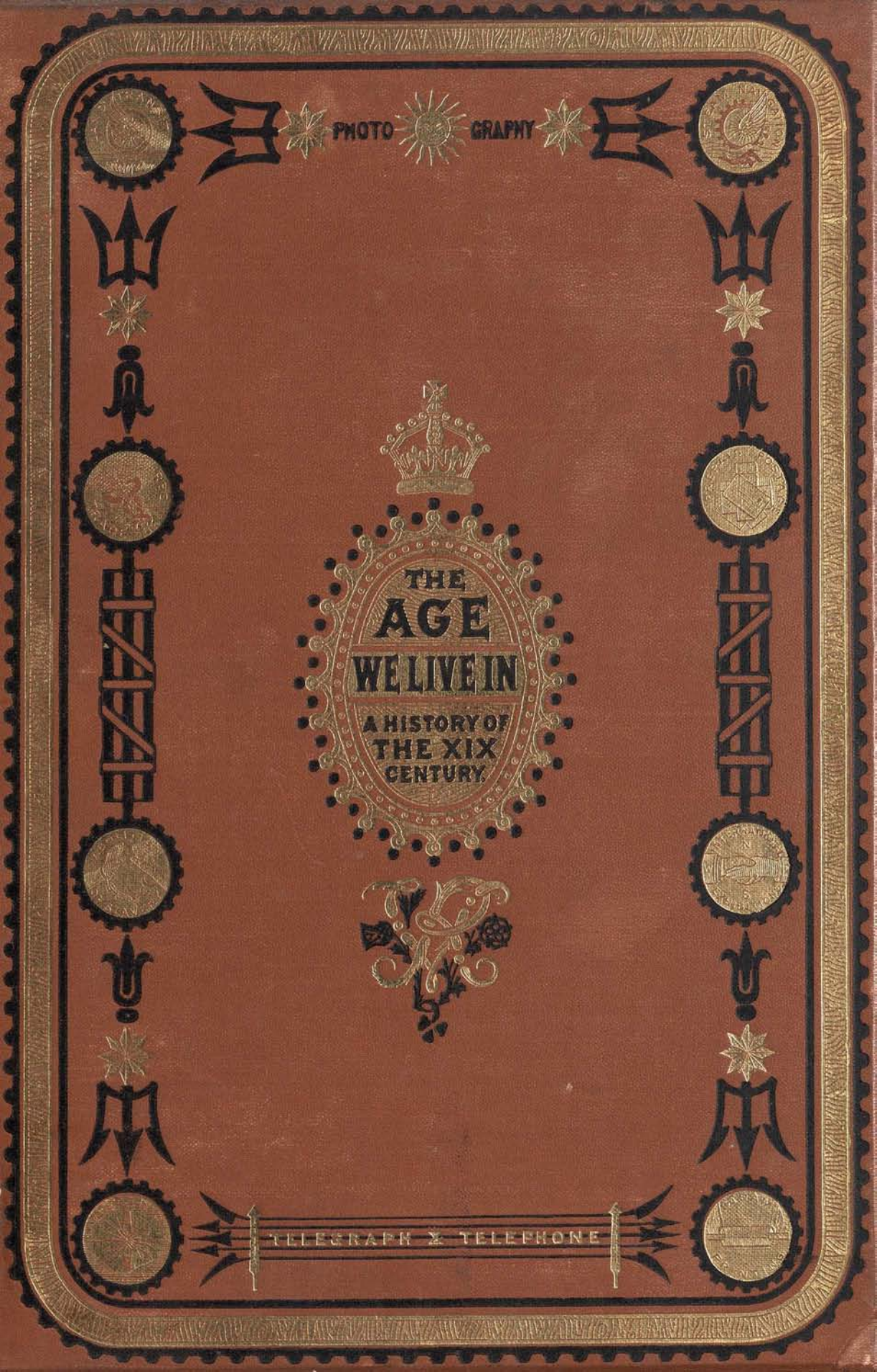
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THE

AGE WE LIVE IN:

A HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1815 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JAMES TAYLOR, A.M., D.D., F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF "THE FAMILY HISTORY OF ENGLAND," "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND," ETC.

