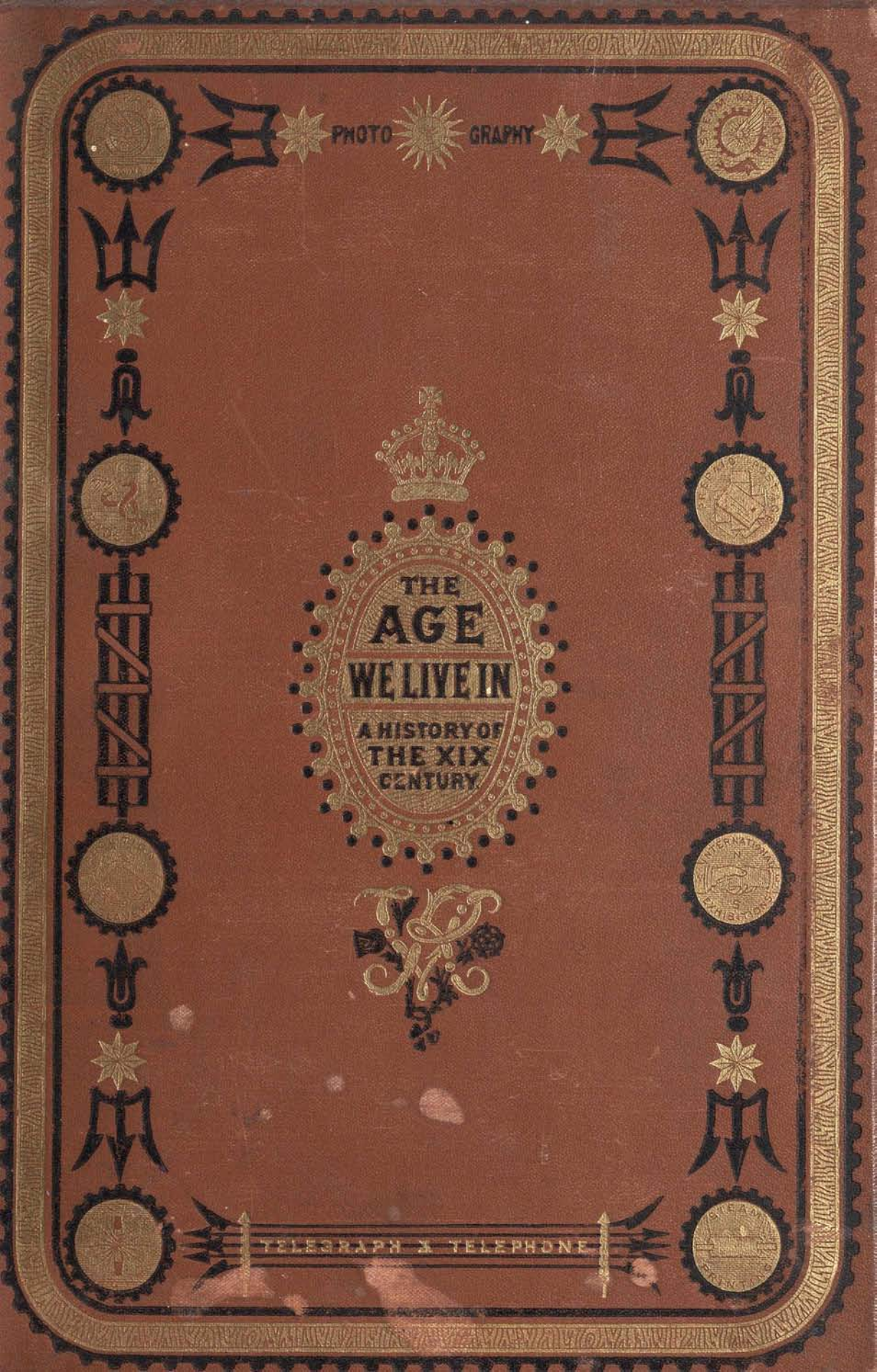
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THE

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.

VOL. V.

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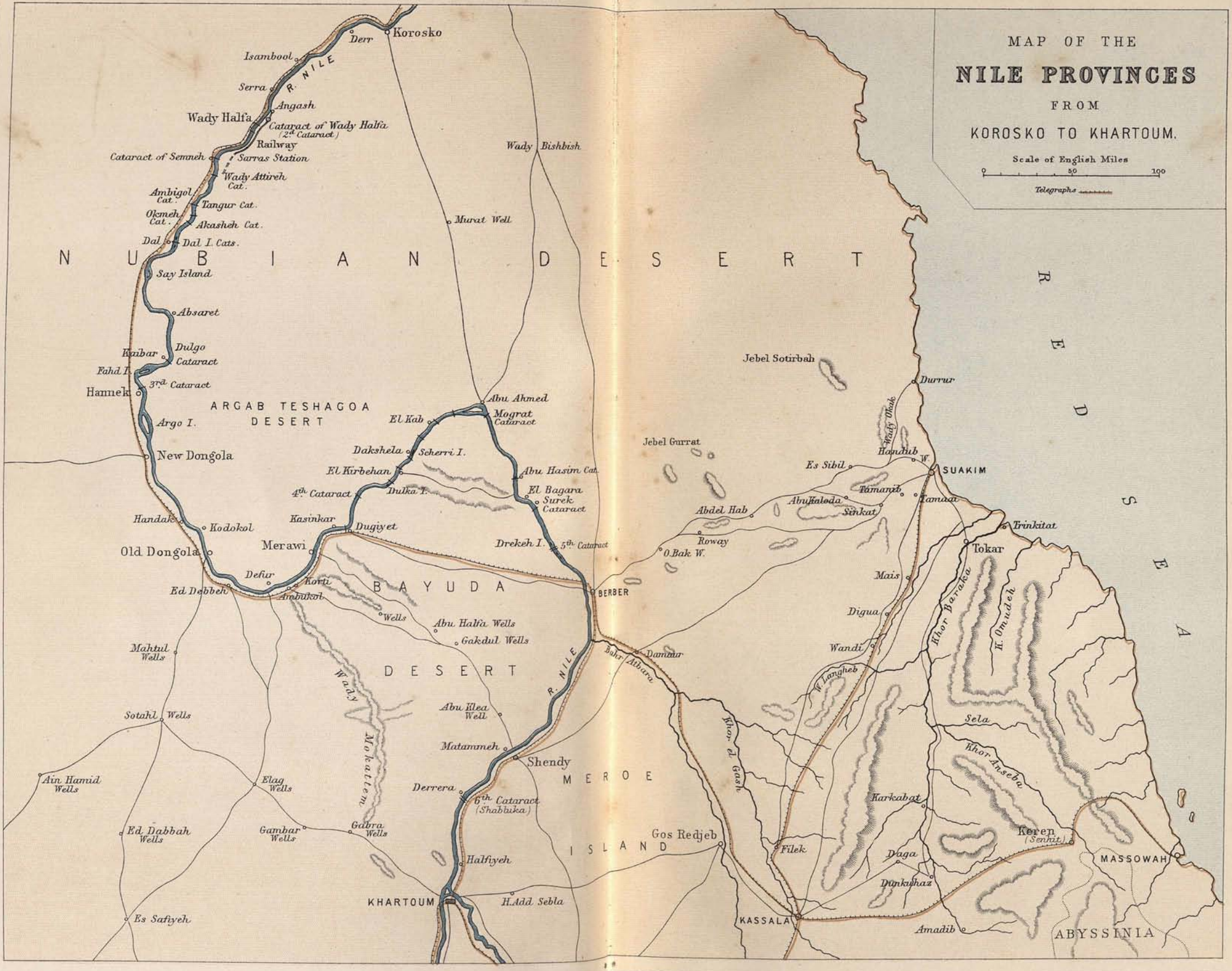

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amendments which the Commons had declared to be contrary to the principles of the bill. The attitude assumed by the majority of the Peers caused great dismay throughout the country, and alarmed not a few influential members of the Conservative party. It was evident that the Government, supported by the great body of the representatives of the United Kingdom, could not give way, and there was no expectation that Lord Salisbury could form an administration capable of carrying on the public business of the country, or that a dissolution would give him a majority in the House of Commons. A hope, however, was cherished that a compromise might be made, and when Parliament assembled on the 15th it was evident from Mr. Gladstone's studiously moderate language that he wished to give a bridge of gold to the Peers. He offered several not unimportant concessions. He proposed to extend considerably the right of appeal from the decisions of the Land Court; to exclude leaseholders from the benefit of the bill; to amend the Ulster tenant-right custom; and to expunge the Parnell clause intended to protect evicted tenants in the interval previous to their obtaining a judicial lease. On all other points the House, on Mr. Gladstone's motion, by very large majorities, agreed to dissent from the amendments of the Lords. These concessions were regarded as satisfactory by the Opposition Peers; the amendments, as finally adjusted, were agreed to; the protracted debates on the Land Bill, which had occupied so large a portion of the session, were finally closed on the 16th of August, and on the 22nd the royal assent was given to it by commission.

Shortly after the commencement in Parliament of the contest between the parties respecting the Irish Land Bill, the leader of the Conservative party passed away on the 19th of April. At the opening of Parliament in January Lord Beaconsfield was present in the House of Lords, and apparently in good health. He took part several times in discussions on foreign affairs, especially on India. His last great speech in Parliament was on the debate on the motion of Lord Lytton (10th March), condemning the conduct of the Government in withdrawing from Candahar. He was already suffering from the illness which proved fatal to him, but the speech was none the less characterized by great ability and vigour. At the close of a severe winter he was attacked by bronchitis and gout, to which he succumbed after a long and painful struggle. The interest and deep sympathy with which his illness was watched by the whole nation was a convincing proof that he was personally liked even by those who disapproved of his policy.

The career of Lord Beaconsfield is in many respects the most remarkable in the political annals of our country. At the very outset, before he had entered on public life, he avowed his determination to become some day Prime Minister of Great Britain, and during the forty years which elapsed before his ambitious longings were crowned with success he never lost sight of this great object of his life. To an impartial observer the difficulties in his way must have appeared almost insuperable. The son of a respectable *literatteur* of moderate means, 'foredoomed' to the drudgery of a conveyancer's office, with no apparent opening to either fortune or fame, and a descendant of a despised race at that time excluded from fashionable as well as political life, and whose indelible stamp he bore on his features as well as in his name, he had to cut his way to the summit of distinction and power through obstacles which might have daunted the stoutest heart. Lord Beaconsfield's success is the triumph of an amount of labour, watchfulness, courage, patience, and perseverance probably without a parallel in the political history of Great Britain. It is to his industry, tact, marvellous dexterity, and indefatigable perseverance that the Conservatives were mainly indebted for the

recovery of their position and power in 1874. But it must be admitted that many even in his own party disapproved of the means by which he gained his end. Lord Salisbury, who afterwards became his colleague, denounced in strong terms the 'political sleight of hand' and 'flexible and shameless tactics' of the 'professional politician,' who by a strange turn of the wheel had become the leader of the country gentlemen of England. He even asserted that Mr. Disraeli's 'shabby policy' had 'misguided and misdirected' the great Conservative party, and that the contest to which he led them was not a fight for real principles, real blessings, real truths, 'but merely a low-minded struggle for office.'

Lord Beaconsfield, however, held on his course unmoved, and unflinchingly adhered to the policy which he had deliberately chosen. On each of the three occasions, prior to 1868, when Lord Beaconsfield was in office the measures which he brought forward were dictated by his opponents and passed by their assistance or connivance, and it was not until 1874 that he found himself at the head of a large and docile majority in both Houses of Parliament. His reputation as a statesman must, therefore, depend on the character of his administration from 1874 to 1880. The 'interests' by whose aid he was enabled to climb to power—the Church, the brewers and licensed victuallers, and the Services—were pampered at the expense of the nation and to the great increase of the public expenditure. The proceedings of the Government respecting the Slave Circulars, the alteration of the English Education Act, and the opposition to the Burials Bill were regulated by a regard to political expediency rather than to equity. The foreign policy of the Ministry, which he assumed as his special province, excited great dissatisfaction among a large portion of the community. Throughout the whole Eastern crisis he employed the influence of Great Britain on the side of the Turkish Government, notwithstanding the atrocities which they permitted and condoned in Bulgaria. The mode in which he conducted negotiations at Berlin, the secret agreement with Russia, balanced by the equally secret convention with Turkey; the acquisition of Cyprus; the protectorate in Asia Minor—all showed Lord Beaconsfield's fondness for a sensational policy, for concealment, mystery, and surprises. But the weightiest objection to him as a politician was his unconstitutional proceedings, his attempts under the veil of secrecy to evade or set aside the control of the House of Commons over ministerial policy, and to substitute personal for parliamentary rule. He had long held a theory of government somewhat akin to that of Bolingbroke respecting the rule of a patriot-sovereign exercising supreme and dominant authority, based on the suffrages of the lower orders of the community, not only over the executive, but even over the legislature itself; and during his last ministry he did what he could to reduce it to practice. The title of Empress of India conferred upon the Queen arose out of that notion, and was no doubt intended to lead the way to that result. Under his direction the power of the sovereign was augmented, while the authority of the Parliament was lessened. The movement of the British fleet up the Dardanelles, the transportation of the Sepoys from India to Europe, the annexation of Cyprus, and the protectorate over Asia Minor—all these moves on the political chess-board, involving tremendous responsibilities and enormous and immediate expenditure, were made without the authority and even the knowledge of Parliament. The natural fruit of such a policy was a period of turmoil and confusion, of suffering at home and of difficulty and trouble abroad, involving not only vast expense to the tax-payer and a severe blow to national industry, but social dangers of a very serious kind. It was mainly the alarm which this policy excited that led to the defeat of the Conservatives at the general election in 1880.

Though a most successful parliamentary debater, Lord Beaconsfield had no pretensions to the character of a great orator. He had nothing of the warmth, the fertility, versatility, and passion and power of Mr. Gladstone, or of the impressive simplicity, pure English diction, and stirring eloquence of Mr. Bright. His most elaborate speeches were often little more than stilted and high-flown essays, and were characterized by showy rhetoric rather than by natural feeling and passion. The passages in which he displayed his talent for wit and humour and keen personal satire were the portions of his speeches which mainly delighted his hearers at the time or that will be remembered hereafter. His sarcastic hits and witty repartees have often been quoted and are singularly felicitous. Such are his description of Sir Robert Peel as having caught the Whigs bathing and having stolen their clothes, and of Peel's colleagues as 'political peddlers,' who 'bought their party in the cheapest market and sold them in the dearest;' his comparison of the conversion of the Peelites to free trade to that of the Saxons by Charlemagne, who 'according to the old chronicle were converted in battalions and baptized in platoons;' and his likening the Whig occupants of the Treasury bench to 'a range of exhausted volcanoes, not a flame flickers in a single pallid crest; but the situation is still dangerous, there are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea.' The nicknames with which he labelled his opponents were also very felicitous. His reference to Mr. Beresford Hope as the 'embodiment of Batavian grace,' to Mr. Lowe as an 'inspired schoolboy,' and to Mr. Horsman as the 'superior person' of the House of Commons, are all perfect of their kind, and will probably retain a permanent place in what may be called the personal political history of our country. As regards his personal character, according to the testimony of his friends, Lord Beaconsfield was amiable, kind, and obliging. He was a good talker, and his wit, delicate irony, and adroit adaptation of his conversation to his company, made him an exceedingly amusing and agreeable companion; but his enmities were, unfortunately, as lasting as his friendships. His novels, like his speeches, contain many clever and spirited sketches, shrewd and striking remarks, sparkling passages, and witty expressions. But they have continued to be read mainly on account of the high position and reputation of their author, and are not likely to retain a permanent place in the literature of our country.

A few weeks after the death of the Conservative leader Mr. Gladstone, in response to the general wish of the country, proposed that a national monument should be erected to his deceased rival. The eulogium which he pronounced upon the ex-premier was dignified and unstinted. He spoke of the high position which Lord Beaconsfield had held in the deliberations of the national senate and the counsels of the sovereign, and the prominent part which he had taken in administering the affairs of the country; but he dwelt more especially upon the private character of the departed statesman, his indomitable will, his intellectual gifts, and his domestic virtues. The opposition to the vote received only fifty-four supporters in a House containing 434 members.

An unusually large number of petitions was presented against the return of members chosen at the general election in 1880, and the election of the sitting members had in so many instances been declared void that the public had been obliged to come to the conclusion that some measures were imperatively required to check the widespread electoral corruption. Special commissions were appointed to investigate the corrupt practices which had been shown to prevail in no fewer than eight boroughs, and as the inquiry was searching and protracted, the reports were not presented to Parliament until the session of 1881.

The writ was suspended in eight boroughs

—Boston, Canterbury, Chester, Gloucester, Knaresborough, Macclesfield, Oxford, and Sandwich—and when the Redistribution Bill (1885) was passed Sandwich and Macclesfield were disfranchised, and each of the other boroughs was deprived of one member.

The greater part of both the corrupters and the corrupted escaped punishment. A large portion of them, indeed, had given evidence against themselves, and thus obtained certificates which protected them from ulterior proceedings. But of those who were brought to trial at the assizes for criminal offences, by far the larger portion were acquitted. In Boston, out of nine persons indicted for bribery and perjury, only one was convicted, and for the latter offence alone. At Chester, the agent for the Liberal candidate was convicted of bribery and making a false return. At Sandwich and Macclesfield the law officers of the Crown were more successful in bringing the guilty to punishment, and penalties, varying from six to eighteen months imprisonment with hard labour, were imposed upon ten persons of different stations in life, some of them indeed occupying a good position in society. It is a striking proof of the low state of morality in regard to bribery in certain districts of England, that this tardy vindication of the law excited great disapprobation, and was followed by an agitation to obtain a remission of the sentences pronounced upon those who had been found guilty of this crime. The offence of bribery, they alleged, had been so often condoned that to brand it as a degrading crime was the sure way to arouse public sympathy in favour of those who had been made the first victims of the law. Memorials, signed by 43,841 persons, among whom were 32 peers, 75 members of the House of Commons, both Liberals and Conservatives, 313 bankers, 1113 clergymen, and 3597 solicitors, were presented to the Home Secretary praying for the remission of the sentences. But Sir William Harcourt declined to interfere, though in the case of one prisoner, whose health had given way, he subsequently consented to his discharge.

The bills relating to Ireland had occupied so large a portion of the session that the other measures promised in the Queen's speech had nearly all to be postponed. Some reforms were effected in the administration of the army—corporal punishment was totally abolished, and a summary punishment by way of restraint was substituted in its room. A bill was passed abolishing the responsibility of newspaper proprietors for impartial reports of words spoken at public meetings, enforcing the compulsory registration of the names of newspaper owners, and requiring the consent of the Attorney-General to criminal proceedings being taken against a newspaper proprietor for libel.

The House of Commons was a good deal annoyed throughout the session by the persistent efforts of Mr. Bradlaugh to take possession of his seat. At the commencement of the year he was sued under the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866 for the penalties he had incurred by sitting and voting in Parliament without having first taken the oath, which he claimed his right to do under cover of a resolution passed on 1st July, 1880, 'subject to any liability by statute.' Judgment was given against him on the 11th of March, but he immediately gave notice of appeal, which was heard on 31st March before three of the judges. On the following day they delivered their judgment, upholding the decision of the inferior court. A new writ was immediately issued for the borough of Northampton, and Mr. Bradlaugh was again elected, though by a greatly diminished majority. He immediately renewed his efforts to take his seat, but a resolution moved by Sir Stafford Northcote, and carried by 208 votes against 176, declared him incompetent to do so. Though this result was formally announced from the chair, Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table, but was directed by the Speaker to withdraw.

This he declined to do, and the Speaker asked the House for directions. A resolution was adopted without a division that he should be directed to withdraw. He still, however, refused to obey what he called an illegal order. He was then removed by the sergeant-at-arms, who went with him to the bar; but he immediately returned, and had to be forcibly ejected by the messengers. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh once more presented himself at the table of the House to be sworn, and having refused to withdraw on the order of the Speaker, he was again removed by the sergeant-at-arms. Towards the end of July his case came on for hearing before Mr. Justice Grove and a special jury, at the instance of an informer, who claimed half the penalty of £500 fixed by the Act for each offence. The jury gave a verdict against him, and the judges refused to grant a fresh trial On the 2nd of August the persistent member held a meeting in Trafalgar Square, attended by many thousands of sympathizers. Encouraged by their support he went down to the House on the following day, and though he was aware that a resolution had been passed excluding him from its precincts, he advanced to the door with the intention of entering. The passage, however, was barred by the deputy sergeant-at-arms and other officials, and on Mr. Bradlaugh's attempting to force his way past them he was seized by a number of policemen and, in spite of his struggles, was carried down into the courtyard, with his clothes torn and in disorder. He proceeded at once to the Westminster police court and applied for a summons for assault against the police. But the magistrate, after taking time to consider the case, decided that the police were protected by the privilege of Parliament, the alleged assault having been committed within the precincts of Westminster Palace.

The Parliament was at length prorogued on 27th August, having sat, with but short intermissions at Easter and Whitsuntide, for nearly eight months.

CHAPTER XXI.

Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade—Ladies' Land League—Arrest of Mr. Parnell and other Irish Leaders—Suppression of the Land League—The Bradlaugh Affair—The Lords and the Land Act—Release of Messrs. Parnell, O'Kelly, and others—Assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. T. H. Burke in Phœnix Park, Dublin—Revival of the Alien Act—The Crimes Bill—Arrears of Rent Bill—Parcels Post Bill—Married Women's Property Bill—Rules of Procedure in the House of Commons—The Closure—Murderous Outrages in Ireland—The Maamtrasna Case—Formation of the Irish National League—Attempt on the Life of the Queen—Opening of Parliament, 1883—The Kilmainham Treaty—Bankruptcy Bill—Patents Bill—Trial of the Phœnix Park Murderers—Attempts to blow up the Local Government Board Office and other Places throughout the Country—The Explosives Act Amendment Bill—Relief Bill—Mr. Bradlaugh on the Affirmation Bill—Corrupt Practices Bill—Agricultural Holdings Bill—National Debt Bill—Grants to Lords Wolseley and Alcester for Services in Egypt.

No sooner was Parliament prorogued than an agitation was commenced throughout the country by the leaders of the two great political parties. Within a week Sir Stafford Northcote was seen at Sheffield expounding the views of the Conservatives on Free Trade in somewhat ambiguous terms. On the other hand a few days later Lord Derby, in a speech delivered at Southport, showed that all classes were better off in 1880 than they had been in 1870. In that period the exports of the country had increased nearly fifty millions, and the imports more than a hundred millions. In 1870 the income liable to income tax was £445,000,000; in 1880 it had risen to £578,000,000; whilst in the Savings Banks deposits had risen from £43,000,000 to £58,000,000. A great campaign followed in the North, in which Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Randolph Churchill took part on the one side, and Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Chamberlain on the other. The principal subjects discussed were the rival claims of Fair Trade and Free Trade, the Irish Land Bill, and the foreign policy of the Government. Sir Stafford Northcote at Newcastle said he did not himself advocate the imposition of a five-shilling duty on corn, but many of his party did, and therefore, without putting forward Protection as an article of faith, he saw no objection to its being accepted as "a pious opinion." Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, at Leeds, ridiculed the idea of retaliatory tariffs, and denounced Fair Trade unsparingly as Protection in disguise.

While the controversy respecting Free Trade and Fair Trade was carried on thus vigorously in England and Scotland, the leaders of the Land League were showing their anger and disappointment at their failure to prevent the passing of the Coercion Bill by their furious vituperation of the Government, and their efforts to induce the tenants to hold aloof from the Land Act. Rioting and outrages on the part of their deluded followers naturally resulted. Process-servers performed their duties at the peril of their lives. Affrays with the policemen and bloodshed were the result of the attempts to carry out the eviction of tenants who refused to pay their rents. Boycotting was used with greater vigour than ever. A Ladies' Land League was formed, with Mr. Parnell's sister for president; and though it was immediately denounced by Archbishop M'Cabe of Dublin as immodest and wicked, the conduct of its promoters was vigorously defended by Archbishop Croke of Cashel, who, in consequence, became the idol of the Home Rulers, and wherever he went throughout the country was hailed with enthusiasm by the Irish peasantry. The doctrines of the League were now frequently proclaimed from the pulpits of the Catholic priests, great numbers of whom became the

avowed partisans of that association. The reluctance shown by the Government to avail themselves of the extraordinary powers intrusted to them, seemed to justify the assertion of the National leaders that coercion could not be carried out. Under the impression that the Government was afraid of them, the leaders became every day more violent in their language and more daring in their operations. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech at Leeds, criticised with special and marked severity the conduct of Mr. Parnell, the present leader of the Irish Home Rulers, and contrasted it with that of Daniel O'Connell, who availed himself of every measure which tended to promote the welfare of the Irish people, however much it might fall short of his wishes. Mr. Parnell, on the contrary, inculcated discontent and covetous desires for other men's property, and substituted for O'Connell's aim of friendship with England the new policy of hatred of England and everything English. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone commented on the sluggishness of loyal Irishmen, especially among the wealthier classes, who seemed incapable if not unwilling to do anything to help themselves; contrasting their attitude with the readiness with which elsewhere loyal citizens would have rallied in support of the laws. Mr. Parnell replied to this withering exposure by a denunciation of the Prime Minister so violent that it at once brought matters to a crisis. A meeting of the Cabinet was summoned on the 12th of October, and after four hours' deliberation an order was given to arrest Mr. Parnell. It was quietly carried into effect on the following morning, and the leader of the Land League was removed from his hotel in Dublin to Kilmainham gaol. Before the end of the week Mr. Sexton, M.P., and Mr. Kelly, M.P., both extreme Home Rulers, were likewise lodged in prison, along with a considerable number of the leading members of the Land League. That body, furious at the arrest of its leaders, issued a circular, signed by the imprisoned Land Leaguers, enjoining all farmers to refuse payment of rent until Mr. Parnell and his colleagues were unconditionally released from prison. The Government on this formally suppressed the Land League, which was declared to be "an illegal and criminal association." No attempt at resistance was made, and in a few days the extensive organization which had seemed so formidable had ceased to exist.

When the Parliament was prorogued at the end of August, 1881, it was confidently expected that, after two sessions of absorbing and exciting controversy over Irish affairs, the business of England and Scotland would in the following session receive a proper share of attention. This hope was, however, sadly disappointed. Many of the measures enumerated in the Queen's speech were not even brought in, and only one or two of minor importance were placed upon the Statute-book at the close of the session.

It was universally understood that one subject not mentioned in the speech from the throne was to take precedence of all other business. Accordingly on the opening night of the session Mr. Gladstone laid the proposed new rules of procedure on the table. But before it was possible to proceed to their consideration the attention of the ministry and of the House was occupied by a renewal of Mr. Bradlaugh's attempt to take his seat, which terminated in the adoption of a resolution almost identical with that agreed to by the House in 1881, and in Mr. Bradlaugh's expulsion on the ground of contempt and contumacy; and a new writ was issued for Northampton. He was re-elected, however, by a larger number of votes than he had polled in 1881, and made another futile attempt to take his seat, which led to an unseemly and prolonged wrangle.

At the very commencement of the session the Irish party renewed their attacks upon the Government, declaiming against the working of the Protection Act, denouncing Mr. Forster in extravagant and violent language, demanding the release of Mr. Parnell and the extension of the

Land Act, and raising irregular discussions on every possible opportunity. These Irish questions occupied a large part of the protracted debate on the Address. The Home Rulers demanded the abrogation of all coercive measures and the full recognition of what they called the rights and liberties of the Irish people. But their main object was to assail Mr. Forster's administration and to defend Mr. Parnell, who, they asserted, was unwisely as well as unjustly imprisoned. The Irish Secretary, however, made a triumphant defence against the charges of his assailants. He laid before the House numerous examples of the terrorism of the Land League, and of the treasonable speeches and practices of its leaders, and of the acts of violence by which the 'No-rent' manifesto was enforced. He expressed a confident belief, however, that the state of matters was improving. Landlords were obtaining payment of their rents; farmers were finding out that they had been misled by the Land League; and juries were doing their duty.

While the Commons were engaged in this discussion the House of Lords had greatly complicated matters by appointing a select committee to inquire into the working of the Land Act. The proposal was strongly resisted by the Government, on the ground that it was premature, as the Act had been barely four months in active operation, that it had no precedent and had nothing to justify it, but it was carried by ninety-six votes to fifty-three. In consequence a resolution was moved in the Lower House by the Prime Minister, condemning the proposed inquiry 'as tending to defeat the operation of the Land Act, and injurious to the good government of Ireland.' The Opposition evaded a direct challenge upon the issue raised by Mr. Gladstone and voted for the previous question, but were defeated by 303 votes to 235.

The House of Commons now took into consideration the procedure resolutions, which one party asserted were too strong and another held to err on the score of weakness. They reproduced, with some additions and alterations, the rules of urgency framed by the Speaker after his intervention to terminate the debate in the previous session. The rule as to closing debate was to be applied on the initiative of the Speaker, subject to ratification by a bare majority of the House. A new feature, on which Mr. Gladstone insisted strongly, was the 'delegation' to two standing committees of the consideration of all bills relating to law and courts of justice, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures. A very large number of amendments were proposed upon the whole body of the procedure resolutions; but the conflict centred upon the first, to which an amendment was moved declaring that no alteration of the rules of procedure would be satisfactory which allowed the closure of debate by a majority. The discussion on this question began on the 20th of February, and was then suspended for a whole month by the debate on the Lords' committee. When the consideration of the rules was resumed on the 20th of March Lord Hartington, on behalf of the Government, declared their intention to stand by the principle of closure by a bare majority. After a debate on this central clause of the first resolution, which lasted three nights, the proposal of the Government was carried by 318 votes against 279, a larger majority than the most sanguine Ministerialists had expected. Only five Liberals voted against the resolution, though a number were absent from the division. A powerful speech from Mr. Bright was believed to have contributed greatly to this successful result.

When the House met again after Easter the debate was resumed on the remaining amendments. A proposal to intrust the initiative to the Ministers, instead of the Speaker, was rejected. Then the curtain suddenly fell, and the attention both of the House and the country was directed almost exclusively to a change of policy in regard to Ireland and the shocking tragedy in the Phœnix Park, Dublin.

A strong feeling had arisen among the Liberal party that the arrest and detention of several hundreds of 'suspects' were unjust, and had apparently been followed by no beneficial results. The Irish landlords, on the other hand, urged the Government to obtain stronger coercive powers, and threw out vague suggestions respecting a commission of judges and suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was admitted that the "No-rent" manifesto in Ireland had failed, and there was every reason to believe that the deeds of violence which continued to disgrace that unhappy country had been resorted to for the purpose of punishing disobedience to that manifesto. The victims of many of these outrages were poor men—farmers suspected of paying rent, farm-servants who had ventured to work for 'boycotted' persons, and bailiffs who had the courage to serve notices of legal process. One of the most shocking of these crimes was the murder of an old man and his grandson, named Huddy, who were sent to serve processes in the Joyce country, Connemara. They mysteriously disappeared, and their bodies were afterwards found in Lough Mask. They had evidently been shot and then tied up in sacks with stones, and flung into the Lough. A few weeks after the perpetration of this atrocious deed a labourer, named Bernard Bailey, who was supposed to have given some information to the police, which led to an extensive seizure of arms, was shot in Skipper's Alley, Dublin, at a time when the place was crowded with people and policemen on duty were in the immediate neighbourhood. The offer of a reward of £500 failed to elicit any information which could lead to the discovery of the assassin. Mr. Herbert, a small landlord in Kerry, who had faithfully performed his duty as a juryman, was shot as he was returning from the petty sessions. Mrs. Henry Smythe, when returning from church in a carriage with her brother-in-law (a large landowner in Westmeath) and Lady Harriet Monck, was killed by shots fired by three men with blackened faces, who were lying in wait for Mr. Smythe. The assassins, as usual, made their escape, and have never been discovered. This was regarded as a peculiarly atrocious murder, for it had hitherto been maintained that no matter how unpopular a landlord might be he was always safe so long as he was in the company of a woman.

Undismayed by these shocking deeds, Mr. Forster steadily persevered in his efforts to break the power and defeat the aims of the Land League, with the conviction that success in this enterprise would cut at the root of organized crime. Threatening letters were showered upon him, and one at least contained explosive materials, which were rendered harmless in consequence of suspicions having been aroused respecting its contents. It was afterwards discovered that repeated plans had been concocted for his assassination. Secret societies renewed their operations, and a new and dangerous organization, headed by a mysterious individual known as 'Captain Moonlight,' became specially notorious for midnight marauding, farm burnings, mutilations of cattle, and similar dastardly crimes. At last the police succeeded in arresting a man named Connell, who had for some time been skulking among the Cork and Killarney hills, and papers found on him showed that he was no other than Captain Moonlight himself. Connell turned informer to save his life, and on his testimony, with corroborative evidence, several important convictions were obtained at the Cork Winter Assizes with a restricted jury panel. But generally the ordinary juries failed, either through terror or sympathy with the criminals, to convict even upon the clearest evidence.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of Ireland, a number of Radical politicians, especially those whose constituencies contained a large number of Irish voters, pleaded for the release of Mr.

Parnell and his fellow-prisoners in Kilmainham gaol; but up to this time the Government had given no indication that they intended to make any concessions to the party of disorder and lawless violence. Mr. Forster stoutly, and it was thought successfully, resisted this policy, when suddenly, on the 2nd of May, the country was astonished to learn that Earl Cowper, the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Forster, the Chief-Secretary, of Ireland, had resigned. The former, it appeared, had quitted office for private reasons, not on account of political differences; but the resignation of the Irish Secretary had been caused by his disapproval of the 'new departure' which the ministry had resolved to take in dealing with that country. The abandonment of the Protection Act was immediately announced along with the release of the three Irish members—Messrs. Parnell, O'Kelly, and Dillon—who were still imprisoned in Kilmainham gaol. The surprise excited by these grave proceedings was not unmingled with dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased when the facts of the case became fully known. Mr. Forster, in stating to the House the reasons of his retirement from office, explained the grounds on which the three Parliamentary leaders of the Land League had been arrested and detained so long in prison. They had organized and were working out a system by which their unwritten law would have superseded the written law in Ireland. He would have released them whenever one of three conditions had arisen: if they had given a public and voluntary promise that they would not set up their own law against the law of the country, if Ireland had become quiet and orderly, or if fresh powers had been given to the Government. But none of these conditions had been obtained, and he urged the ministry not to buy obedience nor to attempt any 'black-mail' arrangement. Matters had no doubt improved in Ireland; 'boycotting' had been stopped, the Land League had been defeated, and its leaders had been obliged either to take refuge behind the ladies, or to flee to Paris for safety. On the whole, the state of the country—thanks mainly to the Protection Act—was much improved; still it was very bad, and outrages were numerous, but it would be better to struggle, even unsuccessfully, against crime than to rely for its repression upon the aid of its organizers and the law-breakers, their followers.

Subsequently the grounds of the Kilmainham Treaty, as the alleged understanding between the Government and the Land League party was termed by the Opposition, were warmly discussed in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone declared that there was no arrangement between the Government and Mr. Parnell, but that they had acted upon 'information' of the willingness of Mr. Parnell and his associates to range themselves on the side of law and order, conditional upon the passing of an Arrears Bill on the lines proposed by Mr. Redmond. Mr. Parnell and the other two members denied that they had any communications with the Ministers on the subject of their release, but he admitted that he had said and written in a letter to Mr. O'Shea, who seems to have acted as a go between, that a settlement of the arrears question would have an enormous effect in the restoration of law and order, and would take away the last excuse for outrage.

Mr. Forster was succeeded in the office of Secretary for Ireland by Lord Frederick Cavendish, a younger son of the Duke of Devonshire, who had for some time discharged with exemplary diligence the duties of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He reached Dublin in company with Earl Spencer, the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, on the morning of Saturday, 6th May. After the two officials had made their formal entry into the city and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity, Lord Frederick entered upon the duties of his office. On the evening of that very day as he and Mr. T. H. Burke, the permanent Under-Secretary, were walking through Phœnix Park,

they were assassinated by a band of men, who escaped on a car, leaving no trace of their identity. Extraordinary efforts were made and immense rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers, but for a considerable time without effect. The atrocity of this unprovoked crime produced a profound impression on the public mind in England and Scotland. A hurried meeting of the Cabinet was called next day (Sunday), and it was resolved to postpone the consideration of the procedure resolutions, and to press through Parliament with all possible speed bills for amending and extending the Land and the Coercion Acts of the previous session. Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, the Secretary to the Admiralty, was at once appointed Secretary for Ireland. The financial secretaryship of the Treasury was conferred upon Mr. L. H. Courtney, and Mr. Campbell Bannerman passed from the War Office to the Admiralty.

The two Houses of Parliament met on 8th May, and the leaders in both expressed in generous terms their appreciation of the services rendered to the country by the two secretaries so 'foully done to death' by brutal assassins. The funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish, which took place at Chatsworth on the 11th of May, was attended by 300 members of the House of Commons representing all parties, and the procession, which was headed by the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Gladstone, was followed by upwards of 30,000 persons.

When the House assembled at nine o'clock in the evening of that day, the Home Secretary moved for leave to bring in a Bill to adopt measures to meet the necessities of the situation. As jurymen were prevented by intimidation from doing their duty, it was proposed to dispense with their attendance in certain cases; and whenever the Lord-Lieutenant was of opinion that an impartial trial could not be obtained for treason, murder, attempts to kill, crimes of aggravated violence, and attacks on dwelling-houses, he should be empowered to appoint a special commission of three judges to sit without juries, and to decide questions both of law and fact. It was further proposed that in proclaimed districts the police should have power to search either by day or night for the instruments of crime, daggers, masks, threatening letters, &c., and to arrest persons prowling about by night unable to give an account of themselves. The Alien Act was to be revived, and the Government was to be empowered to arrest strangers and to expel from the country those who were dangerous to public safety. Incitements to crime, membership of secret societies, controlling newspapers, aggravated assaults on the police and process-servers, and intimidation were to be summarily dealt with and punished, and the Lord-Lieutenant was to be authorized to deal specially with unlawful assemblies. Compensation was to be levied in districts in which murders and maiming had been perpetrated with impunity. After a sharp debate, in which Mr. Forster and Mr. Bright vigorously supported the Government, leave to bring in the Bill was given by 327 to 22, the minority consisting of the more extreme Home Rulers and two English Radicals.

Meanwhile it became evident that the agitators were not able, even if they were willing, to put down criminal outrages, whether agrarian or political. A few weeks after the Phœnix Park tragedy two double murders were perpetrated in Connaught. Mr. Bourke, a retired Anglo-Indian, and a corporal of the Dragoon Guards who acted as his escort, were shot from behind a loopholed wall near Gort in Galway, on the 8th of June, and on the 29th of the same month Mr. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and Mr. Keene his steward, were killed in a similar manner. In neither case was any clue to the assassins discovered. Attacks still continued on policemen, on bailiffs, on those who held aloof from the Land League policy, and especially on persons suspected of giving aid or information to the police. In these circumstances the urgent necessity of

coercive measures to secure the protection of the people and the peace of the country was acknowledged by all candid and impartial persons.

The Conservative leaders, however, in both Houses saw that the communications between the Government and the leaders of the Land League might be turned to account. Questions were asked with a view to elicit the precise nature of these communications, and a violent and indeed vituperative debate followed, which, however, terminated without a division. A week later the House of Lords became the scene of a heated but informal discussion on the same topic, which ended in a similar way.

The debate on the second reading of the Crimes Prevention Bill commenced on the 18th of May. Though it was undoubtedly the strongest measure of the kind ever introduced, with the exception of Earl Grey's Coercion Act, it was supported by all parties in the House, except Mr. Parnell and his extreme followers. One of them (Mr. Dillon) openly defended 'boycotting' on the ground that it would be more effective than murder and outrage. When the bill went into committee a number of the Radical members united with the Parnellites in supporting the proposal that treason and treason-felony should be omitted from the list of offences which could be tried without a jury, but it was rejected by 227 to seventy. Mr. Parnell's motion to exclude murder from the retrospective action of the bill only obtained twenty-two supporters. The main struggle was made on the attempt to exclude 'boycotting' from the offences included in the bill, but after a slight concession the proposal was rejected by 266 votes to forty-five. The other amendments proposed by the Home Rulers shared the same fate. The provision respecting the power to expel suspicious strangers was extended to the whole of the United Kingdom, and the right of search was restricted to the daytime, except when there was reason to suppose that an illegal meeting was being held. An acrimonious debate, which lasted through two sittings, arose on the sixteenth section of the bill, which proposed to levy compensation in cases of murder and maiming on the ratepayers of the district.

The committee had now sat twenty-two nights, and yet only sixteen out of the thirty clauses contained in the bill had been passed, and at every stage the obstruction of the Home Rulers became more persistent and annoying. At length matters came to a crisis on the seventeenth clause, providing the means by which the assessment was to be levied. The discussion upon it commenced on the afternoon of 30th July and continued until the evening of the following day. The Parnellites even exceeded themselves in the frivolous amendments which they proposed on this clause, and the abusive language which they employed in their attacks upon the members of the Irish administration. The patience of Mr. Playfair, the chairman, and of the House was at length exhausted, and he named sixteen members who had been guilty of 'wilful and persistent obstruction,' and who were suspended in a body for the remainder of the sitting. At a later stage other nine of the Home Rulers, who resorted without disguise to obstructive motions, were named and suspended. Two more retired after a protest, and only two of the prominent members of the party were left. On a subsequent day Mr. O'Donnell, member for Dungarvan, who was reported to the House as having insulted the chair, was suspended for fourteen days. The remaining clauses of the bill were then adopted, and a continuous sitting of thirty hours came to a close at eight o'clock in the evening. Thirty-one divisions had taken place during the sitting, the minority in no case rising above forty, and more frequently numbering from fourteen to twenty. After the first batch of suspensions eight divisions were taken on motions to report progress and that the chairman leave the chair, the minority never exceeding a dozen.

On 4th July Mr. Gladstone moved a

resolution declaring the state of business to be urgent, which was carried by 402 votes against nineteen. The Speaker then laid upon the table the urgency rules that were in force during the previous session, supplemented by an additional rule under which the closure might be imposed in committee by a majority of three to one. The Home Rulers then tendered a protest, declaring in very angry terms that they would take no further part in the proceedings in committee on the Coercion Bill, and left the House in a body, amid the loud cheers of the Ministerial party. In the discussion of the subsequent clauses a critical question arose in connection with the promise which the premier had given to Mr. Parnell, that night searches should be excluded except when there was reasonable cause to believe that a secret society was holding a meeting. This concession was disapproved, not only by the Conservatives but by a number of Liberal members, and the amendment was rejected by 207 to 194, twenty-four Liberals voting in the majority, and a much larger number of the usual supporters of the Government having abstained from voting. The Parnellites, on whose behalf the proposal was made, were seated in a body in the gallery, and refused to take any part in the division, though aware that their votes would have carried the amendment, which was introduced at the instance of their leader.

