventilated, and swarming with vermin. No beds were provided, nor a sufficient supply of food, and the hapless inmates had often to implore the charity

of the passers-by.* There was no separation of the sexes, and no classification of criminals. A rustic lad imprisoned for snaring a rabbit was at once associated with old and hardened offenders, and came out of jail contaminated and demoralized. The description which Lord Cockburn gives of the old Edinburgh prison, the celebrated 'Heart of Midlothian,' was equally true of almost every jail in the United Kingdom: 'A most atrocious jail it was, the very breath of which almost struck down any stranger who entered its dismal door. It was very small, the entire hole being filled with little dark cells; heavy manacles, the only security; airless, waterless, drainless—a living grave. One week of that dirty, fetid, cruel torture-house was a severer punishment than a year of our worst modern prisons.' A peculiarly malignant fever, generated by this pestiferous atmosphere, swept off from time to time numbers of the poor wretched inmates of the prisons of that day; and when the 'jail delivery' took place at the assizes, and the prisoners were placed at the bar of the court, they not unfrequently brought infection and death to the jury, the witnesses, and the spectators, and on one occasion the presiding judge himself fell a victim.

The harsh treatment of the sailors in the royal navy made seamen reluctant to enter the service, and in many cases the ships were manned mainly by the efforts of a press-gang. Discipline was maintained both in the army and navy by a savage use of the lash, which was not unfrequently inflicted for comparatively slight offences. It was by no means unusual to condemn a soldier or sailor to receive 500 lashes, and there was a noted case in 1811 when a soldier was sentenced by a court-martial to

1000 lashes, of which 750 were actually inflicted. The editor of a country newspaper who called public attention to this atrocious conduct was found guilty of libel, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Even after the battle of Waterloo the proposal that the punishment of a soldier or sailor should be limited to 100 lashes was rejected by the House of Commons without a division.

The changes that have taken place in all these matters during the Age we live in are as gratifying as astonishing. On the Continent serfdom has been abolished in Russia and Austria; and though the secret societies by which the vast dominions of the Czar are honeycombed are most dangerous to the welfare of the country, and have at length, after various unsuccessful attempts, brought about the assassination of Alexander II., even this state is preferable to the stagnation and degradation, physical, intellectual, and moral, which existed under the despotic rule of Nicholas. Germany has now become a compact and powerful empire, and there is good reason to hope that in time unity will be followed by national freedom. Italy is united and free from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, and its former dynasties of petty and tyrannical rulers have been swept away never to return. And though the armed truce which exists on the Continent still causes an enormous expenditure of money, and withdraws several millions of the flower of the people from industrial pursuits, converting them into mere consumers of other men's labours, yet there is reason to hope that, through the great diffusion of knowledge and the increasing power of the people, the Continental autocrats will be compelled to beat their swords into ploughshares and study war no more.

In our own country, even under the unreformed Parliament, the influence of the rising spirit of freedom and a sense of right compelled the relaxation of the laws which for centuries had restricted the liberties of the working classes. The exportation

* A stocking suspended by a string from the iron bars of the window enabled the charitable to contribute towards the supply of the wants of the poor prisoners. Sir Walter Scott makes Edie Ochiltree say, in allusion to this practice, 'It wadna be creditable for me, that am the king's bedesman and entitled to beg by word of mouth, to be fishing for bawbees out at the jail window wi' the fit o' a stocking and a string.'

of machinery was no longer prohibited. Artisans were permitted to carry their labour to other countries, instead of being bound like serfs to the British soil. Workmen were left free to combine for the purpose of obtaining higher wages or better treatment, so long as they did not infringe the rights of others. The Test Act and the Disabilities of the Roman Catholics were abolished, and ultimately those which affected the Jews. These changes were followed by the reform of Parliament and of the municipal corporations; the people have been intrusted with the election of their representatives both in Parliament and in the town councils, and are protected by the ballot alike from the intimidation of the landlord and of the mob. The Criminal Code has been vastly softened and improved. The shocking barbarities inflicted on women and young children in mines and collieries and other works have been suppressed. The evils resulting from the unduly prolonged labour of children in factories have been remedied; the employment of those under nine years of age is now prohibited, the working time of children under thirteen is restricted to forty-eight hours, and of young persons under eighteen to sixty-nine hours weekly. The Ten Hours Act has imposed a further limitation of their hours of labour. The laws of health are now much better understood and acted on, and the sanitary arrangements of our large towns, though still far from perfect, have undergone great improvement. In London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other cities, the narrow lanes, closes, and wynds, in which the poorer classes were crowded together in thousands, have been swept away and replaced by spacious streets and comfortable dwellings. The gaols have been transformed into roomy, well-ventilated, and healthy places of confinement, where provision has been made for the instruction, and means zealously employed for the reformation, of the prisoners. Monopolies of every kind, more especially the restrictions on the importation of food for the people, have

been completely abolished, and commerce has now been made as free as the winds of heaven. The public revenue, too, is raised in a manner which leaves the working classes completely exempt, if they only choose to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors and tobacco. The taxes on knowledge have been abolished; the circulation of public journals conducted with great ability has been enormously increased, while the reduction of their price has brought them within reach of all classes of the community, communicating intelligence collected from every quarter of the globe, and diffusing important information on subjects of vital interest to all. The penny postage has conferred inestimably great benefits, moral and social as well as financial, on the mass of the people, at the same time that it has increased twenty-fold postal communications of every kind, and has at the same time doubled the net revenue yielded by the post office. Vast improvements have taken place in mechanical agency, shortening the processes of labour and improving the results; and the steamship, the locomotive, the electric telegraph, and the telephone have increased enormously our command over the powers of nature and our supply of the necessities and comforts of life. In the cultivation of the arts as well as of the sciences there has been a great improvement, and engravings which not many years ago were the exclusive possession of the wealthy, are now brought within the reach of the working classes and extensively circulated among them. The discovery of the photographic art has been a source of great enjoyment as well as a benefit to millions, has strengthened the ties of relationship and friendship, and has secured for posterity a representation of the manners and customs, and the dress, dwellings, and modes of life of the present generation.

The progress that has been made during the present age in agricultural affairs has kept pace with the advance in mechanical agency. Drainage, which has promoted

the health of the agricultural population, has greatly increased the fertility of the soil. So have the use of artificial manures, the steam plough, and other scientific implements, which, now that legislative protection has been withdrawn, have enabled the British farmer to keep his ground against foreign competition.

It is still more gratifying to observe the intellectual and moral progress that has been made during the Age we live in. In nearly all the Continental countries, and in America and the Dominion of Canada, great and successful efforts have been made to promote the instruction of the people; and in Britain a national system of education has been established suited to the circumstances and commensurate with the wants of the nation, and bringing the means of instruction within reach even of the poorest classes of the community. The abolition of the Bible monopoly and the institution of Bible Societies have brought the Holy Scriptures within the reach even of the poorest classes of the people. Benevolent associations in great numbers, and on a most extensive scale, have been formed for the alleviation of all the varied forms of human suffering—for the relief of the indigent and the imbecile, the sick and the maimed, the maintenance and instruction of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and the support of widows and orphans. The insane are now restrained by gentle treatment and kindness, instead of the harsh and brutal restrictions of chains and darkness and strait-waistcoats. Missionary societies, instituted by nearly all denominations of Christians, have sent out their agents with the Bible in their hands translated into languages hitherto unwritten, to labour in almost every quarter of the world—among the snows of Labrador and under the fierce heat of the tropics, in the islands of the Pacific, in India, and China, and Africa. In the latter the researches of the illustrious traveller Livingstone have rolled away the curtain of darkness which from time immemorial hung over vast regions hitherto

sealed against the march of civilization, and have opened a path for the missionary to make known the glad tidings of the Gospel to the benighted and degraded inhabitants. All these and many other cheering ‘signs of the times’ warrant the hope that the time is approaching when ‘the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea,’ and when righteousness and peace shall reign together throughout the world.

Our history of the present century would be incomplete without an account of the marvellous increase of population in the United Kingdom since the first census, taken in 1801. Previous to this period the number of the people had been a fruitful source of controversy among politicians, but we have nothing more reliable than the estimates of Rickman, based on the records of births, deaths, and marriages contained in the parish registers, which were commenced prior to the year 1600, and assuming that these bore the same proportion to the total population as they did in 1801. The results, if not very trustworthy, are interesting as enabling us to make some comparison of the populations of England and Wales in the present and preceding centuries. According to this estimate the population was probably as follows in the years mentioned:—

		England.		Wales.
1570,	. .	3,737,841	...	301,034
1600,	. .	4,460,454	...	351,264
1630,	. .	5,225,263	...	375,254
1670,	. .	5,395,185	...	378,461
1700,	. .	5,653,061	...	391,947
1750,	. .	6,066,041	...	450,994

On the succeeding page we give in tabular form the principal results of the censuses of Great Britain from the first, in 1801, to the last, in 1881, and of Ireland from 1821 to 1881. The issue in 1883 of the corrected results of the census of 1881 enables us to give the populations of the counties, principal cities, and towns of the United Kingdom in a form which will be convenient for reference.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF IRELAND IN 1881.

I. Leinster.		POP.		POP.		POP.	
Carlow County, .	46,568	Westmeath County,	71,798	Waterford City, .	22,457	Londonderry, Co. and	
Drogheda, County of		Wexford " .	123,854	Waterford County, .	90,311	City, .	164,991
Town, .	12,297	Wicklow " .	70,386			Monaghan County, .	102,748
Dublin City, .	249,602			III. Ulster.		Tyrone County, .	197,719
Dublin County, .	169,308	II. Munster.		Antrim County, .	227,729		
Kildare " .	75,804			Armagh County, .	163,177	IV. Connaught.	
Kilkenny City, .	12,299	Clare County, .	141,457	Belfast Borough, .	208,122	Galway County, .	222,834
Kilkenny County, .	87,232	Cork City, .	80,124	Carrikerfergus, Co. of		Galway, County of	
King's " .	72,852	Cork County, .	415,483	Town, .	10,009	Town, .	19,171
Longford " .	61,009	Kerry County, .	201,039	Cavan County, .	129,476	Leitrim County, .	90,372
Louth " .	65,887	Limerick City, .	38,562	Donegal County, .	206,035	Mayo " .	245,212
Meath " .	87,469	Limerick County, .	142,070	Down County, .	248,190	Roscommon " .	132,490
Queen's " .	73,124	Tipperary County, .	199,612	Fermanagh County, .	84,879	Sligo " .	111,578

POPULATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHES AND CIVIC AND MUNICIPAL TOWNS OF
IRELAND FROM THE CENSUS RETURNS OF 1881.

NOTE.—The letter *c* in the table denotes Civic towns; *p*, Parliamentary boroughs; *c* and *p*, Civic and Parliamentary, the limits being co-extensive; and *t*, the Municipal towns.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

	POP.		POP.		POP.		POP.
Ardee, . . . c	2,622	Drogheda, . . c	12,237	Killiney and Ballybrack, . . c	2,607	Parsonstown, . c	4,965
Arklow, . . . c	4,777	Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin, . c	4,878	Kingstown, . . c	18,586	Pembroke, . . c	23,222
Athlone (part of), c & p	3,072	Dublin, . . . c	249,602	Longford, . . . c	4,380	Portlannington, . c	2,357
Athy, . . . c	4,181	" . . . c	273,282	Maryborough, . c	2,372	" . . . p	2,477
Bagenalstown, . c	2,141	Dundalk, . . . c	11,913	Mountmellick, . c	3,126	Rathmines and Rathgar, . . c	24,370
Bailbriggan, . . c	2,443	" . . . p	11,974	Mullingar, . . c	4,787	Skerries, . . . c	2,227
Blackrock, . . . c	8,902	Enniseorthy, . . c	5,666	Naas, . . . c	3,808	Trim, . . . t	1,586
Bray, c	6,535	Gorey, . . . c	2,450	Navan, . . . c	3,873	Tullamore, . . c	5,098
Callan, c	2,340	Kells, c	2,822	Newbridge, . . c	3,372	Wexford, . . c & p	12,163
Carlow, . . . c & p	7,185	Kilkenny, . . . c	12,299	New Kilmainham, c	5,391	Wicklow, . . . c	8,391
Clontarf, . . . c	4,210	New Ross, . . . c	15,278				
Dalkey, c	3,234						

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Bandon, c	3,997	Dunmanway, . . c	2,049	Macroon, . . . c	3,099	Skibbereen, . . c	3,631
Bantry, p	5,949			Mallow, . . . c & p	4,439		
Bantry, c	2,632	Ennis, . . . c & p	6,307	Middleton, . . c	3,358	Templemore, . . c	2,800
				Mitchelstown, . c	2,467	Thurles, . . . c	4,850
Caher, c	2,469	Fermoy, . . . c	6,454	Nenagh, . . . c	5,422	Tipperary, . . c	7,274
Cahersiveen, . . c	2,003	Fethard, . . . t	1,926	Newcastle, . . c	2,186	Tralee, . . . c	9,910
Carriack-on-Suir, . c	6,583					Tramore, . . . p	9,396
Cashel, c	3,961	Killarney, . . c	6,651				2,036
Charleville, . . c	2,266	Kilrush, . . . c	3,805	Passage, West, . c	2,440	Waterford, . . c	22,457
Clonakilty, . . . c	3,676	Kinsale, . . . c	5,386			" . . . p	29,181
Clonmel, . . . c & p	9,325	" . . . p	5,998	Queenstown, . . c	9,755	Youghal, . . . c	5,396
Cork, c	80,124	Limerick, . . . c	38,562			" . . . p	5,826
" c	104,496	" . . . p	48,670	Rathkeale, . . . c	2,549		
		Lismore, . . . t	1,860	Roscrea, . . . c	2,801		
Dungarvan, . . . c	6,306	Listowel, . . . c	2,965				
" c	7,891						

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Antrim,	1,647	Carrickmacross, . . .	2,002	Enniskillen, . . c & p	5,712	Lurgan,	10,135
Armagh, . . . c & p	10,070	Castleblayney, . . .	1,810	Gilford,	1,324	Monaghan,	3,369
Aughnacloy, . . .	1,333	Cavan,	3,050	Holywood,	3,293	Newry,	14,808
Ballybay,	1,654	Clones,	2,216	Keady,	1,595	Newtownards, . .	8,676
Ballymena,	8,883	Coleraine,	5,899	Larne,	4,716	Omagh,	4,123
Ballymoney,	3,049	Comber,	6,694	Legeniel,	3,497	Portadown, . . .	7,850
Ballyshannon, . .	2,840	Cookstown,	2,165	Lettickenny, . . .	2,188	Strabane,	4,196
Banbridge,	6,609	Cooteshill,	3,870	Limavady,	2,954	Tandragee,	1,592
Bangor,	3,106	Cootehill,	1,789	Lisburn,	10,755		
Belfast, . . . c & p	208,122	Downpatrick, . . .	3,419	"	11,083		
Belturbet,	1,807	"	3,901	Londonderry, . . c & p	29,162		
Bess Brook,	3,126	Dromore,	2,491				
		Dungannon, . . c & p	4,084				
Carrickfergus, . . c & p	10,009						

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Athlone (part of), c & p	3,683	Boyle, . c	2,994	Galway, . . p	19,171	Sligo, . . . c	10,808
Ballina, . . c	5,760	Castlebar, . . c	3,855	Longbrea, . . c	3,159	Tuam, . . . c	3,567
Ballinasloe, . . c	4,772						
Ballinrobe, . . c	2,286	Galway, . . c	15,471	Rosecommon, . . c	2,117	Westport, . . c	4,469

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND IN 1881.

I. Northern.		POP.	IV. East-Midland.		POP.	VII. South-Eastern.		POP.
Shetland,		29,705	Forfar,		266,360	Linlithgow,		43,510
Orkney,		32,044	Perth,		129,007	Edinburgh,		389,164
Caithness,		38,865	Fife,		171,931	Haddington,		38,502
Sutherland,		23,370	Kinross,		6,697	Berwick,		35,392
II. North-Western.			Clackmannan,		25,627	Peebles,		13,822
Ross and Cromarty,		78,547	V. West-Midland.			Selkirk,		25,564
Inverness,		90,454	Stirling,		112,443	VIII. Southern.		
III. North-Eastern.			Dumbarton,		75,333	Roxburgh,		53,442
Nairn,		10,455	Argyll,		76,468	Dumfries,		76,140
Elgin (or Moray),		43,788	Bute,		17,657	Kirkcudbright,		42,127
Banff,		62,736	VI. South-Western.			Wigtown,		38,611
Aberdeen,		267,990	Reufrew,		263,374			
Kincardine,		34,464	Ayr,		217,519			
			Lanark,		904,412			

POPULATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY AND ROYAL BURGHES OF SCOTLAND IN 1881.

Parliamentary Burghs.		Royal Burghs.	Parliamentary Burghs.		Royal Burghs.	Parliamentary Burghs.		Royal Burghs.
POP.		POP.	POP.		POP.	POP.		POP.
Aberdeen,	105,003	87,223	Forfar,	12,817	13,579	Montrose,	14,973	14,177
Airdrie,	13,363	—	Forres,	4,030	3,110	Musselburgh,	7,866	—
Annan,	3,366	4,523	Fortrose,	869	986	Nairn,	4,161	4,665
Anstruther, Easter,	1,349	1,248	Galashiels,	12,435	—	Newburgh,	—	1,852
Anstruther, Wester,	594	594	Glasgow,	487,985	166,078	New Galloway,	422	398
Arbroath,	21,758	21,846	Greenock,	63,902	—	North Berwick,	1,698	1,177
Auchtermuchty,	—	824	Haddington,	4,043	4,043	Oban,	3,991	—
Ayr,	20,812	8,776	Hamilton,	13,995	—	Paisley,	55,627	—
Banff,	7,844	4,203	Hawick,	16,184	—	Peebles,	—	2,609
Brechin,	9,031	5,235	Inveraray,	861	940	Perth,	28,949	27,207
Burntisland,	4,099	3,197	Inverbervie,	1,095	2,114	Peterhead,	10,922	—
Campbeltown,	7,558	5,070	Inverkeithing,	1,646	1,366	Pittenweem,	2,087	2,116
Crail,	1,145	1,142	Inverness,	17,365	17,365	Port Glasgow,	10,802	—
Cromarty,	1,352	—	Inverurie,	2,931	2,669	Portobello,	6,794	—
Cullen,	2,033	3,682	Irvine,	8,498	4,508	Queensferry,	1,676	1,064
Culross,	373	380	Jedburgh,	3,402	2,432	Renfrew,	4,825	5,115
Cupar,	5,010	4,964	Kilmarnock,	24,978	—	Rothsay,	—	8,291
Dingwall,	1,921	1,921	Kilrenny,	2,759	2,730	Rutherglen,	11,265	11,473
Dornoch,	497	497	Kinghorn,	1,790	1,439	St. Andrews,	6,452	6,406
Dumbarton,	13,782	10,898	Kintore,	661	661	Sanquhar,	1,339	1,299
Dumfries,	17,092	15,713	Kirkcaldy,	13,320	23,288	Selkirk,	6,090	6,090
Dunbar,	3,657	3,745	Kirkcudbright,	2,571	2,571	Stirling,	16,001	12,194
Dundee,	140,063	140,063	Kirkwall,	3,923	2,613	Stranraer,	6,342	3,455
Dunfermline,	17,984	19,915	Lanark,	4,910	5,874	Tain,	1,742	2,221
Dysart,	10,877	2,645	Lauder,	964	1,014	Whithorn,	1,653	1,643
Earlsferry,	—	286	Leith,	58,196	—	Wick,	8,026	1,416
Edinburgh,	228,357	228,357	Linlithgow,	3,913	3,729	Wigtown,	1,722	1,789
Elgin,	7,413	6,286	Lochmaben,	1,216	1,539			
Falkland,	—	972						
Falkirk,	13,170	—						

THE END.

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Donald G. R. 1886

Hand Press



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MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES GEORGE GORDON, C.B., R.E.

THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON, C.B., R.E.,

INCLUDING THE EVENTS OF THE

SOUDAN CAMPAIGN OF 1885.

BY

JAMES TAYLOR, A.M., D.D., F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF THE FAMILY HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, ETC.

THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON, C.B., R.E.

CHARLES GEORGE GORDON was the youngest son of Lieutenant-general Henry William Gordon of the Royal Artillery, and was born on the 28th of January, 1833. His mother, Elizabeth Enderby, was the daughter of a London merchant who took a prominent part in opening up the resources of the Southern Hemisphere. Charles Gordon's ancestors were cadets of the family of the Gordons of Park in Banffshire, who were descended from a junior member of the great house of the Gordons of Huntly. His forefathers for several generations, extending over a period of a century and a half, were soldiers. David Gordon, his great-grandfather, fought at the battle of Prestonpans in Lascelles' regiment, under Sir John Cope, and was taken prisoner by the Highlanders, but was released on parole through the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who six years previously had stood sponsor for his son, General Gordon's grandfather, named William Augustus after the duke. David Gordon died at Halifax in North America, in 1752. His son also entered the army, served successively in the 40th, 72nd, and 11th regiments of infantry, and fought with distinction at Minorca, at the siege of Louisburg, in 1758, and under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The youngest of his three sons, who all entered the military service of their country, was the father of the illustrious Charles Gordon. Henry

William Gordon was a thorough soldier in regard both to theory and practice, was firm in command and in enforcing the performance of duty, yet genial and kind to all under his authority. He had a high sense of honour and a strict regard to duty, combined with an inexhaustible fund of humour, a cheerful demeanour, and great generosity and kindness of heart. He was very proud of his son, but had no satisfaction in his achievements in China. His services he thought should have been given entirely to his own country, and not to men of a different race and faith. His wife, who bore to him five sons and six daughters, was noted for her agreeable and cheerful temper, and her genius for making the best of everything.

Charles Gordon was educated first at Taunton, and next at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. His temper in his boyhood was quick but generous, and though he had plenty of energy he had no great physical strength. On leaving the Royal Academy at Woolwich, in his nineteenth year, he received a commission as Second Lieutenant of Engineers, and in August, 1854, was ordered to Pembroke, where he was employed in making plans for the forts at the entrance of the Haven. In the following November he got orders to proceed to Corfu, much to his disappointment, as he was anxious to be sent to the Crimea, where war was

then raging. But early in December his route was changed for the East, and on New Year's Day, 1855, he landed at Balaclava.

His arrival at the scene of war took place at a very critical period of the struggle. It is now well known that if the allies after their victory at the Alma had attacked the north side of Sebastopol they would have met with little or no opposition. General Todleben has indeed frankly admitted that this was the case. 'Prince Mentschikoff,' he says, 'had not only withdrawn to the south of Sebastopol, but had deliberately given up any intention of encountering the allies on the north of the deep inlet of the sea on which the town was situated.' On the day after the battle of the Alma (21st September), Lord Raglan proposed to the French commander that they should at once advance to the Belbec, cross that river, and then assault the forts which protected Sebastopol on the north; but St. Arnaud refused, on the ground that his troops were tired and that it could not be done. On the following day Lord Raglan renewed his proposal, but again met with a refusal. The Russians, it was alleged, had thrown up strong earthworks on the bank of the Belbec, and great loss would be entailed in forcing them. But for this grievous mistake—one of the evil results of a divided command—the allied troops would have obtained possession of the north side of Sebastopol without serious opposition, and as it commands both the harbour and the town on the south, they could at once have destroyed the Russian fleet and the arsenal, dockyards, and storehouses which stood on the southern side of the creek. But the dogged refusal of the French general to agree to Lord Raglan's proposal made it necessary to adopt the only alternative scheme, and to attack the Russian stronghold on the south side. The allied armies commenced their march towards Sebastopol on the 23rd September, and by a flank movement, which

was both fatiguing and hazardous, they succeeded in establishing a base of operations on the heights above Balaclava.

At the time the allies took up their new position, Prince Mentschikoff had withdrawn nearly his whole army (40,000 strong) from the town, and had placed them towards Simpheropol, on the high-road which leads by Baktchi Seräi to the interior of Russia. Only 5000 militiamen and one battalion of sappers had been left by him to assist the garrison in the defence of the town, and scarcely any preparations had been made on the south side to resist an assault. The Malakoff, which played such an important part in the siege, was at that time only a half-ruined tower. A fort had been erected on the shore, and two round stone towers of no great strength covered the approach to the town from the dockyard creek to the sea; but with these exceptions there was on the land side neither wall, ditch, battery, nor other defence. There is every reason to believe that if an immediate assault had been made on the place it would have been taken at once. General Todleben indeed frankly admits that it was impossible to repel the enemy with only the force the garrison consisted of. So there remained to them no alternative but that of seeking to die gloriously at the post committed to their bravery. Lord Raglan earnestly recommended that the place should be attacked at once, and Sir Edward Lyons, the British admiral, who concurred in this view, expressed his conviction that unless an immediate assault was made upon the town its capture would involve a grievous loss, and that the men then composing the army 'would not live to do it.' General Canrobert, however, who had succeeded St. Arnaud in the command of the French army, but was not fit for the post, strenuously resisted this proposal, and was supported by the mass of the French officers. It was necessary, they alleged, that the fire of the enemy should be got down by means

of heavy artillery before an assault could be made with any prospect of success. Lord Raglan's proposal had therefore to be abandoned.

Owing to various obstacles, the preparations for the siege proceeded slowly. The disembarkation of artillery and stores in the harbour of Balaclava was not commenced until the 28th of September, and although every available man was employed in carrying up to the front the siege artillery and ammunition, and in preparing the batteries and trenches for their reception, the works proceeded so slowly, owing to the rocky nature in front of the British position, that the batteries were not completed until three weeks after the allied armies had taken possession of the heights. This delay enabled the garrison, under the command of Admiral Korniloff and General Todleben, to put the town into a complete state of defence, and to erect those extensive earth-works, armed with guns of a heavy calibre, which so long resisted the utmost efforts of the besiegers.

The bombardment of the town at length commenced at half-past six on the morning of the 17th October, and for some time it seemed to be attended with great success. The Flagstaff Battery, the Malakoff Tower, and the fronting walls of the Redan all suffered severely from the cannonade; their stonework was rent, and the bastions were destroyed or greatly injured. But while the contest was proceeding with evident advantage on the side of the assailants, about nine o'clock a powder magazine in the French lines was blown up by a shell from one of the Russian batteries, killing about fifty men and disabling a number of guns. The French troops were so disheartened by this catastrophe that they first slackened and shortly after suspended the fire of their artillery, and thus allowed the Russians to concentrate their fire upon the British works, which in consequence suffered considerable injury, and had several guns dismounted and destroyed.

Meanwhile the allied fleets had made an attack upon the forts by sea. But on either side of the mouth of the harbour there was a long shoal, while the Russians had sunk four men-of-war and two frigates across the entrance of the roadsteads. In consequence the French and British vessels found it impossible to approach near enough to the sea forts of Sebastopol to inflict any material injury on them. Their broadsides indeed damaged the embrasures of Fort Quarantine and the walls of Fort Constantine, but they did not materially impair the strength of the sea-defences of Sebastopol. It thus became evident that the Russian stronghold must be taken by a regular siege.

The position of the allied forces was now exceedingly critical, as they had to contend not only with a garrison of 36,000 men in Sebastopol, who had inexhaustible stores of ammunition and guns at their disposal, but also with a powerful army outside watching every favourable opportunity to attack them. They were soon made to learn the dangerous condition in which they were placed. On the 25th of October their position at Balaclava was attacked by a large body of Russian infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, who carried the redoubts held by the Turks; but one body of them was repulsed by the 93rd Highlanders under Sir Colin Campbell, the other was overthrown by the famous charge of the Scots Greys and Inniskillen Dragoons. On the same day occurred that memorable charge of the Light Brigade, which excited mingled admiration and regret throughout the civilized world. The celebrated battle of Inkerman—the 'soldiers' battle,' as it was called—took place on the 5th of November. It raged for seven hours with almost unparalleled severity. A body of 7460 British soldiers, assisted after five hours' fighting by 6000 French troops, sustained a hand-to-hand fight against 60,000 men, supported by powerful artillery, and ultimately drove them off the field. But the victory was dearly

bought. The British forces lost 2357 in killed and wounded, including 140 officers; while the French lost 1800. Lord Raglan, on good grounds, estimated the Russian losses at 20,000 men.

Nothing remained for the allied armies but to persevere in holding the ground which they occupied, fortifying their position on the Inkerman heights, and firmly defending the advanced trenches. This resolution, however, involved great suffering on the part of the troops, exposed as they were to a rigorous climate and incessant attacks of the enemy, with insufficient food and medical attendance, and without an adequate supply of clothing to protect them against the inclemency of the weather. To add to their privations a dreadful hurricane wrecked the steamship *Prince*, which had arrived only a few days before with an ample stock of warm clothing and other necessary articles for the comfort of the soldiers during the winter. The *Resolute*, another of the vessels wrecked, contained 900 tons of powder. Two French ships of the line, one of them a three-decker, and twenty-four transports were destroyed by the tempest, and a good many more were seriously damaged. Upwards of 1000 lives were lost, and between 400 and 500 of the shipwrecked crews were captured by the Cossacks and carried into Sebastopol. On land the hurricane swept away the tents, inundated the stores, broke up the roads or converted them into swamps, thus immensely increasing the difficulty of conveying supplies from the port at Balaclava.

It was in the midst of the confusion, privations, and sufferings which this catastrophe had greatly intensified, that Gordon appeared upon the scene.

His letters to his relations give a vivid picture of the state of affairs at that critical period—no proper co-operation between the different departments of the service; mismanagement and confusion on every hand; stores miscarried, lost, spoiled, left behind or conveyed to the spot where

they were not needed, while men were dying elsewhere for the want of them; the troops, hard-worked, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and never dry, suffering from intense cold and the ravages of cholera and fever. It was not until the 14th of February, six weeks after his arrival, that Gordon, who seems to have been overlooked, was detailed for duty in the trenches before Sebastopol. His first work was to effect a junction, by means of rifle-pits, between the French and English sentries who were stationed in front of the trenches. It was a hazardous as well as a most laborious employment, exposing him almost constantly to the fire of the enemy and occasionally to an accidental bullet from his own side. He ran the risk, too, of being shot down or made prisoner by an unexpected sortie from the beleaguered town, or of being abandoned out in the front in consequence of a sudden panic in the advanced lines.

At the outset he had an example of the dangers he was thus to encounter in the performance of his duties. He was ordered on the night of the 14th to make a communication by rifle-pits from certain caves to a ruined house in which the French had determined to make a lodgment. In a home letter of date 17th February, he writes:—

‘I got, after some trouble, eight men with picks and shovels, and asked the captain of the advance trench (Captain —— of the 4th) to give me five double sentries to throw out in advance. It was the first time he had been on duty here; and as for myself I never had, although I kept that to myself. I led forward the sentries, going at the head of the party, and found the sentries of the advance had not held the caves, which they ought to have done, after dark, so there was just a chance of the Russians being in them. I went on, however, and though I did not like it, explored the caves almost alone. We then left two sentries on the hill above the caves, and went back to get round and post two sentries below the caves. However, just as soon as

we showed ourselves outside the caves and below them, bang! bang! went two rifles, the bullets hitting the ground close to us. The sentries with me retired in a rare state of mind, and my working party bolted and were stopped with great difficulty. What had really happened was this: it was not a Russian attack, but the two sentries whom I had placed above the caves *had fired at us*, lost their caps, and bolted to the trench. Nothing after this would induce the sentries to go out, so I got the working party to go forward with me. The Russians had on the report of our shots sent us a shower of bullets, their picket not being more than 150 yards away.'

Gordon continued for two months at this somewhat monotonous, though very perilous work, and must have had innumerable narrow escapes. On one occasion a shot from the lower part of the Russian lines 'as nearly as possible,' he says, 'did for me. The bullet was fired not 180 yards off, and passed an inch above my head into a bank I was passing. They are very good marksmen,' he quietly adds; 'their bullet is large and pointed.' Shortly after this incident one of his captains, named Craigie, was killed by a splinter from the enemy's shells, in the ravine near the picket house; and Gordon, writing home, describes the casualty, and adds this characteristic remark—'I am glad to say he was a serious man. The shell burst above him, and *by what is called chance* struck him on the back, killing him at once.'

During the preparations for the second bombardment in April, Gordon and the other engineer officers were exposed to exceptional danger and severely tasked, for the fourth parallel had to be constructed within six paces of the Russian rifle-pits. The young officer does not seem to have formed a very high opinion of the energy and resolution of the French troops, and he had formed a low, but correct, estimate of the qualifications of their commander. He writes on April 20, eleven days after the bombardment had been resumed:—'I can-

not say much for the enterprise of our allies. They are afraid to do anything, and consequently quite cramp our movements, as you will easily understand that if one part of the trenches is pushed on before the other parts the advanced sections will be liable to be attacked and outflanked by the Russians. I think we might have assaulted on Monday, but the French do not seem to care about it. The garrison is 25,000 men, and we heard afterwards that on that day only 800 men were in the place, as the rest had gone to repel an attack (fancied) of ours at Inkerman.' There can be little doubt that if advantage had been taken of this 'golden opportunity,' as Russell calls it, Sebastopol would have fallen at that time into the hands of the allies.

On April 30 Gordon writes: 'We are still pushing batteries forward as much as possible, but cannot advance our trenches until the French take the Mamelon, as it enfilades our advance works. Until that occurs things are at a standstill.' But though active operations ceased until early in the month of June, Gordon, with the other engineer officers, was hard at work preparing for the third bombardment. His letters during this interval contain little of special interest, narrating only a repetition of the sorties on the part of the Russians and their repulse with considerable losses by the allies. One remark is worth quoting and remembering: 'We have a great deal to regret in the want of good working clergymen, there being none here that I know of who interest themselves about the men.'

The third and tremendous bombardment commenced on the 6th of June, and produced an immense effect upon the Russian batteries. The loss on the Russian side was very great, while we had only one man killed and four wounded. Gordon was, of course, in the trenches during the whole time, and 'Old Jones,' he says, 'persisted in returning him among the wounded,' but his injury was merely a contusion from a stone

which had been thrown up by a round shot. Next day the French carried the Mamelon and two redoubts, but they did not succeed in their efforts to storm the Malakoff tower. The British troops failed to carry the Redan, but they were successful in seizing and holding the important position of the Quarries in front of it, although the Russians three times in the course of the night directed all their efforts to regain them. Gordon himself characteristically avoids all notice of the dangers to which he was exposed amidst a terrific shower of grape and shells of every description. But a friend who was in the siege mentions one instance: 'Charley,' he says, 'has had a miraculous escape. The day before yesterday he saw the smoke from an embrasure on his left, and heard a shell coming, but did not see it. It struck the ground about 4 yards in front of him and burst, not touching him. If it had not burst it would have taken his head off.'

During the period which elapsed before the final bombardment, Gordon's letters contain brief but characteristic remarks on the death of Lord Raglan, and on the officers who fell in the various encounters that took place in the trenches. He always expressed contentment with his own position, never uttered a murmur respecting the laborious and perilous work in which he was engaged, or the unequal and sometimes unfair distribution of honours and rewards which he witnessed.

The final bombardment of Sebastopol began on the 5th of September. On the 8th the French captured the Malakoff, but the British troops failed in their attack on the Redan, mainly owing to bad management. It was the old story: 'Superb courage and skill of officers and men, outrageously bad management.' It was arranged that the Highland Brigade was to make another attack on the Redan next day, but when the morrow dawned there was nothing to attack. The loss of the Malakoff rendered the south side of

Sebastopol untenable, and the town was evacuated during the night. Gordon was detailed for duty in the trenches on the morning of the 9th, and gave the following account of what he saw at daybreak:— 'During the night of the 8th heard terrific explosions, and on going down to the trenches at four the next morning I saw a splendid sight. The whole of Sebastopol in flames, and every now and then terrible explosions took place, while the rising sun, shining on the place, had a most beautiful effect. The Russians were leaving the town by the bridge; all the three-deckers were sunk, the steamers alone remaining. Tons and tons of powder must have been blown up.'

Shortly after the capture of Sebastopol Gordon was sent on the expedition which was despatched to lay siege to Kinburn, and was present at the capture of that fortress. On his return to the Crimea he was employed for four months on the arduous and unpleasant work of destroying the dockyard, forts, quays, barracks, and storehouses of the captured stronghold, on which the Emperor Nicholas had expended enormous sums of money. This work of demolition was completed in February, 1856, and Gordon then left the Crimea. His own letters give no idea either as respects the manner in which he discharged his duties during that protracted siege, or the estimation in which he was held by others. But the striking testimony which has been given by Colonel Chesney shows that he was, even at that early period, regarded as an officer of great professional attainments and of high promise. 'Gordon,' he says, 'had first seen war in the hard school of the "black winter" of the Crimea. In his humble position as an engineer subaltern he attracted the notice of his superiors, not merely by his energy and activity, but by a special aptitude for war, developing itself amid the trench work before Sebastopol in a personal knowledge of the enemy's movements such as no other officer attained. We used to send him to

find out what new move the Russians were making.'

Sir Harry Jones especially mentioned Gordon as an officer who, with some other subalterns of the Royal Engineers, had done gallant service, but from the constitution of the corps, wherein promotion goes by seniority, his advancement was rendered impossible. From the French government he received the Order of the Legion of Honour, a mark of distinction rarely conferred on so young an officer.

An interesting communication, which has lately appeared, from a veteran soldier of the name of Matthew Hudson, will show the estimation in which Gordon was held by the men who served under him in the Crimea:—

'The first time that I saw Gordon,' he says, 'was in the trenches before Sebastopol, but I did not know who he was; yet I felt there was something more than the feeling of an ordinary officer about him as he moved among us. He was wrapped in a large military cloak. We were building a twenty-gun battery, which was afterwards called "Gordon's Battery," and I was swinging a shovel. He had no swagger about him, or what is called "smartness," and sauntered past me and among the men as silent as a statue and as quiet as a civilian, with a stick in his hand, which he waved about in a seemingly lazy manner, and with a look as indifferent as a dandy on the pier at a watering-place. I learned after that he was Major Gordon, afterwards celebrated as "Chinese," and now more so as "Khartoum" Gordon—the greatest of living leaders of men. There was a charm about him that we all felt as distinguishing him from other officers. He was eccentric, but seemed to put his own mind into us, so that at his approach all fear vanished. He never bullied, but put every man, as it were, on his honour or mettle to do his best. "Now, my man," he would say in a mild tone in the greatest danger, "I'm your officer; I lead, you follow, and there is no danger at all. There is the enemy, there is the battery," pointing with his walking-stick, for he never carried a sword in action, "and here is our road; follow me." And he would walk through the hailstorm of lead or iron as quietly as across the room floor. I particularly remember on one occasion when the Russians, having got the range, were harassing us terribly in our trench. Gordon quietly, stick in hand, climbed to the top of the parapet and stood looking round like a boy looking for mushrooms.

The storm of rifle-balls, shot, and shell poured on him at once was terrific from all the enemy's rifle-pits. But he stood peeping through a glass in all directions. "Come down, Gordon," shouted the officers; "you'll be killed." Still he stood with steady hand and quiet feet. When he had learnt what he sought he descended as quietly as he went up, as if afraid of a slip. Other officers might be as cool, but none I ever met produced the same impression. He was a strict disciplinarian, absolute in enforcing complete respect from the men to the officers, as much towards the newest made corporal as to the colonel. If ever a look or glance of refusal or want of honour to them was shown by a man his quick eye saw it at once. For earnest men his presence acted on them just in the way that a kind but fond master does on dogs and horses—it filled them with a strong desire to please him and do his will to perfection. Even where he met absolute stupidity he seemed to put his own mind and intelligence into the most idiotic, so that they looked at him, seemed to drink in his idea, and went and did it. In fact I always say he possessed in the highest degree the talents of an engineer and executive officer, which was his own branch of the service, and the qualities of a field officer or commanding general as well, with a power of leading men such as I never knew equalled. As an instance, I specially remember him during the terrible sortie of the Russians on the night of the 21st of November, when Captain Hedley Vickers was killed. We men were all called to our trenches to relieve the French, and on returning found our battery full of the enemy. The trenches were choked by them. We were short of officers, and the men were calling out for one to lead them to drive out the Russians. A voice cried, "I'm your officer, my men," and Captain Cavendish Brown, who had been hurt in coming up to me, asked for the entry into the trench. I showed him it and he entered first, and I followed. He was shot down and I was hit, a ball passing clean through my thigh, but I kept on, and we didn't give the Russians time to load again, but gave 'em the bayonet and skewered their ribs like boiled rabbits. As a corporal I took his place to lead, as in duty bound, and fought on; but when we had skewered the first batch who had filled our battery, loss of blood made me faint, as I perceived my big knee-boots full of it. I staggered, and the men began to call out for an officer, as the Russians kept pouring over the ramparts as fast as we could kill them. Just as I felt done up Major Gordon entered, cane in hand as usual, and speaking in his quiet way, with a twist of his stick, said, "I'm your officer, my men! There is no danger; drive them out." I staggered and reeled against the battlements, and seeing it he asked, "What's the matter, corporal?"

"I'm wounded, sir," I replied. "You've done your duty here, corporal; this is your place no longer. Go to the rear and get your wound dressed," and he offered me his cloak and stick to support and comfort me on the way. And I think he must have spoken well for me at headquarters, for soon after, as I lay in hospital, our Colonel Yea, with Lord Raglan and his staff, came. The gallant old colonel then approached me, and placed on my neck a medal, with the remark before them all, "Now, corporal, all you've got to do is to get well as quick as you can and come to the front again, and I've a sword and belt for you." But I am sorry to say I did not recover fast, so was invalided home, and so lost the commission the belt and sword represented. That was my last adventure with the great Gordon."

By the treaty of Paris a portion of the territory that had been wrested from Turkey in 1812, and which carried with it a control over the Lower Danube, was to be restored to the principality. A commission consisting of English, French, Russian, and Austrian officers was appointed to lay down the new frontier-line of Russia, Turkey, and Roumania, and Lieutenant Gordon was appointed assistant commissioner under Major (now Lieutenant-General) Sir Edward Stanton. Gordon's special duty was, in company with Lieutenant James, to trace a boundary extending for 100 miles, to compare the English and Russian maps in order to see if they agreed, and when they differed to make a new survey of the ground. At the Paris Congress in 1856 it was determined that the Russians must be excluded from the Danube and its tributary lakes and streams, and it was decided that the frontier should pass south of Bolgrad—in reliance on a map furnished by the Russians that represented Bolgrad as situated to the north of the Lake Yalpukh, which opens into the Danube. But when the commissioners came to the spot they found that the map, in keeping with the usual Russian policy, had given an inaccurate representation of the country; that the place designated Bolgrad on the map was a town called Talck; that Bolgrad was in reality on the Lake Yalpukh; and that if the frontier passed to the south of it the

Russians would have access to the river Danube, from which they were to be strictly debarred. The English commissioners reported the real state of the matter, and referred the question to the congress. This disreputable attempt to swindle Turkey was felicitously portrayed in a cartoon which appeared at the time in *Punch* under the designation of the 'Russian Ticket-of-leave-man before the Beaks,' the members of the congress. John Bull, who presided, with Palmerston as clerk of the court, exclaims with an indignant aspect, 'H'm, here again! Well, we must put a stop to this.' And accordingly a stop was put to it, but only for a time.

There was great variety in Gordon's work, visiting Eastern cities and exploring a new and delightful country, and it afforded a pleasant contrast to the toil and privation and dangers of the life he had so long led in the trenches before Sebastopol. His letters give brief but vivid sketches of the places which he visited and the people with whom he came in contact in the performance of his duties. The salt marshes bordering the Black Sea were, no doubt, detestable and noxious, and Kischeneff, the headquarters of the commission, 'was and is one of the most common-place, sordid, and unattractive of the huge villages which in Southern Russia pass for towns.' It was 'dreadfully dull' and had nothing of interest in it. Galatz, Gordon described as 'very dusty and not at all a desirable place of residence.' 'Bolgrad is a largish place, and the headquarters of the Bessarabian army.' 'Kishenau, the capital of Bessarabia, has nothing of interest in it.' But Jassy, the Moldavian capital, a quaint semi-Oriental town, he liked very much, though the society was quite French, and it contained 30,000 Jews, 'who live upon the boyars, asking 200 per cent.' Writing home on the 17th of July he says, 'We have now been over the whole of the frontier, from Katomori on the Pruth to Boma Sola on the Black Sea, a distance of very nearly 200 miles. It is an odd

sort of life going about 20 miles per diem, and camping for the day about ten o'clock; but the country wants trees to make it pretty. It has not been very hot, and as yet we can complain of no want of rain, having had not merely thunderstorms, but Irish rain for whole days at a stretch. The shooting here will be good in the proper season, as there are lots of bustards and other animals. As for its being unhealthy it is a mistake, as we are never nearer the Danube than 80 miles, and it is only the decayed vegetation of that river which causes fever at Galatz, Bucharest, and Giurgevo. We are now finally deciding the frontier on *the maps*, and when this is done we shall mark on the *ground itself* the parts of the new frontier. As far as this place everything has gone on very well, and I like the work extremely.'

He gives some characteristic touches respecting the untruthful and dishonest conduct of the Russians, and their feelings towards the commissioners. On the 10th of November he writes, "You cannot conceive the way in which the Russian merchants pillage us, and, in addition to that, their articles are so bad as to break and come to pieces on using them. I detest the merchants of Russia whom I have seen here, and I do not know any good thing about them. They make a joke of pillaging the commissioners." Again, on the 18th, he says, 'The Russians are still antipathetic towards the commission, and (although I should not go if there was any society) no one has thought of asking the commissioners to dinner, not even the Governor of Bessarabia. The commissioners went to one public dinner, and that has been all. The Governor-general of Bessarabia asked Colonel Besson, the French commissioner, to tea, and they played whist afterwards, and he had to pay 6s. 8d. to the governor for the use of the pack of cards. We are assured that 36,000 roubles have been given by the Russian government to entertain us and lodge us well, but the officials put it all in their own pockets instead. I do

not say this because I like their acquaintance, but to give you a notion of their perquisites."

The work of verifying or correcting the Russian maps and surveying and fixing the boundary-line was finished in March, 1857, and Gordon was ordered to join the commission under Colonel (now Sir Lintorn) Simmons for settling the frontier in Asia Minor. He was anxious to return home, and sent a telegram inquiring whether he might be permitted to exchange. But the value of his services was known and appreciated at headquarters. 'G——,' he says, 'was as inflexible as usual. I received an answer in four words—'Lieutenant Gordon must go.'

In performance of his duties in Armenia Gordon visited Trebizond, Erzeroum, a busy and prosperous town near the northern source of the Euphrates; Kars, which three years before had held out so long and so bravely against the Russians; Alexandropol, Erivan, and Ani, the ancient capital of Armenia. He studied the strategic points of a country interesting as the scene of many famous battles, and even found time to ascend Little and Great Ararat for the purpose of personally ascertaining their respective heights. But the snow and the intense cold prevented him from reaching the summit of the latter, 16,953 feet high. 'The two together,' he says, 'settled me, and I turned round, although very reluctantly, and sitting down slid over in a very few minutes the distance which had taken me so many hours to clamber up.' He also ascended Mount Alagos, an extinct volcano 13,480 feet above the sea, and after two hours and a half got to the summit. 'Trusting to my Ararat experience,' he says, 'I thought of descending on the snow and started. I was much astonished at finding the slope far steeper than I expected, and consequently went down like a shot, and reached the bottom an hour and a half before the others. A Russian doctor tried it after me, and in trying to change his direction was turned round

and went to the bottom, sometimes head foremost. He was not a bit hurt. The distance we slid down in two minutes or less was upwards of 3000 feet.'

It was in Armenia that Gordon first came in contact with wild uncivilized tribes, respecting whose manners and customs his letters contain brief but interesting notices; and the manner in which he gained the confidence of the Kurds and fraternized with their chiefs foreshadowed the marvellous power which he exercised at a later period over the wild Arabs of the Soudan. The experience which he gained during his sojourn in Armenia proved of great service to him in subsequent and more important spheres of usefulness. He mentions, among other interesting facts, that the army of the Caucasus, consisting of 150,000 men, dies out completely in five years, and that the government of the Caucasus brings in no revenue, but every year receives large sums from St. Petersburg. 'All the *employés* and officers thief right and left, and the poor soldiers suffer in consequence.' He makes a similar remark respecting the rich plain of Erivan, which also yields no revenue to the government, but annually absorbs large sums sent from St. Petersburg, owing to the same cause—the rascality of the officials, who pillage with impunity.

After spending six months in discharging the duties of the delimitation commission in Asia Minor, Gordon returned to Constantinople to attend at a conference of the commissioners. He was detained there for some time on account of the illness of Colonel Simmons and three others of their party, who had been perfectly well during the whole time they were in Asia, but had been injuriously affected by the change of air at Constantinople; and so had the French commissioner and his servants. This done he returned to England, from which he had been three years absent, and spent six months at home. On the termination of his furlough he was sent back to Armenia in the

spring of 1858; not now, however, as an assistant, but as commissioner for the purpose of 'mapping the frontier which he had taken such an active part in laying down, and examining the new road between the Russian and Turkish dominions.' He again returned home about the end of the year, and spent the succeeding twelve-month at Chatham as field-work instructor and adjutant. He attained the rank of captain on April 1, 1859, when he was twenty-six years of age. But a far higher sphere of duty and more important work awaited him. In the month of July, 1866, he received orders to join the army in China.

The war that arose out of the illegal seizure in 1856 by the Chinese authorities of the *Arrow* lorcha, which was trading in Chinese waters under the protection of the British flag, and the injudicious and violent measures resorted to in return by Sir John Bowring, governor of Hong-Kong, had never been satisfactorily settled. The British government despatched to China the Earl of Elgin, 'a man with the ability and resolution to insure success, and the native strength that can afford to be merciful,' and intrusted him with full powers to negotiate with the imperial government. In the month of May, 1857, two successful expeditions were undertaken by Commodore Elliot and Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, which terminated in the complete destruction of the Chinese fleet of war-junks in the Canton waters. But the detention of Lord Elgin at Calcutta for the purpose of assisting the governor-general in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny prevented any progress being made in the settlement of the disputes with the Chinese government. His lordship did not reach Hong-Kong until the end of autumn. In October he was joined by Baron de Gros, who was sent out by the French ministry to demand redress for the murder of some missionaries belonging to their country. The great efforts of the two plenipotentiaries, however, to bring the Emperor of China to

terms were for some time quite ineffectual. The Chinese commissioner, Yeh, persisted in returning evasive and unsatisfactory answers to their claims, and they were at length compelled to take active measures to enforce compliance with their demands. The allied forces commenced operations in the month of December, and before the close of the year they attacked and without difficulty captured the city of Canton, and took prisoners the governor of the city and the commander of the Chinese army. The imperial commissioner, Yek, was found concealed in some obscure part of a house belonging to one of the lieutenant-governors of Canton, and was sent on board the *Inflexible* man-of-war. He was subsequently carried to Calcutta, where he was retained until a treaty of peace was concluded between Queen Victoria and the Emperor of China.