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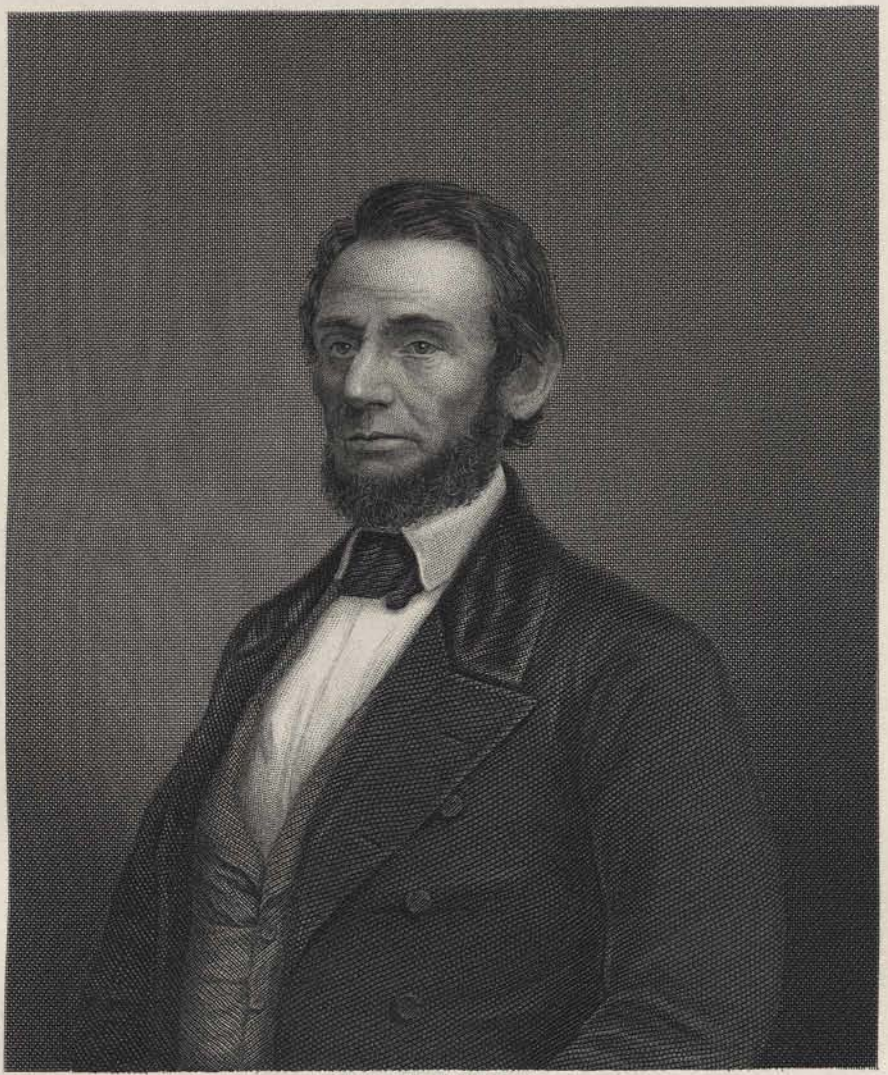