The Crimes Bill passed through its subsequent stages in the Commons without opposition. It was read a second time in the Upper House on 10th July; on the following night it went through committee without alteration, and was read a third time and passed. A few hours after leaving the Lords it received the royal assent, and before the evening of 12th July it became law.

A bill to deal with the arrears of rent had been introduced early in the session by Mr. Redmond, one of the Home Rulers, who proposed that all arrears up to the eve of the passing of the Land Act in 1881 should be cancelled, and that the funds of the Irish Church should be applied to the payment of the residue. The Government refused to support the second reading, as they disapproved both of the tenure and the purchase clauses of the bill; but they recognized the duty of legislating at an early period respecting the arrears of rent on a basis which should be at once impartial, in accordance with public opinion in Ireland, and also effectual. The Government measure was introduced on the 15th of May. Its operation was limited to holdings under £30 a year, and only to such tenants as could show that their rent between November, 1880, and November, 1881, had been paid. The benefits of the bill were to be open alike to landlord and tenant, the principle of compulsory purchase or sale being thus made equitable. The tenant would be required to give proof before a competent tribunal of his inability to pay his arrears of rent before his demand upon the landlord or the state could be entertained. In cases where the claim was fully made out, the state would pay one-half of the arrears accruing before November, 1880, or one year's rent, by a free gift of the amount required. When both the tenant and the state had paid their respective contributions, the whole of the remaining arrears would be cancelled, and the courts would register the arrangement.

In moving the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the interference of the State in the settlement of debts by means of compulsion and gifts could not be justified on either economic or constitutional principles. But a precedent had been set by the House of Commons in previous sessions in dealing with this question; and the failure of one portion of the Land Act might thus be retrieved. In dealing with the financial provisions of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone stated that he expected the Irish Church surplus to yield more than a million and a half; the claims might amount to two and a half millions, but he did not think they would be as much as two mil-

lions. The number of tenants having holdings of less than £30 annual value was 585,000, but he did not expect more than a third of them to make claims.

The proposal was denounced by the Opposition as demoralizing, and calculated to teach the Irish people a lesson full of evil for the future. They maintained that it was neither equitable in its operation nor sound in the principle on which it was based, nor effectual for its purpose. The chief argument on the other side was the contention that clearance of accounts all round was necessary to enable both landlord and tenant to take advantage of the fresh start offered to both by the Land Act. An amendment moved by Mr. Sclater-Booth, that it was inexpedient to charge the Consolidated Fund with any payment except by way of loan in respect of arrears in Ireland, was negatived by 296 votes to 181, and the second reading of the Arrears Bill was carried by 269 to 157.

On July 5th Mr. Gladstone moved that the House should go into Committee on the bill. In the debate which followed, the old arguments were repeated on both sides. On the one hand the measure was declared to be necessary to the restoration of peace and order in Ireland; on the other its acceptance was denounced as a still further demoralization of the Irish people, as based upon unsound principles, and as an injury to honest tenants who had already paid their rents, as well as to landlords who, no matter how liberal they might have been, would in all cases be mulcted of a certain part of the rent fairly due. The motion against going into committee was rejected by 283 against 208. Although a good many amendments were proposed both by the Conservatives and the Home Rulers, the Bill went through Committee without any material alteration. But the career of the measure was different when it reached the House of Lords. It was agreed to give the landlord the option of refusing to compound for the arrears of rent due to him—an alteration which aimed at the vital principle of the Bill, and was regarded as certain to lead to a trial of strength between the two branches of the legislature. It was also resolved that in the event of the tenant-right being sold, the tenant should, out of the proceeds, repay the sum which the landlord was compelled to forego under the provisions of the Bill. At the final stage of the Bill the Duke of Abercorn moved an amendment, which was agreed to, requiring that the Commissioners 'shall' (instead of 'may') take the saleable value of the tenant's interest into consideration in determining whether he was able to discharge his arrears. The ministry declared it impossible to accept the amended bill, and rumours were rife of a determined conflict between the Peers and the Commons. When the House of Commons, however, took into consideration the amendments of the Lords, it treated them in a most conciliatory spirit. Mr. Gladstone, in a speech equally distinguished by its moderation and its tact, stated the concessions which the Government were prepared to make to the opponents of the Bill. They could not agree to the first amendment of the Lords, as it would allow the landlord to debar the tenant who was really unable to pay. They agreed to recommend the House to accept the second amendment, but to confine its application to sales effected within seven years, and to limit the amount thus recoverable to one year's rent. They proposed also to concur in the amendment of the Duke of Abercorn, with the addition of the words, 'as far as the Commissioners think it reasonable.'

The conciliatory spirit in which the Conservative members received these concessions removed all apprehensions of a collision between the two Houses. A private meeting of the Opposition Peers was held to consider what steps should be taken by the party in the existing political situation. Earl Cairns and the Duke of Richmond deprecated the attitude of uncompromising hostility which the Marquis of Salisbury

wished to assume; and out of a hundred Peers who were present at the meeting, less than a score, on a show of hands, supported the proposal that the House of Lords should adhere to their amendments. Lord Salisbury felt keenly this rebuff, and confessed with profound chagrin that an 'overwhelming majority' of his followers were in favour of accepting what the Government offered. He would, he said, have thrown out the Bill if he had had the power, but finding himself in a small minority, he would not divide the House. The bill received the royal assent, and became law on the 18th of August.

Irish measures had so completely monopolized the attention of Parliament that very little time could be devoted to the other measures brought forward by the Government. The Corrupt Practices Bill had to be abandoned in consequence of the persistent opposition with which it was received. The Ballot Act was continued and two useful Scottish Bills became law—the one appointing a commission dealing with educational endowments, the other defining and extending the powers of the Fishery Board. Two administrative yet highly important measures—Mr. Chamberlain's Electric Lighting Bill and Mr. Fawcett's Parcels Post Bill—were also carried through both Houses of Parliament. The Married Women's Property Bill, consolidating and amending the law on this subject, which was introduced into the Upper House by the Lord Chancellor, and was passed in the House of Commons at the eleventh hour, has had the effect of placing married men and married women on a footing of absolute equality before the law; and the Settled Lands Bill, of which Earl Cairns was the author—probably the most important measure which became law—has removed the chief obstacles and restrictions in dealing with entailed estates.

The extent to which the time of the Lower House had been wasted by the obstructive proceedings of a comparatively small body of members, made it evident that the rules of procedure required to be amended and extended, and the Government resolved to hold an autumn session for that purpose. The Parliament accordingly reassembled on the 24th of October, and though efforts were made to introduce other questions, the ministers adhered steadfastly to their promise that they would deal with the new rules of procedure alone. The debates were protracted and keen, no less than thirteen days were spent on the first rule, which proposed to give the Chairman of Ways and Means as well as the Speaker the right of closing a discussion. An amendment proposing to reserve the power to the Speaker alone, was rejected by 202 votes to 144. A proposal to exempt proceedings in a Committee of Supply from the operation of the resolution was also negatived, as was an attempt to enact that the Speaker or Chairman should put the closure in operation only at the request of a minister of the Crown, or of the member in charge of the bill. Various other amendments were made and rejected by large majorities; but the main struggle between the two political parties was respecting the constitution of the majority by which a debate was to be closed. So important was this question reckoned, that a preliminary meeting of the Conservative party was held to consider the manner in which the contest should be protracted. It was moved by Mr. Gibson, one of their leaders, that the vote of two-thirds of those present should be required to make the closure operative. Mr. Gladstone in reply declared that a two-thirds majority closure system would not only be inefficient, but would be worse than no closure at all. For small minorities the rule provided ample securities, and to gag a large minority was absolutely impossible. The amendment was rejected by 322 to 288—a majority nearly double that which had been predicted, although half-a-dozen 'pure Whigs' and three or four prominent Radicals voted in the minority.

The various amendments thus proposed

having been defeated, Sir Stafford Northcote moved the rejection of the first resolution as it now stood. For three days the debate dragged its slow length along. At length, on the fifth day (10th November), a division was taken, and the rule was adopted by 306 votes against 262. The minority included nearly all the Parnellites and four English Liberals. None of the Scottish Liberal members were found among them.

Two days were devoted to the discussion of the second resolution, which was intended to put a stop to the constantly increasing practice of moving the adjournment of the House during 'question time,' in order to provoke an irregular discussion on some point of ministerial conduct or policy. Various modifications were made upon the new rule, the most important of which was that any member stating that he desired, with the leave of the House, to discuss a matter of urgent importance, should be allowed to do so, on condition that forty members rose in their places to support the proposal. Other rules were adopted authorizing the Speaker or Chairman, on motions of adjournment, to confine the debate strictly to the motion, and to silence a member for continued irrelevance and tedious repetition. It was agreed to exempt motions for leave to bring in bills, and bills which had passed through Committee, from the operation of the rule which prevented opposed bills from coming on for discussion after half-past 12 o'clock; and it was decided that the notice of opposition, signed by one member, should be valid only for a week, though it might be renewed. The power intrusted to the Speaker and Chairman of suspending members for wilful and persistent obstruction was confirmed and made more stringent, but a restriction was put upon collective suspension, which had been exercised by the Chairman in July in a manner that had produced a good deal of unpleasant feeling on all sides of the House. It was agreed that suspension should be for a week for the first offence, a fortnight for the second, and a month for the third. The Speaker was also empowered to refuse to put a motion for an adjournment, when he was of opinion that it was 'an abuse of the rules of the House.'

After the new rules of procedure had been discussed and adopted, Mr. Gladstone submitted to the House his project of appointing two Grand Committees for the consideration of all legal and commercial bills. Each committee was to be composed of not less than sixty and not more than eighty members, but twenty were to be a quorum; their proceedings were to be public, and all bills referred to them and reported to the House were to be proceeded with as if reported by a committee of the whole House. The experiment, which was agreed to, was to be limited to one session. Although the autumn session was held for the special and sole purpose of adopting the new rules of procedure, the irrepressible Home Rulers contrived to bring on a discussion on the working of the Irish Land Act, which was declared by them to be a practical failure owing to the limited period of grace allowed to the tenant for the payment of the rent for 1881. They asserted that the Healy clauses of the Act were not carried out, that the farmers were consequently losing thousands a week, that the Bright clauses did not work, that unfair leases were not declared void, and they demanded that reductions of rent should date from the passing of the Act, and that costs should be given where rack-renting was proved. The inaccuracy of the statements made by the Parnellites and the unreasonableness of their demands were fully exposed by Mr. Trevelyan, the Irish Secretary, and the House turned a deaf ear to the clamorous demands of men whose continual cry, like the daughters of the horse-leech, was 'Give, give.'

The strain of work, after so short an intermission, and the protracted debates of the autumn session, exhausted the energies of several of the leading statesmen on both

sides, and Mr. Gladstone himself at length broke down under the combined pressure of labour and responsibility. Before, however, this untoward result of the autumn session occurred, he had completed the fiftieth year of his parliamentary service (on the 13th of December), and his 'political jubilee' was celebrated with great cordiality and hearty congratulations by the Liberal party. It was now manifest that even the adamantine frame of Mr. Gladstone could not continue to bear the threefold burden of the Premiership, the leadership of the House of Commons, and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. There were also two several provisional arrangements which had to be readjusted. Earl Spencer, while acting as Viceroy of Ireland and a member of the Cabinet, was also nominally President of the Council, and Lord Kimberley had added the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to that of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

After the close of the autumn session there was a new arrangement made of the Cabinet offices, by which the loss of Mr. Bright, Mr. Forster, and the Duke of Argyll was repaired, and the burden of official work more evenly distributed. The Earl of Derby, who had some time before publicly given in his adherence to the Liberal party, entered the Cabinet as Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Hartington was removed to the War Office and Lord Kimberley to the India Office. As Mr. Goschen's views on the extension of the County Franchise prevented him from joining the Ministry, Mr. Childers was appointed to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, at length vacated by Mr. Gladstone. A place in the Cabinet was subsequently found for Sir Charles Dilke by the transfer of Mr. Dobson from the Presidency of the Local Government Board to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Meanwhile, though minor acts of violence had diminished in Ireland, murderous outrages still continued with unabated atrocity. One of the most brutal and shocking of these deeds of blood was perpetrated on 17th August, at Maamtrasna, in the Joyce country, where there had previously been four agrarian murders. A gang of disguised men in the middle of the night forced an entrance into the house of John Joyce, a peasant farmer, and massacred the whole family, consisting of the husband, his wife, aged mother, two sons, and a daughter, with the exception of one of the boys, who recovered, though dangerously wounded. It appears that the murderers had some reason to suspect that the Joyce family knew of the murder of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs, and had given some information regarding that foul deed. Fortunately the assassins had been seen and tracked by three farmers, who afterwards gave evidence which led to the arrest of the gang.

The vigorous measures taken to bring the perpetrators of these atrocious deeds to justice alarmed the desperate confederacy who had planned and carried out the Phœnix Park tragedy, and they took steps to intimidate the persons who might be selected as jurymen on the trials that were coming on at the November Commission, when the Maamtrasna and the Lough Mask murders were to be investigated. Mr. Justice Lawson narrowly escaped the meditated attack of an armed assassin employed by an association which had assumed the name of the Invincibles. A small body of detectives employed in watching suspicious characters were set upon by a gang of armed ruffians, and one of them was killed. Mr. Field, a juror on the trial of a man named Welsh, who was executed for the murder of a policeman at Letterfrack, was attacked by assassins at the door of his own house, in the dusk of the evening, stabbed several times, and left for dead, but he fortunately recovered in the end from his injuries.

In spite of these dastardly attempts to intimidate jurors convictions were obtained against the man who was employed to assassinate Mr. Justice Lawson, and he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude,

and against the brutal murderers of the Joyce family at Maamtrasna. Three of them were found guilty, condemned to death, and executed on the 15th of December. Five others pleaded guilty, but the penalty of death pronounced upon them was commuted by the Lord-Lieutenant. Convictions were also obtained, though not without a second trial, in the case of the Huddies at Lough Mask. Two men named Higgins, and a third named Michael Flynn, were charged with this murder, on the evidence of an informer, and Flynn and one of the Higginses were condemned and executed.

Notwithstanding all the concessions made by the Imperial Parliament the Home Rulers still contended that it had failed to conciliate Ireland, or to satisfy the just demands of that country. A National Conference was held in Dublin on the 17th October, for the purpose of forming an organization which should unite in one body all sections of the Irish party, whether Nationalists, Land Leaguers, or Home Rulers. The new confederacy was styled 'The Irish National League,' and its objects, as stated by Mr. Parnell, were—'National self-government, land-law reform, local self-government, extension of the parliamentary and municipal franchises, and the development and encouragement of the labour and industrial interests of Ireland.' At first the proposed new organization seemed likely to cause a split among the Home Rulers. Mr. Parnell and his immediate friends were in favour of persevering in parliamentary action, and wished in the meantime to make peasant proprietorship the basis of their demands. Mr. Michael Davitt, followed by another section, was for far more violent measures, and was an enthusiastic advocate of the nationalization of the land. At the Dublin conference these conflicting views almost led to an open rupture, but in the end Mr. Davitt had to yield to the superior influence of Mr. Parnell, and for a time the appearance of disunion among the party was averted. The difference of policy, however, led to a split among the National Irish in the United States, and the *Irish World* and its followers warmly espoused Mr. Davitt's actions and fiercely assailed Mr. Parnell and his parliamentary adherents.

Towards the close of 1882 the Irish executive resolved to take proceedings against several of the leading Home Rulers, who had been making violent attacks on the Government and the Legislature. The first of the offenders dealt with was Mr. Biggar, who had made a characteristic and scurrilous attack at Waterford upon the Lord-Lieutenant and the Dublin jury who returned a verdict of guilty against the murderer Hynes. He was brought before the Waterford Sessions on the 2nd of January, and committed for trial at the Spring Assizes. The authorities, however, seem to have felt that there was no hope of obtaining a verdict against the Belfast provision dealer, and after allowing him to find and give securities, they dropped the prosecution. They dealt more severely with Mr. Healy, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. Quin, the Secretary of the National League. All three had addressed harangues to public meetings of the most violent and inflammatory kind, and were in consequence summoned before the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland, and after being heard in defence of their speeches, were ordered to give bail for their good behaviour or to go to prison for six months. They of course refused to obey the order of the court, being well aware that their giving the securities required would have discredited them in the estimation of their followers, while, on the other hand, their imprisonment was certain to add largely to their popularity and influence in the country. They were consequently locked up in Kilmainham Prison, and were of course regarded as martyrs in the National cause.

At this time, too, Mr. William O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, was committed for trial for 'a false, malicious, and seditious libel,' in an attack upon the Government of Earl Spencer, asserting that the Lord-

Lieutenant had bribed juries to secure convictions for murder. He had shortly before offered himself a candidate for the small, and by no means immaculate, borough of Mallow. At the general election Mr. Johnson, an Irish Liberal lawyer, was elected for that borough by a considerable majority over his Conservative opponent. On the formation of Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Johnson was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland; his re-election for Mallow was opposed by a Home Rule candidate, who, however, received a considerably smaller number of votes than the Conservative had polled at the previous election. At the commencement of 1883 Mr. Johnson was raised to the bench, Mallow again became vacant, and Mr. Naish, the new Solicitor-General, offered himself to the constituency. The Home Rulers started an opposition candidate in the person of Mr. O'Brien, one of the most extreme and violent members of their party. His committal, aided by the most open intimidation, secured his election. Flagrant as was his offence the trial came to nothing, owing to the disagreement of the jury.

Among the social events of the year may be noted the attempt on the life of the Queen. On the 2nd of March, as she was entering her carriage at Windsor station, she was fired at by a half-crazed creature named Roderick Maclean, who was at once arrested, brought to trial, and condemned to penal servitude. Fortunately neither the Queen nor anyone else was injured. This incident was followed by Her Majesty's visit to Mentone for much-needed quiet and rest. Soon after her return Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, was married at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, to the Princess Helen of Waldeck. This splendid ceremony was succeeded by one of more popular interest—the formal dedication of Epping Forest, secured from further 'inclosure' by the exertions of the corporation of London, to the use and enjoyment of the people. The Queen's appearance in state on this occasion, and again much later in the year, when she reviewed in St. James's Park the troops returned from the Egyptian expedition, was surpassed in the imposing effect of magnificent costume and applauding multitudes by her Majesty's visit to the Royal Courts of Justice, which were opened formally on the 4th of December. On this occasion Lord Chancellor Selborne was advanced to the rank of Earl, and the honour of knighthood was conferred upon the Treasurers of the various Inns of Court.

It was noted that the record of 'Death's doings' during the year 1882 was more than ordinarily long, and contained the names of more celebrated persons in politics, science, and literature, and in the clerical and legal professions, than almost any of its predecessors.

The year 1882 had been remarkable for a succession of unexpected and stirring events in the domain of politics, foreign as well as domestic. It closed amid anxiety mingled with hope that commercial depression was about to be largely alleviated, if not entirely removed, that the state of Ireland would no longer absorb so large a portion of the attention both of the Parliament and the public, and that effective steps would be taken to solve the pressing questions of municipal reform and overtake reform of bankruptcy legislation, of local self-government, and county enfranchisement. These and numerous other measures were discussed during the recess, both by members of the Government and by independent Liberals, and it was made evident that most of them were ripe for settlement. The Premier, on whom the pressure of toil and anxiety had told heavily, went for a few weeks to Cannes, returning with renovated health and strength in time to encounter the labours of the session, though unable to be present at its commencement.

The strain and exhausting work of the autumn session had been seriously felt by the members of the Lower House, and in the confident hope that the new rules of procedure would greatly accelerate business,

and make up for loss of time at the outset, the meeting of Parliament was delayed until the 15th of February. There was a general desire that the session should be devoted to practical and as far as possible undisputed affairs. It was felt that the country needed rest from agitation and constitutional changes, and there were unmistakable signs of gathering discontent among the constituencies of England and Scotland at the manner in which their affairs had been neglected, and their claims to a share of the consideration of the legislature thrust aside in order alternately to conciliate and to coerce the Irish people. It was confidently expected also that legislative progress would be greatly promoted by the vigorous enforcement of the new rules for suppressing obstruction and expediting business. The result unfortunately did not fulfil these expectations. When the session opened the Prime Minister was still absent in the pursuit of health at Cannes, and did not return till the 5th of March. The speech from the throne dwelt with some complacency on the success of the ministerial policy in Ireland and in Egypt, and after noticing the liberal amount of time devoted in recent years in providing for the most urgent needs of Ireland, it pointed out that Parliament must now pay a just regard to the claims of general legislation and of other portions of the United Kingdom. Measures were promised for the promotion of trade and commerce, the suppression of corrupt practices, the conservancy of rivers and the prevention of floods, for securing to tenants compensation for their improvements, the reform of the Scottish Universities, and the regulation of the police in Scotland. Hopes were also held out of an Education Bill for Wales.

A sharp debate took place in the Upper House mainly respecting Ireland and Egypt, but the address was agreed to without any amendment being moved. In the House of Commons Mr. Gorst, one of the four members of the Fourth Party, moved an amendment condemning by implication the Kilmainham transaction; and the Parnellites moved two, one denouncing the Crimes Act, the other recounting all the alleged remaining grievances of Ireland; but all three amendments, and a fourth by Mr. A. Balfour condemning the mode in which the Egyptian affairs had been managed, after protracted discussions were rejected by large majorities. During the debate on Mr. Gorst's amendment, the ex-Secretary for Ireland made a powerful and scathing onslaught upon the Home Rule leader. 'I charge against Mr. Parnell and his friends,' he said, 'that he has allowed himself to continue the leader and avowed chief of an organization which not merely advocated and ostensibly and openly urged the ruin of those who opposed it by "boycotting" them, making life almost more miserable than death, but which prompted or organized outrage and incited to murder. The outcome of the agitation was murder, and Mr. Parnell ought to have known that this would be the natural result; and it is hard to understand how he did not know it, and why he did not separate himself from it altogether, and disavow and denounce it.' Whether or not the member for Cork inquired into the actions of those with whom he was associated, 'he was and is responsible for them; and the only ground on which he can escape responsibility is utter ignorance of their conduct; and if there was utter ignorance, it was a careless and, I may say, a reckless ignorance.' Mr. Forster proceeded to quote from the Nationalist newspapers violent speeches by the organizers or officials of the League, which he said were nothing less than incitements to murder. He also read passages of a similar tendency from the *Irish World*, whose subscriptions were the backbone of the League, and extracts from the *United Ireland*, of which Mr. Parnell and Mr. M'Carthy, another Home Ruler, were proprietors, in which murder, arson, attacks on women, and other similar atrocities were described as incidents of the campaign, and 'indications of

the spirit of the country.' 'No wonder that from such an agitation as this has followed the first political assassination that has disgraced our annals for hundreds of years. There is abhorrence of it in England and Scotland.'

The opening of the seventh night of the discussion was looked forward to with much interest, as it was universally felt that the explicit and straightforward challenge which Mr. Forster had given to the head of the Land League demanded an equally frank reply, which, however, it did not receive. Mr. Parnell made no attempt to deal with the grave accusations brought against him by Mr. Forster, but contented himself with attempting to refute some minor charges and with heaping scurrilous abuse upon the ex-Secretary. The almost unanimous opinion of the House and the public was, that by his passing over in silence the challenge made to him Mr. Parnell had virtually confessed that he had connived at the outrages perpetrated in Ireland; that he had never used his influence even to prevent murders when the opportunity offered; that he had deliberately closed his eyes and ears to what was done by the League, of which he was the head, and was content to profit by the terrorism practised in his name. These reiterated and protracted discussions delayed the voting of the Address till the 1st of March.

A long and keen discussion took place respecting the policy of the Government in South Africa, the affairs of the Transvaal, and the barbarous and dishonest behaviour of the Boers towards the natives, but it led to no definite result. The Bankruptcy Bill was read a second time before Easter, and referred to the Grand Committee on Trade, consisting of sixty-four members, presided over by Mr. Goschen, and the Patents Bill followed on the 16th of April. Both these measures were in charge of Mr. Chamberlain, who, says the *Times*, 'displayed in his conduct of them not only ability and zeal, but much tact and sound sense.' No division was challenged in either case. The object of the Bankruptcy Bill was to secure an independent examination into all the circumstances of an insolvency, and it was proposed to transfer to the Board of Trade the powers hitherto vested in the judge of bankruptcy. The measure was fully and candidly discussed in the Grand Committee, and various concessions were made which satisfied objectors. The bill passed through the House of Lords almost without debate. The Patents Bill, which provided for the encouragement and protection of inventors, especially by the reduction of fees, made much more rapid progress both through the Lower House and the standing committee, and also passed without discussion in the House of Lords.

While the Parliament was thus engaged in the consideration of measures for the promotion of trade and commerce and the social welfare of the country, a series of remarkable trials at Dublin were absorbing the interest of the community. On the 15th of January a sudden and mysterious raid was made on various houses in the Irish metropolis, which resulted in the arrest of no less than seventeen persons charged with conspiracy to murder certain Government officials. Most of the accused were persons in humble life; but one of them, named James Carey, was a tradesman in comfortable circumstances. Two days later other three men were arrested. Attempts were made on behalf of a number of the prisoners to obtain bail, but it was in every case steadily refused.

The news of these arrests created great excitement throughout the country, and an earnest hope was expressed 'that there was at length a probability of securing the clue to a series of atrocious crimes perpetrated with a cold-blooded deliberation and remorseless purpose not easily paralleled, save among the fanatics of Nihilism.' This hope was speedily realized. As usual among Irish conspirators, one of their number, a labourer and an old Fenian, named

Robert Farrell, turned informer. His evidence, which was of a most startling nature, made known the existence of a treasonable organization, inside of which there was another gang selected from the larger body for the express purpose of assassinating Government officials and other persons obnoxious to the society. The arrangements were made with great ingenuity and cunning. The members of the inner circle were not acquainted with the main body of their associates. Each man only knew the person who introduced him and administered to him the oath of membership, and who was known as his 'right,' and another, who was introduced by himself, was styled his 'left.'

One main object of this inner circle was to assassinate the Chief-Secretary, Mr. Forster. Several plots in succession were concocted for that purpose, but in every instance they failed in consequence of some unforeseen occurrence. At one time the preconcerted signal was bungled, and repeatedly the conspirators were foiled by a mistake respecting the hour at which Mr. Forster's carriage would pass the spot where they lay in wait for him. Even when Mr. Forster resigned his office, and was about to take his leave of Ireland, yet another plot was formed for his assassination, which, on account of an unexpected alteration in the time of his leaving, failed also.

Another informer of the name of Lamie gave evidence involving other four of the prisoners in this dastardly plot, and also described the manner in which vigilance committees were formed to see that the orders of the leaders of the association were carried into effect.

While these revelations were proceeding it was whispered that the police were in possession of information which would bring home to the persons in custody the murders in the Phœnix Park; and so it proved. On the 3rd of February evidence on this point was commenced, and was read with thrilling interest by the whole community, especially in England and Scotland.

Several witnesses identified Brady, O'Brien, and M'Caffrey as having been seen in the park on the evening of the murder, and Brady as one of the men seen on a car which passed out of the Chapelizod Gate. At this stage Kavanagh, one of the prisoners—a car-driver—turned informer, and stated that on 6th May, 1882, he drove Brady, Kelly, and two other men whom he did not know, but one of whom he identified as Patrick Delaney, to the Phœnix Park, where they found James Carey; that it was Carey who gave the signal for the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke by raising a white handkerchief. Kavanagh testified that he saw the murder committed by the men whom he had brought to the spot. After the perpetration of the bloody deed they got on again to his car, and he drove off as rapidly as possible, returning to the city by a roundabout way. He also declared that on the night when Mr. Field was attacked he drove Brady and Daniel Delaney to Hardwicke Street, where they met Kelly and Hanlon, and after the assault he drove Brady and Kelly away.

The net was evidently closing fast around the prisoners, and two of the most prominent of their number, Carey and Curley, offered to give evidence against their associates. Though the authorities must by this time have been aware that Carey was the worst of the lot, his offer was preferred, because he was able to lay bare the whole organization and machinery of the murderous gang. He was in a superior position in life to his associates in crime, and a councillor of the Dublin corporation. He had joined the Fenians in 1861, and was a prominent member of that association until 1878. He had been arrested under the old Coercion Act on suspicion of being concerned in an outrage in Dublin. This was quite sufficient to recommend him to the favour of the Home Rulers of that city, and when on his release he became a candidate for a

seat in the Town Council, he was elected by a very large majority over a Liberal and Roman Catholic opponent. In 1881, when the Invincibles were formed of men drawn from the Fenian ranks, Carey became the leader of this new association. He admitted that he had persuaded other men to join the society, had arranged all the details of the Phœnix Park assassination, and had given the signal to the men by whom the bloody deed was perpetrated. He asserted, however, that the real head of the organization was a person whose identity was carefully concealed, whose name he never knew, but who was always called No. 1, and that it was by this man that Mr. Burke was selected to be the victim, after the attempts on Mr. Forster had failed, and he and Earl Cowper had resigned. It was made evident that the under-secretary's life was aimed at because he was regarded as the most formidable enemy of the Fenian and other secret societies. Lord Frederick, who was personally unknown to the assassins, was murdered simply because he had happened to join Mr. Burke, and was in his company when the attack was made upon him.

The trial of the murderous gang began in April. The evidence against Brady, Curley, and Fagan was conclusive. Kelly also was found guilty, though in his case the jury twice disagreed. All four were sentenced to death. So were M'Caffrey and Delaney. The sentence of the latter was commuted to penal servitude for life; the other five were hanged. Mullet and Fitzharris were condemned to penal servitude for life, and the remaining prisoners to various periods of penal servitude.

Carey declared that some of the subordinate members of the Land League were concerned in the Phœnix Park murders, and though there was no evidence to show that there was any direct connection between the two organizations, there were strong grounds for suspicion that the money with which the Invincibles were supplied came from the Land League treasury. A man named Sheridan, who was implicated by Carey's evidence, turned out to be the person who, in connection with what was termed the Kilmainham Treaty, Mr. Parnell proposed should be permitted to return to Ireland, as he would be able to assist him in putting down conspiracy and pacifying the country. He was a released 'suspect,' against whom the Government had at that time a fresh warrant, and who, under various disguises, had eluded the police, coming backwards and forwards from Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, to the outrage-mongers in the West. He succeeded in making good his escape to the United States. True bills were found by the Dublin grand jury against Sheridan and two other persons who had been in close relations with Carey—Walsh and Tynan—the latter being identified with the mysterious No. 1. There was no chance however of obtaining their extradition from the American Government.

The whole conduct of Carey in connection with the murders, and the cool effrontery with which he gave evidence against the men who were his tools, made him the object of general abhorrence. He was, of course, regarded with malignant hatred by the whole body of the Land Leaguers and Fenians. No one but himself doubted that he would have been torn in pieces if he had appeared in the streets of Dublin. The authorities therefore detained him for some time in Kilmainham prison, apparently against his will, for he seemed to have so little notion of his danger, and of the light in which he was generally regarded, that he wrote letter after letter to the Town Council announcing that he intended soon to take his seat among them again. He expressed great indignation against the Irish authorities for their refusal to give him any reward for his evidence. He at length consented to leave the country, and was sent off secretly under an assumed name, along with his wife and children, to South Africa. But while at sea, between the Cape and Natal, he was shot dead by a man named O'Donnell, who was brought

to England, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed early in December.

So completely was the country pervaded by a murderous spirit that even Ulster did not escape the infection. A conspiracy was entered into there, scarcely less deadly than that of Dublin, for the purpose of assassinating a number of the local landlords against whom umbrage had been taken. The conspirators, however, were betrayed by one of their number, named Patrick Duffy, who turned informer. Twelve of them were brought to trial and were all found guilty. Ten were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude; of the remaining two the one was awarded seven, the other five years' imprisonment.

The punishment of the north of Ireland conspirators was followed by the prosecution of Mr. Edward Harrington, editor of the *Kerry Sentinel*, for the issue of a seditious proclamation, alleged to emanate from the Invincibles, calling upon the people to assemble in a specified place for the purpose of being sworn in; and threatening those who refused with the fate of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The document was anonymous and had no printer's name attached to it; but it was traced to the office of the *Kerry Sentinel*, whose proprietor, Mr. Timothy Harrington, brother of the editor, had been sentenced to imprisonment in the preceding year for a seditious speech which he had delivered. The editor of the *Sentinel* and his foreman were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and two compositors to two months' imprisonment each.

An incident which occurred at this time threw an instructive light on the state of feeling in Ireland. A subscription had been set on foot, for the purpose of rewarding Mr. Parnell for his services, and had been promoted by Archbishop Croke of Cashel and the priests in his diocese. The Vatican regarded the movement with strong disapprobation. Dr. Croke received a rebuke for his activity in this affair, and a letter was addressed by the Roman pontiff to the Irish bishops discountenancing the projected subscription in the most uncompromising terms. The Nationalists, however, in the most peremptory and indignant manner, refused to obey the papal injunction, and its only effect was to stimulate the efforts of the party to increase the amount of the tribute to the Home Rule leader, which ultimately reached the sum of £38,000.

The attempts to overawe the Government and the Legislature by means of murderous outrages were not confined to Ireland; the allies of the Home Rulers made several attempts to transfer their operations to England and Scotland. Simultaneous efforts were made in the spring to blow up the Local Government buildings and the office of the *Times*. Similar attempts were made in Glasgow and other places, which were fortunately unattended with loss of life. For some time the perpetrators of these dastardly outrages escaped detection, but at length, by the skilful exertions of the police, a secret manufactory of nitro-glycerine was discovered at Birmingham, and evidence was obtained of the proprietor's communications with a number of men, chiefly Irish Americans, who had been arrested in London, Glasgow, and elsewhere, with explosives in their possession. These discoveries excited great alarm throughout the country, and Parliament lost no time in taking measures to protect society. As the Explosives Act of 1875, in spite of its stringency, had been found powerless to stop the illicit manufacture of nitro-glycerine, the Home Secretary brought in a bill to amend the existing law. The danger, he said, which Parliament had now to face from the enemies of society—the pirates of the human race—was known to everybody, and he could assure the House that it was grave and imminent. The front line of defence was the police, to whose splendid services he paid a well-merited tribute of confidence and admiration, and the second was the penalties of

the law. The danger was great, and must be dealt with at once, and by the strong hand. This feeling was shared by both sides of the House, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed with all the stages of the Bill at once. The Bill was then brought in, read a first and second time, passed through Committee, read a third time, and sent up to the Lords, the whole proceedings having lasted only an hour and a half.

The Peers had been kept together in the Upper House beyond their accustomed hour of separation, discussing in a very lifeless manner the Ilbert Bill, until the arrival of the Explosives Act Amendment Bill from the other House. It was passed by the Lords with equal promptitude, although two or three of the Peers criticised the wide scope of the interpretation clause and found fault with the permanent character of the measure. The standing orders having been suspended, the bill went through its various stages in a single sitting, and the royal assent was given to it next day (10th April).

When the trial of the persons arrested on suspicion of their connection with the explosives project came on, one of the prisoners, named Norman, turned informer, and five of the others, convicted of having planned the destruction of several public buildings, of having brought over friends from America for the purpose, and of having explosives in their possession ready for use, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. A similar conspiracy at Glasgow was afterwards brought to light, and the criminals were tried, convicted, and punished at Edinburgh.

The Government, in fulfilment of their promise, brought in a Relief Bill, allowing any member to make a simple affirmation instead of taking an oath if he should think fit to do so; but the motion for the second reading was defeated by a majority of 3—289 having voted for, and 292 against it.

After the rejection of the Affirmation Bill and the Whitsuntide holidays, the Government days during the month of May were chiefly devoted to the consideration of the estimates. But the most important measures of the session had still to be disposed of. The London Municipality Bill was postponed, and afterwards abandoned. A controversy arose respecting the respective claims of the Agricultural Holdings Bill and the Corrupt Practices Bill to precedence. The latter was preferred, though not without a good deal of opposition. The bill was read a second time on the 4th of June, and the House went into committee upon it on the 7th. The debates on the various clauses were long and dreary, and occupied nearly the whole time of the House throughout the month of June and the first thirteen days of July, though no questions of general interest had arisen during the discussion. The principle of the restriction of expenditure upon elections to a fixed amount was not contested, but the proposal to throw the expenses upon the rates was resisted by Mr. Gladstone as a breach of faith with the Opposition, and was rejected by 247 to 80 votes. The Home Rule party strove, without success, to exclude Ireland from the operation of the Act. A prolonged debate took place respecting 'undue influence.' Although declared to be a corrupt practice, it was left undefined in the original draft of the bill, and the Home Rule leader protested against the attachment of the severe penalties of the bill to an offence so vague, and of which the punishment would vary with the bias of the judges. The Attorney-General consented to substitute for the general words of the existing law a definition which would include spiritual as well as temporal injury in the acts of intimidation to be punished. The new clause declared that 'every person who shall directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, make use of, or threaten to make use of, any violence or restraint, or inflict or threaten to inflict, by himself or by any other person, any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm, or loss,'

would be regarded as having been guilty of using undue influence.

The penalties for corrupt practices were limited in cases of treating and undue influence to candidates personally implicated. The responsibility of candidates for the illegal acts of their agents was warmly discussed, and the Government at length consented to introduce an equitable clause exempting the judges from the necessity of maintaining a hard-and-fast line. The prohibition of the use of public houses as committee rooms, of the hire of conveyances, of payments for the display of flags and placards, was debated at great length, but was ultimately adopted. In a very thin House, Mr. A. Balfour carried by sixty-nine to twenty-two a clause extending from £50 to £100, the amount which a candidate might personally pay without the intervention of his election agent. The attempt to extend the duration of the Act to 1888 instead of 1884 was negatived without a division. The Bill at length went through committee on the 13th of July, and was read a third time and passed without any change in principle, and with no important modification in details. The measure was very promptly disposed of by the House of Lords. Lord Salisbury noting the fact that the measure was a temporary one, and would have to be revised by fresh legislation, contented himself with pointing out some dangerous provisions which it contained, and prophesying its failure.

The Agricultural Holdings Bill was read a second time on the 29th of May, after a short discussion and without a division. It was avowedly a compromise, and on that account was opposed by the mouthpieces in Parliament of the Farmers' Alliance. The object of the Bill was to entitle tenants to obtain compensation from their landlords on the termination of their tenancies for any improvements they may have made. Compensation for tenants' improvements was recognized as a right inalienable in ordinary cases by contract; the measure of the compensation was to be the value of the improvement to the incoming tenant. The landlord's consent was required for the execution of permanent improvements, such as 'the erection or enlargement of buildings, the laying down of permanent pasture, the making and planting of osier beds, the making of water meadows or works of irrigation, the making of gardens, the making or improving of roads or bridges, the making or improvement of watercourses, ponds, wells, or reservoirs, and of works for supply of water for agricultural or domestic purposes, the making of fences, the planting of hops, the planting of orchards, the reclaiming of waste land, and the warping of land.' Temporary improvements, among which were specified the boning and chalking of land, liming, marling, and the application to land of artificial or other purchased manures, could be carried out without the consent of the landlord. For drainage, which was placed in a class by itself, the tenant was required to give notice to the landlord, with the option to the latter of executing the work himself, and charging interest on the outlay. The mode of procedure for ascertaining the amount of compensation was to be arbitration, with a reference in the last resort to the County Court. Existing contracts were brought under the operation of the Bill, but only in a modified form. Compensation for improvements already executed was not to be payable except in the case of temporary improvements, for which the tenant would not be entitled to any compensation under contract, custom, in the Act of 1875. 'Distress' was not altogether abolished, but the sum for which a landlord might distrain was reduced to one year's rent, and the distress was not to be made on live stock taken in to graze, or on agricultural machinery which had been hired.

The representatives of the Farmers' Alliance denounced both the English and the Scottish bills, which they declared fell far short not only of their expectations, but of the declarations made by some members

of the Cabinet. The Government, represented by Mr. Dobson and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, steadily refused, however, to recognize the claim of the 'sitting tenant' to compensation. On the other hand an amendment, moved by Mr. A. Balfour, limiting compensation to the amount of the actual outlay, was carried against Ministers by a majority of 141 to 133, though it was reversed on the report. The Bills were regarded by the public with satisfaction, and accepted as a reasonable and moderate compromise by the landed proprietors as a body, both Liberal and Conservative. They were read a third time without opposition or even debate. When they were sent up to the House of Lords they were read a second time (August 7), in spite of the opposition of the Earl of Wemyss and a few zealous supporters of free contract. But in committee Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Argyll, and others, joined in carrying a series of amendments which greatly restricted the operation of the English Bill and tended to defeat its object.

When the Bill was sent back to the Commons the Government yielded on one or two of the alterations made on it, and especially accepted, with some modification, the Duke of Richmond's amendment, that in estimating the value of any improvement there should not be taken into account, as part of the tenant's improvement, what was justly due to the inherent capabilities of the soil; but they refused to acquiesce in the stipulations that a specific agreement existing at the commencement of the Act between landlord and tenant was to bar compensation; that the interest charged on advances for drainage was to be £4 per cent., not £3; that the landlord was to be entitled to compensation for waste committed within seven years of the termination of the tenancy; that the tenant, in respect of manures during the last year of his tenancy, was not to be limited by the average of similar expenditure during the three preceding years; that the right of distraint was to be extended to two years, and that holdings of less than two acres were to be excluded from the bill. As it was evident that the Government were determined to adhere to their resolution not to accept these changes on the measure, the Upper House abandoned practically all the amendments which the Lower House had refused to adopt, except one moved by Lord Salisbury on the second clause—the ostensible effect of which was to deprive of the right of compensation tenants who had undertaken, by express or implied agreement, and in consideration of a reduction of rent, to make improvements themselves. The division resulted in a tie—forty-eight Peers voting on each side. According to the custom of the House, the Lord Chancellor, who had previously voted with the Government, now voted with Lord Salisbury against the motion disapproving of the amendment. Lord Salisbury's amendment was then put as a substantive motion, and the arrival of Lord Gerard, a Conservative and Roman Catholic Peer, caused it to be carried by a majority of one. Its eventual rejection, however, was certain. The stanchest Conservatives and the truest friends of the landed interest protested against any course which would place the Bill in jeopardy. The Commons again refused to accept it; and on the second return to the Upper House, the leader of the Opposition declined to carry his resistance any further, and the Bill passed in the form in which the House of Commons had sent it back to the House of Lords.