After the capture of Canton the Earl of Elgin and the Baron de Gros transmitted to the Chinese court at Peking the demands which they were instructed by their respective governments to make. The ministers of the United States and of Russia employed their utmost efforts to induce the Chinese emperor to embody in a treaty 'those just concessions to foreign commerce which the nations of the world had a right to demand,' but without effect. The Chinese authorities set themselves, according to their usual custom, to protract the negotiations, and by all sorts of subterfuges and pretexts to evade the claims of the British and French plenipotentiaries. At last Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros lost patience with their double-dealing, and resolved to proceed with an armed force to Peking and to enforce compliance with their demands. They accordingly sailed up the Peiho River as far as the city of Tien-tsin, which stands at the entrance of the Grand Canal. The Emperor, however, was not yet convinced that the usual policy of his government was now of no avail, and two commissioners of high rank were sent to Tien-tsin with full powers,

as they asserted, to conclude a satisfactory treaty with the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France; but when their credentials were produced they turned out to be quite insufficient and unsatisfactory. Various other attempts were made at evasion and trickery, but in the end the firm and vigorous attitude assumed by Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros alarmed the Emperor and his ministers, and they consented to conclude a treaty in the terms prescribed. It was stipulated that British and French ministers should be allowed to reside at Peking, and that the Chinese government should in like manner be represented at London and Paris. Christianity was to be tolerated, and Protestants and Roman Catholics were to be protected in China. British and French merchant vessels were to be permitted to trade at certain specified ports, and subjects of Britain and France were to be permitted to travel for pleasure or trade into all parts of the interior. An indemnity was exacted from the Chinese government to pay the expenses of the war. The conclusion of this treaty was hailed with great satisfaction both in the United Kingdom and in France; but there is good reason to believe that the Chinese government never really intended to keep it—they undoubtedly sought by every means in their power to evade its provisions. In accordance with a clause of the treaty which stipulated that ambassadors and ministers should reside at the British and Chinese courts respectively, the Hon. Frederick Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, was appointed Her Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at Peking, where the treaty was to be ratified within a year from the date of the signature. Mr. Bruce was accordingly directed by Lord Malmesbury, the foreign secretary, to proceed by way of the Peiho River to Tien-tsin and thence to Peking to exchange the ratification of the treaty. Admiral Hope, the naval commander-in-chief in China, was at the same time instructed to send a sufficient force

with Mr. Bruce to the mouth of the Peiho. The plenipotentiary was informed that 'Her Majesty's government are prepared to expect that all the arts at which the Chinese are such adepts will be put in practice to dissuade you from repairing to the capital; but it will be your duty firmly but temperately to resist any propositions to that effect, and to admit of no excuses.' The British government, however, were not aware that the reactionary party, who were now supreme at Peking, had determined to resist by force any attempt on the part of Mr. Bruce to enter the Peiho. They had repaired and strengthened the Taku forts at the mouth of that river, but had placed matting over the embrasures so as to conceal their strength, and had intrusted the command of these forts to Sankolinsin, the son of a Mongol chief, and a person of remarkable energy, but ignorant of the character and power of the 'foreign devils.'

When Admiral Hope's fleet, with Mr. Bruce and the French envoy on board, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho, the way was found to be barred by an armed force and stakes which had been planted across the river. The Chinese officials, as had been foreseen, put forth all sorts of pleas and pretexts to obtain delay. The patience of the plenipotentiaries was at length completely exhausted, and in the end they somewhat precipitately requested Admiral Hope to clear away the obstructions at the mouth of the Peiho. The admiral, without taking the precaution to ascertain the nature of the defences which the Chinese had erected, brought his gunboats to the barrier and attempted to force a passage up the river. But the Taku forts, whose guns had been carefully concealed, suddenly opened such a tremendous fire upon the boats that four of them were almost immediately disabled, five went aground and fell into the hands of the Chinese, and another sank at her anchors. An attempt which was then made to storm the forts was equally unsuccessful, owing to the difficulty of landing the troops and

the galling fire to which they were exposed while struggling through the mud to reach the shore. In this mismanaged and unlucky affair twenty-five men were killed on board the gunboats and ninety-three wounded, while of the storming party sixty-four officers and men were killed and 252 wounded.

The news of this repulse excited a strong feeling of indignation both in France and Britain, and all parties agreed that the treaty of Tien-tsin must be enforced. The Earl of Elgin and Baron de Gros, who negotiated that treaty, were intrusted with the duty of compelling the Chinese authorities to carry it into effect. The command of the French and British forces despatched on this expedition was intrusted to General Cousin de Montauban (afterwards Count Palikao) and Sir Hope Grant. Before their arrival an ultimatum had been presented to the Chinese government by Mr. Bruce demanding an apology for the attack upon the British ships on the Peiho, the payment of an indemnity for the injury inflicted on them through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities, and the ratification at Peking of the treaty concluded in 1858 at Tien-tsin. As might have been expected, these conditions were contemptuously refused by the imperial government. The plenipotentiaries were therefore obliged to have recourse to arms in order to compel reparation.

Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros arrived at Hong-Kong on the 21st June, 1860, but active operations were not commenced until the middle of August. The Chinese troops made a brave resistance to the attack of the allied forces on the defences of the Peiho, but they were completely defeated. The Taku forts, containing 400 guns, were carried with comparatively little loss on the part of the assailants, who took 2000 of the garrison prisoners. This signal defeat opened the eyes of the Emperor and his advisers to the hopelessness of further resistance, and they professed their willingness to nego-

tiate for peace; but as had been predicted, they employed all the arts at which they are such adepts to delay a settlement and to prevent the advance of the allies to the capital. They were at last, however, constrained to agree to the proposal, that the Chinese commissioners should meet the British and French plenipotentiaries at Tung-Chew, a town 10 or 12 miles from Peking. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretaries, accompanied by Mr. Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times*, Mr. De Norman, *attaché* to the British Legation, and by some British officers and members of the staff of Baron de Gros, went to that place in order to make arrangements for the meeting. On their return they had to pass through the lines of a large body of Chinese troops, who were occupying the ground which the Chinese commissioners themselves had marked out for the use of the allied forces. Suddenly, and without any provocation, some Tartar soldiers attacked and killed a French commissioned officer, and Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch and their companions were seized and carried off prisoners. Not satisfied with this outrage the Chinese opened fire on Colonel Walker and a detachment of dragoons, who were waiting outside the camp the return of Mr. Parkes and his friends.

This attack on men engaged in a peaceful mission, under the protection of a truce, led to a general engagement, in which the Chinese forces were completely defeated. Lord Elgin, probably with good reason, attributed the conduct of the Chinese commander, Sankolinsin, not to deliberate treachery, but to 'that mixture of stupidity, want of straightforwardness, suspicion, and blunder which characterize the conduct of affairs in this country.' But no excuse could be made for the seizure of the French and British subjects (twelve of the former and twenty-six of the latter) by a scandalous breach of faith on the part of the Chinese authorities.

It was at this stage that Gordon joined

the allied army. He left England in the middle of July, travelling by Marseilles, Alexandria, Aden, Ceylon, and Singapore. Early in the month of September he reached Hong-Kong, where he received news of the capture of the Taku forts; but as no orders had been given that he should remain at that place, he left on the 11th of September for Shanghai, and thence proceeded direct to Tien-tsin.

Lord Elgin had informed the Chinese authorities that he would enter into no negotiations with them until his secretaries and the other prisoners were released. This most just and reasonable demand, however, was, as usual, evaded by Prince Kung, the brother and plenipotentiary of the Emperor; and Lord Elgin at last declared that he would agree to no terms except within the walls of Peking. The allied forces accordingly marched on that city, which they reached on the 6th of October, and intimation was made to the Chinese authorities that unless they surrendered a gate by noon of the 13th, hostilities would be commenced. In anticipation of this result, the artillery and the engineers with whom Captain Gordon acted, under cover of the courtyard of a temple close to the Antung gate, busied themselves in getting the siege train ready to bombard the wall, which was 40 feet high and battlemented, but of inferior masonry. Early on the morning of the 12th, however, the Chinese authorities, finding resistance hopeless, surrendered the gate. The city was thus thrown open to the allies, and for the first time the British and the French flags floated side by side on the walls of the capital of China.

Lord Elgin had been assured by Prince Kung that the prisoners had received no serious injury, and he was consequently ignorant until now that his secretaries and the other prisoners had been shockingly maltreated by the Chinese authorities—that they had been tied so tight by the wrists that the flesh mortified, and that thirteen of the number, including Mr. De

Norman, Captain Gordon's companion in Asia, had died in the greatest torture. But when Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and their surviving companions in captivity, reached the allied camp, the truth became known, and Lord Elgin determined to inflict some signal punishment upon the Chinese government. He wrote to Prince Kung, and after upbraiding him with his falsehood and deception, he said—

‘Of the total number of twenty-six British subjects seized in defiance of honour and the law of nations, thirteen only have been restored alive, all of whom carry on their persons evidence, more or less distinctly marked, of the indignities and ill-treatment from which they have suffered, and thirteen have been barbarously murdered under circumstances on which the undersigned will not dwell, lest his indignation should find vent in words which are not suitable to a communication of this nature. Until this foul deed shall have been expiated, peace between Great Britain and the existing dynasty of China is impossible.’

Lord Elgin had some difficulty, however, in deciding in what manner adequate and exemplary punishment could be inflicted for the treacherous seizure of British subjects under a flag of truce, the murder of so many of the party, and the diabolical cruelties inflicted on all its members. The destruction of the capital would have been to punish vast multitudes who were innocent of any share in the outrage, and yet it was necessary that vengeance should be exacted for the foul crime in such a way as to make known to the teeming millions of the Chinese Empire the danger of treachery and cruelty. The Emperor and his chief counsellors were undoubtedly accomplices in the deed; on them therefore the chief punishment would appropriately fall. For this reason Lord Elgin resolved that the Summer Palace should be destroyed. The clothing of the victims had been found there, and their horses in the imperial stables.

This celebrated palace was a building of vast extent and extraordinary magnificence. In it was accumulated an enormous collection of artistic treasures—articles of *vertu* of native and foreign workmanship, magnificent china of every description, costly robes embroidered with gold and silver; rooms stored with rolls of manufactured silk, and large amounts of treasure. The throne and the room in which it stood were carved in a marvellous way. ‘The contents of this splendid structure,’ Gordon says, ‘could not have been replaced for £4,000,000 sterling.’ The French troops had been allowed to plunder the palace at their pleasure, and had ransacked every apartment, breaking and destroying in the most wanton manner whatever they were unable to carry away.

Lord Elgin resolved, though with manifest reluctance, that the building, or rather the immense collection of buildings which covered an area of many miles, should be completely destroyed. ‘What remains of the palace,’ was his notification to Prince Kung, ‘which appears to be the place at which several of the British captives were subjected to the grossest indignities, will be immediately levelled to the ground; this condition requires no assent on the part of his Highness, because it will at once be carried into effect by the commander-in-chief.’ The buildings were accordingly set on fire on the 18th of October, and burned to the ground. ‘It made one’s heart sore,’ said Gordon, ‘to burn them; in fact these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could not plunder them carefully. Quantities of gold ornaments were burned, considered as brass. It was wretchedly demoralizing work for an army. Everybody was wild for plunder.’

A monument was erected on the spot where the palace had stood, with an inscription in the Chinese language, setting forth that this act of vengeance had been inflicted as the reward of perfidy and cruelty.

The Chinese authorities had now learned to their cost that their habitual deceit and treachery availed them nothing when brought into collision with the vigour and resolution of European powers, and on the day after the destruction of the Summer Palace they intimated their implicit submission to all the demands of the British and French plenipotentiaries. Four days later a treaty, embodying the prescribed terms, was signed with much pomp in the Hall of Ceremonies, in the very centre of the capital. Gordon did not witness this imposing scene, as 'all officers commanding companies were obliged to remain in camp owing to the ill-treatment the prisoners experienced at the Summer Palace.' An apprehension was not unnaturally entertained by the commander-in-chief that in the excited state of feeling which prevailed, the men could not be prevented from avenging upon the Chinese the outrages perpetrated on their countrymen. The Chinese government agreed to make an apology for the attack on the British gunboats by the garrison of the Taku forts; to pay a war indemnity of 8,000,000 taels (£2,800,000), and a sum of 300,000 taels (£105,000), to pay £10,000 for each Englishman and £500 for each native soldier who died during their captivity, as compensation to their families, and also to those who had suffered bodily injuries. It was also stipulated that the port of Tien-tsin was to be open to trade and to the residence of Europeans and other foreigners; that the representatives of Great Britain and France should in future reside, either permanently or occasionally, in Peking, according as their respective governments might decide; and that Chinese subjects who might think fit to take service in the British colonies, or in other foreign countries, were to be at perfect liberty to enter into engagements for that purpose. The relations thus at length established between Great Britain and China proved of great importance in promoting the commercial intercourse which

subsequently subsisted between the two countries.

The allied forces remained before Peking till November, 1860, when Gordon, who had been promoted for his services to the brevet rank of major, returned with them to Tien-tsin, where they went into winter-quarters. He remained at this place until the spring of 1862, in the capacity of officer commanding the Royal Engineers. From Tien-tsin he made numerous excursions into parts of the country where no European had ever been seen; he paid occasional visits to the Taku forts, 140 miles distant; and he spent two months, along with Lieutenant Cardew of the 67th Regiment, in exploring a considerable section of the Great Wall of China, during which they met with some perilous adventures, and suffered from cold so intense that 'raw eggs were frozen hard as if they had been boiled.'

Early in May, 1862, Gordon was ordered to Shanghai by Sir Charles Staveley, the commander of the English forces in Shanghai, for the purpose of driving away the Tai-pings, who had become troublesome in the neighbourhood of that port. They came down in small parties close to the settlement and burned several houses, driving in thousands of the inhabitants. Upwards of 15,000 peasants sought refuge in Shanghai in terror of the rebels, who had inflicted the most horrible outrages on the poor defenceless people, and had made an utter desert of the province.

The Tai-ping rebellion originated with a school-master named Hung-Sew-tsuen, who professed to be inspired, and proclaimed himself the 'Heavenly King' and the 'Emperor of the Great Peace.' He said he had seen God, who had called him the Second Celestial Brother. He belonged to a rude hill race termed the Hakkas, 'strangers,' who, as Dr. Wilson puts it, are regarded by the Punti or 'indwellers' of the Kwangtung province much as the Irish of Liverpool are by the English workmen of that city, and are grievously op-

pressed by the Mandarins. Hung-Sew-tsuen gave out to his kinsmen that his mission was to exterminate the hated Manchoo race, and to reinstate the Mings in position and authority. He was a seer of visions, a prophet at once of vengeance and freedom, divinely commissioned to be the champion of the poor and the oppressed. In 1843 he received from a missionary a bundle of tracts, which he appears to have carefully studied, and in 1847 he put himself under the instruction of a Mr. Roberts, an uneducated American missionary, from whom he acquired a certain amount of knowledge of the doctrines of the Christian religion, which he contrived very dexterously to combine with the superstitions of his countrymen. His extraordinary zeal against the dominant race was no doubt stimulated by the repeated failure of his attempts to take a degree, which would have given him a place among the ruling body. The disorganized state of the country after the opium war contributed not a little to the success of his enterprise.

Dr. Wilson holds the Hakka schoolmaster to have been far from a mere cunning impostor. 'To the grossly superstitious Hakka, and to the ardent student of the more ancient Chinese classics, there was now added,' he says, 'a third person, so to speak, imbued with certain Hebrew and Christian beliefs. It is a proof of the extraordinary power of this man's mind and the depth of his convictions, that he could blend these three individuals so completely into one under the transmuting belief in his own mission. These results were far above the power of a mere cunning impostor. From the hour when Hung arose from his sickbed, after his first forty days' trance, and poor and nameless, proclaimed his avatar by fixing on his door-post the proclamation, "The noble principles of the Heavenly King, the sovereign King Tsuen," and through success and defeat and Imperial opposition up to the hour of his death in Nanking, he seems never to have wavered or abated one jot of his claim to supreme

rule on earth.' Colonel Chesney, however, is of opinion that Hung was an able, astute, and keen-sighted impostor, and there is reason to believe that this was Gordon's own conviction respecting the Tai-ping leader.

Mr. Archibald Forbes points out, that there is a certain analogy between 'the Heavenly King' of the Tai-ping rebellion and 'the Mahdi' of the Soudan. 'Both are of the people: Hung-Sew-tsuen was "a poor youth of a rude despised race," Mohammed Ahmed is the son of a Dongola carpenter. Both professed, and perhaps felt, religious enthusiasm; both certainly made a weapon of the religious enthusiasm with which they were able to inspire masses. The character of neither displays personal heroism; both schemed and allowed others to fight their battles. Both characters are full of personal licentiousness and cruelty; the Mahdi's indiscriminate executions in Obeid and his eighteen wives, find some parallel in the Heavenly King's exterminating decrees and his harem indulgences in Nanking.'

Hung-Sew-tsuen first raised the standard of rebellion in May, 1850. In the following year he assumed the title of Tien-Wang or Heavenly Prince, and selected five of his kinsmen as subkings, whom he placed over the multitudes that flocked to his standard. He now commenced his predatory advance through the great valley of the Yang-tze, devastating the country and robbing and murdering the inhabitants; and after a march of nearly 700 miles he brought his immense forces to the walls of Nanking, the second capital of the Chinese Empire, which he stormed in 1853, and there established his throne. He put the entire population to the sword and laid waste the city, not sparing even the famous Porcelain Tower, which upwards of four centuries before the Emperor Yung-leh erected in memory of his mother. Under the shadow of this enormous structure Hung-Sew-tsuen established himself in royal state. He con-

ferred on the Wangs whom he had appointed the high-sounding titles of Faithful King, the Eastern King, the Western King, the Warrior King, and the Attendant King, and assigned to each of them a distinct province and army. But they had earned for themselves such sobriquets as the Yellow Tiger, Cock Eye, and the One-eyed Dog. As for the 'Heavenly Prince,' he evidently knew well how to take advantage of the superstitious feelings of his followers. He secluded himself within the walls of his palace at Nanking; no male attendants were allowed to enter beyond the outer court, and he was waited upon in the interior by females alone—consisting of his numerous wives, and still more numerous concubines, to whom additions were frequently made. His brothers and the Kang Wang, his cousin and prime minister, alone were admitted freely into his presence.

This seclusion no doubt strengthened the despotic power which Hung-Sew-tsuen wielded over all his followers, by whom his edicts were implicitly obeyed. He was, in short, not only a superstitious fanatic, but a licentious, cruel, and bloodthirsty tyrant. He put to the sword the peaceable unresisting inhabitants of the districts through which he marched, beheaded any of his chiefs who offended him, and kicked to death his wives and concubines at whom he took umbrage. He was not always successful in his enterprises. The armies which, shortly after he had established himself at Nanking, he despatched against Peking were defeated and destroyed after having made a long march. Place after place was lost by the rebels. Their troops had neither rations nor gunpowder, and were defeated at every point. In 1853 Nanking, the capital of the Tai-pings, was closely invested by the Imperialist armies (100,000 strong), and by the gunboats. In the words of the Faithful King himself, 'Nanking was now closer besieged than ever. The place was as secure as if an iron band had encircled

it.' The besiegers were determined to reduce the garrison by starvation, and that result seemed imminent. 'The prospects of the Tai-pings in the early spring of 1860,' said Commander Brown, 'had become very gloomy. Pressed by want the garrison of Nanking resorted to every possible means of sustaining life short of eating human flesh. The Imperial government were highly elated, and the besieging force looked upon the fall of the city as a mere matter of weeks.' The rebellion was at this time hemmed in within a limited district which it had exhausted and destroyed, and its complete extinction seemed close at hand. At this critical juncture the quarrel between the Chinese authorities and the British and French governments saved the Tai-pings from immediate destruction. The Imperialists had a more pressing matter in hand than the subjugation of the rebellion, and the Tai-pings were in consequence enabled to recover a great deal of their lost ground. Nanking was relieved by the Faithful King; the Imperialist generals retired; the rebels resumed the offensive; and their movement regained its former flourishing condition.

In May, 1860, the Faithful King advanced against Tanyan, and defeated the Imperialist general, Chang Kwo-liang, who was himself drowned in a creek, and 10,000 of his men were 'cut up' or destroyed. The remnant of his troops fled to Chancu, where Chang Yu-liang, another Imperialist commander, had assembled his forces. He, too, was overthrown and the place taken. Chang Yu-liang made another stand at Wusech, having received large reinforcements, but after a contest which lasted twenty-four hours he was obliged again to give way. This victory gave the Tai-pings command of the Grand Canal between the Taiho Lake and the Yangtze, and of all the neighbouring country. There was still indeed a powerful Imperialist army at Soochow under Ho-Ch'un, one of the generals who had invested Nanking,

but he became so terror-stricken when he heard of the death of Chang Kwo-liang, who had been associated with him in that siege, that he committed suicide. Soochow was one of the largest and wealthiest cities in China. Its walls were 10 miles in circumference, and beyond them there were four enormous suburbs, one of which, on the west side of the city, extended 10 miles each way. 'Soochow,' says Mr. Wilson, 'was famous for manufactures of many kinds, but especially for the richness and variety of its silk goods. It was supposed to contain about 2,000,000 inhabitants, and had almost a fabulous reputation throughout China for its ancient and modern marble buildings, its elegant tombs, granite bridges, canals, streets, gardens, quays, intelligent men and beautiful women. It might have been expected that Ho, the viceroy, and Chang Yu-liang, the Imperialist general, would have made energetic efforts to save this magnificent city from becoming the prey of the spoiler; but their troops seem to have been thoroughly demoralized, and Chung Wang was allowed to take possession of the city without opposition. The important city of Hangchow shortly after fell into his hands, and the prospects of the Tai-pings seemed highly encouraging.'

The civil war in China, which had now lasted nearly ten years, had hitherto been waged between the Imperialists and the rebels. Although the prejudice which had at first existed among Europeans and Americans in favour of the 'Heavenly King,' on account of the impression that his system embodied many of the doctrines of Christianity, had now disappeared, a feeling still prevailed that his adherents had good reasons for their opposition to the Imperial government. The British representatives in China had been enjoined to maintain a strict neutrality between the contending parties, and they had carefully abstained from expressing any sympathy with either side in the struggle. But the time had now come when it was impossible to pre-

serve any longer a position of neutrality. The object of the Chinese government was to drive the rebels towards the sea in the hope that the foreign merchants resident in Shanghai and other consular ports would take up arms against the marauders for the protection of their property. The Tai-pings on their side were anxious to obtain access to the wealthy cities along the coast, which contained an abundant supply of war material, and they wished especially to establish communications with Shanghai in order to purchase from the foreigners there a number of steamers to be employed on the Yangtze.

Matters had now become so critical that the governor-general, Ho, who was soon after recalled to Peking and put to death for his failure to crush the Tai-pings, wrote, as he says, 'trembling beyond measure,' and entreated the Emperor to make peace with the allies and employ all his forces against the rebels. Even at the very time when the allied forces were assembling at Shanghai for the purpose of marching on Peking, the governor-generals of the empire made earnest application to the British and French authorities for assistance against the Tai-pings, who were everywhere turning the fruitful land into a wilderness. The request was granted, for reasons which Mr. Bruce set forth in his despatch to Lord John Russell of the 30th May, 1860. 'I decided,' he says, 'in concert with M. Bourboulon, that it was expedient, both on grounds of policy and humanity, to prevent, if possible, the scenes of bloodshed and pillage being enacted here which took place at Hangchow when that city was lately assaulted by the insurgents; and it appeared to me that, without taking any part in this civil contest or expressing any opinion on the rights of the parties, we might protect Shanghai from attack, and assist the authorities in preserving tranquillity within its walls, on the ground of its being a port open to trade, and of the intimate connection existing between the interests of the town and of the foreign

settlement, the former of which cannot be attacked without great danger to the latter. We accordingly issued separate proclamations to that effect in identical terms.'

Before this proclamation was issued by the British and French representatives some of the wealthy Shanghai traders provided funds for the enlistment of foreigners to fight against the rebels, and the Chinese governor engaged two American filibusters, named Ward and Burgovine, to take the command of the mercenary soldiers, which had been enlisted for the defence of Shanghai. Out of this band grew the force which ultimately bore the title of the 'Ever-victorious Army.' These two adventurers, however, were unsuccessful in their efforts to drive back the rebels, and in an attempt to take Singpoo Ward was defeated by the Faithful King with the loss of his gunboats and a good many muskets. The victorious Tai-pings advanced upon Shanghai on the 16th of August, 1860, attacked the Imperialists who were encamped outside, and drove them into the city; the walls, however, were manned by French and British troops, who repulsed the assailants with great loss. The attacks were renewed on the two following days with no greater success, and in the end the rebels were compelled to retreat, and retired to Soochow. The Faithful King was summoned to Nanking in order to oppose the Imperialists of the Yangtze, and Soochow was left in charge of the Ha Wang or Protecting King.

The whole of the rebel chiefs assembled at Nanking in October, 1860, and after consultation it was resolved to send out four powerful armies, under four great Wangs, for the purpose of raising the siege of Nanking by attacking Hankow and driving the Imperialists from the cities immediately north and south of the Yangtze River—a district nearly 400 miles in extent. The war between the allies and the Chinese had by this time terminated, and when the news of these movements reached Admiral

Hope, the British naval commander-in-chief, he resolved to visit those ports on the Yangtze River which had been thrown open to foreign trade by the Treaty of Peking. He sailed up the river on February, 1861, and on reaching Nanking he entered into correspondence with the Tien Wang, who promised that the trade should not be interfered with nor Shanghai molested for the space of a year. The Tai-ping faithfully kept his promise, and during the year 1861 the rebels occupied themselves in attempting to take Hankow and to force their way again into the Yangtze Valley. They were very unsuccessful, however, in their enterprise, and after a series of severe reverses they were driven back into the neighbourhood of Shanghai.

In consequence of rumours that the rebels were about to attack Shanghai, Admiral Hope warned the Tien Wang against such a proceeding as unwise and dangerous; but he was informed, in an insolent manner, that as soon as the year of truce had expired such an attack would certainly be made. Accordingly, in January, 1862, the Faithful King was ordered to march on Shanghai. On putting his troops in motion he issued a proclamation declaring that 'Shanghai is a little place. We have nothing to fear from it; we must take it to complete our dominions.' 'As he advanced,' says Mr. Wilson, 'the horizon round the consular city was obscured for days by the smoke of burning villages, and thousands on thousands of fugitives poured into the foreign settlements, many of them having been plunged from a prosperous condition into utter want and misery in the depth of a severe winter.' In these circumstances Admiral Hope and the French Admiral Protet resolved to act in concert with the force under Ward, which had now been designated 'The Ever-victorious Army.' A division of the allied troops, under the two admirals and General Staveley, stormed Naizean, Rading, Singpoo, Najow, and Cholon, though vigorously defended by the rebels; but Admiral Hope

was wounded in one of these attacks, and in another Admiral Protet was unfortunately killed. This assistance was given on condition that the Imperial authorities should hold the cities taken from the rebels; but this they proved unable to do, and the allies in consequence resolved to restrict their operations to Shanghai and its immediate neighbourhood. Najow, however, continued to be garrisoned by British troops, and Sung-kiang was held by Ward, whose force was now 5000 strong and well armed and disciplined; but their commander was mortally wounded, on the 21st of September, in an attack on Tshi. He was succeeded by Burgovine, who, however, proved to be in various respects unfit for the position, and was dismissed by the Chinese authorities.

Captain Gordon had been summoned from the Peiho to Shanghai by Sir Charles Staveley in the spring of 1862 for the purpose of assisting to drive away the Taipings, who had come close down to the town, and had burned several houses, driving in great numbers of the country people—15,000 at least of both sexes and all ages. The inhabitants of the surrounding district were suffering greatly from the ravages of these marauders, and were, in fact, dying of starvation. 'It is most sad this state of affairs,' wrote Gordon, 'and our government really ought to put the rebellion down. Words could not depict the horrors these people suffer from the rebels, or describe the utter desert they have made of this rich province.'

Gordon, with 700 men of the 31st Regiment and 200 of the 67th Regiment under his orders, took an active part in clearing the district of the rebels. He was in command at the storming of Singpoo, and shortly after he went with the force sent against Kahding, where 5000 of the Tai-pings had taken refuge. The town was taken by storm, as was also Taitsan, an important stronghold to which a number of the rebels had fled, and thus a radius of 30 miles around Shanghai was freed from

these cruel marauders. Gordon was under the impression that the neck of the rebellion was now broken. 'The people,' he says, 'have now settled down quiet again, and I do not anticipate the rebels will ever come back.' The revolt, however, was only checked, not suppressed; and the death of Ward and the dismissal of Burgovine having left the 'Ever-victorious Army' without a leader, the new governor-general, Li-Hung-Chang, requested General Staveley to select a British officer to take the command of that force. His choice at once fell upon Gordon, whose character and conduct he admired, and whom he believed to be possessed of very great ability as well as courage. 'What he was before Sebastopol,' he said, 'he has been since—faithful, trusty, and successful. Before Pekin and at Shanghai he has evinced just the qualities that are needed now. Although he has never been in command, he will rise to this occasion, to which he is more fitted than any other man whom I know.' He therefore recommended that Major Gordon should be appointed to command the 'Ever-victorious Army.' With the consent of the British government Gordon accepted the post, though not without some reluctance. He was at this time engaged in the work of surveying the country within the circuit of 30 miles round Shanghai, and was well aware that the survey which he was thus making would be of the utmost service to him in his campaign against the Taipings. He therefore asked that his entrance upon the duties of his command might be delayed until the military survey was finished. His request was granted, and Captain Holland, of the Marine Light Infantry, took the temporary command. This officer at once laid siege to the walled city of Taitsan, respecting whose defences he had received very incorrect information, and believed it to be surrounded by a dry ditch when in reality a deep moat ran round it. He was in consequence repulsed with the loss of 300 men and four officers killed and wounded, and of two

thirty-two pounders which had to be abandoned to the enemy.

The Tai-pings were naturally jubilant over this failure, and especially ridiculed the generalship of the 'foreign Devils.' 'Oh how we laughed on the morning of the assault,' wrote one of their principal Wangs, 'as they advanced nearer to the creek, to cross which they had brought no bridges! How we laughed as we saw the ladder they had thrown over getting weaker and weaker beneath them, and at last falling into the creek, leaving half the party on one side and half on the other. "What general is he," cried our chief, "who sends his men to storm a city without first ascertaining that there is a moat?" "And what general is he," cried another of our leaders, "who allows a storming party to advance without bridges? See, O chief, these unfortunates." So we laughed and so we jested as we saw the slaves of the Tartar usurper advancing to destruction.'

Major Brennan's expedition against Fushan was equally unsuccessful, and the prestige of the 'Ever-victorious Army' was at a very low ebb. In these circumstances Gordon was obliged to leave his survey unfinished, and to take the command of the forces which were to act against the rebels.

In a letter to his mother, 24th March, 1863, Gordon shows the spirit in which he accepted this onerous task. 'I am afraid,' he wrote, 'you will be much vexed at my having taken the command of the Sung-kiang force, and that I am now a Mandarin. I have taken the step on consideration. I think that anyone who contributes to putting down this rebellion fulfils a humane task, and I also think tends a great deal to open China to civilization. I will not act rashly, and I trust to be able soon to return to England; at the same time I will remember your and my father's wishes, and endeavour to remain as short a time as possible. I can say that if I had not accepted the command I believe the force would have been broken up, and the re-

bellion gone on in its misery for years. I trust this will not now be the case, and that I may soon be able to comfort you on this subject. You must not fret on this matter. I think I am doing a good service.'

When Gordon undertook this arduous task he was in the full vigour of manhood, and though only turned of thirty he had diligently studied military science and art, while his natural genius for farward and intuitive power of control over his fellow-men made up for the want of lengthened experience in the management of troops in the field. The Ever-victorious Army, when it was placed under his command, consisted of about 4000 men. The commissioned officers, amounting to about 150, were all foreigners, and, besides Americans, belonged to almost every European nation—Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, and Greeks. They were full of courage and energy, but prone to quarrel with each other, addicted to drinking, and not always disposed to render implicit obedience to the orders of their commander. 'There was no picking and choosing,' says an ex-officer of this motley band, 'the general was too glad to get any foreigners to fill up vacancies, and the result, especially in garrison, was deplorable. They fought well and led their men well, however, and that, after all, was the chief requisite.' 'Among them,' wrote Colonel Chesney, 'were avowed sympathizers with the rebels and avowed defiers of Chinese law; but all classes soon learned to respect a general in whose kindness, valour, skill, and justice they found cause unhesitatingly to confide; who never spared himself personal exposure when personal danger was near, and beneath whose firm touch sank into insignificance the furious quarrels and personal jealousies which had hitherto marred the usefulness of the force.' Gordon's hands were greatly strengthened by the accession of a number of British officers who, at this juncture, obtained leave to enter the Chinese service under his command.

The private soldiers in the Ever-victorious Army, when Gordon assumed the command, appear to have been of an inferior order as regards both physical strength and courage, but in a short space of time it was weeded of its weak and useless members. They were replaced by the picked men of the captured Tai-pings, who were quite willing to fight against the rebel leaders under whom they had previously served, and soon found that they had greatly benefited by the exchange of service. Instead of the hard work and no pay to which they had been accustomed under the Tai-ping generals, they were now well paid and well fed, and though the discipline was firm there were few punishments. They were for the most part armed with smooth-bore English muskets, but one regiment had rifles, and 300 Enfields were distributed to marksmen. 'Every regiment,' said an Englishman who was at one time an officer in the force, 'could go through the manual and platoon and bayonet exercises to English words of command, with a smartness and precision to which not many volunteer regiments can attain, could manoeuvre very fairly in companies or as a battalion, and each regiment had been put through a regular course of musketry instruction, the scores and returns being satisfactorily kept, and the good shots rewarded.'

Gordon's artillery consisted of four siege batteries and two field batteries—fifty-two pieces in all. A small steamer was placed at his disposal, and several gunboats, which proved of great service in that land of rivers and canals. He had a pontoon train for the larger rivers, and planks were carried by the force for bridging the numerous creeks which intersected the country. The district of Kiangnan, which was to be the scene of Major Gordon's operations, was indeed a vast network of canals, which are the only means of conveyance; as there are absolutely no roads, wheeled vehicles are never used by the inhabitants. The experience he had acquired in his survey

of the province was therefore of inestimable value. 'He knew,' said one of his officers, 'every feature of the country better than any other person, native or foreigner, better even than the rebels, who had been in partial possession for years.'

An Imperialist force was appointed to co-operate with the Ever-victorious Army, but Gordon was too sagacious not to know the evils of a divided command, and he stipulated at the outset for entire freedom of independent action. The Imperial governor, Li, frankly conceded this demand, and it was definitely arranged that the Chinese generals should have no authority to interfere with Gordon's movements. After carefully considering the position of the rebels, Major Gordon came to the conclusion that the operations of the Imperial troops were calculated only to prolong the contest, and he resolved to strike at once at the heart of the rebellion. Taking with him 1000 men and two steamers, he proceeded up the Yangtze estuary towards Fushan, long a haunt of pirates, which lies on its southern bank 70 miles north-west of Shanghai, for the purpose of relieving Chanzu, a loyal city 10 miles inland, which was besieged by the rebels, and was in imminent danger of capture. Planting his guns among the ruins at Fushan, he opened fire upon a strong stockade on the left bank of the creek, and on another on the opposite bank. After three hours' bombardment the position was carried by a storming party, but the rebels received such large reinforcements that Gordon was obliged to withdraw into his stockade for the night. Next morning he saw with much satisfaction the enemy abandoning their positions and retreating towards Soochow, a great rebel centre on the Grand Canal, lying about 30 miles to the south-west. The road to Chanzu was thus left open, and Gordon lost no time in leading his troops to that town, where he was welcomed with great demonstrations of gratitude and joy, and received a state reception from the Mandarins. The commandant of Chanzu

and his soldiers had at one time belonged to the Tai-ping army, but had gone over to the Imperialists, and were well aware that if they had fallen into the hands of the rebels they would have been put to death. 'I saw,' wrote Gordon, 'the young rebel chiefs who had come over; they are very intelligent and splendidly dressed, with big pearls in their caps. The head-man is about thirty-four years old, he looked worn to a thread with anxiety. He was so very glad to see me, and chin-chinned most violently, regretting his inability to give me a present, which I told him was not the custom with our people.' Leaving 300 men to assist in protecting the place, Gordon returned to his headquarters at Sung-kiang.

Meanwhile Burgovine had been intriguing at Peking for re-instatement in his office, and his pretensions had been favourably regarded by Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, as well as by the representative of the United States government. But Governor Li refused to listen to the proposal that Gordon should be superseded. 'As the people and the place,' he said, 'are charmed with him, as he has already given me returns of the organization of the force, the formation of each regiment, and the expenses; as he wishes to drill our troops and save our money; as it is evident that he fully comprehends the state of affairs; and as in the expedition he is preparing his men delightfully obey him and preserve the proper order, I cannot therefore remove him without due cause.'

Before proceeding further in his work, Major Gordon set himself to improve the discipline of his little army, which was by no means in a satisfactory state. The success which had attended his first enterprise had brought his men into good heart, and they speedily came to trust and love as well as to fear him. He carefully trained and drilled them after the pattern of the British army. He took care that they were well fed, well clothed, well paid,

and well armed. He prepared a flotilla of steamers and Chinese gunboats, which served to cover all his movements and to secure his flank, and provided a heavy force of artillery, with large wooden mantlets to protect the gunners from musket fire, an ample supply of ammunition and of the means of transport, with pontoons, bamboo ladders, and all other equipments required for rapid movement in a country abounding in water. When all requisite preparations had been made, and everything was in perfect readiness, he proceeded again to take the field.

The three rebel centres were Taitan, Quinsan, and Soochow. Gordon resolved in the first instance to operate against Quinsan, and about the end of April he set out from his headquarters at Sung-kiang for the purpose of reducing that town, where there was an arsenal and shot manufactory, the capture of which would materially weaken the rebel forces at the other centres. But as he was marching towards that place he received intelligence of a cruel and treacherous deed on the part of the Tai-pings, which caused him to turn towards Taitan. The commander of that town had made proposals of surrender to the Imperialist governor, Li. All the preliminary arrangements having been made, and a day fixed for the surrender, a body of 2000 troops were sent to take possession of the place. As soon as about two-thirds of them were within the walls a gun was fired, the gate was closed, and the men were made prisoners; 200 of them were beheaded, and the rest were compelled to join the Tai-pings. It was necessary that this act of treachery should be punished at once, and though Gordon had only about 3000 men with him and the garrison of Taitan was 10,000 strong, with several English, French, and American renegades at their head, he proceeded at once to lay siege to the city. Making his arrangements with equal care and skill he took in succession stockades, hedges, and forts, and pushing forward his

artillery, covered by the mantlets, till it was within 100 yards of the walls, he brought every gun and mortar to bear upon them. After two hours' battering, a breach was made, and the storming party advanced to the assault. The defenders, however, fought with desperate courage, and poured such a tremendous fire on the assailants that they were compelled to retire. At this critical moment Major Gordon ordered some 8-inch howitzers to play upon the breach over the heads of the stormers (the manœuvre which was tried with signal success by Sir Thomas Graham at the storming of St. Sebastian), and then the assault was renewed. After a short but bloody conflict, the 5th Regiment succeeded in planting their colours on the top of the wall. The Taipings fled in the utmost confusion, trampling each other to death in their eagerness to escape, leaving the city in the hands of the Imperialists. Seven hundred prisoners were taken, who willingly enlisted into the ranks of the victorious army.

The capture of Taitsan was not effected without severe loss on the part of the assailants. Major Bannon of the 4th Regiment, who gallantly led the storming party, was killed, along with twenty rank and file, while seven officers and 142 privates were wounded, out of a force of 2800 men. An incident followed which gave rise to considerable excitement in England and caused a good deal of annoyance to Major Gordon. Among the prisoners taken by the Imperialist soldiers seven, who were especially implicated in the treacherous seizure and decapitation of the soldiers sent to take possession of Taitsan, were put to death in a protracted and ignominious manner. It was currently reported that they had been tortured in the most shocking way, and Dr. Smith, the bishop of Victoria, instead of applying for information on the subject to General Brown, the commander of the British forces in China, thought proper to write to Earl Russell, expressing his belief in the grossly exag-

gerated stories which had been circulated respecting the conduct of the Imperialists in this matter. General Gordon had nothing to do with the mode in which the prisoners referred to had been treated, but he generously came forward in defence of the Chinese general, and exposed the falsehoods with which all England was ringing at that time. 'I am of belief,' he said, 'that the Chinese of this force are quite as merciful in action as the soldiers of any Christian nation could be, and in proof of this can point to over 700 prisoners taken in the last engagement who are now in our employ; some even have entered our ranks and done service against the rebels since their capture.'

At the same time he expressed in strong terms his displeasure at the manner in which the seven prisoners had been put to death; and General Brown informed the Imperialist commander that if any similar cases occurred again he would withdraw the British troops and leave the Chinese to fight their own battles.

Major Gordon had troubles with his own soldiers as well as with the Imperialists. He found it difficult to keep troops drawn from various nationalities in a state of strict discipline. Their successes had somewhat demoralized them. He had issued peremptory orders that there was to be no plunder, and Taitsan had been plundered without mercy. They had been accustomed under their former commanders, like the Highlanders in Scotland, to disperse after the capture of any place, for the purpose of disposing of their plunder; but now, much to their dissatisfaction, they were marched off to the siege of Quinsan before an opportunity of selling their spoil had been allowed them. Many of the officers themselves had not shown any proper regard for discipline, and their general had filled the places of those who had fallen at Taitsan, and of others who had resigned, by privates and non-commissioned officers from her Majesty's regiments then

quartered in Shanghai, who had been allowed to volunteer for the service. Major Gordon appointed Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Cocksley, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to take charge of the commissariat and the military stores. This appointment gave dissatisfaction to the majors in command of the different regiments, who demanded that they should hold the same rank and receive the same pay as the new lieutenant-colonel. To this unreasonable and impudent demand Gordon returned a point-blank refusal, and they soon after sent in their resignations, which were at once accepted. A little reflection, however, made them think better of the matter, and next morning they returned to their duty.

Matters having been arranged to his satisfaction the general set out from Sung-kiang, with 600 artillery and 2300 infantry, in order to attack Quinsan, before which, protected by a stockade, an Imperialist force under General Chang had for some time taken up a position, not without considerable peril. This stronghold was a place of great strategical importance, as it was not only the key to Soochow, but its possession would protect both Sung-kiang and Taitan. Its reduction, however, was no easy task. No fewer than 12,000 Tai-pings were encamped within the walls, which were 5 miles in circumference. It was protected by a number of stone forts, and by a ditch more than 40 yards wide. An isolated high hill within the walls, crowned with a pagoda, enabled the garrison to observe every movement on the open plain in front of the city, and men were stationed on this eminence to watch the proceedings of the besiegers and make them known at once to the commander, a brave and skillful chief named Moh Wang.

These difficulties, however, served only to exhibit Gordon's mastery of tactical measures. After a careful survey of the surrounding country he resolved to cut the communication between Quinsan and

Soochow. The only road which led from the one town to the other ran between Lake Yansing and a chain of large creeks crossing several very long bridges, and following narrow causeways sometimes only 3 or 4 feet wide. After investing the city with his own troops and 7000 Imperialists, to prevent the retreat of the enemy either to Soochow or to Chunye, a village a few miles from Quinsan, which might be called the key of the city, Gordon started on his enterprise on the 30th of May, taking with him 300 men of the 4th Regiment, with his field artillery in boats, and about fifty small gunboats—eighty sail in all—with large white sails, and decorated with variously coloured flags. The Tai-pings were completely taken by surprise, and though in great force, when they saw the approach of this flotilla they fled in all directions, some to Chunye and the remainder towards Soochow. The rebel garrison of Chunye were captured without the loss of a man, and leaving his 300 riflemen there, and the main body of his force at the East Gate of Quinsan, Gordon went on board the *Hyson*, commanded by Captain Davidson, an able and experienced American officer, and steamed slowly up the canal to reconnoitre Soochow, harassing all the way the fugitive Tai-pings. Two stone forts were abandoned on his approach. The *Hyson* met a large body of the enemy marching to reinforce Quinsan, and opened fire upon them with tremendous effect. Retreating along the bank of the canal the flying and confused mass met fresh reinforcements hastening to the city, with whom they became inextricably intermingled, and were completely at the mercy of their pursuers. A party of 400 of the fugitives were overtaken and headed; and Captain Davidson, with almost incredible courage and confidence, took 150 of them prisoners, and carried them off in his small craft. The stockades and fortified posts on the banks of the canal were abandoned one after another, and the *Hyson* steamed up to the very walls of Soochow.

The steamer returned in the course of the night; just in time, for on reaching Chunye Gordon found the Imperial gunboats engaged with the stone forts, and perceived on the causeway the rebel garrison of Quinsan, amounting to about 8000 men, endeavouring to make their escape to Soochow. The lights of the steamer blazing through the darkness and the sound of her steam whistle frightened the Tai-pings out of their wits; they wavered, screamed in terror, and turned back. The *Hyson* opened fire upon the terror-stricken mass, and drove them with great slaughter back to the walls of the city. About 2000 of them surrendered, and the force which had been left at the East Gate entered Quinsan and took possession of it without opposition. But between 2000 and 3000 of the rebels must have been killed or drowned, while the casualties on Gordon's side were only two killed and five drowned. About 700 of the prisoners entered the ranks of the Ever-victorious Army. The orders issued by Colonel Gordon that the prisoners were to be treated as if they had surrendered to British officers no doubt contributed to this result.

As Quinsan was the key to Major Gordon's future operations he resolved to make it henceforth his headquarters, for which it was in various respects much better fitted than Sung-kiang. The proposed arrangement, however, did not meet with the approval of a certain class of the officers nor of the Chinese rank and file, whose pilfering propensities were incurable, and who preferred Sung-kiang, because there they could more easily dispose of the booty which they had collected or expected to secure. When intimation was made to the troops of this intended change of residence a serious mutiny broke out. The artillery refused to fall in and threatened to blow the English officers to pieces with the big guns and the Chinese with the small ones. Gordon had learned from a written proclamation that this mutiny

was to take place, and he was prepared to meet it in the most resolute manner. When the soldiers refused to obey orders he ordered up the non-commissioned officers, who, he was convinced, were at the bottom of the affair, and asked who wrote the proclamation, and why the men would not fall in. They professed not to know, and were then informed that one out of every five would be shot. They were startled at this threat, which they received with groans of terror. Gordon observed one man, a corporal, particularly loud in his lamentations, and shrewdly concluding that this was the ringleader, he ordered the man to be dragged out of the ranks and shot, which was immediately done by two of the infantry men who were standing by. He then commanded the other non-commissioned officers to be put in confinement for an hour, with the assurance that if within that time the men did not fall in, and if the name of the writer of the proclamation were not given up, his threat that every fifth man would be shot would be carried into effect. This energetic procedure brought them to their senses. The files fell in and the name of the writer was disclosed, and Gordon had the satisfaction to learn that he had put to death the right man.

A serious misunderstanding which arose at this time with Chang, the Chinese general, caused Gordon considerable annoyance. His successes had excited the jealousy of his coadjutor, who first of all expressed to Li-Hung-Chang his entire disapproval of the manner in which Gordon had reduced Quinsan, and also of the selection of this place as the headquarters of the Ever-victorious Army. He next caused some of his gunboats to fire with grape and round shot on a detachment of 150 men under Majors Kirkham and Lowden, and when remonstrated with affected to treat the matter as a joke. He was distinctly made to know that this paltry excuse would not be accepted, and he then pretended that he did not recognize the

flag on which his troops had fired. Indignant at this contemptible subterfuge, Gordon wrote to the Futai [governor] on the subject, and started for the place where the incident had occurred, for the purpose of inflicting merited punishment on the offenders. But Li interposed and despatched Mr. Macartney, a British officer who was in the employment of the Chinese government, with a humble apology from Chang, and the affair was satisfactorily arranged.

Major Gordon's troubles, however, were by no means at an end. Burgovine, the former commander of the disciplined Chinese, smarting under his dismissal, had collected at Shanghai a band of renegades and rowdies, whom it was believed he intended to employ in the service of the Tai-pings. His loose discipline and system of plunder had made him popular with a portion at least of the forces under Major Gordon, and his present movements had an unsettling effect on the minds of the foreign officers. They were annoyed at the change which had been made in their commander, and when an expedition was about to start for Wokong a mutiny took place among the artillery officers, and they signed a round-robin refusing to serve under their new commander Major Tapp, or to accompany the expedition. Gordon would fain have made an example of one or two of the ringleaders, but this he could not do in existing circumstances. He therefore let them alone, and set to work in collecting men who were willing to serve the guns, and to start the soldiers without the officers. This step speedily brought them to their senses, and at dusk they sent their commander a letter, begging that their conduct might be overlooked. Their humble and penitent supplication was granted, and confidence was restored between them and their commander.

Major Gordon had now set his heart on the capture of Soochow, the capital city of the province, situated on the Grand Canal and approachable by water on every

side. His success in this enterprise is one of the most remarkable incidents in the history of military operations. He resolved in the first instance to take Kalpoo, which lies 10 miles south of Soochow, commanding both the communication between the canal and the Taiho Lake, near which that city stands, and also the direct road from Soochow to the Tai-ping cities of the south. He set out on this enterprise with about 2200 men, infantry and artillery, in boats, and the armed steamers *Firefly* and *Cricket*. He stormed Kalpoo on the 27th of July, and next day advanced upon Wokong, which he beleaguered on every side. The garrison, in great consternation, made some unsuccessful attempts to force a passage out of the town, but were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Their leader, Yang Wang, had made his escape the previous night; but his second in command, along with a number of other chiefs and 4000 men, fell into Gordon's hands. His colleague Chang, who arrived after the place was taken, was anxious to induce the prisoners to join the Imperialist forces, and 1500 of them were made over to him under a promise that they should receive good treatment; but Gordon learned shortly after, to his great indignation, that five of them had been beheaded. His dissatisfaction on account of this disgraceful conduct was greatly increased by the treatment which he received from the Chinese government, who failed to send him the money that was due to his troops. His men and officers were discontented, and a good many had deserted on account of the strictness of his discipline and his firm resolution that plunder should not be permitted. The governor, Li-Hung-Chang, could not comprehend a character so noble and disinterested, and so different from the other foreigners who had taken service under the Chinese government. From these various causes Colonel Gordon felt so much annoyed and worried at this period that he determined to throw up his

command, and went to Shanghai for that purpose.

At this juncture, however, an incident occurred which, acting as Gordon always did under the influence of duty, induced him to give up his intention of resigning and to resume his command. Burgovine, the American fillibuster who had been dismissed by the Chinese government, was a person of considerable ability, versatility, and experience. He was naturally irritated at his dismissal, and eager to be revenged upon the Imperialists. He had also indulged in some vague notions about establishing an independent principality in China, and with a view to these ends he had collected a band of about 150 dissolute and unscrupulous adventurers, who were willing to engage with him in the service of the Tai-pings, and carrying off a small steamer he suddenly left Shanghai to join the rebels at Soochow. Colonel Hough, who reported on the 6th of August to General Brown respecting the American adventurer's movements, says:—

‘Burgovine has gone over to the rebels with some Europeans collected here; the number varies with the different reports, from 100 to 1000, but 300 will probably be nearer the mark. From Captain Strode’s information Burgovine’s terms with the Europeans are service one month and money paid down; and other information states unrestrained license to pillage every town they take, even Shanghai itself. The latter would be an idle threat, even under the present reduced state of the garrison, but for the alarming defection of Major Gordon’s force, who are all, it is said, traitorously inclined to side with Burgovine. Names of the traitors are freely given, being those of Major Gordon’s best officers of the land forces, as well as those commanding steamers. This, if true, would virtually be giving our siege-train now with Major Gordon into the rebels’ hands, and to oppose which we have not a gun of equal force.’

This state of matters was certainly very alarming, but Major Gordon was every way competent to deal with it. He felt that it was impossible to desert his post at such a crisis. As soon as the news of Burgovine’s treachery was fully confirmed, he rode back to Quinsan and at once resumed his command. A body of the Tai-pings, about 40,000 strong, reinforced by a number of the Europeans who had come up with Burgovine, made several strenuous but ineffectual attacks upon Gordon’s position at Kalpoo.

For some weeks Gordon remained on the defensive; but on the 29th of September he took Patachow, which was close up to the suburbs of Soochow, without losing a single man, and having only five wounded. A remarkable incident occurred to him at this time. There was a bridge of fifty-three arches at Patachow, twenty six of which fell one day ‘like a pack of cards,’ Gordon says, killing two men; ten others escaped by running as the arches fell one after another as fast as a man could run. He was sitting alone on the parapet of the bridge smoking a cigar when the stone on which he sat was struck by two shots in succession that had come accidentally from his own camp. He left his seat and rowed his boat across the creek to inquire into the matter, but he had not proceeded far before that part of the bridge on which he had been sitting gave way with a tremendous noise, and his boat was nearly smashed in the ruins.

There was another bridge between the two opposing armies, forming a sort of neutral ground, on which the European officers in the two forces, many of whom had formerly been comrades, were in the habit of meeting and holding friendly intercourse. It soon became known that the Europeans and Americans who were serving with the Tai-pings were by no means satisfied with their position and prospects, and Burgovine himself expressed a wish, which was readily acceded to,

for an interview with Gordon. At their meeting Burgovine avowed his intention to leave the rebels if he and his followers could receive a guarantee that they would obtain immunity for the acts they had done in the service of the Tai-pings. Major Gordon readily gave his guarantee that the authorities at Shanghai would not institute any proceedings against these men, and he further offered to take as many of them as he could into his own service. At a second interview Burgovine, who totally misunderstood Gordon's character, proposed that they two should unite to seize Soochow, hold it against both Tai-pings and Imperialists, and then organize an army of 20,000 men and march to Peking. He was at once informed that Gordon 'declined to entertain any such idea.'