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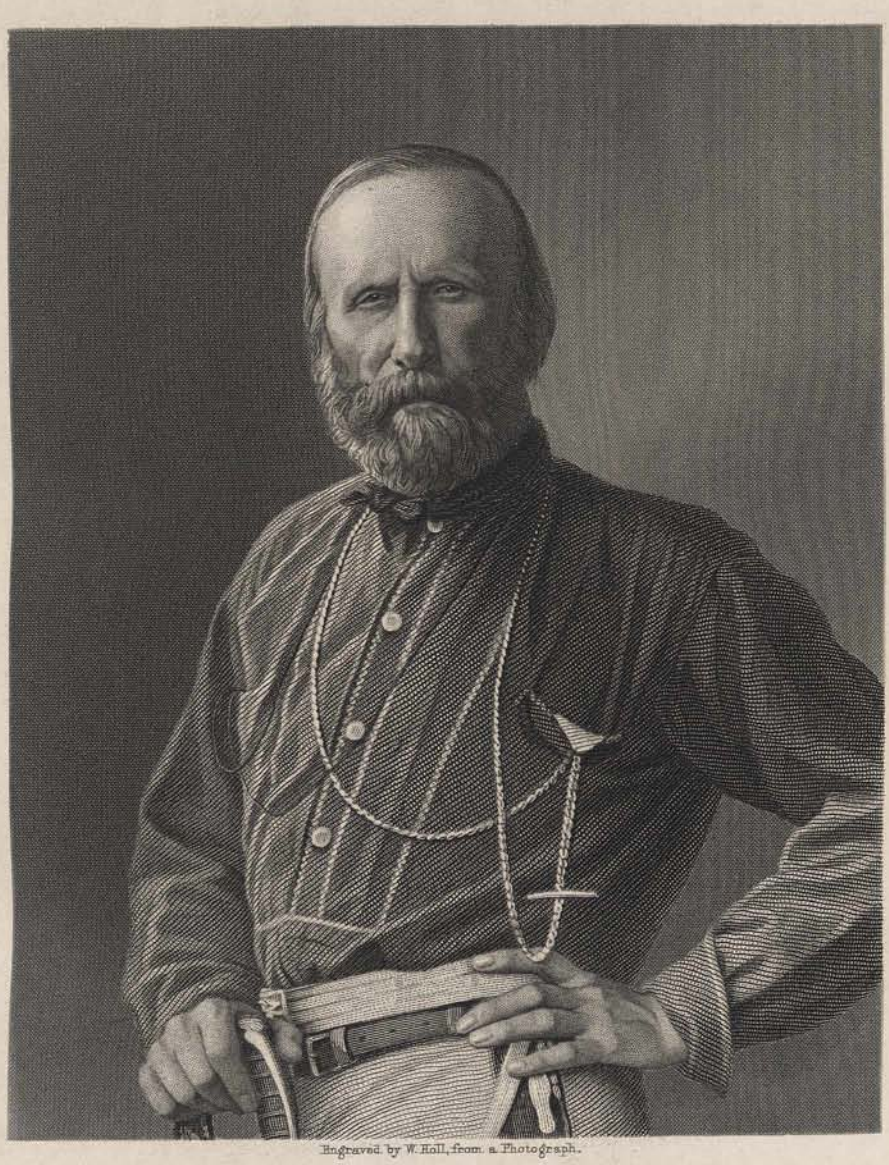

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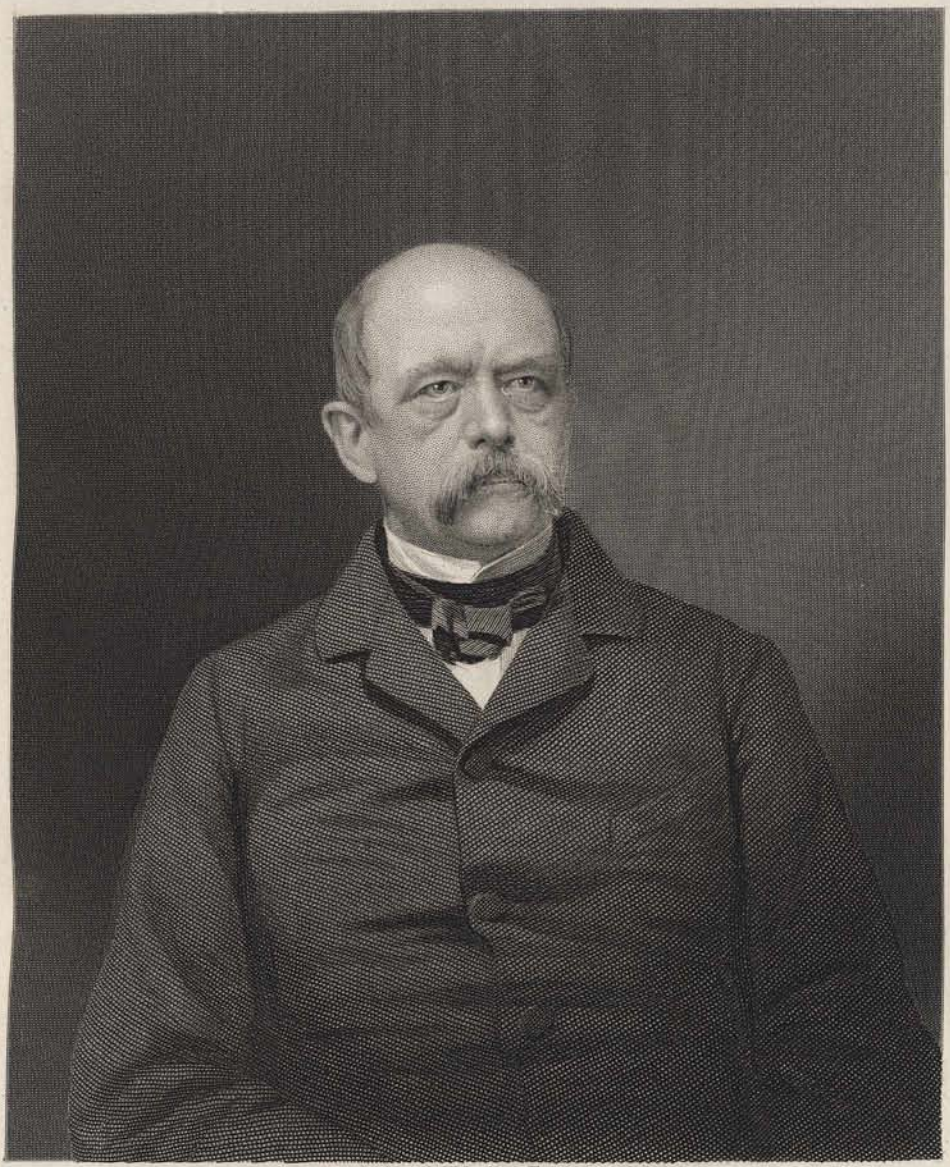