Several non-political measures were dealt with in the course of the session. The Grand Committee on Law, presided over by Mr. Sclater-Booth, reported the Criminal Appeal Bill to the House on May 30, with the amendments made in committee, but it had ultimately to be abandoned by the Government. So had the Criminal Code Bill, which was read a second time on the 12th of April. This measure, which was of vast extent, embodied the recommendations of the Royal Commission in regard

to procedure. The Home Rulers violently opposed it, alleging that it introduced sweeping changes into the law, and they especially condemned the employment of the continental practice of examining suspected persons. Their hostile amendments were rejected by overwhelming majorities, but the Standing Committee, now under the chairmanship of Sir M. W. Ridley, could not take up the Bill till it was manifestly too late to work through 130 clauses and over 400 amendments in time to carry the measure through the remaining stages in both Houses. After a few sittings of the committee, it became evident that it would be a waste of time to attempt to proceed with the Bill, and a special report to this effect was made to the House.

The Government were, however, more fortunate with their National Debt Bill, which provided for a system of terminable annuities on the lapse of those expiring in 1885, to absorb for twenty years to come the margin between the actual interest charge of the debt and the permanent debt charge of £28,000,000. The important effect of the bill was, that if it became law, it would put it out of the power of any future Government to tamper with the fund created in 1875. By the arrangement then made, the annual service of the debt was fixed at £28,000,000, a sum each year becoming more and more in excess of the requirements of the interest. By 1885 the interest of the debt would be reduced to £22,500,000. With the permanent surplus of £5,500,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to create new annuities which, falling in from time to time, would operate almost automatically and permanently towards the reduction of the debt, of which upwards of £170,000,000 would be liquidated, with the prospect of a refunding operation. The scheme was strongly opposed by many members on both sides of the House, who pleaded that it was neither fair nor politic to set apart each year so large a sum, which might be more profitably devoted to the relief of taxation.

In the debates on the Address, unabashed by the revelations of Carey and the challenge thrown out to them by Mr. Forster, the Home Rule members assailed the Government for declining to give up the greater part of the time of Parliament to Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's patience, however, was exhausted, and he refused to discuss a Bill brought in by Mr. Parnell reopening the questions settled by the Land Act. The committee of the Upper House appointed to inquire into the working of the Land Act issued a final report, severely censuring its administration. The debate which followed upon this report showed that the views of the Government and the Opposition upon this subject were totally irreconcilable.

The Irish Police Bill, founded upon the Report of the Royal Commission, had to be withdrawn in consequence of the violent opposition of the Home Rulers. They successfully urged the advancement in its stead of the Irish Registration Bill, which was opposed by the Conservatives as being substantially a measure for extending the franchise, and was rejected by the Upper House. A coalition of the Irish members compelled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give his assent to a Loan for Fisheries Bill and to the Tramways Bill, for constructing, with the aid of a State guarantee, tramways and light railways in Ireland, 'and for other purposes.' The emigration proposal contained in this Bill was strongly opposed by the Parnellites, and in order to pacify them a grant was made for an alternative and experimental scheme of 'migration.' These concessions, however, left the enemies of the connection with Great Britain as clamorous as ever. Mr. Trevelyan, who, by his good temper and tact, had managed to keep his assailants at bay through the session, was informed that 'he had treated the Irish members as his enemies, and he could not expect them to treat him otherwise than as their enemy in

that House.' Mr. Gladstone condescended to expostulate with Mr. Healy on his using deliberately such inflammatory language, but all in vain. He was told in reply that 'war between the two countries was only prevented by physical force, and the Irish members were only able to express by their speeches the hatred they felt towards their rulers.' There could be no doubt, however, that the Home Rulers were aggravated by the gradual disappearance of disaffection in many districts of Ireland through the firm and impartial rule of Earl Spencer.

The question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister has for a good many years excited a great interest in certain circles. It has been repeatedly brought under the notice of the Legislature, but had always met with summary rejection from the Peers. This year, however, it advanced a considerable step on the road to success. Under the skilful management of the Earl of Dalhousie, supported by the whole of the court party, led by the Prince of Wales and his brother, the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords (11th June), by 165 votes to 158, after a very short discussion, in which only four speeches were made in opposition to the measure. Before going into committee (19th June), Lord Dalhousie gave notice of an amendment to legalize marriages celebrated not only in churches, chapels, and registrars' offices, but in any place within the realm; and also of another to make the Act retrospective, placing all who had married in opposition to the existing law on the same footing as those who might take advantage of the permission to be granted by the present Bill. The first proposal was withdrawn, and the second was postponed, at the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom were, however, opposed to the Bill, but were prepared, if it should pass, to support some measure by which the legitimacy of children the issue of marriages already contracted might be secured. The Bill passed through committee with slight and chiefly verbal modifications, and when it was reported to the House Lord Dalhousie's amendment affirming the legality of all marriages of this class contracted previous to the passing of the Act, and the legitimacy of all children born of these marriages, was accepted as satisfactory. At the same time the proposal made by Earl Fortescue, that the clergy should be relieved from penalties for refusing to perform marriages under the Act, was negatived without a division. But when the third reading of the Bill was moved (28th June), the Duke of Marlborough, who took the lead in opposing the measure, moved its rejection partly on the ground of the small majority by which the second reading was carried, but mainly on account of the evils to which he alleged it would lead. He predicted that if it became law the measure would produce a conflict between the law of the land and the law of the church, and would be a step towards destroying the union of church and state. He was supported by the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Chancellor, and the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, and the Bill was rejected by 145 votes to 140. Only two prelates—the bishops of Worcester and Ripon—were favourable to the proposed change of the law.

A subject which excited a great deal of attention and controversy at this period was the state of the Suez Canal. A widespread dissatisfaction had for some time existed on account of the delays, exorbitant charges, mismanagement, and neglect of sanitary precautions on the part of the agents of M. de Lesseps' company; and the loud complaints of the mercantile and shipping interests at length compelled the Government to deal with the question. Negotiations were opened with M. de Lesseps, and various schemes were proposed and discussed with great keenness, but the construction of a second canal across the Isthmus of Suez seemed to meet with the

greatest amount of support. M. de Lesseps, however, claimed the exclusive right to form this canal and to establish a company to work it. But the British people denied that the concession granted to him in 1854 conferred any monopoly, and maintained that even if it had been confirmed by the then Sultan, which it had not been, it was impossible to recognize the right of M. de Lesseps to the whole isthmus in perpetuity. Many questions were asked in the House respecting the course of the negotiations, but the Government refused to furnish any information on the subject. They at length gave an assurance to the representatives of the shipping interest, that before any bargain was concluded with M. de Lesseps the terms should be laid before the House of Commons. On the 11th of July the Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted the heads of an agreement under which the Suez Canal Company were to construct a second canal, as far as possible parallel to the present canal, to make a gradual reduction of the dues, and to admit additional English directors, in consideration of a new and enlarged concession to be obtained by British influence, and the extension of the original concession for as many years as would make a new term of ninety-nine years from the date of the completion of the second canal; and also of a loan from the British Government of £8,000,000 at 3¼ per cent.

The proposed terms were received by the public with mingled surprise and dissatisfaction. British shipowners and merchants saw with alarm the official recognition of M. de Lesseps' claim to a monopoly, which was denied on the highest legal authority, though the opinion of the law officers of the crown was alleged to be in favour of it. Popular feeling ran so strongly against the agreement as to make it clear that should it be pressed the Government would be defeated on the adverse motion of which Sir Stafford Northcote had given notice. On the 23rd of July Mr. Gladstone announced that having regard to the feeling roused by the agreement, it was thought advisable to abandon it. Sir Stafford Northcote, however, taking advantage of some ambiguous references made by the Premier to the claims of M. de Lesseps, took the unnecessary and imprudent step of making a formal motion, declining to admit them, which was rejected by 282 votes against 183. Mr. Norwood, who represented the shipping interest, proposed an amendment reserving entire freedom of action for Britain, and which, being taken as a declaration that the House did not assent to M. de Lesseps' claim of a monopoly, was accepted as sufficient by the Liberal party.

The people of Scotland had long been dissatisfied with the manner in which their affairs had been mismanaged and neglected. The grievance was of long standing and had become chronic. Under all Governments, Conservative and Liberal alike, the result was the same. So far back as the year 1836 Lord Cockburn wrote in strong terms respecting the mode in which the public affairs of Scotland were managed by the Government and the Legislature.

In former times, when the public business of Scotland was small, and there was no independent Scottish public and no self-willed Scottish members, and 'no change' was the avowed and inflexible principle of the Government, matters went on smoothly enough under the rule of some powerful nobleman or statesman, like the Duke of Argyll and Lord Melville, who was held responsible for the peace and contentment of the country. But the case was entirely altered when the whole management of Scottish business in Parliament, and all the patronage of the country, civil, legal, and ecclesiastical, fell into the hands of the Lord Advocate. The aggressions of the permanent officials at Whitehall upon Scottish institutions greatly aggravated the evils of this state of matters. Ireland was allowed to retain her Privy Council, her Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, Chief-Secretary, Commander of the Forces, State

Steward, Comptroller, Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, and other dignified and highly-paid officers. But the corresponding offices in Scotland, such as those of the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Judge Admiral, the Admiral on the North Station, and the Lord Justice General, which might have been rendered highly efficient, were all either abolished or reduced to a mere nominal existence. The Lord Advocate became the only official administrator, dispensing nearly the whole patronage of the country, and the sole ministerial representative of Scotland in Parliament. This had led to the systematic neglect of Scottish legislative questions by the House of Commons, and of administrative affairs by the Government. When legislation is required for Scotland, the Lord Advocate has been almost always left without either encouragement or assistance to carry his measures. In 1877 a conference of Scottish members of Parliament was held in Edinburgh to devise a remedy for the persistent neglect of the affairs of Scotland by the Government and the Legislature, and they came unanimously to the conclusion that the only effectual remedy was to revive the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, with a seat in the Cabinet. But Lord Beaconsfield's Government declined to accede to the recommendation, and Sir Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, proposed instead to appoint another Under-Secretary to assist him in the discharge of his duties in regard to Scotland, and to appropriate the salary of the Lord Clerk Registrar to meet the expense. This proposal, however, being strongly opposed, had to be withdrawn. In January, 1881, a memorial in favour of a Secretary for Scotland was presented to Mr. Gladstone, signed by thirty-three Scottish representatives, including the leading men of both parties. But the Premier, instead of granting the request of the memorialists that a Cabinet minister should be appointed to manage the affairs of Scotland, thought it sufficient to nominate the Earl of Rosebery Under-Secretary in the Home Office, with the charge of Scottish business. Lord Rosebery's great ability, high standing, and personal influence gained a little more attention than was previously given to Scottish affairs, but it was acknowledged on all hands that the scheme had proved a failure. Lord Rosebery resigned his office, and the public business of Scotland fell back into the old rut.

An agitation was immediately renewed in favour of the proposal that the management of the affairs of Scotland should be intrusted to a member of the Government whose position would give him adequate authority to carry his measures into effect. The Ministry were at length constrained to take steps to gratify the public wish; but the bill which they brought in for that purpose, entitled the 'Scottish Local Government Bill,' was quite unsatisfactory, both as regards the position of the proposed Secretary for Scotland and the extent of his powers. 'An official,' said the *Times*, 'was to be called into existence not so big as a Secretary of State, but somewhat bigger than an Under-Secretary. The president of the Scottish Local Government Board was to be provided with a salary which it was understood was to be taken from the office of the Lord Privy Seal.' The bill excited as little enthusiasm as hostility. The Liberal party were prepared to accept it as an instalment, and the Scottish Conservative members acquiesced in it as likely to do some little good and no harm. It passed through the Lower House without opposition, but the Upper House threw it out on the second reading.

For some time the crofters or small tenants in the Highlands and islands of Scotland had been complaining of their position, which entailed upon them great poverty and privation, owing partly to the formation of large sheep farms, partly to the extension of deer forests. Their crofts were too small to maintain a family in comfort, or even to afford an adequate supply of the bare necessaries of life. The crofters were

in many cases rack-rented, and as they had no leases they were entirely at the mercy of their landlords. These complaints were of old standing, but the relief granted to Irish tenants emboldened the Scottish crofters to claim the interference of the legislature on their behalf too. A Royal Commission, of which Lord Napier and Ettrick was chairman, was appointed to make full inquiry into the condition of the Highland crofters and cottars, and after a lengthened and patient investigation on the spot during 1883, they came to the conclusion that their complaints were well founded. They testify that 'through past evictions the Highland crofter has been confined within narrow limits, sometimes [they might with truth have said *often*] on inferior and exhausted soils; that he is subject to arbitrary augmentations of money rent; that his habitation is usually a wretched hut, devoid of comfort and injurious to health; that he suffers from insecurity of tenure, want of compensation for improvements, high rents, defective communication, and withdrawal of the soil for the purposes of sport, until, unless he has a good fishing season, it is impossible for him to live.'

On receiving the report of the commissioners, the Government brought in a bill to redress these grievances, which was fitted to give satisfaction to all reasonable persons, but it had to be withdrawn, along with other Government measures, in 1884. The crofters and cottars were in general a peaceable and law-abiding people, but they were illiterate and ignorant, and had been wrought upon by political adventurers to demand terms which it was impossible to grant. Before the Commission was appointed they had in various instances taken the law into their own hands, had seized lands of adjoining farmers, had refused to pay their rents, had deforced sheriff-officers, and had threatened violence against obnoxious individuals. It became necessary, in consequence, to vindicate the law by imprisoning the law-breakers. The great body of the crofters and cottars, however, notwithstanding the pressure of painful distress, remained patient and quiet in the hope that their sufferings would be speedily redressed by the legislature.

Private members and partisans of sectional interests complained loudly of the monopoly of the time of the House of Commons by the Government during the session of 1883. Their efforts, however, were more than usually successful. Mr. Pell's motion in favour of local taxation, and Mr. Chaplin's in favour of a more stringent exclusion of diseased cattle, were carried against the Government by narrow majorities. Sir Wilfred Lawson's resolution in favour of Local Option, which received for the first time the formal support of the Government, was also successful, and the opponents of the liquor traffic were encouraged to press forward a number of Sunday Closing Bills for different counties, one only of which, the Durham Bill, reached the second reading. Mr. Stansfeld moved his often-repeated resolution condemning the Contagious Diseases Acts, and secured a majority of seventy-two on a division. It was stated during the debate that the Ministers, with only three exceptions, could not remain responsible for these Acts, and it was subsequently announced that the Government, without bringing in a repealing measure, would extinguish them by ceasing to provide for their administration.

The grants proposed to be given to Lords Wolseley and Alcester for their services in the Egyptian campaign met with unexpected opposition. The royal messages recommended in each case annuities of £2000 per annum for two lives; but when the bills for carrying these proposals into effect were brought in, a section of the Liberal members below the gangway, assisted by the Home Rule party, opposed them bitterly, and much time was spent in discussing them when it could be ill spared. Objections were taken both to the nature of the services which the military and the naval officer had rendered, and to the mode and the amount of the reward bestowed

upon them. The applause with which the attacks on the pension bills was greeted by the Liberal party evidently took the Government by surprise, and a concession was made to the opponents of the Bills by substituting in each case a slump sum of £25,000 for an annuity for two lives. The feeling displayed on this occasion makes it probable that in future pecuniary rewards to successful generals and naval commanders will take the form of a slump sum and not of a pension.

Outside Parliament the celebration of Mr. Bright's semi-jubilee at Birmingham (11th to 16th June) was the most imposing political manifestation of the year. Mr. Bright had represented that town for twenty-five years, and for forty years, with a very short intermission, he had sat in Parliament as the spokesman of the Free Trade and advanced Liberal party. He received a most enthusiastic reception from the citizens of Birmingham and the multitudes from the country who crowded the town to do honour to the great tribune of the people. A procession, in which the principal trades of Birmingham were represented, traversed a route of 5 miles, which was densely thronged by the people from all the surrounding districts. At a later period 150 addresses from Liberal associations throughout the country were presented, all of them acknowledging the debt of gratitude which the Liberal party owed to a disinterested, consistent, and eloquent leader. The chiefs of the party of all shades, from Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Granville, took part in one or other of the entertainments of the week, and bore cordial testimony to the claims of Mr. Bright to the gratitude, not only of the party, but of the whole community. The Whig nobleman, Lord Granville, in particular, at the banquet given to the member for Birmingham, made a graceful and sympathetic reference to his former colleague's career, and to his association with Mr. Cobden.

On 13th June Mr. Bright was presented at the Bingley Hall, in presence of 20,000 persons, with his portrait and a magnificent desert service. He availed himself of the opportunity to direct attention to the great benefits which the repeal of the Corn Laws had conferred upon the working classes. The wages, he said, of both the agricultural labourer and the factory hand had doubled since 1843 owing to free trade. He reproached the United States with throwing away their magnificent opportunities of abolishing tariff restrictions. In their unexampled surplus of £30,000,000, however, he saw the doom of a tariff policy; he foresaw the day when their two great political parties would bring to an issue the question of free trade or protection, and did not despair that the outcome of the struggle would be an alliance between the two great free-trade powers of the world—the United States and Great Britain—which would wage a peaceful war upon the tariffs of Europe, and in destroying them render the maintenance of standing armies impossible, because kings and emperors would find themselves powerless to embroil nations whose interests were bound up with the freedom of industry.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Leeds Conference—The Franchise Agitation—Opening of Session 1884—Votes of Censure on Government's Egyptian Policy—Introduction of the Franchise Bill—Successful Passage through the House of Commons—Its Rejection by the Lords—Vote of Credit for the Gordon Rescue Expedition—London Conference on Egyptian Affairs—Death of the Duke of Albany—Recess Agitation regarding the Franchise Bill—Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian—The Autumn Session—The Franchise Bill passed—Compromise on Redistribution—Dynamite Explosions in London—Re-opening of Parliament 1885—Passing of Redistribution Bill—Its Details—The Secretary for Scotland Bill—The Russians and Afghanistan—Attack of the Russians on Penjdeh—Visit of the Ameer to the Indian Viceroy—Threatened Rupture between Britain and Russia—Grant of Eleven Millions for War Preparations—Settlement of the Dispute—The Budget of 1885—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—Formation of Conservative Cabinet—Its Policy—The Election Campaign—Results of General Election 1885—Meeting of Parliament—Defeat and Resignation of Conservative Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's return to Office—His Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills—Division of Opinion—Defeat of the Government—Dissolution and General Election 1886—Its Results—Formation of Conservative Cabinet—Irish Policy—Resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill—Crimes and Land Bills introduced by the Government—Budget of 1887—The Royal Jubilee.

DURING the recess the contest between the Government and the Opposition was transferred from the floor of the House of Commons to the public platform. Both parties evidently felt that the next session would be a critical one. The Conservatives assailed the whole policy of ministers both at home and abroad, blaming especially the management of affairs in Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa. Sir Stafford Northcote undertook a political pilgrimage through Ulster, denouncing the Irish policy of the Government. Meanwhile Lord Salisbury denounced the policy of the Government, both foreign and domestic, in an article which appeared under the title of 'Disintegration' in the *Quarterly Review*. 'The dangers we have to fear,' he said, 'may be roughly summed up in the single word—disintegration.' The concession of Home Rule, as a whole, was impossible, he said, 'even by the advanced section of the Liberals, but under the guise of legitimate indulgences or of carrying out accepted principles, the nation ran the danger of being led into concessions which would make Home Rule inevitable. The air is filled with rumours of new negotiations and successful bargains. Another "deed without a name" is likely to place the Irish vote at the disposal of the Government for the purposes of a Reform Bill. Such complaisance at such a crisis well deserves warm recognition, and it will be duly given in the form of a bill for the establishment of local government in Ireland, which is to be conducted by elective councils. No doubt the day will come when votes will be again in request for a critical occasion, and the entire emancipation, and possibly the consolidation, of these councils will be the price.'

The Liberal leaders had no doubt that they had a valid defence to offer on all the measures assailed by the Conservatives, but they were well aware that a purely defensive position is always more or less a weak one in politics, and they felt that the time had come to lay aside secondary projects of legislation, and to bring forward prominently measures which might be supposed to address themselves more powerfully to popular conviction and sentiment. A conference of the representatives of Liberal organizations was held at Leeds for the purpose of deciding what measures were most urgent and important, and should take precedence in legislation. On the 17th of October upwards of 2500 delegates, representing 500 Liberal associations in all parts of the kingdom, met to express their wishes on this subject. A lengthened discussion took place respecting the expediency of giving the reform of the government of London and a Local Government Bill a prominent place in the legislative programme of the ensuing session. But in the end the meeting was unanimous in thinking that the extension of household suffrage to the counties was a measure of paramount importance, and it was ultimately agreed that

precedence should be given to it by the Government. It was a novel procedure, and one of doubtful propriety, that a conference should thus attempt to usurp a function hitherto zealously guarded by the Cabinet, and a direct resolution was proposed, but failed to obtain the support of the majority of the meeting, that the arrangement of the reform questions should be left to the responsible ministers.

The agitation thus set on foot for the equalization of the franchise in counties and boroughs speedily extended to all parts of the country. The attitude of the Conservative leaders was one of 'cautious observation,' a policy which Sir Stafford Northcote subsequently recommended to his party; but it was not one calculated to produce a striking effect upon public opinion. Even Lord Salisbury in England and Mr. Gibson in Scotland, contented themselves with suggesting difficulties, and insisting that the whole of the proposed scheme should be disclosed before a decisive judgment was demanded upon it from Parliament and the country. Extreme views on this question were expressed by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley, but their opinions did not meet with the approval of the whole Liberal party.

Mr. Goschen, who may be regarded as the representative of the moderate Liberals, in the address which he delivered at Edinburgh on the 31st of October, said he recognized with unfeigned regret that the country, or at least the Liberal section, had made up its mind for a reduction of the county franchise. It was owing, indeed, to his refusal to concur in this measure that he declined a seat in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet. As to redistribution, they were all agreed that there must be a large redistribution, but he was totally opposed to equal electoral districts. His opposition to the demands of the Home Rulers was expressed in very decided terms. Mr. Bright, much to the annoyance of the Advanced Liberals, on the question of 40*s.* freeholders and on property qualifications in general, showed himself at variance with the more Radical section of his colleagues, and was consequently taunted with becoming Conservative in his old age. Mr. Bright's rejoinder was that the British constitution was not based on, and never aimed at, the principle of universal suffrage, and that the aim of every reformer who was not at heart a revolutionist should be to enlarge as far as possible the existing basis of the constitution, and not to substitute some alien foundation.

Mr. Parnell was the first to break silence after the close of the session, and though complimenting the Government for passing several important and highly useful measures for Ireland, he took care to declare emphatically that he regarded them as only an instalment of the measure of self-government which Ireland would ere long obtain. On this point there was, however, no ambiguity of speech on the part of the Advanced Liberals, on whom the Home Rulers seemed at one time to rely for support. Mr. Leatham, brother-in-law of Mr. Bright, spoke out on this subject at Huddersfield with a boldness and firmness which had a very beneficial effect. 'We must persist,' he said, 'in our policy of absolute and unfaltering justice; but, on the other hand, there must be no trifling about the maintenance of the Union. . . Sincerely as I am attached to the Liberal party, and warm as is my allegiance to those who lead it, I would renounce both rather than admit that upon this supreme and cardinal question it was possible to give way. The country which begins to parley with its own dissolution is lost. The obligation to maintain the body politic is vital.'

Political affairs, however, did not entirely engross public interest; there were several social questions which engaged the attention of leaders on both sides. One of the most prominent of these was 'the housing of the poor.' The evils of overcrowding and of unhealthy dwellings had been often pointed out by religious and philanthropic workers among the poor, but little or noth-

ing had been done to remedy this crying evil, and to sweep away the filthy, squalid, and pestiferous hovels—the foci of disease, the nurseries of the gin-shop, the poors-house, and the gaol—which abound in all the large towns of the United Kingdom. At this time, however, the question began to assume a practical shape, and a scheme was proposed by an anonymous writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, of which the principal features were that the municipality should be compelled to undertake improvements declared to be necessary by municipal medical officers of health, or by medical officers appointed by the Government for the purpose; that the municipality should have the right of compulsory purchase; that the price should never exceed ten years' purchase of the rental, and the cost should be met by a tax on the owners of house or real property in the district. A pamphlet entitled 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' written by a missionary working among the poorest districts of that city, aroused public sympathy for the miserable and degraded condition of the masses huddled together in foul and narrow courts and lanes, living in crowded, ill-ventilated, unwholesome dwellings, surrounded by abominations of every kind, destitute alike of physical comfort and of intellectual and moral culture. This appeal was followed by a paper from Lord Salisbury on 'Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings,' which had the effect of directing the attention of statesmen to the subject. His lordship was of opinion that the time was favourable for dealing with this question, since it had not as yet been made the subject of political controversy. He pointed out that new streets, railways, and public buildings, erected under the authority of Parliament, had swept away the dwellings of thousands of the poorer classes, for whom no adequate accommodation had been provided elsewhere. He recommended that, first of all, an inquiry should be made into the extent of the existing evil, and that an endeavour should be made to ascertain how far the earnings of the very poorest can go towards the payment of decent lodgings. He thought loans should be made from the public funds to the Peabody trustees to extend their buildings and to procure fresh sites; that facilities of access to the suburbs should be afforded by all railways, and that all buildings erected on speculation in London and its suburbs should be carefully inspected by sanitary officers. These remedies, however, Lord Salisbury regarded as only palliatives at the best, and he was inclined to think that the ultimate solution of this difficult question would be found in an extension of the system, devised by Miss Octavia Hill, of purchasing the leases of dilapidated buildings inhabited by a dense neglected population, putting the buildings in repair, and endeavouring to induce the tenants, by personal influence, to keep their houses clean and comfortable. The success of the scheme was undeniable, for Miss Hill had managed to reach the very lowest class that had any settled habitation, and had succeeded in improving their condition without increasing their rent. As the returns yielded from 4 to 5 per cent. on the money invested in the scheme, all appearance of charitable relief or eleemosynary aid was carefully avoided.

A question of this kind was not likely to be left long in the hands of any one political party, and Mr. Chamberlain hastened to claim a share of the credit which might accrue from the solution of this perplexing social problem. In an article which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* in December, 1883, on the 'Houses of the Poor,' he claimed for himself the merit of having for years been crying in the wilderness against the apathy in considering the necessities and claims of the poor. With regard to the main remedy for overcrowding, which is the result of the constant migration from the agricultural districts, he argued that no satisfactory settlement of social questions could be possible until the arbitrary and

anomalous system 'by which in England alone, of all great civilized countries, the actual tillers of the soil are practically forbidden even the hope of ownership, has been changed into something humane and sensible.' He contended that the main cause of the failure of previous legislation on this subject was the want of an efficient and thoroughly representative municipal government, intrusted with adequate powers to overcome the opposition of the small house property owners to any form of sanitary improvement; and that nothing would be done until public opinion had considerably advanced on the relative rights of property and the rights of the community, and until Parliament was prepared to recognize the obligations, as well as the privileges of ownership, and to insist that the traffic in misery and vice should no longer be a source of profit to those who aided or assented to its existence. While Lord Salisbury appealed to private charity to remedy the evils referred to, Mr. Chamberlain called for the interference of the State to deal with the authors of the mischief, and asserted that the only solution of this great and important question was to 'throw the expense of making towns habitable for the toilers who dwell in them upon the land which their toil makes valuable, and without any effort on the part of its owners.' On the other hand, Lord Shaftesbury and other distinguished philanthropists practically acquainted with the condition of the poor, protested against the method of proceeding proposed by Mr. Chamberlain, not only as unjust, but as fatal to voluntary effort and the working out of natural remedies. The more drastic remedies suggested for evils deplored by all right thinking persons were looked upon with the more alarm and suspicion, inasmuch as during the year a socialist propaganda advocating the doctrines of 'Land Nationalization' developed in America by Mr. Henry George, had been active and noisy, and had diffused their revolutionary notions widely among the community.

These and other schemes for the promotion of social changes showed that a great revolution had taken place in the public mind, especially among Advanced Liberals, respecting the functions of the Government, and that the popular distrust of State interference, at one time so prevalent among this class, had been almost entirely removed. The legislation on compulsory education, ships and sailors, the prevention of accidents in mines, the limitation of the hours of labour in factories, and the land agitation—all showed that the principle of 'let things alone,' which fifty years ago was strenuously upheld, was now generally renounced. The demand for Government interference was no doubt often inspired by honest aims and an impatient desire for the removal of glaring abuses, but it was attended by serious difficulties and dangers.

In the midst of the widespread agitation for these domestic changes, and continued depression, both of the agricultural and the commercial interests, the year 1883 was brought to a close.

The result of the agitation, which had been carried on with such activity and earnestness during the recess, was to make it evident that the great majority of the Liberal party were in favour of the introduction during the coming session of a bill for equalizing the franchise in counties with that in boroughs. Even Mr. Goschen, who was opposed to the majority of his party on the county suffrage question, addressing his constituents at Ripon (30th of January, 1884), admitted that the question of the suffrage was virtually settled. He would waste no time, he said, in flogging a dead horse, but he wanted some pledge that the Redistribution of Seats Bill should be fully applied to Ireland before giving Mr. Parnell the advantages of the Franchise Bill.

Mr. Goschen, in his reference to Ireland, touched upon a question which was exciting a good deal of anxiety in the Liberal ranks, the propriety of including that country in the proposed franchise bill. Notwithstand-

ing all that had been done for the Irish people they remained as turbulent and disaffected as ever, and to lower the franchise in those circumstances was simply to increase the power of the Home Rulers.

The Government were thus fully forewarned respecting the reception which their intended bill for the reduction of the franchise would meet with from the Opposition.

The fifth session of the tenth Parliament of Her Majesty's reign opened on 6th February, 1884. The Queen's speech announced that measures would be laid before Parliament for the extension of the franchise, the reform of local government, the extension of municipal government to the whole metropolis, and bills relating to the Security of Life and Property at Sea, the Railway Commission, the Repression of Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, the better administration of Scottish business, for the promotion of education, the closing of public-houses on Sunday in Ireland, and the improvement of intermediate education in Wales. As might have been foreseen, only a very small part of this Ministerial programme was carried into effect. No amendment on the address was moved in the House of Lords, but in the House of Commons the Egyptian policy of the Ministry was at once challenged on an amendment to the address moved by Mr. Bourke, condemning the inadequate recognition of Britain's responsibilities and the disastrous results of a vacillating and half-hearted policy. While the debate was proceeding, and before any member of the Government had spoken, the news of the defeat of Baker Pasha at El Teb reached this country, and in the confusion which ensued a division was allowed to be taken without an answer having been given to Mr. Bourke. As might have been anticipated, this sudden collapse of the debate led to a good deal of angry recrimination, but Mr. Gladstone declared that he and his colleagues were as much taken by surprise as the Opposition were by that untoward event, and he threw oil on the troubled waters by promising that full opportunity should be provided for a more complete discussion.

Meanwhile notice had been given in both Houses of a vote of censure on the Government for what was termed their vacillating and inconsistent policy in Egypt, and it was agreed that the debate on the address should be suspended in order that this question should be discussed and the opinion of Parliament ascertained respecting the course which the Ministry had followed in dealing with Egyptian affairs. But, as usual, Irish grievances and the complaints of the Home Rulers stopped the way. An amendment was moved by Mr. Parnell, censuring the Irish Executive for interfering with public meetings, and for leaving unpunished the conduct of Lord Rossmore and the Orange leaders. The accusation was characteristically absurd, for the Orangemen were not less bitter against the Lord-Lieutenant and his advisers for their removal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace on the ground that he had taken an active part in organizing one of the Orange counter-demonstrations against the 'Nationalist Mission' into Ulster, which led to serious riots. Mr. Trevelyan, on behalf of the Government, showed that political and agrarian crime had greatly diminished, that rents were well paid, and that the tone of public meetings had been greatly improved. He explained the principles on which the Irish government had acted in prohibiting and permitting meetings, five having been permitted for every one prohibited, and showed that they had endeavoured to hold the balance even between the two hostile parties. Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by a great majority.

On the 13th of February Lord Salisbury proposed a vote of censure on the Government for their alleged mismanagement of Egyptian affairs. After a keen debate, in which the proceedings of ministers were attacked by Earl Cairns, Lord Dunraven,

and Lord Cranbrook, and defended by the Lord Chancellor, Earl Derby, and Lord Kimberley, the motion was carried by 181 votes to 81, a number of Liberal peers voting in the majority. On the same day Sir Stafford Northcote moved the resolution of which he had given notice, declaring that the 'recent lamentable events in the Soudan' were due to the hesitation and inconsistency of the Government. He contended that ministers had adopted a wrong policy, and had refused to strengthen the Egyptian army in the Soudan, to counsel the Egyptian Government, and to overrule their proceedings in respect to the Soudan. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, pointed out the discrepancy between Sir S. Northcote's motion and his speech, inasmuch as he had not advanced a single proof of 'inconsistency' or 'vacillation,' but had simply censured the Government throughout for pursuing a mistaken policy. The Government, he declared, had not made but had found the situation, and tracing all the mischief to Lord Salisbury's 'Dual Control,' he asserted that they had never had any option as to the policy they might have desired to inaugurate. They had inherited certain engagements, and from these engagements it had never been in their power honourably to extricate themselves. He pronounced a glowing eulogium on General Gordon, 'the Christian hero,' who had undertaken the work of rescue at Khartoum, and defended delay in sending an expedition to Suakim. It was only on the previous night that they had learned from Admiral Hewett that the efforts to effect the release of the imprisoned garrisons by diplomatic agency had failed, and they had immediately given orders for collecting a British force at Suakim, amounting to about 4000 men, but this step did not imply any departure from their resolution that they would give no countenance to any attempt to reconquer the Soudan. At a later period of the debate, when Sir Wilfrid Lawson argued that the Ministry should be pledged not to interfere further with the Egyptian people in the selection of their own government, Mr. Gladstone decidedly opposed this amendment, but at the same time stated that the policy of the Government could not be more happily described than by Sir Wilfrid's motto, 'rescue and retire.' In the five nights' debate on Sir Stafford Northcote's motion all the leading members of the House on both sides took part. Among the most remarkable speeches were those of Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen, who found fault with the want of courage and consistency in the proceedings of the Government, but believing that there was a decided change of policy on their part, that British authority would be asserted on the Red Sea coast, that General Gordon would be supported, and that our responsibility for order and progress in Egypt would not be ignored, both announced that they would vote against Sir Stafford's motion. On a division, Sir Stafford Northcote's resolution was rejected by a majority of 311 against 262, thirty Home Rulers and four Liberals having voted against the Government. The address was agreed to on the fourteenth night of the session.

It was known before the opening of Parliament that Sir Henry Brand was unwilling to face the fatigues of another session in the Speaker's chair, and the choice of his successor was awaited with much interest. First of all Mr. Goschen was requested by the Ministry to allow himself to be put in nomination, but after considerable hesitation he was obliged to decline on the ground of his imperfect eyesight. The choice of the Government fell ultimately upon Mr. Arthur Peel, M.P. for Warwick, the youngest son of the great statesman, who had been nearly twenty years in Parliament, and who had filled several subordinate offices under successive Liberal Governments.

The Opposition were by no means disposed to allow the Egyptian question to rest, and fresh complications gave rise to renewed debates. There was considerable

diversity of opinion on the subject both among the Conservatives and the Liberals, and though both criticised and blamed the policy of the Government, they were very rarely united in action. On one occasion, however, at a Saturday's sitting, on 15th March, for the purpose of voting the supplementary estimates at the close of the financial year, Mr. Labouchere suddenly moved a vote of censure upon the unnecessary waste of human life in the Soudan, and received unexpected aid from the Opposition. The Government and the Liberal party were taken by surprise, and the ministers during the greater part of the sitting were absent at a Cabinet meeting. On the division the Ministry narrowly escaped defeat by a majority of 111 against 94. Some three weeks later Sir Stafford Northcote, dissatisfied with the replies given to his questions respecting the position of General Gordon and the government of the Soudan, moved the adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing 'the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the affairs of Egypt,' and attacked them for their alleged desire to avoid responsibility and their repeated attempts to throw it on the shoulders of others. Mr. Gladstone at once rose to reply, and fell upon his assailant with a vigour of rhetorical passion and an ingenuity in the use of invective rarely witnessed in Parliament. The Opposition, who had risen up as accusers, found themselves arraigned as culprits, and their conduct in having devoted no less than seventeen nights to the discussion of the affairs of Egypt was denounced as totally without precedent, mischievous to the public interests, and calculated distinctly and undoubtedly to weaken the hands of the British Government, and likewise of every man acting for it in Egypt.

This magnificent outburst of indignation had the effect of silencing the Opposition for a time, but on the 12th of May another vote of censure was moved by Sir M. Hicks Beach, attributing to the Government an indifference to the success of Gordon's mission and to his personal safety. Mr. Gladstone's defence against this new attack was not regarded as so successful as his reply to Sir Stafford Northcote in February, and though he admitted the obligations of the Government to General Gordon, he gave no definite assurance that it was their intention to send a relief expedition. The dissatisfaction felt with the Prime Minister's speech was visible in the course taken by Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen, who, along with some thirty Liberal members, abstained from voting in the division. The debate, which was the most critical of the session, terminated in the rejection of the vote of censure by 303 votes to 275.

The progress of the legislative measures of the Government was so much hindered by the Egyptian controversy and other obstructions, that the Franchise Bill was not brought in by Mr. Gladstone until the 29th of February. The bill, he said, was introduced in fulfilment of a pledge, in compliance with a widely-expressed demand, and for the purpose of making 'an addition of strength to the State.' In an expository speech of great moderation he explained the various enactments of the measure, which in the main left existing rights of franchise untouched, but grafted upon them provisions of a much wider scope. The £10 occupation franchise in boroughs was made to include land without buildings. A 'service franchise' was to be granted to persons occupying tenements without paying rent, but in virtue of some office or appointment, thus including bank agents and numerous other officials, as well as out-door servants. This new franchise, together with the household and lodger franchises already established in boroughs—which included every householder who had been twelve months in occupation previous to the last day of July, and who had paid all poors rates payable in respect of his dwelling to the 5th January preceding, and all lodgers

who had occupied apartments for at least a year which would let unfurnished at £10 per annum—was to be extended to the counties. 'Faggot votes' were not abolished, but provision was made to prevent their future creation. The simple property qualification in counties, under which all freeholders of the annual value of 40*s.* and upwards had been entitled to vote for centuries, was not altered, and the condition of residence was not required as essential to obtain a vote. The borough and county franchises in the three kingdoms were to be placed on an identical footing, and in each of the three the occupation franchise would be four-fifths of the whole. Mr. Gladstone refused to deal with redistribution in this measure. The Government, he said, looked not to the perfect, but to the attainable, and they would not incur the certainty of foundering by 'deck-loading' their measure. He indicated, however, in general terms, the principles which he thought should be followed, maintaining the distinction between rural and urban constituencies, but refusing to form equal electoral districts. He did not believe that public opinion at all required such an arrangement, and he doubted whether public opinion would warrant it. He suggested that some addition might be made to the number of members, in order that additional representatives might be provided for Scotland, but he would not reduce the proportional share of representation at present possessed by Ireland. Some regard, he said, should be had to relative nearness and distance; and distance from the seat of Government, he argued, gave a title to an increased share of representation. He laid special emphasis on the proposal that the bill was to apply to the United Kingdom as a whole. Ireland, he contended, must not be left to take the chance of obtaining a measure of reform for itself after the franchise had been equalized in England and Scotland. The precedents of previous reform bills must therefore be departed from, and since it was impossible for Parliament to deal with the whole question, including extension of the franchise, registration, and redistribution in the entire United Kingdom in a single year, attention must for the present be exclusively devoted to the extension of the franchise.

Mr. Gladstone's speech, which lasted nearly two hours, was listened to with marked attention by a crowded house, and was received with enthusiasm by all shades of the Liberal party. The Conservatives for the most part based their objections to the measure on the plea that the Government had refused to bring forward a Redistribution Bill at the same time, though Lord Randolph Churchill asserted that the Government proposed to enfranchise 2,000,000 of persons who were for the most part grossly ignorant and cared nothing for politics. Mr. W. H. Smith also limited his speech almost entirely to discussing the dangers to be apprehended from conferring the franchise upon a mass of people sunk in poverty and ignorance, and guided by leaders who were disloyal and anarchical. The general opinion respecting the bill was tersely expressed by the *Times*, that it was 'simple in its structure, comprehensive in its effects, and conservative in its spirit,' though the leading journal concurred in the opinion expressed by the Conservatives, that redistribution should not be separated from the question of the franchise.

The second reading of the Franchise Bill was moved on the 24th of March by Lord Hartington in a few words, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, owing to a somewhat severe and prolonged indisposition. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Manners disapproving of the bill as imperfect, and declining to proceed with it till the Government had made known their scheme of redistribution. The debate was protracted over six nights, but all life had gone out of it, and the speeches for the most part consisted simply of a

reiteration of the same well-worn platitudes. In the end the amendment was rejected on a division by a majority of 340 against 210, and the bill was read a second time on the 7th of April without a division.