These negotiations at length led to an intimation on the part of Burgovine and the other European officers in the service of the rebels, that they intended, under pretence of making a sally, to throw themselves on Gordon's protection. It was arranged that on seeing a signal-rocket from Gordon's lines they were to rush on board the *Hyson* as if they meant to capture it. This they accordingly did, and were immediately followed by thousands of the Tai-pings, who hastened to their assistance in the belief that they were making a *bona fide* attack on the steamer. The rebels were driven back by volleys of shot and shell from the *Hyson's* artillery, and the deserters were carried off and safely landed in Gordon's camp. It was then discovered that Burgovine and several other European officers were not among them. Their leader alleged that as Moh-Wang, their commander, suspected them, they thought it wise to leave as soon as the opportunity offered without waiting for those who were not at hand. The majority of these deserters were seamen who had been crimped from Shanghai with little idea of their destination, and had been starved and badly

treated in Soochow. Nearly all of them volunteered to join Gordon's force.

Fearing that on the discovery of the plot Burgovine and his companions might be put to death, Gordon made an earnest appeal to the Moh-Wang on their behalf. After a reference to his own clemency to the Tai-pings, and his endeavour to prevent the Imperialist authorities from acting with inhumanity, he went on to say—

'Having stated the above, I now ask your Excellencies to consider the case of the Europeans in your service. A man made to fight against his will is not only a bad soldier, but he is a positive danger, causing anxiety to his leaders and absorbing a large force to prevent his defection. If there are many Europeans left in Soochow, I would ask your Excellencies if it does not seem much better to you to let these men quietly leave your service if they wish it; you would thereby get rid of a continual source of suspicion, gain the sympathy of the whole of the foreign nations, and feel that your difficulties are all from without. Your Excellencies may think that decapitation would settle the matter, but you would then be guilty of a crime which will bear its fruits sooner or later. In this force of mine officers and men come and go at pleasure, and although it is inconvenient at times I am never apprehensive of treason from within. The men have committed no crime, and what they have tried to do, viz. escape, is nothing more than any man, or even animal, will do when placed in a situation he does not like. . . . As far as I am personally concerned it is a matter of indifference whether the men stay or leave; but as a man who wishes to save these unfortunate men, I intercede. Your Excellencies may depend upon it you will not suffer by letting these men go. You need not fear their communicating information. I knew your force, men and guns, long ago, and therefore care not to get that information from them.'

Moh-Wang, the Tai-ping general, returned a very courteous reply, and Burgovine was sent out safely from Soochow and handed over to the American consul at Shanghai. The filibuster was totally unworthy of the efforts which Gordon made on his behalf, for while these negotiations were going on he proposed to his lieutenant, an Englishman of the name of Jones, a plan for entrapping the man who was striving to succour him and his followers. The American consul consented, at Gordon's request, to waive proceedings against him on condition that he would leave the country. In 1865, however, he imprudently returned to China, and was prevailed upon by some rebel sympathizers to promise that he would assist a remnant of the Taipings who still made a stand at the city of Changchow. But on his way to that place he was arrested by the Chinese authorities. The American consul demanded that Burgovine should be given up to him, but this was positively refused, and he was sent into the interior, where he was drowned, as the Chinese officials reported, by the accidental capsizing of a ferry-boat. 'I have no reason to suppose,' writes Mr. Wilson, 'that the account of his death given by the Chinese authorities was untrue; and if they did drown him purposely they saved themselves and the American authorities a good deal of trouble.'

Gordon mentions that Moh Wang asked the messenger (who brought him Gordon's letter) 'a great deal about me, and if it were possible to buy me over, and was told that it was not. He asked why the Europeans wanted to run away, and was told it was because they saw there was no chance of success. He said, "Do you think Gordon will take the city?" and was told "Yes," which seemed to make him reflect. This defection of the Europeans is an almost extinguishing blow to the rebels, and from the tone of Moh Wang's letter, so different from the one he wrote General Staveley a little time ago, I feel convinced

that the rebel chiefs would come to terms if they had fair ones offered. I mean to do my best to bring this about, and am sure that if I do I shall gain a greater victory than any capture of cities would be.'

The plan which Gordon had formed for the capture of Soochow was to encircle it with a chain of strongly fortified posts, and thus to prevent reinforcements being sent in for its relief. The forces under his own immediate command were not sufficient to enable him to invest the city and to watch the motions of a rebel army 40,000 strong, sent from Nanking and stationed at Wusieh, to raise the siege, but the positions which he took were left, one after another, in charge of the Chinese troops, and in this manner the Ever-victorious Army gradually fought its way round the city of Pagodas. The capture of Wulungchiao and Patachow shut it up on the east and south sides; but it was necessary to reduce and occupy the Tai-ping outworks on the north and north-west of the city in order to complete the chain of environing posts. Major Gordon's operations were greatly hindered by the mismanagement and blundering arrogance of Chang, the Chinese general. A letter which Gordon wrote at this juncture from Wulungchiao gives a vivid picture both of his own strategy and his difficulties—

'We started for the Fifty-three Arch Bridge (alas! now only twenty-seven arched), Patachow, and made a great detour by the lakes to Kalipoo to throw the rebels off the scent. We left at 2 p.m. and although the place, Wulungchiao, which I wanted to attack was only $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the west of Patachow, I made a detour of 30 miles to confuse them on a side they were not prepared for. It turned out wet, and the night of the 2nd October was miserable enough, cooped up in boats as we were. However it cleared a little before dawn, and about 7 a.m. we came on the stockades. I had asked the Imperialists under General Chang to delay

their attack from Patachow till I had become well engaged; but as usual General Chang must needs begin at 5.30 a.m., and he got a good dressing from the rebels and was forced to retire. His loss was nineteen killed and sixty-seven wounded; while the *Taho* gunboat admiral, who had abetted him in his tomfoolery, lost thirty killed and wounded. We lost none; three were slightly bruised.

Gordon's next step was to attack the position held by the rebels on the north side of the city. Leaving his Imperialist allies to hold the posts on the south, he swept round to the north of Soochow with his siege-train and the *Hyson* steamer. He carried Leeku by assault, a strong position 4 miles from Soochow, and captured the gunboats of the enemy and forty other boats, along with sixty prisoners. Lieutenant Perry, an English officer, fell by his side while leading the forlorn hope. Eleven days later he attacked Wanti, which was so strongly fortified that shell-fire had no effect on it. He was therefore obliged to carry it by storm in three-quarters of an hour, with some loss, which was the greater in consequence of his men having suffered from a cross fire from their own artillery. But of the Tai-pings 350 fell and 600, including all their headmen, were made prisoners. It was a significant fact that his forces were largely recruited from among the prisoners, who readily took service under him, and at Wanti he had men fighting under him who had been in the rebel ranks only a week previously at Leeku. Gordon mentions that Lai-Wang, who was in charge of the northern stockades, had offered to come over with his force, amounting to 20,000 men. Unfortunately he was killed in one of the skirmishes that took place after the capture of Leeku, and thus his defection did not take place. 'The headmen say here,' he adds, 'that the rebels almost despair of holding the city. I hope sincerely they will leave it, as it ruins the soldiers to plunder after the

capture. I sent an expedition into the *Taho* Lake about the time I started for the attack on Leeku, and the steamer has just returned, having captured six gunboats, four high chiefs, and some hundred prisoners and two stockades.'

A place called Mouding, on the Grand Canal, only 4 miles from the lake, still remained in the hands of the rebels; but it was speedily reduced, and the investment of Soochow was made complete. The waterways and roads leading to it were closed, and the outposts occupied by Imperialist forces. All was now ready for the final assault. Gordon had under his own immediate command only between 3000 and 4000 men, but General Chang had with him 25,000 Imperialists. The Tai-ping forces in Soochow and its suburbs numbered 40,000 men, and 38,000 were stationed in Wusieh and Mahtanchiao, whence Chung Wang, the Faithful King, as he was called, could attack on the flank any advance made by the Imperialists on the Grand Canal. He required, however, to be exceedingly cautious in his movements, as the city of Nanking was besieged by the Imperialists, and was in a critical condition, and both the capital of the Heavenly King and Hanchow might have been lost if they had been rashly exposed. Gordon was well aware how matters stood, and his knowledge of the circumstances which paralyzed the action of Chung Wang emboldened him to make a vigorous assault upon Soochow.

The place selected for the attack was the north-east angle of the wall which surrounds the city. His first effort, which was made shortly after midnight, was upon the formidable inner line of the outer defences. He himself took the command of the forlorn hope, accompanied by Majors Howard and Williams. His followers were dressed in white turbans, in order that they might not mistake each other in the dark. The main body of his troops were ordered to wait under arms for a signal to advance. Everything was quiet,

and the surprise seemed complete. The forlorn hope had penetrated through the outer works, and the rest of the troops were advancing to their support, when suddenly a tremendous fire of grape and musketry was opened upon the whole force. Gordon, at the head of the forlorn hope, made a vigorous assault on the breastwork; but the Chinese troops did not relish fighting at night, and hesitated to advance, and Gordon was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Moh-Wang, the leader of the Tai-pings, displayed great gallantry in this fierce conflict, and without shoes or stockings fought in the front stockade like a private soldier, with about twenty Europeans at his side. The loss of the rebels from the fire of twenty guns which played upon them for about three hours with shot and shell, must have been very great. Of Gordon's army fifty rank and file were killed and 130 wounded, besides a considerable number of officers.

Next morning Gordon was informed by General Chang, who had himself been a Tai-ping, that he had had an interview with one of the Tai-ping Wangs, who informed him that all the Wangs in Soochow, with the exception of Moh-Wang and some minor chiefs, were prepared to give up the place and to come over to the Imperialists with 30,000 men, as they felt that its capture was only a question of time. They proposed that Gordon should make another attack upon the city, and that while Moh-Wang was defending it they would shut him out and so be at liberty to agree on a surrender. Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th November, Gordon opened a tremendous fire on the stockades with heavy siege-guns and mortars, and laid them in ruins. The assault followed. It was dangerous and arduous work. Ditches had to be swum, breastworks had to be climbed, and the Faithful King himself, who had arrived that morning from Wusieh by a bridle path still open, with his body-guard of 400 men, was engaged in the defence. During this stubborn

conflict Gordon, with a few men under him, was separated from his main body by a large party of the enemy. It was impossible to fall back; he was compelled, therefore, to press forward. Pushing through some stockades which he found almost empty, he gained a stone fort, where his troops came up with him and made good the advantage he had won. This victory secured the surrender of Soochow, but it cost Gordon dear—fifty privates and nine officers were killed, and a great number were wounded, including his adjutant-general, Major Kirkman.

In this engagement, as indeed in all the other conflicts, Gordon was ever in the front exposing himself with a cool daring which was necessary as an example to the motley force under his command. His officers, though not deficient in courage, would sometimes hang back, and he had occasionally to take one by the arm and lead him into the thick of the fight. He never carried any arms, even when foremost in the breach. In China, as in the Crimea, his only weapon was a little cane, with which he used to direct his followers, and which came to be designated 'Gordon's magic wand of victory.' His Chinese soldiers seeing him always foremost in the fight, yet never wounded, concluded that he bore a charmed life, and that it was the magic wand which preserved him in safety. His coolness amid a hailstorm of bullets no doubt contributed not a little to the extraordinary influence which he exercised over his men. It is related that on one occasion, when leading a storming party, his men wavered under the terrific fire to which they were exposed; Gordon turned round, stood still, and calmly lighted a cigar. He then waved his 'magic wand,' and his soldiers came on with a rush and carried the position.

On the morning after the severe conflict which took place on the 30th November, 1863, the following order was issued by the commander of the Ever-victorious Army:—

'The commanding officer congratulates the officers and men of the force on their gallant conduct of yesterday. The tenacity of the enemy, and the great strength of their position, have unfortunately caused many casualties and the loss of many valuable officers and men. The enemy, however, has now felt our strength, and although fully prepared and animated by the presence of their most popular chiefs, have been driven out of a position which surpasses in strength any yet taken from them. The loss of the whole of the stockades on the east side of the city up to the walls has already had its effect, and dissension is now rife in the garrison, who, hemmed in on all sides, are already in fact negotiating defection. The commanding officer feels most deeply for the heavy loss, but is convinced that the same will not be experienced again. The possession of the position of yesterday renders the occupation of the city by the rebels untenable, and thus virtually the city is lost to them.'

The surrender of Soochow did not, however, take place immediately. Moh-Wang, the stout old Tai-ping general, for whose character Gordon had great respect, was determined to hold out to the last. His suspicions were aroused by rumours that negotiations were proceeding between Major Gordon and the other Wangs, and he called a council of war. After partaking of dinner and offering up prayers, the Wangs, arrayed in their robes and crowns, took their seats in the reception hall around the table on a raised dais, at the head of which sat the indomitable Moh-Wang. The question of capitulation was raised and considered, and the discussion became warm. Moh-Wang still declared against surrender, while the others urged that they were completely surrounded by the 'foreign devils,' and that their only chance of escaping destruction was in capitulation. At last Kang-Wang rose from his throne and took off his robes. Moh-Wang demanded to know what he meant by this

act, whereupon Kang stabbed the Tai-ping general with a dagger nine times. The other Wangs assisted him in this foul deed, and bearing the body of their murdered chief into the outer court they cut off his head. It has been alleged in extenuation of this cowardly assassination that Moh-Wang was aware of the intended treachery of the other Wangs, and that they ran great risk of being themselves decapitated by him. But of this there is no evidence, and there is reason to believe that though Moh-Wang resisted in the council their demands for surrender, he was not averse to enter into terms with Gordon.

Soochow surrendered on the night of Moh-Wang's murder, but this brilliant success was stained by acts of combined falsehood, treachery, and cruelty on the part of the Chinese governor Li. To prevent looting Gordon withdrew his forces to a distance, and demanded from Li, the Futai (or governor), two months' extra pay for his men as a reward for their services, as compensation for their abstaining from plunder, and as an inducement for them to push on with him to attack Wusieh. This boon, small as it was, was meanly denied him, but a little later an offer of one month's extra pay was offered. The men were naturally disgusted at this conduct, and were with difficulty prevented from revenging themselves on the nig-gardly official. Their commander thought it prudent to send them back to Quinsan in order to keep them out of harm's way.

Gordon had expressly stipulated that the lives of the Wangs should be spared, and Li had readily assented to this condition. He never attempted to deny that this was the case, and it was confirmed to the fullest extent by General Chang. The Futai, however, treacherously violated his pledge, and by his perfidious conduct placed Gordon in imminent danger of his life, and roused such a feeling of indignation as ultimately to cause the with-

drawal of the British officers from serving under the Imperial government.

On the afternoon of the 5th of December, the day before the surrender of the city was completed, General Chang informed Gordon, to his great satisfaction, that Governor Li had amnestied the prisoners. The next day Gordon went into Soochow to the house of Nar-Wang, where he found all the Wangs, their horses saddled, about to go out to Governor Li for the meeting at which the city was to be formally given over. He took Nar-Wang aside and asked him if everything was all right, and was informed that everything had been satisfactorily settled, and promised that 1000 of his men should join Gordon's forces. The other Wangs, who were all unarmed, rode off laughing and talking toward the East Gate to their meeting with Li. Shortly after, Gordon, proceeding alone towards the East Gate, noticed a great crowd opposite Governor Li's boat, which was fastened to the bank, and presently a large force of Imperialist soldiers came into the city, yelling according to their custom, and firing off their muskets. Gordon remonstrated with the Mandarins and rioters for making a disturbance. Immediately after this General Chang came through the gate, and on seeing Gordon he became agitated and pale. On being questioned respecting the interview between the Wangs and the Futai, he hesitated, shuffled, and prevaricated so much that Gordon became apprehensive that something had gone seriously wrong.

As no definite information could be obtained from Chang, Gordon suspected what proved to be correct, that the statements made by the Chinese general were false, and proceeding to Nar-Wang's palace he found that it had been ransacked by the Imperialists. Nar-Wang's uncle, himself a Tai-ping leader, begged that Gordon would go to his house for the protection of his women folk. He complied with this request, and accompanied the female

household of Nar-Wang and the Tai-ping leader to his house, where he found some thousands of the rebels in arms, who shut the gates on him as he went in. He was now in effect a prisoner in their hands, and in imminent danger. He did not know that the Wangs had been murdered before he met Chang, and that the crowd he had seen on the bank near Li's boat had been standing around their dead bodies. Fortunately for him the Tai-pings were in equal ignorance of the fate that had befallen their leaders. Had they known this they might have revenged on him the treachery of the Chinese governor. In this extremity Gordon resolved to try an experiment to save the Wangs from the fate which, unknown to him, had already befallen them. He prepared to send out his interpreter with orders for the steamers to be brought round and take Li prisoner, and also to bring up his forces from Quinsan; but it was not until two o'clock next morning that the interpreter was allowed to go out. An hour later the guide, who had accompanied him, brought back news that the Imperialist plunderers had seized and wounded the interpreter, and had torn up the orders of which he was the bearer.

Gordon, now apprehensive of a general massacre, at length succeeded in persuading the Tai-pings to let him go, that he might send additional orders and seek for the interpreter. He was detained for an hour at the South Gate by a body of Imperialist troops, who did not know him. Escaping from them he made his way to the East Gate, where his bodyguard was lying, and despatched them to protect the house of Nar-Wang. It was too late, however, for the house had been ransacked before their arrival. He then left the city and met General Chang at the gate, to whom, he says, 'I told what I thought'—no doubt in plain terms—but refused to hold further intercourse with him, and drove him away.' Gordon was still ignorant, however, of the fate of the Wangs, but while waiting for

the steamers to come up for his intended seizure of Li, Chang sent Major Bailey, an Imperialist artillery officer, to explain matters. He told the incensed general that Chang, after he had spoken so sternly to him, had 'gone into the city and sat down and cried.' He then, 'to alleviate his grief, shot down twenty of his men for looting,' and sent Bailey to tell that 'he had nothing to do with the matter; that the Futai had commanded him to do what he did, and had ordered the city to be looted.' Gordon asked Bailey if the Wangs had been beheaded, but he was evidently afraid to tell what had really occurred, and replied evasively that he had heard so. He then said he had Nar-Wang's son in the boat, and brought him to Gordon. The lad pointed across the canal, and said that his father and the other Wangs had been beheaded on the previous day. Gordon crossed over and found the six bodies gashed, he says, in a frightful way, and cut down the middle. He was completely overcome by the shocking sight, and through sorrow, shame, and fierce indignation he burst into tears. 'It is not to be wondered,' writes Mr. Hake, 'that Gordon was enraged beyond bounds. It is not surprising that for the first time during the war he armed himself and went out to seek the life of an enemy. He took a revolver and sought the governor's quarters, fully resolved to do justice on his body and accept the consequences.' Li, however, had received warning from Chang of Gordon's incensed state of mind, and fled into the city for safety. For some days while search was made for him he kept in close hiding, and thus escaped the punishment which his foul deed deserved. Gordon, after leaving a note in the Futai's boat telling him what his intention had been, and upbraiding him with his treachery, left for Quinsan. He met by the way the troops he had ordered up to assist him in his search for Li, and led them back to their quarters. Next morning he assembled the officers—told

them with great agitation what had been done, and declared that no British officer could serve any longer under Governor Li. He says, 'The disgust and abhorrence felt by all of them was, and is, such as to lead me to fear their going over *en masse* to the rebels.'

An official investigation was made, at the demand of Gordon, into the details of the massacre, by Mr. Mayers, the interpreter to the consulate, who discovered that Chang was Li's accomplice in the atrocious crime, influenced by a secret fear that Nar-Wang would eventually supplant him as commander. 'It appears,' Mr. Mayers says, in his despatch of 14th December to Acting-Consul Markham, "that the chiefs, on reaching the camp on the 6th instant, were received with friendly demonstrations by Li, who mentioned to each the elevation and rank he was to expect from the throne, and then handed them over to General Chang, who held them in colloquy until the executioners suddenly rushed upon them.'

General Brown, in a despatch forwarded to Sir Frederick Bruce, says, 'I considered it expedient to have an interview with the Futai, with the view of hearing any explanatory statement he might have to offer. . . . I speedily ascertained that though the Futai was prepared to take on himself the whole responsibility of the murder of the Wangs and sacking of the city, and fully to exonerate Major Gordon from all blame, he was either unable or unwilling to offer any exculpation or explanation of his conduct, and it only remained for me to express my opinion and future intentions. This I did in as few words as possible. I expressed the indignation and grief with which the English people, together with all the civilized nations of the world, would regard his cruelty and perfidy. I concluded by expressing my unhesitating conviction that, after what had occurred, my government would withdraw all assistance hitherto afforded to the Imperialist cause, recall Major Gordon and

all English subjects serving under him, and disband the Anglo-Chinese force.'

General Brown, at Gordon's instance, issued formal instructions that all active assistance to the Imperial cause should be suspended, further than protecting Soochow, pending the inquiry which at his demand was instituted at Peking into the conduct of Governor Li. Meanwhile, though Li had scarcely ever stirred from Shanghai, he claimed for himself in his despatches the chief credit of the capture of Soochow, and was rewarded with the honour of the Yellow Jacket, which carries with it the highest military rank of the empire. He had, however, made honourable mention of Gordon's services, and an Imperial decree was issued, setting forth that 'Gordon, a Tsung-Ping [a Brigadier-General] in command of Li's auxiliary force, had displayed thorough strategy and skill, and had put forth most distinguished exertions,' and ordaining that 'a medal of distinction of the highest class be conferred upon him, and that he should receive a gift of 10,000 taels (about £3500) in token of imperial approbation.' Li was enjoined to communicate to Gordon 'our decree of approval and praise for the great bravery and exertions which attended the recapture of Soochow,' and to send him the donation. The decree also said, 'Foreign nations already possess orders of merit under the name of "Stars." Let therefore the decoration of the first class, which we have conferred upon Gordon, be arranged in accordance with this system.'

Major Gordon's indignation, however, at the bad faith and treachery of the governor was in no degree abated by these gifts and honours, and he positively declined to accept either decoration or money. His refusal was intimated in the following curt terms:—

'Major Gordon receives the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor with every gratification, but regrets most sincerely that, owing to the circumstances which

occurred since the capture of Soochow, he is unable to receive any mark of his Majesty the Emperor's recognition, and therefore respectfully begs his Majesty to receive his thanks for his intended kindness, and to allow him to decline the same.'

Though he refused both the presents sent him and the money, he accepted the extra month's pay for his troops and the sums of money sent for the wounded. But, says Mr. Hake, 'when the treasure-bearers entered his presence with bowls of bullion on their heads—like a train from the Arabian Nights—he flogged them from the chamber with his magic wand.'

'To tell you truly,' he wrote home, 'I do not want anything, either money or honours, from either the Chinese government or our own. As for the honours, I do not value them at all, and never did. I should have refused the 10,000 taels even if everything had gone well and there had been no trouble at Soochow. The rebels are a ruthless lot. Chang-Wang beheaded 2000 unfortunates who ran to him from Soochow, after the execution of the Wangs by the Futai. This was at Wusieh. I have read the Futai a lesson he will not forget.'

The cruel and treacherous conduct of the Chinese governor, Li, had placed Gordon in a very critical and embarrassing position. The forces he had commanded so successfully were lying idle in garrison at Quinsan. The officers held him in high esteem, but they were very jealous of each other, and were constantly quarrelling over the question who should succeed their commander if he should persist in resigning his office. Both the officers and men became discontented at the sudden suspension of hostilities, and no fewer than sixteen of the officers had to be dismissed. The Taipings, though greatly discouraged and weakened by the fall of Soochow, were still formidable. European rowdies appeared on the scene, and were guilty of great excesses, and even of several murders; foreigners were again joining the ranks of

the rebels; their sympathizers were once more at work; and apprehensions were entertained that even a portion of Gordon's forces, disgusted with their compulsory inactivity, might go over to the Tai-pings. These considerations pressed strongly on Gordon's mind. He knew of a certainty, as he said, that Burgovine meditated a return to the rebel standard, and that there were upwards of 3000 Europeans ready to join it. He was persuaded that the rebellion would not last six months longer if he should take the field, and that it might continue six years if he should leave. In the interests of humanity it was most desirable that China should be relieved from the men who had laid waste its fairest provinces and destroyed vast numbers of its inhabitants. He had already, as Sir Frederick Bruce remarked, rendered a service to true humanity, as well as to great material interests, in relieving the province of Kiangsoo from being the battlefield of the insurrection, and in restoring to its suffering inhabitants the enjoyments of their homes and the uninterrupted exercise of their industry. And it would have been a serious calamity and addition to the embarrassments of the British representatives in China if Gordon had been compelled to leave his work incomplete, and should a sudden dissolution or dispersion of the Chinese force have led to the recurrence of that state of danger and anxiety from which, during the two previous years, Shanghai had suffered. Sir Frederick Bruce, however, stipulated that if Gordon should consent to resume his command nothing was to be done without his consent in cases of capitulations where he was present—in other words, that in future the rules of warfare practised among other civilized nations should be strictly observed. Security was thus taken, as he remarked, that scenes like those at Soochow would not be repeated, and that the interests of humanity would have the benefit of Gordon as a protector, instead of being committed to the unchecked mercies of Chinese officials.

Governor Li, in his anxiety to secure a continuance of Gordon's services, issued a proclamation exonerating him from all participation in the murder of the Wangs, and explaining his reasons for that deed, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, were more in accordance with Chinese notions of morality than with integrity and truth. It had indeed become absolutely necessary that Gordon should be cleared of all blame in this matter, for the murder of the chiefs had been avenged in a manner which seemed to indicate that he was regarded by the Tai-pings as, to some extent at least, responsible for that deed. Four European officers, who had charge of the Imperialist steamer the *Firefly*, had been captured by Chang-Wang, the Faithful King, on his retreat from Soochow to Nankin, and had been tortured and burned to death by his men. As foreigners had never before been ill-treated by the rebels, there can be little doubt that this shocking outrage must be attributed to Li-Hung-Chang's murder of the Wangs. On this account general regret was felt that Gordon should again have taken the field in conjunction with an official who had been guilty of such a foul crime.

Gordon was himself aware that he was open 'to very grave censure,' as he said, for the course he had resolved to pursue. Personally his wish was to leave the force as soon as possible. 'If I followed my own desire,' he said, 'I should leave now, as I have escaped unscathed and been wonderfully successful.' After the capture of Soochow he could do nothing more either to add to his own reputation or to retrieve the honour of his countrymen, which had been somewhat tarnished by Holland's defeat at Taitsan. As was remarked by Mr. Hart, an Englishman of high standing who was in China at the time, Gordon had nothing personally to gain from future successes; and as he had himself to lead in all critical moments, and was constantly exposed to danger, he had before him the not very improbable contingency of being

hit sooner or later. But Gordon was never on any occasion actuated by personal feelings or interests. He was well aware of the truth of Mr. Hart's statement that 'the destiny of China is at the present moment in the hands of Gordon more than of any other man, and if he be encouraged to act vigorously the knotty question of Tai-pingdom *versus* "union in the cause of law and order" will be solved before the end of May, and quiet will at length be restored to this unfortunate and sorely tried country.' These considerations induced Gordon to set aside personal feelings and resentments, and to take the field once more against the Tai-pings.

At this juncture there were two districts still occupied by the rebels. One, which lay to the south of the Taiho Lake, included Hangchow, Kashing, and several other towns; the other, to the north, contained Nanking, Tayan, Kintang, and Chuying. The two were about 50 miles distant from each other. Soochow, from which Gordon virtually started on his new campaign, is in the very centre of the Kiangnan peninsula, and Nanking, where the Heavenly King, the head of the rebellion, had his residence, stands at the north-west corner of the peninsula. Between the two are the towns of Yesing, Liyang, and Kintang, which were all held in strong force by the Tai-pings. Gordon proposed, as he said, to 'cut through the heart of the rebellion, and divide it into two parts by the capture of Yesing and Liyang,' leaving the south to be dealt with by Captain d'Aiguibelle, a French officer who commanded a Franco-Chinese force, while the reduction of Nanking was intrusted to the Imperialists. Accordingly, on the 19th of February, Gordon quitted Quinsan to carry out this bold strategic scheme. He had to encounter difficulties of no ordinary kind. The weather was bitterly cold and snowy. He was obliged to abandon the base of his operations, and to encumber his force with the carriage of an adequate supply of munitions and stores. He had lost many of his best

officers, some of whom had fallen in fight, others had resigned or been dismissed. His troops, too, were not so efficient as they had been, for there had not been time to train the newly-enlisted Tai-pings in discipline and steadiness under fire.

Leaving 200 men under Colonel Morant to garrison Quinsan, Gordon marched by the north of Soochow to Wusieh, near the Grand Canal, which he found in such a ruinous state that no quarters could be obtained there. He thence marched on Yesing through a district which the ravages of the rebels had almost completely depopulated, the few remaining inhabitants being in the last stage of starvation. On approaching Yesing a small reconnoitring party whom Gordon sent out found that it was a walled city, 2 miles in circumference, with a broad ditch and small lakes on its east and west sides. The party were driven away by the accurate fire of a 12-pounder gun at the north gate. Gordon therefore resolved to cross the lake on the east side, the direction from which the *Hyson* was expected, to take possession of a village at the south-east angle, seize the outworks, and thus to cut off communication between Yesing and Liyang, the next Tai-ping city in the line of route. This was accomplished without difficulty, and in the village he beheld the piteous sight of a number of starving wretches who had been compelled to resort to cannibalism. 'The unburied bodies of the dead were in a condition which showed that much of that revolting food had been consumed.' After the stockade in front of the east gate was taken, the mass of the Tai-pings quitted Yesing by night, and it surrendered the next day, 1st March—only eleven days after the Ever-victorious Army had left Quinsan.

Gordon next proceeded to Tajouska, a town on the Taho Lake, tidings having reached him that the great majority of the garrison were willing to surrender, but that the captain, supported by some desperate spirits, had declared that he would hold out to the last. On Gordon's arrival, however, the captain and the entire garrison were

induced to accept of the offered terms, and 2000 of their number accompanied him to Yesing.

At this step Gordon's troops, dissatisfied because they were not allowed to plunder Yesing, showed symptoms of insubordination, which had to be firmly repressed. The starving villagers, however, received permission to enter the city in search of food, and succeeded in obtaining a considerable quantity of rice.

On the 5th of March the Ever-victorious Army advanced against Liyang, a city containing a population of 20,000 and strongly fortified, but the rebels there were so disheartened that they surrendered without a blow. The commandant had, however, intended to offer a strenuous resistance, and on the approach of the assailants he sallied out with a part of his force to meet them; but those who were left behind shut the gates upon him, so that he had no choice but to submit. Gordon firmly refused to allow the Imperialist troops to enter the city, and posted a detachment of his own men at the gate to prevent pillage. A thousand of the Tai-ping soldiers were enlisted into the Ever-victorious Army, and were formed into a separate regiment; and twenty-four gunboats were captured and added to Gordon's flotilla. The country around Liyang was a scene of devastation and wretchedness of the most shocking description. 'Hundreds of dead bodies,' wrote one of Gordon's officers, 'were strewn along the road—people who died from starvation; and even the few who were yet alive watched one of their comrades dying so as to obtain some food off his dead body. Major Gordon gave as much food to these poor creatures as he could spare, but it was not sufficient to satisfy them all.' Fortunately, however, Liyang was well stocked with provisions, and all that Gordon could spare from his own necessities were distributed among the famishing peasantry.

Leaving part of his troops—including the newly raised regiment—in Liyang, Major Gordon (15th March) marched on north-

wards towards Kintang, with three regiments of infantry and a large force of artillery mounted on gunboats. Before starting he sent a letter to the commandant offering terms of surrender, to which no answer was returned, and on approaching the city (17th March) he renewed his offer to the garrison of their lives and property if they would surrender, but without effect. There is reason to believe, however, that the garrison were preparing to submit, and that they would have carried this purpose into effect if the Imperialists had kept Chancu-fu in check, as they had undertaken to do. But they had been defeated there by the rebels, who on this success had immediately sent a strong reinforcement to Kintang.

On the 20th of March, Gordon's forces had taken up a position within 1200 yards of the walls, which were not protected by stockades, and had stationed a flotilla of heavy boats with artillery near the north-east angle, which had been fixed on as the fittest point of attack. Everything was ready for opening fire on the following day, when at this critical juncture an alarming despatch was received from Governor Li, announcing that 'a body of 7000 Tai-pings, under the command of Chung-Wang's son, had left Chancu-fu, had turned the flank of the Imperialists, were threatening Wusieh, had captured Fushan, and were besieging Chanzu,' the town which Gordon had relieved when he first assumed the command of the Ever-victorious Army, and so were within thirty miles of Quinsan, his headquarters. To persevere in the attack on Kintang in this state of affairs was undoubtedly attended with great danger. On the other hand, to retire would be to give great encouragement to the rebels, who might regain all they had lost, while the capture of Kintang would enable the troops, by advancing on Chancu, to compel the Hi Wang who commanded there to recall the force sent out under Chung-Wang's son. Gordon resolved therefore to carry out his original plan. He accordingly opened fire

on Kintang, and a bombardment of three hours made a practicable breach in the walls. A storming party crossed the creek in boats, and began to mount the breach; but the Tai-pings suddenly showed themselves in great numbers on the ramparts, and hurled down every kind of missile on the assailants with such persistent determination that they were compelled to retire. The artillery fire a second time cleared the breach, and another storming party renewed the attack, but were also repulsed; and Major Kirkman, who led them, was severely wounded. Gordon himself, who took part in the assault, was shot through the leg. He silenced a soldier who cried out that the commander was wounded, and stood giving orders until he had nearly fainted from loss of blood. Still he refused to retire, and Dr. Moffit, the principal medical officer, caused him to be carried by main force to his boat. Major Brown, Gordon's aid-de-camp, headed a third assault, carrying his commander's flag up the breach; but this attack also failed, and he too was wounded and carried back. As there was no reserve that could be called to the assistance of the baffled stormers and make another effort, Gordon was obliged to withdraw his force, with the loss of 100 killed and wounded, including fifteen officers, two of whom, Major Tait and Captain Bunning, were killed. The rebels were so much encouraged by their unexpected success, that they made frequent attempts during the night to set fire to the boats; they attacked the sentries, and creeping past them, threw powder bags, with slow matches attached, into the tents. The troops were very glad when daylight appeared to retire beyond their reach, and on the 24th they were again concentrated at Liyang.

The news that Gordon had at last been wounded excited great anxiety and alarm. Sir Frederick Bruce wrote entreating him not to look upon his position from a military point of view, reminding him that he had done quite enough for his reputation as a gallant and skilful leader; that he was

looked to as the only person fit to deal with 'these perverse Chinese' and to be trusted with the great interests at stake at Shanghai; and that his life and ability to keep the field are more important than the capture of any city in China. The Emperor of China himself was equally anxious about Gordon's recovery from his wound. He issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he was deeply moved with grief and admiration. He ordered Governor Li to visit the wounded general every day, so as to keep his mind at rest, and to 'request him to wait until he should be perfectly restored to health and strength before attempting anything more.'

Gordon's wound was fortunately not a very serious one, for he could not be induced, in the critical position of affairs, to remain long at rest. At Liyang he learned that the Faithful King himself had recovered possession of Fushan, and that the Tai-pings had issued proclamations that their march was on Shanghai, taking Soochow on the way. Disabled as he was by his wound he immediately started for Wusich, taking with him the light artillery and two infantry regiments 1000 strong, 600 of whom had been Tai-pings who had enlisted in his force only a few days before at Liyang. 'One scarcely knows here,' says Dr. Wilson, 'whether most to admire the pluck or to wonder at the confidence of the wounded commander.' On reaching Wusieh, on the 20th of March, he found that the rebel force threatening that place had been driven back and learned that though they had retaken Fushan, Chanzu continued to hold out, and that the Imperialists still held the stockades at Chanau. After halting a few hours he advanced about 10 miles, driving the rebels before him, and reached a position which enabled him to cut off the retreat of Chung-Wang's son, who was attempting to return to Chanau by the way he had gone. On the 26th he pushed on through a district where the Tai-pings had burned the houses and butchered the people in every direction. His troops halted for the night near a group

of blazing villages, from which the rebels had been driven at dusk, and during the whole night were disturbed by a desultory fire on the sentinels, and the efforts of the enemy to ride through the lines of the little force.

In the morning Gordon, who had to direct operations reclining in his boat, drove the Tai-pings out of a village which they held in front of his position, but was obliged to retire before a larger body which came down on his boats. He managed, however, to cut off and separate about 100 from the rest, who were bayoneted by the Chinese, while another portion were forced across a bridge under fire of a howitzer. He witnessed everywhere in the district through which he moved with such rapidity, sickening proofs of the devastation and misery caused by the rebels. The people were reduced to such a state of starvation that they actually fed on the bodies of the dead. 'No one,' a letter says, 'can eat a meal here without loathing. The poor wretches have a wolfish look that is indescribable, and they haunt one's boat in shoals in the hope of getting some scraps of food. Their lamentations and moans completely take away any appetite which the horrors one has witnessed may have left. The rebels have evidently swept up everything edible, and left the unfortunate inhabitants to die.'

Gordon usually marched with the infantry; but at this time, in consequence of his wounded condition, he was obliged to intrust the operations of this arm to officers who proved unequal to the duty. His object was to strike at Waisso, which was the centre of the Tai-ping line, in order to compel the rebels to withdraw their left flank, which stretched to Chanzu and threatened a new district of country, 'causing them,' as Mr. Wilson remarked, 'to contract like a broken backed snake.' For this purpose he divided his forces, sending on the infantry by land, while he conveyed the rest of the force by water, arranging that they were to meet at a place which he pointed out, and make a combined attack on the enemy's position.

His plans, however, miscarried owing to the mismanagement of Colonels Rhode and Howard, the officers in command of the infantry. They started on the morning of the 31st March, and advanced confidently without taking any precautions to insure their safety until they came upon a Tai-ping camp strongly intrenched and stockaded. They might have carried it by an immediate and resolute attack at the point of the bayonet; but instead they halted before it for an hour, and set about distributing their men in companies. The Tai-pings, who swarmed about the neighbouring hills, saw how small a force was opposed to them, and rushed down upon them in thousands. A large body of cavalry also issued out of the place in which they had been concealed, and attacked them on both flanks. The newly-raised Liyang regiment was panic-stricken and broke into the other regiment, which they threw into confusion. A rout ensued, in which the Ever-victorious Army lost, either in the fight or the flight, three captains, four lieutenants, and 400 men, and were pursued up to the camp at Lukachow. Meanwhile Gordon, ignorant of this disaster, had proceeded with the flotilla, which carried his artillery up a creek that brought him close to the enemy's position. But there he found neither the infantry to co-operate with him, nor any signs of their appearance. The flotilla in consequence narrowly escaped destruction. The Tai-pings came out in great force and fired down into the boats, and the banks of the creek were too high to allow their fire to be returned. Nothing was left the commander but to retreat on the encampment, which he effected with considerable difficulty.

Gordon was greatly incensed at the officers in command of the infantry for their culpable neglect and mismanagement, which had led to their defeat by a mere rabble, armed for the most part only with spears and knives. In consequence of this disaster—the greatest he had ever experienced—Gordon found it necessary to withdraw his men to

Siangchow, about 13 miles north of Wusieh, where he occupied himself for some time in reorganizing his troops and restoring their discipline and order. Meanwhile his old colleague, General Chang, had been operating successfully in the south, but in storming Kashung-fu—20th March—he was mortally wounded in the head by a bullet. He survived till the 15th April, and, according to Li, though fully aware that his death was near at hand, he passed this interval in earnest thoughts of what was yet to be done. He remarked to Li that although the rebels had been defeated their strength was still not to be despised, and he told him to order the officers to be careful in battle. He also remarked that brave men were not easily obtained, and bitterly regretted his own fate, by which he was prevented from following up his duty to the country in exterminating the rebels. Chang had many good qualities, and although he had repeatedly thwarted Gordon, he had generally seconded his endeavours with great courage and zeal; and Gordon received the tidings of his death with tears of genuine sorrow and regret.

The rebels still held a considerable extent of territory in the south of the Kiangnan peninsula, but they were hemmed in on three sides by the Imperialist troops, while on the Yant-ze behind them was the Imperial fleet. Gordon had by this time nearly recovered from his wound, and on the 6th of April he put his augmented force in motion towards Waisso. He advanced with great caution, as his men were rather timid after their recent severe defeat. On the 11th he reached the vicinity of Waisso, and found the place surrounded by strong stockades and breastworks. He opened fire on the south side by way of feint from his 24-pounder howitzers, while he moved the 4th Regiment and two mounted guns to the north of the rebel position, which was its weakest side. The Tai-pings were

taken by surprise, as they expected to be attacked only on the south, the direction from which the howitzers were firing. The stockades on the north were in consequence easily and quickly taken, and the rebels instantly vacated the place. They were followed up by the Imperialist soldiers, who drove them over the country towards Tayan, and endeavouring to get away by the bridges which had been broken down past Kongyin, great numbers of them were slain. The villagers, infuriated by the cruelties which the Tai-pings had inflicted on them, turned out against them, armed with rude weapons of every kind, and slaughtered them without mercy.

Chancu-fu had for some time been besieged by the Imperialists under Li, without any progress being made in its reduction. It was garrisoned by a strong body of the most determined rebels—mostly Cantonese—who, being well aware that no mercy would be shown to them, were bent on holding the city at any cost. Gordon advanced with 3000 men to the assistance of the besieging force, and recommended that the place should be invested on all sides. While this was being done Gordon and his artillery officer, Major Tapp, were superintending the construction of a battery at night by a party of the Imperialists, supported by a picket on both sides and by a covering party in the rear. The work was nearly completed, when suddenly the picket on the left fired into the battery. The covering party also opened fire, and the picket party followed with a second volley. The Tai-pings, roused by the noise, directed their guns upon the same point, so that Gordon and his assistants found themselves the centre of a fire both from friends and foes. Many of the sappers were killed and wounded, and along with them Major Tapp, a brave and energetic officer, who received a ball in the stomach, and died in a few minutes. Gordon himself made a narrow escape. There was every reason to believe that this incident was the result

of a preconcerted scheme on the part of the Imperialists, who did not wish to push on the siege, believing that the capture of Chancu would end the campaign, which would have been greatly protracted if Gordon had been killed. His marvellous escape seemed to them to prove that he had a charmed life.

Li was very anxious to take Chancu with his own troops; and after the wall had been breached by the late General Chang's artillery and Gordon's cannon was playing upon the city, in order to distract the attention of the garrison, an assault was made on the 26th of April by the Imperialists alone, and was repulsed with great loss. Next day it was arranged that after a preliminary bombardment by Gordon's batteries, a simultaneous assault should be made at separate points of the breached wall. But when the time came the Imperialists were not there, and the Ever-victorious Army had to bear the brunt of the attack unaided. The Taipings, led by Hu-Wang or 'Cock Eye,' made the most desperate resistance, and brought their whole force to assail the storming party. The officers succeeded in reaching the crest of the breach, but the men were unwilling to follow them: a retreat had in consequence to be sounded, and the pontoons had to be abandoned. The loss of officers was very great—ten were killed and nineteen wounded. Gordon refused to expose his officers any longer to such slaughter, and set about instructing the mandarins to approach the wall by trenches, which they executed very successfully. Li put up proclamations in large letters, so that they could be read from the walls, offering pardon to all who should leave the city, except Hu-Wang. In spite of all the efforts of that chief to prevent desertion, his men went over to the Imperialists at the rate of 300 a day. A letter was written to Gordon by some of the chiefs, proposing a plan by which they would treacherously give up the city; but it appeared too hazardous

and was not adopted. Li resolved that an assault should be made upon the city on the 11th of May, the anniversary of the day on which it had been captured by the Faithful King. The Imperialists were to take the lead. After great masses of the wall had been brought down by the artillery, the troops crossed the ditches in perfect silence and crowned the ramparts. Here, however, they met with the most desperate resistance, and began to give way in confusion. At this critical moment Gordon rushed to the support of the column, followed by his first regiment and 200 volunteers from his other corps. The Imperialists were rallied, the breach was cleared at the point of the bayonet, and after a brief but fierce conflict inside the place, resistance ceased. The garrison was found to have consisted of 20,000 men, of whom 1500 were killed at the capture of the city. Hu-Wang fought to the last, and when he was taken in his palace it required ten men to bind him. He and four other Wangs, and all the Cantonese among the prisoners, were executed. The rest of the garrison, consisting of peasants who had been pressed into the service by threats of torture and death, were pardoned.

The Ever-victorious Army had now fought its last battle, and its services were no longer needed to crush the rebellion. In a hasty note to his mother, scratched off in pencil on a small slip of paper two hours after the fall of Chancu-fu, Gordon, after announcing that event, said, 'The rebels are now done; they have only Tayan and Nanking, and the former will probably fall in a day or two, and Nanking in about two months.' Even before this crowning victory, however, Gordon was considering the necessity of disbanding his forces. In a letter to his mother, dated 10th May, the day before the final assault, he said that he would of course make himself quite sure that the rebels were quashed before he broke up the force. The losses he had sustained in this campaign had been very serious.

Out of 100 officers forty-eight, and out of 3500 men nearly 1000 had been killed and wounded; 'but,' he adds, 'I have the satisfaction of knowing that, as far as mortal can see, six months will see the end of this rebellion, while, if I had continued inactive, it might have lingered on for six years. . . . I know I shall leave China as poor as I entered it, but with the knowledge that, through my weak instrumentality, upwards of 80,000 to 100,000 lives have been spared. I want no further satisfaction than this.' He goes on to say that the horrible cruelties everywhere perpetrated by the rebels rendered it impossible to intercede for them. 'They are the runaways of Soochow, Quinsan, Taitan, Wusieh, Yesing, and many other towns; they cut off the heads of the unfortunate country people inside at the rate of thirty to forty per diem for attempting to run away.'

At this juncture the British government, influenced by the false reports industriously disseminated respecting the alleged execution of Tai-pings at Soochow, recalled the Order in Council which permitted Colonel Gordon to take service under the Chinese government. But fortunately his work was done: the neck of the rebellion was broken, though Nanking continued to hold out for some months longer. It was estimated that no fewer than 100,000 persons died of starvation during the siege. The Faithful King, who commanded the garrison, held out to the last, and when the Imperialists at length captured the city, they found that he had set fire to it, and that it was nearly all in ruins. There were about 20,000 fighting men within the walls. Of these about 1500 escaped and about 7000 were put to death, including the Faithful King, who deserved a better fate. The arch-impostor who had brought so much misery upon the country, and had been guilty of the most shocking cruelties, escaped the punishment of his crimes at the hands of the conquerors. When he knew the end was come he hung all his wives and then committed suicide.

After careful consideration, Gordon, in withdrawing from the service, resolved that the Ever-victorious Army should be disbanded. In his opinion, 'a more turbulent set of men who formed the officers have not often been collected together, or a more dangerous lot, if they had been headed by one of their own style.' If they had not been disbanded the soldiers might have been re-organized under their foreign officers, and have endeavoured to establish an independent position of their own, or they might have gone over to the Tai-pings, and revived the rebellion. Gordon therefore acted wisely in dissolving the force on his own responsibility, though both the British ambassador and the foreign merchants at Shanghai were averse to its dissolution. He stipulated, however, for rewards to both officers and men proportionate to the services they had rendered. The officers who had been wounded received about £900 a-piece, and the others in proportion. A Prussian officer, who had lost both his eyes before Soochow, got £1600. The unwounded rank and file received a month's pay and money to meet the expense of their travelling to their homes. 'And so,' wrote Colonel Chesney, 'parted the Ever-victorious Army from its general, and its brief but useful existence came to an end. During sixteen months' campaigning under his guidance it had taken four cities and a dozen minor strong places, fought innumerable combats, put *hors de combat* numbers of the enemy moderately estimated at fifteen times its own, and finding the rebellion vigorous and aggressive had left it at its last gasp, confined to the ruined capital of the usurper.'

The Imperial government voted Gordon a large sum of money, but he declined to accept it, as he had on a previous occasion refused the smaller donation of 10,000 taels. 'Not only,' wrote Sir Frederick Bruce, 'has he refused any pecuniary reward, but he has spent more than his pay in contributing to the comfort of the officers under him, and in assuaging the distress of the

starving population whom he relieved from the yoke of their oppressors.' He left China, as he said, as poor as when he entered it, but he left it with the admiration and esteem of all with whom he had to do. The British minister wrote, 'Lieutenant-colonel Gordon well deserves her Majesty's favour, for independently of the skill and courage he has shown, his disinterestedness has elevated our national character in the eyes of the Chinese.' The merchants of Shanghai sent him, what he valued very highly, an engrossed and illuminated address, expressing in very laudatory terms their respect and admiration. The Emperor of China conferred upon him the rank of Ti-Tu, the highest ever bestowed upon a subject, and presented to him a banner and the Order of the Star, along with a yellow jacket to be worn upon his person—one of the most coveted marks of Imperial favour. Although Gordon refused to accept the Emperor's money, he did not refuse these honours. 'I do not care twopenny about these things,' he wrote to his mother, 'but I know that you and my father like them.' The Chinese government expressed an earnest desire that the British minister should bring the decree of the Emperor conferring these honours, and his reasons for bestowing them, to the notice of her Majesty, the queen of England. 'General Gordon's title, Ti-Tu,' wrote Prince Kung, the regent of China, to Sir Frederik Bruce, 'gave him the highest rank in the Chinese army; but the prince trusts that if on his return home it be possible for the British government to bestow promotion or reward on General Gordon, the British minister will bring the matter forward, that all may know that his achievements and his character are equally deserving of praise.' Prince Kung waited in person on Sir Frederik Bruce with his letter, and said to him, 'You will be surprised to see me again, but I felt I could not allow you to leave without coming to see you about Gordon. We do not know what to do. He will not receive money

from us, and we have already given him every honour which it is in the power of the Emperor to bestow; but as these can be of little value in his eyes, I have brought you this letter, and ask you to give it to the Queen of England, that she may bestow on him some reward which would be more valuable in his eyes.'

The British minister did bring Gordon's services (12th July, 1864) under the notice of Earl Russell, then prime minister, but no attention was paid to his despatch, and it probably never got beyond the pigeon-holes of the Foreign Office. All the acknowledgment that Gordon received from the British government was one step in the army; somewhat later he was made a Companion of the Bath.

Gordon's great merits, however, were cordially recognized by his countrymen at home. 'Never,' said the *Times* of August 5, 1864, when reviewing his brilliant career in China, 'did a soldier of fortune deport himself with a nicer sense of military honour, with more gallantry against the resisting, and with more merey towards the vanquished, with more disinterested neglect of opportunities of personal advantage, or with more entire devotion to the objects and desires of his own government than this officer, who, after his victories, has just laid down his sword. . . . The result of Gordon's operations is this. He found the richest and most fertile districts of China in the hands of the most savage brigands. The silk districts were the scenes of their cruelty and riot, and the great historical cities of Hangchow and Soochow were rapidly following the fate of Nanking, and were becoming desolate ruins in their possession. Gordon has cut the rebellion in half, has recovered the great cities, has isolated and utterly discouraged the fragments of the brigand power, and has left the marauders nothing but a few tracts of devastated country and their stronghold of Nanking. All this he has effected—first by the power of his arms, and afterwards still more rapidly by the terror of his name.'