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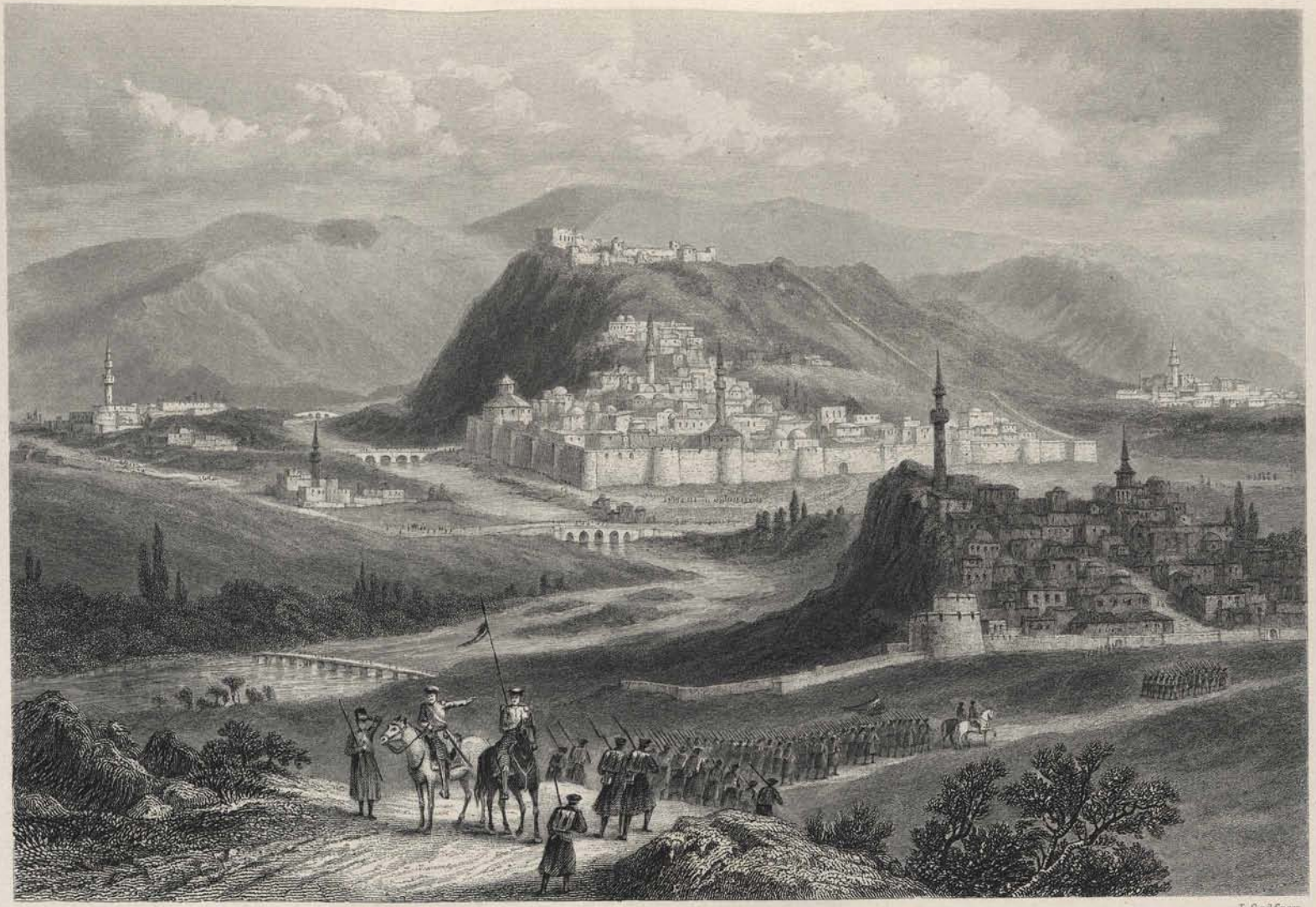