On the motion for going into Committee on the Franchise Bill (28th April), the question of redistribution was again brought up on an instruction, moved by Mr. Raikes, to the Committee to make provision for a redistribution of seats, and for the representation of populous urban districts, but it was negatived by 174 votes to 147. Another instruction was at once moved by Mr. Tomlinson relating to the extension of borough boundaries, which was rejected by 158 to 132. Mr. Chaplin objected to the inclusion of Ireland, but withdrew his amendment, and the bill was allowed to go into Committee without a division on that point. But on 6th May, when the consideration of the clauses began, an amendment was moved by Mr. Broderick, limiting the operation of the measure to England and Scotland. The Liberal party generally opposed the amendment, and Mr. Gladstone vehemently declared that he would never consent to divide the people of Ireland into a loyal minority and a disloyal majority. The great body of the Conservatives supported the amendment, but Lord Randolph Churchill declared that if there was to be a bill at all Ireland ought not to be excluded. The amendment was rejected by 332 votes to 137. A very keen contest took place on the amendment proposed by Colonel Stanley, that the operation of the bill should be postponed till a measure for the redistribution of seats should become law. Sir Stafford Northcote said that there were among the Conservative party a considerable number who were of opinion that the borough and the county franchise should be assimilated; while others did not desire that this should be done, though they would acquiesce in it. But whether they were opposed to it, or approved it, or acquiesced in it, or desired it, there was only one feeling among the Conservative party on this point, that they could not give their sanction to any such bill unless it were accompanied with a measure of redistribution, or at least unless they had some security that a Redistribution Bill was to be introduced and passed. The Government, however, were supported on this clause by a majority of 276 to 182. The remaining clauses passed without serious resistance or material change, but an important discussion took place on a new clause moved by Mr. Woodall, proposing the extension of the franchise to women. Several members of the Government, and Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord John Manners, were already committed to the principle of the female suffrage, and a number both of Liberals and Conservatives were known to be favourable to it. The question thus raised was somewhat critical, but Mr. Gladstone at once declared emphatically against the proposal, and intimated that the Government could not be responsible for the bill if it were accepted. It involved, he said, an entirely new question, which ought not to be determined by party considerations, and on which, as affecting the political status of 500,000 persons, the opinion of the country ought to be taken. After this explicit declaration that a decision in favour of the amendment would be treated by the Government as a decision fatal to the Franchise Bill, the great body of the Liberal party felt constrained to vote against Mr. Woodall's proposal, which was rejected by a majority of two to one. The only remaining point which gave rise to serious controversy was raised by Mr. Albert Grey's amendment postponing the operation of the bill till the 1st of January, 1887, unless Parliament should otherwise determine. The Government refused to accept this suspension of the Act, but intimated their willingness to agree to the proposal that it should not come into operation until the 1st January, 1885, which was adopted by a majority of 256 to 130.

The third reading of the bill was moved by the Prime Minister on 26th June, in an impassioned and impressive speech, referring to the ominous intimations made in the House and out of doors, that it was the intention of the Upper House to throw out the bill. The attitude of the Government hitherto, he said, had been, in Shakspeare's words, 'Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but being in, bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.' Everything had been done on the part of the Government to avoid a quarrel. A collision between the two Houses on this question would open a prospect more serious than any since the first Reform Bill; and he looked forward to the consequences of it with grave apprehension, although he had no fear of the result. The Government, he said, had carefully and strenuously endeavoured to fulfil the sacred duty of preventing such a conflict by all reasonable means. The Opposition, by previous concert, withdrew from the House and did not take a division on the third reading. The bill accordingly passed without any formal expression of dissent, and the fact that it was read a third time *nemine contradicente*, was recorded in the journals of the House.

The Franchise Bill was brought up from the Commons and read a first time in the Lords on 27th June. Lord Cairns at once gave notice of his intention to move 'That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the second reading of a bill having for its object a fundamental change in the electoral body which is not accompanied by provisions which will insure the full and free representation of the people by any adequate security that the bill shall not come into operation except on an entire scheme.' Several influential Conservative peers protested against this amendment as reckless and unnecessary, but the great body of the Opposition gave it their support. The feeling throughout the country was unfavourable to this policy.

Lord Salisbury, however, declined to yield, but intimated that the Opposition would not refuse to bow to the will of the country, whether on the question of procedure or of principle, after the matters in issue had been decided by a general election. Indeed it was clearly his object to force a dissolution. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a brief speech, announced that he would vote for the second reading of the bill, and his example was followed by all the other eleven members of the Episcopal bench who took part in the division except one. The debate was conducted with great ability by the leaders on both sides of the House, and the amendment was carried by a majority of 59—205 having voted for and 146 against. It was then agreed, on the motion of Lord Dunraven, that the House should explicitly declare its assent to 'the principles of representation contained in the bill.'

The amendment which had been adopted was not, by the rules of the House, fatal to the Bill, but the Government resolved to regard it as equivalent to the rejection of the measure, and they at once announced their resolution to prorogue Parliament as speedily as possible, with the view of holding an autumn session at which the Bill should be re-introduced. With this view 'a sweeping and impartial sacrifice' was made of all the principal ministerial measures —a step which occasioned a good deal of dissatisfaction, as several important and unopposed bills could have been passed through both Houses without difficulty or delay. Meanwhile a very general feeling was expressed in favour of a compromise. Indeed, before the division on the second reading an attempt had been made by Lord Granville and Lord Cairns to effect an arrangement which would be acceptable to both parties, but their efforts were unsuccessful. The Earl of Wemyss, a Conservative peer, made an effort to revive the Franchise Bill by proposing a resolution, which the Government expressed themselves willing to accept—that the House

should proceed to the second reading of the bill, on the understanding that a Redistribution Bill would be brought in and pressed forward at the autumn session. But the proposal was resisted by the Opposition, and was rejected (17th July) by a majority of 182 to 152.

After this distinct refusal of a compromise no time was lost in bringing the session to a close, and Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August. The only measures of all those that were introduced by the Government or by private members which became law, were the Act for the Repression of Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections, the Act relating to the Contagious Diseases of Animals imported from abroad, and the Act for the Extension of the hours of Polling in Boroughs.

Shortly before the close of the session the Government had at last decided that it was necessary to take steps for the rescue of General Gordon, who was still beleaguered in Khartoum, and they obtained from the House on 5th August a vote of credit for £300,000 for this purpose. A number of whaleboats were constructed in England for the river navigation, and the advance up the Nile commenced in September, which afterwards proved to have been too late. The expedition and its results are fully described in another section of this work.

The financial affairs of Egypt having become hopelessly involved in consequence of the claims of the inhabitants of Alexandria for indemnity, and other charges entailed by the war and subsequent British occupation, a conference of the representatives of the leading European powers was invited by the British Government to meet in London in July, to consider the question. The proposal of the British was that a pre-preference loan of £8,000,000 should be raised to meet those claims, and that the interest on the Egyptian debt should be reduced by one-half per cent. The latter proposal was agreed to by Italy and Turkey, but was resolutely opposed by France, while Russia, Germany, and Austria declined to give an opinion on the difference between France and England. The conference was broken up by Lord Granville on 2nd August without having come to any conclusion, and the Government announced that they had decided to send Lord Northbrook as high commissioner to investigate the difficulties of Egypt on the spot. This intention was carried out, but as the report of Lord Northbrook was not made public it was understood that his recommendations had not met with the approval of the majority of his colleagues.

The lamented death of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, the eighth child of the Queen, which took place suddenly at Cannes, on the 28th of March, of course did not pass unnoticed in Parliament. The leaders of both parties joined in expressing the national sorrow and sympathy with her Majesty and the widowed Duchess in their bereavement. The Prince had from childhood been of delicate health, and being thus precluded from the pursuits of active life he devoted himself to the study of letters, science, and art, and applied the results of these studies in persistent efforts to raise all classes, especially the lower classes, to a higher level of knowledge, comfort, and enjoyment. He was by far the most accomplished and best beloved of the royal princes, and his untimely decease was lamented by the whole nation.

During the recess the agitation which had arisen respecting the extension of the franchise was transferred from Parliament to the country. Meetings attended by great crowds were held by both parties in every district, and the conduct of the leaders on each side was alternately lauded and denounced. The great Reform procession which passed through the streets of London on 21st July was rivalled, and even in some cases surpassed, by an immense number of similar gatherings on the same side throughout England and Scotland. It soon became evident that the meetings convened by the Liberals were far more numerous

and attended by far larger numbers than those of their opponents. Ominous indications were also given that if the contest lasted much longer reform or abolition of the House of Lords would accompany or follow on the heels of any measure for the reform of the House of Commons. The main obstacle in the way of a compromise was the apprehension cherished by both parties that any concessions they might be willing to make would place them at a disadvantage should an agreement not be concluded. The Liberals were afraid that if they brought forward a Redistribution Bill side by side with the Franchise Bill the representatives of the boroughs that were to be disfranchised would go over to the enemy and oppose both measures. On the other hand, the Opposition suspected that if the Franchise Bill were passed by itself they would be compelled, by the additional power thus given to the Liberals, to pass any kind of Redistribution Bill the Government might think fit to introduce, and, as Lord Salisbury said, to legislate with a pistol at their head. Lord Hartington retorted that 'the pistol is a pistol not aimed at the head of the Conservative party by the Liberal Government, but it is a pistol which Lord Salisbury places at the head of the Government and at the head of the Liberal party when he says, "Give us a Redistribution Bill which shall be to the advantage of the Tory party, or you shall have no Franchise Bill."'

The most noteworthy event during the recess was Mr. Gladstone's visit to Midlothian. His journey from Hawarden to Dalmeny, Lord Rosebery's country seat, was a triumphal progress. He received a most remarkable ovation at Edinburgh; all business was stopped; the streets were filled with closely-packed, enthusiastic crowds; and the whole way from the railway station to Dalmeny was thronged by thousands eager to do honour to their representative. His first speech (August 30) to the electors of Midlothian was mainly devoted to the Franchise Bill, which he showed to be a most moderate measure, full of concessions to Conservative feeling. The Commons had accepted it by large majorities; its stoppage by the Lords on the ground of the absence of a Redistribution Bill was a dishonest plea, and the claim of the Peers to dictate a dissolution was novel and unconstitutional. The constitutional position of the House of Lords had been vehemently assailed by the Radical portion of the Liberal party; but the Prime Minister carefully refrained from a direct attack upon the Second Chamber, though he said the conviction forced itself upon his mind that 'the legislative action of the House of Lords for the last fifty years has not been a benefit or a blessing to the country,' a statement which was enthusiastically applauded by the meeting. He appealed, however, to the reason of that assembly, not to its fears. He believed it possible that it could go back with dignity and with honour, and he would not abandon the hope that reason would prevail until painful demonstration compelled him to relinquish it. Mr. Gladstone's speeches in the north of Scotland were in the same strain, and were received with equal enthusiasm. He indicated, however, that he was not unwilling to consider a compromise which had been proposed by Earl Cowper, and assured his audience that no effort should be wanting on his part and on that of his colleagues to effect a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of the question.

The impression which the agitation during the autumn and the innumerable speeches delivered on what was termed the 'informal plébiscite' left upon the minds of all moderate and right-thinking men was that there was no insuperable difficulty in the way of reconciling the demands of the two parties in Parliament now that they had been brought so near to each other. Accordingly, when Parliament reassembled for the autumn session on the 23rd of October, though high and defiant language was still used on both sides, events and the desires of reasonable men were working in this

direction. The bill was reintroduced and passed rapidly through the Lower House, where the second reading was carried, with the somewhat unexpected aid of the Home Rulers, by a majority of 140. The immediate result of a majority so decisive in favour of the Franchise Bill at once revived the hopes of a compromise. The main lines of the Government plan of redistribution were pretty well known from statements made by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, and especially from a document which, by a betrayal of trust on the part of some subordinate in a Government office, was published in one of the metropolitan journals. An authoritative announcement was immediately made that the scheme had not come under the consideration of the Cabinet, and was one of several schemes that had been proposed; but the public believed that the draft rested upon an official basis, and it was subsequently admitted that it gave a correct account of the proposals of a committee of the Ministry to which the work of drafting a redistribution measure had been intrusted. The publication of this scheme was fitted to remove any scruples or hesitation felt by the Opposition as to the propriety of accepting the Franchise Bill. It was introduced into the House of Lords and read a first time on the 13th of November. By this time it was understood that private negotiations were going on between the leaders of the two parties. On the 18th the Bill was read a second time without a division, and explanations were then given as to the communications on the subject which had passed between the Government and the Opposition. The committee stage was postponed for a fortnight to give time to bring the question to a final and satisfactory settlement.

It was agreed between the negotiators that the draft Redistribution Bill should be submitted to the Conservative leaders, and discussed by them along with certain representatives of the Government—Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote on the one side, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and Sir Charles Dilke on the other—that on their acceptance of the measure as mutually settled, the former were to give the Ministry 'adequate assurances' of their intention to carry the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords. The Government on their part agreed to introduce the Redistribution Bill in the Lower House, and to carry it to the second reading, while the Opposition should at the same time redeem their pledge by allowing the Franchise Bill to become law. The Government were content to trust for the 'adequate assurances' to the honour of the Conservative leaders; and in the same spirit the chiefs of the Opposition accepted the ministerial promise, that the Redistribution Bill should be pushed through Parliament at an early period of the next year, and that all the general principles of the bill would be considered a vital question by the Cabinet. The second reading was taken three days after this arrangement was concluded, and was carried without a division, and the House of Lords at the same time passed the Franchise Bill through its remaining stages on 6th December, 1884. Parliament adjourned the same day to 19th February, 1885, when the Redistribution Bill was to go into Committee.

The details of this measure attracted more attention than the Franchise Bill, though that bill added some 2,000,000 voters to the electoral rolls, probably because it affected not the new electors so much as the old constituencies. The claims of Scotland to additional members were partially satisfied by an addition of twelve members to the House, the numbers of representatives of each country thus being—England, 465; Wales, 30; Scotland, 72; Ireland, 103. Boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants were to be disfranchised and merged in the surrounding country districts; so were some rural boroughs, like East Retford, Shoreham, and Cricklade. The corrupt

boroughs—Macclesfield and Sandwich—were also to be merged in their respective county divisions or districts. Boroughs with less than 50,000 inhabitants were henceforth to be represented by only one member each, and the county of Rutland was placed in this class; boroughs with between 50,000 and 165,000 inhabitants were to return two members each. All urban constituencies with more than 165,000 inhabitants, and all counties, were to be divided into districts, each represented by a single member. The city of London was henceforth to return two members only, instead of four, Liverpool was to obtain six additional members, Glasgow and Birmingham four each, Manchester and Sheffield three each, and Leeds two.

The advocates of proportional representation were strongly opposed to this scheme, and contended that any measure brought forward by the Liberal party should 'aim at making the House of Commons the council of the nation by bringing within it, in due proportion, representatives of all forms of political thought.' Mr. Courtney, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to adopt his views, resigned his office as Financial Secretary to the Treasury. His proposals were supported by some of the Conservative party, but by far the greater number were of opinion that their leaders had acted wisely in agreeing to the single-member system. Apart from this, both parties felt that the honour of their leaders was pledged to carry through unchanged their mutual agreement.

As usual the Home Rulers were incessantly active during the year in their attacks on the Executive. They set themselves with especial determination to discredit the convictions obtained in the prosecutions under the Crimes Act. Lord Spencer, after private investigation, refused to reverse the decisions of the courts of law. He was in consequence held up to infamy in the Nationalist press and in Parliament as having compassed the death of innocent men by subornation of perjury and suppression of evidence. The American Irish Fenians persisted in their 'dynamite' plots against life and property in all the three kingdoms. Happily their skill was not equal to their malignity. Three times within the year the destruction of life and property in London was attempted through the agency of dynamite. In February an explosion occurred at Victoria Station, shattering several rooms; but luckily there were no passengers about the station at the time. Preparations for a similar crime were discovered at Paddington, Charing Cross, and Ludgate Hill. In May simultaneous explosions took place in St. James' Square and at Scotland Yard, and in December an attempt was made to blow up London Bridge. On the 11th of April an Irishman named Fitzgerald was apprehended in the neighbourhood of Whitehall in connection with these Fenian outrages and removed to Dublin for trial. Next a Fenian of the name of Daly was arrested at Birkenhead, and almost simultaneously another Fenian named Egan, in whose house Daly had been a lodger, was arrested on a charge of conspiracy. He and Egan were tried for treason-felony at the Warwick assizes (2nd August) and found guilty. Daly was sentenced to penal servitude for life and Egan for twenty years. The punishment inflicted on these miscreants did not, however, deter others from following their example. On 26th January, 1885, an attempt was made to destroy by means of dynamite the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and part of the Houses of Parliament. Fortunately no lives were lost, though the buildings were damaged, and several persons were seriously injured. Two of the perpetrators of these outrages were discovered, tried, and condemned to penal servitude.

Parliament reassembled on the 19th of February, 1885, and the House of Commons resumed consideration of the Redistribution Bill in Committee. No direct opposition had been offered to the scheme as a whole, but strong objections were now

made to particular clauses. The Ulster Conservatives complained that the small boroughs in the north, where the strength of their party lay, were to be abolished, and urged that other places hitherto distinct from these boroughs should be grouped with them, so as to make up at least the minimum population to which in future representation was to be granted. The groups of burghs in Scotland were in various instances most inconveniently arranged, and a new and much more suitable arrangement was proposed. On the other hand, some Conservative members insisted that these groups should be extended by the addition of other places at present included in the counties. But these and various other proposals were rejected by large majorities on the ground that both Liberals and Conservatives were bound in honour to adhere to the compromise which had been settled by the leaders of the two parties. The bill therefore passed through Parliament without undergoing any material alteration.

The following English boroughs, returning eighty-three members, have been disfranchised—viz., Abingdon, Andover, Aylesbury, Banbury, Barnstaple, Beaumaris (district), Berwick-on-Tweed, Bewdley, Bodmin, Brecon, Bridgnorth, Bridport, Buckingham, Calne, Cardigan (district), Chichester, Chippenham, Chipping Wycombe, Cirencester, Clitheroe, Cockermouth, Cricklade, Devizes, Dorchester, Droitwich, East Retford, Evesham, Eye, Frome, Great Marlow, Guildford, Harwich, Haverfordwest (district), Helstone, Hertford, Horsham, Huntingdon, Kendal, Knaresborough, Launceston, Leominster, Lewes, Lichfield, Liskeard, Ludlow, Lymington, Maldon, Malmesbury, Malton, Marlborough, Midhurst, Newark, Newport, New Shoreham, Northallerton, Petersfield, Poole, Radnor (district), Richmond, Ripon, Rye, St. Ives, Shaftesbury, Stamford, Stroud, Tamworth, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thirsk, Tiverton, Truro, Wallingford, Wareham, Wenlock, Westbury, Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Whitby, Wilton, and Woodstock. Of these boroughs Aylesbury, Berwick, East Retford, and New Shoreham returned two members each, the others had only a single representative.

In Scotland the Haddington and the Wigtown districts of burghs alone were disfranchised.

In Ireland the list of the boroughs which were to cease as such contains Armagh, Athlone, Bandon, Carlow, Carrickfergus, Clonmel, Coleraine, Downpatrick, Drogheda, Dundalk, Dungannon, Dungarvan, Ennis, Enniskillen, Kinsale, Lisburn, Mallow, New Ross, Portarlington, Tralee, Wexford, and Youghal.

The following English boroughs, hitherto returning two members, have lost one member each:—Bedford, Boston, Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester, Coventry, Dover, Durham, Exeter, Gloucester, Grantham, Hastings, Hereford, King's Lynn, Lincoln, Maidstone, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Oxford, Penryn and Falmouth, Peterborough, Pontefract, Reading, Rochester, Salisbury, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Taunton, Wigan, Winchester, and Worcester.

In Ireland Galway, Limerick, and Waterford are in future to return only one member each.

A third schedule contains the names of the boroughs which are to obtain additional members. In England Liverpool is to have nine members; Birmingham seven, Manchester six, Leeds and Sheffield five each, Bristol four, Bradford, Hull, Nottingham, Salford, and Wolverhampton three each; and Swansea (district) two. In Scotland Glasgow is to obtain seven members, Edinburgh four, and Aberdeen two. In Ireland Belfast and Dublin are to return four each.

The fourth schedule contains a list of the new boroughs in England—viz., Islington, Lambeth, and St. Pancras are to return four members each; Camberwell and Hackney three; Battersea and Clapham, Bethnal Green, Kensington, Marylebone, Mile-End Old Town, Newington, Paddington, Poplar, Shoreditch, and West Ham two; while Aston Manor, Barrow-in-Furness, Bermondsey, Chelsea, Clerkenwell, Croydon, Deptford, Finsbury, Fulham, Great Yarmouth, Greenwich, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Hanley, Holborn, Lewisham, Limehouse, Rotherhithe, St. George-in-the-East, St. George's Hanover Square, St. Helen's, Southwark, Strand, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, Wandsworth, West Bromwich, and Woolwich are to have one representative each.

Great Yarmouth formerly returned two members, but was disfranchised for bribery and corruption. It is now conjoined with a portion of Norfolk and Suffolk, and one member is restored to it. Forty-seven members are to be elected by constituencies which virtually form part of the metropolis, though some of them, strictly speaking, are beyond its boundaries. Twenty-seven English boroughs, three Scottish, and two Irish have had their boundaries altered, and the boroughs subdivided, one member being allotted for each division.

The counties also have been rearranged, and in a good many cases have obtained enlarged representation—one member for each division. Yorkshire has obtained twenty-six members—four for the North Riding, three for the East Riding, and

nineteen for the West Riding; Lancashire has obtained twenty-three; Chester, Devon, Durham, Essex, Kent, eight each; Derby, Lincoln, Middlesex, Somerset, Stafford, seven; Cornwall, Norfolk, Surrey, Sussex, six; Glamorgan, Gloucester, Hants, Suffolk, Wilts, Worcester, five; Cumberland, Dorset, Hertford, Leicester, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Salop, Warwick, four; Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Monmouth, Oxford, three; Bedford, Carmarthen, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Hereford, Huntingdon, Westmorland, two; and Rutland, one.

In Scotland an addition has been made to the members returned by several of the counties. Lanark has six members allotted to it—an addition of four; Fife, Perth, and Renfrew, which have hitherto returned only one, are henceforth to be represented by two each.

In Ireland also extensive alterations have been made. The county of Cork is to obtain seven members; Antrim, Donegal, Down, Galway, Kerry, Mayo, Tipperary, and Tyrone, four each; Armagh, three; Cavan, Clare, Dublin, Fermanagh, Kildare, Kilkenny, King's County, Leitrim, Limerick, Londonderry, Longford, Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Waterford, Westmeath, Wexford, and Wicklow, two each; and Carlow, one.

The only measure of importance besides the Reform and Redistribution Bills that was passed through Parliament and became law this session was the Secretary for Scotland Bill. In its first shape this measure gave no satisfaction to either party, and though it was allowed to pass the Commons it was thrown out by the Lords in 1883. A great meeting of influential persons was, however, held in Edinburgh, the Marquis of Lothian in the chair, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted in favour of placing the administration of Scottish affairs under the charge of a minister who should be eligible for a seat in the Cabinet. Supported by such a powerful manifestation, the Government in 1884 brought in a greatly enlarged and improved measure, though still defective in its omission of national education from the subjects which were to be placed under the charge of the new secretary. The bill, however, was withdrawn along with all the other Government measures when the Lords refused to pass the Franchise Bill unless accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. In 1885 the measure was reintroduced in an improved form, mainly owing to the exertions of Lord Rosebery, who was now a member of the Cabinet. It provided for the appointment of a Secretary for Scotland who should have charge of all the affairs peculiar to that country, with the exception of law and justice, and it now for the first time included Scottish education among the subjects intrusted to his care. The measure was cordially supported by the Marquis of Salisbury and other leading Conservative Peers, and was feebly opposed by only two or three members of the Upper House of no great influence. The opposition which it met with in the Commons, though more energetic, was equally ineffective, and the bill became law at the close of the session.

While the British Government was engaged in the unsuccessful attempt, elsewhere described, to relieve Khartoum and rescue General Gordon, a characteristic outrage on the part of Russia suddenly roused the attention and indignation, not only of Britain, but of Europe. That power had steadily persisted in carrying out its hereditary policy in Central Asia. One stronghold after another had been appropriated, and one district after another annexed, notwithstanding reiterated protestations that these successive encroachments on the territories of the independent tribes would not be made.

After the occupation of Merv by the Russians, as their outposts continued to be pushed forward towards Herat and the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and a collision was not improbable, a proposal had been made by Russia and acceded to by the British Government on behalf of the Ameer, that a joint commission should be appointed for the settlement of the frontier line between Afghanistan and the Turcoman territory on the north and north-west of the Ameer's dominions. General Sir Peter Lumsden was nominated the English representative in the autumn of 1884. He reached Penjdeh early in December, and

along with his staff of engineers and scientific men and an escort of cavalry and infantry, proceeded to Bála Murgháb, where they intended to winter. The Russian Commissioners were to have met them there in February, but, with consummate effrontery, it was publicly announced that the Chief Commissioner on the part of the Czar, General Zelenoy, had just started to enjoy a holiday at this critical juncture, at his country residence, near Tiflis. There can be no doubt as to the purpose which the failure of the Russian Commission to meet the British Commissioners at the appointed time was intended to serve. Meanwhile the Russian troops were busily occupied, in the guise of surveying parties, in the districts which were to be 'delimited,' and Sir Peter Lumsden found a Russian force encamped at Pul-i-Khatun, on the ground to which the British Commission had been invited, in the name of the Russian Government, to lay down the frontier line.

As little confidence could be placed in Russian promises and protestations, the Indian military authorities had taken alarm at these movements into the northern passes of Afghanistan, and preparations for the protection of our ally, the Ameer, had fortunately been made by the Indian Government. The war party at St. Petersburg evidently imagined that Britain would be so fully occupied with operations in the Soudan that it would be impossible for her to raise an adequate force to oppose a Russian advance into Afghan territory, and they thought that this juncture afforded them a favourable opportunity to push on towards Herat. Before the Easter recess, Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons that an arrangement had been come to between the British Government and that of St. Petersburg, that the Russian and Afghan outposts should maintain their present positions until some definite scheme of delimitation had been arrived at. Our Government had made the Russians distinctly aware that an advance on their part would be considered a breach of the *entente cordiale* then existing, and on the 17th of March they were assured that the Russian forces would not advance from the positions they occupied, provided that the Afghans did not advance or attack them, unless some extraordinary circumstances should happen, such as a disturbance at Penjdeh. The Russians were drawn up in force, almost within range of the Afghan position, though the Afghans had neither attacked nor advanced, and Penjdeh remained perfectly quiet.

The Ameer informed Sir P. Lumsden that from the time of the arrival of the British Commission in his territory the Russians intended to pick a quarrel, and there can be little doubt that the opinion was well founded. General Lumsden states that every endeavour was made by the Russians to provoke the Afghans to begin a fight. Twice they attempted forcibly to pass through the Afghan pickets. On the failure of these attempts Captain Yate, a British officer with the Afghans, met the chief of the Russian staff by appointment, and was assured that no such arrangement as that made on the 17th of March respecting the non-advance of the Russian troops, had been intimated to him. Further, the chief of the staff refused to give Captain Yate an assurance that the Afghans would not be attacked without previous notice, and he claimed the right to turn out the Afghan posts whenever they might inconvenience the Russians without reference to a third party.

On March 29 Sir Peter Lumsden desired Captain Yate again to see the Russian commander to endeavour to effect an amicable arrangement. But on the following day, without any previous notice or declaration of war, the Russian General, Komaroff, attacked the Afghans in their entrenched position at Penjdeh, and after a stubborn conflict defeated and dispersed them, with the loss of their artillery and provisions and several hundred men. The Afghans fought with the greatest gallantry, though with very inferior arms. Two companies were said to have been killed to a man in

their entrenchments. The Russian authorities affirmed that orders were duly sent to General Komaroff not to advance beyond the position occupied by his outposts prior to 17th March, provided that the Afghans did not advance from Penjdeh. The General on his part alleged that the Afghans left Penjdeh in large numbers, crossed the river, and established themselves in menacing positions on his left and in his rear; and he pretended that their movements indicated an intention to make a night attack on the Russian camp. The British officers, who were only a few miles distant from Penjdeh, but remained neutral, deny that any provocation was given by the Afghans. The only pretext for this lame defence was the fact that the Afghans, seeing the hostile proceedings of the Russians, moved out of Penjdeh and took up what seemed a more favourable position for resisting the threatened attack on the left bank of the Kushk River. But Sir Peter Lumsden denied that this movement constituted an advance; it was merely a measure of necessary precaution. It afterwards transpired that General Komaroff did not advance of his own accord, but by the express orders of his chief, Prince Dondoukoff-Koroakoff, Governor of the Caucasus, who could have known nothing of the Afghan movements on which the General rested his justification. The attack of the Russian General therefore was not unpremeditated, and could not have been precipitated by the alleged hostile attitude of the Afghans.

The news that hostilities had broken out on the Afghan frontier caused a panic not only in the stock exchanges of Great Britain, but on the *bourses* of the Continent. War was believed to be imminent. British forbearance had long been on the verge of exhaustion, and the indignation of the whole country at this unprovoked aggression on the territory of an ally was so strong that no conciliatory phrases or delusive promises could possibly allay it. The tidings of the Russian attack on the Afghans caused a profound sensation in India. It was generally believed for a month past that the failure of the Russian delimitation Commissioners to keep their appointment was solely to gain time to bring up troops and supplies, and that the Penjdeh outrage was a proof that the Russian commander thought that the time had arrived for throwing off the mask and undertaking aggressive operations. The feeling throughout India, both among the British subjects and the native princes, ran strongly in favour of our Government. Russian rule and policy were well known among them and appreciated at their true value. The crisis brought out the clearest evidence that the princes and the people of India are devotedly attached to the British Crown, and were eager to prove their loyal trust in the Government. Offers of assistance in the expected war immediately poured in, not only from the native princes, but from the wealthy men of all races and classes, who gave the most convincing proof of loyalty by liberal tenders of pecuniary help.

Fortunately, at this juncture the Ameer of Afghanistan was on the most friendly terms with the British Government. At the time when the Russian attack on Penjdeh took place the Ameer was on a visit to the Viceroy of India, whom he met at Rawul Pindi. He was welcomed with marked cordiality, and every possible attention was paid him. He expressed himself strongly in favour of a British alliance, but made some moderate demands, including a supply of arms and ammunition and an increase of the annual subsidy, which were at once acceded to by the Indian Government. The Ameer repeatedly gave expression to his feelings of gratitude at the magnificent reception accorded to him, and the friendly welcome and treatment he had received at the hands of the Viceroy. He said that the remembrance of all that had passed would remain engraven on his heart, and that he would ever remain the grateful and devoted friend of the British Government. On receiving the news of

the Russian attack on Penjdeh he declared to the Viceroy his determination to resist to the utmost any invasion of Afghan territory, and while most anxious to avoid war and to arrive at an amicable settlement with Russia on the boundary question, he asserted that his people would rise up as one man and fight desperately in defence of their families and country, nor would they give up an inch of their territory or allow their country to be the highway of a Russian army. He readily agreed to leave the entire management of the negotiations with Russia in the hands of the British Government.

The attitude assumed by the Ministry towards the aggressors in this affair was firm, indeed stern, though not uncourteous. They assumed that Russia would be willing to make redress for the unprovoked attack upon the Afghans, and offered all proper facilities for an honourable retreat, but at the same time they made prompt and vigorous preparations, if need be, to repel force by force. They resolved that the reserves should be called out, and that the regular forces should be largely increased. Recruiting was commenced at once, and great numbers of young men hastened to enrol themselves in the ranks of the army. Preparations on a large scale were commenced at the dockyards throughout the country, and at Woolwich arsenal, and the necessary arrangements were made with all possible speed for the despatch of reinforcements to India. Most significant of all the indications that the British Government and legislature were firmly resolved to vindicate the rights of the Afghans, was the unanimity with which a vote of credit of £11,000,000 was granted to defray the necessary expenditure. Warlike preparations on an extensive scale were made at every military centre in India. Seventy thousand transport animals, laden with provisions and military stores, were at once despatched to Pishin. The Anglo-Indian troops were in complete readiness to take the field by the 1st of May, and it was announced that 26,000 of these could be massed at Pishin within twenty days.

The Muscovite Government were completely taken by surprise at the spirit displayed by the British Ministry and people. It appears that they never imagined that their encroachments would be resisted by force. They supposed that Britain was fully occupied in the Soudan, and that they could steal a march upon her with impunity. At the outset, however, the Czar and his advisers attempted to brazen out the outrage of which they had been guilty, and statements were made by them as to the grounds of the attack on the Afghans, which, as General Lumsden showed, were utterly devoid of truth. Rewards and decorations were conferred upon General Komaroff and other officers concerned in the attack upon Penjdeh. Vehement declarations were made of Russia's determination to maintain the position she had assumed, a provisional government was appointed at Penjdeh by General Komaroff, a Russian squadron was ordered to the Baltic, an army of 30,000 men was concentrated in the Caucasus, and the official journals recommended that the Russian forces on the Afghan frontier should march at once upon Herat.

At first it seemed that the military party at St. Petersburg would completely sway the policy of the court. But when it became evident that persistence in this course would inevitably lead to war, a better spirit began to prevail, and the tremendous dangers of such a contest cooled the hot-headed ardour of the military party. The opinion of all the continental sovereigns and their ministers must have greatly influenced the Czar and his chancellor, M. de Giers, who had always wished to avoid war. A conciliatory answer was returned to the remonstrances of the British Ministry, and after a good deal of negotiation it was ultimately agreed that the affair at Penjdeh should be referred to arbitration, and that meanwhile the negotiations for the settlement of the frontier should go on.

The Ameer stated at the outset that he was indifferent to the retention of Penjdeh, which was of no material use to him, but he attached vital importance to the possession of the Pass of Zulfikar, Gulnarai, and Maruchak. After several inadmissible proposals on the part of Russia, and various attempts to mislead and overreach the British negotiators, it was agreed that while giving up Penjdeh the Ameer should retain Zulfikar. Lord Kimberley (April 14) expressly informed the Russian ambassadors, M. de Staal and M. de Lessar, that it was a *sine qua non* that the Zulfikar Pass should be left in possession of Afghanistan; M. de Giers, in a telegram to the ambassador of 16th April, expressed his approval of this arrangement, and the Ameer informed the Viceroy of India that he most willingly accepted the line described. It very soon appeared, however, that the Russians were not satisfied with the definition of the boundary agreed upon by their own envoys and approved by M. de Giers. They first of all tried to obtain Maruchak. When this was refused by the British Government they next laid claim to the Pass of Zulfikar; but it was pointed out that M. de Giers, on the 16th of April, agreed to the exchange of Zulfikar for Penjdeh, and that to give Zulfikar without the command of the pass would make the possession of it valueless to the Afghans. This contention was strenuously supported by the Indian Viceroy, who intimated that he had already informed the Ameer that the frontier would be drawn to the mouth of Zulfikar Pass, and that he strongly deprecated any further concessions to the Russians, as such concessions would discredit our character for constancy and good faith in the eyes of the Ameer and his people.

At this juncture Mr. Gladstone's Government went out of office, but their successors held firmly to the ground which they had taken up. Colonel Ridgway, who was on the spot, informed the Marquis of Salisbury, the new Foreign Secretary, that the object of the Russian claim was to obtain cross communications between the rivers Kushk and Heri-Rud. The Russian claim would practically secure the first line of cross-communications and absolutely secure the second. The crest of the hills claimed commands and renders useless Zulfikar Pass, and also the road at its foot, which is essential to the Afghans. It likewise gave the Russians command of other two passes, and thus secured their right flank against attack. Fortified by this information Lord Salisbury stood firm, and insisted on the fulfilment of the agreement which M. de Giers had sanctioned. In the end the western or Zulfikar Pass proper, on which alone the officers, whose means of local knowledge entitled them to express an opinion, placed great value, was entirely secured to Afghanistan, and in order to leave the Afghans full command of it the frontier was pushed back from the crest of the heights bordering the pass to a distance in every case not less than 1000 yards, and generally to a much greater distance. The eastern pass, which was of no value to the Afghans, was made over to the Russians This arrangement was regarded as an adequate solution of the difficulty in the interests of the Ameer, to whom it was quite satisfactory.

The Ministry, though they had succeeded in carrying their Franchise and Redistribution Bills through both Houses of Parliament, had continued to lose ground during the progress of the session. A considerable number of their supporters were dissatisfied with their Soudan policy as deficient in promptitude, vigour, and consistency, while another section strongly disapproved of their interference in any form with the affairs of that country. Others, again, complained that their proceedings in Egypt were directed to the promotion of the interests of the bondholders rather than to the welfare of the people. They were harassed, too, by persistent obstruction in every possible form, and by votes of censure repeated time after

time by the regular Opposition, assisted by the Parnellites. To crown all, Mr. Gladstone, notwithstanding his transcendent abilities, has always shown himself deficient in the power of managing his party and keeping them firm in their allegiance to their leader. But no apprehension was entertained that the Government would not be able to retain their places until a new Parliament was elected, and least of all was it thought probable that they would be overthrown on a question of finance.

In order to meet the deficiency in the revenue and to defray the large additional expenditure caused by the threatened rupture with Russia, Mr. Childers, who had succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to add 2*d.* per pound to the income-tax, and to increase the succession duties on real property, which was lightly taxed in comparison of personal property. He regarded it as unfair, however, that the additional burden should be borne exclusively by the upper and middle classes, and therefore resolved that a portion of the necessary revenue should be raised by indirect taxation. He proposed to effect this by imposing an additional tax of 2*s.* per gallon on spirits and an additional 1*s.* per barrel on beer.

The proposal, however, to increase the tax on beer and spirits met with strong opposition. It was argued that the duty on spirits was already so high that it was doubtful if the increase would be economically successful, for an addition of 20 per cent. to the duty would diminish the consumption, and it was insisted that there was serious danger that a greater proportion of coarse and adulterated spirits would be consumed. It was also urged that it is unjust to tax the alcohol in spirits at a rate so very much higher than the alcohol in wines. It is calculated that while whisky at 18*s.* per gallon pays an *ad valorem* duty of 200 per cent., sherry at 30*s.* per dozen pays 6⅔ per cent., and champagne at 60*s.* only 3⅓ per cent. But a still stronger argument against the proposed additional heavy duty on spirits was the fact that it would increase the already unequal fiscal burdens in the different parts of the United Kingdom. If the Scottish and Irish people, it was said, choose to drink more whisky and less beer than Englishmen do, this may or may not be the worse for them, but it is certainly no reason why they should be more heavily taxed. The figures showing the contribution to the revenue last year on beer and spirits by each of the three kingdoms serve to roughly indicate the inequality of the burdens. England paid 11*s.* 8*d.* per head of the population, Scotland 18*s.* 10*d.*, and Ireland 13*s.* 10*d.*; so that on an average each person in Scotland paid 7*s.* 2*d.*, and each person in Ireland 2*s.* 2*d.*, more than each person in England. If the enhanced duties were imposed the inequality would be still greater. In Scotland the revenue per head of the population would be 22*s.* 7*d.*, in Ireland 16*s.* 3*d.*, and in England only 13*s.* 9*d.*

It need cause no surprise that such proposals as these excited a great deal of discontent, and that strong pressure was brought to bear on the Government to reconsider the justice and political expediency of taxing spirits so much more heavily than other alcoholic liquors. As a matter of course the Opposition were not slow to take advantage of the prevailing dissatisfaction, though their main object was to defeat the attempt to increase what some termed 'the death duties.' On 9th June Sir Michael Hicks-Beach moved a resolution to the effect that the increase proposed in the duties levied on beer and spirits is inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the duties on wine, and that fresh taxation on real property should not be imposed until effect had been given to the resolution passed by the House in favour of the reduction of local taxation. After a sharp debate this motion was carried by a combination of the Conservatives and Parnellites.

Upwards of fifty of the usual supporters of the Government were absent from the

division. A considerable number pleaded that they were not aware of the importance of the division, and thought that their presence was unnecessary. But in truth the main reason was the apathy and indifference of a large portion of the absentees, and the apprehension on the part of others that their vote in favour of the budget would have offended influential members in their constituencies.

Mr. Gladstone immediately waited upon Her Majesty and tendered the resignation of the Cabinet, and Lord Salisbury was summoned to Balmoral, where the Queen was then residing, and intrusted with the formation of a Ministry. His lordship resolved to accept the commission intrusted to him by the Queen on condition that the late Ministry and their adherents would consent to support him during the remainder of the session. This request was declined, but Lord Salisbury was assured that the leaders of the Liberal majority in the House would offer no factious opposition to him and his friends if they should think fit to assume office. In these circumstances the Conservative leaders, with visible reluctance, but in compliance with the urgent pressure of the younger and more impatient members of the party, undertook the formation of a Government. The Marquis of Salisbury became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, but Sir Stafford Northcote was set aside from the leadership of the House of Commons, at the instance, it was generally believed, of Lord Randolph Churchill, and was appointed to the nominal office of First Lord of the Treasury, with a peerage. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach succeeded him as leader of the House, with the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Sir Stafford held in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry; Sir Hardinge Giffard was appointed Lord Chancellor; Colonel Stanley, Colonial Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary for India; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary of War; and Lord John Manners, Postmaster-General. The Duke of Richmond was made President of the Board of Trade, an office which he shortly after exchanged for that of Secretary for Scotland. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Lord Salisbury's nephew, was nominated President of the Local Government Board, and Lord George Hamilton was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. After some hesitation Sir Richard Cross was reinstated in his former office of Home Secretary; Lord Cranbrook was appointed President and Mr. E. Stanhope Vice-president of the Council, but he subsequently succeeded the Duke of Richmond as President of the Board of Trade, Sir Henry Holland replacing him in the Privy Council office. The Earl of Carnarvon became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Gibson Lord Chancellor, with a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Webster was appointed Attorney-General and Mr. Gorst Solicitor-General for England; Mr. Holmes, Attorney-General for Ireland; and Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald, Lord Advocate for Scotland. It was noted that offices were found for all the four members of the Fourth Party.

The position of the new Ministry, supported only by a minority in the House of Commons, rendered it impossible for them to bring forward any new measures or to inaugurate any policy of their own. They could do little more than continue to carry out the policy of their predecessors and bring the session to a close with all convenient speed. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer dropped the spirit duties and the succession duties proposed by his predecessor, but adopted the addition to the income-tax, which thus amounted to 8*d.* per pound. He provided for the deficit by appropriating the sinking fund for the current year, and suspending the payment of terminable annuities amounting to £4,670,000. The Ministry took charge of the Secretary for Scotland Bill as soon as it reached the House of Commons, and successfully resisted all attempts to impair its efficiency. They carried out the negotiations which the late Government had commenced with Russia in the settlement

of the Afghan frontier, and also the arrangement with the other powers respecting the Egyptian loan which they conjointly guaranteed. Sir H. Drummond Wolff was sent out as a special commissioner to report on the state of affairs in Egypt, but as it was considered essential that whatever was done in that country should be with the sanction and goodwill of Turkey, the British commission proceeded first to Constantinople, where, after prolonged negotiations, and a delay of some months, it was agreed that the Sultan should also send a special commissioner to Egypt to make a joint inquiry with Sir H. D. Wolff, and Moukhtar Pasha, a well-known Turkish general, was appointed for this duty, though his leaving Constantinople was delayed until 22nd December, 1885, by the disturbing events in the Balkan Peninsula, elsewhere narrated.

Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August, and was dissolved on the 18th of November. During the previous six months the whole country was in a state of ferment, and the result of the elections was looked for with the most anxious solicitude.