On his return to England Gordon received the appointment of Commanding Royal Engineer at Gravesend to superintend the construction of the Thames defences. The five great forts which form the first and second line of these defences were the result of Gordon's work from 1865 to 1871. These six years of peace and quiet and beneficent labour were probably the happiest of his life. The house in which he lived during that period stands in the centre of one of the forts. It was 'school, and hospital, and almshouse in turn—was more like the abode of a missionary than of a colonel of Engineers. The troubles of all interested him alike. The poor, the sick, the unfortunate were ever welcome, and never did suppliant knock vainly at his door. He always took a great delight in children, but especially in boys employed on the river or the sea. Many he rescued from the gutter, cleaned them and clothed them, and kept them for weeks in his home. For their benefit he established evening classes, over which he himself presided, reading to and teaching the lads with as much ardour as if he were leading them to victory. He called them his "kings," and for many of them he got berths on board ship. One day a friend asked him why there were so many pins stuck into the map of the world on his mantelpiece; he was told that they marked and followed the course of the boys on their voyages; that they were moved from point to point as his youngsters advanced; and that he prayed for them as they went day by day. The light in which he was held by these lads was shown by inscriptions in chalk on the fences. A favourite legend was "God bless the Kernel." So full did his classes at length become that the house would no longer hold them, and they had to be given up. Then it was that he attended and taught at the ragged schools, and it was a pleasant thing to watch the attention with which his wild scholars listened to his words.'

One who saw much of him at this time

wrote—'His benevolence embraced all. The workhouse and the infirmary were his constant haunts, and of pensioners he had a countless number all over the neighbourhood. Many of the dying sent for him in preference to the clergy, and ever ready was he to visit them, no matter in what weather or at what distance.'

Perhaps the spot most directly connected with the story of Gordon's Gravesend life is the dingy corner of the ragged school, where every Sunday, alike in the depth of winter and the broiling heat and stifling atmosphere of summer, he was regularly to be found with his class of sixteen boys, upon whom he shed the light of his singular nature. These boys were 'rough 'uns' when they were first caught, but they soon sobered down, and in every known case became personally indebted to Gordon for a changed life. The colonel would never take the chair, except on one occasion, when 300 of the parents of the boys were entertained at a tea meeting. He carried self-effacement into the smallest details of life. Some of the poorer of these lads he would have to the Fort House, where he would feed and lodge them. Three or four of them had scarlet fever at his house, and the colonel would sit with them far into the night, talking to them and soothing them until they fell asleep. 'He entered,' says Mr. Penman, 'into all their concerns, caring nothing for himself. He cared only to make them happy and industrious, while his chief aim was to lead them to the Saviour.' Regularly once a week he visited the workhouse, and spent an hour or two among its aged and infirm inmates. He was in the habit of taking a bit of tobacco for the old men and a little tea for the old women, and these gifts were kept up after he left Gravesend, to show them that though out of sight they were not out of mind. Nearly the whole of his large garden was cultivated by poor people, to whom he gave permission to plant what they pleased, and to take the proceeds for their own use. His unbounded liberality

not unfrequently left him with an empty purse. On one occasion, after spending a day in London, the drain on his pocket had been so great that he found only three halfpence in his purse when he got to London Bridge Station; it was a fine night, and as he could not travel by rail for want of a ticket, he walked the whole distance to Gravesend. On his visit to Ireland he was so deeply touched with some cases of poverty and distress which he witnessed just before his departure from that country, that he parted with all his money, and he had to borrow the amount of his fare to England.

He had a great number of medals, among others a gold one presented to him by the Empress of China, with an inscription engraved upon it, for which he had a great liking. But it suddenly disappeared; no one appeared to know where or how. Years afterwards it was discovered by a curious accident that Gordon had erased the inscription and sent the medal anonymously to Canon Miller for the relief of the sufferers from the cotton famine at Manchester.

In 1871 Gordon was appointed British commissioner on the European commission of the Danube. Before leaving Gravesend he presented a number of splendid Chinese flags, on one of which his own name was exquisitely worked in Chinese characters, to his 'kings' at the ragged school. These flags are still proudly borne by the present Gravesend boys when they walk in procession on Sunday-school festivals, or on the occasion of school holidays. Universal regret was expressed on his departure from the town, and the following graceful and appreciative tribute to his worth appeared in the local newspaper:—'Our readers will regret the departure of Colonel Gordon from the town, in which he has resided for six years, gaining a name by the most exquisite charity that will long be remembered. Nor will he be less missed than remembered; for in the lowly walks of life, by the bestowal of gifts, by attendance

and ministrations on the sick and dying, by the kindly giving of advice, by attendance at the ragged school, workhouse, and infirmary, in fact, by general and continual beneficence to the poor, he has been so unwearied in well-doing that his departure will be felt by many as a personal calamity. There are those who even now are reaping the rewards of his kindness. His charity was essentially charity, and had its root in deep philanthropic feeling and goodness of heart; shunning the light of publicity, but coming even as the rain in the night-time that in the morning is noted not, but only the flowers bloom and give a greater fragrance. . . . Colonel Gordon is eminently fitted for his new post, and there is no doubt but that he will prove as beneficent in his station under the Foreign Office as he was while at Gravesend; for it was evidently with him a natural heart-gift, and not to be eradicated. . . . All will wish him well in his new sphere; and we have less hesitation in penning these lines from the fact that laudatory notice will confer but little pleasure upon him who gave with the heart and cared not for commendation.'

A characteristic incident illustrative of this remark occurred during his residence at Gravesend. The author of a work on the Tai-ping rebellion applied to Gordon for information on the subject, which was readily granted. He was allowed to take up his residence for some time at Fort House, and Gordon not only related to him the details of the suppression of the revolt, but lent him his diary. From something that was said, however, he suspected that the writer was praising him, and asked to see what he had written. The result was that page after page was torn out, to the chagrin of the poor author, who ruefully told him that he had spoiled his book.

At the end of 1871 Gordon returned to the scene of his earlier labours, and took up his residence at Galatz. The duty of the commission, to which each of the great powers sent a member, was to superintend

the improvement of the mouth of the Danube. In consequence of its labours the depth of water in the bar of that river has been increased from 6 to 21 feet, so that vessels of large burden can now load at the Galatz and Braila wharfs. Towards the close of 1873 Gordon exchanged the Lower Danube for a very different and much more responsible and difficult sphere of labour on the Upper Nile.

The Soudan, with which Gordon's name will henceforth be indissolubly associated, is the proper designation of that immense region of Central Africa which is bounded on the north by the Sahara, on the east and west respectively by Darfur and Senegambia. To the south it is separated from Upper Guinea by the Kong Mountains, near the Mandingo and Ashantee territories, and further to the east by the unexplored country which lies north of the Congo. It is a vast lowland territory, bounded on the east and west by table-lands watered by numerous rivers, most of which run either into the Niger or into the great reservoir of Lake Tchad, with its countless islands. It is a well-watered, fertile, and productive region, growing in great abundance cotton, tobacco, and indigo, while the grain crops—wheat, rice, maize, guinea corn, millet, and other cereals—are everywhere plentiful. Gold dust and ironstone are among its mineral treasures; gum-arabic and bees'-wax, dates, ivory, and ostrich feathers abound in the bazaars of its chief towns; but until recently, and indeed partly still, slaves formed its chief staple of commerce.

The Egyptian province which bears the name of Soudan is of much more limited extent. It lies south of Nubia, is bounded on the east by Abyssinia and the Red Sea, on the west by Darfur, with imperfectly defined limits to the southwards on either side of the White Nile. Suakim and Massowah are its only outlets to the sea, except down the Nile to Egypt. Its natural features, its climates, and also its vegetable productions vary greatly. In the northern and eastern districts, from Suakim to New Don-

gola, vegetation is scanty—indeed it may be regarded as only a desert, its supply of water being mostly furnished, except in the height of the rainy season, by wells. The tropical part of the Soudan commences properly at Khartoum, ascending thence along the course of the White Nile and the Blue Nile. The vegetation there is of extraordinary richness, and so dense and tangled that many parts of the region are almost impenetrable, but constant malaria and fever render it most unhealthy. The capital of the Soudan is Khartoum, which was founded in 1821 on a pestiferous flat at the junction of the White and the Blue Nile. West and south-west from Khartoum lie Kordofan and Darfur. The former is a flat country interspersed with a few hills, having a general elevation of about 2000 feet. In the dry season it is little better than a desert; after the rains it becomes a grassy prairie. El Obeid, which stands in the centre of the country, is almost its only considerable town. Darfur, since its conquest by Egypt, may be included in the Soudan, of which it forms the extreme western fringe. The northern part is flat, waterless, and therefore barren; but the other districts are very productive in the rainy season, the crops resembling those of Negroland. Cattle also abound, and before the war with Egypt the inhabitants drove a brisk trade with that country, the Red Sea, and Negroland.

In 1853 the possessions of the Khedive on the Nile extended only to about 120 miles south of Khartoum, but they steadily and rapidly increased. Under Mehemet Ali, Nubia, Kordofan, and Sennaar were added to the Egyptian territory, and now the Khedive claims authority over the district in the vicinity of Lakes Albert and Victoria Nyanza, little more than two degrees north of the equator. By the subjugation of Darfur the Egyptian western frontier now comes within less than fifteen days' march of Lake Tchad, and its eastern border extends to the lower part of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

The country south of Khartoum was opened up by a succession of European traders, tempted by the abundance and cheapness of ivory. They soon found that slave-hunting paid better than ivory-trading. They fortified posts, which they garrisoned with armed bands commanded by Arabs, who made raids on the neighbouring tribes, and captured and sold the negroes for slaves. The scandal caused by this infamous traffic at length became so great that the European traders were obliged to withdraw from it; but they sold their stations to their Arab agents, who paid a rental for them to the Egyptian government, and were thus enabled to carry on their cruel and shameless proceedings with impunity. The sufferings of the negro tribes were greatly aggravated by the change, for the new slave-hunters being under no control, and obtaining supplies of arms and ammunition from the government, extended their raids without any restraint. They trained to arms the negro boys whom they had enslaved, and employed them as their instruments in carrying out their schemes of kidnapping and plunder. It is impossible adequately to describe the misery and ruin which were thus caused. Captain Speke says, 'The atrocities committed by these traders are beyond civilized belief. They are constantly fighting, robbing, and capturing slaves and cattle.' As the result of their incessant ravages the entire eastern shore of the Nile degenerated into a forest waste. Sir Samuel Baker lays the guilt of the devastation of the country at the door of men high in office in the Egyptian government. He says the country had been quite depopulated by razzias made for slaves by the former and present governors of Fashoda. He first saw the Victoria Nile in 1864, when it was a perfect garden, thickly populated, and producing all that man could desire. When he saw it again in 1872, all was a wilderness, the population had fled, not a village was to be seen, the Khartoum traders had kidnapped the women and children for slaves, and plundered and

destroyed wherever they had set their foot.

The Khedive and his ministers allowed this infamous traffic to proceed unchecked, and the latter shared in the profits of the slave trade; but they were at length induced to interfere, not from a regard to justice or humanity, but out of an apprehension that the slave-dealers were about to set up a rival power which would destroy the existing government. These ruffians were indeed so confident in their own resources that they menaced the authority of the Khedive, and refused in a body to pay taxes. One of them, named Zubair, a man of great ability, experience, and wealth, who had large troops of armed slaves and no less than thirty fortified posts, assumed princely state and set up as the rival of the Khedive himself. In 1869 the Egyptian government tried to restrict his power, and sent out an expedition under a person named Bellal, to bring him to obedience. Zubair, however, defeated him with great slaughter, and became the real chief of the country nominally subject to Egypt, but in reality little short of an independent sovereign. His assumption of authority, followed up by an invasion of Darfur, greatly alarmed the Khedive; but he thought it better to conciliate than to attack the arch-slave-hunter, and he sent a strong force under Ishmael Pasha Yacoob to co-operate with Zubair in this unjustifiable enterprise. Darfur was still free, and was governed by a line of Sultans which had existed for more than 400 years. The reigning Sultan made energetic preparations to defend his country against the invasion of the slave-dealers and their Egyptian allies, but they proved too strong for him. In one of the battles which took place he and his two sons were killed, and Darfur was for the time subdued. Zubair, on whom the rank of Bey had previously been conferred, was now made Pasha, but his ambition was still unsatisfied. He insisted that, as he and his men had done all the fighting, he ought to be appointed governor-general of the new province. 'The fortified camps,'

says Gordon, 'saw that they were stronger than the government, and then came the idea of the independence of the Khedive.' Zubair's bands of armed slaves—his tools in carrying on the slave trade—were, he adds, 'like antelopes, fierce, unsparing, the terror of Central Africa, having a prestige far beyond that of the government.'

The Khedive, who had been deaf to the calls of humanity and had encouraged slave-dealing for the sake of the revenue indirectly derived from it, now that his supremacy was threatened, denounced the traffic as a violation of the laws of justice and humanity. The lesson, he said, must be made clear, 'even in these remote parts, that a mere difference of colour does not make men a commodity, and that life and liberty are sacred things.' To carry out these views the Khedive, after his return from his visit to England in 1869, appointed Sir Samuel Baker governor of the Soudan for a period of four years, with full authority to suppress the slave trade, to introduce a system of regular commerce, to open to navigation the great lakes of the equator, and to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots distant at intervals of three days' march throughout Central Africa. Absolute and supreme authority was conferred upon Sir Samuel over the expedition and over all those countries belonging to the Nile basin south of Gondokoro.

The labours of the new governor of the Soudan were greatly facilitated by the detention of Zubair at Cairo. In an evil hour for himself, though a fortunate one for the country he had plundered and devastated, the arch-slave-trader paid a visit to Cairo for the purpose of pressing his claim before the Khedive to the office of governor of Darfur, taking with him the sum of £100,000 for the purpose of bribing the pashas; but he was not allowed to leave Cairo, though he contrived to excite a formidable insurrection after Gordon had been appointed governor of the Soudan.

Sir Samuel Baker exerted himself to the

utmost to discharge successfully the duties of his responsible and laborious position. In spite of much secret and overt opposition from the Egyptian officials at Khartoum, and several sharp encounters with the slave-dealers, he was able to accomplish much. He opened up the Nile country as far as the lakes, and at the close of his term of office in 1873, he could say with well-earned satisfaction, that 'he had rendered the slave-trade of the White Nile impossible so long as the government is determined that it shall be impossible.' The good work which Baker had been enabled to perform was continued with still greater success by Gordon.

In the summer of 1872, when Baker's term of office was drawing to a close, Nubar Pasha, who had been greatly impressed with Gordon's ability and force of character during the sitting of the Danubian Commission at Constantinople, asked him to recommend some officer of Engineers to fill the post. The next year Gordon expressed his willingness to accept the office on condition that the British government should grant him permission. No objection was raised, and having made the necessary preparations with his characteristic promptitude, he started for Central Africa, calling at Cairo on his way to arrange terms and receive his final instructions.

The Khedive proposed to give him £10,000 a year for his services, but he declined to receive more than £2000—the amount which he had received from his own government as Danubian commissioner. The instructions given him appear to have been moderate and judicious. He was to endeavour to put an end to the slave trade, which was carried on by force of arms in defiance of law. If the men who had been in the pay of the slave-dealers were willing to enter the service of the government, Colonel Gordon was to make all the use of them he could. If, on the other hand, they attempted to follow their old course of life, whether openly or secretly, he was to put in force against

them the utmost severity of martial law. Such men as these were to find in the new Governor neither indulgence nor mercy. Care was to be taken that the troops should be well supplied with provisions, so that the great error should be avoided of taking, as heretofore, their stores of corn from the tribes. The troops were to till the land and raise crops. If Gondokoro should prove to be an ill-chosen position, the seat of government was to be removed to a more suitable and productive spot. The Governor was also to establish a line of posts through all his provinces, so that from one end to the other they might be brought into direct communication with Khartoum. In dealing with the chiefs of the tribes on the shores of the lakes he was, above all, to try to gain their confidence. He must respect their territory and conciliate them by presents, and use his influence to persuade them to put an end to the wars which they so often waged with each other for the purpose of carrying off slaves.

Gordon's sojourn at Cairo was very brief, but before he had been many hours in the place he discovered the real nature and object of the scheme in which he was engaged. Writing home on the 14th of February, 1874, he said, 'I think I can see the true motive now of the expedition, and believe it to be a sham to catch the attention of the English people, as Baker said; I think the Khedive is quite innocent (or nearly so) of it, but Nubar is the chief man.' Gordon was determined, however, to go through with the enterprise which he had undertaken, and to do all in his power to relieve the sufferings of the down-trodden Soudanese.

Gordon proposed to travel by the ordinary steamer down the Red Sea to Suakim, but Nubar Pasha insisted that the Governor of Upper Egypt must go in state. A special train was provided to convey him to Suez, but the engine broke down, and to Gordon's great amusement he had to continue the journey by ordinary train. 'We were shunted into a common train,' he said,

'with a great many people—begun in glory and ended in shame.' The new Governor and his retinue went down the Red Sea in a special steamer to Suakim, which they reached on the 25th of February. They were there put in quarantine for a night, probably, as Gordon surmised, because the governor of that place was not ready to receive them. There were about 220 soldiers on board who were to accompany Gordon across the desert. This journey was performed on camels, and occupied a fortnight. His staff consisted of Romulus Gessi, an Italian whom he had known as an interpreter in the Crimea; Major Campbell, Egyptian staff; Mr. Kemp, engineer; the two Linants; Mr. Russell, son of Dr. W. H. Russell; Mr. Anson; Mr. Long, an American; and Abou Saoud, who had been the greatest slave-hunter of the White Nile—the 'incarnation of the slave-trade,' as Baker termed him. He was a prisoner at Cairo when Gordon came into contact with him, and offered to take him on his staff in the belief that he might be reclaimed from his evil ways, and that his knowledge of the country could be turned to good account. The Khedive and Nubar Pasha, who knew that the man was a treacherous villain, refused to sanction the proposal; but as Gordon obstinately adhered to his determination they yielded, and the slave-hunter was released from prison and sent with him into the Soudan. In no long time Gordon discovered that Abou Saoud was utterly irreclaimable. He behaved in the most arrogant manner, disputed Gordon's orders, and deceived him in various ways, stole the government ivory, and even tried to get up a mutiny among his own soldiers. His appointment was therefore cancelled, and he was sent back to Gondokoro, but was significantly reminded that though removed from office he was still a government officer, subject to its laws, which would, without hesitation, be put in force against him if found intriguing.

On the 13th of March Gordon arrived at Khartoum—a place so fatally associated

with the termination of his career. Writing home he thus describes his reception—‘The Governor-General met your brother in full uniform, and he landed amid a salute of artillery and a battalion of troops with a band. It was a fine sight. The day before your brother had his trousers off, and was pulling the boat in the Nile in spite of crocodiles, who never touch you when moving. He cannot move now without guards turning out. I have got a good home here, and am very comfortable.’ Here he received the good news that a grassy growth, termed the ‘sudd,’ which from time to time forms in the upper reaches of the Nile and renders it almost impassable, had been cleared away by the soldiers, so that the voyage from Khartoum to Gondokoro, which it had cost Sir Samuel Baker fourteen months to perform, was accomplished by Gordon in twenty-four days.

He remained eight days at Khartoum, which he spent in holding a review and in visiting the hospital and the schools. He also issued a decree declaring the traffic in ivory a monopoly of the government, that no one should enter the provinces without a passport from the Governor-General, and that the importation of fire-arms and gunpowder, and the recruiting of armed bands, were strictly prohibited.

On the 22nd of March Gordon sailed for Gondokoro. His letters home give a graphic and most interesting description of the voyage and the sights—large crocodiles basking in the sun, huge river-horses splashing and blowing, herds of elephants and buffaloes, flocks of migrating birds wheeling through the burning air, storks and pelicans, troops of monkeys with their tails ‘stuck up straight over their backs like swords;’ the natives, some wearing gourds for head-dresses, ‘and also some Shillooks, who wear no head or other dress at all;’ others who had rubbed their faces with wood until they looked like slate-pencils, and a tribe of Dinkas, whose chief came on board in full dress—a necklace—and who with his companions sang a hymn

of praise and thanks for the presents Gordon gave him. The Governor was greatly moved at the sight of the poverty and wretchedness of the natives—‘A life of fear and misery night and day. One does not wonder at their not fearing death. No one can conceive the utter misery of these lands—heat and mosquitoes day and night all the year round. But,’ he characteristically adds, ‘I like the work, for I believe I can do a great deal to ameliorate the lot of the people.’

He reached Gondokoro on the 16th of April, much to the astonishment of the townsmen, who had not even heard of his nomination. He found the seat of government in a dangerous as well as wretched condition; no official authority was recognized outside the walls of the fort. ‘You cannot,’ he said, ‘go out in any safety half a mile, all because they have been fighting the poor natives and taking their cattle.’ He stayed only six days at Gondokoro, and then, finding that he could do nothing until his baggage came, he went back to Khartoum to bring it up; but on arriving there he learned that it had been left at Berber. He had nothing for it but to go down to that place, about the middle of May, to fetch it. An interesting account of what happened to him on the voyage is given by one of his staff:—‘Colonel Gordon turned up last Saturday, having run down from Khartoum in three days; but he very nearly came to grief on the way at one of the cataracts. There were two fellows at the wheel, and one wanted to go to the left and the other to the right of the reef, and between them were making straight on it, when Gordon rushed to the helm, and just made a shave of it; but as it was they carried away a lot of paddles, and had rather a smash. When he arrived he put us all to rights at Berber, and was very kind and considerate. He soon put the very troublesome gentleman who was ordering us about in his proper place, and was surprised to find him with us at all.’

The succeeding two months were spent

by Gordon at Saubat River, where the country had been rendered utterly desolate and forlorn by the raids of the slave-hunters. His greatest difficulty was to regain the people's confidence, but he set about it in the right way. To some he gave grain, others he employed to plant maize, an occupation which they had almost ceased to follow, for when they did plant any quantity the harvest was taken from them by force. They therefore planted only enough to keep body and soul together, and even that was sown in small out-of-the-way patches. A number of the poor creatures asked him to buy their children because they could not keep them. His prompt and resolute mode of dealing with the slave-hunters contributed not a little to win him the confidence of the negroes. Some letters which fell into his hands were opened and read by his interpreter, and made known to him the collusion between these villains and the local government. They were sent from a slave-trader's station to the Mudir or governor of the district, intimating to that official that 2000 stolen cows and a large convoy of kidnapped negroes were on their way to him from this gang of man-stealers. Gordon confiscated the cows, as he could not restore them to the far-distant tribes from whom they had been stolen. The slaves he sent back to their homes, and he crowned this deed of benevolence and retribution by punishing the slave-dealers with imprisonment, but afterwards took some of them into his employment and found them useful. Some of the slaves he was obliged to purchase. Their gratitude to him was displayed in a most affecting manner, and he on his part neglected no act, however laborious, that could minister to their comfort. On one occasion he took a poor old worn-out negro woman into his camp, and fed and carefully tended to her for weeks, till she died. 'Yesterday she was quietly taken off,' he wrote, 'and now knows all things. She had her tobacco up to the last, and died quite quietly. What a

change from her misery! I suppose she filled her place in life as well as Queen Elizabeth.' 'I prefer life amid sorrows,' he adds, 'if these sorrows are inevitable, to a life spent in inaction.'

On the 20th of August two boats arrived from Gondokoro carrying ivory and wood; but a considerable number of woolly heads, of all ages and sizes, were found stowed away in the wood. Both the ivory, worth £2000, and the slaves were confiscated. Next day a steamer came from Gondokoro, and twenty-four slaves were taken from it, making 121 in all. Two days after his departure from Saubat 1600 slaves and 200 cows, whom the Mudir had allowed to pass in a large boat, were arrested, and the two slave-dealers who were awaiting them were to be sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but the Mudir allowed them to escape.

Towards the end of August Gordon left his camp at Saubat for Gondokoro, where much trouble and anxiety awaited him. Two of his staff had died; three were ill, some of them seriously, one of them died on the day he left Gondokoro, and only two beside himself, who was but a shadow, were well; and he had to do the duty of a sick nurse day and night, for even his servants were helpless. He had in consequence to remove the station, first to Rageef and then to Lardo, to be above the marshes. He was a good deal troubled at this time with the intrigues that prevailed among the Egyptian officials. Raouf Bey, commander of the troops, was hostile to him and jealous of Abou Saoud, and as, notwithstanding his great promises and opportunities, he had done absolutely nothing, Gordon sent him to Cairo with letters to the Khedive. 'My temper,' he wrote, 'is very very short, and it is a bad time for those who come across me the wrong way.' Abou Saoud's knavery and treachery were brought to light shortly after, and on the 21st of September he too had to be got rid of. But three weeks after his dismissal, Gessi and Kemp unwisely entreated Gordon

to reinstate his ex-lieutenant, and he was induced to forgive him. 'One wants some forgiveness one's-self,' he said, 'and it is not a dear article.' But Abou, as Gordon said, 'was an arrant liar, and utterly false.' In a short time he was found at his old tricks, stirring up disaffection among the native chiefs, and had to be finally dismissed.

In 1873 Gordon erected a chain of fortified posts to connect the two stations of Gondokoro and Foweira, which were a six months' march from each other, and thus rendered the journey both more rapid and more safe. He proposed also to open a route to Mombaz Bay, 250 miles north of Zanzibar, but was obliged, first of all, to deal with a troublesome chief named Bedder, who would not be conciliated, and threatened to kill the next ambassador sent him. The seizure of his cattle, however, brought him to his senses. Another chief, named Lococo, had to be dealt with in a similar manner.

Gordon's steamers had stuck fast at Khartoum for five months through mismanagement, and his patience was sorely tried waiting for the Nile to rise, in order that he might get them up, and find whether there was any means of passing the river at Duffli. Meanwhile he explored the country as far as Kerri, and found that the Nile was navigable between that place and Rageef. He provided three boats, called nuggars, made very strong to withstand the attacks of the hippopotami. They had to be hauled up by the Arabs, a service which, owing to the eddies, was both difficult and dangerous, but was accomplished without any serious accident. The tribes along the banks of the river were hostile, and made frequent attacks upon the expedition. Linant, a member of his staff, who went over to the east bank to burn the houses of the hostile natives, was cut off by them; and of his party, forty-one in number, only four made their escape. A red shirt which Gordon had given him had excited their cupidity, and they made

a rush at him and killed him with their spears. With a heavy heart Gordon had to communicate the mournful tidings to Linant's father, who had previously lost another son in this expedition.

This catastrophe occurred at Moogie, a new station which Gordon had established on the 28th of August. Three days later he was joined by the Mudir of Fatiko, with 500 men, and he resolved to punish the natives for their persistent attacks upon the station. The first foray brought in 200 cows and 1500 sheep, along with the chief's daughter. Gordon sent a message to her father that she would be sent back if he would promise to submit. There was intense excitement among the people; great numbers collected on the hill-tops and displayed their rage by performing the wildest war-dances, while the magicians were night and day engaged in incantations and pouring forth curses on the intruders. Gordon's difficulties and toils were a good deal relieved by the arrival from Fatiko of Nuehr Agha, a capital officer, who proved a great help to him. After the most provoking delays and difficulties the steamer was got off about the middle of September, and the expedition left Moogie for Labore, which they reached on the 24th. On the 8th of October they started for Duffli, and came to it next day. They camped between two ranges of high mountains, where the Nile is only about 40 yards broad; but they found it impossible to take the steamer or the nuggars further, as the Fola Falls rendered the river impassable for 2 miles. 'I bore it well,' he wrote, 'and for all you could see, it might have been a picnic party to the Fola Falls; but it is rather sad, and will give me a mint of trouble and delay.'

The expedition halted at Duffli for a fortnight. The natives were a quiet race, and kept out of sight. The solitude and silence were oppressive. 'The vast extent of rank jungle-grass, the look-out where you see no living thing,' Gordon said, 'all tends to make a man sombre.' His spirits

became affected, and the news from the other stations deepened his depression. From Labore he learned that his interpreter, a doctor, was dead. A man had been allowed, contrary to his orders, to go alone from his station to another, and had been murdered. The natives near Lardo, it was reported, meditated an attack on that station. In the midst of these troubles Gordon was seized with ague, and found it necessary to cross the river and to take up his residence at Fashelie, a place nine miles from Duffli, on higher ground. He comforted himself with the thought that great advantage would be derived from the line of posts which connected the southern part of the province with the north. The disobedience and misconduct of the Egyptian soldiers caused Gordon a great deal of annoyance; his servant fell sick, and died in a few hours. A grumbling letter from the Khedive irritated him greatly, and he at once wrote three telegrams telling the Khedive that he should be in Cairo in April, and that he had better take measures to send up his successor. But before these telegrams were despatched another missive arrived, which, 'as far as civility went, was fulsome,' stating that his Highness had placed Admiral McKillop under his command, and had sent him with three men-of-war and 600 men to Juba, and proposing that Gordon should march on that place. Gordon felt that it would be unfair to desert the Khedive at such a pass. He therefore destroyed the telegrams, unpacked his baggage, and resolved to continue his work.

Towards the end of this busy year he resolved that he would not explore the Albert Nyanza. He was aware that the Geographical Society and the world at large expected him to perform this feat, and would be disappointed at his refusal. 'But,' he wrote, 'I declare I do not care whether there are two lakes or a million, or whether the Nile has a source or not. To be boxed up for a phantasy in a 50-foot long steamer for a fortnight would be my

death. I am not paid for explorations. I have put everything in the way for any other person to do so, and let him have the honour of history. I am not, after nine months of worry, in a fit state to explore anything but my way out of the province.'

On the 2nd of January, 1876, Colonel Gordon reached Fatiko. He stayed there a week, and then pushed on to Foweira, 100 miles nearer Lake Victoria Nyanza. The country is quite uninhabited, a vast undulating prairie of jungle-grass and scrub trees, and Gordon's clothes were torn to tatters by the thorn bushes. He wanted to push on to the Lake Victoria Nyanza to hoist the Egyptian flag there, and to enable the Khedive to claim its waters. But in the first instance his object was to surprise Mrooli, which is 30 miles south on the river, to establish a post there, to set aside Kaba Rega, a hostile chief, and to put Rionga, a much better man and a favourite with the natives, in his place. On hearing of his approach Kaba Rega fled to Masindi, taking with him his 'magic stool,' on which it was believed that the royal authority depended. Rionga was made king in his stead; but he was in such dread of the deposed monarch, who was only a few miles off, that Gordon found it necessary to set up Anfinia, another Unyoro chief at Masindi. Having settled these matters he returned to Fatiko, and joined Gessi at Duffli in February. A month later Gessi started with the two boats for Magungo and the Lake. Gordon meanwhile proceeded with his survey, going again as far down the Nile as Lardo, and back once more to Kerri. He had, as he said, the satisfaction of feeling that he had established stations all along the line from Duffli to Lardo, having between them the important main stations Labore and Kerri, and the four postal stations Rageef, Bedden, Moogie, and Tyoo. In performing this work he had made many journeys, and had encountered not a few adventures and perils. On one occasion, when he was assisting a boatman to pass a rope across the river, the rope

slipped and dragged him into the water. The captain sprang in to rescue him, and got his dress swept over his head, so that when he bobbed up near him, Gordon says he looked 'like the veiled prophet of Khorassan.' The next day Gordon was again endangered by a whip snake. On another occasion, during a heavy thunderstorm, he received at the moment of a flash of lightning a couple of severe shocks similar to what a strong electric machine would give. 'What an escape!' he adds.

On the 29th of April Gessi, about whom Gordon was feeling anxious, returned to Kerri, having sailed round the Victoria Nyanza in nine days. He found it 140 miles long and 50 wide. The west coast is inaccessible, no river flows into the lake, and the south end is very shallow and marshy. The natives were hostile, and in some instances had to be fired on by the soldiers to keep them off. They were very much afraid of Gessi, whom they looked on as a fiend, on account of his colour, and refused to parley with the sailors until he went away.

Gordon grew restless under the inaction which he had to endure at this stage, but he comforted himself with the thought that he was doing the work which Divine Providence had marked out for him. 'I feel that I have a mission here (not taken in its usual sense),' he wrote in July. 'The men and officers like my justice, candour, and outbursts of temper, and they see that I am not a tyrant. Over two years we have lived intimately together, and they watch me closely. I am glad they do so. My wish and desire is that all should be as happy as it rests with me to make them, and though I feel that I am unjust sometimes it is not the rule with me to be so. I care for their marches, for their wants and food, and protect their women and boys if they ill-treat them—and I do nothing of this. I am a chisel which cuts the wood—the Carpenter directs it.'

Though Gordon had said that he did

not care to explore the undiscovered country beyond his station, the statements of Dr. Schweinfurth respecting Lake Albert kindled in him a strong desire to ascertain whether or not it belonged to the Nile basin, by exploring the 70 miles which lay between Foweira and that lake. On the 20th of July he left Duffli for Magungo with the steamer and two lifeboats. He found that the river varied in width, from 2 to 4 miles, with no visible current. It is full of endless papyrus isles, and there is a fringe of papyrus for 10 or 12 yards along the banks. The river has dense forests on each side, and the country is thickly peopled. Writing on the 5th of August, Gordon mentions that the party was 3 miles west of Murchison Falls, marching some 15 or 20 miles a day, now through pouring rain, then under a burning sun, through dense jungles and terrific ravines and gullies, stung by mosquitoes and hornets, and exposed to the attacks of the natives, but in spite of difficulties and dangers mapping the river as they went. 'It has been terrible work,' he wrote. Having penetrated the country as far south as Nyamyongo he returned by river to Mrooli in September, having been forced to give up the bit of the Nile between Urundogani and the lake—the only part of the river from Berber to Lake Victoria that he had not traversed.

He was now turning his thoughts homeward. He had been absent three years—'a very long three years without a Sunday.' After visiting Magungo, Murchison Falls, and Chibero, with a view of forming a line of posts from the Victoria Nile to the lake, he returned to Khartoum. He reached Cairo on the 2nd of December, and hastening homeward he arrived in London, in good health and spirits, on the 24th of December, 1876.

Gordon was reluctant to return to the Soudan, and a great desire was expressed in influential quarters that he should be made governor of Bulgaria, where the

most shocking cruelties had been perpetrated by the Turkish troops. But though he was, as he said, 'almost inclined not to go back,' he was not clear that it was duty to refuse. He was determined, however, not to return to his post on the same footing as before. He had been commissioned to abolish slavery in the Soudan, but all his efforts had been thwarted by Ismail Pasha Yacoub, the Governor-General of the province, who had permitted Khartoum, its capital, to remain the headquarters of the slave system. He therefore resolved that he would not resume his duties unless he were armed with full authority to deal with this obstruction. In this frame of mind he went to Cairo in February, 1877, for the purpose of discussing the whole question with the Khedive. His Highness at once acceded to his wishes, and appointed him Governor-General of the Soudan, with Darfur and the provinces of the Equator. He was to have three deputies to assist him in the government of this immense territory, and he was informed by the Khedive that his attention was to be specially directed to the suppression of slavery and the improvement of the means of communication. He was also instructed to look carefully into the state of affairs in Abyssinia, and was empowered to enter into negotiations with the authorities in that kingdom, with a view to the settlement of matters in dispute between them and the Egyptian government. His power was thus greatly extended, but so also were his difficulties and responsibilities. He did not, however, batc one jot of heart or hope, though he was keenly alive to the obstacles he would have to encounter in the discharge of his duties. 'I go up alone,' he said, 'with an infinite, almighty God to direct and guide me, and am glad to so trust Him as to fear nothing, and indeed to feel sure of success.'

He left Cairo for the Soudan on the 18th of February, but he intended on

his way to deal with the Abyssinian question. The reigning prince at this time in that country was King John II., better known as Johannis. He did not, however, reign over the whole of Abyssinia, for two of the provinces, Hamaçem and Bogos, were in other hands. They had belonged to Walad El Michael, the hereditary prince, but in 1874 Bogos was seized by the Egyptians, and preparations were made to invade and appropriate Hamaçem also. Walad El Michael, who had been imprisoned by Johannis, was released on condition that he would assist in repelling the Egyptian invasion. The Khedive's forces, owing to the ignorance and mismanagement of their commanders, were defeated with great slaughter. But Walad El Michael, indignant with the king, who had deprived him of his spoils, joined a new Egyptian army, which in 1876 invaded Abyssinia in order to avenge the previous defeats, but they were again beaten, with the loss, it was said, of 9000 men. A second encounter, however, took place, in which the Egyptians were successful. They then asked a truce, which was granted, and they withdrew their forces and returned to Massawa. Walad El Michael, with 7000 of his men, went back to Bogos, and set himself to thwart negotiations for a permanent peace between Abyssinia and Egypt; and making a sudden raid into Hamaçem he plundered the country and killed the governor of the province. Johannis, apprehensive of the power of this turbulent chief, sent an envoy to Cairo, offering to give up Hamaçem if Walad El Michael were surrendered to him. The Khedive was at a loss what answer to return to this proposal, and he first of all detained the envoy and his suite for upwards of three months in a kind of honourable confinement. He was at last induced by the representations of the French and British consuls to receive him, but the audience led to no definite result. The unhappy envoy was mobbed and pelted in the streets of

Cairo, and was sent back to Abyssinia with rich presents from the Khedive, but without any letter. Johannis was naturally very indignant at the insult thus offered him, and especially at the inroad which Walad El Michael, acting as an ally of Egypt, made into his country.

It was in this state of matters that Gordon went to Magdala as the Khedive's ambassador. About the middle of March, 1877, he reached Massawa and pushed across the desert to Keren, the capital of Bogos. Seven miles from that place he was met by 200 cavalry and infantry. 'Henceforth,' he says, 'he was carefully guarded by six or eight sentries—the other men in a circle round them.' 'To me,' he adds, 'it is irksome beyond measure. Eight or ten men help me off my camel, as if I were an invalid. If I walk everyone gets off and walks; so, furious, I get on again.' Outside Keren the troops were drawn up in a line to receive him, and a band of musicians danced and played before him. On the third day after his arrival at the capital, Walad El Michael came in with 200 infantry and 60 horsemen. Gordon informed him that the Khedive, in deference to the wishes of Europe, had determined not to carry on the war, but that he would ask Johannis to give him a government. Walad, urged by the French priests, asked a great deal more. In the end he was made governor of two or three tribes.

Other matters in Abyssinia claimed Gordon's attention, but he could not remain longer there as his presence was urgently required at Khartoum. He started at once, travelling with unusual rapidity, although the heat was overpowering. At the several stations on his route he was beset with applications and complaints, to which he listened attentively, and did all in his power to relieve the wants of the poor people, who, he says, had been much neglected. At one stage of his journey he had to receive and return a visit to a celebrated religious man

from Mecca, who traced his descent in an unbroken line from Mahomet. At another he witnessed a village *fête*, at which the men were dressed in long shirts of mail, with helmets of iron, and finger and nose-pieces of chain armour, which it appears had been used by the old Crusaders. Amid incessant toil and weariness he sometimes regretted that he had ever 'gone into this sort of Bedouin life, either in China or here.' He had to contend, as he said, with many vested interests, with fanaticism, with the abolition of hundreds of Arnauts, Turks, &c., now acting as Bashi-Bazouks, with inefficient gunners, with wild independent tribes of Bedouins, and with a large semi-independent province lately under Zubuir, the black pasha at Bahr Gazelle. He was quite alone, too, with not even a respectable assistant with him to relieve him of some portion of his overwhelming labours. But with God on his side he did not fear what man could do to him.

Gordon reached the seat of his government at the beginning of May, and the ceremony of installation took place on the 5th of that month. The firman was read, an address was presented by the Cadi, and a royal salute was fired. The new Governor-General was expected to deliver an address, but all he said was, 'With the help of God I will hold the balance level'—an assurance which greatly delighted the people, who had not been accustomed to see equal weights and measures used by their rulers. It is stated by an eye-witness of the installation that 'the pasha afterwards directed gratuities to be distributed among the deserving poor,' and that in three days he gave away upwards of £3000 of his own money. The palace prepared for his residence was pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, but much to his annoyance it was as large as Marlborough House. He was waited upon by 200 servants. A number of cavasses rode out before him when he went abroad. He was guarded, he said, like an ingot of gold. 'I must not

rise to give a chair to a guest: if I get up every one else does the same. It is misery, and I now feel what work princes must go through.'

His appointment had excited a great deal of ill-feeling among the officials at Khartoum. The sister of the ex-governor Ismael Yacoub was so enraged at his having superseded her brother, that she broke all the windows of the palace—130 in number—in which the Governor was lodged, and cut the divans in pieces. Halid Pasha, the second in command, was hostile from the first. He was very rude and assuming, and tried to bully his superior, but he was speedily obliged to submit and to promise all due obedience. In a few days, however, he broke out again, and tried to thwart the Governor's orders. He was in consequence immediately recalled and sent about his business. 'It is waste of time,' said Gordon, 'to argue with a Turk or Circassian, the only way is to coerce him; you could never convince him.'

The new Governor's mode of administration presented a marked contrast to that of his Egyptian predecessors. The 'reign of the whip,' as he expressed it, 'ceased.' It had hitherto been almost impossible for a poor man or a person who had a grievance to obtain access to the Governor, except by bribing his subordinates. But Gordon soon put an end to that system. He caused a box, with a slit in the lid, to be placed at the door of the palace, into which petitions and letters could be dropped, and every case was carefully noted and considered. He discovered that as much as £600 had frequently been paid to his head clerk merely in the hope of getting a place not worth more than £240 a year. 'So it is evident,' he wrote, 'that the holders get much more than their pay out of the people.' He did not punish the givers, for 'they had been brought up to it,' but he took the money and put it into the treasury.

Gordon had meditated much during his long and silent rides from place to place on the problem of slavery, which he was

determined to suppress. He prepared a scheme which he hoped would solve the problem, and submitted the details to her Majesty's consul-general, Mr Vivian. There was a marked difference, he said, between the abolition of colonial slavery and its suppression in the Soudan. In the one case it affected the colonies only; in the other it was a question of home interests, affecting men of all conditions. Egypt could not compensate slave-owners as Britain did in dealing with her colonies, and could only decree the liberation of the slaves after a certain number of years had elapsed. He therefore proposed to enforce the law which compelled runaway slaves to return to their masters except when cruelly treated; to require masters to register their slaves till the 1st January, 1878; and to stop all registration of slaves after that date, so that no newly acquired slaves would be considered as property or liable to be reclaimed by their masters. He also meditated an attack upon European holders of slaves in the Soudan. If they professed to be foreign subjects he intended to liberate their slaves; if they called themselves Egyptian subjects he was resolved to tax them heavily. It was a tremendous task to suppress slavery among a people to whom the trade in 'black ivory' was life and fortune, was carried on by powerful and wealthy slave-hunters at the head of large bodies of armed soldiers, and was connived at by corrupt officials supported by 6000 Bashi-Bazouks, who were used as frontier guards, but who made no attempt to stop slave-hunting, and robbed the tribes on their own account; and all this under a deadly climate, with the alternation of overpowering heat by day and bitter cold during the night. Gordon might well say, 'Who that had not the Almighty with him would dare to do that? I can do it with God's help, and I have the conviction He has destined me to do it.'

He went through a great deal of work at Khartoum, and carried out several reforms,

one of the most important of which was pumping the river water up into the town. This was done at a moderate cost and was a great boon, for many of the houses lay far inland, and the labour of supplying them with water from the river was very great. His presence was urgently required at Darfur, the most westerly province of the Soudan, where a revolt had broken out. The Khedive's garrisons at Fascher, Dara, and Kolkol, were besieged by the rebels, and on the 19th of May Gordon set out to their relief. He had ninety-seven days of camel-riding before him, but he was benefitted both bodily and mentally by travelling. 'I am quite comfortable on the camel,' he wrote home, 'and am happier when on the march than in towns with all the ceremonies.'

About the end of May he reached El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, which has attained a painful notoriety in connection with the terrible disaster that there befel General Hicks. Gordon did not stay at Obeid, but hurried on by the frontier of Darfur. Hassan Pasha had been sent in March with a force of 16,000 men to the relief of Fascher, but no news had yet been received of that force. Gordon had only a few men with him, but he confidently expected to make friends of the rebel tribes between Fogia and Fascher, and to march to the latter city with a bodyguard of 200 converted enemies, and escorted by the chiefs who up to that time had been rebels. His was the faith that could remove mountains. 'Praying for the people ahead of me whom I am about to visit,' he says, 'gives me much strength; and it is wonderful how something seems already to have passed between us when I meet a chief (for whom I have prayed) for the first time. On this I base my hopes of a triumphant march to Fascher.' He could not, however, proceed at once to that place, and had to wait a whole fortnight at Oomchanga, five or six days' journey off, for the arrival of the 200 or 300 ragamuffins who formed the whole force at his disposal. This forced

inaction under the fearful heat was very hard to bear. 'When I look back,' he wrote, 'on the hours and hours of waiting for this and that during China and later campaigns, and here, I really think few men have had such worries in this way.' A little later, he wrote, he was greatly cheered by the manner in which the people of Darfur came flocking in to tell him their grievances and to ask for pardon. They had been treated so shamefully by the Bashi-Bazouks that the Governor-General told them that he ought rather to ask pardon of them.

Gordon had now made peace with all the tribes around him and half-way to Fascher. On the 30th of June he left Oomchanga for Toashia, accompanied by 500 of the Egyptian soldiers, who had at length arrived. He expected to obtain reinforcements at the other stations and to march on Fascher with 2000 men. But when he reached Toashia he found that 'the wretched nondescript garrison' had been three years without pay, and were in a state of semi-starvation. They were a miserable set, so feeble and spiritless that he determined not to take them with him, and sent them back to Kordofan to be disbanded. Then he expected to be joined by a sheikh whose brother he had released, but he failed to appear. As Toashia was very unhealthy he was obliged to begin his march at once, having with him some 500 men, armed only with flint-lock muskets—a mere set of brigands, on whom no reliance could be placed. They were threatened by thousands of 'determined blacks,' who knew that the Governor-General was with them. 'I prayed heartily for an issue,' he says, 'but it gave me a pain in the heart like that I had when surrounded at Masindi. I do not fear death, but I fear from want of faith the results of my death, for the whole country would have risen. It is indeed most painful to be in such a position. It takes a year's work out of one. However, thank God! it is over, and I hope to reach Dara

to-morrow.' With the bungling and mismanagement of which Gordon had habitually to complain, the troops sent out to meet him went by a different route, and so missed him. Fortunately no attack was made on him by the tribesmen, for he was quite defenceless.

His arrival at Dara took the people completely by surprise. 'They had been six months without news from without,' he says. 'It was like the relief of Lucknow. Everything was at famine prices. The two pashas, the one at Fascher and the other at Kobeyt, have been doing nothing with their 7000 troops—waiting for reinforcements.' Gordon's first step was to send out an expedition against Haroun, the pretender to the throne of Darfur, as nothing could be done until he was put down. While waiting for the result of this effort he received a visit from the chief of the Razagat tribe, one of the most powerful in the country, with 600 of his followers, who had been ill-used and pillaged by Zubair's son, and came to tell Gordon that he was prepared to side with the government against the slave-hunters. But he was at his wits' end how to feed them. Food was also required at this juncture for 210 slaves who had been rescued from their captors, and were so miserable, thin, and starved that he burst into tears at the sight of them. They had been thirty-six hours without food, and had positively been living on grass.

From Dara the Governor-General went on to Wadar to subdue the Leopard tribe, who had attacked Toashia. He was overtaken by a dreadful thunderstorm, which lasted all night, and had to halt under a deluge of rain, which 'took some fifty per cent. of strength' out of his troops. Next day a battle took place. The Masharin tribe, Gordon's auxiliaries (though his own troops as usual had lagged behind), attacked a detachment of the Leopards and routed them with great slaughter. When the 'nondescripts' came up a council of war was held, but while they were deliberating the

Leopards advanced boldly in two divisions, each 350 strong. The Masharins went out to meet them, but they kept moving on, and in spite of a steady fire of musketry they came close up to the bushes of Gordon's camp. They nearly won a victory, as the government troops took shelter behind the stockades; but after a severe struggle they were driven back by the Masharins, whose chief was mortally wounded in the conflict. 'No one can conceive,' wrote Gordon, 'what my officers and troops are. I was *sickened* to see twenty brave men in alliance with me ride out to meet the Leopard tribe unsupported by my men, who crowded into the stockade. It was terribly painful!' In order to compel the Leopards to submit Gordon had to cut them off from their watering-places. The heat was overpowering, the sufferings of the insurgent tribe shortly became intolerable, and overcome by thirst they sued for pardon, swore fidelity on the Koran, and gave up their spears, and were then allowed to 'fly down to the water.'

After 'an abominable ride for 30 miles through quagmires' he entered Fascher with 150 men, to the extreme surprise of the beleaguered inhabitants. He found there four times as many soldiers as he had with him, and learned that there were ten times as many with Hassan Pasha Helmi, three days from Fascher; but they had done nothing—had not even kept the enemy at a distance. They did worse than nothing. The commander of a body of soldiers whom Gordon had sent to attack the advanced guard of the slave-hunters' force accepted a heavy bribe from the opposing chief, and had shirked his duty. The same man forbade the Muezzin to call the people to prayers, on the pretext that it disturbed the Governor-general—his object being to rouse the fanaticism of the people. When the trick was discovered, Gordon says, 'I gave the crier £2, and I bundled off my friend the lieutenant-colonel into banishment at Katarif, where he will have time to meditate.

I never hesitate a moment in coming down on such fellows.'

Troubles and perplexities gathered thick around the Governor-General, but his greatest danger arose out of the proceedings of Suleiman, Zubair's son, who was harrying and pillaging the tribes all round. Shaka, the headquarters of this robber chief and king of the slave-dealers, was described by Gordon as a Cave of Adullam, where all robbers and murderers were assembled, and from whence continual raids were made upon the negro tribes for slaves. Suleiman could bring 10,000 men into the field, 'a large army for these parts,' and at this juncture news came that he was preparing with 6000 men to attack the Government at Dara. Gordon, however, was planning to overcome him not by the sword but by the Spirit. He felt that there was not a moment to lose, and he travelled to Dara, a distance of 85 miles, in a day and a half. He came upon the people like a thunder-bolt; they could not believe their eyes. There was no dinner for him, but he passed a quiet night, forgetting his miseries. Rising at dawn, he put on the golden armour the Khedive had given him and rode out, with an escort of Bashi-Bazouks, to the camp of the robbers, 3 miles off. On the way he was met by the son of Zubair, 'a nice-looking lad of twenty-two,' and then went into the rebel camp, where he found 3000 men and boys. 'The whole body of chiefs,' he says, 'were dumbfounded at my coming among them. After a glass of water I went back, telling the son of Zubair to come with his family to my divan. They all came, and setting them in a circle I gave them in choice Arabic my ideas:—That they meditated revolt; that I knew it, and that they should now have my ultimatum, viz., that I would disarm them and break them up. They listened in silence, and then went off to consider in silence what I had said. They have just now sent in a letter stating their submission, and I thank God for it.'

Suleiman was pardoned, but he was not

reconciled to his position. He looked daggers at Gordon, and was furious at his own surrender. He asked the Governor-General for some robes, and was informed that he had no robes to give him, and that he had not filled Gordon with over much confidence in his fidelity. Indeed the Governor was for a time in imminent danger, for he was completely at the mercy of the followers of the slave-hunter, who were brave men and trained to war, and he had no confidence in his own officers or men. Gordon was apprehensive that he would be obliged most reluctantly to make Suleiman—the 'Cub' as he called him—a prisoner, as there appeared to be no hope of peace without this step. 'The little chap,' he wrote, 'is very irate with me—in fact furious—and I doubt if he will ever forgive me. I wish he would, for I cannot help feeling for him; and he is a smart little fellow—the terror in which he has kept the mightiest of these freebooters is something wonderful. They are all afraid of their life of him, and he made men of all sorts prisoners.'

In the midst of his troubles in connection with the slave-hunters, Gordon was deeply mortified at discovering that his black secretary—a man whom he had trusted as himself—had taken no less than £3000 backsheesh. He said it was horrible. The man was at once sent to Khartoum to be tried, and in his place Berzati Bey, a clever young Mussulman of high attainments, was appointed secretary.

The slave-dealers were still not inclined to give up the contest. Gordon therefore ordered Suleiman to return to Shaka with a portion of his men, and to leave the remainder at Dara with Nour Bey, one of his commanders, who was now faithful to the Governor. After spending a whole night in discussing the question whether or not they should attack Dara at once, Zubair's son set out for Shaka with four chiefs and 1400 men, while

Nour Bey, with nine chiefs and 1500 men, remained behind and submitted to the Government. Suleiman sent a letter from Shaka, in which he declared himself Gordon's son, and asked for a government. In reply, he was informed that until he either went to Cairo to salute the Khedive, or gave some other proof of fidelity, the Governor-General would never give him a place, even if the refusal cost him his life. 'I had a painful night of it last night,' he wrote, 'for I much feared an attack from Zubair's son, rendered desperate by my last refusal.'