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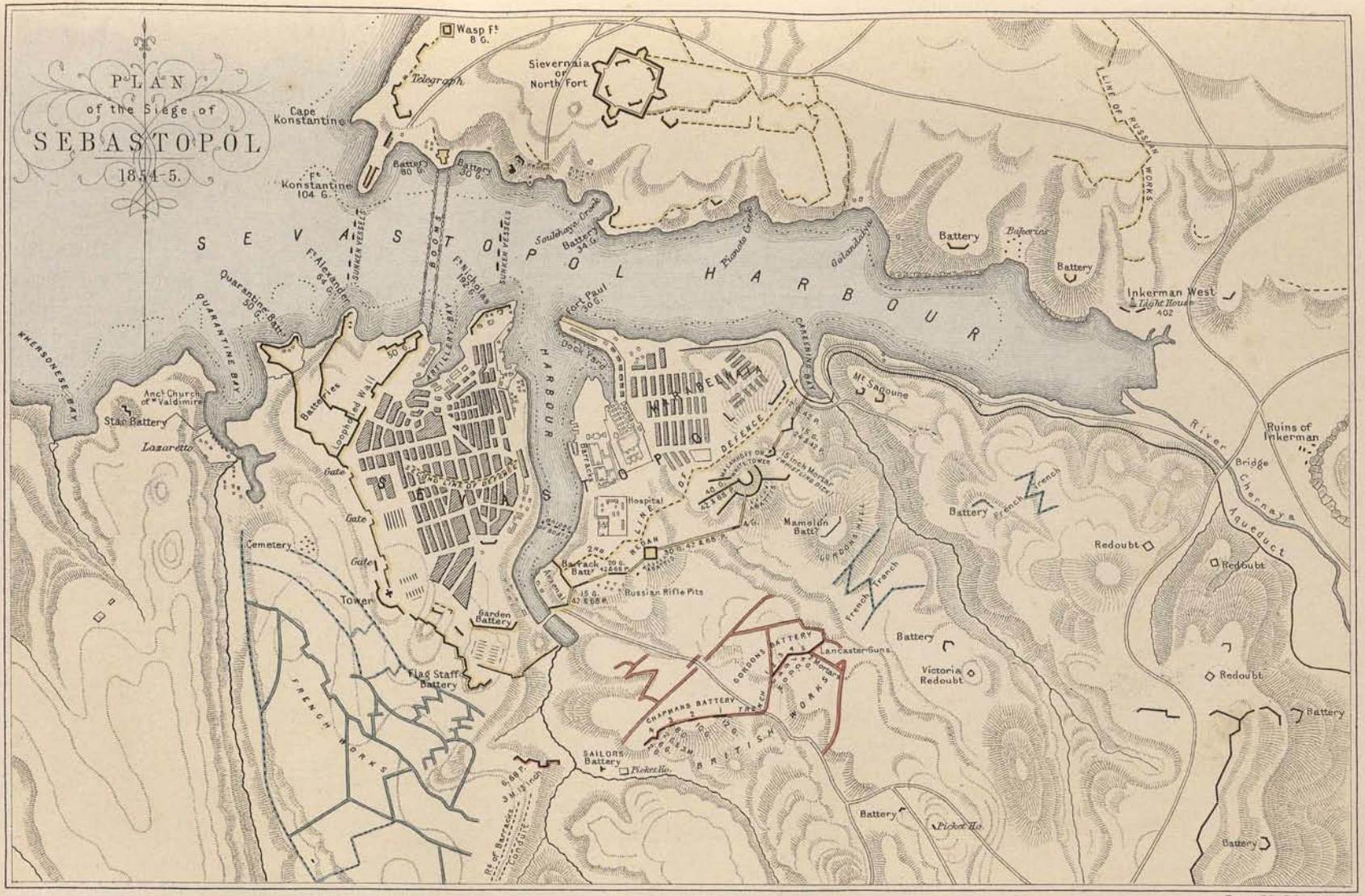