The first general election, under the extension of the Franchise and the Redistribution Acts, was regarded with unusual interest and anxiety, for it was impossible to predict with any degree of certainty in what way the 2,000,000 of new electors in the counties would vote. The issue was rendered still further doubtful in consequence of the attitude assumed by the leader of the Irish Nationalists, who recommended the Irish electors in England and Scotland to vote for the Conservative candidates. His scarcely concealed object was to place the Liberal party in the new House of Commons in a minority, or if this could not be accomplished, to bring the two parties so near to equality in numbers that the Nationalists should hold the balance between them, and maintain either party in office at their pleasure.

The results of this highly important election will be clearly understood from the tabular statements here given.

RESULTS OF GENERAL ELECTION, 1885.

	Seats.	Elected.				Returned Unopposed.		
		Liberals.	Conservatives.	Nationalists.	Independent.	Liberals.	Conservatives.	Nationalists.
ENGLAND.								
Counties,	234	134	100	—	—	1	1	—
London Boroughs,	59	23	36	—	—	—	—	—
Provincial Boroughs,	167	87	78	1	1	3	—	—
Universities,	5	1	4	—	—	1	4	—
Total,	465	245	218	1	1	5	5	—
SCOTLAND.								
Counties,	39	32	7	—	—	2	—	—
Burghs,	31	30	1	—	—	3	—	—
Universities,	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	—
Total,	72	62	10	—	—	5	1	—
IRELAND.								
Counties,	85	—	11	74	—	—	2	17
Boroughs,	16	—	5	11	—	—	—	2
University,	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—
Total,	103	—	18	85	—	—	4	19
WALES.								
Counties,	19	18	1	—	—	1	—	—
Boroughs,	11	9	2	—	—	3	—	—
Total,	30	27	3	—	—	4	—	—
Grand Total,	670	334	249	86	1	14	10	19

In the case of the St. Andrews Burghs a double return was made, the unusual circumstance having happened of two opposing candidates receiving exactly the same number of votes. Both being, however, adherents of the Liberal party, the figures in the above table remain unaffected.

	Contests.	Votes Recorded.					Total.
		Liberals.	Conservatives.	Nationalists.	S. L. R. L.	Independents	
ENGLAND.							
Counties,	232	1,029,855	909,770	—	—	296	1,939,921
London Boroughs,	59	166,679	198,014	—	—	160	364,853
Provincial Boroughs,	164	654,385	593,654	3,489	—	14,471	1,265,999
Universities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total,	455	1,850,919	1,701,438	3,489	—	14,927	3,570,773
SCOTLAND.							
Counties,	37	160,953	93,026	—	74	—	254,053
Burghs,	28	131,201	58,384	—	2,285	1,321	193,191
Universities	1	2,453	2,840	—	—	—	5,293
Total,	66	294,607	154,250	—	2,359	1,321	452,537
IRELAND.							
Counties,	66	24,365	85,371	253,614	—	2,017	365,367
Boroughs,	14	4,847	29,859	48,374	—	—	83,080
University,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total,	80	29,212	115,230	301,988	—	2,017	448,447
WALES.							
Counties,	18	82,172	49,172	—	—	1,907	133,251
Boroughs,	8	21,086	18,178	—	—	—	39,264
Total,	26	103,258	67,350	—	—	1,907	172,515

Altogether there were 1336 candidates for 670 seats. Forty-three members were returned without opposition, and 1293 candidates contested the remaining 627 seats.

These results showed that neither of the two great parties in the state could count upon a working majority, as a combination of Conservatives and Nationalists would no more than equal, under ordinary circumstances, the Liberal voting power. This state of affairs was so unusual as to cause great perplexity among the party leaders; but after consultation with his colleagues Lord Salisbury decided to retain office until the meeting of Parliament.

The new Parliament met on the 12th January, 1886, for the swearing-in of members and election of Speaker. Mr. Arthur Peel was again chosen for this office, and one of his first official acts was to put an end to the Bradlaugh question, by refusing to allow anyone to interfere with Mr. Bradlaugh taking the oath like any other member.

On the 21st, Parliament was formally opened by the Queen in person. The Queen's speech, which was read from the woolsack, referred to the satisfactory arrangement of the question of the Russo-Afghan frontier, the Roumelian question, and the annexation of Burmah, which had been proclaimed on 1st January. In reference to Ireland, it declared positively against any disturbance of the legislative union between that country and Great Britain, and expressed the confidence of ministers that, if necessary, Parliament would grant them special powers to enforce respect for the law in Ireland. At the same time it promised a measure for the reform of county government in Ireland, and a similar measure for England.

On the 16th January were published certain letters between Lord Carnarvon and the Marquis of Salisbury announcing the former's retiral from the post of lord lieutenant. No new appointment was made, but Mr. W. H. Smith was appointed Irish secretary in place of Sir W. Hart Dyke.

On the 26th Sir M. Hicks Beach gave notice that on the following Thursday Mr. W. H. Smith would introduce a bill to suppress the National League and check 'boycotting' in Ireland; but on the same evening an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, was moved by Mr. Jesse Collings in favour of measures to facilitate the acquirement of allotments by farm labourers, which was supported by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, but opposed by Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington, as well as by the Government. It was, nevertheless, carried by 339 against 250 votes, and the House was at once adjourned, on the motion of Sir M. H. Beach.

On the 1st February the resignation of the ministry was announced by Lord Salisbury and Sir M. H. Beach, and Mr. Gladstone was summoned to Osborne and undertook the formation of a Liberal cabinet, which was composed as follows:—Mr. Gladstone, first lord of the treasury; Sir Farrer Herschell, lord chancellor; Earl Spencer, lord president of the council; Mr. Childers, home secretary; Earl of Rosebery, foreign secretary; Earl Granville, secretary for the colonies; Earl of Kimberley, secretary for India; Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, secretary for war; Sir W. Harcourt, chancellor of the exchequer; Marquis of Ripon, first lord of the admiralty; Mr. Chamberlain, president of the local government board; Mr. Trevelyan, secretary for Scotland; Mr. Mundella, president of the board of trade; Mr. J. Morley, chief secretary for Ireland. The Earl of Aberdeen became lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Mr. Goschen, and Sir Henry James did not enter the new Ministry, owing to their distrust of the Irish policy with which Mr. John Morley's name was associated. When Parliament assembled on 18th February, it was intimated that the Government intended to spend some time in inquiring into the Irish difficulty. After many delays, notice was given of the introduction, on the 8th April, of a Bill granting Home Rule to Ireland, to be accompanied by another Bill dealing with the land question. The retiral of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan from the cabinet immediately followed, and both these states-

men took an active part in opposing Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule scheme. This scheme proposed the establishment in Ireland of a separate executive government, responsible to a legislature sitting in Dublin, and with complete power over the civil and criminal law, including existing contracts, and the protection of life and property. The army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs, trade, navigation, and the endowment of religious bodies were excluded from the powers of this 'statutory Parliament.' The Irish assembly was to be divided into two 'orders,' the first order to be composed of representative peers and members with a pecuniary qualification, elected by persons with an income not under £250 a year—the second elected under the suffrage already in use. In the event of disagreement between these orders, the measure voted upon would be suspended for three years, or until a dissolution. All the Irish members were thenceforth to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament, while the Irish customs and excise were to remain under control of this Parliament. The Irish contribution to Imperial charges, to be produced from these sources, was fixed at the sum of £3,242,000 per annum. The Land Purchase Bill, which was said to form an indispensable part of the scheme, was introduced on 13th April. Every landlord was to have the option of selling his land to a state authority under the Irish Parliament, which would transfer the land to the tenants, and take payment from them in instalments payable during forty-nine years. The price of the land was to be fixed by a new Land Commission on the basis of twenty years' purchase in normal cases, and the purchase-money was to be advanced by the Imperial Government, who took power to make a special issue of Consols (amounting to fifty millions) to provide the necessary funds. The repayment of principal and interest was to be made by the tenant in the form of a rent charge, to be collected by the Irish Government, and paid over to a receiver-general appointed by the British Government, into whose hands were to come the entire proceeds of Irish taxation, upon which these repayments were to constitute a first charge. It was stated by Mr. Chamberlain, that the sum originally proposed to be advanced by the Government for this scheme of land purchase was £120,000,000, and it was generally agreed, that if at all extensively taken advantage of £50,000,000 would prove quite inadequate.

Both bills were met by strong opposition in Parliament, coming not only from the Conservatives, but from such prominent Liberals as Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Bright, Sir Henry James, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Trevelyan. The bills were defended by Mr. John Morley, who was understood to have had much to do with their production, and the remainder of the Liberal Cabinet, and were accepted, though with some hesitation, by the Home Rule party, who in the subsequent divisions voted with the Government. A general agitation was carried on throughout the country during the Easter recess, and it was found that while opinion on the Home Rule Bill was very much divided, it was evident that the Land Purchase Bill was distinctly unpopular.

As it became evident, in the course of the prolonged debate which followed in the House of Commons, that the Government were in a minority, Mr. Gladstone proposed to accept an assent to the second reading of the bill as an affirmation of its principle, and promised to withdraw it and re-introduce it in a modified form in an autumn session. Even this, however, failed to conciliate its opponents, who pointed out that it was precisely the principle of a separate and virtually independent Government for any part of the United Kingdom to which they objected. The division was taken at the close of the sitting on 7th June, when the Government were defeated by 341 votes to 311.

The Government at once announced

that a communication had been made to the Queen, and that all contentious business would be dropped for the remainder of the session, from which it was understood that an immediate dissolution and appeal to the country had been resolved on.

The dissolution of Parliament took place on the 25th June, and the electoral campaign which followed was brief but sharp. The Conservatives combined with those Liberals who opposed the Home Rule scheme of Mr. Gladstone, while the Parnellite party were instructed to vote for the Gladstonian candidates wherever they could not count on carrying one of their own. The result was that the new House of Commons, the second elected by the reformed constituencies, numbered 316 Conservatives, 76 Unionist Liberals, 192 Gladstonian Liberals, and 86 Parnellites. Only one of the latter sat for an English constituency, one of the divisions of Liverpool, all the rest being returned in Ireland. The Conservative leaders were generally returned by great majorities, but Mr. Goschen and Sir George Trevelyan failed to obtain re-election as Liberal Unionists.

The Government of Mr. Gladstone at once resigned, and Lord Salisbury, after some negotiations with Lord Hartington, in which the latter declined to take part in the formation of a Cabinet, but promised the general support of the Liberal Unionists to any Government formed on Unionist principles, undertook the formation of a Conservative Cabinet, in which Lord Iddesleigh was Foreign Secretary; Lord Randolph Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Lord Londonderry); Mr. Henry Matthews, Home Secretary; Mr. W. H. Smith, Secretary for War; Lord Salisbury, First Lord of the Treasury; Viscount Cranbrook, Lord President of the Council; Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor; Right Hon. E. Stanhope, Colonial Secretary; Right Hon. Viscount Cross, Indian Secretary; Right Hon. Lord George F. Hamilton, First Lord of Admiralty; Right Hon. Lord Stanley, President of Board of Trade; Right Hon. Lord John Manners, Duchy of Lancaster; and the Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

The new Government had to deal at once with serious riots which had broken out in Belfast during June, between the Protestant and Catholic factions, and in which many lives were lost. By strong reinforcements of troops and police these were now quelled, and a commission of inquiry into their origin was appointed under the presidency of Mr. Justice Day. Another commission, under Earl Cowper, was appointed to investigate the working of the Land Act and the obstacles to the payment of the judicial rents fixed under it. General Sir Redvers Buller was sent also, with the powers of a special magistrate, to organize and command the police force in Kerry and Clare.

A Bill for the relief of tenants by the stoppage of any proceedings against them, on their applying for a revision of the rental fixed under the Land Act, and paying into court half of the rent due, was introduced by Mr. Parnell, but was rejected by the House, chiefly on the ground that County Court judges already possessed powers of staying evictions on reasonable grounds. This was followed by the promulgation, under the auspices of prominent members of the Irish National League, of a scheme (which they called a 'Plan of Campaign') whereby the tenants on any estate might combine to offer their landlord any rent they considered proper, although less than the Judicial Rent fixed under the Land Act, and in the event of his refusal to accept this, the sum was to be lodged by the tenants in the hands of secret trustees, who should apply it in supporting any tenants who might thereafter be evicted. Strong comments were made on the morality of this scheme, which was described by Lord Salisbury as 'organized embezzlement,' but the Plan was extensively advocated by Irish newspapers and members

of Parliament, and was soon put in operation. The Government, after obtaining an opinion from the Irish Courts of Law that the scheme was an illegal conspiracy, seized some of the agents who were employed in collecting rents, in pursuance of the scheme, with part of the money in their possession. A proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices declaring the Plan illegal and criminal, and proceedings were taken against Mr. Dillon and other leaders of the League. At this junction Mr. Parnell, who had for some time been absent from London, reappeared there and surprized his followers by declaring that he knew nothing of the scheme, and suspended his judgment upon it.

On the 23rd December the country was startled by the announcement that Lord Randolph Churchill had resigned his post in the Cabinet. The explanations given were that he had objected to the extent of the naval and military estimates, but that the heads of those departments had not seen their way to reduce the amounts demanded. Negotiations were again opened by Lord Salisbury with the leaders of the Liberal Unionists, and it was finally agreed that Mr. Goschen should enter the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer. As he was without a seat in Parliament he decided to contest a vacancy in the Exchange Division of Liverpool, which, after a keen contest, was lost by a small majority in favour of the Gladstonian candidate, who had the assistance of the Irish vote. A seat was finally found for him as representative of St. George's (Hanover Square) Division of London. Mr. W. H. Smith became leader of the House of Commons, and his first important duty in the session of 1887 was to introduce, on 21st February, a series of new Rules of Procedure for the House, based on the report of the Select Committee on Procedure of the previous year. The first of these Rules gave the power of closing a debate to a bare majority of the House, 'provided the closure be supported by more than 200 members, or if supported by more than 100 members and opposed by less than 40.' The debate on these Rules was continued by the Government until the first Rule was passed and came into operation. Meantime Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in consequence of the rapid failure of his eyesight, had been compelled to resign his post as Irish Secretary, and he was succeeded by Mr. Balfour, hitherto the Secretary for Scotland, whose first duty in his new office was to introduce a Bill for the 'prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland.' This Bill, unlike its predecessors, was not limited in point of time, and incorporated in the law of Ireland several features borrowed from the law of Scotland, especially the power of judicially examining persons suspected of connection with crime, without a preliminary charge being made. It allowed certain classes of offences to be tried without a jury, by two magistrates, with a maximum power of sentencing to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. Clauses also were introduced enabling the Lord Lieutenant to "proclaim" those districts in which the law could not otherwise be enforced; and finally, in cases where it was believed a fair trial by jury could not be obtained in Ireland, powers were asked to remove criminals to England for trial, the Crown defraying the extra expenses involved. This clause excited pretty general dissatisfaction, but the Bill was otherwise heartily supported by the Liberal Unionists as well as the Conservatives, and though vigorously opposed by the Gladstonians and Home Rulers, the second reading was carried on 18th April by a majority of 101 votes. At the same time a Bill was introduced (31st March) in the House of Lords to amend some of the provisions of the Irish Land Act of 1881. Leaseholders were to be admitted to the benefits of this Act, and its powers were to be extended to 'town parks;' sudden evictions were to be discouraged by allowing a period of six months, during which defaulting tenants might remain as caretakers,

and might redeem their holdings by payment of the rent due. In certain cases County Court Judges were to be empowered to grant certificates of insolvency.

A further measure of relief was promised in the shape of a comprehensive scheme of land purchase, to be introduced after the first two bills should be disposed of. On the 22nd April the Budget was introduced by Mr. Goschen, who was able to announce a net surplus of £776,000 as compared with £255,000 estimated by Sir William Harcourt. He estimated the surplus for the year 1887–88 at £974,000, which he proposed to increase by £100,000 by re-adjustment of the duties in transfer of shares, &c. Finally, he proposed to reduce the fixed charge for debt from £28,000,000 to £26,000,000, which he estimated would make the surplus £2,700,000, and enable him to reduce the Income Tax by one penny, and to reduce the duty on tobacco from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 2*d.*, its former amount; to increase the grant in aid of roads in England and Scotland by £280,000, and in aid of arterial drainage in Ireland by £50,000. There would finally remain a net surplus of about £300,000.

In January, 1887, occurred the very sudden and unexpected death of Lord Iddesleigh, while actually engaged in paying a visit to the Prime Minister. The deceased statesman, better known while in the House of Commons as Sir Stafford Northcote, had first resigned his post of Foreign Minister to facilitate the reconstruction of the Cabinet, consequent on Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation, and a painful impression prevailed that the worry caused by these changes had shortened his life. His high personal and political character caused his loss to be sincerely mourned by politicians of every shade of opinion, as well as by the country at large.

The year 1887 was marked by the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne. Only one reign, that of George III., had extended in modern times over so long a period, and the celebration of the 'jubilee' was the occasion of heartfelt demonstrations of loyalty from all parts of Her Majesty's dominions. In India and the neighbouring territories, the celebration took place as early as 16th February, and was taken part in by most of the wealthy natives in the great cities as heartily as by the European population. In England and most of the colonies, the celebration took place at the anniversary of the accession, the 20th June. At the suggestion of the Prince of Wales, the event was marked by the foundation in London of an Imperial Institute, intended as a bond of union and common centre of information regarding every part of the British Empire, the funds for which were raised by public subscription. The event was celebrated by numerous local demonstrations, the chief of which were the Jubilee Exhibition opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales at Manchester in May, 1887, and another at Newcastle-on-Tyne in the same year. Liverpool and Edinburgh had anticipated the event by holding similar exhibitions in 1886, at the commencement of the fiftieth year of Her Majesty's reign. The occasion was also considered a favourable one for calling a Conference at London between representatives of the chief colonies and of the Home Government on the defence of all portions of the Empire, postal and telegraphic communication, and other non-controversial matters of Imperial interest. It was believed that such a meeting would materially strengthen the feeling, which has been the most marked characteristic of recent years, of solidarity among all the subjects of the British Sovereign, and pride in their common citizenship of the greatest empire of modern times.

CHAPTER XXIII.

France and Tunis—French Elections, 1881—The Gambetta Ministry—Recall of M. de Freycinet—Egyptian Question—Fall of the De Freycinet Ministry—Death of Gambetta—Madagascar—Tonquin—Berlin Conference on African Affairs—Recognition of Congo Free State—Fall of Ferry Cabinet—Adoption of *Scrutin de Liste*—French Elections, 1885—Strained Relations with Germany—The Cholera—Death of the King of Spain, and Birth of an Heir—Bismarck's Workmen's Accident Insurance Bill—German Elections, 1882—Repeal of Falk Laws—Passing of Workmen's Insurance and Biennial Budget Bills—Anarchist Outrages—Expansionist Movement in Germany—Caroline Islands Dispute—Addition of 40,000 Men to the Army—National antipathies in Austria—Rising in Dalmatia and Herzegovina—Nihilism in Russia—Assassination of Alexander II.—Repressive measures of Government—Outrages on Jews—Nihilist Trials—General Skobeloff's Paris Speech—His Death—Coronation of Alexander III.—Assassination of Colonel Soudaikin—Greek Frontier Dispute—Conference at Constantinople—Trial of Turkish Ex-ministers—Events in Servia—Revolution in Eastern Roumelia—Union with Bulgaria—Servian Invasion—Bulgarian Victories—Austrian Intervention—Kidnapping of Prince Alexander—His Return and Abdication—Appointment of Regency—Election of another Prince—Opposition by Russia, and consequent deadlock—Belgium—Denmark—Norway—United States—Assassination of President Garfield—Trial of Guiteau—Presidential Election, 1884—Death of General Grant.

WHILE Great Britain was thus occupied with domestic legislation and internal reforms, the various continental countries were in an unsettled and by no means satisfactory condition, though no appeal had been made to arms. France, under the presidentship of M. Grévy and by the exertions of M. Gambetta and other influential statesmen, having recovered from the effects of the German War and the atrocities of the Red Republicans, began to exhibit symptoms of the revival of her old aggressive spirit. She had long laid claim to a right to interfere in the affairs of Tunis, and taking advantage of a dispute respecting the purchase by the Société Marseillaise, a French financial association, of a vast tract of territory, called the Enfida Estate, which was disputed by a Maltese named Levy, the French Government sent a strong body of troops to Tunis and compelled the Bey to submit to a French protectorate. This violent intrusion on the rights of the Porte excited a strong feeling of disapprobation not only in Turkey but in Italy, and was not regarded with favour by the British Government. Germany, however, followed by Austria, abetted the aggressive action of the French Ministry, in the hope of causing ill-blood between France and Italy. But Italy, though deeply incensed at the unjustifiable conduct of the French Government, was not able, unaided, to do more than protest.

The chief measure of domestic importance which occupied the attention of the French Chambers at this time was the proposal to substitute *Scrutin de liste* for *Scrutin d'arrondissement* in the election of deputies to the Chamber. The former signifies the election of all the members for each department in a block; whereas by the latter, which was the existing mode, they were chosen by single-member wards. Even the thoroughgoing Republicans were by no means unanimous in their desire for a change, and the other parties were decidedly opposed to it. M. Lanfrey, who was noted for his loyalty to the Republic, said, 'This scheme has been conceived with the object, decidedly laudable, of bringing to the front men of general rather than local celebrity. But this advantage loses much of its value if it must be bought at the price of an honest voter. In the bosom of the department the majority of the electors are strangers to the men who solicit their votes. A few are known by reputation; but as to the greater number, the electors are obliged blindly to trust to the recommendation of a committee. They are asked, therefore, for a vote of confidence, and a vote of confidence is essentially anti-Republican.' M. Gambetta had from the first most strenuously

advocated the proposed change, but the parliamentary committee, to which the Bill was referred, reported against it, and M. Boysset, in giving in the report, declared that *Scrutin de liste* would serve to make M. Gambetta's power in Parliament absolute. The Bill was carried in the Chamber of Deputies by 299 votes to 222, but on the 3rd of June, 1881, it was rejected by the Senate by a majority of 34.

The elections which speedily followed resulted in considerable gains to the Republicans—the Bonapartists having lost no less than thirty-seven seats. But throughout the electoral campaign there were alarming rumours respecting the state of affairs in South Algeria and Tunis; and though the Government endeavoured to reassure the public mind, bad news continued to arrive. An insurrection of the native population of Sfax took place early in July, and the bombardment and occupation of the town by the French did not terminate the disturbance. The tribes to the west of Tunis revolted; the Arabs in the Kroumir Mountains joined the insurgents, and in Algeria the Sahel gave ominous indications of their intention to rise in arms. A large body of Turkish troops, with several batteries of artillery, disembarked at Tripoli, as the French were suspected of an intention to invade that country. Lord Granville significantly informed the French Ministry that 'Her Majesty's Government could not regard interference of whatever description on the part of the French Government in that province, in the same manner as they viewed the recent occurrence in Tunis.' The French Ministers declared that 'they had already put down the insurrection in Tunis in concert with the Bey;' and added, that 'the conquest of Tripoli was a dream.' But the insurrection in Tunis was not put down, and continued to be a subject of embarrassment and anxiety, although the French, by the middle of September, had upwards of 50,000 men in Africa. The condition of Algeria, too, was causing great uneasiness, which was deepened by the reports as to the sufferings and privations of the troops. The dissatisfaction thus produced proved fatal to the Ministry, and they resigned in the beginning of November. A new Cabinet was formed, with M. Gambetta as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Premier; but the most influential statesmen refused to take office along with him, and he was forced to form his administration of men of lower standing. 'The Ministry is by no means great,' it was said, 'but M. Gambetta occupies a very great place.'

The new Cabinet announced that their future policy was 'to reorganize all our judicial institutions; to follow up perseveringly the work of national education so well begun by our predecessors; to take up again and complete, without loss of time, our military legislation; to try to find, without injury to France, the best means of reducing the military and naval charges borne by the country; and to alleviate, without disturbing our finances, those which weigh down agriculture; to fix, by commercial treaties, the economic conditions of our different industries, and to develop our means of production, of transport, and of exchange; to foster provident and friendly associations; to insure, by the strict application of the provisions of the Concordat, respect for the established powers in the relation between Church and State.'

This programme, extensive though it was, did not come up to the expectations which had been formed respecting the sensational policy of the 'great minister.' General dissatisfaction was felt concerning the Tunisian expedition; the renewal of the commercial treaty with England presented serious difficulties, and questions of the gravest importance arose in connection with the preparation of a prospective budget. The position of the new Ministry was evidently critical, and M. Gambetta saw clearly that he was the object of strong and general suspicion. He resolved, therefore, to challenge a vote of confidence, and to stand or fall by a scheme which he pro-

posed for the establishment of the *Scrutin de liste* as the mode of electing departmental deputies, and for an alteration in the method of appointing the Senate and in the extent of its powers. It was rejected by a large majority, and he immediately placed his resignation in the hands of M. Grévy. There can be little doubt that this adverse vote was not inspired by any dislike to the change proposed, but by the apprehension that it would indirectly add to the power and popularity of a minister whom they regarded as both too popular and too powerful already. Moderate men had been alarmed by the restlessness of the Ministry, while the Radicals detested their 'opportunism.'

M. de Freycinet was recalled to power, with M. Leon Say, M. Jules Ferry, M. Tirard, Admiral Jauréguiberry, and other men of experience and parliamentary weight as his colleagues. At this period a commercial crisis occurred which severely tasked the skill and energies of M. Leon Say, the Minister of Finance. A financial company, called the 'Union Générale,' had been formed in 1881, it was said with capital chiefly derived from the religious orders, and was designed to oppose the operations of the great Jewish capitalists in every quarter of the world. The directors were all men of known ability, with the Duc de Decazes at their head. Its success seemed certain. The shares, which commenced at 500 francs, were quoted at the meeting of shareholders on 5th November at 2500 francs. On that occasion MM. Bontoux and Feder, the promoter and the manager, stated that the profits of the society, up to 30th September, amounted to 36,000,000 francs, and added that the profits already insured for the next three years exceeded that figure. M. Bontoux on this occasion denied also that the Union Générale was backed by the religious orders. 'I know,' he said, 'many of these, but they only beg, and do not bring us capital. We possess the funds we state, and the profits we declare really exist. We have half a million of capital at our disposal, and our operations extend from Brazil to Russia.' In the course of a few months, however, the bubble burst: the company became bankrupt and caused the most terrible disasters. All classes of society were involved in the failure of the Union Générale, and the French Government, aided by the Bank of France and other powerful establishments, was obliged to take special measures to mitigate its injurious effects. MM. Feder and Bontoux were arrested on 2nd February, 1882, and after a long trial were condemned to different terms of imprisonment. In this state of affairs M. Say remarked, 'There can be no question for the moment of the purchase of railways by the State, or of the issue of new loans.' On the contrary, he felt that it would be desirable for some time to restrict as far as possible all appeals to the national credit, and he promised to modify the existing law in respect of commercial enterprises, so as to introduce effective guarantees for private interests and public morality.

M. Gambetta's friends and the Extreme Left proved equally powerless against the De Freycinet Ministry in domestic affairs. Many important and disputed questions were dealt with or discussed—the election of mayors, primary and compulsory education, the Concordat and divorce—the Ministry steering skilfully between extreme opinions. There was no suspicion entertained that M. de Freycinet's Government was destined to fall through a too cautious evasion of national responsibility; yet so it was. France indeed went hand in hand with England, though slowly and hesitatingly, in dealing with Egyptian affairs down to the critical moment when it became necessary to support diplomacy by action. But fears began to be entertained by the French people that their country might be drawn by Britain into an armed intervention in Egypt, and when M. de Freycinet made known the intention of the Governments of France and England to send a squadron to Alexandria, the greatest

alarm was manifested lest they should be dragged into a new adventure, more serious even than that of Tunis. Hence the French squadron took no part in the bombardment of Alexandria, but proceeded to Port Saïd before it commenced. M. Gambetta exhorted the Government and the Chamber to adhere to the British alliance at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. To quarrel with Britain, he said, would be the rashest and most unjustifiable of adventures, and would be fatal to the authority and influence of France in Egypt. The warning was unheeded. M. de Freycinet's moderate proposals for protecting the Suez Canal were resisted by a strange combination of members who were in favour of energetic intervention, and of those who were in favour of complete non-intervention, and the vote of credit to meet the necessary expenses of guarding the canal was negatived by 416 votes to 75. M. de Freycinet and his colleagues immediately sent in their resignations, and after many difficulties President Grévy succeeded in forming a 'Ministry of Affairs' under M. Duclerc, from which the Radical element was excluded. The British Government was, in consequence, left alone in dealing with Egyptian affairs, and the French public speedily exhibited their bitter mortification at the position in which their country was thus placed.

When the Note of the Egyptian Government abolishing the Dual Control was communicated to the French Cabinet on 12th November, 1882, M. Duclerc intimated to Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, that France would regard this measure as inspired by the British Government, and urged that the Joint Control having been established by the French and English Governments, its suppression by the Government of the Khedive could not properly take effect until both the other contracting parties had sanctioned it. Other propositions, which were made by the British Government in order to soothe the irritable sensibilities of the French, were rejected as not consistent with 'the legitimate interests of French influence' in Egypt. Even the offer to France of the presidency of the Public Debt Exchequer was rejected by the French Ministry, who availed themselves of the opportunity to set forth the political character of the interests which France meant to preserve in Egypt alongside of, or apart from, the financial interests professed by her citizens, to whom also she owed protection.

The death of M. Gambetta, a few minutes before midnight on the last day of 1882, was deplored as a national calamity. It came upon France like a thunderbolt, and the disruption of the Republican party, of which he was the mainstay, seemed in consequence certain. This catastrophe was averted, however, by the folly of Prince Napoleon, who issued a manifesto treating the downfall of the Republic as imminent, and demanding a *plébiscite*, and thus caused the Republicans to close their ranks.

The winding up of the negotiations connected with the new commercial treaties occupied public attention for several months. Those between France and the other continental countries were ratified, but the legislature of Holland rejected that which had been concluded with the Dutch commissioners, and ten months' fruitless negotiations with Britain were ended by the introduction to the French Chamber of a bill enacting that goods of British origin or manufacture should be subject, on entering France, to pay the same dues as those of the 'most favoured nations.' Home administration, however, did not at this time greatly occupy the attention either of the legislature or the public in France. There was a marked revival of the old spirit of intervention abroad, as was shown by projects for exerting French influence with a high hand in Tonquin, Madagascar, and Equatorial Africa. The Ministry complained that in Madagascar the Hova Government had promulgated a law prohibiting natives from selling land to foreigners, and that the Hova flag had

been planted at Passandava Bay, over which the French had thought fit to claim a protectorate. They alleged also that the legitimate influence of France was seriously menaced by British influence exercised upon the Hovas. The Queen of the Hovas sent ambassadors to Paris in order to effect a peaceful settlement of the points in dispute, but after meetings with the French negotiators the Malagasy envoys refused to grant the French demands, which proved to be much more extensive than they had at first put forward. They claimed, first, a protectorate over the north-west coast of Madagascar; secondly, ninety-nine years' leases of land; thirdly, general rights over the whole island.

The ambassadors left Paris for London on 27th November, and the French Ministry immediately proclaimed that they were resolved to 'enforce the respect of the rights and interests of France in Madagascar—rights and interests which have been disregarded by the Queen of the Hovas. Orders in conformity with the situation have therefore been sent to the commander of the French naval station.' On the 10th of December a semi-official note appeared in all the journals, stating that the British Foreign Office had proposed to the French Government a basis for an understanding with regard to Madagascar; but that there was no foundation for the report that there was a conflict between the two governments on that matter —the British Cabinet would leave the French Republic free to act as it thought fit. A few weeks later, however, the British Ministry offered to act as mediators between France and Madagascar, but their friendly offices were declined by the French Government.

The task of enforcing the French claims on certain portions of Madagascar was intrusted to Rear-Admiral St. Pierre, who was appointed to command the naval division of the Indian Ocean. Admiral Pierre was one of a class of French officers who, 'clothed in a little brief authority,' always attempt to carry matters with a high hand, and show a total disregard of the rights of others. No one who knew his character, or the habitual policy of the French Government in dealing with weak countries, felt any surprise when, on the 25th May, 1883, a telegram was received by the Cabinet from Admiral Pierre, announcing that in putting into execution the instructions which he had received from his Government, he had destroyed all the military posts that the Hovas had established on Sakalava territory, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and that he had seized the custom-house station of Mayunga, which commands the road and river leading to Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar. The Hova garrison occupying that station, he said, had been driven out. On the 31st of the same month the *Flore*, carrying the admiral's flag, arrived off Tamatave, and on the evening of 1st June he handed an ultimatum to the governor of Tamatave to be forwarded to the Hova Prime Minister at Antananarivo, demanding the recognition of all rights claimed by the French in virtue of all treaties they had made with the Malagasy, the right to become proprietors of land, and an indemnity of 1,000,000 francs in payment of certain claims which had been made by French citizens. The Malagasy Government refused to concede these demands, and on Sunday, 10th June, the day after their reply reached the French consul, the French fleet, consisting of six vessels, opened fire on the fort situated at the base of the point on which the town is built. The Hovas, shortly after the firing commenced, evacuated their position, and retreated in good order to the hills. The French flag was hoisted on the fort, and Tamatave and the adjacent territory occupied by the French were declared by Admiral Pierre to be in a state of siege.

The injury inflicted by these unjustifiable proceedings was chiefly felt by the European residents, who were for the most part British merchants or missionaries, for the Hovas had retired into the interior, where

the invaders were unable to reach them. Their Queen died at this critical moment, but her niece was quickly accepted as her successor. Admiral Pierre proceeded in the same high-handed manner in his treatment, not only of the natives, but also of the British authorities. He ordered the arrest of the secretary of the British consul, one Aelrienizza, a Hova by birth, on the charge of conniving with the enemy. He ordered Mr. Pakenham, the British consul, to quit the town within twenty-four hours, though Mr. Pakenham was seriously ill at the moment, and died seven hours before the expiry of the prescribed period. The admiral also arrested Mr. Shaw, the agent of the London Missionary Society at Antananarivo on charges afterwards admitted to be baseless, and detained him long in strict custody on board a French ship. Lastly, the reckless and imperious French officer prevented an English man-of-war, the *Dryad*, from communicating with the shore, in spite of the request of the captain, who showed both spirit and dignity in very trying circumstances. The flags of all foreign consuls at Tamatave were at the same time pulled down.

The intelligence of this outrageous conduct excited great indignation in Britain, and the Ministry at once communicated the information they had obtained to the French Government, by whom it was received with the utmost incredulity. On investigation, however, the French Ministry were obliged to admit that the allegations were correct, and they sent a despatch to the British Government containing a general expression of regret. An indemnity to Mr. Shaw of 25,000 francs was agreed to by them. The death of Admiral Pierre on his return to France, and the fact that he had been suffering throughout from a painful and enfeebling disease, justified the abandonment of any further personal questions.

After a protracted blockade of the ports and coast an arrangement was agreed to by the Madagascar Government, whereby the French obtained a naval station on the north-east coast, the practical control of the foreign relations of the country, and the right to collect the dues at Tamatave and some other ports until their war expenses should be defrayed. Considerable disputes afterwards arose as to the exact nature and extent of French control admitted by this document, France repudiating the appendix defining the terms of the main instrument, and the Hova Government refusing to abandon that security for their freedom from internal interference.

While France was thus attempting to extend what is miscalled her 'colonial empire' in Madagascar, she had commenced another task of the same kind, but of still greater difficulty and danger, in the 'far East.' The treaty of 1874 gave France a protectorate over Annam, but the French colony of Cochin-China had grievances of long standing against the Annamese respecting their failure to perform their share of the treaty, and they especially complained of the robberies perpetrated by the semi-piratical bands designated Black Flags. A force of 750 marines was despatched from France, under the command of Major Rivière, in order to reinforce the French troops already in that country. The French Cabinet resolved also to despatch a commissary to the court of Hué, the capital of Annam, with a new treaty which the king was to be called upon to sign, as the treaty of 1874 did not 'specify with sufficient clearness' the rights conferred on France. An expeditionary corps of 3000 men was despatched at the same time, to give 'the Government commissary all the necessary influence to insure the acceptance of the treaty.' Supported by this body of troops M. Harmand, the commissary, seems to have had no difficulty in inducing the sovereign of Annam to accept the conditions thus forced upon him by the French Government. The Black Flags, however, still, as the French alleged, obstinately resisted the force under Commander Rivière, and

the Ministry complained that the Annamese Government had violated the treaty in recognizing the suzerainty of China, and that they had permitted the persecution of French subjects and encouraged brigandage. The Cabinet, therefore, resolved to put an end to this state of affairs, to insist upon the reduction of Annam to a position of dependency, and to obtain supreme authority in Tonquin.

It is doubtful, however, whether the proposal of the Ministry to pursue an 'adventurous and energetic policy' in Tonquin would have met with the support either of the Chambers or the public—especially as China had already entered a grave protest—if the national pride had not been wounded by the repulse of Rivière's expedition and the death of its brave leader. He had been compelled by the attacks of the Black Flags to make a sortie from Hanoi, accompanied by only fifty men, the main body of his troops, numbering 400, having been left in the citadel. With this handful of men he encountered a strong band of the enemy on ground covered with a bamboo thicket, and under its shelter the Annamites shot down the French troops without the chance of resistance, Rivière himself being among the slain. Three ironclads were immediately despatched from French ports, under Admiral Courbet, to avenge this defeat. Reinforcements were also sent to Tonquin by the governor of Cochin-China, and several companies were despatched from New Caledonia, so that in July the French were able to resume the offensive in Tonquin. After some successes they were forced by the flooding of the river banks to retire. Meantime Admiral Courbet advanced on Hué and deposed the king. The anti-war party, encouraged by this turn of affairs, set up a king who was ready to agree to all the terms exacted by the French commissioner. The conditions embodied in the treaty were—full and entire recognition of the French protectorate over Annam and Tonquin; the definite annexation of the province of Binh-Thuan to French Cochin-China; occupation by the French troops of the forts of Jhuan-An, at the mouth of the river of Hué; the immediate recall of the Annamite troops from Tonquin; the issuing of orders that all mandarins should take up their posts, and confirmation of all nominations made by French authority. The French on their part undertook to expel from Tonquin the bands known as the Black Flags, and to insure freedom of trade.

The French Ministry must have been quite well aware that this treaty contained provisions certain to be unacceptable to China. M. Duclerc had sent M. Bourée to Pekin to make an amicable arrangement on the subject of Tonquin with the Chinese Government; and both M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and M. Gambetta had acknowledged that China had a right to concern herself in the affairs of Tonquin. But now M. Challemel-Lacour affirmed that Tonquin was 'outside the frontiers of the Chinese Empire,' and disavowed the arrangement which M. Bourée had made with the court at Pekin, on the pretext that he had acted spontaneously and precipitately. The Chinese authorities, however, speedily made it manifest that they were not prepared to acquiesce in the protectorate of France over Tonquin. The Marquis Tseng stated explicitly that 'the French proposals were inconsistent with the interests of China in Annam. . . . In the absence of the old arrangements by which the King of Annam was independent (as previous to 1876) of any power but the Emperor of China, no other could be accepted which did not give China exclusive control over the Red River.' But China, he added, was prepared to open that river for commerce to all nations having treaties with the empire.

Negotiations were then shifted to Europe, where the Marquis Tseng defended the rights and interests of his country with remarkable patience and tact. Mediation between France and China was spoken of from time to time, but the pretensions of the rival powers were found to

be irreconcilable, and neither would yield. China declared that she would neither recognize the Treaty of Hué nor consent to the occupation of Tonquin by France. On the other hand, the French Government declared their determination to keep Tonquin in subjection and to turn the delta of the Red River into a kind of intrenched camp by taking possession of Sontay, Bac-ninh, and Hong-Hoa. For this purpose the number of land troops in Tonquin was to be increased to at least 8000. The French Ministry were under the delusion that China would yield when she found herself confronted by a determined opposition, and that they might therefore safely adhere to their exorbitant and unwarranted demands; and M. Ferry, who was now Minister for Foreign Affairs, in spite of severe and just criticisms on the inconsistencies and unfairness of his treatment of the Chinese ambassadors, obtained, after a stormy debate, a decided majority on what was nominally a vote of credit, but was really one of confidence. In the Senate it was carried almost unanimously; and the appeal of the Minister of War to the army was responded to by a vast number of volunteers. The facts that a dangerous movement took place at this time at Hué; that Hiep-Hoa, the king whom the French party had set up, was poisoned, and that the national party had regained the ascendency, were pleaded by M. Ferry as reasons why the garrisons in Tonquin should be reinforced; and in spite of the distinct intimation that Sontay and Bac-ninh, against which the French troops were advancing, were held by regular Chinese soldiers, the French forces pressed on, and after some sharp fighting captured Sontay on the 20th of December, 1883.

It was not, however, until 8th March, 1884, that the French troops advanced against Bac-ninh, which surrendered on the 12th after a slight resistance. Conferences were held between Commander Fournier, the French senior naval officer, and Li-Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Petcheli, with a view to a peace, and a treaty was actually signed on 11th May. But misunderstandings arose respecting the terms, and on 23rd June a French corps, on its way to take possession of Lang-Son, was driven back by the Chinese after a sanguinary encounter. Negotiations were again entered into with a view to a settlement of the quarrel, but failed to effect it, and hostilities were resumed. The Chinese forts and towns were bombarded and their ships destroyed; but notwithstanding their successes, which were greatly exaggerated, the French made no progress in compelling the acceptance of the conditions of peace which they demanded. The Chinese people were patriotic and united in their resistance to foreign aggression, while the French troops were decimated by the effects of a deadly climate and of cholera. Hostilities continued to be carried on until April, 1885, when the French Government found it necessary to bring to an end a war which they had so unjustifiably forced upon China, and which had brought them nothing but discredit and an enormous waste of blood and treasure. They withdrew all claim to an indemnity, which they had at one time fixed at 250,000,000 francs, and concluded a peace upon terms in every way honourable to China.

The invasion of Tonquin, which led to hostilities with China and Annam, was commenced by the French Government on the most flimsy pretexts, and was carried on in a manner which displayed grievous mismanagement; it has led to military disasters and humiliations, has wasted the lives of their best troops, has depleted the arsenals, and well-nigh broken down the military system of the country. It inflicted serious injury on foreign trade with China, and was especially detrimental to British commerce. In Annam and Tonquin it has led to demoralization, bloodshed, and ruin, and has been the cause of the recent massacre of many thousands of native Christians and European missionaries. The French people themselves have suffered

very severely from the ill-starred enterprise, which from first to last must have cost them not less than £20,000,000 sterling, and they have not yet seen the last of this great scheme of colonial aggrandizement.