In September, Gordon decided to ride to Shaka for the purpose of completing Suleiman's subjection. While making his way over a bad road and through a thorny forest, he received a letter from the slave-hunting chief, inviting him to take up his residence in his house. Gordon accepted the invitation at once. When he approached the place Suleiman and his officers came out to meet him, and gave him a cordial welcome. All were now 'very, very submissive.' Suleiman was especially reverential in his demeanour. He renewed his request for a government, and importuned the Governor-General for hours to appoint him chief of the Seribas. 'This I will not do,' wrote Gordon, 'for it would put things into his hands; as I told him he had not acted hitherto in a way which would justify this confidence. He came last night twice when I was going to sleep and embraced my feet for this boon, and to-day offered me a wedge of gold.' Gordon only stayed two days at the 'Cave of Adullam.' He learned subsequently that he had narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, for before his arrival the slave chief had resolved to seize him. Probably no other person would have been allowed to leave the robbers' den in safety. It was this daring exploit that especially excited the admiration of the Khedive, who constantly referred to it when any of his counsellors endeavoured to prejudice his mind against Gordon.

On quitting Shaka, Gordon set out for Obeid, taking Suleiman with him. He suspected that a caravan of slaves was accompanying him. The merchants declared that they were their wives and children, but he found at last that about eighty men, women, and children were really going with him in chains. He felt greatly disheartened. Slavery met him everywhere, and he was utterly at a loss how to dispose of the slaves. If he released them there was no one to care for them or to feed them and it was hopeless to send them back some forty days' march through hostile tribes to their homes, as they would never have reached them. He therefore allowed them to go on, but insisted that their chains should be removed. 'The only remedy for the slave-trade,' he said, 'was to stop it at its source, by suppressing slave raids on the frontier. Once the slaves have left the source it is useless to try.'

On the way to Obeid he came upon a gang of brigands, whom he made prisoners or dispersed, and rescued their plunder. All through the journey he picked up slaves, some of whom had been left behind unable to keep up with the caravan; others were ill, and lay dying in the sun. The sight of their misery shocked him and made him wretched. Some of them he bought, the others he sent down to a watering-place, and had to interpose his authority to compel the Arabs of the village to give them water. He expressed his determination to suppress the horrible traffic of which they were the victims. He resolved to stop at once the slave markets at Katarif, Galabat, and Shaka, and next to prevent the raids on the black tribes near the Bahr Gazelle. But the people were bent on slave traffic, and he had no one on whom he could rely to enforce his decrees against it. Meanwhile, however, the clearing out of the robbers' den at Shaka had produced a great effect; and the rapidity of his movements, his

firmness, and irresistible energy had convinced not only the slave-hunters, but the mass of the people, that the Governor-General's decrees must be carried into effect.

When Gordon reached Khartoum he found an immense amount of work waiting him, but he cleared it off in a week, and then started for Hellal on a visit to Walad El Michael. He was stopped in his progress northward on the 16th of November, by news that Sennaar and Fazolie were threatened with an invasion from Abyssinia by Ras Arya, one of King Johannis' generals. He was greatly alarmed at this information, and at once turned back towards Khartoum, where, after a long, cold, and tiring journey, he arrived on the 22nd, and found the news false. On the 26th he started once more on a visit to Walad El Michael. On his way near Kasala he received a visit from Shereef Seid Hacom, the 'holy man' whom once before he had met on his road to Khartoum, and who had been greatly scandalized by Gordon's sitting by mistake in European fashion on his sacred divan. This time the governor left the seat of honour for the priest, and presented him with £20. The 'holy man' begged him to become a Mussulman, a request which had been frequently made by others.

On the 16th of December he reached Walad's camp, which was placed on a sort of plateau on the top of a lofty mountain, and contained 7000 men. The chief himself was ill, or pretended to be so, but Gordon was met by his son and a number of priests. Some suspicious circumstances connected with the accommodation provided for him and his attendants made him apprehensive that Michael wanted to make him a prisoner, but all such intentions were earnestly disclaimed. Next day he had an interview with the chief and advised him to ask pardon of Johannis, but this he was told was impossible, and so there was no use discussing it. He asked Gordon to give him more

districts—to plunder of course—but this demand was compromised by a payment of £1000 a month. Gordon went on to Mas-sawa, and there waited for a reply to the letter which he had written to Ras Barion, the frontier-general, suggesting that Walad should be seized and sent to Cairo, and that a free pardon should be given to his troops. After waiting for some time without hearing anything, Gordon set out for Khartoum by Suakim and Berber. He was, however, stopped on the road by a telegram from the Khedive, asking him to go down to Cairo to assist in arranging his financial affairs. He was exceedingly unwilling to go, but there was no help for it. He started off at once on the long journey, and reached Cairo on the 7th of March. He was received with every mark of distinction, and was lodged in the palace which had been occupied by the Prince of Wales during his visit. The splendour of the place, the attentions of the courtiers, and the crowds of servants who waited on him troubled him greatly. 'I feel,' he said, 'like a fly in this big place. I wish for my camel.' The Khedive requested him to act as president of the finance inquiry, but it soon became evident that they could not agree as to the course which should be followed, and the Khedive, he says, threw him over completely at the last moment. He was confident that if his Highness had supported him more vigorously, he would have been able to settle the whole affair promptly and satisfactorily.

On the 30th of March Gordon left Cairo for Suez. He was allowed to depart without any honours, and by the ordinary train, paying his passage. He went by Zeila to Harrar, where Raouf Pasha, whom he had deposed four years before, was behaving in a most tyrannical manner. On the route he met a caravan carrying £2000 worth of coffee, which Raouf was sending off on his private account to be sold at Aden. Gordon at once confiscated the coffee and dismissed this 'regular tyrant,' as he termed him, from office.

After a very short stay at Harrar, Gordon returned to Zeila, which he reached at dawn on the 9th of May, 'after a terrible march of eight days.' Tired as he was, he pushed on straight for Massawa. There bad news reached him, for he heard that Walad El Michael had defeated and killed Ras Barion, the general of Johannis. But he was anxious to get back to Khartoum, and on 22nd May he set out for that place by way of Suakim and Berber, suffering dreadfully from the extreme heat, which was greater than he had ever experienced. On reaching the capital he found an immense amount of arrears of work of every kind to be cleared off, questions of finance to be settled, speculations to be traced out and punished, and wrongs to be redressed. To crown all, in July news reached him that Suleiman had revolted, and had again taken possession of the Bahr Gazelle. It was subsequently discovered that he had risen against the Government in obedience to his father's orders. When Zubair was about to go down to Cairo he assembled his officers under a large tree, about two miles from Shaka, and made them swear to obey him. If he sent word to them to attend to the arrangements made under the tree they were to revolt. After Zubair saw Gordon at Cairo, and found that he would give him no assistance, he sent up the command to his officers and his sons, 'Put into effect my orders given under the tree,' and they immediately took up arms.

On receiving news of the revolt Gordon acted with his usual firmness and despatch. He seized and imprisoned all the relatives of Zubair whom he could find, and confiscated their goods. He then sent an expeditionary force to the south, under Romulus Gessi, an Italian who had been interpreter to the British forces in the Crimea. He describes him in brief and pithy terms:—'Aged forty-nine. Short, compact figure; cool, most determined man. Born genius for practical ingenuity in mechanics. Ought to have been born in 1561, not in 1832. Same disposition as Francis Drake.' Gessi set

about the work intrusted to him with an alacrity and energy which fully justified Gordon's selection of him for this difficult enterprise. He started at once for the scene of revolt, but all the tributaries of the Bahr Gazelle were overflowing, and incessant rains detained him at Rumbek until November. He was very impatient in this state of enforced inaction, for news came that Suleiman had proclaimed himself lord of the province, and had surprised the Egyptian garrison at Dem Idris, seized the stores of ammunition, and massacred the troops. The chiefs in the district had resisted his ravages, but he had slain the men, and had either butchered or made slaves of the women and children. He had everywhere robbed the people of their stores of grain, and in some places had left nothing for them to eat but leaves and grass. The Arabs of the province, who at first had appeared to be friendly, began to withdraw from Gessi under the impression that Suleiman's was the stronger side, and now the forces of the robber chief numbered 6000 men. Even Gessi's own men began to desert in large bodies, and rigorous measures had to be adopted by him to keep them from going over to the enemy. About the middle of December his forces reached the stronghold of Dem Idris, but they were unable to leave it until the end of April, 1879. Sulciman, who thought he was secure from their attacks for that season, was taken by surprise at their advance, and at the head of a host of 10,000 men made repeated desperate attacks on their position, but was beaten off with great loss. The want of ammunition prevented Gessi from following up his victories, but he succeeded in breaking up the gangs of brigands who on all sides were sweeping off the natives into slavery, and by the beginning of February he had restored more than 10,000 of these unhappy people to their homes. He caused a number of the slave-dealers to be shot in the sight of all his troops, and others he hanged. He hunted Suleiman and his men from

place to place, at every stage discovering marks of the shocking outrages which they had perpetrated, and at last ran them to earth on the night of July 15, at a village called Gara. They still numbered 700, while he had only 290 men in all; but under a mistaken notion as to the strength of his force, they surrendered at discretion. He divided them into three sets. To the common soldiers he granted life and liberty, on condition that they returned to their own country and settled down to a peaceful life, an offer which they willingly accepted. The smaller slave-dealers—157 in number—were next sent off by another road as prisoners. The eleven chiefs, including Suleiman, were shot.

Thus ended the great revolt of Zubair in the person of his son, who had made himself the heir of his father's crimes as well as of his wealth and power, and justly merited the punishment which at length overtook him. But Zubair himself, who had spread desolation and misery over hundreds of miles of public lands which once supported a numerous and happy population, though condemned to death for instigating this rebellion, was allowed to live on in Cairo as the pensioner of the Khedive, with the allowance of £100 a month. 'The Khedive not only pardons but pensions,' wrote Gordon. 'What pensions have the widows and orphans whom Zubair has made by the thousand? What allowance have the poor worn-out bodies of men, strong enough till he dragged them from their homes, who are now draining the last bitter dregs of life in cruel slavery? What recompense has been made to those whose bleached bones mark the track of his trade on many and many a league of ground? His refuge is in the city of princes that have gold, who fill their houses with silver. Theirs is where the prisoners rest together; where they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and the great are there; and the servant is free from his master.'

While Gessi was thus busily employed in exterminating the slave-hunters, Gordon

was hard at work at Khartoum, but he was grievously annoyed and hampered by the conduct of the Khedive and his advisers at Cairo in regard to slave-dealing. He had, he says, an order signed by the Khedive to put to death all slave-dealers or persons taking slaves, and the convention between the British and the Egyptian governments branded slave-taking as 'robbery with murder.' But the firman of his Highness declared slave-dealing punishable only with imprisonment of from five months to five years' duration; and even this punishment was made void by a despatch from Nubar Pasha, declaring that the sale and purchase of slaves in the Egyptian territory is legal. That arrogant and corrupt functionary had even the effrontery to offer to send up to the Soudan Zubair, who had promised to pay him a revenue of £25,000 a year. Gordon was quite well aware that Zubair could pay this sum only by sending down slaves, and that if he were once permitted to return to the Soudan, all the efforts he had made for the suppression of the slave-trade would be completely counteracted. He therefore quietly declined Nubar's offer, and told him that he wanted no help from Cairo in that way. Gordon was also greatly troubled with the unsatisfactory state of the Soudan finances and the peculations of the Egyptian collectors of the revenue, who contrived to appropriate to their own use at least one-sixth of the sum which they levied from the people. He received no less than three orders to go down to Cairo, but he refused to obey them, and intimated that if he was forced to go he would resign. Nubar's dismissal, however, soon after freed him from one of his most active enemies.

In the middle of March Gordon left Khartoum for Shaka, for the purpose of dislodging the slave-hunters from their hold and giving assistance to Gessi, about whom he was feeling a good deal of anxiety. The road

led over vast tracts of sand, where the heat was intense by day and the nights were bitterly cold. On the way he met many hundreds of slaves, all in a most wretched condition. Between June, 1878, and March, 1879, he captured no less than sixty-three caravans. He says, 'We must have caught 2000 in less than nine months, and I expect we did not catch one-fifth of the caravans.' 'At Edowa,' he writes, 'a party of seven slave-dealers, with twenty-three slaves, were captured and brought to me, together with two camels. Nothing could exceed the misery of these poor wretches. Some were children of not more than three years old; they had come across that torrid zone from Shaka, a journey from which I on my camel shrink. . . . When I had just begun this letter another caravan, with two slave-dealers and seventeen slaves, was brought in, and I hear others are on the way. Some of the poor women were quite nude. Both these caravans came from Shaka, where I mean to make a clean sweep of the slave-dealers.' Three Bashi-Bazouks, who were caught with fourteen slaves, were beaten, stripped of everything, even to their clothes, by Gordon's men, and then dismissed. He had every wish to shoot them, he said, and was prevented only by the want of power and legality.

On the 29th of March Gordon crossed the frontier of Kordofan and entered Darfur, suffering dreadfully from the intense heat. During his long night-rides pondering the enormous evils of the slave-trade, he was able to see his way, he thought, to crush it out by decreeing two regulations—1st, All persons residing in Darfur must have a formal permission to remain there. 2nd, All persons travelling to and from Darfur must have passports for themselves and *suite*. 'Thus,' he adds, 'no person can reside in Darfur without an ostensible mode of livelihood; and no one can go to or from Darfur without government permission for himself and his followers.'

The violation of these regulations was to be punished with imprisonment and confiscation of property.

He reached Shaka on 7th April, and found there some hundreds of slave-dealers, whom—to their great grief—he immediately cleared out of their den. Here he received a telegram ordering him to send down £12,000 to Cairo. He replied that his troops were from fifteen months to two years in arrears of pay and had no clothes, and requested the authorities to send him at once the £12,000 they unfairly took in customs on goods in transit to the Soudan.

From Shaka Gordon went to Kalaka. All the route was marked by the camping places of the slave-dealers, and there were numerous skulls by the side of the road. Thousands of slaves had passed along this route. Some districts were completely depopulated, all the inhabitants having been captured or starved to death. Slaves were wandering about the country in thousands, and were being 'snapped up,' Gordon said, 'by the native Arabs in all directions, as if they were sheep.' He reckoned there must have been a thousand in Kalaka alone, but owing to the scarcity of food and water and the means of transport, it was impossible to send them back to their own country. There was nothing for it but to divide them among the neighbouring tribes, by whom they would be well used.

On the 1st of May he started from Kalaka for Dara, leaving 100 soldiers behind him, and over a monotonous and sandy plain he travelled from Dara to Fascher and Kebeyt, in the extreme north of Darfur. At Kebeyt he was informed that the route to Kolkel was infested by brigands, though there were 2000 soldiers at that place. He therefore went to see how matters stood. On the journey he was attacked by from 150 to 180 men, and for four or five hours 'had a bad time,' as he expressed it, 'to keep the brigands at bay.' They were

at length driven off, and towards evening Gordon's party, having marched 25 miles that day, 'camped dead beat,' 9 miles from Kolkel, the ultimate post of the Egyptian government, which they reached next day. 'No one had passed along that road for upwards of two years—in fact Kolkel was a prison. Nothing could describe the misery of these utterly useless lands—they have been made perfect deserts by the Government.'

From Kolkel he despatched to Khartoum a band of 400 useless Arab officers, soldiers, women, and children by Dara, a roundabout way to preserve them from danger—'a great deliverance of useless mouths.' Starting for Khartoum by way of Oomchanga and Toashia, at every stage he came upon slave-dealers with bands of slaves—chiefly women and children—most of them mere skeletons. He caused the slavers to be flogged and stripped of everything and then sent into the desert. His plan was to guard the wells until the slave-dealers, unable to endure the thirst, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Some of them had been for four or five days without food or water. The number of skulls along the road was appalling. Gordon caused great piles of them to be heaped up near the wells as monuments of the horrible cruelties of the slave-dealers. He calculated the loss of life in Darfur during the years 1875-79 at 16,000 Egyptians, and 50,000 natives, exclusive of the loss on the Bahr Gazelle, which he estimated at 15,000, and among the slaves, which must be set down at from 80,000 to 100,000. 'I feel revived,' he says, 'when I make these captures. From Oomchanga to Toashia, during say a week, we have caught say from 500 to 600. I suppose we may consider that nearly that number must have been passing every week for the last year and a half or two years along this road.'

On the 25th of June Gordon and his lieutenant Gessi met, the latter looking

much older, the effect, no doubt, of the anxieties and dangers he had undergone. To his great gratification Gordon presented him with £2000 and created him a Pasha of the Bahr Gazelle, with the second class of Osmanlie. The rebellion of Suleiman was not yet completely crushed, but the end was near at hand, and the new pasha returned to his district to finish his work, while Gordon made his way to Khartoum. At Fogia he heard of the Khedive Ismail's deposition, and received orders to proclaim Tewfik Khedive throughout the Soudan, which he duly carried into effect. He began to long for home, and on July 21st he wrote, 'I shall (D.V.) leave for Cairo in two days, and I hope to see you soon, but I may have to go to Johannesburg before I go to Cairo.' This mission, however, was delayed until after his visit to Cairo, which he reached on the 23rd of August. The new Khedive paid him great attention, and placed a palace at his disposal. Though Gordon, as he admits, was 'very cross at the dismissal of Ismail,' Tewfik consulted him on various important points, and requested him to go on a special mission to the King of Abyssinia, which he readily consented to do. The pashas objected to him, on the ground that he was too friendly to the 'incurable.' Gordon declared that if any of the Council of Ministers said anything against him, he would on his return beg the Khedive to make the evil-speaker Governor-General of the Soudan.

On the 11th of September he started for Gura, where Aloula, one of Johannesburg's generals, was encamped, taking with him only his secretary, Berzati Bey. The heat was overpowering, and he suffered much from the prickly heat-rash. The road, he said, was simply terrible, and he was troubled by palpitation of the heart; he had frequently to dismount from his mule and walk. He had little hope of success in his mission, as Johannesburg was determined to have Bogos, while the Khedive instructed him to give up nothing, but not to fight; as if, said Gordon, it were in our option to avoid it.

He was going therefore, he said, with empty hands. 'I have steadfastly kept one policy in view,' he added, 'for the whole time I have been in Abyssinia—viz. to get rid, either *with or without* Johannis' help, of Walad el Michael and his men, and then to come to terms with Johannis. Now Johannis will not give me his help for nothing when I persist in keeping what we have stolen from him. I do not mean physical help, but moral help, *i.e.* that he should offer a pardon—that is, an asylum to which Walad el Michael's men can go when they leave Bogos. Otherwise they will fight with desperation against us.' Walad himself and his officers had been taken prisoners by Aloula, in obedience to the orders of Johannis. On the 16th of September Gordon reached Gura, overcome with fatigue, and had to climb to the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain on which Aloula was encamped. Gordon gives an amusing account of his interview with this chief, whom he found seated on a couch in a long shed made of branches, and wrapped up like a mummy in white garments, even to his mouth. 'Nearly everyone had his robe to his mouth, as if something poisonous had arrived. The figure at the end never moved, and I got quite distressed, for he was so muffled up that I felt inclined to feel his pulse. He must be ill, I thought.' After a time the chief relaxed a little, though he still maintained an air of great self-importance. The envoy soon found that no definite arrangement could be made with Aloula, and he agreed to visit Johannis himself, the general undertaking not to attack Egypt in his absence.

On the 19th Gordon started for Debra Tabor, near Gondar. The journey, which was both difficult and dangerous, occupied him upwards of four weeks. His route lay over the steepest mountains and along the worst roads in the country. He narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a robber chief who was in revolt against the king, and had 300 men under his command, while Gordon had only six black soldiers with

him. On his arrival at Debra Tabor (October 27) the guns fired a salute in his honour, and the king received him in state sitting on a raised dais, his father on one side and the high-priest on the other. Johannis, however, was in no friendly mood, and after giving him audience for a few seconds told the envoy he might retire.

At dawn next morning the king sent for him, and recounted, at great length, his grievances against Egypt. He then asked Gordon why he had come. In reply he was referred to the letters from the Khedive, which, it appeared, had not been read or even translated. After a long search they were found and ordered to be translated. Johannis then stated his claims, which were of the most preposterous character. He wanted, he said, the 'retrocession of Metemma, Changallas, and Bogos, cession of Zeila and Amphilla (ports), an Abouna, and a sum of money from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000.' As alternatives he said he would accept Bogos, Massawa, and the Abouna.* 'I could claim Dongola,' he added, 'Berber, Nubia, and Sennaar, but will not do so. Also, I want certain territory near Harrar.' 'Here,' Gordon remarks, 'his Majesty seemed a little out in his geography, so he added that he would waive that claim for the moment.' It was discovered that Johannis had been induced to make these outrageous demands by the Greek consul and the interpreter, who had persuaded him that he had only to ask in order to obtain. He wished the envoy to accompany him to the baths, 'a hot spring coming up through a bamboo in an old hut,' in order to discuss the subject, but Gordon declined. He gave the king, however, through Berzati Bey, presents to the value of £200, and urged him to state his demands in writing, which he agreed to do,

* Gordon in a letter to the *Times*, 1st January, 1881, says, 'The other question is the demand of the king for an archbishop—an Abouna. The Church of Abyssinia has for centuries taken this Abouna from the Coptic Church at Alexandria. This is important, as it is only the Abouna who can ordain priests; and so, from the difficulties between the governments, the king has been without any ordination for years.'

but failed to keep his promise. On his return from the baths (March 6) Gordon told him that he had positive orders not to cede Bogos, but that he would use his influence to obtain for him an Abouna and the free import of arms and letters for himself at Massawa and Bogos. He said also that he would try to induce the Khedive to cede Bogos, which was useless to Egypt. Johannis, however, continued very sulky and uncivil, and told him to go back to his master and he would send his own envoy with an answer to the Khedive.

An hour after this interview Gordon started on his homeward journey. Just as he was leaving, the interpreter brought him a letter and 1000 dollars. He sent back the money, and at his first halt he opened the letter, which in his official capacity he had a right to do. When translated it was found to be expressed in these insulting terms:—‘I have received the letters you sent me by *that man*. I will not make a secret peace with you. If you want peace, ask the Sultans of Europe.’ Gordon wrote to the Greek consul demanding an explanation, and was answered that ‘the king said he had written as he saw fit, and should write other letters if he judged right.’

Gordon pursued his road to Galabat, and had reached a place called Char Amba, the gate of Abyssinia, where he encamped and was enjoying the splendid view which it commanded of the Soudan plains, when suddenly 120 soldiers commanded by three high officers of Ras Arya, the king’s uncle, swooped down upon him and his party, and marched them back to the village of that chief. Gordon, on the way, destroyed his journal, as he was afraid it might fall into the hands of Johannis. Ras Arya, however, who was a cunning selfish fellow, had his own ends in view in bringing the envoy to his village. He abused the king, said everyone was disgusted with him, and even suggested that the Egyptians should take the country, nothing would be more easy. He said Johannis had given

orders that Gordon was to go back to Egypt by Massawa, and that every care was to be taken that he sent no letter or person to Galabat; but he was determined not to obey these orders, and for a consideration he would send any telegrams to Galabat the envoy wanted. Gordon eagerly availed himself of the opportunity, and gave him £70 to insure the safe passage of his telegrams. On the 17th of November the party left Ras Arya’s village. They were repeatedly arrested and bullied on their homeward journey, and were mobbed at Axum, but were rescued by two little boys, sons of a prince killed at Gura, who took them in. They had to pass over mountains covered with snow, and as they had given up their tents they suffered a good deal from the want of shelter. They had to pay their way throughout with gold, and expended £1400 in bribes to insure their safe-conduct to Massawa, which they reached on the 8th of December, and were delighted to find there the *Seagull*, a British gun-boat. The Khedive, much to his discredit, had taken no notice of Gordon’s request that he would send a regiment and a steamboat with two guns to Massawa, and had it not been for the timely arrival of the *Seagull* this fatiguing and fruitless mission might have ended, not merely in failure, but in a serious disaster.

Johannis was a brutal bloodthirsty tyrant, who inflicted the most shocking cruelties on all who offended him. It is matter of surprise that he allowed the Khedive’s envoy to escape out of his hands. ‘He is a sour ill-favoured looking being,’ wrote Gordon. ‘He never looks you in the face, but when you look away he glares at you like a tiger. He never smiles; his look, always changing, is one of thorough suspicion. Hated and hating all, I can imagine no more unhappy man.’ Accustomed to be most obsequiously spoken to, he was astounded and deeply offended at the frank and uncompromising manner in which Gordon told him his mind. He was evidently afraid, however, to vent his anger

upon the plain-speaking and undaunted envoy. The following amusing but not quite accurate account of an interview between this barbaric 'King of kings' and the Governor-General of the Soudan was told shortly after Gordon's return.

'When Gordon Pasha was lately taken prisoner by the Abyssinians he completely checkmated King John. The king received his prisoner sitting on his throne, or whatever piece of furniture did duty for that exalted seat, a chair being placed for the prisoner considerably lower than the seat on which the king sat. The first thing the pasha did was to seize this chair, place it alongside that of his Majesty, and sit down on it; the next, to inform him that he met him as an equal, and would only treat him as such.* This somewhat disconcerted his sable Majesty, but on recovering himself he said, "Do you know, Gordon Pasha, that I could kill you on the spot if I liked?" "I am perfectly well aware of it, your Majesty," said the pasha. "Do so at once if it is your royal pleasure; I am ready." This discomfited the king still more, and he exclaimed, "What! ready to be killed!" "Certainly," replied the pasha, "I am always ready to die, and so far from fearing your putting me to death, you would confer a favour on me by so doing, for you would be doing for me that which I am precluded by my religious scruples from doing for myself. You would relieve me from all the troubles and misfortunes the future may have in store for me." This completely staggered King John, who gasped out in despair, "Then my power has no terror for you?" "None whatever," was the pasha's laconic reply. His Majesty, it is needless to add, instantly collapsed.'

Gordon returned to Egypt at the end of the year 1879. He had some months before resolved to retire from his post as Governor-General of the Soudan, and he sent in his resignation on his way to Cairo.

* Gordon stated that this did not occur. 'It would,' he said, 'have been both rude and foolish;' but the conversation which took place between him and Johannis was correctly reported.

He had been annoyed and worried by certain of the Khedive's ministers, who insisted that he should make various changes in his government of which he did not approve, and he had not received from the new Khedive himself the support to which he was entitled. But over and above these difficulties, which made him, before he went to Abyssinia, resolve to quit the Soudan, the state of his health made it necessary for him to obtain rest. He had been ill before he had set out on his mission to Johannis, and the toil which he had undergone, and the risks he had run in his Abyssinian journeys, had seriously impaired his health. In 1879 he rode 2230 miles through the deserts on camels and 800 miles in Abyssinia on mules. In the three years, 1877-79, he rode 8490 miles on camels and mules. It need excite no surprise that even his iron frame began to give way under the strain of this incessant toil, and danger, and anxiety.

On his return to Alexandria, Dr. Mackie, surgeon to the British consulate, found that he was 'suffering from symptoms of nervous exhaustion,' and recommended him to retire for several months for complete rest and quiet, and to abstain from all exciting work. In his letters Gordon had repeatedly described the life that he would lead when his retirement should at last come. He would lie in bed till noon, he would only take short strolls, he would never go on a railway journey, and never accept an invitation to dinner. He would have oysters for lunch, and would lead the life of an idle man. He was not permitted, however, to enjoy more than a few weeks' rest at home when his services were once more brought into requisition. But the particular employment offered and accepted by him took everyone by surprise.

The Marquis of Ripon, whose appointment to the governor-generalship of India had excited a great deal of discussion and disapproval, invited Colonel Gordon to become his private secretary, and as Gordon himself expressed it, 'in a moment of

weakness I accepted the appointment,' and proceeded to India with the new Viceroy. 'No sooner had I landed at Bombay,' he wrote, 'than I saw that in my irresponsible position I could not hope to do anything really to the purpose in the face of the vested interests out there. Seeing this, and seeing, moreover, that my views were so diametrically opposed to those of the official classes, I resigned. Lord Ripon's position was certainly a great consideration with me. It was assumed by some that my views of the state of affairs were the Viceroy's, and thus I felt that I should do him harm by staying with him. We parted perfect friends. The brusqueness of my leaving was unavoidable, inasmuch as my stay would have put me into the possession of secrets of state that—considering my decision eventually to leave—I ought not to know. Certainly I might have stayed a month or two, had a pain in the hand, and gone quietly; but the whole duties were so distasteful that I felt, being pretty callous as to what the world says, that it was better to go at once.'

As soon as the news of his resignation reached London a telegram was forwarded to him from Mr. Hart, the Chinese commissioner of customs at Peking, inviting him to go to China. Mr. Hart did not mention by whom he had been directed to take this step, but there can be little doubt that the invitation came from the Imperial Court. At that critical moment war was imminent between Russia and China. Prince Chung and the empress-regent were eager for war, and one of the generals, named Tso, persuaded them that his troops were quite able to cope with the Russian forces. On the other hand, Prince Kung and Gordon's old colleague Li were in favour of peace. In this emergency the counsel of the former commander of the 'Ever-victorious Army' was eagerly sought. 'Please come and see for yourself,' said Hart's telegram. 'This opportunity for doing really useful work on a large scale ought not to be lost. Work, position, con-

ditions, can all be arranged with yourself here to your satisfaction. Do take six months' leave and come.'

Gordon was on the point of setting out for Zanzibar to assist the Sultan, Syed Burghash, in striking another blow at the slave trade when he was invited to Peking, but he gave up at once his intended journey, and applied to the government for permission to go to China. Leave, however, was refused, as he could not state specifically his purpose in going and the position he was to hold. He therefore sent in the resignation of his commission to the War Office; but on further inquiry it was not accepted, and permission was given him to go to China on condition that he should not accept any military appointment, which he had never intended to do. He said that his counsel, if asked, would be 'peace, not war.' He should give them 'quinine and mixture,' but not ask them to take it. He could not believe that the question at issue between Russia and China could be of such vital importance that an arrangement could not be come to by concessions on both sides. He hastened to Tientsin, and there met his old colleague, Li Hung Chang, whom he had always regarded as the ablest man in China, and who, since the close of the Tai-ping Civil War, had filled the highest positions in the government. Gordon spent several days with his former companion, who was overjoyed at the sight of him, and received from him a full account of the state of affairs. He afterwards conferred with the other great officers of state. When his opinion was asked by these officials he gave it in a memorandum expressed in his characteristic plain-spoken style. He threw his whole weight into the scale of the peace party, pointed out the weakness of the Chinese forts and ships, and the unwieldiness and imperfection of their entire military system. He warned them that 'the outbreak of hostilities at Kuldja would be followed by the invasion of Manchuria from the Amoor,' and that if war were really to break out they might expect

a hostile army within two months before the gates of Pekin. Fortunately his wise and disinterested advice was followed, and the danger of collision between the two courts was averted. Gordon's recommendations respecting the military organization best adapted for China were also adopted, and the Chinese forces have been armed and disciplined in strict accordance with the scheme which he prepared. Shortly after his arrival in China he seems to have felt that his actions would be hampered by his connection with the British service. He therefore sent the following telegram to London:—'I have seen Li Hung Chang, and he wishes me to stay with him. I cannot desert China in her present crisis, and would be free to act as I think fit. I therefore beg to resign my commission in Her Majesty's service.' His resignation was once more refused, but his leave of absence was cancelled. Before, however, this intimation (of 14th August) reached him, he had finished his work, and had already taken his passage for Aden.

After returning from China in the winter of 1881, Colonel Gordon, who was more than ever the object of popular favour and commendation, made a short visit to Ireland, and prepared a scheme to alleviate the troubles of that unhappy country; but it was too novel and thorough-going to meet with general approval at that time. He next went over to Brussels, to discuss with the King of the Belgians an international expedition to the Congo, which his Majesty wished him to head. The only holiday which he enjoyed was during a brief sojourn at Lausanne. In May he was ordered to proceed to the Mauritius as Commanding Royal Engineer. On his way to his destination he visited the grave of his former lieutenant in the Soudan, Romulus Gessi, who died on the 30th April in the French Hospital at Suez, after protracted sufferings caused by the terrible privations which he had undergone during the previous months of November and December, when he was shut in by an

impassable barrier of 'sudd' in the Bahr Gazelle River. The death of this indefatigable and trusty fellow-worker, whom Gordon had held in high esteem, was a great blow to the ex-Governor-General, for he was well aware that with it would end all the good that had been done by him in the Soudan, and which Gessi had zealously laboured to perpetuate.

The ten months which Colonel Gordon spent in the Mauritius passed peacefully and happily, but a quiet life was not to be his lot. On the 6th of March, 1882, he was made a Major-General, and on 4th April he left Mauritius for the Cape. On the 23rd of February Sir Hercules Robinson sent a telegram to the Earl of Kimberley, stating that the ministers at the Cape had requested him to inquire whether Her Majesty's Government would permit them to obtain the services of Colonel Gordon, should he be prepared to renew the offer made by him to their predecessors in April, 1881, 'to assist in terminating the war and administering Basutoland.' On the 8th of March a telegram was sent from the Premier at the Cape to Gordon himself, stating that 'the position of matters in Basutoland was grave; and that it was of the utmost importance that the colony should secure the services of some person of proved ability, firmness, and energy. The Government had, therefore, resolved to ask him whether he was disposed to renew his former offer. If he should agree to place his services at the disposal of the Cape Government, they regarded it as very important that he should at once visit the colony. By so doing he would confer a signal favour upon them.' When Gordon proceeded to the Cape, instead of being appointed 'to assist in terminating the war and in administering Basutoland'—the twofold object for which he had placed his services at the disposal of the government—the only post they offered him was that of Commandant-General of the Colonial Forces—an appoint-

ment which he had refused to accept two years before. They said they had no confidence in Mr. Orpen, to whom they had intrusted the Basuto question, but they did not like to remove him, as his removal would be unpopular. As they informed Gordon that the situation which he accepted was only temporary, he was no doubt under the belief that it was intended, at a later period, to employ him in the services which he was engaged to perform; and he set himself with his usual promptitude and energy to discharge the duties of his present office. He drew up an able and exhaustive report on the colonial forces, and showed how they could be maintained in a much more economical, as well as a more efficient manner. At the request of the premier, he prepared a memorandum on the position of the natives and the treatment they had received from the Boers, and showed how they had been driven to take up arms in self-defence by the injustice and inefficiency of the magistrates. He suggested remedies for these evils and for the discontent of the Basutos at the mode in which they had been transferred from the Imperial to the Colonial government. But his reports and suggestions were left entirely unnoticed.

In the month of August Mr. Sauer, the secretary for native affairs, requested Gordon to accompany him into Basutoland, whither he was about to go, for the purpose of seeing Mr. Orpen, the ministerial representative. The policy of that official, which was at least tacitly approved of by his superiors, was to incite one party of the Basutos to attack another. Mr. Sauer was well aware that Gordon entirely disapproved such sinister tactics, but he persisted in urging the General to accompany him, declaring that 'he was free of all engagements.' Gordon reluctantly consented to go, and Sauer ultimately prevailed upon him, at great personal risk, to visit, as a private individual, Masupha, the chief who was in arms

against the government. The attempt of the General to induce the refractory chief to submit entirely failed, as we have seen (vol. iv. 321), through the bad faith and folly of the colonial ministry, who had shown both their own unfitness to govern firmly and equitably the native tribes, and their unwillingness to intrust the administration of Basutoland to competent hands. After spending little more than five months in South Africa, Colonel Gordon, feeling, as he said, that he was in a false position, tendered his resignation of his office, which was at once accepted by the ministry, and severed his connection with the only country which had proved unable to appreciate the value and use of the genius he had placed at its disposal.

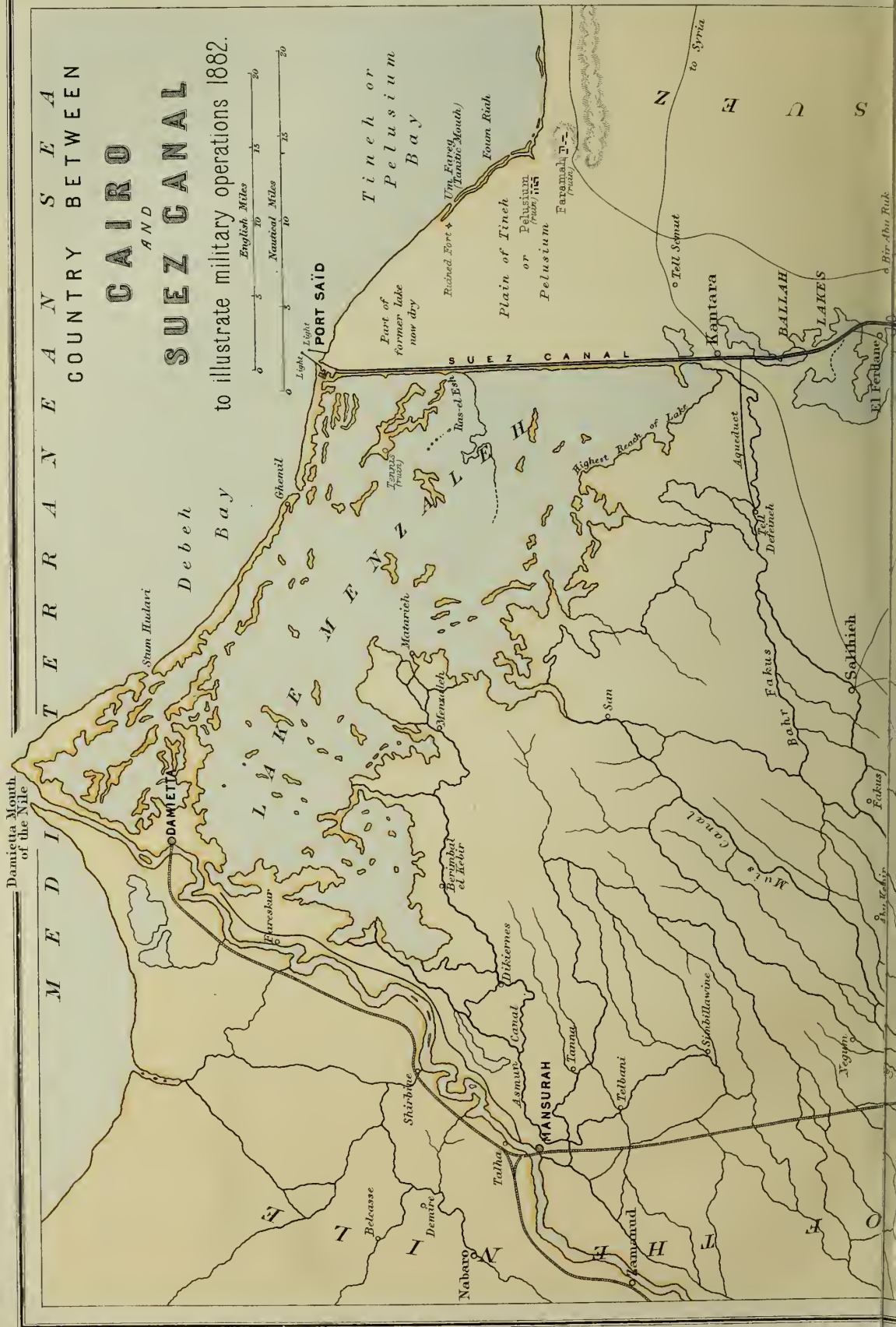
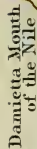
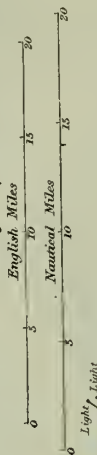
Shortly after his return to England from South Africa, Gordon set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and took up his residence outside Jerusalem. Here, taking the Bible for his guide, he spent his time in a careful survey of the supposed sites of Calvary, the holy sepulchre, and other famous localities, respecting which he came to conclusions widely different from those usually entertained regarding them. 'In reality,' he said, 'no man in writing on those sites ought to draw on his imagination; he ought to keep to the simple facts and not prophesy to fill up gaps.'

While Gordon was occupied in these peaceful and pleasant avocations he received a request from the King of the Belgians that he would repair at once to Brussels for the purpose of conferring with him respecting a scheme for the administration of a district on the Congo, of which his Majesty wished him to take charge, with the view of assisting in the suppression of the slave trade. He readily accepted this invitation, and after a full discussion of the subject with the Belgian sovereign, he agreed to take the command of the expedition to the Congo. Having settled this matter he passed over to England on the 7th of January, 1884, on a farewell visit to his friends. But

Donald Ross

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to illustrate military operations 1882.





at this juncture he was suddenly and unexpectedly called on to resume his labours in the Soudan.

On Gordon's resignation of the office of Governor-General of the Soudan his policy was entirely reversed. His successor (Raouf Pasha, 'a regular tyrant,' Gordon said) belonged to the school of Egyptian officials whose main object was to enrich themselves by plundering the people whom they had been appointed to govern. He had been exposed as a murderer by Sir Samuel Baker, and in 1877 had been turned out of Harrat by Gordon for acts of oppression. The slave-hunting and slave trade, with all their horrors, were at once revived, and a whole horde of Turks and Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks was once more let loose to harass the unfortunate Soudanese. The misgovernment of the Egyptian officials at length became intolerable. The people had enjoyed for a brief space the blessings of a settled equitable rule under the government of Colonel Gordon. He had treated them with even-handed justice, had 'held the balance level,' as he promised on assuming office, had listened attentively to all their grievancees, had punished their oppressors, and mercilessly extirpated the slave-dealers. And now this mild and just system of administration was replaced by the old oppressive and arbitrary mode of government. The people were now more alive than formerly to the evils of Egyptian rule, and less disposed to bear patiently the treatment to which they were again subjected.

When Gordon was about to set out for India in April, 1880, he learned with equal pain and indignation that the Khedive and his subordinate officers had permitted the revival of the slave-trade in Darfur and the other provinces of Central and Equatorial Africa; that fresh parties of slave-hunters were forming at Obeid in Kordofan, ready to start once more upon their detestable trade; and that every order which he had given for the suppression of this abomination had been cancelled. As Gordon

had predicted in 1879, these infamous proceedings led to 'a revolt of the whole country,' which was brought about not so much by the religious fanaticism of the native tribes, as by the venality of the Egyptian officials and the oppressive and unjust manner of collecting the taxes, and especially by the efforts to suppress the slave-trade, from which most of the supporters of the Mahdi had derived all their wealth. The insurrection, in short, as Gordon said, was the result of 'a combination between the slave-dealers and the ill-used inhabitants of the country. The former played the part of the professional agitators, and are the Parnells of the Soudan movement. The one furnished the igniting match, the other was the brushwood.' Since he left Khartoum, he said, 'Turkish pashas had come to the Soudan with empty stomachs, and the process of filling them as rapidly as possible meant utter ruin and woe to the much-wronged Soudanese.' The propagandists of slavery, therefore, who were the real authors of the rebellion, addressed themselves to willing hearers. Fanaticism also had come into play, and the force borne of the union of these different interests proved, as might have been expected, exceedingly formidable to the Egyptian administration.

During the crisis through which Egypt was passing in consequence of Arabi's revolt, a pretended prophet appeared in the Soudan, who gave himself out to be the Mahdi, the long-expected Redeemer of Islam. The fanatical impostor who assumed this character was named Mahomet Achmet. He was the son of a carpenter on Naft Island, in the Nubian province of Dongola, who, about 1852, removed with his family to Chindi, a small town on the banks of the Nile, south of Berber. His son, when still very young, was placed as an apprentice under one of his uncles, a shipbuilder of Chabakah, opposite Sennar. One day he had so misconducted himself that his uncle thought it necessary

to administer to him a smart flogging, and the boy in consequence ran away and ultimately reached Khartoum, where he entered a school or kind of convent of begging dervishes, who had charge of the monument erected over the remains of Cheick Hoghali, patron of the city. Here he became conspicuous for his ascetic life and pretences to remarkable piety, but he made no attempt to acquire even the ordinary elements of education. He was never taught to write or even to read fluently. From the Khartoum convent he went to a similar institution in Berber, then to one in Aradup, on the south of Kana. In this latter place he became the favourite disciple of an eminent fakir, named Cheick Nur-el-daim, and was ordained by him, and then went to the small island of Abba, on the White Nile.

Here Mahomet took up his residence in a kind of pit or subterranean repository for grain, called a *silo*, which he had dug out with his own hands. In this hole he passed his life fasting and praying, burning incense day and night, and repeating the name of Allah for hours at a time until he fell to the ground panting and exhausted. His reputation for great sanctity increased year by year. If any one spoke to him he returned no answer except the repetition of a sentence from the sacred books of Islam. Earthly objects and affairs seemed to inspire him only with pity or disgust. He professed to have made a vow to absorb himself in the contemplation of divine perfections, and to weep all his life for the sins of mankind. But the floods of tears which he shed for the transgressions of his fellow-men by no means impaired his earthly vision, and he was always wide awake to his own interests. When the faithful came to him in great crowds and deposited rich offerings at the mouth of his silo, he never failed to see the gifts or to stow them away carefully for a time of need. At length, in 1878, his wealth had accumulated to such an extent that he

felt it necessary to declare that Allah had ordered him to leave his silo and to take to himself a large number of wives, whom, as a shrewd, practical man, he chose from the most influential families of the country, especially from the Bagaras, the most opulent slave-traders on the White Nile.

As the Mahdi's wealth and power increased so did his pretensions. He claimed for himself a position divine and paramount. In his estimation Mahomet, as compared to him, was a very inferior prophet. 'He alone was the great and powerful Messiah predicted by Mahomet himself. The Sultan was no longer to be regarded as the supreme Caliph, the chief of Islamism. It was he, Mahomet Achmet, who now held that office, and he ordered his own name to be invoked in public worship, in place of Mahomet's, immediately after the name of Allah.' His followers styled him El Mahdi, an Arabic word meaning simply a leader or guide. The pretensions of the Mahdi were formally pronounced to be spurious by the Ulema of Khartoum, and they were likewise discredited at Cairo and Constantinople. He was declared to be the 'False Prophet,' for the Redeemer of the world promised in the Koran was to come from the East and not from the West. Unaffected by these hostile decisions the Mahdi persisted in his claims to be the Messiah, and in various proclamations declared that his intentions were to gain over the whole of the Soudan to his cause, then to march on Egypt and overthrow the false-believing Turks, and finally to establish the thousand years' kingdom in Mecca and convert the whole world. The principles of his teaching were universal equality, universal law and religion, and community of goods. All who opposed his mission were to be destroyed, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan.

In 1881 Raouf Pasha, who was commissioned by the Khedive to report on Mahomet's plans and purposes, found him residing in Abba island, guarded by a body of chosen followers, who stood before

him with drawn swords. Colonel Stewart says, 'In person the Mahdi is tall and slim, with a black beard and a light brown complexion. Like most Dongolawis he reads and writes with difficulty. Judging from his conduct of affairs and policy I should say he has considerable natural ability. The manner in which he has managed to merge together the usually discordant tribes denotes great tact.' He refused to comply with the demand of the Governor-General that he should accompany him to Khartoum. An expedition of 200 men was therefore sent up by the Nile to take him prisoner; but they were overpowered by a greatly superior force, and were compelled to retire with the loss of 120 of their party, including two officers. The Mahdi then took up his residence at Gabel Gadir, which became his stronghold, and during several months he was allowed unmolested to extend his influence among the neighbouring tribes. A more numerous body of troops, under Rashid Bey, the Mudir of Fashida, in December, 1881, was despatched to drive him out of Gabel Gadir; but they were nearly all cut off, along with their leader, and a large quantity of rifles, ammunition, and stores fell into the hands of the victors. To add to the difficulties of the Egyptian government, a revolt broke out at this time in the province of Sennaar, on the Blue Nile, headed by a nephew of the Mahdi. The insurgents defeated a body of Egyptian troops who garrisoned Sennaar, and captured and plundered the town. But on the 3rd of May the rebels met with a signal defeat at the hands of Giegler Pasha, an Austrian officer, and Shere Ahmed Talba, their leader, was slain. The Pasha gained another victory over them on the 25th of May, and this insurrection was in consequence prevented from spreading beyond the banks of the Blue Nile.

In the beginning of 1882 another and stronger expedition, consisting of 6000 soldiers, was fitted out by Abd-el-Kader Pasha, the new Governor-General of the

Soudan, and placed under the command of Yussuf Pasha. But on the 7th of June of the same year the Mahdi inflicted a crushing defeat on this force at a place called Gabel Geon, and the whole of the officers and the greater part of the soldiers were killed in the battle. This signal victory gave a great impetus to the insurrection; but the Mahdi was not equally successful in his attacks on Oomchanga and Bara, which were repulsed with enormous loss. In the month of September he made no fewer than three desperate assaults on El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan; but, though his followers fought with the greatest fury, they failed to carry the town. Their losses in the three assaults were said to have reached the enormous total of 40,000 men, but as this information was derived from native sources no reliance can be placed upon its accuracy. Two brothers of the Mahdi and several insurgent chiefs were among the slain. On the other hand, a body of Egyptian troops 3000 strong, under Ali Bey Satfi, sent from Duem about the end of September to attempt to raise the siege of Bara, after suffering terrible privations during their march, were attacked near El Kana. Their commander and all the senior officers, together with 1600 rank and file, were killed, and 1150 rifles and a large quantity of stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. One of the junior officers, however, rallied the troops and drove off the enemy, and the remnant of the force succeeded in reaching Bara with the help of the garrison, which had come out to meet them. The sanguinary repulses at El Obeid and Bara so much discouraged the rebels that many of them deserted the standard of the Mahdi, and it was thought that all danger to the government from the revolt was now at an end.

During the military rebellion in Egypt little attention was paid to the affairs of the Soudan, but after Arabi's defeat and capture the Khedive and his counsellors lost no time in taking measures for the

suppression of the Mahdi's insurrection, and it was resolved to enlist for that purpose 10,000 men who had fought under Arabi, and to forward them with all speed to Suakim. Occasional encounters took place meanwhile, with varied success, between the Egyptian troops and the followers of the Mahdi, but the insurrection continued to spread and gain strength, both in the Soudan and in the countries beyond. On the 5th of January, 1883, Bara surrendered to the rebels, and 2000 troops, besides a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into their hands. After the repulse of the assaults on El Obeid in September, 1882, the siege had been converted into a blockade. The garrison and the inhabitants alike suffered severely from lack of food; everything eatable was being sold at fabulous prices, and the people kept themselves alive by chewing raw india-rubber, varied with a small ration of dhoora (a kind of rice). At length the garrison abandoned their commander, Achmet Said Pasha, and refused any longer to continue the defence. On the 17th of January, 1883, the town capitulated, and the greater part of the troops took service under the Mahdi.

Two years and a half after the capture of El Obeid, Luigo Bononi, chief of the Latin mission to Central Africa, who had been all that time in captivity with the Mahdi, succeeded in making his escape, and has given a full and thrilling account of the proceedings of the Arabs before and after the taking of El Obeid.

The missionaries established a church at Gebil Deli, three days' journey from Obeid, where they carefully tilled a large piece of land which they had purchased. They converted thirty liberated slaves to Christianity, and trained them to different trades or to farming. A mission was also established at Obeid, consisting of a priest, several laymen, and five nuns. After the Baggara Arabs resolved to join the Mahdi they made a fierce attack upon the mission, but were repulsed by the soldiers appointed to guard it, with the assistance of the

Blacks, who fought bravely in their defence. The mission was environed from the 2nd of April to the end of September, 1882. But on the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's force the Mahdi, who had laid siege to Obeid, sent an emir called Mak Oman to attack the mission, and to put all its members to the sword. As the ranks of the assailants increased day by day and the cordon around them was tightened, their situation became desperate. The Egyptian troops appointed to defend them went over to the enemy, and they felt compelled to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to proceed unmolested to Egypt. These terms, however, were not observed. The members of the mission—seven in number—were brought before the Mahdi, who imperatively required them immediately to embrace Islamism. On their firm refusal he ordered them to be put to death, but at the last moment he relented, and directed them to be conducted to his tent and to sit down and eat with him. But their situation became most wretched, and one of the laymen and two of the nuns sickened and died under the privations they were compelled to endure.