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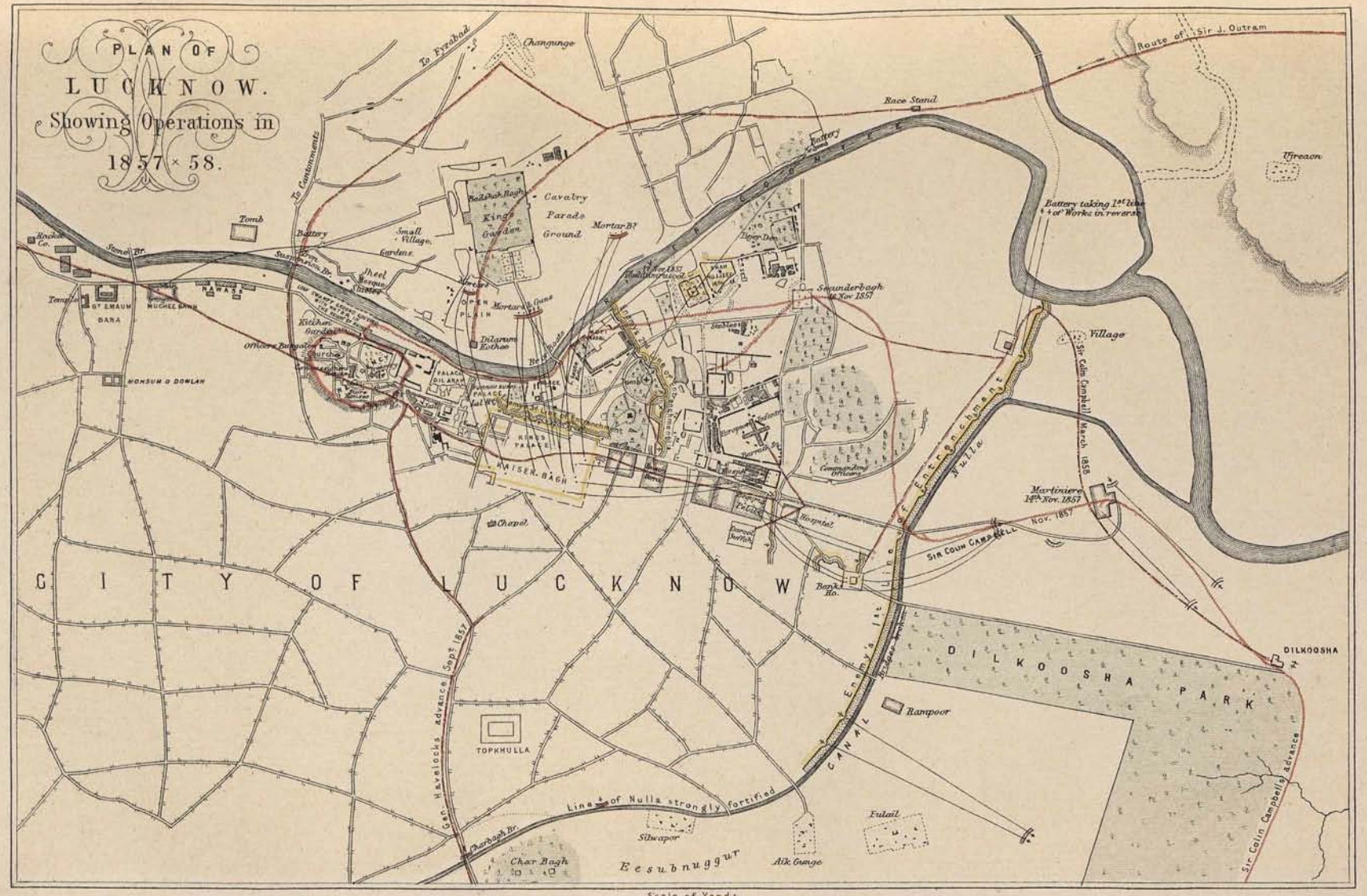

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PLAN OF DELHI 1857-58.