The reckless colonial policy of France was displayed on the West Coast of Africa as well as in the South Pacific and the extreme East. The African traveller, M. de Brazza, who appears to have explored the Congo chiefly at the expense of the King of the Belgians, took possession of a large tract of country claimed by the Portuguese, and made a treaty with a chief named Makoko, in the interest of France. A bill ratifying this treaty was at once voted both by the Chamber and the Senate, and a large sum of money was granted to defray the expenses of the expedition to the Congo. This new and by no means judicious attempt to extend the colonial possessions of France, brought the French Ministry into unpleasant contact both with Portugal and with Britain.

The International Congo Association (a body founded by the King of the Belgians with the view of opening up the Congo district to European commerce) had established itself on the Upper Congo, under the charge of Mr. H. M. Stanley, who had succeeded in making roads past the rapids and establishing numerous trading stations on the river. The Association was attempting to form a treaty with the Portuguese Government in order to facilitate the entry of goods at the mouth of the river. France and Germany were also putting forth conflicting claims. In these circumstances the British Ministry resolved to recognize the claims of Portugal to the territorial possession of the district, although she had never actually exercised sovereignty there. A treaty embodying this recognition was laid before Parliament. It was not looked upon with much favour, however, by the mercantile class in Britain, was regarded with jealousy by the Portuguese, and was opposed by Germany and by France, which had acquired a considerable territory north of the Congo, and had obtained the right to a reversion of the claims of the International Association in case of its being dissolved. A European Conference was convened by Prince Bismarck at Berlin to consider the subject of African claims and annexations generally. It met in November, 1884, and its sittings were continued until February 26, 1885.

The claims of France to the right bank of the Congo above Manyanga up to within one degree south of the equator, together with the country extending thence to the west coast, were acknowledged. The admitted rights of Portugal comprised a portion of the left or south bank from the sea-coast up to Nokki, and a small detached piece of coast further north, not touching the river. The north bank of the river up to Massabé, with a portion of coast near the mouth, was thus handed over to the International Association, along with a great tract of land in the interior, extending from the French territory to Lake Tanganyika; and finally, the territory of the Association was recognized as an independent state, with the title of the Congo Free State, and treaties or conventions were made with it by most of the Great Powers. Mr. Stanley, the discoverer of the greater portion of the Congo, was fitly appointed the first governor of the infant state.

During these colonial adventures the position of France in Europe was in many ways an uneasy one. Much ill feeling, suspicion, and recrimination were displayed through the press between that country and Germany, and found vent in the scandalous treatment of King Alfonso in Paris. It was highly discreditable to the Parisians, that on his arrival, and when calling on President Grévy, the King of Spain was received with hooting and other manifestations of hostility, simply because he had accepted at Berlin the honorary colonelcy of an Uhlan regiment. This behaviour was so offensive that the President of the Republic was forced to make an ungracious and lame apology, which the Spanish Gov-

ernment insisted should be published in the *Official Journal*. The result was that Spain followed the example of Italy in connecting herself with the Austro-German Alliance. France had also, as we have seen, aroused the jealousy of Portugal by her proceedings on the Congo and the Niger, and Switzerland had taken offence at the encampment of French troops and the commencement of certain strategic works on a portion of Savoy which had been declared neutral. In consequence the isolation of France on the Continent was almost complete, and the breach with the Vatican and with Germany and her allies was steadily widened. The death of the Comte de Chambord, the head of the elder branch of the Bourbons (24th August, 1883), freed the Republic from the annoyance of Legitimist banquets, though not from any real danger; but it added not a little to the influence and importance of the Orleanist Princes.

On the arrival in Paris of the news of General Négrier's retreat before the Chinese forces, great excitement was manifested in the Chamber. The demand of M. Ferry, on 30th March, 1885, for priority for the vote of a credit of 200,000,000 francs was refused by 308 to 161, and the Ministry at once resigned. MM. de Freycinet and Constans having successively failed in forming a cabinet, on 7th April M. Brisson, the President of the Chamber, was induced to take office, with M. de Freycinet as Foreign Minister, and M. Allain-Targé as Minister of the Interior. M. Brisson at once demanded a credit of 150,000,000 francs for carrying on the Tonquin expedition, which had scarcely been voted when news arrived that an armistice with China had been signed, and that negotiations for peace were in progress, which shortly afterwards brought the war to an end.

In June, 1885, a new electoral law establishing the system of voting by *scrutin de liste*, which Gambetta had vainly striven to institute, was passed by the Chambers, and the elections under the new system were fixed to take place in October. The first balloting was on 4th, and the second on 18th October, 1885. The results showed a great gain to the Conservatives, though the majority of the Chamber still remained Republican. The members of the new Chamber were grouped as follows:—Irreconcilables, 68; Opportunists, 306; Monarchists, 132; and Bonapartists, 69. The Brisson Ministry decided to remain in office. On 22nd December news was received in Paris that a treaty of peace had been concluded with Madagascar, the French to have a resident at the capital with a sufficient guard, and to have entire control of the foreign relations of the country.

The Brisson Ministry lasted until after the re-election of M. Grevy as President of the French Republic, but its position had never been strong in the Chamber, and in January, 1886, it gave place to one headed by M. de Freycinet, one of whose first acts was to proclaim an amnesty releasing the greater number of so-called political prisoners in France, including Prince Krapotkine and Louise Michel. An act which excited greater controversy was the expulsion of all the members of families which had reigned in France. This was effected on the transparent pretext that the Compte de Paris had held a gathering of his adherents on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. The Comte, Prince Napoleon, and the Duc d'Aumale had all to leave the country. On 12th November it was announced that M. Paul Bert, who had accepted the Governorship of Tonquin, had fallen a victim to the climate of that dependency. By a vote of both Houses he was accorded a public funeral.

On 4th December the Freycinet Ministry were defeated on the Estimates and resigned, and were succeeded by M. Goblet, a statesman of no marked reputation, who constructed a Cabinet out of the remains of M. de Freycinet's. A very strained state of relations with Germany occurred towards the end of the year 1886, arising out of

some remarks of the French War Minister, General Boulanger, but they died away without any serious result. They were again revived in April, 1877, when the arrest of a French police official by German agents near the Alsatian frontier caused considerable excitement in both countries for a time, but it was ended by the Germans agreeing to release their prisoner on the ground of some irregularities in the arrest.

An outbreak of cholera had taken place in Egypt in the summer of 1883, where it caused great mortality among both the natives and the British troops, but died away at the approach of winter. It made its appearance, however, in the south of France early in the summer of 1884, producing widespread dismay all over the Continent. It subsequently appeared in Italy, and late in the autumn the epidemic was for a short time very fatal in Paris. It next broke out in Spain, where all through the summer and autumn of 1885 it raged with the utmost violence. Many thousands of all classes were cut off by the pestilence, and extreme excitement prevailed among the ignorant and fanatical, who regarded medical men as responsible for its ravages. The courage and sympathy displayed by King Alfonso amid these terrible scenes and the widespread panic greatly strengthened his hold on the affections of his people. The untimely death of the young sovereign (November, 1885) was universally lamented, and the accession to the throne of an infant born 18th May, 1886, after the death of his father, excited great apprehensions for the stability of the throne and the peace of the country.

The internal affairs of Germany were still in an unsatisfactory state. The imperious and arbitrary policy of Prince Bismarck was continued in the most aggravating form. The gigantic military system, and the oppressive burden of taxation which it imposed on the people, were unchanged, and in consequence the secret societies by which Germany was honeycombed were as active as ever in their machinations and operations. The complaints of the people became louder and more urgent, and the members of the legislature had become restive under the yoke of bondage imposed upon them by the Emperor and his chief counsellor. A series of disgraceful outrages upon the Jews also took place, and though these anti-Jewish riots, which occurred in Berlin and other large Prussian towns, were the work of the lower classes, excited by Socialist agitators, yet in not a few instances the leaders were men of education and position, and the students of the University of Berlin were among the most rancorous assailants of the Jewish race.

The Chancellor was still bent on carrying his measures of fiscal policy and state socialism, notwithstanding the resolute opposition of a decided majority of the Parliament and of the people. The first scheme which he laid before the new Economic Council was one for establishing a system of compulsory insurance against accidents to workmen in mines and manufactories. According to this plan the workmen in question were to be compelled to insure in a Government office against accidents which resulted in loss of life or inability to work. In the case of workmen with salaries of more than 750 marks, half of the premium was to be paid by the masters, and the other half by the workmen themselves. Where the salaries were smaller the masters were to pay two-thirds of the premium, and the remainder was to be defrayed from the poor-rates. The insurance thus obtained would, with aid from the State, provide also for widows' pensions, allowances for orphan children under fifteen years of age, and medical attendance for workmen who were injured. Another proposal, which was justly regarded as even more socialistic in character, was to revive the artisan guilds of the middle ages with a view to improving the condition of the working classes.

These schemes, as soon as they were made public, excited great opposition all

over Germany, especially in the smaller States. The Liberals considered that Prince Bismarck's object was to weaken the influence of Parliament, and to make the poorer classes of the Empire personally dependent upon the imperial authorities, while the upper classes would not only be compelled to pay heavier taxes, but would be deprived of all independent influence in the management of public affairs. The Chancellor, however, as usual, doggedly persisted in the prosecution of his plans, and in the speech from the throne at the opening of the Imperial Parliament (15th February, 1881) it was announced that the Emperor had laid before the Federal Council a 'Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill,' which was described as part of 'the legislation directed against the tendencies of social democracy,' the inadequacy of the existing provisions for working men when laid aside by age or accidents 'having contributed,' it was alleged, 'not a little to induce them to seek means of relief by supporting Socialist schemes.' Among other measures to be introduced for a similar purpose was a Bill for facilitating the formation into corporate societies or guilds of persons employed in the same trade, 'thus raising their economic capacity as well as their social and moral efficiency.' It was also announced that 'a very considerable increase having taken place in the number of crimes and offences committed in a state of drunkenness,' an extension of the criminal code would be proposed to provide for such cases; and that the Bill for the establishment of biennial budgets, which had fallen through in the previous session, would again be laid before the House, 'as the allied Governments are now, as formerly, under the weight of difficulties inseparable from the annual and simultaneous sitting of imperial and provincial parliaments.'

It speedily became apparent that these schemes were not likely to meet with much favour from the German Parliament. Their economical unsoundness and demoralizing character were exposed with great ability by Herr Richter, who pointed out the sufferings inflicted upon the people by the protectionist tariff, condemned the 'Working Men's Accident Insurance Bill' as a step towards Socialism, and described the present condition of Germany as a 'medley of confusion and absolutism.' When Bismarck rose to reply to this pungent and powerful attack, most of the members left the House—an exhibition of feeling which seems to have made him lose his temper, and he defied Herr Richter to turn him out of office so long as he enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. He went so far in his anger as to say that the occasion might arise when a dictatorship would be preferable to parliamentary government. This unwise bluster, however, produced no impression either upon the deputies or the country, and pointed attention was called to the fact that France, notwithstanding the heavy losses and sufferings it had undergone ten years before, was at that moment materially far more prosperous, and politically far more free than Germany, which now found it difficult to obtain sufficient funds to provide armaments which France was preparing without any apparent effort.

Prince Bismarck, however, was bent on carrying his measures of State socialism, and all the members in any way connected with the Government were warned to vote for and with the king's ministers. In his eagerness to secure a majority he even tried to conciliate the clerical party by a revision of the Falk Laws. His efforts, however, were in vain. His Accident Insurance Bill—his Bill for laying a special tax on persons exempted from service in the army or navy—his Tobacco Monopoly Bill, and his scheme for a biennial budget, were all rejected by large majorities. His proposal to pay salaries to the members of an Economic Council was denounced by all parties as an engine for the suppression of parliamentary liberty, and for the increase of the already excessive personal influence

of the Chancellor, and was indignantly thrown aside.

The German Parliamentary elections took place in October, 1882, and though every effort was made to secure a majority for the Government, the result was most unfavourable to them. All the Liberal leaders—even those most obnoxious to the Chancellor—were returned, while, on the other hand, most of the Conservative leaders, including the Chancellor's own son, were rejected. So also was Herr Stöcker, chaplain to the Emperor, who had taken a prominent part in the disgraceful agitation against the Jews. He was defeated by a majority of nearly two to one by the distinguished Professor Virchow, the first eminent German who denounced the discreditable attempt of the *Judenhetze* to inflame the prejudices of the Christian inhabitants of Berlin against their Jewish fellow-townsmen. A significant fact connected with this general election was that all the newly-elected members in Alsace-Lorraine belonged to the party which protests against annexation. The Socialists gained several victories, although all agitation in favour of their candidates had been prohibited under penalties, and voters had even been imprisoned for cheering them.

When the Parliament was opened, 17th November, it speedily appeared that Prince Bismarck, like the Bourbons, 'had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.' Although the opponents of his policy were more numerous than they had been in the late Parliament, his scheme for biennial budgets, the Accident Insurance Bill, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, and the other obnoxious measures which had been rejected by large majorities, were again introduced and were once more thrown out. A keen debate took place respecting the improper influence exercised by the Government on the elections. The Home Minister went so far as to assert that it was the duty of all administrative officials to support the Government candidates, and that those who had done so would receive the thanks of the Emperor. This imprudent statement produced a storm of indignation, and the motion for an inquiry by the Committee for the Verification of the Elections into 'the faults of the present system, as shown by the last elections, and more especially as regards their secrecy and independence,' was adopted unanimously. So deeply mortified was the Chancellor at the result of the elections, and the rebuffs which he received from the Parliament, that he had recourse to his old expedient of threatening resignation. The semi-official *Post* of Berlin announced that the Chancellor was 'weary of being made the butt of all the wickedness, baseness, calumny, and envious suspicions of 45,000,000 people;' and that he would therefore shortly tender his resignation to the Emperor, 'as it is impossible to govern Prussia on the monarchical system and at the same time on the principles of the Progressist party.' This threat, however, was only laughed at, for the public remembered that only a few months previously the Prince had stated that he intended to retain office so long as the Emperor should wish him to do so, and that 'the Emperor's will alone would lift him out of the saddle.'

Bismarck now set himself, with his accustomed energy, to break up the hostile phalanx and to detach the Conservatives from the ranks of the Opposition. About the end of January, 1883, a conciliatory letter which the Emperor had addressed to the Pope was made public, along with a reply from the pontiff in a corresponding spirit. After a good deal of finessing respecting the extent of the concessions to be made by the Government, a Bill was introduced into the Prussian Parliament which enacted that ecclesiastical appointments should be notified to the Government before they were carried out, but limited the obligation to permanent appointments bestowed upon ordained priests. The authority to exercise spiritual functions was extended to all the sees in the kingdom, while questions relating to ecclesiastical offices, the appointment of teachers in ecclesiastical training

colleges, and the exercise of episcopal rights in vacant sees were transferred from the ecclesiastical courts to the Minister of Public Worship, whose interest it is to cultivate the goodwill of the hierarchy. The Bill was, of course, opposed by the Liberals, but it was passed by the Parliament. The Vatican, however, was still not satisfied, and further concessions had to be made by the Government. The Bishop of Limburg, one of the most strenuous opponents of the Falk Laws, was re-installed in his see, and payment was resumed of the State contributions for the maintenance of Roman Catholic priests and bishops in the dioceses which had been suspended during the contest. It was thus admitted by the Government that Bismarck's arbitrary treatment of the Roman Catholic Church had failed of its effect, and that the Pope had triumphed in the long struggle between Prussia and the Vatican.

The repeal of the Falk Laws by the Prussian Parliament made it evident that Prince Bismarck's wish was to govern henceforward not in spite of, but with the help of the Vatican, and that his tendency was to rely more and more in the Imperial Parliament upon the Centres, of whom the Clericals formed an important section, against the Socialists, the Advanced Liberals, and the Separatist parties.

Compensation for this defeat and the humiliation of being obliged to yield to the Papal court was obtained by the Chancellor's success in procuring at last the approval of the Parliament, at the urgent request of the Emperor, to the biennial budget and the Working Men's Insurance Bill, which led to the resignation of his seat by Herr von Bennigsen, the leader of the moderate Liberals, a statesman of great ability and experience.

Great apprehensions were excited by anarchist plots and by the great and growing strength of the Social Democrats, in the large towns especially, of Germany. Several infamous attempts were made to destroy life and property in that country by dynamite, the most atrocious of which was the conspiracy against the life of the German Emperor, and the vast gathering of spectators assembled at the unveiling of the Niederwald national monument, 28th September, 1883. Several persons were tried at Leipzig for this crime and for an explosion planned at Elberfeld, and were convicted and sentenced to death.

The foreign policy of the Chancellor, however, was as vigilant, vigorous, and arbitrary as ever. A decree issued by the Prussian Ministry, ordering the Danish residents of North Schleswig to become Prussian subjects when they reached the age of twenty-one or to leave the country, was indignantly denounced both in the Danish and the Prussian Parliaments. The threat of Marshal von Manteuffel, uttered at Strasburg to the provincial council of the conquered province, that Germany would never grant full constitutional rights to Alsace-Lorraine until the agitation for its restitution to France should cease, caused a great deal of irritation both in the department and throughout France, and the public journals of that country expressed bitter and unceasing hostility to the German nation and rulers. The violence of these attacks provoked such an outburst of indignation in Berlin that Prince Bismarck thought it necessary to issue, through his organ in the press, a very significant warning to those who were risking an open breach between the two countries. 'France,' the article said, 'appears to be the only power which is constantly menacing the peace of Europe; and it must be recognized that such a state of things cannot continue without seriously compromising that peace whose maintenance is the aim of all serious politicians.' This warning, however, was unheeded, as was shown by the treatment given to the King of Spain by the Paris mob, already mentioned.

The expansionist movement in France found a strong response in Germany, which, as elsewhere related, caused strained relations with England in connection with

German annexations at Angra Pequeña, and at the Cameroons on the west coast of Africa, as well as in New Guinea. The Conference summoned by Prince Bismarck, which met at Berlin to consider the whole question of African annexations, showed the strong interest taken by him on this subject. In 1885 an attempt on the part of Germany to annex the Caroline Islands very nearly provoked a rupture with Spain. The question was, however, referred to the Pope, who decided in favour of the latter country, reserving certain trading rights to Germany.

Towards the close of 1886 the threatening nature of events in the east of Europe, the renewal of rumours of a Russo-French alliance, and the strong anti-German feeling evinced by French politicians and journalists, induced Prince Bismarck to demand an addition to the German army of 40,000 men. The demand was supported by Von Moltke in a very alarming speech, in which he said that in his opinion its rejection would certainly be followed by war. Notwithstanding the strong influence brought to bear on the Reichstag, the Bill was rejected, and a dissolution and general election followed. The most alarming rumours were current during the elections, as to the relations with France and Russia, and one result of these was that the new Reichstag, though not differing very much in political complexion from its predecessor, agreed to vote the increase in the army almost without discussion. The rumours of war thereafter died away, and an attempt was even made to establish cordial diplomatic relations between France and Germany, which were, however, very nearly interrupted in April, 1887, by the arrest, close to the Alsatian frontier, of a French police official, on an accusation of being connected with treasonable conspiracies in Alsace. Some irregularity appeared to have existed in the means by which the arrest was effected, and after a brief period, in which peace again seemed in grave danger of being broken, the German authorities consented to release their prisoner.

Austria, with her strongly-marked class divisions and her numerous heterogeneous nationalities, each clamouring for home rule, was greatly in need of freedom from external annoyances in order to enable her to cope with grave internal troubles. Scandals showing the existence of much political corruption, Socialist conspiracies and prosecutions, street riots, and strikes disquieted the Cisleithan kingdoms. The peasants in Upper Austria complained of the large proportion of the land-tax which they were called on to pay compared with the amount demanded of the landed proprietors. They formed themselves into a society called the Upper Austrian Peasants' Union. Similar associations were formed in the other Austrian provinces, and a 'new interest—that of the peasantry as distinguished from the clergy and landowners—was thus added to the numerous ones which are incessantly in conflict with each other throughout the motley territories of the Austrian Empire.' The antagonism between the German Centralists and the Slavs now became exceedingly bitter, and such questions as the ordinance regulating the use of the German and the Czech languages in courts of law, the right of the supreme court to decide on the validity of elections, the reduction of the term of attendance in the elementary schools from eight years to six, were discussed by the two parties, who invariably took opposite sides, with such violence as had nearly led to blows in the Parliament House. This was actually the result of a debate in the Dalmatian Diet, in which three nationalities are represented—the Croatian, Italian, and Servian. Then an absurd quarrel arose between the Czechs and the Hungarians respecting the language in which the new Hungarian money should be printed. In Dalmatia and Herzegovina insurrections broke out, aided by Panslavist propagandists in Montenegro, Servia, Russia, and Italy; and were only overcome after

months of hard fighting and a large expenditure of money, their share of which the Hungarian Delegation, jealous of the interests of Slav subjects, voted with great reluctance. The hostility of the Croatians to Magyar rule led to serious disturbances in the Transleithan kingdom. The extension of Hungarian authority was openly resisted; martial law had to be proclaimed, and riots put down by military force.

The ill-feeling against the Jews, who were regarded as accomplices of the tax-gatherer, led to a series of most disgraceful outrages, which are alleged to have been connived at by the authorities. The hatred of the populace to the Semitic race culminated during the trial of the Tisza-Esslar murder case. Some Jews at that village were accused of having put to death a Christian servant girl named Esther Solymosi as a sacrifice at the celebration of the Passover. The charge depended almost wholly on the evidence of the son of one of the persons accused, who, partly by threats and partly by promises, was induced to swear to a monstrous and utterly incredible story. The case broke down entirely on the trial, which lasted from June till August, and ended in the complete acquittal of the accused, although even the magistrates and the police showed a strong bias against them. But the populace throughout the country, and in Russia also, were furious at the escape of the Jews.

The year 1886 was a particularly trying one in Austria, in consequence of the exciting events in Bulgaria, which seemed at one time to be on the point of precipitating a struggle between Russia and Austria. The good offices of Germany, it was believed, were chiefly instrumental in averting this crisis. The cholera, which broke out again in Italy during the year, reached Trieste, were 15,000 persons were said to have died of it, and some cases even occurred in Vienna, but the disease was checked by the approach of winter before it had taken much hold there.

The foreign policy of Russia since 1881 had been less active and aggressive than in former years, mainly in consequence of the domestic difficulties of the Government. Discoveries of secret societies and arrests of Nihilists were reported from time to time; and in the month of February, 1881, a store of revolvers and daggers, with a secret printing-press and a large number of revolutionary proclamations, were discovered by the police; but nothing was done to redress the previous wrongs which had engendered discontent and a thirst for vengeance among the people. All classes sympathized with the demand for reform. At a meeting of the Assembly of the Nobles of St. Petersburg, held on the 4th of March, M. Schadeyeff had the unheard-of courage to denounce the illegal and oppressive proceedings of the Government officials, and to propose that the Assembly should petition the Czar, Alexander II., to abolish the system of banishing political offenders without trial. 'We live in a time,' he said, 'when officials supersede the courts of justice, arrest people at their pleasure, chiefly at night, and banish them, without any legal regulation or judicial sentence, to distant provinces of Russia. . . . The ranks of the exiles were filled with young men under age, whose only crime was, in the majority of cases, to be related or known to some one whose loyalty some official suspected. How could one believe that Russia is on the path of peaceful progress when a thoughtless word, a misunderstood letter, or the false testimony of a subordinate official daily increases the list of these unfortunate exiles? The arbitrary conduct of the administrator even goes so far as to banish people for offences of which they have been acquitted.' M. Schadeyeff's motion was unanimously adopted, and the proposed petition was duly presented to the Czar, but was of course unheeded.

Repeated attempts had been made by the Nihilists to assassinate the Czar—two in 1879 and one in 1880—but all had failed. They persisted, however, in their sanguinary plots, and at length succeeded in executing

their nefarious deed. A mine had been laid below the Sadovaya Street, in St. Petersburg, through which it was expected the Czar would pass, and it was arranged that if his carriage went in another direction a signal should be given by Peroffskaya, a female member of the organization, which should indicate to the assassins where they were to meet their victim. On the 13th of March, 1881, accompanied by his brother the Grand-duke Michael, the Czar was being driven in a closed carriage from the Winter Palace, and was passing along the banks of the Catherine Canal, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when a dynamite bomb, thrown by a man named Ryssakoff, exploded just behind the carriage, killing a Moujik standing near, and wounding a Cossack, one of the royal escort, and several other persons. The carriage was somewhat shattered, and was brought to a standstill, and the Czar, apparently unhurt, stepped out before his brother on the road. He ordered that all attention should be paid to the injured persons, and that the assassin, who had in one hand a revolver and in the other a dagger, and was surrounded by a crowd of people, should be removed. He then turned to walk home, but had only gone a few steps when another young man threw a bomb at his feet. A tremendous explosion followed, which was heard all over the city. As soon as the smoke had cleared away the Czar was seen to be lying on the ground in a pool of blood. Many other wounded persons were lying near him, and the conspirator who threw the missile, a student named Grèvenetzky, was found to have been mortally wounded by the bomb which he had thrown with such fatal effect at the feet of the Czar. His Majesty was conveyed to the Winter Palace, and four physicians were immediately in attendance. His body was dreadfully mangled, and it was at once seen that his case was hopeless. He died at a few minutes before four o'clock. Ryssakoff, who threw the first bomb, had been a student for the last two years at the Mining Academy. Of the others who were found to have been implicated in the crime, one, the brother of an officer of grenadiers, shot himself with a revolver as the police broke into his lodgings, and others were arrested before the murder for having dynamite and other explosive materials in their possession. Most of them belonged to the peasant class. Their trial began on the 7th of April. Nearly all of them acknowledged their guilt, and declared that their object in planning the murder of the Czar was to rescue the working classes from the oppression which they suffered under the existing system of government. The accused, six in number, were all found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. One of them, a woman, was reprieved; the other five were executed.

The executive committee of the revolutionary organization immediately issued two proclamations, which were posted on the walls of St. Petersburg. In the first of these documents the committee showed how their peaceful efforts to raise the Russian workmen and peasants in the scale of civilization, without interfering with political questions, had been rewarded by the Government by cruel persecution; thousands of the members of the Society were in prison or in the mines of Siberia; thousands of families had been ruined or had perished miserably. The revolutionary party had, in consequence, been gradually driven to resist the agents of the present system. The Government punished resistance with death. No alternative was therefore now left to the revolutionists but physical and moral annihilation, and they accordingly determined either to destroy the despotism of centuries which was paralyzing Russian life, or to perish in the attempt. The struggle against the foundations of despotism had thus been organized, and the catastrophe which had befallen Alexander II. was a single episode of that struggle. The manner in which the contest was carried on was brought about by the

inhumanity of the Russian Government, and a Russian had now no means of emancipating himself except by blood.

In the address to the new Czar, Alexander III., after calling attention to the manner in which the Government of the late Emperor had sacrificed every freedom, the interests of every class, the interests of industry, and even its own dignity to crush the revolutionary movement, the committee affirmed that the movement had nevertheless increased in strength, had drawn to itself the most energetic and devoted men of Russia, and had for three years carried on a guerilla war against the Government. The innocent and the guilty were hanged, the prisons and the distant provinces were crowded with exiles; ten so-called leaders of the movement were executed, dying with the courage and the tranquillity of martyrs, yet the movement continued and grew stronger, 'for it does not depend on individuals, but is an outcome of Russian society and a protest against an order of things which has become antiquated.' 'If,' the address continued, 'the Government does not change its policy, a revolution completely subverting the present order of things is inevitable.' The only way in which a revolution of this destructive character could be prevented was by the Government complying with the wishes of the people. 'We approach your Majesty,' said the committee, 'with the advice that you should adopt this alternative. We will then voluntarily abdicate our functions and devote ourselves to the work of advancing the prosperity of the nation. We will forget that you are the representative of the power which has so often deceived the people, and has done it so much evil, in the hope that no personal feeling of bitterness will stifle your sense of duty. You have lost your father; we have lost, not only our fathers, but our brothers, wives, children, friends, and property. Yet we are ready to suppress all personal feeling for the good of Russia, and we expect the same of you.' The 'wishes of the nation' were declared to be a general amnesty for all political offenders; the convocation of all classes of the Russian nation for the revision and reform of the organization of the State and of society; freedom of election, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of public meeting.

To carry out reforms so extensive as these was far beyond the ability of the new sovereign, even if he had been disposed to undertake them. He had not the strength of character or intellectual power adequate to solve the perplexing problem submitted to him. It was, indeed, no easy task to provide a remedy for the enormous abuses of the bureaucratic system from which Nihilism had sprung, and at the same time to give, with safety to the country, a system of self-government to a nation of 80,000,000, of whom only a small fraction could be regarded as qualified for the discharge of that duty. The young Emperor made no attempt to grapple with the difficulty. He shut himself up in his summer palace at Gatschina, taking as careful precautions for his safety as if he were sustaining a siege. The old methods of repression were zealously pursued. St. Petersburg was declared to be in a state of siege, and every citizen, except those who belonged to the first three classes, was made liable to be imprisoned by the police for a fortnight as 'a suspect.' At one time people were forbidden to walk in the streets without a passport. The officer in command of the city was empowered to order offenders to be tried for ordinary civil crimes by the military tribunals, and a commission, specially appointed for the purpose, was authorized to pronounce sentences of banishment limited to a period of five years. So great was the panic of the imperial court, and so widespread were the apprehensions entertained of all classes, that on 4th April the Grand-duke Nicholas, son of the Grand-duke Constantine, brother of the late Czar, was arrested on suspicion of having been concerned in political intrigues with members

of the revolutionary organization, and his father was dismissed shortly after from all his dignities on a similar charge. As might have been expected, the Nihilists pursued their carefully concealed plots and machinations more vigorously than before, and their secretly-printed newspapers and proclamations were circulated as freely and widely as ever, penetrating even into the precincts of the imperial palaces. The police exerted themselves, with only partial success, to discover these Nihilist plots and to arrest the conspirators; while the people looked on with apathetic indifference, or with scarcely dissembled sympathy with the revolutionists.

Several changes took place at this time in the Ministry. M. Sabouroff, the popular minister of education, was replaced by Baron Nikolai, a man of great energy, who was expected to exercise a more vigorous control than his predecessors over the rebellious students. Count Loris Melikoff resigned in consequence of the refusal of the Czar to adopt a judicious and statesmanlike scheme he had proposed for carrying out the agrarian reforms which Alexander II. had inaugurated by the emancipation of the serfs, and his place as minister of the interior was filled by Count Ignatieff, the author of the treaty of San Stefano.

To add to the troubles of the Imperial Government at this time the most shocking outrages were committed by the peasantry on the Jews in southern Russia. The Czar and the ministers made a feeble attempt to conciliate the people by appointing commissions for reducing expenditure, reorganizing the administration of the army, simplifying the police system, regulating the peasant question, diminishing drunkenness, and effecting other social reforms. But very little was done to any purpose. No one believed that the projected reforms would ever be carried out, and in the course of a few months the commissioners excited no feeling but that of ridicule.

The guerilla war between the Imperial Government and the Nihilists was carried on with unabated ferocity. Most of the Liberal newspapers were suppressed or 'warned,' numerous arrests were made, and secret printing presses seized. State trials were followed by fresh outrages and new trials. On 21st February, 1882, twenty-two persons were tried for the murder of General Mezentzeff in 1878, and for complicity in the assassination of the Czar. Ten of them, including a woman, were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, and the remainder were condemned to various terms of penal servitude. But these punishments in no way daunted the revolutionists or induced them to desist from their deeds of blood, for on the 30th of March General Strelnikoff, the public prosecutor at the military tribunal of Kieff, was assassinated while he was sitting on the boulevard at Odessa. The assassins were caught red-handed and hanged three days after.

At the beginning of February General Skobeloff, who, in consequence of his achievements in the war with Turkey, had become a kind of national hero, caused an extraordinary sensation throughout Europe by an indiscreet speech which he delivered at Paris to a deputation of Servian students there. He asserted that Russia was hindered in the fulfilment of her mission as a Slavonic power, both at home and abroad, by German influence; that the German is everywhere and everything in Russia, and that the Russians are 'dupes of his policy, victims to his intrigues, and slaves to his strength.' He went on to declare that 'Russia can only be delivered from the baleful influence of Germany by the sword: a struggle between the Teuton and the Slav is inevitable.' Such statements as these naturally caused great excitement, and led some to believe that they foreboded a war of races in Europe, in which Germans and Slavs would be ranged on opposite sides, with France as the auxiliary of Russia. It was probably owing to this cause that the existence of a treaty of alliance between

Germany and Austria, concluded in 1879, was made known, stipulating that if either of the two should be attacked it should be assisted by the whole of the military power of its ally. But the Czar's dread of sharing his father's fate made him averse to intermeddle with schemes of foreign aggression. General Skobeloff was recalled, and his death was announced shortly after his return to Russia; the Russian Foreign Minister expressed his disapproval of the general's speech; and the Czar made known his intention to pursue 'a policy faithful to the historical traditions and friendships of Russia—a policy essentially pacific in character and devoted to the economical, civil, and social development of the country.'

The Panslavist agitation, which brings Russia into repressed conflict with Germany, Austria, and Turkey, was discouraged not only by the censure passed upon General Skobeloff's harangues, but also by the dismissal of Count Ignatieff and the appointment of M. de Giers as Prince Gortchakoff's successor in the office of minister of foreign affairs. This change in the Russian ministry produced great satisfaction in Germany and Austria, as Prince Gortchakoff had of late shown a decided leaning towards the Panslavists and a personal dislike of Prince Bismarck, of whom, it is alleged, he had been the dupe.

The long-delayed ceremony of the coronation of Alexander III. was performed at Moscow in May, 1883. A splendid national and international exhibition took place, with extraordinary precautions against outrage, and was accompanied by the most gorgeous ceremonials, religious, civil, and military. Representatives of all the sovereigns and governments of Europe were present at this magnificent and perhaps unequalled display. A majority of the rulers of the petty kingdoms and principalities of the Continent were represented by members of their own families; every province and town of the empire of the Czar sent delegates to the brilliant assemblage before the sacred relics of the Kremlin; and, for the populace, there was provided a carnival of mediæval magnificence and lavishness; but to the great disappointment of the people no promise of any liberal reforms was made by the Czar on the occasion. During the series of splendid ceremonials, which lasted a week, no disturbance was created by the Nihilists; but the dismissal from the army of five officers in February, on account of their connection with this secret organization, showed that it still had members in the higher ranks of the army, and the facts disclosed at the trial of eighteen Nihilists at St. Petersburg in April made manifest the extraordinary ability and daring with which its operations were conducted. It was discovered that the ramifications of the conspiracy extended even to the public prisons, whose officials must have given direct assistance to a treasonable correspondence between the Nihilist prisoners under their charge, and their friends who were at liberty.

A new proof of the vitality of the organization was given on 28th December by the murder of Colonel Soudaikin, the chief of the secret police, who had for some time shown himself the most formidable enemy of the Nihilists. This murder produced great alarm throughout the empire, and renewed the panic which took place in the capital on the assassination of the late Czar. For some months, however, there was no further tangible result of the Nihilist agitation, though its continued existence was made known in various ways. Several proclamations were issued by the so-called constitutional party to the organization, and widely circulated, declaring that they did not approve of the assassinations perpetrated by the Terrorist section of the Socialists; but were determined to carry on the struggle with the Government, not by violent means, but by propagating their opinions among the mass of the people, by means of secret printing presses, and other modes of influencing public opinion. Like the other section of their party, they demanded an amnesty for all political offences,

religious freedom, abolition of the censorship of the press, and a convocation of representatives of the people to a special assembly for the purpose of considering and discussing the proposed new laws—the Czar being left at liberty to adopt the views of the majority or minority at his pleasure, and the power of legislation being left, as hitherto, in his hands.

The issuing of these proclamations stimulated the police to renewed efforts to discover the society from which they had emanated, and their efforts were successful in detecting a plot against the lives of the Czar and his eldest son, which had its chief seat at Moscow, the headquarters of the executive committee of the Terrorist party. Five of the principal conspirators were captured, together with a large sum of money and several dynamite bombs. At the beginning of October, 1884, fourteen Nihilists, including a staff-officer, a lieutenant-colonel, and three women—one of whom was the wife of a physician—were tried at St. Petersburg for high treason. One of the women, named Vera Figner, was found guilty of being an agent of the Nihilist society, and of having taken part in the preparation of the bombs used in the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II., and of General Strelnikoff at Odessa. She was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted by the Czar to five years' imprisonment with hard labour. A military and a naval officer were hanged on the 22nd of October for taking a leading part in organizing secret military societies.

The occurrence of a most skilfully planned attempt to assassinate the Czar as he was driving through St. Petersburg on the 13th March, 1887, which was only frustrated by a change of plans on his part, and of another reported attempt on his life at his palace at Gatschina, proved that the spirit of Nihilism had struck too deep root in the nation to be extirpated. Army officers of high rank were found or suspected to be guilty of complicity in these plots. Several are reported to have been secretly executed.

The internal troubles of Russia had prevented her from intermeddling with the affairs of her neighbours; and Turkey, thus left to follow its own devices, had given a good deal of annoyance to the great powers of Europe by the presistent refusal of the Porte to carry into effect the stipulations of the Berlin Conference respecting Greece. A proposal of arbitration was made, but was not accepted by either party. The Sultan proposed that a conference, composed of the representatives of the six Powers and of Turkey, should be held at Constantinople, to settle the question. Prince Bismarck recommended the adoption of this proposal, as 'he knew of no effectual settlement of the Greek question which would not involve coercive measures;' but nothing was done in the matter until Mr. Goschen's arrival at Constantinople in February, 1881. He had taken Berlin and Vienna on his way, and had suggested that Prince Bismarck should take the initiative in recommending the mode of settlement proposed. The Prince consented to follow this suggestion, and the other Powers agreed to follow the initiative taken by Germany.

The Conference which was then decided on continued its deliberations from the 7th until the 27th of March, and accepted, with some modifications, the last of the lines of frontier proposed by the Porte. This line, which extended from a point between the mouth of the Salamurias and Platamona on the Ægean Sea to Arta, with a provision for the free navigation of the Gulf of Arta, and the disarmament of the fortifications on its shores, was much less favourable to Greece than the line sanctioned by the Berlin Conference. But the Porte could not be induced to make any further concession, and none of the powers were prepared to employ force to compel the Sultan's acceptance of the Berlin frontier. The Greek Government complained, with great justice, that Europe had 'allowed her work to be done over again in order to show forbearance to Turkey,' and adduced un-

answerable arguments to show that Greece had been treated with great injustice by the decision of the Conference. The Powers could only plead that 'it had proved impossible to carry out by peaceful means the conclusions embodied in the award of the Conference of Berlin;' that in consequence the line now settled should 'henceforward be finally substituted' for that of the Conference; and that they intend, 'in the interests of the general peace, to abide by this solution, which must from this time forward be considered as the final decision of Europe.' They at the same time threw out a significant hint that if the Cabinet of Athens should refuse to accept this decision they would alienate the sympathies of Europe, incur immense responsibility, and expose their country to 'the complete isolation which would be the first and inevitable consequence of a refusal.'

As it thus became evident that if Greece made war on the Porte in order to obtain the enlarged frontier of the Berlin Conference none of the Powers would support her, the Greek Cabinet, with the consent of the Chamber, gave a reluctant and tardy assent to the new arrangement, and a convention carrying it into effect was signed on 24th May. Its chief provisions were—first, tracing out the new frontier according to the line agreed upon by a commission of delimitation composed of delegates of the Powers and the two parties concerned; secondly, protection for the lives, property, and customs of such of the inhabitants of the ceded districts as will remain in them, and security for the enjoyment of the same civil and political rights as are enjoyed by Greek subjects of Hellenic origin; thirdly, all rights of property established under the Turkish administration to be respected; fourthly, complete liberty of religion for the Mussulmans in the ceded territories; fifthly, such of the inhabitants of the ceded territories as may wish to remain Ottoman subjects to be allowed to transfer their domiciles to the Ottoman Empire within a period of three years, and during the same period no Mussulman to be held liable to military service; and sixthly, a complete amnesty to be granted by both powers to persons implicated in political events relating to the Greek question. These stipulations were duly carried out. Most of the Mussulman inhabitants emigrated into Turkey, and a 'burning question,' which threatened to rekindle the flames of war, was thus peacefully, if not equitably, settled.

At this juncture Europe was startled by the news that some ex-ministers of the Porte, Midhat Pasha, Raschid Pasha, Mahmoud Damad Pasha, Noury Pasha, ex-Marshal of the Palace, and various other persons who had formerly been employed there, had been arrested on a charge of having murdered the late sultan, Abdul Aziz. The trial of the prisoners commenced on the 27th of June. Mustapha, a wrestler, and a gardener of the same name declared that they had committed the murder at the instigation of the other prisoners. Midhat asserted that the whole story was a tissue of falsehoods concocted for his ruin and that of the other persons accused. He did not deny, however, that Abdul Aziz had been put to death; but alleged that the Council of Ministers had decided the measures which were taken, and that if these measures were regarded as criminal the whole of the Council should have been put upon their trial. The other prisoners pleaded the improbability of the charge brought against them. There can be little doubt that the sentence pronounced upon the accused was settled at the palace before the trial commenced. The proceedings throughout were conducted in the most irregular manner, and public indignation throughout Europe at the injustice shown to the ex-ministers was so strong, that though all of them, except the palace officials, were condemned to death (29th June, 1881), the Sultan ultimately commuted the sentence to banishment to Taif, in Arabia.

Questions arising out of the war indemnity

at one time threatened to embroil Turkey and Russia, but they were settled after a series of palace intrigues and ministerial changes. The policy of Abdul Hamid on this and other points was vacillating and feeble.

The minor states of Eastern Europe have been, as formerly, the scene of constant intrigues on the part of Austria and Russia, in which Germany was not an uninterested spectator. At Vienna, and indeed at Berlin also, the importance of seeking a counterpoise for Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula was clearly seen, and close relations were established between Austria and Servia. A successful attempt to free the Greek Church in the Servian kingdom from Russian control had alienated King Milan and his subjects from their former protectors. Montenegro was in consequence conspicuously patronized by Russia, and the marriage of a claimant to the Servian throne with a daughter of the prince of that state naturally excited Servian suspicion. Russian influence had for some time been on the wane in Bulgaria and Roumelia; in both countries the interference of the Russian officials was bitterly resented, and in Bulgaria the Russian members of the Cabinet had been removed from office. No apprehensions were, however, entertained in any quarter that a revolution was imminent. But in 1885 Eastern Roumelia unexpectedly threw off the Turkish suzerainty and declared for union with Bulgaria.