Meanwhile the garrison of Obeid, who had gallantly resisted the furious assaults of the rebels, were on the brink of starvation. Their sufferings had been terrific. The little corn there was in the place was sold at an enormous price, and the men had become gaunt-looking walking skeletons. 'If one was killed or died there was none to bury him—the arms of the survivors were too weak to dig a grave. Each day lent new horrors to the scene. Men dug up buried carcases of dogs, donkeys, and camels; others stripped the leather from the angeribs—native bedsteads on which the mattress is supported by thongs of leather—and softened them in water and then eat them. The live donkeys were killed and cut up, dogs were treated in the same way, and carrion crows, vultures, and kites furnished coveted articles of food.

Achmet Said Pasha, the stern old Turk who commanded the garrison, still refused to surrender, though the soldiers were so weak that they were unable to hold their rifles, and prowled about like wolves to find something to eat. On 18th January, 1883, the rebels walked over the trenches and entered the Mudirieh and other houses. On learning that they had entered the town the Pasha tried to blow up the magazine and bury the enemy along with himself and his troops in the ruins of the town, but was prevented by the officers. When the dervishes entered the large hall of the Mudirich they found the commandant sitting in a high carved arm chair of stained wood bolt upright, with his arms folded, gazing at them defiantly. They rushed at him and would have slain him, but others insisted that he should be brought before the Mahdi. "Back, dogs! touch me not," he cried; "I will go myself before this arch-rebel Mahomet Achmet. Lead on!" They instinctively drew back, startled at his terrible voice and fierce aspect. "Hold his hands and search him!" ordered Mahomet Achmet the moment he saw him; and he was just in time with this precaution. The old man was drawing forth from his breast a revolver, and undoubtedly meant to deal death to his enemy. "Take the cursed dog of a Turk away," cried the Mahdi, "and sell him for a slave by auction in the bazaar. Away with him!" Then was the commandant led forth and exposed for sale, but no man durst buy him at first; but it happened that an emir passed by that way, and out of derision cried out, "O auctioneer, I will surely give 680 piastres for this man." So he was knocked down to the emir. Now when this came to the ears of Mahomet Achmet he sent forth an order that the commandant should be slain with all speed; so some dervishes went from the Mahdi's presence then and there and sought out the commandant. They heard that he was in the house of the emir; they went there and ordered that Achmet Pasha should be brought forth. He presented himself to

them with unquailing look and bold bearing as the dervishes drew their swords. "You have come to murder me, have you? Cursed cowardly dogs, I fear you not." . . . They fell upon him, pouring out these maledictions, and he died like a brave man with the utmost fortitude.' The dervishes also put to death Ali Bey Sherif and the other officers, but the Mahdi expressed his strong disapprobation of this bloody deed.

The nuns were taken by force out of the house where they were at first allowed to reside, and were distributed as slaves among the emirs. They were treated in the most shocking manner in order to compel them to embrace Islamism, but for a time they resisted all attempts to make them deny their faith. At last 'their strength of mind as well as of body was gone. Driven to desperation, to avoid greater degradations and insults, they affected to embrace Islamism. They were then taken as wives by three Greeks, who themselves had become Mohammedans. These men declare that they did this only to save the women from a worse fate, and that the marriage is really one in name only.'

The padre gives a terrible description of the extremities to which the people at Obeid were reduced by famine and sickness after the capture of the town by the Arabs. 'Famine,' he says, 'stalked through the town, and it was full of that direst of diseases, small-pox. Men were dying of corruption right and left. As the Egyptian soldiers had done during the siege the Arabs were doing now—actually digging up skeletons of carcasses buried years back. It was found that many merchants who had fled from Obeid had buried their gum in the ground. This, though it had become rotten, was now dug up and eaten by hundreds.' Benoni states that the Arabs were terror-stricken by the news of the British victories at Abou Klea and Metammah, and flatly refused to appear in arms against the British troops, whom they regarded as invincible. He asserts that

had the victorious forces advanced at that time the Arabs intended to flee to the mountains and deserts, so that the British troops might have walked into Khartoum without opposition.

The force which had been organized for the suppression of the rebellion was by this time assembled at Khartoum. The nominal command had been given to Suleiman Nyasi, lest the appointment of a foreigner and a Christian should be made use of by the Mahdi to arouse still further the fanaticism of his followers. But the chief command was in reality intrusted to Colonel Hicks, a retired Anglo-Indian officer, who had associated with him Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne, Lieutenant-Colonel de Coëtlogon, Majors Martin and Farquhar, Captains Warner, Massey, Evan, Walker, and Surgeon-Major Rosenberg. On the 26th March Alla-ed-Deen Pasha, an active and energetic officer who had been governor of the Red Sea provinces, was proclaimed at Khartoum as Governor-General of the Soudan, in the room of Abd-el-Kader Pasha.

Major-General Hicks had formed a camp at Omdurman, on the west side of the Nile, opposite to Khartoum, and had collected there, by the end of August, a force of 7000 infantry, 120 cuirassiers, and 300 Bashi-Bazouk cavalry. Several detachments subsequently augmented his troops to upwards of 10,000 men. They had with them thirty guns, along with rockets and howitzers of all sizes.

While on their march for Gebel-Ain, on the 29th of April, the Egyptian forces were furiously assailed by the Arabs, but fortunately they had time to form a square, and in this position to receive the attack of the enemy. The correspondent of the *Daily News* wrote home a vivid description of the fight. 'We opened a tremendous fusilade,' he said, 'from our front face apparently without effect, for still they came on gallantly, but at 500 yards they began to fall fast. Still the chiefs led on their men with all the recklessness and romantic chivalry of the Saracenic knights. One by one they

fell dismounted, two or three to rise again and dart forward on foot waving their standards, only to drop and rise no more. After half an hour's continuous rattle of musketry, seeing their chiefs fallen and their banners in the dust, the advancing hordes waver, and are greeted with a tremendous yell from our troops, who stood firmly and unflinchingly, and I may say as steadily as any troops could. Now the enemy move off to the right among the long grass, and our front is cleared. Shells burst among them. Soon all were out of sight, except a few who walked about unconcernedly, and actually singly came up, after the rest had retreated, to within a few yards, brandishing their spears in defiance. One after another these fanatics were shot down. Sheikh after sheikh had gone down with his banner, although the Mahdi had assured each he was invulnerable, and their faithful but misguided followers had fallen in circles around the chiefs they blindly followed. Twelve of the most prominent leaders—nine from Sennaar and three from Kordofan—had left their bones to whiten on the field amidst 300 of their followers.'

Colonel Hicks, who had now received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the expedition, with the rank of General of Division, was compelled by the rainy season to suspend active operations until the autumn. On the 9th of September he began his march up the Nile on El Obeid, keeping as near the western side of the White branch of that river as the inundations would admit. He proposed to leave the river at Berair, and to march through the desert to El Obeid, trusting to the surface posts for a supply of water during the journey. At the request of the Governor-General, Hicks with great reluctance abandoned his intention to establish a line of fortified posts between the Nile and Kordofan, and consented that the whole force should advance together, with fifty days' supply of food only, without attempting to keep up any communication with the rear. The heat was intense, and there was great

loss of life among the camels during the march. The enemy retired before them, sweeping the country bare of cattle.

After twelve days the army reached El Duem, 110 miles from Omdurman, where they rested for four days. On leaving this place they had several skirmishes with the rebels, in which they were victorious. At Alouba they had a successful encounter with the Mahdi's followers, of whom 500 were killed, while General Hicks lost only two of his men. But the further they proceeded from their base of operations their position became more insecure. A telegram received from O'Donovan, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, from 'Sange Hamferid camp,' 45 miles south-west of El Duem, says, 'We are running terrible risk in abandoning our communications and marching 230 miles into an unknown country. But we have burned our ships. The enemy is still retreating, and sweeping the country bare of cattle. The water supply is the cause of intense anxiety. The camels are dropping.' At this stage the curtain closed over this ill-fated expedition, and the full details of its ultimate fate will in all probability never be known. It appears that in order to provide against surprise by the enemy's cavalry, they found it necessary to march in a square, with the baggage, and the camels, horses, and mules, 6000 in number, in the centre. When it was possible a zereba, or dense abattis of thorny bushes, was formed round the square. Their progress in this order, and under the excessive heat, was necessarily slow, extending to only 10 miles a day. They suffered greatly from the want of water, as they found it almost impossible to carry more than a supply for twenty-four hours, and the desert wells were usually four days' march apart. In various instances the enemy had filled the wells with stones and earth and the putrid bodies of men and camels.

In spite of all these privations and sufferings Hicks Pasha pushed on towards Obeid, where the Mahdi had established his headquarters with 3000 men under his command, hoping to crush the rebellion by one decisive

blow. But on the 2nd of November his army was led by a treacherous guide into a rocky, wooded, and waterless defile, where an ambuscade had been laid for them by the enemy. The Mahdi's followers were armed both with rifles and artillery, while the Egyptian forces were so situated that they could not use their guns. Though hampered by their position, and suffering severely from thirst, they defended themselves with great gallantry, and for three successive days defeated and drove back the enemy. On the 5th they were again suddenly assailed by the rebels, who had been concealed in the forest. A furious encounter took place, till at length, when their ammunition was completely exhausted, General Hicks ordered bayonets to be fixed, and putting himself at the head of his men made a desperate charge upon the enemy. They were overwhelmed, however, by the multitudes that surrounded them, and were almost annihilated. General Hicks himself fought with conspicuous courage, having his revolver in the one hand and his sword in the other, and cut down a considerable number of his assailants before he was killed. There fell with him Alla-ed-Deen Pasha (Governor-General of the Soudan), several British officers, Mr. O'Donovan, correspondent of the *Daily News*, famous for his adventures in Merv, several Pashas and Beys, and about 1200 officers. Thirty-six Krupp, Nordenfelt, and mountain guns, and all the flags, munitions of war, and camels belonging to the Egyptian army, fell into the hands of the rebels. After the conflict was over, the Mahdi, who had taken care to undergo no personal danger, went over the battlefield, piercing with his spear the dead bodies of the Egyptian soldiers, and exclaiming that it was he who had thus slain them.

For a good many weeks no news had been received respecting the movements of the expeditionary force; and when at length tidings of the terrible disaster which had befallen it reached Khartoum the whole Soudan was in a blaze, and the

Mahdi's divine commission was everywhere credited by the natives. The consternation at Cairo was the greater in consequence of another disaster which befell the Egyptian forces at this time. A body of troops which had been despatched for the relief of the garrison of Tokar, near Suakim—the port on the Red Sea through which intercourse with Khartoum was kept up—had been defeated with the loss of 150 men and a large quantity of ammunition—Captain Moncrieff, the British consul at Suakim, being among those who were killed. The remnants of Hicks Pasha's force were for the most part collected in Khartoum by Colonel Coëtlogon, a British officer in command there, who called in, as far as possible, the outlying garrisons. Some doubts were entertained whether Khartoum itself could hold out against the hordes of insurgents, and the difficulty was increased by the folly of the governor of Suakim, who sacrificed some hundreds of his best soldiers in a mismanaged sortie.

Early in the year Lord Dufferin had pointed out the inutility, and indeed impossibility, of attempting to hold so vast a country as the Soudan in the face of a discontented population, and he had recommended that the Egyptian troops should be withdrawn from the more distant provinces, especially of the Western Soudan. The British government, which on the defeat and massacre of Hicks Pasha's forces had at once countermanded the withdrawal of their troops from Cairo, advised the Khedive not to attempt the reconquest of the Soudan, but to relieve, as quickly as possible, the invested posts, to hold the Red Sea coast and the valley of the Nile as far as Wady Halfa, and to remain on the defensive. It was at the same time intimated to the Khedive that though neither British nor Indian soldiers would be sent out, a fleet would, in case of need, be despatched to Alexandria.

The Khedive and his counsellors were very reluctant to follow the advice of the British government, but they speedily

discovered that they had no alternative. The native tribes in the eastern district now broke out into open rebellion. They blockaded the garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar, cut off communication between Berber and Suakim, and even menaced Suakim itself, where they were only kept at bay by the British gunboats in the harbour. The attempt in November to relieve the garrison of Tokar, as we have seen, had completely failed, and a month later a force of 800 men, sent for the relief of Sinkat, was cut to pieces by the Arabs, only forty men having survived the onslaught. No help could be obtained in these circumstances from the new Egyptian forces organized by Sir Evelyn Wood, as they had been enlisted under the distinct condition that they were not to be required to serve in the Soudan. In this extremity the government had recourse to Baker Pasha, who was at the head of a native force—about 3000 in number—which had been raised as a kind of border police. He was despatched to Suakim with strict orders to be cautious in his movements. Osman Digma, an Arab chief, who professed attachment to the Mahdi and had 20,000 men under his command, was at this time pressing hard upon Suakim and the neighbouring posts of Sinkat and Tokar. Baker, though he strangely imagined that his motley and ill-organized army of Egyptians and Nubians was quite able to cope with the far superior force under Osman Digma, fortunately resolved to await the arrival of promised reinforcements before leaving the base of his supplies and the protection of the British gunboats.

Towards the end of January, 1884, the greater part of them came up, and Baker received orders to advance to the relief of Sinkat and Tokar. He had under his command rather more than 3500 men, very imperfectly disciplined, but carrying with them four guns and two Gatlings. They were conveyed by sea to Trinkitat, a small port on the

coast, about 20 miles from Tokar, where they formed a temporary intrenched camp and remained until the 11th of February, when they set out for the relief of Tokar. They had advanced only a few miles into the interior when they were suddenly attacked by the Arabs, who were lying concealed among some rough and broken ground. The cavalry at once took to flight, and all the efforts of the European officers to form the infantry in square to receive the attack of the enemy proved unavailing. As soon as the Arabs came to close quarters the Egyptians threw down their weapons and fled. The panic-stricken fugitives were slaughtered without resistance. Upwards of 2200 were left on the field—the European company being almost entirely cut off; seven British officers and ten other foreign officers were among the slain, and the four guns and the two Gatlings remained in the hands of the victors. The remnant of the force, with such of the European officers as had escaped, found refuge in the intrenched camp, and embarked with all speed for Suakim.

A few days after this disaster the garrison of Sinkat, under their brave governor, Tewfik Pasha, made a desperate effort to cut their way to the coast. After burning everything they could not take with them and destroying the cannon, they marched out, followed by the women and children; but the men were all killed by the Arabs except six, who were taken prisoners along with the women and children. The Bishareen Arabs, enraged at finding nothing in the town, put to death 200 women and nearly 200 children. Some few clerks and women who remained in Sinkat alone were spared. These occurrences made it evident that the native troops could not be relied on to defend the shore of the Red Sea and the valley of the Lower Nile against the insurgent Arabs under Osman Digma, and that the port of Suakim was in imminent danger of falling into his hands.

In this emergency the British govern-

ment, after some weeks of hesitation and suspense, resolved, immediately after the opening of Parliament, to send a force under General Graham to restore order and to protect Egypt against the spread of insurrection and fanaticism. By the end of February upwards of 4000 men, including 750 cavalry and mounted infantry, 115 men from the Naval Brigade, and 200 artillerymen and engineers, were assembled at Suakim. On the 29th they set out from their camp at Fort Baker to attack the intrenched position of the Arabs at the village of Teb, a few miles inland from Trinkitat. Osman Digma's men fought with desperate courage, but were defeated with the loss of 1500 men in killed and wounded, though the British troops suffered heavily both in officers and men. Four officers and twenty-six non-commissioned officers and men were killed, and twenty-two officers and about 120 men were wounded. Next day the British troops, without further opposition, advanced to Tokar, which they burned, and having recovered Baker Pasha's guns and stores they returned to Suakim.

The Arab sheikhs, however, were in no way intimidated by their defeat, and replied in defiant terms to General Graham's proclamation inviting them to come in and make terms. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to break up another strong encampment which they had formed at Tamai, a place about 16 miles to the south-west of Suakim. On the 13th of March the troops moved out from the place where they had bivouacked for the night, and commenced an attack on the enemy's position. The Arabs rushed out from the valley in which they had lain concealed, and flung themselves with such extraordinary fury and determination upon the leading square that it was forced back level with the second. But after a fierce though brief contest, they were driven back with great loss into the nullah from which they had at first emerged. This was soon cleared, and the village of Tamai was occu-

pied and burned along with Osman Digma's camp and the accumulated stores there which had been taken from the Egyptians. In this fiercely contested fight the British force had seven officers and nearly 100 men killed, while about half that number were wounded. The Arab loss was estimated at about 3000. A third expedition was undertaken against Osman Digma's position at Tamanieb, during which the troops suffered severely from the heat, but met with little opposition from the enemy. After destroying the village the troops returned to Suakim, but the greater part of them were speedily withdrawn, and only a small force was left in garrison there to act in concert with the naval force in the Red Sea.

While these events were taking place in the Soudan great uneasiness was felt both by the British government and people respecting the safety of Egypt itself; and after the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's force a universal and earnest desire was expressed that Colonel Gordon should be sent back to the Soudan. Dr. Schweinfurth, the celebrated African traveller, wrote:— 'The Europeans at Khartoum appear to be anxious for the reappointment of His Excellency Gordon Pasha as Governor-General; they believe, rightly or wrongly, that he is the only man capable of crushing the rebellion.' 'A large number of the most influential natives,' he added, 'held the same opinion, and Gordon was the most popular and beloved Governor-General that ever ruled the Soudan.' The public journals, re-echoing the public feeling, earnestly recommended that 'Chinese Gordon,' a man with 'a born genius for command, an unexampled capacity in organizing "Ever-victorious Armies," and a perfect knowledge of the Soudan and its people,' should be sent to Khartoum with full power to assume absolute control of the territory, to treat with the Mahdi, to relieve the garrisons, and to do what could be done to save what could be saved from the wreck in the Soudan.

Every one, indeed, felt that Gordon was the man for the hour, and loud and general were the expressions of satisfaction when it was announced, on the 18th of January, that he had undertaken the pacification of the Soudan. It was subsequently stated by Sir Charles Dilke that many months before a suggestion had been made by the ministry to the late Egyptian government that Colonel Gordon should be sent out to the Soudan; but it was not received with favour either by the Khedive and his advisers or by the British representatives at Cairo, and Gordon himself was at that time averse to going. The change of circumstances in the Soudan overcame the reluctance of the Egyptian government to avail themselves of Gordon's aid, and this 'Christian hero,' as the premier termed him, was requested to undertake the difficult task of extricating the Egyptian garrisons and restoring order in the Soudan. He was at Brussels making arrangements with the King of the Belgians to proceed to the Congo, when, on the 17th of January, he was recalled to London by a telegram from the Government, and asked if he was able to go to Egypt, and if so when. He promptly expressed his willingness to go and his readiness to start on the shortest notice.

He was informed that it was the intention of the Government to evacuate the Soudan, and expressed his concurrence in the propriety of adopting that policy. The instructions given him by Lord Granville were that he was to report to Her Majesty's Government on the military situation in the Soudan, and on the measures which it might be advisable to take for the security of the Egyptian garrisons still holding positions in that country, and for the safety of the European population in Khartoum. He was also instructed to consider and report upon the manner in which the safety and the good administration by the Egyptian government of the ports on the sea-coast could best be secured. He was to give special consideration to the question

of the steps that might be usefully taken to counteract the stimulus which it was feared would be given to the slave-trade by the insurrectionary movement of the Mahdi, and by the withdrawal of the Egyptian authority from the interior. Gordon had submitted to the Government a scheme which Mr. Gladstone said in any other man's hands would have been presumptuous and fanatical, but it was not presumptuous nor fanatical in the case of a man with the gifts and powers of General Gordon. He proposed to re-constitute the country by giving back to the different petty sultans of the Soudan their ancestral powers, which had been withdrawn or suspended during the period of Egyptian occupation, and to endeavour to form a confederation of these sultans. By adopting this plan he felt confident that he would be able to extricate the Egyptian garrisons and civil officials with their families, and to remove them to Lower Egypt without much difficulty.

A few hours sufficed to complete Gordon's personal arrangements, and on the evening of the 18th January he left Charing Cross station by the Indian mail, accompanied by Colonel Stewart of the 11th Hussars, who was to act as the chief of his staff and his confidential assistant. So quietly were General Gordon's arrangements made that the only persons who met at the station to wish him God-speed were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Wolseley, Colonel Brocklehurst, and Mr. Robert Gordon, his nephew, and Lord Hartington's private secretary. The duke procured the gallant officer's ticket, Lord Wolseley insisted on carrying his portmanteau, and Colonel Brocklehurst opened the carriage door for the man who was followed in his perilous enterprise by the good wishes and prayers of millions of his fellow countrymen.

General Gordon reached Port Saïd on the 24th, and he and Colonel Stewart proceeded at once to Cairo, where he received, as he was told to expect, his final instruc-

tions from Sir Evelyn Baring, her Majesty's agent and consul-general at Cairo. He was informed that a credit of £100,000 had been opened for him at the finance department, and that further funds would be supplied to him on his requisition when this sum was exhausted. He drew up a memorandum commenting on the instructions which he had received, reiterating his approval of the resolution of the Government to evacuate the Soudan, which he declared to be 'a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so;' but at the same time declaring that it 'would be an iniquity to reconquer these people, and then hand them back to the Egyptians without guarantees of future good government.' It is evident that this could not be secured them without an inordinate expenditure of men and money, and the attempt ought not to be made; indeed it was impracticable at any cost. He proposed, therefore, that the country should be restored to the ancient families whose territories had been seized by the Egyptian authorities at the time of Mehemet Ali's conquest, and thus a rival power would be raised up to that of the Mahdi.

On the morning after his arrival at Cairo General Gordon called on the Khedive, by whom he was most courteously received, and was reappointed by him Governor-General of the Soudan, with full powers, civil and military. His arrival restored confidence among all classes, European and native, to a most wonderful extent, and no doubt was entertained that under his powerful control the Soudan would be restored to peace and order. On 3rd February Dr. Schweinfurth wrote from Cairo, 'General Gordon flashed through Cairo like a meteor. I feel sure that he will have a complete success in the Soudan. His policy there will astonish the world.'

Gordon's last words to Nubar Pasha were, 'I will save the honour of Egypt.' He left Cairo about the middle of February, and hastened onward with all possible speed. 'History records no more heroic

figure than that of this simple-minded, God-fearing Christian officer riding forth with only one English friend and companion, the gallant Colonel Stewart, and a few Arab attendants, to confront the wild and barbarous hordes of the Mahdi. The eyes of the whole civilized world followed with eager but anxious gaze the progress of that little cavalcade.' The most dangerous part of his journey was that from Korosko to Berber, across the Nubian desert, on his camel ride of 240 miles to Abou Hamid; but he passed it in safety, and reached Berber in high spirits and very sanguine as to the success of his mission. To provide for the administration and defence of the district he appointed a council of twelve Notables, presided over by the governor of the province, Hussein Pasha Khalifa. He forwarded to Khartoum a proclamation informing the people that the Soudan was now independent to govern itself without any interference on the part of the Egyptian government; that their old privileges would be renewed; that one-half of the taxes would be remitted; and that 'whoever had slaves in his service should have full right to their services and full control over them.' Hussein Pasha Cheri, vice-governor of Khartoum, had been guilty of the most shocking acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, and Gordon sent forward orders removing him from his office and appointing Colonel de Coëtlogon in his room. Before leaving Berber he telegraphed to the Egyptian premier that he need give himself no further anxiety about this part of the Soudan. The people, great and small, were heartily glad to be free of a union which had only caused them sorrow.

The late Frank Power, Her Majesty's acting-consul and the correspondent for the *Times*, resided at Khartoum from the 1st August, 1883, until 10th September, 1884. It was almost exclusively from his despatches that the country and the government first of all heard of the disaster which befell Hicks Pasha's army, the triumph of the Mahdi, and the gradual closing of the

enemy around Khartoum. Associated with him was the late Edmund O'Donovan, the celebrated correspondent of the *Daily News*. Their object was to accompany Hicks Pasha in his march on the strongholds of the Mahdi in Kordofan. Travelling together they crossed the desert route from Suakim to Berber in twelve days, and pushed on thence with all speed to Khartoum. There they found Hicks Pasha's army, and after a short interval accompanied its march towards Kordofan. O'Donovan shared the privations and perils of the soldiers, and fell with them at El Obeid. But on the third day's march Power was attacked with dysentery, and was so ill that his life was despaired of. On reaching Duem, a port on the Nile, the Surgeon-General ordered him to be sent back to Khartoum, which he reached in two days on board the Governor-General's steamer. His recovery, though slow, was complete, and by the end of October he was once more fit for duty.

Power's home letters, which have since been published, though brief, are exceedingly interesting, and to them and to his telegrams we are indebted for a graphic and stirring account of General Gordon's arrival at Khartoum, of his energetic efforts to establish order and to keep the hostile tribes around him at bay; of his victories and misfortunes; of the valour of his Arab assailants, and the treachery and cowardice of his Turkish and Egyptian troops. He corroborates in very striking terms all that Gordon has said respecting the misgovernment of the Soudan by the Egyptian officials, and the manner in which they oppressed and plundered the natives. 'The Soudani and the Arabs,' he said, 'are splendid fellows; ground down and robbed by every ruffian who has money enough (ill-gotten) to buy himself a position of Pasha or free license to rob, they are quite right to rebel and hurl the nest of robbers to the other side of Siout. For years it has been *Kourbash, kourbash, et toujours kourbash*. This gets monotonous, and the poor devils rebel. . . . Every Arab must

pay a tax—for himself, children, and wife or wives. This he has to pay three times over—once for the Khedive, once for the tax-collector or local Beys, and once for the Governor-General. The last two are illegal, but still scrupulously collected to the piastre. To pay this he must grow some corn, and for the privilege of growing corn he must pay £3 per annum. To grow corn the desert must have water; the means of irrigation is a *sakeh*, a wheel like a mill-wheel, with buckets on it which raise the water into a trough, and then it flows in little streams over the land. A *sakeh* is turned by two oxen. Every man who uses a *sakeh* must pay £7; if he doesn't use it he must go into prison for life and have his hut burned. Every one must pay for the right of working to earn money; every one must pay if they are idle; in any case every one must pay to make the officials rich. If you have a *merkib*, or trading-boat, you are fined £4 if you don't continually fly the Egyptian flag, and you must pay £4 for the privilege of flying it. It is this system, and not the Mahdi, that has brought about this rebellion. The rebels are in the right, and God and chance seem to be fighting for them; and, as long as I live to see you once more, I hope they will hunt every Egyptian, neck and crop, out of the Soudan. Better a thousand times the barbarities of slavery than the detestable barbarities and crimes of the Egyptian rulers.'

The native merchants, some of whom possessed great wealth, though they lived in what outside looked like a mud hut, were mercilessly robbed and oppressed by the Egyptian officials. If one of them showed any outward signs of wealth the Pasha let him know quietly that he would at once be charged with treason, or accused of some other heinous offence, if he did not make him a present, generally of from £300 to £1000. One of these Pashas who quitted the Soudan in 1883 admitted that he had made £60,000. He came there as a clerk at £2 a month. The Governor took a fancy

to him and made him chief of the tax-gatherers; in three years he gained the rank of Pasha and £60,000—'meaning,' says Mr. Power, '5000 ruined homes, several million strokes of the bastinado, rapine, robbery, and men driven to desperation and shot down at their doors.'

Gordon so thoroughly sympathized with these views of the English consul, that he repeatedly expressed his conviction that the Arabs ought to be regarded as patriots and not rebels; and he gave the people distinctly to understand that he had come to deliver them from the oppression of the Egyptian rulers. 'It should be proclaimed,' he said, 'in the hearing of all the Soudanese, and engraved on tablets of brass, that no Turk or Circassian would ever be allowed to plunder its inhabitants to fill his own pockets.' On this principle he acted the moment he entered Khartoum.

Gordon's recognition of the Mahdi as the Sultan of Kordofan excited some surprise at home, accompanied by expressions of dissatisfaction; but the impostor was already the virtual ruler of that province, holding El Obeid with a victorious army, and the official recognition of the fact might have had some effect in preventing his advance upon Khartoum. He received Gordon's letter formally appointing him Sultan of Kordofan with apparent delight, and gave a robe of honour to the General's messenger; but after long discussions with his chief supporters, and after various replies to the letter had been written and condemned, he appears to have been induced to decline the offer.

On the morning of February 18 Gordon made his entry into Khartoum, where he was welcomed by the people with every demonstration of enthusiastic delight. 'I come without soldiers,' he said to them, 'but with God on my side to redress the evils of the Soudan. I will not fight with any weapons but justice. There shall be no more *Bashi-Bazouks*.' These, the first words which their new deliverer addressed to them, promising them relief from extortionate officials

and from plundering oppressors, were both in harmony with his character and exactly suited to the critical situation. Immediately on his arrival Gordon summoned the officials to meet him, thus preparing the people for some salutary changes. He next held a levee at the Mudirieh, to which the entire population, even the poorest Arabs, were admitted. On his way from the Palace to the Mudirieh, Mr. Power says, about 1000 persons pressed forward, kissing his hands and his feet, and calling him 'Sultan,' 'Father,' and 'Saviour of Kordofan.'

Gordon at once set himself vigorously to reform the numerous abuses that had sprung up since he had resigned his office of Governor-General. He made the market free from tolls and taxes. He opened offices in the Palace, and invited the people to come and tell their grievances to him and Colonel Stewart. At each of the gates into the Palace grounds he caused boxes to be placed, into which petitions and complaints might be dropped, as was done during his previous term of office. The burden of taxation had pressed very heavily upon the people, and many of them were in terror lest payment of their arrears of taxes should be demanded of them. To relieve in the most effectual way their apprehensions the governor caused a great fire to be made in front of the Palace, and the government books, containing an account of their debts, were burned in their presence. The kourbashes, whips, and implements for administering the bastinado were brought from the Government House and heaped on the blazing pile, and thus, as Mr. Power remarked, the evidence of debt and the emblems of oppression perished together.

In the afternoon General Gordon created a council of the local Notables—all Arabs. He then, along with Colonel Stewart and Colonel Coëtlogon, visited the prison, the hospital, and the arsenal. In the prison—a dreadful den of misery—they found no fewer than 200 persons loaded

with chains and subjected to the greatest privations and wretchedness. They were of all ages, old men and women, and even boys. Some had been confined for months and even years without being brought to trial. Some had been tried and proved innocent, but forgotten for six months; some had been detained long after their sentences had expired. Some had been arrested on mere suspicion, and imprisoned more than three years. In not a few cases no offence known to the gaolers was imputed to them, and many were merely prisoners of war. One, a woman, who had been fifteen years in prison, said, 'All the best of my life has been spent in this place. I was only a child when I committed the crime. May I not now go free?' Before it was dark scores of wretches had had their chains struck off. Only those who on careful examination were found deserving of imprisonment were detained. Colonel Stewart was intrusted with the duty of examining into the case of each prisoner and reporting on them, in order that justice tempered with clemency might be dealt out to them all. These much-needed reforms were hailed with the most lively satisfaction.

At night the town was in a blaze of illumination, the bazaar being hung with cloth and coloured lamps, and the private houses beautifully decorated. There was even a fine display of fireworks by the negro population, who indulged in great rejoicings till midnight. 'In that distant city of the Nile, where a few days before all was misery, despondency, and confusion, the coming of one noble-hearted Englishman, resolute, right, and fearless, had changed despair into hope and turned mourning into joy. The people of Khartoum instantly recognized that their protector and deliverer had once more come among them, and that his word was to be trusted when he told them they were no longer to be oppressed by the Circassians, Kurds, and Anatolians, who represented all they ever knew of their distant rulers in Cairo.'

The first steps Gordon took on assuming the government showed his determination to do justice without respect of persons. Sheikh Belad of Khartoum was carried into Gordon's presence with his feet fearfully mutilated, six weeks after Hussein Pasha Cheri, the late Vice-Governor, had bastinadoed the old man till the sinews of his feet were exposed. General Gordon telegraphed to Cairo that £50 was to be stopped out of Hussein's pay for the benefit of the Sheikh, and if he objected he was to be returned to Khartoum for trial. Another Sheikh complained that the ex-Vice-Governor had caused his brother to be flogged to death. Instances of Hussein's perfidy were discovered daily, and information was received that on his way down to Cairo he was busily spreading evil reports against the new Governor. Gordon was not inclined to allow such conduct to pass with impunity, and he immediately sent orders by telegraph that two large boxes of money belonging to Hussein should be seized on his arrival at Korosko.

A proclamation from the new Governor-General to the people of Khartoum, which preceded his arrival, excited great surprise at home, and led to a good deal of discussion both in Parliament and throughout the country; but it probably did more than anything else towards enabling Gordon to win Khartoum. After assuring the people that the Soudan and its government had now become independent, and would look after their own affairs without any interference on the part of the Egyptian government, he proceeded to say that he was well aware of the discontent which had been felt on account of the decrees that had been issued abolishing the trade in slaves and punishing those concerned in it; but 'henceforward nobody would interfere with them in the matter, and everyone for himself might take a man into his service; he was at liberty to do as he pleased in the matter.' As might have been expected, from the intense hatred of slavery which prevailed in the United Kingdom, this

proclamation elicited strong expressions of dissatisfaction, and in the House of Commons the Opposition demanded in indignant terms to know whether Britain was about to be untrue to her principles, and to reverse her policy in dealing with the infamous traffic in human beings. The ministers, however, resolutely stood by the man who at their request had, at the risk of his life, gone to the Soudan on the understanding that he was to act according to his own judgment in regard to the measures which should be adopted to restore peace and order in the province. They called attention to the distinction between domestic slavery and the slave-trade carried on by foreigners in the adjoining countries, and to the fact that the right of holding slaves is recognized by Egyptian law, and argued that if anyone was endeavouring to put it into the minds of the people of Khartoum that their property would be confiscated without notice and without compensation, General Gordon's proclamation would be necessary to insure them that they would not be disturbed in their rights, and that what had been legal before would be legal still.

Mr. Gladstone, who vigorously repelled the attack made on the proclamation, referred to the book entitled 'Colonel Gordon in Central Africa,' where it was set forth by the Governor-General of the Soudan himself that slavery is so interwoven with the texture of life in the Soudan, that it would be impossible to put an end to it by any summary proclamation, that seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are in a state of slavery, that this condition has a term of existence fixed by Egyptian law, and until the expiry of that term, in 1889, it is under the distinct guarantee of that law. Gordon himself, in his home letters, had pointed out the enormous difficulties connected with the settlement of the slave-trade in the Soudan, and how absurd it was for people to imagine that he had only to say the word and slavery would cease. 'Slavery abolition,' he said,

'touches everyone. How can you deal with it so as to avoid a civil war or a rising of the people? You must either pay compensation, or you must allow a term of years, in order that slavery may die out.' The confidence universally felt in the integrity and judgment of the man whose life was devoted to the extinction of the slave trade, and who had declared 'Would to God, by laying down my life, I could put an end to it,' speedily silenced this outburst of mistaken feeling.

Immediate emancipation, Gordon said, was denounced in England in 1833 as confiscation, and it was no less confiscation in the Soudan to-day; and it was simply impossible to carry such a measure into effect. No person acquainted with the condition of the Soudan, a country 'larger than Germany, France, and Spain together,' or the habits and feelings of its inhabitants, could imagine that they would be willing to relinquish their property in slaves—property of which they themselves did not recognize the iniquity—without compensation, at the mere bidding of a Governor who had no power to compel compliance with his mandates.

No man hated slavery more than General Gordon, but no man knew better what he could do and could not do, and what he must do in order to accomplish the task he had undertaken. He was well aware that the attempt to destroy the slave-trade by operations in the Soudan would have only two effects—it would render that trade more difficult, and therefore more cruel to the victims, and it would lead to constant wars in the Soudan, which could not fail to be productive of confusion and anarchy, and great suffering to the people. He was therefore of opinion that the slave-trade must be suppressed not in the Soudan itself, but in the districts where its roots are fixed, in Egypt Proper and on the Red Sea.

All classes were in favour of slavery. The Mahdi was fighting as much for the slave-trade as for his religious pretensions.

General Gordon, indeed, regarded him as a mere puppet put forward by Ilyas, Zubair's father-in-law and the largest slaveholder in Obeid, and that he had assumed his religious title to give colour to his defence of the popular demands. This being the case, and Gordon well knowing that the influential classes throughout the Soudan entertained this view, he appears in his proclamation to have simply put before them the new position of affairs in the way most likely to attract their attention and to secure their approbation. He was charged to arrange for the evacuation of the Soudan. He informed the chiefs that Egypt was going to withdraw her garrisons, and that in future they were to be independent. 'Your grievance,' he says, 'has been that we interfered with what you call your property—your slaves. Very well; in future we shall not interfere with your slaves or with any other of your institutions, bad or good.' It is evident indeed that Gordon's instructions implied that he had no authority to attempt the suppression of slavery in the Soudan. He was not only to make arrangements for the evacuation of the country, but he was to hand it over to the native Sultans who governed it before the Egyptian invasion and conquest, and this step necessarily included the renunciation of any right to interfere with their internal institutions or administration.

General Gordon did not, however, abate his earnest desire or abandon his efforts to suppress the vile slave-trade. He was of opinion that much might be done for that purpose by limiting the market in Egypt itself, where the roots of the trade were fixed, and by carrying out the plan which he had formed during his first Governor-Generalship. A heavy tax on existing slaves and the prohibition of future sales would, he believed, have an immense effect in stopping the demand, and consequently in making it less worth while for the Soudanese tribes to give themselves up to the traffic.

Another recommendation which Gordon made at this time excited, if possible, even

stronger disapprobation. On the day of his arrival at Khartoum he telegraphed to Cairo that the co-operation of Zubair Pasha would be invaluable in uniting the local tribes against the Mahdi, and establishing a settled form of government after the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops. He pointed out the difficulties that surrounded him, showed that when the garrisons and officials were removed all form of government would disappear, and urged in the strongest terms he could employ that supreme power should be placed in the hands of Zubair Pasha. This man, who had been chief of the slave-hunters, and was a direct descendant of the Abbasides, had accumulated enormous wealth, lived in princely state, and possessed almost independent authority in the Bahr Gazelle province. Gordon said he had devastated hundreds of miles of fertile land, and had spread desolation and sorrow among a once happy population. Though he had been created a Pasha of Egypt, he had raised a fierce revolt against the government, and had treacherously surprised and massacred their troops. His son had been executed by Gordon's orders, and he had himself been condemned to death, but had been pensioned by the Khedive, and retained in a species of honourable captivity. Nubar Pasha, to whom Zubair had promised a very large bribe, had offered to send him to the assistance of the Governor-General in 1879, but the offer was peremptorily declined. Yet, strange to say, Gordon now earnestly recommended that the government of the Soudan should be intrusted to this 'king of the slave-hunters.' The choice, he said, lay between Zubair and the Mahdi. The moment Khartoum was evacuated the Mahdi would walk in, and as for the slave-trade he would be ten times worse than Zubair; and the payment of the subsidy to the latter might, he said, be made contingent on his not carrying on the slave-trade on a large scale. It would be necessary to give Zubair £200,000 or £300,000 a year, in addition to a donation 'down on the nail' of £150,000 to £200 000

to replenish his magazines and stores, to make over to him the expedition's boats and steamers, &c., and to aid him for two months in small expeditions. Gordon anticipated that there would be 'a fearful row' if his proposals were agreed to. He knew one man who would write, 'Better, my dear Gordon, *far* better, to have died than have so very far departed from the right path.'

If his friend had made this statement it would not have been without good reason, for it is evident that Gordon had no great faith in the stability of any Government that Zubair might set up. He defends the startling recommendation that Zubair should be sent up by this still more startling argument, 'If Zubair fails after some time, what is it to you? You did your best and saved your honour.' If Gordon had reflected seriously on this statement, instead of writing, as he evidently did, on the impulse of the moment, he would have seen the fallacy of the advice which he here gives. He did not expect that permanent tranquillity would be restored to the Soudan by placing it under the authority of a man who was his own bitter personal enemy, but merely that the honour of the British Government would be saved. Probably, however, the immediate prospect of saving the lives of the troops and officials committed to his care, most of whom he expected to be able to withdraw to Egypt, outweighed other considerations, of which his own safety would be the last.

The British government, however, declined to adopt this recommendation, though it was strongly supported both by Lord Wolseley and by Sir Evelyn Baring, who said, on the 8th of March, 'I believe that Zubair Pasha may be made a bulwark against the approach of the Mahdi. Of course there is a certain risk that he will constitute a danger to Egypt, but this risk is, I think, a small one; and it is in any case preferable to incur it rather than to face the certain disadvantages of withdrawing without making any provision for the

future government of the country, which would thus be sure to fall under the power of the Mahdi.'

Gordon himself, however, was at one time of a very different opinion. On his way to Khartoum he heard that the Egyptian Government had an idea of employing Zubair at Suakin, and he immediately protested as follows:—'My objection to Zubair is this: he is a first-rate general and a man of great capacity, and he would in no time eat up all the petty Sultans and consolidate a vast State, as his ambition is boundless. I would therefore wish him kept away, as his restoration would be not alone unjust, but might open up the Turco-Arabic question. Left independent the Sultans will doubtless fight among themselves, and one will try to annex the other; but with Zubair it would be an easy task to overcome these different States and form a large independent one.' Colonel Stewart, who knew the Soudan and Zubair well, confirmed Gordon's opinion: 'Zubair's return,' he said, 'would undoubtedly be a misfortune to the Soudanese, and also a direct encouragement to the slave trade. As he would be by far the ablest leader in the Soudan he would easily overturn the newly-erected political edifice and become a formidable power.'

Though the Government rejected this proposal General Gordon renewed it over and over again on their declining to take any other steps for his relief, especially when he learned that he was supported by Sir Evelyn Baring, as it was an enormous assistance, he said, to have his approbation. The Soudan was a useless possession; we could not govern it, neither could Egypt, and since it was to be abandoned and left to its own devices, 'what difference could it possibly make whether Zubair or the Mahdi carried on slave-hunting, for, according to all accounts, the Mahdi was the most active in that direction.' The point at issue was how we could get out of the Soudan with honour, for it would be a palpable dishonour to abandon the garrisons. The only way to do this was either

by some sort of provisional government under Zubair, or by giving the country to the Turks. The Turks were the best solution, though most expensive. They would keep the Soudan if they got a donation of £2,000,000. The next best was Zubair with £500,000 and £100,000 a year for two years; he would keep the Soudan for a time. In both cases the slave-trade would flourish, but quiet would be maintained in Egypt, and the Soudan garrisons could be withdrawn by January, 1885. If one or other of these plans were not adopted, the government might lay their account with a great deal of worry and danger, and with an unprofitable and not creditable termination of their campaign.

It was no doubt most desirable, on grounds of expediency and humanity, to attempt the relief of the Egyptian garrisons, but assuredly not as a point of national honour. The British government did not place these garrisons in the Soudan, and could not be held responsible for their extrication, which the Khedive, if left to his own resources, would have been utterly powerless to effect. With respect to the recommendation that the Soudan should be handed over to the tender mercies of the Turks, a people notorious for their misgovernment and oppression of the countries subject to their rule—if it had been carried into effect it would neither have promoted the welfare of the Soudanese nor have relieved the British government of any responsibility they had incurred in connection with this unfortunate enterprise. With regard to the alternative proposal, that Zubair should be appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, the Government, in declining to accede to it, seem to have been greatly influenced by the considerations—that apart from his infamous character it was not unlikely that he might ally himself with the Mahdi, one of whose chief supporters was Zubair's father-in-law, and thus become a source of increased danger to Egypt, instead of a security

against the False Prophet and his followers ; that his appointment would give increased impetus to the slave-trade ; and that from his deep-rooted hatred to General Gordon, on account of the execution of his son, the life of the Governor-General would be in imminent danger if he were in the Soudan at a time when Zubair had the supreme control there. All competent authorities, indeed, including General Gordon's own brother Sir Henry, declared that if Zubair were allowed to go to Khartoum, he would find means of taking the great soldier's life.

Gordon, however, had no time to spend in discussing the opinions which were expressed respecting his policy. An important work was laid to his hand, which he required to do at once with all his might. Such was his influence that there was no longer any fears of disturbance within the town, or apprehensions of danger from the rebels without. His personal popularity was unbounded. 'Gordon is a most lovable character,' wrote Power ; 'quiet, mild, gentle, and strong ; he is so humble too. The way he pats you on the shoulder when he says, "Look here, dear fellow, now what do you advise?" would make you love him. When he goes out of doors there are always crowds of Arab men and women to kiss his feet. He is dictator here. The Mahdi has gone down before him, and to-day sent him a salaam, a messenger of welcome. It is wonderful that one man should have such an influence on 200,000 people. Numbers of women flock here every day to ask him to touch their children to cure them ; they call him the "Father and the Saviour of the Soudan." He is, indeed, I believe, the greatest and best man of this century. He is glad if you show the smallest desire to help him in his great trouble. How one man could have dared to attempt this task I wonder. One day of his work and bother would kill another man. Yet he is so cheerful at breakfast, lunch, and dinner ; but I know he suffers fearfully from low spirits. I hear him walking up and down his room all night.

It is only his great piety carries him through.'

Over the whole of the Southern Soudan, however, the feeling of the people was decidedly hostile to the Khedive, and to all who held authority in his name. The Arabs began their attacks on Khartoum by surprising a party of 300 men, who, through the negligence of the black troops, had been left unprotected, and killing 100 of them.

In less than a month after Gordon's arrival at Khartoum the Mahdi and his lieutenants succeeded in spreading the insurrection throughout most of the Nile districts between Khartoum and Berber. Halfiyeh, a small town some miles north of Khartoum, containing a garrison of 800 men, was surrounded by a body of the enemy 4000 strong, and the communication between it and Khartoum was completely cut off. Though now unimportant it was formerly a place of great consequence. It was once the seat of a native Soudani dynasty, which was defeated and expelled at the time of the Egyptian conquest in 1819-20. General Gordon resolved to make a strenuous effort to relieve the beleaguered garrison, and set out for that purpose with 1200 men and three steamers armoured with boiler plates, and carrying mountain guns with wooden mantlets. The Arabs were entrenched on the banks of the Nile, and had command of that river. But Gordon caused the troops to be stowed below and in large iron barges, so that they were protected from the fire of the enemy. He lost only two men in the conflict, and in a day or two the Arabs were compelled to raise the siege. Not only was the garrison rescued, but a great store of camels and horses, arms and ammunition, was captured.

This success, however, was followed by a serious reverse. The Arabs continued to assemble in great numbers on the banks of the Nile, and to fire on the Palace. Gordon therefore sent a body of Egyptian troops and Bashi-Bazouks, about 2000 strong, commanded by their own officers, to drive

them back. Their lines, running parallel to the Blue Nile, extended for the space of 2 miles from Halfiyeh to a group of wooded sandhills about 8 miles from Khartoum. As the Egyptian troops advanced the Arabs began to retreat, and soon disappeared behind the sandhills, their retreat being covered by about sixty horsemen. The Egyptian force advanced steadily, but as they entered the woods at the foot of the sandhills the officers who were in command, and had been riding a little ahead, suddenly wheeled round on their own men and broke through their ranks. At that moment the Arab horsemen galloped out from behind the sandhills and rode in at the gap which had been opened to admit the officers. The Egyptian forces were at once thrown into confusion and ran for their lives towards Khartoum. Mr. Power, who with Gordon witnessed the whole scene from the roof of the Palace, says, 'The sixty horsemen, who were only armed with lances and swords, dashed about, cutting down the flying men. One Arab lancer killed seven Egyptians in as many minutes. He then jumped off his horse to secure a rifle and ammunition, when a mounted Bashi-Bazouk officer cut him down. The rebel infantry now appeared, and rushed about in all directions, hacking at the men disabled by the cavalry charge. This slaughter continued for nearly 2 miles, the Egyptians not stopping to fire a shot. Then the Arabs halted, and an officer rallied some of the troops, and they commenced a dropping but harmless fire at the enemy. This continued till mid-day, some of the men dropping from stray bullets fired by the Arabs. The rebels then drew off to their old position, carrying a lot of rifles and cartridges and one mountain piece. The irregulars, instead of returning into camp, coolly adjourned to a neighbouring friendly village opposite the Palace. When they had completely looted this and killed some of the inhabitants, they stalked into the camp.' The Egyptian loss was about 200 killed, while

the Arabs lost only four. All the bodies brought into the camp were wounded in the back, for such was the panic that until the Arabs halted none of the Egyptian troops turned to fire a shot. The two Egyptian commanders, Said and Hassan Pashas, whose treachery had caused this defeat, had the hardihood to return to Khartoum after the battle was over. They even ventured into Gordon's tent. Coffee was offered them, but suspecting poison they refused to accept it, until Gordon's secretary, who divined their reason, drank first; they then partook of it. During the remainder of that day they concealed themselves in their houses, dreading the vengeance of the soldiers, who cried out that the pashas had betrayed them, and would have put them to death at once had they appeared in the streets. The next day they were tried by court-martial, and after a long and patient examination they were found guilty of holding communication with the enemy, and of having treacherously caused the defeat and death of their own men. It was proved that the two traitors had appropriated the two months' pay given to the troops on account of six months' arrears. In Hassan's house a great store of rifles and ammunition was discovered, and it appeared that he and his colleague had taken into the field with them seventy rounds of cannon ammunition instead of eight, the usual number, in order that their capture might supply the guns of the rebels for future attacks upon Khartoum. It was also proved that one of them had cut down the sergeant in charge of a gun as he was about to lay his piece, while the other had killed two artillerymen. They were both found guilty, and were shot on the same evening by the men whom they had betrayed.

Shortly after this disaster three armed dervishes arrived at Khartoum sent by the Mahdi to return the robes of honour sent to him by Gordon, which he had at first received with apparent delight, and to intimate his refusal of the office of Sultan of

Kordofan. They brought with them a der-vish's dress and a letter calling upon Gordon to become a Mussulman and to embrace the cause of the Mahdi. When the Governor-General declined to accept the dress they behaved with great insolence, but were quietly dismissed with a reply from Gordon, of which the address indicated that the Mahdi's appointment as Sultan of Kordofan was cancelled.

This announcement made it evident that the Mahdi was not to be conciliated, and the only hope of 'smashing' him, as Gordon expressed it, was by force of arms. The General lost no time in preparing for the impending struggle. From 8000 to 10,000 men left Khartoum and joined the rebels, thereby diminishing the danger from treachery. A considerable number of officials and women and children were sent down the river to Berber, and had thence made their way to Korosko. The ammunition was removed to a safe position near the river, where it could not be reached by an artillery attack on the fortifications. The bottom of the ditch and sides of the fortifications were paved with spear heads, and the ground for 100 yards in front was strewn with iron crows' feet (things that have a short spike up however they are thrown), then beyond for 500 yards with broken bottles to wound the naked feet of the Mahdi's men. At intervals there were placed tin biscuit-boxes full of powder, nails, and bullets, at 2 feet under ground, with electric wires to them; and finally, there were three lines of land torpedoes or percussion mines arranged, which proved peculiarly destructive to the enemy.

Gordon's feelings at this juncture were shown by the oft-quoted telegram which he despatched to Sir E. Baring on the 16th of April—'As far as I understand, the situation is this: you state your intention of not sending any relief up here or to Berber, and you refuse me Zubair. I consider myself free to act according to circumstances. I shall hold on here as long as I can, and if I can suppress the rebellion

I will do so. If I cannot I shall retire to the equator, and leave you the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons of Sennaar, Kassala, Berber, and Dongola, with the certainty that you will eventually be compelled to smash up the Mahdi under great difficulties if you would retain peace in Egypt.' It had now become evident to Gordon that the rebellion was not likely to be suppressed by peaceful means, though he had not lost all hope of being able to 'smash the Mahdi' by his own unaided resources. He was aware, however, that the insurrection was spreading, and that multitudes of the disaffected were repairing to the standard of the False Prophet. The insurgents had surrounded Berber, Shendy, and Kassala, and were hemming him in at Khartoum; while, as he was well aware, there were traitors in his own camp ready to betray him to the enemy. But his confidence was unshaken, and his exertions to repel the assaults of the rebels were unremitting and successful.