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Kushmeeree	2.	Chandnee Chouk	8.
Nigumbod	3.	Kasumkhan	9.
Toorkman	4.	Ajmeree Gate	10.
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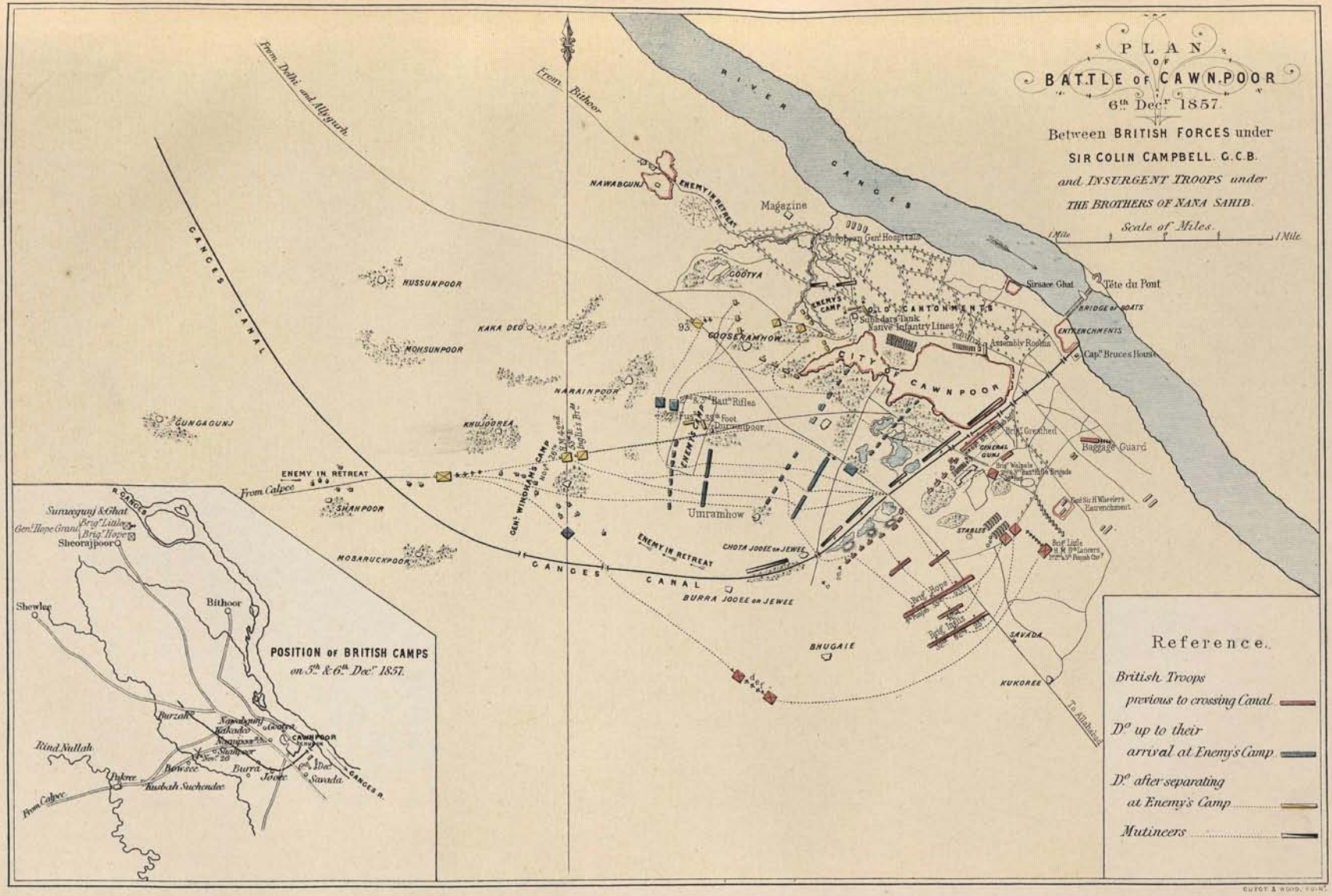

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CHAPTER XIII.

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 Busaco, 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 delaration 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 Rassova, 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 Isáktcha 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 superadded 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 hillside 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. Waggons 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 dismounted 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, dismounting 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.

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 advance 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, waggons, 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 Careening 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 cwts., 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 tumbrels, 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 tumbrels; 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 remanent 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.'

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 peculation 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 reembark 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 morbific 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 Correspondents 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 wont 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-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-Marshals' (old and imbecile). 'The Austrian Thimblerig.' 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 necessary 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 Balaklava. A Commission, at the head of which were Colonel Tulloch and Sir John M'Neill, 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 investigate 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 scarped 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 infallibilty, 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 replaced 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 driblets 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 extra-ordinary 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 feasable 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-

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 undervalue 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, 2¼ 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?'

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 substantially 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 wont 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 Clarendon; '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 diplomacy. '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—Scindiah—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 Neemuch—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 lorcha, 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 had, 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 Punjaub, he turns alike his steps to Delhi, he betrays the deep strength of the old traditionary 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.