It appears that for several months societies had existed both in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia whose object was the promotion of Bulgarian union. On the 16th of September, 1885, information was sent to the committee of one of these societies at Philippopolis, the capital of Roumelia, that action would be taken on the following day. Accordingly on the morning of the 17th 1000 Bulgarians crossed into the Southern Province, near Bellove, and proceeded by railway to Philippopolis. On their arrival they were joined by the main body and the leaders of the movement, and the regular troops and the gendarmerie also fraternized with them. The Governor-General, Gavril Cristovich or Gavril Pasha, and the members of the Permanent Committee of the province were arrested by the insurgents. A provisional government was proclaimed, and a deputation despatched to Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, who met them at Tirnova. He immediately convoked the National Assembly of Bulgaria, which voted by acclamation the acceptance of the offer, and also granted the vote of credit of 5,000,000 francs asked for by the Government for extraordinary expenses. Prince Alexander, thus encouraged by the cordial support of the deputies and the people, accepted the Roumelian sovereignty and started at once for Philippopolis, which he reached on the 20th, and was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by an enormous crowd. Formal intimation was immediately given by him to the diplomatic agents at Sofia that the union of Bulgaria with Eastern Roumelia had been proclaimed, and that he had been elected by the Roumelian people as Prince of South Bulgaria. The reserves and volunteers were called out, and a strong body of troops was sent to the frontier to prevent the entry of Turkish troops on the southern side. The news that a revolution had taken place in Eastern Roumelia caused great excitement throughout Europe, indicating, as it unquestionably did, the reopening of the dangerous Eastern question. The Porte lost no time in addressing a circular to the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, protesting against the conduct of the Prince of Bulgaria, and declaring that the Sultan would insist on retaining the rights conferred on him by that treaty.

A conference of representatives of the Great Powers was convened at Constantinople for the purpose of effecting a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of affairs in the Balkans. But before any decision was arrived at, Servia suddenly declared war against Bulgaria. For some days

previously extensive military preparations had been observed, and suspicious movements of Servian troops had been made on the Bulgarian frontier. On the 14th of November, King Milan formally declared war against Bulgaria, and at the same time issued a proclamation to his subjects, setting forth the ostensible reasons which had led him to take this step. He alleged that an attack had been made by Bulgarian troops on the Servians in the neighbourhood of Trn; but in addition it was declared that the introduction of 'unwarrantable customs regulations,' the 'violent ill-treatment' of Servians in Bulgaria, 'the blockade of the frontier,' the 'assembly on the Servian frontier of undisciplined bands,' the 'armed raids made by them,' the 'support given to traitors in their revolutionary enterprises directed against King Milan,' and the fact that Bulgaria had 'disturbed the equilibrium' in the Balkan peninsula, 'constituted an intentional provocation which he could no longer endure with equanimity.'

King Milan lost no time in carrying out his threatened invasion of Bulgaria. Before his declaration of war could have reached Sophia his troops were put in motion in three divisions. The Bulgarians, taken by surprise, were quite unprepared to offer an immediate and effective resistance to this unprovoked attack. Step by step they were driven back, though not without a gallant struggle, through the passes leading to Sophia; and so successful seemed the operations of the invaders that it was decided at King Milan's headquarters to annex to his state for 'railway' purposes certain tracts of Bulgarian territory lying conveniently to his own, including the district of Widdin and the celebrated fortress of that name on the Danube. In order, however, to reach the Bulgarian capital, it was necessary to capture Slivnitza, and there Prince Alexander, who had hurried back from Philippopolis with reinforcements, made his first great stand. On the 18th of November the invaders attacked this strong position, but after a series of desperate fights they were repulsed with heavy loss, and driven back upon the Dragoman Pass in disorder. Prince Alexander, who commanded the Bulgarian army in person, displayed both skilful generalship in his arrangements and great gallantry in the contest. On the morning of the 19th he assumed the offensive, and after a battle which lasted till six in the evening, and in which he was constantly in the thick of the fight, the Servians were completely defeated and pursued for five miles. Although the Bulgarians were unable from lack of cavalry to improve their success to the utmost, a great many prisoners were taken, and King Milan's plans were utterly foiled. On the 22nd, however, they again attacked the Servians, who occupied the Dragoman Pass and neighbouring heights in great force, and after a long and obstinate resistance, which lasted till night, the Servian positions were stormed, and they were forced to retire towards the frontier.

The Serbs retreated along the whole line, and the Bulgarians followed up their victories with unremitting energy. On the 24th they attacked and carried the Servian position at Podgoritza, from which the defenders retreated in disorder. On the following day King Milan sent a flag of truce to the Bulgarian headquarters, making a proposal for peace at the request of the Great Powers; but the proposal was declined until the Servians should have evacuated Bulgarian territory in the Widdin district, and the amount of the war indemnity to be paid by Servia should have been fixed. A proposal for an armistice, which was next sent, was also refused; and the victorious Bulgarians continued their onward march. On the 26th they crossed the frontier, and after a desperate conflict, which lasted two days, they carried Pirot, where King Milan's headquarters had been fixed. The Servian assaults on Widdin were at the same time repulsed with heavy loss. At this stage, however, the representatives of the Great Powers interposed

and insisted on an armistice, which was signed on 21st December, and extended to 1st March, 1886. In this interval negotiations were commenced with a view to peace.

Much difficulty was caused by the refusal of both Servia and Bulgaria to demobilize their armies, and by the conduct of the Greek Government, which made preparations for war, and declared that if any extension of territory were granted to Bulgaria, Greece must receive compensation at the expense of Turkey. The British Ministry finally, in concert with the other Powers, found it necessary to send a fleet to the Greek Archipelago to blockade the Greek ports, which resulted in the resignation of the Greek Ministry of M. Delyannis, and the formation of a Cabinet by M. Tricoupis to carry out disarmament, which was effected, though not before conflicts had actually occurred between soldiers of the Greek and Turkish forces. Meantime the representatives of the Powers had induced Servia and Bulgaria, and Turkey as suzerain of the latter, to send delegates to a conference at Bucharest, where a treaty of peace between Servia and Bulgaria was finally signed on 3rd March, 1886.

Russia, however, had viewed with great disfavour the movement at the head of which Prince Alexander had placed himself. All Russian officers serving with the Bulgarian army had been recalled, and the Prince himself deprived of his honorary rank in the Russian army. His subsequent successes against the Servians, which raised his popularity in Bulgaria to the highest point, only served to further increase the disfavour with which the Czar regarded him. Every obstacle that diplomatic ingenuity could devise was raised to the recognition of the *de facto* union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The fact that the British Government were disposed to favour the union, and ready to consent to such a modification of the Treaty of Berlin as to make it legal, seemed only to increase the distaste of Russia to an event which she had originally been most anxious to bring to pass.

The Bulgarian elections in June, 1886, showed that the Prince's popularity remained as great as ever, and resulted in a great National majority, under M. Karaveloff—the Russian party, under M. Zankoff, being completely outnumbered.

Nevertheless, towards the close of August, Europe was startled by the news that the Prince had been seized at night in his palace at Sophia, by a body of bribed or disaffected troops, compelled to sign some papers purporting to be an abdication, and carried off to some destination unknown. It was subsequently found that he had been put on board one of his own yachts on the Danube and carried to Reni Russi, in Bessarabia, where he was handed over to the Russian authorities. The latter, either from the strong feeling expressed throughout Europe at these proceedings, or from other causes, appeared considerably embarrassed by their charge. They declined to keep him in custody or to allow him to enter Roumania, and he was finally sent into Austria through Russia. On his arrival at Lemberg he was enthusiastically welcomed by the Austrian population.

Immediately after the kidnapping of the Prince, Zankoff had proclaimed a provisional Government in the Russian interest, aided by the Metropolitan Clement. Colonel Mutkuroff, however, with the greater part of the army which the Prince had led to victory, declared against the conspirators, who fled almost at once, and the Prince was requested to return to his people with all speed. His reception on entering Bulgaria, and during his progress towards the capital, was most enthusiastic, all classes hastening to express their joy at his return. Russia, however, remained obdurate, and in answer to an appeal sent by Prince Alexander to the Czar, a reply was sent which was believed to threaten a Russian occupation of Bulgaria if the Prince remained. To save the country from this misfortune he for-

mally signed his abdication, committed his powers to the charge of a Regency, consisting of the three National leaders, Stambouloff, Mutkuroff, and Karaveloff, and left the country in spite of the almost forcible resistance of his army.

Under the Regency the elections to a new Sobranje, or national parliament, were completed in spite of the most strenuous endeavours of Russian partisans to excite disorder, and of the very irregular conduct of an envoy of Russia, General Kaulbars, who went about the country denouncing the Regents and their government. The Sobranje was opened on the 1st November, and proceeded at once to elect, in room of Prince Alexander, Prince Waldemar of Denmark, who, however, in consequence of the expressed hostility of Russia and her avowal that she would not recognize any candidate elected by the Sobranje, which she declared to have been illegally elected, declined the honour offered to him. The Prince of Mingrelia, a Russian subject, was subsequently proposed by Russia as a candidate for the vacant throne, but was so extremely unpopular in Bulgaria as to have no chance of election. The Bulgarian Regency next despatched a delegation to the various capitals of Europe to seek counsel and support in their difficulties. They were refused access to St. Petersburg, but were received in other capitals with varying degrees of cordiality, but without any definite result being attained. In Bulgaria repeated attempts at insurrection by outlying garrisons, bought over, it was believed, by Russian gold, were vigorously repressed by the Regents; Russia interfering, however, to prevent the punishment of the guilty persons, who were in one instance executed without awaiting her opinion. The Sultan, through his envoy at Sophia, did his utmost to induce the Regents to make submission to Russia, but without effect, while in Austria, England, Germany, and Italy strong sympathy with the Bulgarian people was expressed, but the Governments held back from any political action through fear of provoking a Russian occupation and the reopening of the whole Eastern question.

Of the minor Western European States—HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, SWEDEN, and PORTUGAL—there is nothing to record, except that they have continued in the enjoyment of peace and prosperity.

A serious political crisis arose in BELGIUM, which, in consequence of a sudden change of public opinion, overthrew the Liberal majority and placed a clerical administration in power. The new ministry lost no time in making several alterations in the management of affairs highly favourable to the Roman Catholic Church, and they proposed and carried through a new law of public instruction, that completely subverted the system which the Liberal party had established and maintained during six years. A reaction immediately took place; the educational policy of the new Government provoked violent opposition throughout the country, culminating in serious riots in Brussels. In the end the Ministry had to be remodelled, and the Premier, with two of his colleagues, retired from office.

During 1886 the Socialist movement which had troubled most continental states took the form in Belgium of serious riots, originating in local strikes at Liège, but requiring the intervention of the military and resulting in serious loss of life before they were quelled.

In DENMARK a chronic struggle between the King and the Parliamentary Liberals has become acute and threatening. Repeated dissolutions caused great excitement throughout the country; but the only result was to strengthen the Radical majority. Ten years since the Folkething, or House of Commons, in its well-known address to the King, gave a clear and definite expression to the growing desire of the people for parliamentary government. But though the Liberal and Radical parties have steadily increased in numbers and influence year by year, no

practical result has been attained. The King still presists in keeping the Conservative Ministry in power, and gives no sign of yielding to the people's demand for a popular administration. In consequence legislation is at a deadlock. The Folkething systematically rejects the proposals of the Government, and the bills brought in by the Liberal majority, though duly passed by their own body, are rejected by the Landsthing or Senate, in which the Conservatives are predominant.

A contest of the same kind, but far more dangerous, has been going on in NORWAY, where the ministers have been not only censured, but impeached and fined, and King Oscar II. of Sweden and Norway personally denounced. At the close of 1882 the leading ministerial organ very unwisely urged upon the King the necessity of a *coup d'état* in order to put an end to the struggle, and the dissolution of the Storthing at the point of the bayonet. Although this would be an act of high treason, the Norwegian Conservative press did not hesitate to point, in guarded terms, to this solution as the most desirable and effective mode of terminating the contest. Thus challenged, the Liberal majority of the newly-elected Storthing resolved to take decisive measures to bring matters to an issue, and to resort to the last constitutional means in their power to obtain the dismissal of the Ministry. Accordingly, as soon as the usual formalities connected with the first assembly of a Parliament had been observed, a committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the conduct of the Government. Early in March, 1883, the majority of the committee came to the decision that there were grounds for censuring the Ministry. Efforts were made to effect a compromise, but without effect, and after a debate which lasted over eighteen sittings, the report of the committee was agreed to by fifty-three votes to thirty-two, and the impeachment of the Ministry before a division of the Storthing sitting as the Rigsretten or supreme court of the realm, was thus definitely settled. The charges brought against the Ministers were that they had acted contrary to the interests of the country in advising the King to refuse his sanction to the amendment of the constitution admitting the Ministers to seats in the Storthing; to a bill involving the question of supply; to a grant of money to volunteer corps established in various parts of the country; and to a bill conferring upon the Storthing the right to appoint two additional members on the directorate of the state railways. It was decided that the eleven Ministers should be tried separately, and that the trial of Mr. Selmer, the Prime Minister, should be taken as a test case. The sittings of the court began on the 18th of May, 1883, but the preliminary proceedings occupied so much time that it was not until the 7th of August that Mr. Selmer was finally summoned to appear before the court. The actual trial did not commence until 4th October. The interest excited by the trial was very great, and party feeling ran high. The proceedings were very protracted, and did not terminate until February, 1884. After five days' deliberation judgment was delivered on the 27th of that month, and the Prime Minister was found guilty on all the charges. The court sentenced him to be discharged from his office of Minister of State, and to pay the fees of the prosecuting counsel, amounting to about £1000. The cases of Mr. Selmer's colleagues were brought successively before the Supreme Court, and were decided in the same way, only the fines inflicted on them were much lighter than that which was imposed upon the Prime Minister. The King was so injudicious as to express his strong disapprobation of the judgment of the court against his late Prime Minister, whom, as an acknowledgment of his past services, he created a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim, the highest order in Sweden. He appointed a new Conservative Ministry, composed of men without political reputation or ability, who were shortly after compelled to resign. Various abortive efforts

were then made to form an administration that would be acceptable both to the King and the majority of the Storthing. In the end His Majesty was compelled to intrust the formation of a Ministry to Mr. Johan Sverdrup, the leader of the Liberal party, who had no difficulty in constructing a Liberal Cabinet. The protracted struggle was thus brought to a close.

The tranquillity of the United States remained practically undisturbed during this period, and there public attention was completely absorbed by domestic affairs. Political corruption, bribery, and frauds on the revenue were still carried on unchecked. President Hayes admitted that reform of the civil service had become indispensable, but when he went out of office in 1881 he left the corrupt system, which had long prevailed in public life, unreformed, and even unchecked. The contest respecting the succession to his office as President turned mainly on this question, and after the most strenuous exertions on both sides, it terminated in the election of General Garfield, the candidate of the reformers, by a small majority over General Hancock. The new President entered upon the duties of his office (4th March, 1881) with great alacrity and zeal, and after a fierce struggle inflicted a signal defeat on the two senators, Messrs. Conkling and Platt, who were the leaders of the opposition to his reforming policy. But on 2nd July, as the President was about to leave Washington for New York by train, he was mortally wounded by a pistol-shot fired by a person named Charles Guiteau, a lawyer in Chicago, and a disappointed place-hunter. For two months the President hovered between life and death, but he expired suddenly in the end on 19th September. This vile deed was regarded with deep indignation by the whole civilized world, and messages of sympathy with the family and nation were sent by Queen Victoria and all the other European rulers. The assassin, of course, suffered the just punishment of his crime, but his trial at Washington degenerated unto an unseemly farce, to which, it was justly said, the postponement of the convict's execution added a ghastly element.

President Garfield was succeeded by Vice-President Arthur, who from the first showed a decided leaning against his predecessor's policy. His administration very soon fell under the 'stalwart' wing of the Republican party, and hopelessly lost credit and authority in the country. The 'Reformers' and 'Independents' protested against the power placed in the hands of 'machine politicians,' whose chief aim was the promotion of their personal and selfish interests. A schism in consequence took place in the Republican party, which, divided and discontented, was vastly outnumbered by the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and retained only a bare majority in the Senate. The Republicans were loud in their denunciations of 'contract labour,' whether from Europe or Asia, but the President vetoed a Bill prohibiting Chinese immigration. He afterwards, however, allowed another to pass, limited to a period of ten years.

On the approach of the Presidential election in 1884, the Republican National Convention, on 3rd June, nominated Mr. J. G. Blaine of Maine for President, and Mr. J. A. Logan for Vice-President. They adopted as their 'platform' the maintenance of protective duties. Mr. Blaine was an experienced and influential politician, skilled in all the arts of party management, but conspicuously hostile to every plan for administrative reform. The 'Independent' and 'Reforming' sections of the Republicans at once declared that if the Democrats chose at their Convention a candidate of high public character, such as Mr. Cleveland, the Governor of New York State, they would vote for the 'Democratic ticket.' He was accordingly chosen, by the Democratic National Convention, 8th July, with Mr. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. Mr. Cleveland was a man known and respected for the courage with

which, in his office as Governor, he had combated both municipal corruption and 'rings' managed by intriguing capitalists, and had shown himself the enemy of all jobs and jobbers. His nomination was therefore cordially welcomed by the disinterested portion of the community. The contest, which was unusually keen, terminated (7th November) in the election of Mr. Cleveland and the restoration of the Democratic party to the control of the executive, from which they had been excluded nearly a quarter of a century.

The year 1885 was marked by the death, on 23rd July, of General U. S, Grant, whose success in bringing to an end the Civil War of 1861–65 caused him to be regarded as a national hero. His funeral took place at New York, on 8th August, on the grandest scale, the cortége numbering over 200,000 persons. All parties were represented in this national demonstration, including the chief opponents still living of the deceased general in the Civil War A funeral service was also held in Westminster Abbey on 4th August.

In 1886 trade was partially paralyzed by a series of extensive strikes throughout the chief industrial centres of the Union, which were partly the work of the Socialist organization. In Chicago serious riots occurred, in quelling which the police were obliged to fire upon the rioters, causing serious loss of life. An attempt made by Herr Most to provoke a similar riot of the unemployed in New York led to his arrest, trial, and imprisonment. An unfortunate dispute with Canada, arising out of their interpretation of the fishing rights in their territorial waters, and the seizure of some American vessels accused of violating these rights, led to the passing of an act by the United States legislature, authorizing the President to retaliate by closing their ports to Canadian traffic when he should think necessary.

CHAPTER XXIV.

British India—Ilbert Bill—Lord Dufferin appointed Viceroy—War with Burmah—Occupation of Mandalay, and Deposition of Theebaw—South Africa—German Annexation of Angra Pequeña—Visit of Boer Deputation to Europe—Sir Charles Warren's Expedition—Proposed Annexation of New Guinea—Australian Federation—Insurrection of Half-breeds in Canada—Expedition under General Middleton—Defeat and Capture of Riel—His Trial and Execution—Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the history of the British dependencies during the last few years, our Indian Empire demands first notice.

After the settlement of the Afghan question and the restoration of Candahar to the Ameer, India continued to enjoy peace and prosperity. But in the beginning of 1883 the Marquis of Ripon, the Viceroy, involved himself in a contest with the non-official European inhabitants of unprecedented keenness and asperity. Mr. Ilbert, the legal member of Council, introduced a bill, which came to bear his name, giving native magistrates in the interior the same jurisdiction over European British subjects as was possessed by native magistrates in the three Presidency towns. The non-official Europeans, who, since the development of tea-planting, railway construction, and other forms of private enterprise, have become an important element in the community, protested against the withdrawal of their right to be tried by 'their peers' in deference to a claim affecting only a limited number of native civil servants. In Calcutta a storm arose among the non-official classes, which soon spread to the planting centres all over the province and throughout the Upper Provinces and the Punjab. A powerful organization was established to oppose the Ilbert Bill, and was supported at home by the vast majority of retired Indian officials. A counter-agitation was got up by a large class of educated natives, and their views were advocated by Mr. Bright and other influential Liberals at home, on the ground of justice, and equality of rights and privileges. The contention between the two classes grew keener and keener, and led to a state of social alienation and hostility unparalleled since the time of the Mutiny. After the agitation had lasted nearly a year, a compromise was effected in January, 1884, giving to Europeans charged before a district magistrate or sessions judge, whether European or native, the privilege of claiming a jury of which at least one-half the members should be Europeans. The controversy respecting the Ilbert Bill had a most injurious effect on the harmonious administration of the provinces more immediately affected by it. It led also to the unprecedented and discreditable incident of a public insult being offered to the Viceroy on his return to Calcutta in November, and to the almost entire cessation of social intercourse between him and the non-official Europeans.

In consequence of these difficulties and of failing health the Marquis of Ripon expressed a wish to resign his post of Viceroy, and the Government selected as his successor the Earl of Dufferin, British ambassador at Constantinople. The new Viceroy, whose appointment was extremely popular in England, arrived at Calcutta, 13th December. He was warmly welcomed by the Europeans in India, while the natives were equally demonstrative of their respect for the departing Viceroy, Lord Ripon.

The other legislative measures of the period in our Eastern Empire were of comparatively little consequence, with the exception of one most important piece of legislation, the 'Bengal Rent Bill,' introduced to give the ryots 'security of tenure.'

Lord Dufferin's skilful conduct of Indian affairs at the time of the Penjdeh incident in Afghanistan, and his meeting with the Ameer at Rawul Pindi, have been already narrated. It is not too much to say that the preservation of peace during that trying time was due, in no small measure, to his energy and resource.

On the eastern frontier of India events were not quite so satisfactory. The relations between the British Government and Theebaw, the king of Burmah, had for some time been considerably strained. That monarch had rendered himself infamous for his cruelty and oppression. He had massacred from time to time not only great numbers of his own subjects, but even the members of his own family. His administration had been allowed to fall into such a state of disorder as to fill the country with marauders, and to expose the neighbouring British possessions to their inroads. His reign had been marked throughout by the violation of treaties, by acts of aggression on the British frontier, by outrages on British subjects and injustice to British trade, and by an external policy systematically opposed to British interests. An attempt to exact from the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation a large sum of money at length brought matters to a crisis, and exhausted the forbearance of the British Government. That corporation had for years been engaged in business in Upper Burmah. During that period they had paid the Burmese Government enormous sums of money, and had contributed in no small degree to develop the resources of the country by opening up districts hitherto neglected and unknown. During the reign of the late King of Burmah no difficulty or dispute ever arose between the Government and the corporation. But since the accession of Theebaw, owing to his extravagant expenditure, never-ceasing demands were made on the corporation for loans and advances. An attempt to plunder them of a sum amounting to nearly £250,000 sterling compelled them at last to refuse any further compliance with these demands. The judges of the Burmese High Court, before which the claim was brought, gave judgment in favour of the Government, as they were obliged to do, on peril not only of their offices, but of their lives. The majority of them, however, privately suggested to the corporation to appeal to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah for protection. The case was at once taken up by the Indian Government, and as no redress could be obtained, an ultimatum was sent to the Burmese sovereign demanding the acceptance of certain definite proposals for the settlement of this affair, and for the establishment of the future relations between the two countries upon the basis of excluding the right of any other foreign power to interfere in Burmah. These proposals, as was foreseen, were met by a distinct refusal to abandon the claims in dispute, and an evasive reply as regards the future relations of Burmah and England.

In consequence of this refusal the Viceroy of India declared war against the Burmese sovereign on the 13th of November, and General Prendergast, an experienced Indian officer of high reputation, was ordered to cross the frontier at the head of a force about 10,000 strong, to compel compliance with the demands of the Government and to expel Theebaw from the throne. On entering the Burmese territory the General issued a proclamation for the purpose of allaying the fanatical feeling which their sovereign had attempted to excite among his people, and assuring them that their private rights and their religious and national customs would be scrupulously respected. The first object of the expedition was to capture Mandalay, the capital of Burmah, which is 250 miles from the frontier of British Burmah. Of the three routes which led to it, General Prendergast chose the river route up the Irawaddy. It was well understood that whatever opposition the Burmese could

offer to the British would be made at Minhla, a town of about 5000 inhabitants, situated at a bend of the river. A fort of modern construction, called Kuligon, about a mile below the town, commands the channel, which at this point is a mile and a half broad. A strong resistance was here expected; but it soon appeared that the Burmese were little inclined for desperate fighting in their sovereign's cause. The forts at Minhla were captured on the 17th November with very little loss on the part of the British. Further up the river, at Pagán, the Burmese had raised some earthworks, and seemed disposed to make a stand. But their battery was easily carried by the British. Two days later the town of Myin-Gyan was taken, the enemy being driven out by the fire of the gunboats. On the 27th November the British reached Ava, a fortified position about 30 miles below Mandalay. Here they were met by a boat with a message from the king asking for an armistice, and proposing to treat. General Prendergast replied that if the king, his army, and Mandalay at once surrendered, his life would be spared, provided the European residents were unharmed. This was agreed to the next day. The Burmese laid down their arms. The British took possession of the fortifications at Ava and destroyed the guns, and then proceeded to Mandalay, which was surrendered without any resistance. King Theebaw was deposed and exiled to India, and the government was at first undertaken by the British provisionally. But on 1st January, 1886, a proclamation was issued by the Viceroy of India formally annexing Upper Burmah to her Majesty's dominions. The Viceroy paid a visit to the newly-annexed territory in the month of February, remaining some days at Mandalay, to consult with the British and native authorities as to the future government of the country.

After his return to Calcutta a series of most destructive fires broke out in Mandalay and the chief Burmese towns, which were attributed to 'dacoits'—consisting mainly of the disbanded soldiers of the late Burmese army. Increasing in boldness these bands began to attack outlying British posts, and in some cases with success. Strong reinforcements had to be sent from India, under command of General Sir Herbert Macpherson, who unfortunately was attacked by fever almost immediately on his arrival, which proved fatal on 21st October. His place was then taken by Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and under his vigorous direction the bands of dacoits were gradually broken up. Many of their leaders were captured and others induced to make their submission, so that by February, 1887, it was thought practicable to recall to India a portion of the troops, replacing them by a strong native police force. Occasional skirmishes with dacoits, however, still continued in the forests and jungles of Upper Burmah. The heads of the Buddhist clergy in Burmah declared themselves on the side of the British, on receiving assurances that their religion would not be interfered with, and an arrangement was come to with China, regarding certain claims for tribute which she asserted was due her by the Burmese Government, which was continued in the form of a decennial "present" to be offered by an embassy consisting of Burmese only. China, on her part, abandoned her claim to Bahmo, and promised to open the trade with Yunnan.

Among the colonial dominions of the British Empire those in South Africa were the cause of great anxiety. Zululand continued in a state of anarchy. The difficulty which was felt at the close of 1883 as to the disposal of Cetewayo was solved by his death, 9th February, 1884, at Ekowe, where he had been living under British protection. His decease, however, did not bring peace to the district, for almost immediately afterwards hostilities were renewed between the contending tribes. A pretext was thus afforded to the Transvaal Boers to interfere on behalf of the Usutus, who, with their aid, defeated Usibepu. On the

21st of May they installed, with great pomp and ceremony, Dinizulu, son of Cetewayo, as King of Zululand, whom they evidently intended to use as their tool. For some weeks before his coronation several hundreds of the Boers settled in Central Zululand, and towards the end of August a proclamation was issued at Pretoria and signed by King Dinizulu, announcing the establishment of a Boer Republic in Zululand, which was declared to be under the protection of the Transvaal republic. A much more serious step was taken by the puppet king in selling to a certain Herr Lüdevitz of Bremen 100,000 acres of land near St. Lucia Bay, in virtue of which it was rumoured that Germany was about to take possession of that territory, which had been ceded to Britain by the Zulu King Panda forty years before. But the Natal authorities anticipated this step by raising the British flag on the debatable ground at St. Lucia Bay.

Germany, however, though balked in this instance, was more successful in the claim to the territory extending from the recognized frontier of the Cape Colony to the Portuguese dominions. The British Government in the first instance, in reply to an application by Germany, declined to give protection to German subjects in those regions as not being British territory. Thereafter Germany asserted her right to annex the unoccupied coast. Lord Granville then argued that though Britain had not claimed the territory in question, she could not part with the right to annex it at some future period. The Cape Government also advanced claims to the unoccupied district termed Angra Pequeña; but it was impossible to maintain them in the face of the earlier disclaimer of the Ministry at home, and Prince Bismarck proceeded to annex the disputed territory in a manner very humiliating to our national pride.

The aggressions of the Boers on the lands of the natives still continued, and President Kruger, who with two other representatives of the republic visited England early in 1884, obtained several important modifications of the Pretoria Convention, in favour of the Transvaal. The colonial secretary very unwisely included within the frontier new territories belonging to the natives, and reduced the debt due to the British Government from £380,000 to £250,000. An excellent choice was made in the appointment of the Rev. John Mackenzie as British resident-agent under Sir H. Robinson, the governor of Cape Colony. The Boers, however, imagined that they could extort further concessions by obstinate resistance. They set Mr. Mackenzie's authority at defiance, declared war against the native chief Montsioa, whose rights had been specially reserved, and compelled him to accept a treaty which virtually placed his lands at their disposal. The High Commissioner and the British Government were grossly insulted, lawless bands harassed the country, and Mr. Bethell, an English gentleman acting as agent for one of the Bechuana chiefs, was brutally and treacherously murdered. It therefore became necessary to compel the Boers to observe the terms of the Convention, and the task of restoring order in Bechuanaland and of protecting Montsioa was at length undertaken by the Imperial Government. The British Parliament voted three-quarters of a million for the expenses of an expedition for these purposes, which was placed under the command of Sir Charles Warren, with full powers, both military and political. Although his plans were thwarted at every turn by the Cape Government, and it was said, by Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, Sir Charles succeeded in enforcing British authority on the contending parties in Bechuanaland, restoring order, and compelling the land-grabbing Boers to respect the rights of the natives. But soon after the accession of the Conservatives to office, Sir Charles was recalled by the Colonial Secretary on the plea that his work was done.

An arrangement was concluded in 1886

with the Boers, who had entered Zululand and forcibly taken possession of the most fertile portion of the country, whereby they were recognized as forming an independent republic, while the eastern part of the country was taken under British protection. Although protests were made against this settlement by the colonists of Natal, and by those in England who thought the rights of the natives had been sacrificed, it was ultimately ratified by the Imperial Government, who had also consented in 1884 to take under British protection a large and not very well-defined tract of native territory called Bechuanaland, lying to the west of the Transvaal, and having an estimated population of 33,000, by which means it was hoped that further encroachments by the Boers, and consequent disturbances with the natives, might be prevented.

In Australia several important questions have recently come to the front, which required to be handled with combined delicacy and firmness. The Australians, who were justly alarmed at the extension of the French penal settlements in New Caledonia, and the probability that by the *Récidivists* Bill, introduced by M. Ferry's Ministry, the evil would be enormously increased, pressed upon the home Government the necessity of resisting the exportation of the offscourings of European gaols to the Southern Pacific, and also of annexing New Guinea on account of its proximity to Australia. The colonial office officials were startled at the proposal to annex an island as large as Great Britain and France combined, and as a plea for delay requested that the colonists would furnish them with a preliminary scheme of intercolonial federation. They probably did not expect a prompt compliance with their request. But a federal scheme was at once prepared by the delegates of the several Australian colonies assembled in conference at Sydney. The Government of New South Wales subsequently withdrew from the arrangement, but the governments of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, and Tasmania formally approved it, and petitioned the colonial secretary to pass an 'enabling' Act without delay. Lord Derby addressed a remonstrance to the French Minister on the subject of the *Récidivists* Bill, and succeeded in obtaining the postponement of any decision adverse to the claims of the colonists. In regard to the annexation of New Guinea, the hand of the Imperial government was almost forced by an energetic act of the Queensland authorities at the close of 1884. The Australians had been much impressed by rumours that France and Germany were about to assert claims to the sovereignty of New Guinea, the new Hebrides, and other islands not far distant from Australia, and the Queensland Government, as a measure of precaution, sent an official to Port Moresby in April, 1883, to declare New Guinea a part of the dominions of the Queen. The Imperial Government declined to sanction this proceeding, but decided that a British Protectorate should be proclaimed over a portion of the southern coast of the island, which was done in November, 1884 This decision by no means satisfied the aspirations of the Australian Colonies, though they jointly guaranteed the cost of the Protectorate. Their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by the announcement at the close of 1884 that the German Government had taken possession of the north-western coast of New Guinea, as well as of New Britain and the adjacent islands. There is reason to fear that this step may lead to future complications and misunderstandings, as it did at once lead to a dispute respecting the exact limits of the British Protectorate, which was, however, settled amicably. The federation of the above-mentioned Australian Colonies was, with the sanction and cordial approval of the Imperial Government, carried into effect 9th November, 1885—a step which has been regarded, with good reason, as foreshadowing the ultimate establishment of a great English-

speaking power on the Australian continent worthy of the extent and resources of that country.

In 1883 the Marquis of Lorne retired from the office of Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion, which he had filled with much efficiency, and with great satisfaction to the people. He was succeeded by the Marquis of Lansdowne, a generous and popular Irish landlord, who was violently denounced by some of the American-Irish agitators, but there was no response in Canada to their appeals. An outbreak which took place in 1885 caused a good deal of trouble to the Canadian authorities, as well as loss of life. The tardiness of the Dominion Government in dealing with the claims of the half-breeds in the North-west in the matter of land grants had excited not a little discontent among them; and their complaints were unfortunately neglected by the proper authorities until it was too late. It was not until the close of March, 1885, that commissioners were nominated to investigate their claims; but they were already in arms, and the whole North-west was ablaze. The principal occupation of these half-breeds had hitherto been freighting. Before the opening of the Pacific Railway they drove over the prairies with long trains of ox-carts, carrying furs, pemmican, and supplies to Fort Garry, returning with merchandise from the Hudson Bay Company's posts; but the route to Winnipeg being now considerably shortened by the railway, the freighters were thus deprived of a large part of their regular business. This loss, added to the failure of the previous year's crops, impoverished them to such a degree that they were prepared to listen to incendiary advice from any quarter, and to undertake anything that promised them relief.

They found a leader in Louis Riel, a half-breed who had taken a prominent part in stirring up the previous rebellion in 1871 against the Canadian authorities. He was the son of a French Canadian, who some thirty years before had started a sawmill on the Red River, a short distance above Winnipeg. He was educated with a view to the priesthood at Montreal, but did not take orders. After the suppression of the last rebellion Riel made his escape from the Dominion, and spent some time among the half-breeds of Montana, exciting a rebellious spirit there. After the expiry of his period of banishment he returned to Winnipeg, and in 1884 went among the French half-breeds round Prince Albert, whom he urged to stand up for their rights and no longer submit to oppression. He advised them to arm themselves and fight, as it was evident to him that justice could not be obtained by any other method. They immediately broke into a settlement store, seized the guns, and made prisoners of the storekeepers. Riel then proceeded northwards to invite some of the Indian bands in that quarter to join him, and sent a party of his own half-breeds to Duck Lake to take possession of some Government stores lying there. On the way they came into collision with a small detachment of mounted police, two of whom and ten or twelve half-breeds and whites were killed in the encounter. Tidings of risings among the Indians speedily followed, and the destruction of straggling settlements in different localities. A shocking massacre took place at Frog Lake, 40 miles north of Fort Pitt; where eight or ten white persons, including two priests, were put to death in a most atrocious manner, and the women were carried off captive. The Indians at Saddle Lake, 100 miles north-west of Edmonton, plundered the Government stores and warehouses at that point, and then set out on a marauding expedition. In consequence of these and other similar outrages the people of Battleford, terror-stricken, took refuge in the fort, leaving their homes an open prey to the marauding Indians, who speedily pillaged and then burned the dwellings. Fort Carlton, which was one of the old Hudson Bay trading forts, strengthened by

pallisades, had to be abandoned, as it was situated near the river under a high bluff, which completely commanded it. The garrison set fire to the fort before leaving it, for the purpose of destroying the stores which they could not carry with them, and then retired to the little town of Prince Albert. The evacuation of Fort Carlton, and its burning, contributed not a little to encourage the insurgents. Riel formed a provisional government, under the name of the Republic of Saskatchewan, and constituted himself President; Alexander Fische, Lieutenant-Governor; Gabriel Dumont, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and five members of council, some of whom were prominent in the rebellion of 1871. He issued a manifesto reciting the wrongs of the half-breeds, stating that in 1876 and the two following years they had made urgent representations to the Government officials without effect. He blamed the surveyors for cutting up their lands, and the inspectors for depriving them of their wood and water rights. 'Under these circumstances,' he said, 'death at the hands of the public executioner or in battle must be our fate. We must die fighting.'

For the purpose, in the first instance, of relieving the beleaguered settlers in Fort Battleford, and then of seeking out and crushing the insurgents, General Middleton set out at the head of 800 men, consisting mainly of the colonial militia. Another detachment of 470 men, under Colonel Otter, with two Gatling guns, was sent to Swift Current, on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and thence to sail down the Saskatchewan River to effect a junction with General Middleton at Clark's Crossing. At that season of the year the melted snow makes the roads almost impassable, but the troops pressed on across the water-soaked and half-thawed prairie and alkali plains north of Qu'Appelle—and in spite of all obstacles they made a rapid advance—the Hudson Bay Company's officials supplying the transport most efficiently. On the 24th of April General Middleton came into contact with the rebels at a place called Fish Creek, on the right bank of the Saskatchewan, about 15 miles south of Batoche. They had selected for their ambuscade a long and deep ravine, with steep sides and a sort of quagmire at the bottom, overgrown with a dense mass of scrub willows thickly matted together, under and through which any person ensconced there could crawl and escape, after delivering his fire, to another spot, where he could repeat his operations. When the troops reached this spot a heavy fire was opened upon them by 200 Indians and French half-breeds who lay in ambush. Their fire was very effective, being especially directed against the staff: and the large number of wounded among the troops showed the skill of the assailants as marksmen. The half-breeds rallied again and again, keeping up an incessant fire. The loyal forces were beginning to show signs of exhaustion, when, fortunately, Lord Melgund, who was in the vicinity with another detachment, came up from the opposite side of the river and turned the enemy's position. During the engagement there was a heavy thunderstorm, accompanied with wind and hail. The grass of the prairie was set on fire, but fortunately its progress was arrested by the storm, otherwise a serious catastrophe might have taken place. The loss on the side of the loyalists was seven killed and fifty-five wounded. The number of killed and wounded on the side of the rebels could not be ascertained, but must have been large. It was reported that Riel himself was not present, and that he was strongly intrenched at Batoche, some 15 or 20 miles distant.

On the 9th of May General Middleton again encountered the rebels at a place near Batoche, and after a smart conflict put them to flight with considerable loss.

On the other hand, on the 3rd of that month, the flying column sent to relieve Fort Battleford was led into an ambush at Chief Poundmaker's reserve, through the treachery of a half-breed, and was at one

time completely surrounded. Owing, however, to the steadiness of the men, and the destructive fire of the Gatling and the two guns they had with them, they not only drove off the enemy, but retaliated on the Indians by destroying fifty tepes and burning Poundmaker's camp.

On the 11th of May General Middleton attacked the main body of the rebels under Riel, who were intrenched in a strong position at Batoche, and were further protected by a network of rifle pits. But the Royal Grenadiers charged them in the most gallant style, driving them out of their position with heavy loss at the point of the bayonet. In the rebel camp were found a number of persons who had been held prisoners by Riel for some time, and whom before the battle he had threatened to kill if the General did not retreat or grant an interview. It is probable, however, that he had no intention to carry this threat into effect. After the battle Riel, Dumont, and three others fled from the field on horseback, but were pursued by three scouts, who succeeded in capturing the rebel leader and brought him into General Middleton's camp. The signal defeat at Batoche, and the capture of Riel, broke the back of the rebellion. The other leaders were speedily either hunted down or voluntarily surrendered themselves to the authorities.

Riel was brought to trial at Regina, and condemned to death. His counsel appealed to the Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and sought to prove that he was not responsible for his actions on the ground of insanity, but the plea was found quite untenable. Another appeal was then taken to the Privy Council upon a question of jurisdiction. It was contended that the Court of Regina had no competent right to try the prisoner for high treason. But the Privy Council found that no appeal from the Dominion Courts could lie in a criminal case unless under very exceptional circumstances. Riel's fate was therefore left to the Dominion Government. On account of his race the French Canadians were importunate in their demands that he should not be subjected to the extreme penalty of the law. But this was not the first time that Riel had raised and headed a rebellion, and his second insurrection was much more destructive and unpardonable than the first, and was especially aggravated by the fact that he had stirred up the Indian tribes against the Government and the settlers. The leniency shown to him on the previous occasion had only had the effect of encouraging him to renew his efforts to overthrow the Government. A second extension of clemency to a person guilty of such a serious crime would have greatly tended to make the half-breeds and the Indians regard rebellion as a venial offence. The Canadian authorities therefore resolved to allow the law to take its course, and Riel was accordingly hanged on the 16th of November, 1885. His chief accomplices were also condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted into imprisonment.

The year 1886 was rendered memorable by the completion and opening for traffic of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the length of the main line, from Montreal to Vancouver, being 2893 miles, of which 1908 had been constructed in less than five years. The first through passenger train started from Montreal 30th June, 1886, and reached Port Moody, the western terminus, on 6th July. The existence of this trunk line, connecting the eastern with the western coast of the British possessions in North America, has already produced a marked effect in stimulating the settlement of the fertile districts it opens up. It is expected that a service of steam packets will be opened between the western terminus and Yokohama and the British settlements in Asia, which it will practically bring about 900 miles nearer Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXV.

PAST AND PRESENT.

British Colonial Empire—The Dominion of Canada—Australasian Colonies: New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia—State of the Continent at the close of the war with France—Social condition of the People—System of Slavery—Female labour in England—Employment of Children—State of Education—The Electoral System—Pension List Sinecures—The Corn Laws—Taxation—Municipal Corporations—The Postal System—Test and Corporation Acts—Bible Monopoly—Sanitary System—Vast improvements made in social matters—Mechanical agency—Agriculture—Education—Bible Societies—Benevolent Associations—Christian Missions.