He was not, however, content to remain on the defensive. He sent a steamer up the Blue Nile with a Krupp gun on a barge, which shelled the Arabs on the bank and killed forty of them. A mutiny of the Bashi-Bazouks was suppressed, and 250 of them were disarmed. Repeated successful attacks were made upon the Arabs, in one of which sixteen horses were captured, and forty of their men were killed and eight wounded. Gordon's steamers, which he had protected with bullet-proof armour made of soft wood and iron, and his barges, defended in the same way, with a turret 20 feet in height erected on each of them, cleared the banks of the Nile by day, though the enemy returned at night and kept up a fire on the Palace until daybreak. On the 28th of April Mr. Power mentions that for a week past the garrison had been almost daily engaged with the rebels, who now thoroughly surround Khartoum. General Gordon is busily engaged laying out mines in front of the works in all directions. Yesterday and to-day the rebels came down

to a village opposite and fired heavily on the Palace. We returned the fire with artillery and musketry, and on both occasions the Arabs soon retreated. There was no loss on our side. The town is quiet. Over half the population before the siege went over to the rebels, thus weeding out all bad characters.

‘General Gordon is issuing rations to the poor. Food is very dear. We have corn and biscuits for about four months. General Gordon has issued paper money, as our treasure is still at Berber. The merchants accept it as money, and all the arrears to the soldiers can thus be paid off. General Gordon has sent emissaries to offer to all the slaves of the rebels their freedom if they abandon their masters and come in. If they do this it will be a fearful blow to the rebels.

‘A messenger from Seyid Mahomet Osman of Kassala, who is an emir of Mecca and chief among the Mussulmans in the Soudan, has come in bringing a letter. The Seyid says he has beaten the rebels around Kassala, and he tells General Gordon to be of good heart and he and all his men will come to his relief. In such respect is this man held that the rebels did not dare to stop the bearer of the letter. One of General Hicks’s bandsmen came in last night from El Obeid. The Mahdi has sent two guns, forty boxes of shells, and sixty Remingtons to be used against Saleh Bey, who is still holding out against the rebels at Mesalimieh. This soldier states that Slatin Bey at Darfur has not surrendered to the Mahdi. The Blue Nile is slowly rising, and we hope that in ten or fifteen days the steamers will be able to smite the rebels hip and thigh. The health of the town is excellent, and we three Englishmen in here are well and hopeful.’

By the beginning of May the Arabs, crossing the Blue Nile, had established themselves at Buri, at a distance of about a mile from the eastern corner of the intrenchments. But at this spot the besiegers suffered severely from the mines which

General Gordon had laid down as early as the middle of April. Mr. Power mentions in his diary on 7th May that nine mines were exploded in one attack, and nearly 115 of the Mahdi’s troops were blown to pieces. ‘The Arabs,’ he continues, ‘kept up a fire all day. Colonel Stewart, with two splendidly-directed shots from a Krupp 20-pounder at the Palace, drove them out of their principal position. During the night the Arabs loopholed the walls (of their village on the opposite bank), but on the 9th we drove them out. They held the place for three days.’

During May and June steamer expeditions were made daily up the White Nile under Saati Bey, who, with slight loss, captured great numbers of cattle and large quantities of corn. In one of the expeditions a shell thrown into an Arab magazine caused a great explosion; in another 200 of the rebels were killed. But on the 20th of July, after burning Kalakla and three villages, Saati Bey attacked Gatarneb, and was unfortunately killed along with three of his officers. Colonel Stewart, who accompanied the expedition, had a narrow escape. This disaster was counterbalanced by a victory gained by the besieged on the 29th of July, when the rebels were driven out of Buri on the Blue Nile, with heavy loss both of men and munitions and rifles. The steamers advanced to El Efan, clearing thirteen rebel forts and breaking two cannon.

Mr. Power notes in his diary under 30th and 31st July that for the last four months the siege had been very close. The enemy had strong forts along the river, and were pushing the siege as closely as ever, the Arab bullets on all sides being able to fall into the Palace. ‘Since 17th March,’ he says, ‘no day has passed without firing, yet our losses in all at the very outside are not 700 killed. We have had a good many wounded, but as a rule the wounds are slight. Since the siege General Gordon has caused biscuit and corn to be distributed to the poor, and up to this time there has

been no case of any one seriously wanting food. Everything has gone up about 3000 per cent. in price, and meat is, when you get it, 8s. or 9s. an oben. The classes who cannot accept relief suffer most.

'Since the despatch which arrived the day before yesterday all hope of relief by our Government is at an end, so when our provisions are eaten we must fall, nor is there any chance with the soldiers we have, and the great crowd of women, children, &c., of our being able to cut our way through the Arabs. We have not steamers for all, and it is only from the steamers we can meet the rebels.

'One Arab horseman is enough to put 200 of the bulk of our men to flight. The day Saati Bey was killed, eight men with spears charged 200 of our men armed with Remingtons. The soldiers fled at once, leaving Saati and his Vakeel to be killed. A black officer cut down three of the Arabs and the other five charged our men. A horseman coming up rode through the flying mass, cutting down seven. Colonel Stewart, who was unarmed, got off by a fluke, the Arabs not having seen him. With such men as these we can do nothing. The negroes are the only men we can depend upon.

'The attack made by the Soudani troops under Mehemet Ali Pasha on the 28th of this month was most successful; the Arab loss must have been very heavy. As General Gordon has forbidden the soldiers to bring in the heads of rebels they kill, it is now hard to know the exact number. We captured that day sixteen shells and cartouches for mountain guns, a quantity of rifle ammunition, seventy-eight Remingtons, a number of elephant and other rifles, nearly 200 lances, sixty swords, and some horses. Our loss was four killed and some slightly wounded. This action has cleared away the rebels who day and night have been firing into our lines at Buri on the Blue Nile.

'The following day (29th July) a flotilla of four armoured steamers and four armoured

barges, with forecastles on them, went up to Gareff on the Blue Nile. I went with them. On the way up we cleared thirteen small forts, but at Gareff found two large strong forts—earthworks riveted with trunks of palm trees. There were two cannons in one. For eight hours we engaged these forts, and with the Krupp 20-pounder disabled their two cannons. The Arab fire was terrific, but owing to the bullet-proof armour on all the vessels our loss was only three killed and twelve or thirteen wounded. Towards the evening we drove the rebels, who were in great numbers, out of the forts.

'In three days General Gordon will send two steamers towards Sennaar. It is to be hoped they will retake the steamer *Mehemet Ali*, which the rebels took from Saleh Bey. General Gordon is quite well, and Colonel Stewart is quite recovered from his wound. I am quite well and happy.'

These diaries of Mr. Power were not received in England until the 29th of September, and as the time the provisions of the besieged garrison were expected to last expired at the end of that month, great anxiety was felt for their safety. But it turned out that either the writer must have been misinformed as to the resources of the troops, or means had been found of supplying their stores, for on the 8th of November a letter was received from Gordon stating that he had sufficient provisions to hold out till the arrival of the expedition sent out for his relief, and Khartoum at last fell into the enemy's hands, not through starvation, but by treachery.

The telegrams which came from Gordon himself about the beginning of October strengthen the impression which Mr. Power's letters produce of the indomitable courage, the noble self-sacrifice, and the unwavering and un murmuring devotion to duty of the three heroic Englishmen amid privations and perils and treason, keeping at bay for many months the savage hordes of the Mahdi thirsting for their blood. Towards the end of April he notes with satisfaction the rising of the Nile in advance of the

usual period, which would enable the steamers to act with more effect against the enemy. A report had reached him on the 24th of April that an expedition had been despatched with seventy of his captured soldiers, rockets, and guns against Saleh Pasha, that the regular soldiers feigned an attack against Saleh and turned on the rebels, going over to Saleh with their guns and ammunition. This, he remarks, if true, will effectually prevent the Mahdi trying this again. Two days later he notes that one of the soldiers who formed part of the expedition had escaped, and made his way to Khartoum. He informed the General that the expedition consisted of 1000 men, 100 of whom were his soldiers of the Soudan, who sent to say they would turn on the rebels when a battle took place.

'We are making,' writes Gordon to Sir E. Baring, 'decorations for defence of Khartoum, a crescent and a star, with words from the Koran and date, so we count on victory.' These decorations were of three degrees—silver-gilt, silver, and copper—with the inscription 'Siege of Khartoum,' and a grenade in the centre. 'School children and women,' he says, 'have also received one; consequently, I am very popular with the black ladies of Khartoum.' On the 27th he mentions that on the previous day the steamers had gone up the White Nile and captured a number of cows, donkeys, and sheep—taking three of the rebels prisoners and killing seven. To show that the Arabs shoot well he notes that two of his steamers received 970 and 860 shots in their hulls respectively. 'We are sending out negroes,' he says, 'to entice the slaves of rebels to come to us on promise of freedom. The general opinion is that all the slaves will desert by degrees, and that the rebels will leave this dangerous vicinity, not for fear of bullets, but for fear of losing their live chattels. We will take the slaves into Government service, giving them their freedom, clothes, and pay; they get nothing from the rebels. It may be the beginning of the end of slave-holding up here.'

Gordon was a good deal hampered in his operations by the want of money, the remittance sent to him from Cairo having fallen into the hands of the enemy when Berber surrendered. Khartoum cost £500 a day, and the expenses of the other garrisons having to be met, he issued paper notes to the amount of £26,000 and borrowed £50,000 from the merchants. He sent in addition £8000 paper notes to Sennaar. The troops and the people were full of heart, but he could not say the same for all the Europeans. The great body of the Arabs, on the other hand, were spiritless. About 2000 determined men alone kept them in the field. If there was any possible way of avoiding this wretched fighting he should adopt it, for the whole war was hateful to him. The people refused to let him go out on expeditions owing to the bother which would arise if anything happened. 'So,' he says, 'I sit on tenter hooks of anxiety.' He was asked by Sir Evelyn Baring 'to state cause and intention in staying at Khartoum, knowing Government means to abandon Soudan.' He replied somewhat sharply, and no wonder—that he stayed at Khartoum because the Arabs had shut him up and would not let him out. But even if the road was opened the people would not let him go unless he gave them some government or took them with him, which he could not do. No one would leave more willingly than he if it were possible. His sole desire was to restore the prestige of the Government in order to get out the garrisons and to put some ephemeral government in position in order to get away. 'We must fight it out,' he wrote, 'with our own means; if blessed by God we shall succeed—if not his will, so be it.' He was determined, however, to defend Khartoum to the last; he would try and persuade all Europeans to escape, and was still sanguine that by some means God would give him a successful issue.

On the 24th of August General Gordon addressed two interesting letters to the officer commanding the Royal Navy at

Massowah, which showed that he was in much better spirits, and was more hopeful than he was in the spring. After a series of petty fights with the Arabs he had driven them back and opened the road to Sennaar, and was thus relieved from their immediate pressure. He intended to attack them next day, and meditated a raid on Berber in order to open the road to Dongola for a convoy which was to accompany Colonel Stewart and the French and English consuls. 'We shall destroy Berber,' he said, 'and return to our pirate nest here. Our steamers are armoured and bullet-proof and do splendid work, for you see when you have steam on the men cannot run away and must go into action. We are going to hold on here for ever, and are pretty evenly matched with the Mahdi. He has cavalry and we have steamers. We have provisions for five months and hope to get in more.'

Two days later Gordon wrote again to the same officer, and mentions that the attack which he had meditated on the Arabs had been completely successful; the Arab camp had been taken and their commander-in-chief had been killed. This victory had cleared the vicinity of Khartoum on three parts of a circle. The Arab defeat might be put down to the defection of a part of their forces, who came over to Gordon at the moment of attack. The naval forces behaved splendidly. 'You would all delight to be here,' he adds, 'and I wish you were if it was possible. There is one bond of union between us and our troops; they know that if the town is taken they will be sold as slaves, and we must deny our Lord if we would save our lives. I think we hate the latter more than they do the former. D.V. we will defeat them without any help from outside. Spies from Kordofan report advance of Mahdi with twenty-six guns towards Khartoum. I have always thought this probable, and that the question will be solved here; but I trust he will not succeed, for we have made the place very strong; if he fails he is done for.'

The defeat of the Arabs on the 25th of August having cleared the way, Gordon resolved to send a military force from Khartoum, composed of 2000 men, by steamers to Berber, to retake it if possible from the rebels, with provisions for two months. His despatching this expedition indicates that General Gordon could not at this time have been in very desperate straits, and there is no evidence, as has been asserted by Mr. Hake, that in sending Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power along with it he 'wanted to give his comrades a chance of life and freedom.' His own message to Nubar Pasha, dated 23rd August, states, 'We will send with this force his Excellency Stewart Pasha, sub-governor, and all the consuls here existing. After the recapture of Berber the troops and consuls will remain there, while his Excellency Stewart Pasha will proceed to Dongola by a small boat expressly prepared for his voyage in that direction, to parley with the Soudan question and what the situation of Berber will come to.'

On the 10th of September these three noble-minded Englishmen parted never more to meet in this world. Gordon remained alone in Khartoum to confront the hordes of the Mahdi, while Stewart and Power started on the expedition which, in little more than a week, came to a disastrous termination. Early in October the news reached this country that the steamer *Abbas*, in which they had sailed, had run aground, and that the whole party had been killed. Towards the end of the month two messengers sent by Lord Wolseley to make inquiry respecting the fate of Stewart and Power sent a telegram to Sir E. Baring, intimating that they had discovered that the steamer had struck on a rock, and that the whole party, except two natives, had been killed by Sheikh Suleiman. It was not, however, until four months later that full particulars of this sad catastrophe were received. Hussein, the stoker of Colonel Stewart's steamer, escaped from the enemy, and related the melancholy story of the fate of the party.

'The steamer *Abbas*,' he said, 'left Khar-toum in September with Colonel Stewart, two European consuls, twelve Greeks, and several natives on board. Two other steamers accompanied her beyond Berber ['past any place,' wrote Gordon, 'where danger could be apprehended'], and four nuggars sailed with us, which were towed as far as Berber by these two steamers. We shelled the forts at Berber, and our steamer having safely passed them the others returned, we proceeding with the nuggars, which we also left behind before reaching Abu Ahmed.

'On 18th September the steamer struck on a rock near a small island in the Wad Gamr country. We had previously seen many of the people running away to the hills on both banks of the river. Everything was landed on the island by means of a small boat. Colonel Stewart drove a nail into the steamer's gun, filed off the projecting end, and then threw the gun and its ammunition overboard. Meanwhile several people came down to the bank shouting, "Give us peace and grain." We told them we had brought peace. Suleiman Wad Gamr, living in a house on the bank of the river, being asked for camels to take the party to Merawi, said that he would provide them, and invited Colonel Stewart and the two consuls to the house of a blind man named Fakrietman, telling them to come unarmed lest the people should be frightened. The camels were not given us. We all went unarmed, except Colonel Stewart, who had a small revolver in his belt. Presently I saw Suleiman come out and make a sign to the people standing about the village armed with swords and spears. These immediately divided into two parties, one running to the house of the blind man, the other to where the rest of Colonel Stewart's party were assembled. I was with the latter. When the natives charged we threw ourselves into the river. The natives fired and killed many of us, and others were drowned. I landed on an island and remained there until it was

dark, when I swam over to the left bank. . . . I heard that when the natives entered Fakrietman's house they fell upon Colonel Stewart and the consuls and killed all three. Hassan Bey held the blind man in front of him, thus escaping with a knife wound only, and he afterwards went to Berber. . . . The money found was divided among the natives who murdered the party, everything else being sent to Berber. The bodies were thrown into the river.'

Stewart and Power were men after Gordon's own heart, and their death was widely lamented. Noticing their death Gordon wrote in his Journal, 'Stewart was a brave, just, upright gentleman. Can one say more? Power was a chivalrous, brave, honest gentleman. Can one say more?'

Under the date of November 5 Gordon wrote in his Journal, 'I cannot get out of my head the *Abbas* catastrophe; that the *Abbas* could be captured by force seems impossible; that she ran upon a rock seems unlikely, for she had her sides defended by buffers sunk one foot in water. I also had warned them against even anchoring by the bank; also to take wood from isolated spots; in fact, as far as human foresight goes, I did all my possible. Why did you let them go? The matter was thus. I determined to send the *Abbas* down with an Arab captain: Herbin [the French consul] asked to be allowed to go. I jumped at his offer. Then Stewart said he would go if I would exonerate him for deserting me. I said, "You do not desert me; I cannot go, but if you go you do great service." I then wrote him an official; he wanted me to write him an order. I said, "No; for though I fear not responsibility, I will not put you in any danger in which I am not myself." I wrote them a letter couched thus: "*Abbas* is going down; you say you are willing to go in her if I think you can do so in honour; you can go in honour, for you can do nothing here, and if you go you do me service in telegraphing my views." . . . I feel somehow convinced they

were captured by treachery—the Arabs pretending to be friendly and surprising them at night. I will own that without reason (apparently), for the chorus was *that the trip was safe*, I have never been comfortable since they left. Stewart was a man who did not chew the cud; he never thought of danger in prospective; *he was not a bit suspicious*, while I am made up of it. It was no doubt this total absence of suspicion in Stewart's character that led to the destruction of the whole party, as Gordon correctly surmised.

For some time an urgent demand had been made by a large portion of the people of the United Kingdom, supported by most of the leading journals, that an expedition should be sent for the relief of General Gordon and the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan as soon as the rise of the Nile would permit the navigation of the river from Cairo to Dongola and southward to Berber and Khartoum. The Government, however, hesitated and delayed on various grounds taking any active measures for that purpose. Military men were of opinion that no effective aid could be rendered to the beleaguered garrison in less time than two months by the quickest route, or in less than four by the river. But about the beginning of May the British military authorities in Cairo were ordered to prepare for the despatch in October of an expeditionary force for the relief of General Gordon and the beleaguered garrisons. Twelve thousand camels were ordered to be purchased, and active preparations were commenced in England. On the 10th of June information was received that Berber had surrendered about the end of May, and that 3500 persons had been put to death by the Arabs. This news gave additional force to the complaints that had been made respecting the dilatory policy of the Government, and helped to quicken their movements.

Shortly before the close of the session in August the Government obtained a vote of credit for £300,000 in order to make pre-

parations for the despatch of an expedition to Khartoum should this be resolved on, and Lord Wolseley proceeded to Egypt for the purpose of examining and reporting respecting the military operations. It was decided that an expedition should be despatched, and that it must be sent by the Nile instead of by the Suakim-Berber route. The preparations for the advance were of the most elaborate and costly character. Portable river steamers and a large fleet of whale-boats were forwarded from England, and 400 Canadian boatmen were engaged for conveying them through the rapids. The difficulties of the river route at a season when the Nile had begun to fall proved even more serious than was anticipated. But the Mudir of Dongola, concerning whose fidelity great doubts had been entertained, not only acted as a barrier against the advance of the Mahdi's troops, but rendered important assistance in providing stores, purchasing camels, and hiring natives to assist in towing the boats of the expedition through the cataracts. Strenuous efforts were made by the British commanders to complete their preparations with all possible speed, and Lord Wolseley offered a reward of £100 to the regiment that should make the quickest passage from Sarras to Debbeh, 40 miles from Dongola, and with least damage to the boats. The advance practically commenced on the 2nd of November. Sir Herbert Stewart reached Korti on the 15th of December, and Lord Wolseley arrived next day and established there a large camp. From this point the commander-in-chief, in order to avoid a wide bend of the river, despatched a strong column under Sir Herbert Stewart across the desert—a march of 176 miles—to the town of Metameh on the Nile, whence it was hoped communication could be opened up with General Gordon, while another body of the troops was slowly ascending the river. General Stewart was directed to secure the Gakdul Wells, to establish and provision a post there, and to prepare the way for the

advance of a larger body of troops. The force appointed for this difficult and dangerous enterprise numbered about 2000 men in all, consisting of a troop of 19th Hussars, one battery Royal Artillery, three divisions of Camel Corps, Mounted Infantry, Naval Brigade, and portions of the Royal Sussex and Essex Regiments. Of this force the first half set out on the 29th December.

This terrible march has been described by Mr. Cameron, the lamented correspondent of the *Standard*, in the last letter he wrote:—

‘We were now in grim earnest,’ he said, ‘bound on a dash straight across, to plunge unsupported into the heart of the enemy’s country, and amidst a population all of them avowed disciples of the Crescentade against infidels everywhere, inaugurated by Mahomed Achmet, the Mahdi of the Soudan. No wonder that the natives who watched looked upon us as men doomed to destruction, for had not three large armies, more numerous than ours, and as well equipped, already passed over the same road, bound on a similar errand to ours, and had they not all perished to a man?

. . . In the desert water is the great thing. Food we can do without for a period and not suffer much, but never water. And so the first thing to do on halting was to examine the skins that contained our precious supply, and then, by the friendly bivouac of the Mounted Infantry detachment on rear ground, we lay on the sand to try and snatch some sleep ere the bugle sounded, for the waning moon would rise at half-past one, and at that hour General Stewart had ordered the start to be made. Apparently the last fire to remain alight had only flickered out, and silence had but reigned for a few minutes, when the beautiful but weird-like reveille of the British army started us unwillingly into life again. Once or twice only during my campaigning experiences have I heard the reveille sound with feelings of satisfaction. . . . With very different disposition do we listen here in the desert to the morning call, for it is the signal to jump up with unwilling

energy and load our moaning camels, and prepare to jog on wearily in the dark. . . . The last rope had hardly been fastened when the “fall in” sounded, and then for an hour men and camels grouped into their places in the dark; and at half-past two we moved off our ground, the pebble-strewed desert glistening in the dim moonlight as if it were covered with a coat of yellow shining varnish. Frequently would the bugles sound the halt in rear to allow time for stragglers to close up, for the officer commanding the rearguard had the usual orders to leave nothing behind. With him were the spare camels, and if a loaded one tumbled or lay down to die, as they frequently did, a fresh beast at once took his place, and so wearily until morning we silently marched. Few cared to converse, gliding across the desert like one long shadow. At half-past five, what looked like the reflection of a huge conflagration, appeared on the horizon. It signalled the approach of day; and when it was light the bugles sounded a merry march, the men shouted and talked cheerily, and even the camels looked mildly contented. At ten we halted for breakfast and tried to get a little sleep until two, when we were away again striding on, sometimes across stretches of sand, sometimes over stony ground, and again through mimosa country; but ever the sun shone fiercely overhead. A peculiarity of the deserts that border the Nile is that the mouths of men and beasts who traverse them are always parched. Those who have experienced it know that it is no use to drink continuously. That only increases the torture, but it is difficult to resist the temptation. . . .

‘Again early in the morning we started, but there was no unwillingness to get on; for with many delay meant torture, perhaps death, while progress meant water and life. The Wells of Hambak, 47 miles out from Korti, were found empty. Only a bucketful of the precious fluid was there, and that was given to a couple of horses that otherwise

would have died. The column did not even halt at Hambak, but pushed on to El Howeyet, 8 miles further, where a better supply was expected; but there too ill-luck waited us. The convoy that started from Korti had only left El Howeyet half an hour previous to our arrival, so quickly had we travelled, and they had drunk all the water. But we halted at El Howeyet until evening, and by that time enough water—if that name may be given to a fluid of the colour and consistency of pea-soup—had accumulated to allow every man to have a slight drink. So wild were all the soldiers with thirst that for some time it seemed as if a tumult might set in, but Major Wardroper ordered all to fall in as they stood, and so, one by one and in order, were they supplied with their share.

‘On again we went until dark, the camels striding at their quickest pace, as anxious as their riders that water in plenty should be reached; and on again in the morning, too, we went, making for the Well of Abu Halfa, which, although some distance off the main track, was 8 or 10 miles nearer than Gakdul. There, the guides assured us, would water be found in plenty. In front a squadron of the 19th Hussars pushed on, for the horses had only drunk a quart apiece during the previous twenty-four hours. They were much distressed, of course, and if not watered that day would many of them assuredly die. At first the Well of Abu Halfa looked anything but promising. A shallow pool of water, green on the top, we saw, which was well-nigh emptied before even the horses had satisfied their thirst. But then a clear bubbling spring was discovered at the bottom, which, when cleared, afforded sufficient for everybody; only the wretched camels went without.

‘For a period the scene at the Abu Halfa Well was exciting in the extreme. Chattering Somalies, wild with thirst, barred from the main pool until the fighting men had

drunk their full, grubbed frantically in the sand, and in an inconceivably short period dug holes, at the bottom of which a little water collected, and was promptly lapped up. The soldiers, too, could hardly be restrained from throwing discipline aside, and thronged in on all sides, while in the background were plunging horses and camels broken loose and fighting desperately with their human masters for a place.

‘Yesterday, at noon, we reached Gakdul, and until to-day have been busy watering our exhausted animals and preparing ourselves for the march to Metammeh, which begins to-morrow. What the result of that march may be the wire will have told ere this letter reaches England. At present we know not whether our road is to be barred by thousands, or whether we shall reach the Nile without firing a shot; in camp parlance it is even betting on either contingency. We only know that if we fight at all it will not be for victory, but for very existence, for behind us there will be no retreat.’

The troops reached their destination in safety on the 2nd of January, 1885, and secured the wells without any opposition. Stewart, leaving the Guards at Gakdul in a strongly fortified position, returned to Korti on the 5th, with a satisfactory report as to supplies. A strong convoy was sent to Gakdul, and then General Stewart started on the 14th for Metammeh.

About 53 miles from Gakdul and 24 from Metammeh are the Abu Klea Wells, which furnish the last place for an important halt for the caravans going to Khartoum before reaching Metammeh. Though the wells are of a very rude order, consisting merely of holes 3 or 4 feet deep, the water they contain is excellent, and the supply during upwards of thirty years has failed only once. Abu Klea may almost be said to be the termination of the strictly desert portion of the march of Sir Herbert Stewart's troops. Up to this point they had passed through many varieties of stony and shady plains, with here

and there poor vegetation, occasionally even grass and trees, but more commonly the scant brush of sabas grass and scrub mimosa. The most striking feature was the drift sand, which covers a large portion of the surface of the country, and which the subtropical winds had driven into regular waves or mounds, sloping on the windward, but precipitous on the leeward side. The last day's march of our troops before approaching Abu Klea was through a stretch of 12 or 13 miles, covered to a large extent with broken sandstone and loose rock. Then followed 3 or 4 miles of sand, and next a district in which trees and grass are plentiful.

On the afternoon of the 16th, as General Stewart approached Abu Klea, the Hussars, who were out reconnoitring, reported that they had discovered the enemy in force occupying a position in front of the Wells. The General immediately made his dispositions for attack, and the brigade, in compact square of column, moved forward as steadily as on parade. They halted 400 yards from the foot of a black and ragged ridge in front of the great plain through which they had marched, while the General and his staff went forward to reconnoitre.

'As I followed them,' wrote an eyewitness, 'and looked back at the serried mass of our men, it seemed but a mere speck on the vast plain. From the hill where General Stewart stood one could see forward over the extensive stretch of level country, comparatively fertile, bounded miles away by a silver strip that was either a mirage or the Nile. At the neck of this valley, where it narrows into the hills on which we stood, and among the mass of mimosas, the enemy's force could be discerned with at least twenty banners in the sunlight.'

It was by this time late in the afternoon, and General Stewart, not knowing the actual strength of the enemy, judiciously resolved to rest his troops and to allow them time to prepare for the serious con-

flict before them. He ordered them, therefore, to bivouac for the night, roughly protecting his position with earth and brushwood. The grass was cleared away in front of the column. An abattis was formed around the baggage, and a stone breastwork with a frontage of about 150 yards was thrown up as an additional protection some hundred yards further to the front. As before Tamai, the Arabs did not attack, but contented themselves with keeping up what Lord Wolseley called 'a harmless fire' as soon as darkness came on, at the same time moving a force to their left and throwing up works threatening the British right flank.

Next morning General Stewart delayed for some time to march, hoping to induce the enemy to attack him, but, as it appeared that they were hesitating to make an onset, though they were creeping round the British flank, he resolved to take the offensive. Leaving his baggage and camels behind in the hastily-formed zereba, guarded by a detachment drawn from the Sussex Regiment of the Mounted Infantry, he advanced to the attack with his remaining force drawn up in square. The Mounted Infantry formed the left front angle, the Guards the right. The Sussex Regiment and Guards formed the right face, the Heavy Camel Regiment and Mounted Infantry the left. The Heavy Camel Regiment and the Blue Jackets closed the rear face. The Artillery and the Gardner gun were in the centre.

Following Sir G. Graham's tactics at El Teb, General Stewart passed round the left flank of the enemy's position, thus forcing the Arabs to attack or be enfiladed. By a cleverly executed manœuvre they almost disappeared from view, leaving their standards only visible, and then on a sudden a large body reappeared and made a headlong charge on the British square, driving in the skirmishers, whom they followed so closely that the fire of the British was partly masked. Unable to stand

the deadly fire poured on them, the Arabs turned and furiously attacked the left rear of the square, where the Heavy Cavalry stood fighting as infantry. They were borne down by the sheer weight of numbers, but the admirable steadiness of the soldiers enabled them quickly to rally and to maintain a hand-to-hand fight with the Arabs who had penetrated their ranks. In this encounter the gallant Colonel Burnaby was unfortunately killed by a spear-thrust. Meanwhile a withering fire was poured upon the assailants from the other faces of the square. But though they fell by hundreds on all sides they continued to fight with the most reckless courage. The Emir of Berber, who commanded the left, was wounded, and retired early, but Abou Saleb, the Emir of Metamemeh, who led the Arab right, came on desperately at the head of a hundred followers, marvellously escaping the destructive fire of the martinis till he was shot down inside the square. At last the headlong fury of the assailants gave way before the steady bravery of our troops, and they drew back, leaving 800 dead around the square, while the number of the wounded was exceptionally great.

The British army had nine officers and sixty-five non-commissioned officers and men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded. General Stewart himself had a narrow escape—his horse was killed under him, and his orderly fell beside him. Special regret was felt for the death of Colonel Burnaby, who was conspicuous no less for his kindness of heart than for his courage and his adventurous spirit. His notable ride to Khiva had brought him more prominently before the public than any of the other officers who lost their lives in this battle. Lord St. Vincent, who was descended from a nephew of the famous Admiral Jervis, died of wounds received in the engagement.

General Stewart concludes his report of the battle thus:—‘It has been my duty to command a force from which

exceptional work, exceptional hardships, and, it may be added, exceptional fighting has been called for. It would be impossible for me adequately to describe the admirable support that has been given to me by every officer and man of the force. I regret to say our loss has been severe; but the success is so complete, and the enemy’s loss so very heavy, that they may be disheartened, so that all future fighting will be of a less obstinate character. The nation has every reason to be proud of the gallantry and splendid spirit displayed by Her Majesty’s soldiers on this occasion.’

It must not be forgotten that General Stewart’s men were called upon to fight after a trying desert march of 53 miles, and a night broken by the enemy’s fire. To some of them, little accustomed to camel riding, the ordeal must have been severe indeed, while all had to undergo for two days the privations involved in a limited water supply, under circumstances where the craving for water becomes almost intolerable. Their position was perilous in the extreme. They had to encounter an army probably several times their own number, in a strong position, well armed, courageous, and inured to desert warfare. They had no reserves to support them in extremity, and no place of safety where they could take refuge in case of defeat. The alternative before them was either victory or total destruction. The Mahdi’s forces, whose numbers have been variously estimated at from 4000 to as many as 10,000, appear to have been his picked men, and had been trained more or less on the European system. It was known that, in addition to several ex-Austrian soldiers who had served in Hicks Pasha’s army, the Mahdi had with him a considerable number of Egyptian officers, including at least one of Arabi Pasha’s famous colonels who commanded the Nubian regiment quartered at Damietta in 1882.

At the close of the battle the cavalry were sent on at once, and seized and occupied the wells. The whole of the force, includ-

ing the camels and baggage, was brought from the last bivouac next morning.

General Stewart, after establishing a strong post at Abu Klea, left that place on the afternoon of the 18th, and continued his march during the night. After diverging from the direct route in order to avoid the wells at Shebacat, where the Arabs were posted to intercept or hinder its advance, the column moved to the right, as the instructions of Lord Wolseley were, that if Metammeh were held by the enemy in force the column should not attempt to attack it, but establish itself between that place and Khartoum. In accordance with these directions the force proceeded onwards towards the Nile. Silence was enjoined upon all on the march; smoking likewise was forbidden. The first part of the march was orderly, steady, and silent; but towards morning the route lay through dense jungle and groves of mimosa, where the confusion and uproar of the native drivers delayed progress for an hour or two. Watch-fires of the Arabs had been seen on the left flank of the column during the night; silence therefore was essential to complete success; but the shouts of the native servants and the groans and cries of the camels had no doubt put the enemy on the alert, and the probability is that they were prevented from attacking the British force during the confusion of the darkness only by uncertainty about its strength. Daylight broke, finding the column six miles from the Nile and about the same distance south of Metammeh. At 7 o'clock, when about 3 or 4 miles from the river, the enemy showed in force, and streams of men on horseback and on foot interposed between the column and the water they so longed to gain. A halt was made for breakfast in a strong zereba, which was constructed under a brisk fire from sharpshooters hidden among the sandhills and behind bushes and tall grass on all sides. It was while superintending these operations that General Stewart was severely wounded by a ball in the groin, and the command in consequence devolved upon

Colonel Wilson, the officer next in seniority. Mr. Cameron, correspondent of the *Standard*, and Mr. St. Leger Herbert, who represented the *Morning Post*, fell victims at this time to the zeal which prompted them to share the dangers of the march.

As the fire grew hotter and hotter, in the afternoon the force, leaving the wounded in the zereba under a strong guard commanded by Lord Charles Beresford, moved forward in square towards the river bank, along a gravelly ridge on which the enemy were posted in great numbers. The square moved, says an eye-witness, with a slow march across the open, protected by the fire of the Gardner gun in the zereba and by flanking skirmishers, threaded their way through the scattered mimosas, and halted to close ranks in the open. They then changed their direction, to take the enemy's main position in flank, all the while exposed to a galling fire. As the square halted the men lay down to deliver volley after volley with superb steadiness. At last the critical moment came, when the rebel spearmen advanced to hurl themselves against the little square, who cheered lustily when they saw their foes coming. Bearing banners lettered with verses from the Koran, the fanatic Arabs came on with all their wonted dash and fury. The column wheeled to receive them, and the men, by their officers' directions, fired by volleys in companies. The wild dervishes who led the charge went down in scores before the deadly fire of the Marines and Mounted Infantry, which was opened upon them at 700 yards, and none of the enemy got within thirty yards of the square.

Meanwhile another dense column, advancing from the south, was stopped by Norton's three screw guns, which pitched shell and case-shot, at ranges varying from 1500 to 2300 yards, into the dense groups of Arabs gathered around the Mahdi's standards. The practice made was excellent, and not only did it prevent the Arabs from forming their attacking columns as formerly, but the exploding shells indi-



Engraved by W. J. L. from a Photo. by Mr. Chancellor Dublin.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HERBERT STEWART, K.C.M.G.

cated to the square the points where the enemy was mustering in force to attack. The charges attempted by the Arabs at other points along the line of the square's advance were met and repelled in succession by the steady and withering fire of our troops. At half-past four, after nearly two hours' incessant fighting, as the column approached the south-easterly edge of the valley to pass out of it, the enemy's redoubtable reserve of horsemen, standard-bearers, and fanatical followers made their final grand rush. Nearly 10,000 of them swept down from three sides towards the square, their main body, numbering not fewer than 5000, coming upon its left face. They came from behind the ridge at a trot, and not at the top of their speed, as the Hadendawas charged. The Emirs on horseback and wild dervishes who led them, shouted to their followers to rush on in Allah's name and destroy the infidels. It was a critical moment, but the square stood firm and steady, and deliberately poured volley after volley into the yelling hordes as they streamed down towards our men, with such effect that the fleetest dervishes did not get within 30 yards before they were laid prostrate, while the bulk of the enemy were still 100 yards distant. At last they hesitated, stopped, turned, and ran back, leaving five Emirs and heaps of their followers on the ground. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to at least 2000.

While the main body of the enemy was thus unsuccessfully attacking the square, another body, mostly composed of horsemen, assailed the zereba, which was defended with conspicuous gallantry by a small garrison, made up of detachments from every corps, under the command of Lord Charles Beresford. After a contest which lasted two hours the enemy were compelled to retreat before the well-sustained fire kept up by the garrison both from the guns and rifles. During the night they had two alarms, but altogether there was little firing, and the dark hours passed

quietly, though great anxiety was felt respecting the fate of the square, of which they were still entirely ignorant. It has been justly remarked that when we remember that our troops had practically undergone continuous exertion for twenty hours before the fight began, that they had been exposed for seven or eight hours to the demoralizing effect of rifle fire from concealed enemies, and that a detachment small at the best, in comparison with the number of its foes, was divided into a garrison and an attacking party, we shall find ample ground for just pride in the endurance, the courage, and the discipline of our soldiers.

At sunset the square reached the Nile and then encamped. Next morning (Tuesday, the 20th), the square returned to the zereba, leaving a small garrison to guard their wounded in a deserted village near the river.

The return of the square was greeted with loud cheers from the troops in the zereba, some of whom were moved to tears at the sight of their comrades, from whom they had been separated in such critical circumstances. In a few hours the camels left alive were repacked and the dead were reverentially buried. 'We, the correspondents,' wrote Mr. Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, 'carried poor Cameron to his grave, where he was laid with St. Leger Herbert, Lima, and Quartermaster Jewill. It was but a quiet soldier's funeral. Lord Charles Beresford read the burial service, which the circumstances rendered 'most impressive, and we turned away sorrowfully, each of us to help in the task of bearing our wounded men to a safe shelter on the banks of the Nile.'

The advanced guard of the expedition was thus firmly placed upon the Nile about 100 miles from Khartoum, while Lord Wolseley had a complete grip of the desert route from Korti to Metammeh, with an unlimited supply of water at both ends and at Gakdul, less than two-thirds of the distance across.

The British loss was twenty killed (including one officer) and sixty wounded. Deep and wide regret was felt for the loss of the two war correspondents, Mr. Cameron of the *Standard* and Mr. Herbert of the *Morning Post*. Mr. Cameron was a native of Inverness, and was engaged in mercantile pursuits in India when, at the outbreak of the Afghan War in 1875, he applied for and obtained the post of special correspondent for the *Bombay Gazette*. The brilliancy and accuracy of his writings attracted attention, and he obtained a similar appointment on the staff of the *Standard*. He greatly distinguished himself by the manner in which he discharged his duties in Afghanistan, in South Africa (where he was taken prisoner by the Boers at Majuba Hill), in Egypt, at Tonquin, and finally with the British expeditionary force, with which he witnessed the battles of El Teb and Tamanieb. He was only thirty-three years of age when he died a hero's death in the Soudan. Mr. St. Leger Herbert was private secretary to Lord Dufferin when Governor-general of Canada, and afterwards to Sir Garnet Wolseley in Cyprus and South Africa. He was present at the engagements at Tel-el-Kebir, El Teb, and Tamai, where he was severely wounded.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the troops drove the enemy out of the villages of Abu Kru and Gubat, and partly burned those places. Next day a reconnaissance in force was made of Metammeh, a town of mud-huts, containing some 3000 inhabitants. The walls had been loopholed, and it was garrisoned by a large body of the Mahdi's troops, protected by newly-erected works and three Krupp guns, which began to play upon our men as they approached and poured shot and shell into the town. At this moment aid of a peculiarly welcome kind was afforded in the attack by the appearance on the scene of four steamers, with Krupp guns and a force under Nuzzi Khan, sent down from Khartoum by General Gordon. The pasha at once landed men and guns and took part

in the operations. With their assistance the cannonade was continued for several hours, but not much impression was made on the mud walls, and at three o'clock the entire force was withdrawn. Sir Charles Wilson reported that he could have carried the village, but he did not think it worth the loss that would have been inevitable in an attack on an enemy fighting behind loopholed walls and possessing artillery.

'Our Egyptian friends,' wrote the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent, 'appeared overjoyed to see us. They told us that Khartoum and Gordon were safe and well, and produced the following letter:—"Khartoum all right. Can hold out for years. C. G. Gordon, 29/12/84." We further learned that all was safe six days ago, and that the Mahdi had sent 2000 men on the 17th inst. to reinforce Metammeh, within which were 1000 riflemen and 10,000 spearmen. [This must have been a great exaggeration.] Ollivier Pain, the French renegade, was in command there. The Mahdi himself was said to be at Omdurman with 12,000 troops.' It was a new evidence of General Gordon's untiring energy and inexhaustible resources, that as soon as the relieving expedition touched the Nile he was thus ready to offer it substantial assistance.

'The steamers had not been at Khartoum for a month, but had been awaiting us at an island above Metammeh. The vessels, or three of them at any rate, are rather larger than Greenwich steamers. They are covered with heavy boards of hardwood, and inside with thin iron plates. The hulls are of iron, and the general appearance of the craft is a very battered one, resembling nothing so much as an old hoarding in a shabby London street. Bullet marks have pitted them from the funnel down to the water-line, just as a virulent attack of small-pox disfigures a man's face. On board there are several hundreds of plucky blacks, led by a few Turks. As usual they have their wives and families with them. They are more like floating houses than war-ships.'

At this critical juncture an interesting communication came to hand from Cairo. 'On the 16th of January the following telegram was received by the Khedive from the Mudir of Dongola:—"The messenger to General Gordon has returned. He says, On leaving Dongola I went by the desert to the village of Zczerit Nocat, where I met a steamer, in which I went to Khartoum. During the journey the crew of the vessel frequently fired on the rebels, who returned the fire. On approaching Khartoum the rebels fired from both sides of the river, but General Gordon sent two steamers to assist us to disperse the rebels. Thus we entered safely into Khartoum. General Gordon immediately questioned us as to the state of Dongola. During my stay in Khartoum the Mahdi sent a letter to General Gordon asking permission to enter Khartoum. General Gordon replied he could come; he was willing to go to Omdurman to receive him. Orders were given that the troops should be ready. General Gordon, with four steamers carrying cannons, crossed the river to Omdurman. On his arrival a considerable number of the rebels attacked them. A sharp fight took place, and the rebels sunk one steamer with a shell. The other steamers rescued the crew and continued the fight, eventually dispersing the enemy. I visited the Mahdi's camp. Several men were in chains, among whom were Saleh Bey and Slatin Bey. It was not General Gordon's habit, however, to accompany expeditions against the Arabs. The people, he said, would not allow him to do so, in case some disaster should befall him. He was in the habit of passing a great part of the day and of the night on the roof of his palace. "I flatter myself," he says, "that I keep a good lookout." His doing so kept his troops on the alert, much against their own inclination. "The North Fort hate my telescope," he says; "day and night I work them."

Sir Charles Wilson, after intrenching and provisioning the camp at Gubat, sent Gordon's steamers to make a demonstration

at Shendy. They shelled the place, but as the garrison showed no disposition to evacuate it, the steamers were withdrawn. On the 24th of January Sir Charles, taking with him most of the black troops that had come from Khartoum and a detachment of the Sussex Regiment, set off up the Nile to get into communication with Gordon.* It would appear that the river navigation was slow, and the ascent was delayed for a good many hours by one of the steamers having run upon a rock. It was not until the 28th that Wilson came in sight of Khartoum—only to find that it was in the occupation of the hostile Arabs. A tremendous and well-directed fire was opened upon the steamers from both banks and from Tuti Island, two guns at Khartoum also opened upon them, as well as artillery and musketry fire from Omdurman, and Sir Charles Wilson found the vessels in so perilous a position that he was compelled at once to withdraw and return down the river with all speed. 'We could not land under such opposition,' says Lieutenant-colonel Stewart Wortley in his report to Lord Wolseley, 'so turned round and ran down stream. No flags flying from government house in Khartoum, and the house appeared wrecked.' Large bodies of the enemy, with many banners, were plainly visible in the town. On the way down the two steamers slipped past

* Sir Charles Wilson has been severely censured for his delay in not proceeding to Khartoum on the 22nd. Sir Henry Gordon, however, is of opinion that no blame attaches to Sir Charles Wilson in this matter. 'Early in the morning of the 21st,' he says, General Gordon's steamers appeared and took part in the operations of that day. At this stage reports reached Sir Charles that large numbers of Arabs were advancing from the north and from the south. It therefore became imperatively necessary for him to secure the safety of those who were under his orders before he could proceed on his mission. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd, he made a reconnaissance towards the north, and, finding no enemy, he turned his attention to the south. The whole of the 23rd was occupied in making arrangements for the proper protection of his force, and he could not have left before the morning of the 24th.'

In addition to these statements it must be added that Sir Charles Wilson had no reason to suppose that General Gordon's position was in imminent danger at that moment, as the latest intelligence from him was distinctly hopeful.

the rebels during the night, shot the rapids, and were within 60 miles of Gubat when one boat went aground on the 29th. The other, on the 31st of January, stranded at the Shabluka Cataract, about 20 miles further down and 50 miles north of Khartoum. The crews and the troops they carried were all safely landed on a small island below the cataract, where they intrenched themselves. As soon as the news of their disaster reached Gubat a steamer was despatched under Lord Charles Beresford to bring them off, which was accomplished with conspicuous bravery and success, in spite of the boiler of his steamer being pierced by a round shot and having to be repaired under fire. Sir Charles Wilson and his party were brought back safely to Gubat at a cost of one man killed and about half a dozen wounded, while there is good reason to believe that the guns of Lord Charles Beresford's little steamer inflicted heavy loss on the Arabs.

The disappointment experienced by the relieving expedition was bitter and mortifying. Their success seemed certain, as they had virtually joined hands with Gordon, and had every reason to suppose that they would yet be in time for his relief at Khartoum. They had therefore cherished the conviction that the toils of the long Nile journey, the heat, and thirst, and privations of the desert, the furious onslaught of the Arab spearmen at Abu Klea and Metammeh, with its loss of precious lives, had not been endured in vain. Yet just when the success of the relief expedition seemed to be assured, they found that its main object had failed.

The fall of Khartoum was regarded as a national misfortune, and excited the deepest sorrow throughout the whole British dominions at home and abroad, involving, as from the first it was seen would in all probability be the case, the death of General Gordon, and the massacre of the garrison of Khartoum.

At first hopes were entertained that though the town had fallen Gordon might still be alive. Colonel Stewart Wort-

ley, in his report to Lord Wolseley says, 'Messengers from the Mahdi reached Sir Charles Wilson when in steamer on 29th January, telling him Gordon had adopted Mahdi's uniform, and calling upon us to surrender; that he would not write again, but if we did not become Mohammedans he would wipe us off the face of the earth.' It was asserted that Gordon had, in order to provide for an emergency, placed his stores and ammunition in the Roman Catholic mission-house, which he had fortified and surrounded with an intrenchment, and some faint hope was cherished that he might have found refuge there, and was still holding out against the enemy. But in no long time information was received which left no doubt as to his fate. A despatch from General Brackenbury, which arrived on the 13th of February, mentioned that a private soldier had found in a donkey's saddle-bag on the battlefield of Kirbehan a document which stated that General Gordon had been killed. This assertion was confirmed by a cavass, a native of Wady Halfa, who had been taken prisoner at the capture of Kirbehan, but was released in a few days, and made his way across the desert to Debbeh. He said Farag (or Ferratch) Pasha, a black slave who was liberated and made military commandant by General Gordon, opened the gates on the south wall to the Niami men (of the great slave tribe) who were besieging it on that side. 'General Gordon hearing the confusion in the town went out armed with a sword and axe. He was accompanied by Ibrahim Bey, the chief clerk, and twenty men. He went towards the house of the Austrian consul. On his way he met a party of the Mahdi's men, who fired a volley. General Gordon was shot dead. The Arabs then rushed on with their spears and killed the chief clerk and nine of the men; the rest escaped.' The most reliable account, however, that will probably ever be obtained of the circumstances which brought about the fall of Khartoum is contained in the official report of Major H. H. Kitchener, of the



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CAPT. LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, R.N.

British intelligence department in the Soudan, which was made public in October, 1885, and is as follows:—

The last accurate information received about Khartoum is contained in General Gordon's Diary, and dated 14th December, 1884.

The state of the town was then very critical, and General Gordon states, 'the town may fall in ten days.' The fort of Omdurman had been cut off from communication with Khartoum since 3rd November; it was at that date provisioned for one and a-half months, and the commandant, Farag Allah Bey, had requested further supplies of ammunition. The garrison may therefore be considered to have been in great difficulties for food and necessaries after 20th December. General Gordon had so weakened himself by sending away five steamers (four to meet the English expedition and one with Colonel Stewart), that he found it impossible to check the Arabs on the White Nile, and therefore to keep open communication with the fort of Omdurman.

According to General Gordon's statement, there were in the stores at Khartoum on 14th December, 83,525 oke of biscuit and 546 ardebs of dhourra. From the almost weekly statement of the amounts in store, it is calculated that, although General Gordon was able to reduce considerably the issue of dhourra, the biscuit ration to the troops had not been reduced up to 14th December. The amount in store would represent approximately eighteen days' rations for the garrison alone. Gordon had already, on 22nd November, found it necessary to issue 9600 lbs. of biscuit to the poor, and he then says: 'I am determined if the town does fall the Mahdi shall find precious little to eat in it.'

There is little doubt that as the siege progressed it was found necessary to issue a considerable amount of provisions to the poorer native inhabitants of Khartoum. It may, therefore, be considered that even on reduced rations the supply in store must have been almost, if not quite exhausted, about 1st January, 1885. The town was then closely encircled by the rebels, who doubtless increased the intensity of their attack as they approached nearer and nearer to the works. The Mahdi was fully aware from deserters of the straits to which the garrison were reduced for want of food; and it was his intention that the town should fall into his hands without fighting, being obliged by famine to surrender.

About 6th January, General Gordon, seeing that the garrison were reduced to great want for food, and that existence for many of the inhabitants was almost impossible, issued a proclamation, offering to any of the inhabitants who liked free permission to leave the town and go to the Mahdi. Great numbers availed themselves of this permission, and General Gordon wrote letters to the Mahdi

requesting him to protect and feed these poor Muslim people as he had done for the last nine months. It has been estimated that only about 14,000 remained in the town out of the total of 34,000 inhabitants, the number obtained by a census of the town in September.

General Gordon kept heart in the garrison by proclamations announcing the near approach of the English relief expedition, and praising them for the resistance they had made, as well as by the example of his unshaken determination never to surrender the town to the rebels.

It appears probable, though the precise date cannot be exactly verified, that the fort of Omdurman fell into the hands of the rebels on or about 13th January. The garrison were not injured, and Farag Allah Bey, the commander, was well treated in the rebel camp, as an inducement for any waverers in the Khartoum garrison to join the Mahdi's cause. The fall of Omdurman must have been a great blow to the garrison of Khartoum, who thus lost their only position on the west bank of the White Nile. The Arabs were able then, by the construction of batteries along the river bank, to entirely close the White Nile to Gordon's steamers. Having accomplished this they could establish ferries on the White Nile (south of Khartoum), and have constant and rapid communication from Omdurman village and camp to their positions along the south front.

About 18th January the rebel works having approached the south front, a sortie was made by the troops, which led to desperate fighting. About 200 of the garrison were killed, and although large numbers of the rebels were said to have been slain, it does not appear that any great or permanent advantage was obtained by the besieged garrison. On the return of the troops to Khartoum after this sortie, General Gordon personally addressed them, praising them for the splendid resistance they had made up to that time, and urging them still to do their utmost to hold out, as relief was near; indeed that the English might arrive any day, and all would then be well. The state of the garrison was then desperate from want of food, all the donkeys, dogs, cats, rats, &c., had been eaten; a small ration of gum was issued daily to the troops, and a sort of bread was made from pounded palm tree fibres. Gordon held several councils of the leading inhabitants, and on one occasion had the town most rigorously searched for provisions; the result, however, was very poor, only yielding four ardebs of grain through the whole town; this was issued to the troops. Gordon continually visited the posts, and personally encouraged the soldiers to stand firm; it was said during this period that he never slept.

On 20th January the news of the defeat of the Mahdi's picked troops at Abu Klea created consternation in the Mahdi's camp. A council of the

leaders was held, and it is said a considerable amount of resistance to the Mahdi's will and want of discipline was shown. On the 22nd the news of the arrival of the English on the Nile at Metammeh, which was thought to have been taken, led the Mahdi to decide to make at once a desperate attack upon Khartoum before reinforcements could enter the town. It is probable that next day the Mahdi sent letters to Farag Pasha, commanding the black troops, who had been previously in communication with him, offering terms for the surrender of the town, and stating that the English had been defeated on the Nile. Rumours were also prevalent in Khartoum of the fighting at Abu Klea and the arrival of the English at Metammeh.