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 Pateeala 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 "To-morrow;" 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 operations 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 Olpherts, 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 tortures 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-Mehal. 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 Bhurtpore 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 subsidary 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 thirteeen 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.'

Suspicions 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 tumbrels 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 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.

* The offspring of a European and an Asiatic parent.

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 Nynee 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 Rohilcund 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 be 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 containing 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 Punjaub—The Sikhs—Sir John Lawrence—Events at Meean-Meer—Disarming of the Native Regiments—The Mutineers at Ferozpore 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 Ghasíta, 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 Ghasíta 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 insufficent 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 Malleson'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 continual 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 overtures. 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 Googeraggungee, 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 Punjaub 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 Punjaub 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 Punjaub, 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 Ferozpore, 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 Punjaub.' 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

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 Kournal, and thence marched in the van of the British army advancing against Delhi, clearing the road for them and procuring supplies. He held an exposed 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 Futtehpore. 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.'

Futtehpore, '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 eye-witness, '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

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 ringleaders 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 Busherut 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 Mungalwar, 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 Busherut Gunge. He at once turned upon them, and defeated them with great slaughter. He then returned to his camp at Mungalwar, 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 Busherut 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 Chinhut—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 Alumbagh—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 necessaries 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;

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. Jackson 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 outposts 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 Sultanpore, 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-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,

* 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.

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 Mecham 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 Arthorp'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 subterraneous 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, tumbrels, 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 Punjaub, 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 Punjaub 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 unfailing. 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 escalade 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.

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.

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 Ranee 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 awanting 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 Dilkoosha 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 Dilkoosha 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 Nujjeef, 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 Nujjeef, 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 Nujjeef *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

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 Punjaub 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 'wigging' 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 diarrhœa, 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, 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 Rowcroft, 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 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

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.'

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 Mudenpore, 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 Nepaul 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 desparation. 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 desparate; 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.

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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 Gyulai—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 Æmilia 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-Doo.' 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 Pekin 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 Pekin, and compel the Emperor to accede to their demands. They accordingly sailed up the Peiho river as far as Tien-sin, 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 Pekin, 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 depositary 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 complete 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

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 Castelneddo.

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 Pizzighettone 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 Mincio 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 Mincio. 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, 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

* 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.'

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 knocked 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 constitutional, 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 Pekin—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:—

'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 measure 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 Crags. 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 Crags, 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 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

* 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.'

of it. I am bound to bear this witness at anyrate 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 instance. '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 negativing 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 Pekin 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 Pekin respectively. He was directed by Lord Malmesbury to proceed, by way of the Peiho River, to Tien-tsin, and thence to Pekin 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 Pekin 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 Pekin, 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 Tungchow, 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 Pekin, 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.'

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 Northerns at Bull's Run—General M'Clellan 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 birthplace 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 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

* 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.

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 Presidentship. 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 Presidentship. 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 justiciary 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., Mississippi, 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

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 Northerns 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 'inviolate 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 institutions 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 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 Greely, 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

*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.

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 Northerns 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 Northerns, 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 Northerns 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 corner-stone, 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 Southerns 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 Northerns; 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 Northerns, 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 necessaries 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 M'Clellan 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 M'Clellan in Western Virginia. On the 21st of June he started from his headquarters at Grafton, intending to force his way to join M'Dowell 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 M'Clellan 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 M'Dowell was superseded by M'Clellan, 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 M'Clellan 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 Northerns 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 Hartville, 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 countermarched 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. M'Clellan, 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 M'Clellan's powerful army forced back on the support of its gunboats, more than twenty miles from its original position.

M'Clellan 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.' M'Clellan'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.' M'Clellan 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 M'Clellan 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 M'Clellan'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 M'Clellan 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 M'Clellan 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 M'Clellan 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. M'Clellan 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 Rappahannock 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 reconnaisance 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 Northerns 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 manœuvreing. 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 M'Clellan 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 thesame 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 Northerns 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 ninty-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 Northerns, 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 *Wachusetts*, 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 *Wachusetts* 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 *Wachusetts* 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 M'Clellan 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 *Wachusetts*, 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 M'Clellan, 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 necessaries, 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 M'Clellan 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 "Nitre 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 revulsion 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 Northerns 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 necessaries 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 Würtemburg, 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 Caprera.

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 Septinsular 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 *emigré*, 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-Glucksburg, 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 Rechberg (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 Portsdown 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 Brocket, 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 commonplaces 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 *demander* 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 3½ 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, 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 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.

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, Limerick, 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 influential 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