It has been said that helmets were exposed by the Mahdi's troops in front of their works to induce the garrison to believe that the English had been defeated, but this has been distinctly denied by some who could hardly have failed to observe anything of the sort.

On the 23rd General Gordon had a stormy interview with Farag Pasha. An eye-witness states that it was owing to Gordon having passed a fort on the White Nile, which was under Farag Pasha's charge and found to be inadequately protected. Gordon is said to have struck Farag Pasha on this occasion. It seems probable to me that at this interview, Farag Pasha proposed to Gordon to surrender the town, and stated the terms the Mahdi had offered, declaring in his opinion that they should be accepted. Farag Pasha left the palace in a great rage, refusing the repeated attempts of other officers to effect a reconciliation between him and Gordon.

On the following day General Gordon held a council of the notables at the palace. The question of the surrender of the town was then discussed, and General Gordon declared whatever the council decided he would never surrender the town. I think it very probable that on this occasion General Gordon brought Farag Pasha's action and proposals before the council; and it appears that some in the council were of Farag Pasha's opinion, that the town could resist no longer, and should be surrendered on the terms offered by the Mahdi. General Gordon would not, however, listen to this proposal.

On the 25th Gordon was slightly ill, and as it was Sunday he did not appear in public. He had, however, several interviews with leading men of the town, and evidently knew that the end was near. It has been said that Gordon went out in the evening, and crossed the river to Tuti Island on board the *Ismailia*, to settle some dispute among the garrison there. This statement has not been verified by other witnesses, but owing to it the rumour subsequently arose among the black troops in Omdurman that Gordon had escaped that night on board the *Ismailia*. The facts, however, that

both steamers were captured by the rebels, that the *Ismailia* was afterwards used by Mahommed Ahmed when he visited Khartoum, and the very full and complete evidence that General Gordon was killed at or near the palace, entirely dispels any doubt on the matter. If he crossed the river to Tuti, there is no doubt he returned later to his palace in Khartoum.

On the night of the 25th many of the famished troops left their posts on the fortifications in search of food in the town. Some of the troops were also too weak, from want of nourishment, to go to their posts. This state of things was known in the town, and caused some alarm; many of the principal inhabitants armed themselves and their slaves, and went to the fortifications in place of the soldiers. This was not an unusual occurrence, only on this night more of the inhabitants went as volunteers than had done on previous occasions.

At about half-past three a.m. on the morning of Monday the 26th, a determined attack was made by the rebels on the south front. The principal points of attack were the Boori Gate, at the extreme east end of the line of defence on the Blue Nile; and the Mesalamieh Gate, on the west side, near the White Nile. The defence of the former post held out against the attack, but at the Mesalamieh Gate, the rebels having filled the ditch with bundles of straw, brushwood, beds, &c., brought up in their arms, penetrated the fortifications, led by their Emir, Wad-en-Nejumi. The defenders of the Boori Gate, seeing the rebels inside the fortifications in their rear, retired, and the town was then at the mercy of the rebels.

General Gordon had a complete system of telegraphic communication with all the posts along the line of fortifications, and there must have been great irregularity in the telegraph stations to account for his being left entirely unwarned of the attack and entry of the rebels. Doubtless Farag Pasha was responsible to some extent for this.

Farag Pasha has been very generally accused of having either opened the gates of Khartoum himself, or having connived at the entrance of the rebels; but this has been distinctly denied by Abdullah Bey Ismail, who commanded a battalion of irregular troops at the fall of the town, as well as by about thirty refugee soldiers, who lately escaped and came in during the last days of the English occupation of Dongola. The accusations of treachery have all been vague, and are, to my mind, the outcome of mere supposition.

Hassan Bey Balmasawy, who commanded at the Mesalamieh Gate, certainly did not make a proper defence, and failed to warn General Gordon of the danger the town was in. He afterwards appears to have taken a commission under the Mahdi, and to have gone to Kordofan with the Emir Abu-Anga. In my opinion Khartoum fell from sudden assault when the garrison were too exhausted by

privations to make proper resistance. Having entered the town, the rebels rushed through the streets, shouting and murdering everyone they met, thus increasing the panic and destroying any opposition.

It is difficult, from the confused accounts, to make out exactly how General Gordon was killed. All the evidence tends to prove that it happened at or near the palace, where his body was subsequently seen by several witnesses.

It appears that there was one company of black troops in the palace besides General Gordon's cavasses; some resistance was made when the rebels appeared, but I think this was after General Gordon had left the palace. The only account, by a person claiming to be an eye-witness, of the scene of General Gordon's death relates:—'On hearing the noise I got my master's donkey and went with him to the palace; we met Gordon Pasha at the outer door of the palace. Mohammed Bey Mustapha, with my master, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, and about twenty cavasses, then went with Gordon towards the house of the Austrian Consul Hansel, near the church, when we met some rebels in an open place near the outer gate of the palace. Gordon Pasha was walking in front leading the party. The rebels fired a volley, and Gordon was killed at once; nine of the cavasses, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, and Mohammed Bey Mustapha were killed, the rest ran away.'

A large number of witnesses state that Gordon was killed near the gate of the palace, and various accounts have been related from hearsay of the exact manner in which he met his end. Several reliable witnesses saw and recognized Gordon's body at the gate of the palace; one describes it as being dressed in light clothes.

The Soudan custom of beheading and exposing the heads of adversaries slain in battle was apparently carried out, as was done by the Mudir of Dongola after the battle at Korti. The Bagara savages seem to have had some doubt which was Gordon's body, and great confusion occurred in the Mahdi's camp at Omdurman, where the heads were exposed, as to which was Gordon's head; some recognizing, others denying the identity of Gordon's head. One apparently reliable witness relates that he saw the rebels cut off Gordon's head at the palace gate after the town was in their hands.

The massacre in the town lasted some six hours, and about 4000 persons, at least, were killed. The black troops were spared, except those who resisted at the Boori Gate and elsewhere; large numbers of the townspeople and slaves were killed and wounded. The Bashi-Bazouks and white regulars, numbering 3327, and the Shaigia irregulars, numbering 2330, were mostly all killed in cold blood after they had surrendered and been disarmed. Consul Hansel was killed in his own

house; Consul Nicola, a doctor, and Ibrahim Bey Fauzi, who was Gordon's secretary, were taken prisoners; the latter was wounded.

At about ten a.m., the Mahdi sent over orders to stop the massacre, which then ceased. The rebels fell to looting the town, and ordered all the inhabitants out of it; they were searched at the gate as they passed, and were taken over to Omdurman, where the women were distributed as slaves among the rebel chiefs. The men, after being kept as prisoners under a guard for three days, were stripped and allowed to get their living as best they could.

It has been stated that the Mahdi was angry when he heard of General Gordon's death; but, though he may have simulated such a feeling on account of the black troops, there is very little doubt in my opinion that, had he expressed the wish, Gordon would not have been killed. The presence of Gordon as a prisoner in his camp would have been a source of great danger to the Mahdi, for the black troops from Kordofan and Khartoum all loved and venerated Gordon, and many other influential men knew him to be a wonderfully good man. The want of discipline in the Mahdi's camp made it dangerous for him to keep as a prisoner a man whom all the black troops liked better than himself, and in favour of whom, on a revulsion of feeling, a successful revolt might take place in his own camp. Moreover, if Gordon was dead, he calculated the English would retire and leave him in peace.

The Mahdi had promised his followers as much gold and silver as they could carry when Khartoum fell, and immense disappointment was expressed at the failure to find the Government treasury. Three days after the fall of the town Farag Pasha was brought up to show where the Government money was hid. As he was naturally unable to do this owing to there not being any, he was killed on the public market-place at Omdurman. Many others were put to torture to disclose where their wealth was hid, with varying results. On the third day after the fall of Khartoum, many of the prisoners saw Sir Charles Wilson's steamers off Tuti Island, with the English on board; some were present in the batteries at Omdurman when the rebels opened fire on the steamers.

The number of white prisoners in the Mahdi's camp has been variously stated; a Greek, escaped from Khartoum, reports when the place fell there were forty-two Greeks, five Greek women, one Jewess, six European nuns, and two priests; of these thirty-four Greeks were murdered. The survivors are all at liberty, but in extreme poverty. Abdullah Bey Ismail relates that 'all the European ladies are at Omdurman, living in a zereba, where they form a little colony, guarded by the European men. They earn a meagre sustenance by sewing, washing, &c. Not a single one was taken by the

dervishes; they all wear Moslem dress.' A letter from the Mahdi was received relative to the white prisoners, who he declared preferred to remain with him. The document bears ninety-six signatures of Europeans; but some of them are undoubtedly spurious, as that of Father Luigi Bonomi, who has since escaped from El Obeid, never having been at Khartoum.

A large number of the Bagara Arabs left the Mahdi shortly after the fall of Khartoum, much disgusted at their failure to obtain a larger amount of loot. On the Mahdi attempting to bring them back by force, they joined the party in Kordofan, who are now fighting against the Mahdi's cause.

The memorable siege of Khartoum lasted 317 days, and it is not too much to say that such a noble resistance was due to the indomitable resolution and resource of one Englishman. Never was a garrison so nearly rescued, never was a commander so sincerely lamented.—*H. H. Kitchen*, *Major*.

The sad news was received with the greatest sorrow, not only by all classes and parties in the United Kingdom, but throughout the civilized world Gordon's death was regarded as a great calamity. The people of America, India, and China,* vied with European nations in expressing deep grief for the loss of the noble Christian hero—the great soldier—and in doing honour to his memory. He himself could have wished for no nobler termination to his career. After a life spent in adventures of the most marvellous

* The following letter has been addressed by the Marquis Tseng, Chinese Envoy-Extraordinary in England, to General Sir Henry Gordon, K.C.B., as the representative of the family of his lamented brother:—

‘CHINESE LEGATION, *March 5, 1885.*

‘Sir—On behalf of the Chinese government, the civil and military authorities of China, more especially the Viceroy of the provinces of Chihli, Nankin, and Canton, and of the whole Chinese people, I beg to offer you and the other members of your family my sympathetic condolence on the occasion of the death of your brother, the heroic General Gordon. I should have done so sooner had it not been that, hoping against hope, I have up to the present been reluctant to believe that one so brave, so fertile in resource, and so nobly disinterested as your brother had at last perished. Even when the fall of Khartoum could no longer be doubted, I still refused to believe in the death of its brave defender, or that by the rude besieging hordes the life of the soldier of so many virtues should not have been held sacred. I offer you the tribute of sympathy, sorrow, and admiration as the Minister of a country for which your brother fought and bled, and in which his name will be for ever honoured.’

and beneficial nature, he died at the post of duty, having for nearly a year upheld the flag of his country against swarming hosts of enemies, fighting not only with hereditary valour, but with fanatical enthusiasm. His defence of Khartoum is one of the most wonderful feats recorded in military annals. Indeed it is a marvel that he should ever have been able to hold the town at all. Its defences on the land side were 4 miles of crumbling fortifications, which Colonel Coëtlogon declared could not stand a serious assault. The great majority of the garrison consisted of wretched cowards, in whom he could have no confidence, and of whom, under his own eye, several hundreds fled without striking a stroke before a handful of Arabs. He had to contend against their disaffection and treachery, as well as against their want of heart in the struggle, and the encouragement which they received from many of the inhabitants who were well known to be favourable to the Mahdi's cause. The only troops on whom he could rely were a few hundred Soudanese blacks; and yet with such scanty resources and the aid of a few river steamers, he contrived during a protracted siege to hold the town against many thousands of courageous assailants, provided with the implements of modern warfare, and aided by trained soldiers from Hicks' army.

With regard to Gordon's policy, however, it seems to have been often the result of impulse rather than of judgment. At the outset he declared that the Government were ‘fully justified’ in insisting on the abandonment of the country by Egypt, ‘inasmuch as the sacrifices necessary towards securing a good Government would be far too enormous to admit of such an attempt being made. Indeed, one may say it is impracticable. At any cost Her Majesty's Government will now leave them as God has placed them; they are not bound to fight among themselves, and they will no longer be oppressed by men coming from lands so remote as Circassia, Kurdis-

tan, and Anatolia.' He expressed his entire concurrence in the instructions given to him when about to start for the Soudan, which indeed were drawn up under his own direction, and requested that the words should be added, that he thought this policy should on no account be changed. But he subsequently changed his opinion, for on reaching Khartoum he published a 'Notice' to the inhabitants in which he said, 'Formerly the Government had decided to transport the Egyptians down to Cairo and abandon the Soudan, and in fact some of them had been sent down during the time of Hussein Pasha Yussi, as you yourselves saw. On our arrival at Khartoum we, on account of pity for you, and in order not to let your country be destroyed, communicated with the Khedive of Egypt, our Effendi, concerning the importance and the inexpediency of abandoning it. Whereupon the orders for abandoning the Soudan were cancelled, and serious attention was directed towards smothering the disturbances and driving away the disturbers.' And he proceeds to say, 'If Mohammed Achmet should call upon me for three years to surrender Khartoum I will not listen to him, but will protect your lives, and families, and possessions, with all energy and steadfastness.'

There can be little doubt that General Gordon's acceptance of the office of Governor-General from the Khedive was a mistake, and that his consequent change of policy added immensely to the difficulties which he had to encounter. On his journey to Khartoum he declared that 'there would be no idea of asserting the Khedive's authority over the Soudan,' but he had no sooner reached that place than he adopted the policy of maintaining for the Khedive a 'suzerain authority' in the Soudan. He began to appoint Mudirs, to 'name men,' as he says, 'to different places,' and to administer in other respects the affairs of the Soudan as if that country were still an integral part of Egypt. In the end of February, 1884, he declared that the withdrawal of the garrisons was still

possible, but undesirable, till some quiet government had been established in the Soudan, and this for the sake of Egypt as well as the Soudan. 'If Egypt is to be quiet,' he said, 'the Mahdi must be smashed up. . . . If you decide on smashing the Mahdi then send up another £100,000 and 200 Indian troops to Wadi Halfa.' It need excite no surprise that this policy should have made the Soudanese distrust Gordon's proclamation of their independence, and suspect that the result of his policy would be the imposition upon them again of the hated yoke of the Turko-Egyptian rule. He could scarcely have failed himself to see that his proposals had placed serious obstacles in the way of the pacification of the country. So early as the beginning of March, 1884, he admitted that he saw 'no probability of the people rallying round him.' In September he mentioned in his Journal, 'The people are all against us.' And he recognized the main cause. 'The defect I laboured under has been that I presented no rallying point to the people, not being of their religion or nation.' 'It can easily be understood how hateful to any people is the occupation of high places by strangers, however good or honest they may be.' He had evidently misgivings in regard to his policy on another ground, to which he repeatedly refers. He had been instructed to give back the country to its ancient sultans, and yet he was now holding it against its own people for the avowed purpose of restoring it to Egyptian or Turkish rule. It need excite no surprise that he should have said, 'It is a vexed question whether we are not rebels, seeing that I hold the firman restoring the Soudan to its chiefs.' These expressions of his feelings make it evident that General Gordon felt that he was in a false position, and show how it came to pass that the inhabitants of the Soudan rallied round the Mahdi against him.

It is a significant fact that Colonel Stewart did not approve of at least part of Gordon's policy. In his Journal, under date

November 5, Gordon says, 'We [Stewart and he] often discussed the nuisance we must have been to Her Majesty's Government in being shut up here; and I think he was in some degree actuated by a desire to aid Her Majesty's Government when he went down, for then it only left one nuisance (myself), and I had so completely exonerated Her Majesty's Government by my letters that they might, as far as I was concerned, have let the garrison fall. On my part, I do not think I could have done Her Majesty's Government a better service than to have at any rate tried to send Stewart down with Power and Herbin, for certainly it only left a small remnant here of Europeans (*one of whom is mad*), and the French Government could no longer say a word. Next, Stewart knew everything, and could tell Her Majesty's Government the *pros* and *cons* from their point of view, and with feelings akin to theirs, which they would accept from Stewart, and never without suspicion from me (in which they are justified, for I do not look on things from their point of view). I told Stewart also, "I know you will act conscientiously and honourably; but I know your opinions, and therefore, as you have all my views on the Soudan in your Journal, I beg you will, in answering queries of Her Majesty's Government, make extracts from the Journal, and write, 'General Gordon says this or that,' while you are at full liberty to give your opinion, even if it differs from mine, but let Her Majesty's Government know *when I answer and when you answer.*"'

Zealous and persistent efforts have been made to lay upon Mr. Gladstone's government the whole blame of the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. The policy of Mr. Gladstone's government in regard to Egypt and the Soudan is by no means faultless, but their greatest mistake in regard to the latter was in sending General Gordon there at all. No doubt they may plead that the blame of this step is shared both by the public and the press, whose clamour compelled them to adopt

this course. But the result has shown that it was a fatal mistake, and could scarcely under any conditions have been successful.

General Gordon's biographer, and various writers in the periodicals of the day, have made passionate complaints that the Government failed in their duty to their envoy—that he was deceived and betrayed by them—that their 'schemes of policy were dictated by stupid selfishness'—that they were 'guilty of one of those blunders which are more criminal than crime,' and that they were solely responsible for Gordon's death. General Gordon in one of his last telegrams before he was shut up in Khartoum, declared that he 'considered himself free to act according to circumstances,' and would retire to the equator if he failed to 'suppress the rebellion.' And down to the departure of the relief expedition, General Gordon's own brother, an experienced soldier, declared his belief that the General was quite safe and could retreat to the equator whenever he liked.

The Journal which Colonel Stewart kept doubtless contained a full account of the proceedings at Khartoum, from the 1st March down to the time of his leaving that place for Dongola, on the 10th of September, 1884; Gordon describes it as 'a perfect gem.' 'There are lots of nice things in it,' he says, 'for really it is my Journal as much as Stewart's, though he wrote it.' It fell into the hands of the Arabs at the time of Stewart's murder. It appears to have ultimately passed into the possession of the Mahdi, and unfortunately has not been recovered. General Gordon commenced a Journal immediately after Stewart's departure from Khartoum, and continued it to the 14th of December. It is in six parts, which were sent down at different times by steamers to Shendy and Metammeh. The Journals were handed over to Sir Charles Wilson on the 22nd of January, 1885, at Metammeh, by the officer commanding General Gordon's steamers. On the outside of each part of the Journal there is the same inscription, sometimes

repeated three times, 'It will require pruning down if published.' The Government, however, intimated that 'so far as they had a desire in the matter, it was for the publication of the whole diary, but they did not wish to interfere with the discretion of the editor.' It has accordingly been published without any omissions of importance, and forms a bulky volume of upwards of 500 pages. The entries in the Journal throw a beautiful light on General Gordon's personal character, and strikingly display the indomitable valour, the chivalry, the strong religious convictions and self-sacrificing saintly life of one of the most generous, pious, gallant, and commanding spirits that ever shed lustre on the human race. His complete ascendancy over the baser forms of ambition, his systematic suppression of self until self ceased to be an operative force in his life, his incongruous union of asceticism with the warmest sympathy for the desires and tastes of other people—all this is brought out incidentally, and on his part quite unconsciously.

Equally conspicuous is the heroism of his defence of a place which a high military authority declared to be indefensible, garrisoned by disaffected poltroons, intermingled with traitors. Even in the brilliant annals of British courage and fortitude there is nothing to equal Gordon's defence of Khartoum, which he held for eleven months, in spite of mutiny, cowardice, and treachery within, and the constant attacks from without of a brave and fanatical host well provided with the most improved rifles and artillery. Nothing is more striking in his Journal and letters than his anxiety for the safety of the garrison and the inhabitants of Khartoum, and his entire disregard of himself. 'You must see,' he wrote Sir E. Baring, 3rd March, 'that you could not recall me, nor could I possibly obey, until the Cairo employes get out from all the places. I have named men to different places, thus involving them with the Mahdi; how could

I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman, could you advise this course? It may have been a mistake to send me up, but having been done I have no option but to see evacuation through.' And in his Journal, under the date of 30th September, he says, 'I say what any gentleman in Her Majesty's army would agree to, that it would be *mean* to leave men who, though they may not come up to our ideas as heroes, have stuck to me, though a *Christian dog in their eyes*, through great difficulties, and thus force them to surrender to those who have not conquered them, and to do that at the bidding of a foreign power, to save one's own skin.' Again, under date of 27th October, he writes:—'It is not from any feeling of respect to the people up here that I urge their relief, but it is because they are such a weak selfish lot, and because their qualities do not affect the question of our duties to them. The Redemption would never have taken place if it had depended on our merits.'

It has been remarked that in his Khartoum diary there is less said about his religious life than in the former journals from Africa, and it is conjectured that the reason may be that Gordon in the one case was writing to the most sympathetic of correspondents; in the other to a vague and general audience, the public. But all his references to his spiritual feelings and principles are quite in keeping with the opinions which he had always professed. 'I am quite alone, and like it,' he wrote; 'I have become what people call a great fatalist, viz. I trust God will pull me through every difficulty. The solitary grandeur of the desert makes one feel how vain is the effort of man. This carries me through my troubles and enables me to look on death as a coming relief when it is His will. . . . It is only my firm conviction that I am only an instrument put in use for a time that enables me to bear up.' Again, 'It is a delightful thing to be a fatalist, not as that word is generally employed, but to accept it that

when things happen, and not before, God has for some wise reason so ordained them to happen—all things, not only the great things, but all the circumstances of life; that is what is meant to me by the words “you are dead” in St. Paul to Colossians.’ Again, ‘We have nothing further to do when the result of events is unrolled than to accept them as being for the best. Before it is unrolled it is another matter; and you could not say I sat still and let things happen with this belief. All I can say is, that amidst troubles and worries no one can have peace till he thus stays upon his God; it gives a man a superhuman strength.’ And elsewhere, ‘If we would take all things as ordained, and for the best, we should indeed be conquerors of the world. Nothing has ever happened to man so bad as he has anticipated it to be. If we would be quiet under our troubles they would not be so painful to bear. I cannot separate the existence of a God from this preordination and direction of all things good and evil; the latter He permits but still controls. . . . Happiness is to be obtained by sub-

mission to the will of God, whatever that will may be. He who can say he realizes this has overcome the world and its trials. Everything that happens to-day, good or evil, is settled and fixed, and it is no use fretting over it. The great peaceful life of our Lord was solely due to His submission to God’s will. There will be times when a strain will come on one; and as the strain so will your strength be.’

General Gordon’s whole life was strictly in keeping with this principle. ‘I toss up in my mind,’ he writes in his Journal under date 14th September, 1884, ‘whether, if the place is taken, to blow up the Palace and all in it, or else to be taken, and with God’s help to maintain the faith, and if necessary to suffer for it (which is most probable). The blowing up of the Palace is the simplest, while the other means long and weary suffering and humiliation of all sorts. I think I shall elect for the last, not from fear of death, but because the former has more or less the taint of suicide, as it can do no good to any one, and is in a way taking things out of God’s hands.’

CLOSING EVENTS

OF THE

SOUDAN CAMPAIGN.

WHILE Sir Herbert Stewart and the troops under his command were marching through the desert, and fighting their way to Matammeh, the left column of the army of the Soudan, under the command of General Earle, was working its way from Korti up the Nile towards Berber. Their first brush with the enemy was at Kebd-el-Abd, on the 27th of January. One object of the expedition was to punish the murderers of Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power. On 1st February they occupied Birti without resistance, and seized some of the natives concerned in that cruel and treacherous deed. They halted here for a day or two and destroyed the houses and date palms. On the 10th of February, General Earle's column reached Kirbehan, six miles beyond Birti, and found the enemy strongly posted upon rocky hills, with their right resting upon the Nile and a high ridge flanking their left. On approaching this position, as the Arabs were known to be in force, our troops were directed to form a zereba. While engaged in this work the enemy opened fire upon them, but were driven back by our pickets. Strong guards were posted when it became dark, and all was in readiness to repulse an attack should the enemy venture to come down from their strong position on the hills in front; the night, however, passed off quietly. Next morning our troops formed up and advanced towards the enemy's position, marching in

two parallel columns, two companies of the Staffordshire Regiment, with two guns, taking up ground directly in front of the enemy to occupy their attention. While a desultory fire was kept up between them and the Arabs, General Earle, with the remainder of the South Staffordshire, the Black Watch, a squadron of Hussars, the Camel Corps, and two guns, advanced along the enemy's left flank over some very difficult ground, driving the Mahdi's troops before them, and seizing each successive ridge by short determined rushes. The South Staffordshire attacked their centre, and the Black Watch wheeling to the left took them in the rear, which rested on the river. They were thus completely surrounded.

The position occupied by the Arabs was very strong, consisting of rocky and broken ground, strengthened by loopholed walls, from behind which they kept up a heavy and well-directed fire. Our men advanced from ridge to ridge over the rocky hills, but finding it impossible to dislodge the enemy from their strong position by our musketry fire, General Earle gave orders to the Black Watch to carry the hill with the bayonet. The pipers struck up, and with a loud cheer the Highlanders moved forward steadily to execute their orders. The enemy poured out a continuous fire from the loopholed walls, but the Black Watch advanced without a check, scaled the

rocks, and at the point of the bayonet drove the Arabs from their intrenchments. At this juncture the Egyptian troops coming from the zereba met the enemy with a destructive cross fire. Some of them swam the river, others fled inland; scarcely any of them escaped. About this time General Earle was killed on the summit of the ridge while gallantly leading his troops forward to the attack, and the command was assumed by General Brackenbury.

While the main attack was being delivered two companies of the Staffordshire Regiment were directed to seize a high and rocky hill which was stoutly defended by the Arab riflemen. They charged up the hill at the point of the bayonet, sweeping the enemy before them, but they suffered severely from the fire which the Arabs maintained from a strong loopholed fort, as well as from a heavy flank fire from the main position of the enemy by the river. At this point the gallant Colonel Eyre, who had rendered admirable service in connection with the expedition, was killed by a musket ball. In the meantime Colonel Butler, with the Hussars, had pushed on 3 miles up the bank and captured the Arab camp. The battle altogether lasted between five and six hours. The victory was as complete as it was gallantly won, but it was dearly bought with the loss of General Earle, Colonel Eyre, Colonel Coveney of the Black Watch, and other two officers and eight men killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope and other three officers and thirty-eight non-commissioned officers and men wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been very heavy, and four of their principal leaders were among the slain.

After the battle of Kirbehan the 'River Column,' as it was termed, proceeded on its march, and had arrived within 26 miles of Abu Ahmed when it was recalled, in consequence of the news of the fall of Khartoum. The difficulties they had to encounter on their return to Korti were even more formidable than those they had

to overcome on their upward voyage. The 300 whalers with their soldier crews, mostly in scarlet coats, swept down the river in a seemingly endless line at the rate of 7 miles an hour, sometimes gliding easily with the current in comparatively smooth water, and then rushing down a rapid, with a fall of several feet, at a terrific speed. 'In one place,' says General Brackenbury, 'the channel was full of sunken rocks, and nine boats had to be unloaded, hauled up, and repaired.' At another part of the river 'two small shoots or rapids had to be tracked up; then came three-quarters of a mile of swift broken rapids, with four shoots or rushes of water; arms, ammunition, and accoutrements had to be portaged for three-quarters of a mile, and the crew of three boats had to be employed to haul one boat through.' In one cataract, 7 miles in length, the Black Watch spent four days, working from dawn to dusk. The cataracts became more difficult as they became more numerous, and 'from Ooli to Birti the river was but a succession of rapids as bad as it was possible for the boats to pass.' General Brackenbury says that 'without the aid of the skilled Canadian boatmen the ascent of the river, if not impossible, would have been far slower and attended with greater loss of life;' and that 'without them the descent of the river would have been impossible.' The steering of the boats between the countless rocks and islands was admirable. After making its way through 100 miles of cataracts and rapids flanked by nothing but black rocks and sand, the 'River Column' returned to Korti early in March. Only one serious mishap occurred. A whaler of the Staffordshire Regiment, with wounded, as it approached the Gerendid Cataract swung round, by some accident, and came to the fall broadside on. The boat capsized in a moment, and three of the men on board were swept away before they could be rescued; the rest were saved. Their experience made it evident that the expedition was a mistake. Even if the

'Desert Column' had arrived in time to relieve Khartoum, the 'River Column' could not have reached Berber until at least two months later to co-operate in the intended attack upon the fortress of the Mahdi.

On the death of General Sir Herbert Stewart the command of the right or desert column had devolved at first upon Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, by whom it was transferred to Colonel Boscawen; but on the 11th February General Sir Redvers Buller arrived from Korti and took over the command, reinforced by the Royal Irish Regiment, which had crossed the desert on foot. It was confidently expected that he would immediately assault Matammeh, which he would no doubt have carried; but as the fall of Khartoum had frustrated the main object of sending forward the desert column in advance, its remaining at Matammeh had become not only useless but dangerous. Intelligence was received that the Mahdi was on his way to Matammeh, at the head of an army of forty or fifty thousand men. The rumours as to this force were no doubt greatly exaggerated, but even if the False Prophet could have mustered only a fourth of that number, it would not have been prudent for General Buller, who had only 1600 men under his command, to risk an encounter with the Mahdi's army in the open field. Nothing was to be gained, while everything might be lost, by waiting at Gubat till the hordes of fanatical Arabs had surrounded the place. The stores of supplies there were necessarily limited, and the position itself had been rendered by the fall of Khartoum quite useless, except as a base for an immediate advance on that town—an enterprise which it was hopeless for General Buller, with the troops at his command, to attempt. When a forward movement threatened destruction, and standing still siege and starvation, it was evident that retreat was the safe and sure course. A recent attack made on the convoy of the wounded men under Major

Talbot plainly indicated that the enemy were gaining both in strength and boldness. Having received positive orders from Lord Wolseley to retire, General Buller took his measures with great promptitude. Early on the morning of the 14th of February, having dismantled the two steamers by removing essential parts of their machinery, the entire force marched out of Gubat, and the Abu Klea Wells were reached on the following day, no opposition whatever having been encountered on the way. Two days later, however, the enemy showed their increased boldness and aggressiveness by hanging round the camp, and keeping up a desultory long-range fire, which continued all night. But they disappeared when General Buller despatched a party to disperse them.

On that day (16th February), Sir Herbert Stewart died of the wound which he received at the battle of Matammeh. His untimely death (he was only forty-two) cast a great gloom over the whole British force in the Soudan, and was deeply and universally lamented. Though one of the youngest, he was one of the ablest generals in the British army. 'No braver soldier or more brilliant leader,' said Colonel Talbot in reporting his death, 'ever wore the Queen's uniform.' 'Only those,' wrote a war correspondent, 'who were with him through the march across the desert can fully appreciate his many rare qualities, his ceaseless energy, his care for the men, his readiness of resource in an emergency, and his merits as a leader.' Lord Wolseley said he was one of the best staff-officers he had ever known. It was he who, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, led 'the splendid march,' as Mr. Gladstone termed it, 'of thirty-nine miles under the burning sun of Egypt, of the gallant body of cavalry by which Cairo was seized'—'the march,' Lord Granville said in the House of Lords, 'which crowned the operations, and especially excited the admiration of the German military authorities.' 'The burial of the remains of the beloved General' (at the

entrance of the Gakdul Valley), wrote a special correspondent, 'was a most impressive ceremony.' From Abu Klea, after filling the wells, General Buller retired without molestation upon Gakdul, and thence to Korti, which the column reached about the middle of March.

As might have been expected, the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon caused great excitement throughout the United Kingdom, which extended to its colonial possessions. The metropolitan press seem to have been panic-stricken by the intelligence. 'The fall of Khartoum,' said one journal, 'and the capture or death of the great Englishman, whose name sums up for millions of civilized and uncivilized men the whole Egyptian question, will reverberate through every bazaar from Cairo to Calcutta.' 'We must first and foremost,' said another, 'reinforce our garrisons everywhere—India included.' The prestige of Great Britain, not merely in the Soudan, but in Asia, was being upheld, it was said, by 'that solitary figure holding aloft the flag of England in the face of the hordes of Islam, and all Islam, especially the Mohammedans of India, will now regard our prestige as gone or seriously weakened.' Loud demands were made that 'Khartoum should be retaken and adequately garrisoned, and the whole country north of Khartoum, and between the Nile and the Red Sea, reduced to perfect order.' In marked contrast to these inflated statements and preposterous recommendations were the sympathetic and judicious remarks of Lord Rosebery. 'We must realize what our loss really is,' he said. 'It is not a loss of territory; it is not a defeat in battle; it is not an insurrection; it is not—what is more important than anything—it is not the remotest shadow of dishonour. It is no doubt the loss of a fortress which never was ours. It is the rendering of a long series of arduous and costly operations abortive for the moment. It is the fate of a hero wrapped

in mystery.' It very soon became apparent that the fears expressed respecting the sinister influence which the fall of Khartoum would exercise on the Mohammedan population of India were entirely groundless; and a contingent of Indian troops was despatched to assist in carrying out Lord Wolseley's operations in the Soudan.

The Government were evidently a good deal at a loss as to the course which they should pursue at this crisis. To have withdrawn our troops at once from the Soudan would have been attended both with dishonour and danger. The capture of Khartoum had undoubtedly strengthened the cause of the Mahdi, and had induced the Shaggiehs—a powerful Arab tribe—to declare in his favour. As Mr. Chamberlain justly remarked to the Peace Society, 'The policy of running away from the fanatical leader who now occupies Khartoum would not further the cause of peace, or prevent the effusion of blood.' Such a retreat indeed could not have been conducted without tremendous losses, and would have involved very serious consequences. The retreating force, harassed by the enemy, joined by tribes hitherto friendly or neutral, would have lost men at every step, and might have been entirely cut off, and a war on a much larger scale, and much more costly, would have had to be undertaken at no distant day against the victorious Mahdi. It was necessary to adopt measures to prevent the False Prophet from either making an irruption into Egypt with his hordes of fanatical followers, or from seizing a port on the Red Sea. The Government held it to be impossible, consistently with a proper regard for the interests of Great Britain and of Egypt, to withdraw their troops from the Soudan without decisively checking the movement of the Mahdi. In order, therefore, to arrest his progress they considered the recapture of Khartoum absolutely necessary. For the attainment of this object they agreed on Lord Wolseley's advice to send out a force of 8000 men to Suakim, at the



Engraved by N. Stodart, fr. of the London Stereoscopic Co.

LIEUT-GENERAL SIR GERALD GRAHAM, V. C.

David C. C.

same time giving him discretionary power in respect of 'the measures he might think it necessary to take.' In addition, the Ministry decided to construct a railway from Suakim to Berber. This project was very sharply criticised by the Liberal party, who affirmed that it was impossible that a railway could be constructed in time to be of service to Lord Wolseley in his advance upon Khartoum, and asked what our country had to do with making railways in a country where the Ministry declared that it was not intended either to remain in permanent occupation ourselves, or to restore the Egyptian authority. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, in short, went too far to please the party who contended that we should never have gone to the Soudan, and should leave it as speedily as possible; and not far enough to gratify the Conservatives, supported by the metropolitan press, who insisted that Khartoum should be regularly fortified and garrisoned by British troops, or that at least we should retain possession of the Soudan to the north of that town until a stable government had been established in the country. The Government in consequence narrowly escaped a vote of censure in the House of Commons.

Lord Wolseley was of opinion that it would be necessary for him to delay active operations against the Mahdi until he had collected all the forces that were to be placed at his command; and that it was impossible to enter upon the campaign until autumn, as the British troops could not bear the intense heat of summer in the Soudan. Before he was ready to take the field the British commander confidently relied on being joined by the contingents which the colonies of New South Wales, Canada, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, had spontaneously, and in the most gratifying manner, offered to send fully equipped to the assistance of the mother country in this contest. The noble offer was cordially accepted, and was acknowledged in glow-

ing terms in both Houses of Parliament as at once highly creditable to the colonists and gratifying to the whole nation. Her Majesty also, in an autograph letter, expressed her warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid. The preparations for the despatch of large reinforcements to Suakim were pressed forward with the utmost activity, and no pains was spared to provide all requisite equipment for the arduous services which the army was to undertake. The construction of the railway between Suakim and Berber was commenced at once, and pushed forward with all possible speed. Meanwhile arrangements were made for the disposition of the troops during the summer. The headquarters were to be at Dongola; the main body of the troops were to remain in camp at Korti. The troops of the Mudir of Dongola, a valuable and trusty ally, were to be stationed at Merawi along with the Black Watch, a troop of the 19th Hussars, and two guns; and two movable columns were to be formed ready to take the field at any moment. Huts constructed of mud and reeds were erected for the troops, for the heat in tents during the summer months is absolutely insupportable.

The reinforcements sent out from home began to reach their destination about the beginning of March, and on the 12th of that month Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, the commander of the new expedition, arrived at Suakim. Contrary to general expectation, the Mahdi was found to have made no attempt to follow up the success he had obtained by the capture of Khartoum, but had remained there or at Omdurman. He appears to have afterwards gone to Abbas Island, where he began his saintly career, leaving it to his lieutenant, Osman Digna, to carry on hostilities against the 'infidels' near Suakim. This noted leader of the Arab tribes was described by those who had seen him as 'a short, spare man, getting on for fifty, and who can only be recognized from

others by wearing the dirtiest clothes of the lot. He begins the morning by reading some portion of the Koran to a circle of his followers, who sit round about him. He then expounds it, and afterwards reads letters he pretends to have received from the Mahdi. Then he tells of some dreams he considers as divine inspiration, and again repeats his promises, that all his followers shall become invulnerable so long as they pay proper attention to the Mahdi; that those who are killed in action have committed some sin, and even they are forgiven, and go straight to Paradise. In every way he shows himself to be a leader most dangerous to the Government, as the goal he aims at is undoubtedly power. He is a thin, middle-sized man, somewhat past the prime of life, but full of energy, and quite up to the events of the day. He knows his countrymen well, and in spite of reverses thoroughly understands how to excite their spirit of fanaticism and keep up their courage. His mode of life is the simplest. The taxes he collects are all devoted to the use of the people about him, whom he feeds gratis as long as he has anything. He then interviews all who wish it, and discusses projects to drive the infidels and Turks out of the country. He prides himself in wearing the dirtiest clothes and in eating the simplest food, as he declares he cares for nothing on earth but the will of God transmitted to him through the Mahdi.

This redoubtable Arab chief set himself with great vigour and dexterity to harass the British troops encamped at Suakim. Night after night sentries and patrols were surprised and cut off or wounded, and numerous parties of the enemy hovered round the camps, and at times kept up a heavy fire upon them. The completion, however, of the outer line of defences, and the services of friendly tribes, ultimately checked these attacks. Two of these natives were posted at night in each redoubt, and their keen sight enabled them to detect men creeping up in the darkness

who would not have been made out by the less accustomed eyes of the British sentries. The principal camps were placed beyond the risk of surprise by any large force, as they were surrounded by trenches, hedges of thorn bushes, and wire entanglements. These precautions, however, did not prevent Osman Digna's followers from making numerous attempts to surprise the British troops. On some nights considerable numbers of them crawled about the camps on their hands and knees in the hope of finding some overlooked entrance. On one occasion they tried to penetrate the Indian camp, but found the preparations for their reception complete.

General Graham resolved to put an end to these desultory and troublesome attacks, and after making a reconnaissance in force the troops moved out from the camp on the morning of 20th March, and advanced to the village of Hasheen. The hills beyond were occupied by a strong body of the enemy, who, it afterwards appeared, had been reinforced during the previous night by 1000 men despatched to their aid by Osman Digna, so that the force amounted to 4000. The Berkshire Regiment and the Marines were sent forward to clear an isolated hill which was held by the Arabs. Notwithstanding the strength of their position they were quickly dislodged by these gallant troops, but fell back slowly, contesting the ground inch by inch. A large body moved off to the left with the evident intention of turning the hill stormed and held by the Marines and the Berkshire men. In order to checkmate this manoeuvre the Bengal cavalry charged them with great gallantry and effect. After their charge the Indian horsemen fell back to give the infantry an opportunity of sending a volley among the scattered but still thronging foe. The Arabs speedily closed up, however, and starting forward in pursuit of the retiring cavalry they rounded the hill, and there all at once came upon the brigade of the Guards drawn up in a square. With a loud yell they rushed upon it without a

moment's hesitation, but in the face of the withering fire which met them they never succeeded in getting nearer than fifteen or twenty yards from the line of bayonets. Meanwhile the cavalry having reformed were again ready for the enemy, who, after the failure of their attack upon the phalanx of the Guards, had passed along the face of the hill. This second charge scattered them and made them beat a hasty and disorderly retreat. They were at this time reinforced by another body of the Mahdi's soldiers, but our troops quickly followed them up as they circled round the crests of the hills, pouring in a very hot fire at every point, and never permitting them time to halt and concentrate. At this period our field-guns were brought into play, and notwithstanding the disadvantage of the position and the rough nature of the ground, they did excellent service. In the end, after five hours' hard fighting, the British troops obtained possession of all the positions which the Arabs had held at the commencement of the battle. All the special correspondents who were present wrote in high terms of the reckless and splendid bravery displayed by the enemy. 'As skirmishers,' said one eye-witness, 'no force I have ever seen in action is their equal. They cover ground as if by magic, and moreover do not understand the meaning of being beaten.' Their losses in this prolonged and severe conflict must have been very heavy. Of the British force nine were killed and forty wounded—some of them severely.

On the 22nd of March another fierce but much more deadly attack was made by Osman Digna's Arabs on General Graham's forces. The second brigade under Sir John McNeill, supported by the Indian brigade under General Hudson, with four Gardner guns, moved out from Suakim at seven in the morning in the direction of Tamaai. A number of camels and transport animals were inside the Indian brigade square. The detachment was instructed to form a zereba, which was to

be garrisoned by the Berkshire Regiment, the Marines, and the Naval Brigade, the other troops returning to the camp at Suakim. Six miles from the Suakim intrenchments they commenced the construction of the zereba. No attack was apprehended, and the men were busily engaged in this work. The Marines had piled their arms, and had commenced to dig their trench. Dinner and water had been served out to the men; the camels were outside the zereba, and all seemed perfectly quiet. The Indian contingent was drawn up in marching order ready to start for Suakim, and behind it was a mob of camels, mules, and camp-followers, when all at once some men of the Indian contingent came rushing in, with shouts that the enemy were at hand, and suddenly from the bushes all along the face of the zereba fronting Tamaai burst out a clamour of savage cries. The air was filled with murderous yells, and the next instant, as if driven forward by some blinding instinct of disorder, the whole assemblage of transport animals plunged forward upon the zereba. The scene was indescribable. There was a multitude of roaring camels apparently heaped one upon another, with a string of kicking and screaming mules entangled in one moving mass. Crowds of camp-followers were carried along by the huge animal mass, crying, shouting, and fighting. All these surged out on the zereba, any assistance being utterly hopeless. The mass of brutes and terrified natives swept all before it.

In the meantime the Arabs had glided and crept in all directions among the legs of the camels, and within about a minute and a half they were on our men. The Hadendawas, as if by magic, swarmed out of the bush upon the zereba. Unfortunately our own Soudanese coolies were undistinguishable from the enemy, and thus a number of our men lost their lives, ignorant of any danger, by mistaking foes for friends. Cries, shouts, yells, and deafening shrieks, combined with a furious rifle fire and a rush

of stampeded camels, made a bewildering din. The soldiers, however, stood promptly and firmly to their arms. A small number of the Berkshires, finding themselves unable to reach the zereba in time, formed a rallying square about a hundred yards distant, in a hollow which protected them from the fire of their comrades in the zereba. The enemy made a fierce rush from all directions at this gallant little band, but were met by a steady and withering fire, which prostrated hundreds of the assailants. The men were well in hand, and coolly reserved their fire until the Arabs were within thirty yards. After keeping them at bay for half an hour the square fell slowly back upon the zereba.

While this was going on the Marines courageously repelled the Arab charge on their zereba, and inflicted heavy loss on their assailants; and the Naval Brigade, after great difficulties, owing to the rush of animals through their zereba, got the Gardner guns into action, and poured most destructive volleys upon the enemy. The Indian Native Infantry, after they succeeded in extricating themselves from the flying stream of baggage-mules and camels, held their own with a gallantry which entitled them to the cordial eulogiums of their British fellow-soldiers. On the other side, the colonel commanding the Berkshire Regiment was in their own zereba with four companies of his men, who had just turned out in their shirt-sleeves to complete the construction of the fence, when an alarm was given. All the working parties rushed into the zereba and seized their arms and accoutrements. Meanwhile the Arabs had leaped the zereba and captured the sand-bag redoubt at the corner, hewing and slashing with their cross-hilted swords and stabbing right and left with their spears. The four companies of the Berkshire Regiment, rallied by their colonel, poured a steady fire into the still advancing force outside the zereba and bayoneted those who had already got inside. The scene is described as terrible. A hand-

to-hand combat raged fiercely, the Arab swordsmen slashing and cutting at soldiers, camels, and horses alike; bullets were whirling from all points, and there is reason to believe that many of our men and camp followers in the confusion were killed by the fire of our own force. The battle lasted two hours and a half, and in the end, as usual, discipline and military skill prevailed over numbers.

'There was,' wrote a special correspondent, 'a terrible scene after the fight at the corner of the zereba near the sand-bag redoubt. Ten of the Naval Brigade, some Indians, and Lieutenant Seymour of the *Dolphin*, with dead mules and horses and wounded camels were seen in one terrible heap. The whole of the ground was studded with the enemy's dead. The moon has just come out, and is now shining brightly. A walk round the zereba by its light makes the battlefield become more ghastly and impressive. Here, within the zereba, the ground is encumbered with dead and wounded camels and horses, and is littered with clothing and portions of the kits of the dead and living. In the centre of the zereba a few water-barrels, arranged in line, form a rendezvous for the officers. All over the ground are patches of blood and brains. In one corner of the zereba lie the two rows of our dead. Looking up from our zereba over the plain, which is nearly free from bushes, for a distance of 100 yards, the moonlight reveals a fearful spectacle. The bodies of the enemy lie thick over the plain in every imaginable attitude. Immediately beneath the zereba hedge they are most numerous—a proof of the desperate gallantry with which they came on with spear and shield, knobkerrie and camel-stick. But there were others still more brave; for from one zereba alone, seventy or eighty bodies were dragged out into the plain by our men before nightfall. The dead animals it was impossible to move.'

The attacking force was not composed solely of Hadendowa tribesmen, as had been expected, but of regular soldiers of

the Mahdi. The great majority of the slain wore the Mahdi's so-called uniform, and had their hair cropped short. Of the three banners that were brought in one was blue, with a red circle within, on which were the words, 'From the Mahdi, the true prophet of God;' and also, 'Whoever shall fight under this banner shall obtain victory.' Faggiah, the most celebrated of Osman Digna's chiefs, was killed in the engagement.

Numerous acts of heroic bravery are recorded of the British officers in their efforts to rescue their men and brother-officers from imminent danger. General McNeill himself made a narrow escape. He was outside the zereba when the alarm was raised. As soon as he saw the enemy he gave the necessary orders, and then attempted to leap the brushwood barrier—an easy enough feat—but his horse shied and backed from the zereba. It was a critical moment, for the Arabs were rushing down at full speed and were close upon him. Fortunately the general's aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Charteris, a son of the Earl of Wemyss, saw the peril of his chief and gallantly rushed to his rescue. He succeeded, at considerable personal risk, in saving the general's life, but was himself wounded by the spear of an Arab boy, which pierced his arm.

General Graham, in his despatch giving an account of the battle, says, 'I am of opinion that McNeill did everything possible under the circumstances. The cavalry, 5th Lancers, did their best to give information, but the ground being covered with brushwood it was impossible to see any distance.' Those who were on the spot held and expressed a different opinion. 'The success of the enemy,' wrote a special correspondent, 'in their stealthy advance towards our position, and the suddenness of the attack, were due to the neglect to send out sufficient cavalry scouts. The nature of the country is certainly only too favourable to the enemy's tactics, but that fact in itself should have induced extra

precautions on our part; 4000 men, even Soudanese, could not have sprung upon us from the very bowels of the earth as they did had our immediate vicinity been properly explored and kept properly patrolled.' But for the extraordinary bravery displayed by all sections of the British forces our arms must have met with a serious reverse.

According to the official return the British losses in the engagement, exclusive of camp followers, were six officers and ninety-four men killed, six officers and 136 men wounded, and one officer and seventy men missing. These casualties include those of the Indian contingent, which had three officers and fifty-two men killed, four officers and seventy-one men wounded, and thirty-eight men missing. The losses of the enemy must have been very heavy, but their precise amount could not be ascertained. It is inexpressibly sad to think of the loss of so many valuable lives, to say nothing of the slaughter of many thousands of the natives, including a number of women, and even boys, in a sanguinary war which led to no result.

The total number of sick and wounded in the British force at this time was 500, including forty cases of sunstroke, and other effects of excessive heat and exhaustion. The strain on the troops, who had had to accompany convoys by day and to perform sentry duty by night, was very severe. They had to face clouds of smothering dust, to march under the glare of a fierce sun and over heavy sand. Their progress was in consequence very slow, and they had frequently to halt in order to drive off the enemy and to clear the bush.

At this stage the Australian auxiliaries landed at Suakim, and received a most enthusiastic welcome. They consisted of men belonging to all classes of society—prosperous citizens as well as artisans and labourers, retired soldiers and sailors—men strong, straight, and well set up. Their average height was in excess of that of any British infantry regiments, and their average age was over thirty years. They

were admirably equipped and provided for—money, horses, and supplies having been poured in without stint by their colonial fellow-citizens. The first question asked by one and all was, 'Are we too late?' and they cheered heartily when told that they were amply in time to support the Regulars when the next encounter with the enemy should take place. General Graham, in welcoming the contingent in the name of the British army as comrades and brothers-in-arms, who had left their hearths and homes to share the perils and toils of their fellow-soldiers of the mother country, made a feeling allusion to the effect which this most gratifying display of the 'noble loyalty of Australia' would have in welding together the widely-divided parts of the British Empire. The Australian commandant affirmed that every man in the contingent had his whole heart in his work, and was thoroughly aware what important bearings this patriotic outburst was bound to have upon the question of colonial confederation. 'But the first and chief reason,' he said, 'for the enthusiasm of his fellow-colonists was their burning love for the old country and passionate loyalty to the crown, seeking no higher reward than the approbation of their Queen and of the British people—no greater honour than to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Imperial troops.'

Strengthened by these reinforcements, General Graham pushed forward a strong body of soldiers to Tamaai, which they found in flames and abandoned by the enemy. Hasheen also was evacuated. But operations in the Soudan were now virtually suspended in consequence of the quarrel with Russia, which was on the very verge of open war; and ultimately the British forces were withdrawn, and the Soudanese have now been left to settle their own affairs without any interference on the part either of Egypt or of Britain. Zubair Pasha, however, was not allowed to return to the Soudan. In consequence of certain papers which showed that he had

been holding treasonable intercourse with the Mahdi he was arrested and conveyed to Gibraltar. The death of the Mahdi himself dispelled the apprehensions that the Mohammedan insurrection would imperil the safety of Egypt. He was taken ill at Omdurman on the 19th of June, 1885, and by his own desire was at once conveyed to a tent outside the camp. No doctors were at hand, but two of the captive missionaries, who had some medical knowledge, were summoned to his sick-bed, and pronounced the disease under which the Mahdi was suffering to be small-pox, which had for some time been raging in Khartoum; but doubts have since been raised as to the accuracy of their opinion. In the course of a few hours the attack assumed its most virulent form, and the patient was told that he must prepare for the worst. The Mahdi thereupon called his nephew, Abdulla, to his bed-side, named him his successor, and gave him his sword. On the evening of next day (the 20th) his condition was past hope. He then bade a solemn farewell to his family, and adjured his successor to continue the war against the Christians. He expired on the morning of 21st June, and was buried at sunset in a grave within his tent, which was afterwards burnt. Bishop Sagara, who appears to have been well acquainted with the False Prophet, says he was a hypocrite and atrociously cruel. He had made a multitude of enemies among the friends of those whom he had cruelly maimed or put to death; and during the last months of his life his rule had come to be execrated. The bishop thinks there is little doubt that the Mahdi was poisoned by one of his favourite wives, acting either at the instigation of his enemies or from personal jealousy; for he was a man of most profligate habits, and the reign of his favourites was never a long one.

Osman Digna was reported, in May, 1887, to have been captured in an engagement with a party of Arabs friendly to the British in the neighbourhood of Suakim.



David Gray