ONE of the most striking features of the present age is the extraordinary development of the British Colonial Empire. In 1815 only 2000 persons quitted the kingdom for the purpose of settling in another country. Since that time upwards of 8,000,000 have left the British Islands to find homes beyond the sea. The largest and most important of our colonial possessions is on the North American continent, where it extends to three millions and a half of square miles. The Dominion of Canada, as it is called, consists of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec (formerly Upper and Lower Canada), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. In former times, when these large provinces were governed from London and treated as if they existed solely for the benefit of the parent country, there was no end of disturbances and insurrections against the imperial authority. But now that self-government has been conceded to them our North American provinces have enjoyed an unbroken peace and prosperity. They have ceased to be burdensome to the mother country, as they now bear the charges of their own government and defence. They were united under the provisions of an Act of the Imperial Parliament passed in March, 1867. It declares that the constitution of the Dominion shall be 'similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom,' that the executive authority shall be vested in the Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and carried on in her name by a Governor-General and Privy Council, and that the legislative power shall be exercised by a Parliament of two Houses, called the 'Senate' and the 'House of Commons.' Provision is made in the Act for the admission into the Dominion of Newfoundland, which is still an independent province of British North America.

The members of the Senate of the Canadian Parliament are seventy-seven in number, and are nominated for life by the Governor-General. The House of Commons of the Dominion is elected by the people for five years, in the proportion of one representative for every 17,000. The qualification of the electors varies in the different provinces. The seven provinces forming the Dominion have each a separate local Parliament and administration, with a Lieutenant-Governor at the head of the executive. They have full powers to regulate their own local affairs, to dispose of their own revenues, and to enact such laws as they may deem best for their own external welfare, provided only that they do not interfere with the action and policy of the central administration under the Governor-General.

There is no State Church in the Dominion, or indeed in any part of British North America; but these provinces possess an excellent system of public schools,

supported partly by Government, partly by local self-imposed taxation, and occasionally by the payment of a small fee for each scholar. The total actual revenue of the Dominion in the financial year ending June 30, 1881, was £8,880,831; the expenditure during the same period was £9,644,640. The public debt of the Dominion, incurred chiefly on account of public works, and the interest of which forms the largest branch of expenditure, was at that time £39,972,307. The Dominion had then a network of railways of a total length of 7595 miles. There were at the same period lines of a total length of 2910 miles in course of construction, and 3000 miles more had been surveyed and the necessary concessions granted by the Government. A railway has been projected to cross the whole Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for the construction of which the British Government has promised a guaranteed loan of £2,500,000.

The troops maintained by the Imperial Government have now been reduced to 2000 men, forming the garrison of Halifax, which is considered an 'imperial station.' But a large volunteer force and a militia have been provided for the defence of the Dominion. The militia is divided into an active and a reserve force, the former comprising 45,152 officers and men, the latter amounting to 655,000 rank and file. The average increase of the population of the Dominion in ten years has been at the rate of 18·05 per cent.; in 1881 it amounted to 4,324,810. The trade of the Dominion is chiefly with the United States and Great Britain, the greater part of the imports being derived from the former, and the greater part of the exports going to the latter. In 1881 the total exports from the Dominion to Great Britain amounted in value to £10,705,363, the imports of British home produce to £7,959,388. The two staple articles of export to the United Kingdom are breadstuffs and wood. In 1881 the value of the former was £3,066,233, of the latter £3,876,645. The principal articles of British produce imported into the Dominion in 1881 were iron, wrought and unwrought, of the value of £1,779,741, woollen manufactures, of the value of £1,424,087, and cotton goods, of the value of £1,190,057.

A few years ago the Dominion acquired from the Hudson Bay Company a territory equal in extent to three-fourths of the area of Europe, which proves to be of astonishing fertility, and is attracting so much attention that during the last ten years the average increase of the population has been 289 per cent., and in a single year three millions of acres were put for the first time under cultivation. The total number of immigrants to the Dominion in 1872 was 52,608; in 1881 they amounted to 117,016.

Next in importance to the provinces of North America are the British Colonies of AUSTRALASIA, comprising New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia, which comprise altogether an area of at least 2,500,000 acres. They all enjoy the privilege of self-government and elect their own Legislative Assemblies, which, with Legislative Councils, are intrusted with the power of making laws and imposing taxes, while in each the executive is in the hands of a governor nominated by the Crown. In all these colonies the staple article of export is wool, and next to that gold, tin, copper, tallow, corn, flour, preserved meat, &c. NEW SOUTH WALES, the oldest of the Australasian colonies, was first discovered by Captain Cook in 1770, and eight years later was converted by the British Government into a penal settlement for convicts condemned to transportation for life. For half a century this most injudicious and mischievous practice was continued, and the very offscourings of the home population were sent to lay the foundations of new empires in the southern seas. As might have been foreseen, emigrants of a respectable character were slow to settle in a country inhabited by the sweepings

of our jails, and both the population and the trade of the colony made comparatively little progress. In the course of time, however, the virtuous and reputable portion of the inhabitants presented a determined opposition to the practice of contaminating their territory by shiploads of criminals, and in the end the Government was compelled to abandon the exportation of the convicts. A stream of free immigrants immediately set in, and has become every year more extensive and important.

The discovery of the gold mines in 1851 in the portion of New South Wales which then bore the name of the Port Philip district, but is now designated Victoria, gave an extraordinary impulse to the tide of immigration, and very speedily led to a corresponding extension of trade and commerce throughout the whole of the vast British territory in Australasia. In 1821 the inhabitants of New South Wales only amounted to 29,783, but in 1881 the population of the comparatively limited territory which now bears that name amounted to 751,468. The trade more than quadrupled in the fifteen years from 1850 to 1864. In 1881 the exports of the colony reached in value the sum of £16,049,503, and the imports £17,409,326. In that year there were 87,739,914 lbs. of meat exported, of the value of £5,304,576. The gold mines of New South Wales cover a vast area. Their produce in 1875 was estimated at 552,592 oz., of the value of £2,097,740; in 1881 it had diminished to 145,532 oz., of the value of £550,111. But the produce of the copper, tin, and coal mines had greatly increased, and so had the numbers of sheep, cattle, and horses.

The population of NEW ZEALAND when the census was first taken was 26,707, exclusive of the aborigines. In 1881 it reached 534,032, including 44,099 Maories. The commerce of the colony between the years 1859 and 1878 increased twenty-fold. In 1881 the imports amounted to £7,457,045, and the exports to £6,060,866. New Zealand contains large gold-fields, which were discovered in 1857. The exports amounted in 1875 to 355,322 oz., valued at £1,407,770; in 1878 to 310,486 oz., valued at £1,240,079; but in 1881 the quantity had sunk to 250,683 oz., valued at £996,867.

QUEENSLAND, formerly known as Moreton Bay, which was separated from New South Wales in 1859, comprises the whole north-eastern portion of the Australian continent, having an estimated area of 668,224 square miles, with a sea-board of 2250 miles. It was originally a convict settlement, established in 1825, but was thrown open to free settlers in 1842. Four years later the total population, free and felon, amounted to 2257. In 1881 it increased to 213,525. Its imports in that year amounted to £3,601,906, its exports to £3,289,253.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA was first colonized in 1836 by emigrants from Great Britain, sent out under the auspices of a company called the South Australian Colonization Association, which in the preceding year obtained a grant from the Imperial Government of the lands of the colony. The population, which in 1844 was 17,366, amounted in 1881 to 279,865. Its imports in the latter year were valued at £5,890,000, its exports at £5,280,000. It is peculiarly rich in minerals.

TASMANIA, formerly known as Van Diemen's Land, was from 1803 to 1815 merely a place of transportation from Great Britain and from New South Wales, of which it was a dependency. After transportation to New South Wales was abolished in 1841, Tasmania, to which Norfolk Island had been annexed, became the only colony to which criminals from Great Britain were sent; but at length it too was freed from this obnoxious burden, and transportation to Tasmania was abolished in 1853. The estimated population of the colony on December 31, 1881, was 118,933. Its imports that year were £1,488,524, and its exports £1,555,576.

VICTORIA, which was first settled in 1835,

formed for a time a portion of New South Wales, but was made a separate colony in 1851, having an area of 87,884 square miles, or 56,245,760 acres. In 1836 it contained only 224 persons. In 1854 the population amounted to 236,798, and in 1881 it had risen to 862,346, and of these only about 13,000 are Chinese and aborigines. The discovery of the gold-fields was, of course, the chief cause of this large and rapid increase. The revenue of the colony for 1883 is estimated at £5,528,104, and the expenditure at £5,574,073. Its total imports amounted to £16,718,521 in 1881, and its exports to £16,252,103. In the ten years from 1852 to 1861 the exports of gold amounted to upwards of 2,000,000 oz. per annum. The total quantity of gold raised from the first discovery in 1851 to the close of the year 1881 is estimated at 50,418,529 oz., valued at £201,674,118.

Western Australia, which contains 1,057,250 acres, was first settled in 1829, and for many years the population was small. In 1850 the colony contained only 6000 inhabitants. At the census of 1881 the total number of inhabitants was 29,708, exclusive of the aborigines. It is mainly an agricultural colony, and its exports consist almost entirely of wool and lead ore. Of the former the quantity exported in 1881 was valued at £221,389, and of the latter at £8631.

In all these Australian colonies great energy has been displayed in the formation of railways and other public works, and there can be little doubt that they are destined to form a mighty empire.

Great Britain possesses in all thirty-eight separate colonies, or groups of colonies, varying in area, from Gibraltar, with its two miles, to Canada, with 3,500,000. The African and Asiatic colonies comprise each 1,000,000 square miles. Great Britain now rules over one-third of the surface of the globe and one-fourth of its population.

The changes that have taken place during the Age in which we live are far more extensive and important than were effected during the preceding three centuries. At the close of the Continental war, the constitutions which the various sovereigns had promised in the day of their danger and distress were, by a shameful violation of good faith, refused, and despotic authority was re-established in every part of the Continent. France was reduced to its old dimensions, and placed under the rule of its ancient dynasty. Germany received back its host of petty princes, united, however, in a confederation, of which Austria and Prussia were the supreme directors. Italy became once more a mere territorial designation. Lombardy was restored to Austria, and Venice, without a shadow of right, was placed under the absolute rule of the Kaiser. The Bourbons regained the throne of Naples. The Pope resumed his temporal sovereignty. Genoa was handed over to Piedmont in spite of the indignant protest of its citizens. Tuscany, Modena, and Parma were restored to their Dukes. Belgium was forced into union with Holland, and Norway was annexed to Sweden. The old partition of Poland was confirmed, and a noble race, numbering 15,000,000 souls, was formally handed over to Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

The social condition of the Continental nations was on a par with their political degradation. The great proportion of the peasants in Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Hungary were serfs. The slave trade had been declared illegal by America, but it was still connived at by her authorities, and slavery was firmly established in the Southern States. The trade in slaves had been abolished by Great Britain in 1806, but the system of slavery, with all its atrocities, was maintained in British colonies, and stoutly defended by the Government and the Legislature at home. Flogging was still freely used to enforce labour on our West Indian plantations, and it was not until some years after the termination of the Continental war that a Government order was issued forbidding the infliction of this

punishment on women. Females, old and young, were compelled to work in coal-pits, and to carry huge loads of coal on their backs up steep and slippery ladders, and children of six years of age were employed in these pits, from fourteen to sixteen hours daily, dragging waggons by a chain fastened round the waist, and were beaten, mutilated, and sometimes even killed, by the brutalized miners among whom they laboured. Little boys, and sometimes even little girls, of five or six were employed to sweep chimneys, and had not unfrequently to be driven by blows to the horrid work. Severe injuries were often the result, and sometimes the poor wretches were taken out dead. The extension of the factory system led to a great increase in the demand for juvenile labour. Children of six were often put to work in factories. At this period there was no limit laid upon their period of labour, which ranged from thirteen to fifteen hours daily, and sometimes even rose higher when trade was brisk. The physical deterioration which was thus produced was visible to the most casual observer. The poor creatures subjected to such treatment became stunted in size, pallid and emaciated, scrofulous and consumptive, and great numbers of them died before they attained maturity.

Scotland had long enjoyed a system of education which had qualified her youth to discharge with success the active duties of life, and to raise themselves in every quarter of the world to positions of great influence and usefulness, but no system of education then existed in England. The children of the working classes, both in the towns and in the rural districts, were allowed to grow up in a state of almost total ignorance. Even after the first quarter of the present century one-half of the men and one-third of the women who came to be married could not sign the register. In the manufacturing districts 40 per cent. of the men and 65 per cent. of the women could not write their own names. There was only one in seventeen of the population attending school. And yet every attempt to establish a system of national education adapted to the condition and commensurate with the wants of the people was defeated by the opposition of the privileged class, who thought that educating the poor would prove dangerous to property and rank.

When the Age we live in commenced, the House of Commons was entirely under the control of an oligarchy numbering less than 200 individuals. They had complete command of the Upper House, and with regard to the Lower House, out of 658 members no fewer than 487, including the whole of the forty-five members returned by Scotland, owed their seats to nomination, and not to election in the proper sense of the term, and 245 of these were returned by the influence of 128 peers. A considerable number of the pocket boroughs had scarcely any electors at all. A ruined mound, three niches in a wall, and a park returned two members each to the House of Commons, while Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and other large towns were entirely unrepresented.

As the Government was kept in office by the borough-mongers and great landed proprietors, without whose support it could not have existed for a month, its patronage was exercised mainly for their benefit. The Pension List swarmed with the female relations of the aristocracy. Sinecure offices, with large salaries attached to them, nestled in every nook and corner of the public service, and were almost universally held by the male relatives of peers and borough-mongers, or even by great noblemen themselves. This mode of providing, at the public expense, for the families of the upper classes was followed in the civil service, in the army and navy, and more especially in the church. Clerical nepotism had become a scandal and a by-word. Of 10,421 benefices in England and Wales between 6000 and 7000 were held by incumbents who were non-resident. In the army commissions were frequently given

to boys in the nursery or at school, and the legal and judicial departments were places of refuge, with large pay and little or no work, for the relatives or friends of the heads of the law. The legislation of that day, like the administration of public affairs, was mainly directed towards the class interests of the few, to which the rights of the many or the welfare of the nation were made quite subordinate. The Corn Laws were avowedly intended to keep up the price of wheat to 80*s.* a quarter, and of other cereals in the same proportion, for the benefit of landed proprietors; and duties, not for the sake of revenue, but of protection to home industries, were levied at British ports on many hundreds of articles largely used by the people. The East India Company had a monopoly of the trade with both China and India, and no merchant or trader unconnected with the Company was allowed any share in the traffic. The whole system of taxation was so framed as to levy a heavy assessment on the articles which formed the main support of the middle and lower classes, and to press lightly on the luxuries of the rich. It was estimated about the close of the Continental war that a workman paid nearly £11 annually to carry on the machinery of the Government and to protect native industry, and this at a time when the ordinary workman did not earn more than twice that sum. Even thirty years later, when the condition of the working classes had begun to improve, it was calculated that they paid in taxes from 4*s.* to 16*s.* of every pound which they expended on the main articles of their consumption, to say nothing of the tax which they paid on bread and beef, which could not well be estimated. For every 20*s.*, Mr. Cobden said, which they expended on tea they paid 10*s.* of duty, for every 20*s.* they expended on sugar they paid 6*s.* of duty, for every 20*s.* they expended on coffee they paid 8*s.* of duty; on soap 5*s.*, on beer 4*s.*, on tobacco 16*s.*, on spirits 14*s.**

The municipal corporations were composed of a small body of freemen notoriously corrupt, who monopolized important trading privileges and immunities, jobbed every office, and squandered municipal property in the most scandalous manner, while the great body of the citizens were powerless spectators of the abuses under which they suffered. In England a Poor Law was in existence which had degraded a race of freemen into a horde of paupers, and was as ruinous to the morals of the working classes in the agricultural districts as it was injurious to the interests of farmers and landlords. Under the operation of this system hundreds of farms were tenantless, because no possible reduction could make the occupier become liable for the payment of the poor-rate. The press was the victim of oppressive legislation in every form. The paper on which the newspaper was printed was taxed, the advertisements which were inserted in it were taxed, and the newspaper itself was subjected to a duty of 4*d.* on each copy issued. Over and above, a journal that ventured to criticise and condemn the proceedings of the Government, no matter how arbitrary or unjust, or to expose the tyranny of some local magnate or official, was liable to a criminal prosecution, which in not a few cases subjected the writer to a lengthened imprisonment, and proved ruinous to the proprietor. The law of libel, indeed, was one of the most oppressive instruments in the hands of the Government for the repression of the rights and liberties of the people.

* The system of taxation existing in these days has been no less truly than wittily described by Sydney Smith:—'The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon which has paid 15 per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent., and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 10 per cent. Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel, his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more.'

The postal system was so arranged that the working classes could rarely if ever avail themselves of its benefits. The conveyance of a letter from Glasgow or Edinburgh to London cost a sum nearly equal to the day's wage of an ordinary labourer, and the postage of a letter from any town ten miles distant cost a third of that sum, and was frequently forty-eight hours on the way. The Test and Corporation Acts excluded from municipal offices and Government employment all who declined to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in connection with the Church of England. Roman Catholics, Jews, and members of the Society of Friends were ineligible for a seat in Parliament. The universities and public schools in England were strictly closed against dissenters, and even against members of the Scottish Church; while in Scotland members of that Church alone were eligible to the office of professor in the universities or of teacher in the national schools. The Irish Church, with all its sinecures and abuses, was then held inviolate, and its tithes were collected in a way that led frequently to scenes of violence and bloodshed. The privilege to publish the Bible was a strict monopoly, and it was sold at a price which placed it beyond the unaided reach of the poor, while it converted the royal printers into extensive landed proprietors. The laws of health were imperfectly known and were generally neglected. In London and all the large towns in the three kingdoms tens of thousands of the working classes were compelled to live in cellars and pestiferous hovels, the seats of dirt and disease, the nurseries of the hospital, the workhouse, and the jail. Fever was rarely absent from the crowded streets and lanes. One-tenth of all the deaths was caused by small-pox, and preventible diseases of every kind swept away annually one in twenty-four, sometimes one in eighteen, of the inhabitants of our great cities. Even in the rural districts undrained fields generated intermittent fevers, and miserable cottages, scanty food and clothing, and want of medical attendance, pressed heavily on the agricultural labourers, and destroyed many lives. The mortality was increased by the custom of burying the dead in crowded city graveyards, which not only infected the air in their vicinity, but in some cases poisoned the wells from which the people procured their supply of water.

The criminal population in all our large towns amounted to many thousands, the number of crimes laid to their charge was appalling, and though the penal code was of the most sanguinary character, it had no effect in diminishing the amount of crime. In England, down to 1836, a prisoner under trial for felony was not allowed the assistance of counsel. Stealing from the person or from a shop an article of the value of 5*s.*, or from a dwelling or a ship an article of the value of 40*s.*, was punishable with death. So was picking pockets, and theft from a bleachfield, and poaching by night, and stealing cattle or sheep. So was forgery, writing a threatening letter to extort money, returning from transportation before the period adjudged by the court, cutting down young trees, shooting at rabbits, appearing disguised on public roads—even injuring Westminster Bridge. Altogether there were no less than 223 capital offences in the criminal code of Great Britain. Well might Sir Samuel Romilly declare that there was no other country in the world 'where so many and so large a variety of actions were punishable with loss of life.' Even in the year 1834 four hundred and eighty persons were condemned to death—though most of them had their sentences commuted—and eight hundred and ninety-four persons were sentenced in the same year to banishment for life.

The state of the prisons was a disgrace to humanity. The cells were small, dark, damp, unventilated, and swarming with vermin. No beds were provided, nor a sufficient supply of food, and the hapless inmates had often to implore the charity

of the passers-by.* There was no separation of the sexes, and no classification of criminals. A rustic lad imprisoned for snaring a rabbit was at once associated with old and hardened offenders, and came out of jail contaminated and demoralized. The description which Lord Cockburn gives of the old Edinburgh prison, the celebrated 'Heart of Midlothian,' was equally true of almost every jail in the United Kingdom: 'A most atrocious jail it was, the very breath of which almost struck down any stranger who entered its dismal door. It was very small, the entire hole being filled with little dark cells; heavy manacles, the only security; airless, waterless, drainless —a living grave. One week of that dirty, fetid, cruel torture-house was a severer punishment than a year of our worst modern prisons.' A peculiarly malignant fever, generated by this pestiferous atmosphere, swept off from time to time numbers of the poor wretched inmates of the prisons of that day; and when the 'jail delivery' took place at the assizes, and the prisoners were placed at the bar of the court, they not unfrequently brought infection and death to the jury, the witnesses, and the spectators, and on one occasion the presiding judge himself fell a victim.

The harsh treatment of the sailors in the royal navy made seamen reluctant to enter the service, and in many cases the ships were manned mainly by the efforts of a press-gang. Discipline was maintained both in the army and navy by a savage use of the lash, which was not unfrequently inflicted for comparatively slight offences. It was by no means unusual to condemn a soldier or sailor to receive 500 lashes, and there was a noted case in 1811 when a soldier was sentenced by a court-martial to 1000 lashes, of which 750 were actually inflicted. The editor of a country newspaper who called public attention to this atrocious conduct was found guilty of libel, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Even after the battle of Waterloo the proposal that the punishment of a soldier or sailor should be limited to 100 lashes was rejected by the House of Commons without a division.

The changes that have taken place in all these matters during the Age we live in are as gratifying as astonishing. On the Continent serfdom has been abolished in Russia and Austria; and though the secret societies by which the vast dominions of the Czar are honeycombed are most dangerous to the welfare of the country, and have at length, after various unsuccessful attempts, brought about the assassination of Alexander II., even this state is preferable to the stagnation and degradation, physical, intellectual, and moral, which existed under the despotic rule of Nicholas. Germany has now become a compact and powerful empire, and there is good reason to hope that in time unity will be followed by national freedom. Italy is united and free from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean, and its former dynasties of petty and tyrannical rulers have been swept away never to return. And though the armed truce which exists on the Continent still causes an enormous expenditure of money, and withdraws several millions of the flower of the people from industrial pursuits, converting them into mere consumers of other men's labours, yet there is reason to hope that, through the great diffusion of knowledge and the increasing power of the people, the Continental autocrats will be compelled to beat their swords into ploughshares and study war no more.

In our own country, even under the unreformed Parliament, the influence of the rising spirit of freedom and a sense of right compelled the relaxation of the laws which for centuries had restricted the liberties of the working classes. The exportation

* A stocking suspended by a string from the iron bars of the window enabled the charitable to contribute towards the supply of the wants of the poor prisoners. Sir Walter Scott makes Edie Ochiltree say, in allusion to this practice, 'It wadna be creditable for me, that am the king's bedesman and entitled to beg by word of mouth, to be fishing for bawbees out at the jail window wi' the tit o' a stocking and a string.'

of machinery was no longer prohibited. Artisans were permitted to carry their labour to other countries, instead of being bound like serfs to the British soil. Workmen were left free to combine for the purpose of obtaining higher wages or better treatment, so long as they did not infringe the rights of others. The Test Act and the Disabilities of the Roman Catholics were abolished, and ultimately those which affected the Jews. These changes were followed by the reform of Parliament and of the municipal corporations; the people have been intrusted with the election of their representatives both in Parliament and in the town councils, and are protected by the ballot alike from the intimidation of the landlord and of the mob. The Criminal Code has been vastly softened and improved. The shocking barbarities inflicted on women and young children in mines and collieries and other works have been suppressed. The evils resulting from the unduly prolonged labour of children in factories have been remedied; the employment of those under nine years of age is now prohibited, the working time of children under thirteen is restricted to forty-eight hours, and of young persons under eighteen to sixty-nine hours weekly. The Ten Hours Act has imposed a further limitation of their hours of labour. The laws of health are now much better understood and acted on, and the sanitary arrangements of our large towns, though still far from perfect, have undergone great improvement. In London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other cities, the narrow lanes, closes, and wynds, in which the poorer classes were crowded together in thousands, have been swept away and replaced by spacious streets and comfortable dwellings. The gaols have been transformed into roomy, well-ventilated, and healthy places of confinement, where provision has been made for the instruction, and means zealously employed for the reformation, of the prisoners. Monopolies of every kind, more especially the restrictions on the importation of food for the people, have been completely abolished, and commerce has now been made as free as the winds of heaven. The public revenue, too, is raised in a manner which leaves the working classes completely exempt, if they only choose to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors and tobacco. The taxes on knowledge have been abolished; the circulation of public journals conducted with great ability has been enormously increased, while the reduction of their price has brought them within reach of all classes of the community, communicating intelligence collected from every quarter of the globe, and diffusing important information on subjects of vital interest to all. The penny postage has conferred inestimably great benefits, moral and social as well as financial, on the mass of the people, at the same time that it has increased twenty-fold postal communications of every kind, and has at the same time doubled the net revenue yielded by the post office. Vast improvements have taken place in mechanical agency, shortening the processes of labour and improving the results; and the steamship, the locomotive, the electric telegraph, and the telephone have increased enormously our command over the powers of nature and our supply of the necessaries and comforts of life. In the cultivation of the arts as well as of the sciences there has been a great improvement, and engravings which not many years ago were the exclusive possession of the wealthy, are now brought within the reach of the working classes and extensively circulated among them. The discovery of the photographic art has been a source of great enjoyment as well as a benefit to millions, has strengthened the ties of relationship and friendship, and has secured for posterity a representation of the manners and customs, and the dress, dwellings, and modes of life of the present generation.

The progress that has been made during the present age in agricultural affairs has kept pace with the advance in mechanical agency. Drainage, which has promoted

the health of the agricultural population, has greatly increased the fertility of the soil. So have the use of artificial manures, the steam plough, and other scientific implements, which, now that legislative protection has been withdrawn, have enabled the British farmer to keep his ground against foreign competition.

It is still more gratifying to observe the intellectual and moral progress that has been made during the Age we live in. In nearly all the Continental countries, and in America and the Dominion of Canada, great and successful efforts have been made to promote the instruction of the people; and in Britain a national system of education has been established suited to the circumstances and commensurate with the wants of the nation, and bringing the means of instruction within reach even of the poorest classes of the community. The abolition of the Bible monopoly and the institution of Bible Societies have brought the Holy Scriptures within the reach even of the poorest classes of the people. Benevolent associations in great numbers, and on a most extensive scale, have been formed for the alleviation of all the varied forms of human suffering—for the relief of the indigent and the imbecile, the sick and the maimed, the maintenance and instruction of the blind and the deaf and dumb, and the support of widows and orphans. The insane are now restrained by gentle treatment and kindness, instead of the harsh and brutal restrictions of chains and darkness and strait-waistcoats. Missionary societies, instituted by nearly all denominations of Christians, have sent out their agents with the Bible in their hands translated into languages hitherto unwritten, to labour in almost every quarter of the world—among the snows of Labrador and under the fierce heat of the tropics, in the islands of the Pacific, in India, and China, and Africa. In the latter the researches of the illustrious traveller Livingstone have rolled away the curtain of darkness which from time immemorial hung over vast regions hitherto sealed against the march of civilization, and have opened a path for the missionary to make known the glad tidings of the Gospel to the benighted and degraded inhabitants. All these and many other cheering 'signs of the times' warrant the hope that the time is approaching when 'the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea,' and when righteousness and peace shall reign together throughout the world.

Our history of the present century would be incomplete without an account of the marvellous increase of population in the United Kingdom since the first census, taken in 1801. Previous to this period the number of the people had been a fruitful source of controversy among politicians, but we have nothing more reliable than the estimates of Rickman, based on the records of births, deaths, and marriages contained in the parish registers, which were commenced prior to the year 1600, and assuming that these bore the same proportion to the total population as they did in 1801. The results, if not very trustworthy, are interesting as enabling us to make some comparison of the populations of England and Wales in the present and preceding centuries. According to this estimate the population was probably as follows in the years mentioned:—

	England.	Wales.
1570, . .	3,737,841 ...	301,034
1600, . .	4,460,454 ...	351,264
1630, . .	5,225,263 ...	375,254
1670, . .	5,395,185 ...	378,461
1700, . .	5,653,061 ...	391,947
1750, . .	6,066,041 ...	450,994

On the succeeding page we give in tabular form the principal results of the censuses of Great Britain from the first, in 1801, to the last, in 1881, and of Ireland from 1821 to 1881. The issue in 1883 of the corrected results of the census of 1881 enables us to give the populations of the counties, principal cities, and towns of the United Kingdom in a form which will be convenient for reference.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AT EACH CENSUS FROM 1801 TO 1881.

	POPULATION.					FAMILIES AND HOUSES.				
	Number of Males.	Number of Females.	Total Population.	Decennial Increase.	Percentage of Decennial Increase.	Number of Families.	Persons in each Family.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Persons to each House.	Families in each House.
ENGLAND & WALES:										
1801, March 10	4,254,735	4,637,801	8,892,536	...	...	1,896,723	4.698	1,575,923	5.643	1.204
1811, May 27	4,873,605	5,290,651	10,164,256	1,271,720	14	2,142,147	4.745	1,797,504	5.655	1.192
1821, May 28	5,850,319	6,149,917	12,000,236	1,835,980	18	2,493,423	4.813	2,088,156	5.747	1.194
1831, May 29	6,771,196	7,125,601	13,896,797	1,896,561	16	2,911,874	4.772	2,481,544	5.600	1.173
1841, June 7	7,777,586	8,136,562	15,914,148	2,017,351	14	*	*	2,943,945	5.406	*
1851, March 31	8,781,225	9,146,384	17,927,609	2,013,461	13	3,712,290	4.827	2,278,039	5.469	1.133
1861, April 8	9,776,259	10,289,965	20,066,224	2,138,615	12	4,491,524	4.47	3,739,505	5.356	1.20
1871, April 3	11,058,934	11,653,332	22,712,266	2,646,042	13.19	5,049,016	4.50	4,259,117	5.3	1.18
1881, April 4	12,639,902	13,334,537	25,974,439	3,262,173	14.34	5,643,353	4.6	4,833,844	5.37	1.17
SCOTLAND:										
1801, March 10	739,091	869,329	1,608,420	...	...	364,079	4.418	294,553	5.461	1.236
1811, May 17	826,296	979,568	1,805,864	197,444	12.27	402,068	4.491	304,093	5.939	1.322
1821, May 28	982,623	1,108,898	2,091,521	285,657	15.82	447,960	4.669	341,474	6.125	1.312
1831, May 29	1,114,456	1,249,930	2,364,386	272,865	13.04	502,301	4.707	369,393	6.401	1.360
1841, June 7	1,241,862	1,378,322	2,620,184	255,798	10.82	550.428	4.760	502,852	5.211	1.095
1851, March 31	1,375,479	1,513,263	2,888,742	268,558	10.25	600,098	4.814	370,308	7.801	1.621
1861, April 8	1,449,848	1,612,446	3,062,294	173,552	6.00	678,584	4.508	393,220	7.784	1.726
1871, April 3	1,603,143	1,756,875	3,360,018	297,724	9.72	740,748	4.50	412,185	8.15	1.80
1881, April 4	1,799,475	1,936,098	3,735,573	375,555	11.18	812,712	4.60	739,005	5.05	1.10
IRELAND:										
1821, May 28	3,341,926	3,459,901	6,801,827	...	...	1,312,032	5.184	1,142,602	6.595	1.148
1831, May 29	3,794,880	3,972,521	7,767,401	965,574	14.19	1,385,066	5.608	1,249,816	6.214	1.108
1841, June 7	4,017,576	4,155,548	8,175,124	407,723	5.25	1,472,787	5.550	1,328,839	6.152	1.108
1851, March 31	3,190,630	3,361,755	6,574,278	†1,600,846	†19.58	1,204,319	5.428	1,046,223	6.262	1.153
1861, April 8	2,804,961	2,959,582	5,798,967	†775,311	†11.79	1,128,300	5.105	995,156	5.804	1.137
1871, April 3	2,639,753	2,772,624	5,412,377	†386,590	†6.83	1,071,494	5.04	960,352	5.63	1.11
1881, April 4	2,522,804	2,637,035	5,159,839	†252,538	†4.7	994,579	5.18	912,761	5.65	1.09
ISLANDS IN THE BRITISH SEAS:										
1821	41,733	47,775	89,508	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1831	48,549	55,161	103,710	4,202	...	...	...	...	...	...
1841	57,556	66,484	124,040	20,330	...	...	...	...	...	...
1851	66,854	76,272	143,126	19,086	...	...	...	...	...	...
1861	66,140	77,307	143,447	321	...	...	...	...	...	...
1871	66,222	78,416	144,638	1,191	...	...	...	...	...	...
1881	65,980	75,243	141,223	3,415	...	...	...	...	...	...

* In 1841 the number of families in England and Wales was not correctly returned. † Decrease in Ireland.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1881.

ENGLAND.				WALES.	
Bedford,	149,473	Hants,	593,470	Anglesey,	51,416
Berks,	218,363	Hereford,	121,062	Brecon,	57,746
Buckingham,	176,323	Hertford,	203.069	Cardigan,	70,270
Cambridge,	185,594	Huntingdon,	59,491	Carmarthen,	124,864
Chester,	644,037	Kent,	977,706	Carnarvon,	119,349
Cornwall,	330,686	Lancaster,	3,454,441	Denbigh,	111,740
Cumberland,	250,647	Leicester,	321,258	Flint,	80,587
Derby,	461,914	Lincoln,	469,919	Glamorgan,	511,433
Devon,	603,595	Middlesex,	2,920,485	Merioneth,	52,038
Dorset,	191,028	Monmouth,	211,267	Montgomery,	65,718
Durham,	867,258	Norfolk,	444,749	Pembroke,	91,824
Essex,	576,434	Northampton,	272,555	Radnor,	23,528
Gloucester,	572,433	Northumberland,	434,086		
		Nottingham,	391,815		
		Oxford,	179,559		
		Rutland,	21,434		
		Salop,	248,014		
		Somerset,	469,109		
		Stafford,	981,013		
		Suffolk,	356,893		
		Surrey,	1,436,899		
		Sussex,	490,505		
		Warwick,	737,339		
		Westmorland,	64,191		
		Wilts,	258,965		
		Worcester,	380,283		
		York, East Riding,	315,460		
		" City,	49,530		
		" North Riding,	346,260		
		" West Riding,	2,175,314		

CORRECTED POPULATION OF THE CITIES AND BOROUGHS IN ENGLAND AND WALES HAVING DEFINED MUNICIPAL OR PARLIAMENTARY LIMITS, ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1881.

NOTE.—The letter *m* in the table denotes Municipal boroughs; *p*, Parliamentary boroughs; *m* & *p*, Municipal and Parliamentary, the limits being co-extensive.

		POP.
Aberavon,	*m*	4,859
Aberystwith,	*m*	7,088
Abingdon,	*m*	5,684
"	*p*	6,630
Accrington,	*m*	31,435
Andover,	*m*	5,653
"	*p*	5,870
Arundel,	*m*	2,748
Ashton-under-Lyne,	*m*	37,040
" "	*p*	43,480
Aylesbury,	*p*	28,907
Banbury,	*m*	3,600
"	*p*	12,072
Barnsley,	*m*	29,790
Barnstaple,	*m*	12,282
"	*p*	12,493
Barrow-in-Furness,	*m*	47,100
Basingstoke,	*m*	6,681
Bath City,	*p*	53,785
Bath,	*m*	51,814
Batley,	*m*	27,505
Beaumaris,	*m*	2,239
Beccles,	*m*	5,721
Bedford,	*m* & *p*	19,533
Berwick-upon-Tweed,	*m* & *p*	13,998
Beverley,	*m*	11,425
Bewdley,	*m*	3,088
"	*p*	8,678
Bideford,	*m*	6,512
Birkenhead,	*m* & *p*	84,006
Birmingham,	*m* & *p*	400,774
Blackburn,	*m*	104,014
Blackburn,	*p*	100,620
Blackpool,	*m*	14,229
Blandford,	*m*	1,373
Bodmin,	*m*	5,061
"	*p*	6,866
Bolton,	*m*	105,414
"	*p*	105,965
Bootle-cum-Linacre,	*m*	27,374
Boston,	*m*	14,941
"	*p*	18,873
Bradford,	*m*	183,032

		POP.
Bradford,	p	180,459
Brecknock,	m	6,247
"	p	6,623
Bridgnorth,	m	5,885
"	p	7,212
Bridgwater,	m	12,007
Bridport,	m & p	6,795
Brighton,	m	107,546
"	p	128,440
Bristol,	m & p	206,874
Buckingham,	m	3,585
"	p	6,859
Burnley,	m	58,751
"	p	63,638
Burslem,	m	26,522
Burton-upon-Trent,	m	39,288
Bury,	m	52,213
"	p	50,178
Bury St. Edmunds—	m & p	16,111
Calne,	m	2,474
"	p	5,244
Cambridge,	m	35,363
"	p	40,878
Canterbury,	m & p	21,704
Cardiff,	m	82,761
Cardigan,	m	3,669
Carlisle,	m & p	35,884
Carmarthen,	m	10,514
Carnarvon,	m	10,258
Chard,	m	2,411
Chatham,	p	46,788
Chelsea,	p	366,798
Cheltenham,	m	43,972
"	p	46,842
Chester,	m	36,794
Chester City,	p	40,972
Chesterfield,	m	12,221
Chichester,	m	8,114
Chichester City,	p	9,669
Chippenham,	m	1,352
"	p	6,776
Chipping Norton,	m	4,167
Chipping Wycombe,	m	10,618
" "	p	13,154
Christchurch,	p	28,535
Cirencester,	p	8,431
Clitheroe,	m	10,176
"	p	14,472
Cockermouth,	p	7,188
Colchester,	m & p	28,374
Congleton,	m	11,116
Conway,	m	3,254
Coventry,	m	42,111
Coventry City,	p	46,563
Crewe,	m	24,385
Cricklade,	p	51,951
Darlington,	m	35,104
"	p	33,428
Dartmouth,	m	5,725
Daventry,	m	3,859
Deal,	m	8,500
Denbigh,	m	6,535
Derby,	m	81,168
"	p	77,636
Devizes,	m & p	6,645
Devonport,	m	48,939
"	p	63,980
Dewsbury,	m	29,637
"	p	69,566
Doncaster,	m	21,139
Dorchester,	m & p	7,567
Dover,	m & p	31,270
Droitwich,	m	3,761
"	p	9,858
Dudley,	m	46,252
"	p	87,527
Dunstable,	m	4,627
Durham,	m	14,932
Durham City,	p	15,372
East Retford,	m	9,748
"	p	50,054
Evesham,	m & p	5,112
Exeter,	m	37,665
Exeter City,	p	47,154
Eye,	m	2,296
"	p	6,293

		POP.
Falmouth,	m	5,973
Faversham,	m	8,616
Finsbury,	p	524,952
Flint,	m	5,096
Folkestone,	m	18,986
Frome,	p	9,377
Gateshead,	m & p	65,803
Glastonbury,	m	3,719
Glossop,	m	19,574
Gloucester,	m & p	36,521
Godalming,	m	2,505
Godmanchester,	m	2,188
Grantham,	m	16,886
"	p	17,345
Gravesend,	m	23,302
"	p	31,283
Greenwich,	p	207,028
Grimsby, Great,	m	28,508
" "	p	45,351
Guildford,	m	10,858
"	p	11,593
Hackney,	p	417,233
Halifax,	m & p	73,630
Hanley,	m	48,361
Hartlepool,	m	12,361
Hartlepools, The,	p	46,990
Harwich,	m & p	7,842
Hastings,	m	42 258
"	p	47,738
Haverfordwest,	m	6,398
Hedon,	m	966
Helston,	m	3,432
"	p	7,935
Hereford,	m & p	19,821
Hertford,	m	7,747
"	p	8,718
Heywood,	m	22,979
Honiton,	m	3,358
Horsham,	p	9,552
Huddersfield,	m	81,841
"	p	87,157
Hull,	m	154,240
"	p	162,194
Huntingdon,	m	4,228
"	p	6,416
Hyde,	m	28,630
Hythe,	m	4,173
"	p	28,239
Ipswich,	m & p	50,546
Jarrow,	m	25,469
Kendal,	m & p	13,696
Kidderminster,	m	24,270
"	p	25,633
King's Lynn,	m	18,539
"	p	18,454
Kingston-upon-Thames,	m	20,648
Knaresborough,	p	5,000
Lambeth,	p	499,255
Lancaster,	m	20,663
Launceston,	m	3,217
"	p	5,675
Leamington,	m	22,979
Leeds,	m & p	309,119
Leicester,	m & p	122,376
Leominster,	m & p	6,044
Lewes,	p	11,199
Lichfield,	m & p	8,349
Lincoln,	m & p	37,313
Liskeard,	m	4,536
"	p	5,591
Liverpool,	m & p	552,508
Llandovery,	m	2,035
Llanidloes,	m	3,421
London City,	m & p	50,652
Longton,	m	18,620
Louth,	m	10,691
Ludlow,	m	5,035
"	p	6,664
Luton,	m	23,960
Lyme Regis,	m	2,047
Lymington,	m	2,410
"	p	5,468

		POP.
Macclesfield,	m	37,514
"	p	37,620
Maidenhead,	m	8,220
Maidstone,	m	29,623
"	p	29,647
Maldon,	m	5,468
"	p	7,145
Malmesbury,	p	6,881
Malton,	p	8,754
Manchester,	m	341,414
Manchester City,	p	393,585
Margate,	m	16,030
Marlborough,	m	3,343
"	p	5,180
Marlow, Great,	p	6,778
Marylebone,	p	498,386
Merthyr-Tydfil,	p	91,373
Middlesborough,	m	55,934
"	p	72,145
Midhurst,	p	7,221
Monmouth,	m	6,111
Morpeth,	m	4,556
"	p	33,459
Neath,	m	10,409
Newark,	m & p	14,018
Newbury,	m	10,144
Newcastle-under-Lyme,	m	17,508
" "	p	17,493
Newcastle-upon-Tyne,	m & p	145,359
Newport, I. of Wight,	m	9,357
" "	p	9,144
Newport, Monmouth,	m	35,313
New Shoreham,	p	42,559
New Windsor,	m	12,273
"	p	19,082
Northallerton,	p	5,445
Northampton,	m	51,881
"	p	57,544
Norwich,	m & p	87,842
Nottingham,	m	186,575
"	p	111,648
Oldham,	m	111,343
"	p	152,513
Oswestry,	m	7,847
Over Darwen,	m	29,744
Oxford,	m	35,264
Oxford City,	p	40,837
Pembroke,	m	14,156
Penryn,	m	3,466
Penryn and Falmouth,	p	18,072
Penzance,	m	12,409
Peterborough,	m	21,228
Peterborough City,	p	22,394
Petersfield,	p	6,546
Plymouth,	m	73,794
"	p	76,080
Pontefract,	m	8,798
"	p	15,332
Poole,	m & p	12,310
Portsmouth,	m & p	127,989
Preston,	m	96,537
"	p	93,720
Pwllheli,	m	3,242
Reading,	m & p	42,054
Reigate,	m	18,662
Richmond,	m	4,502
"	p	5,542
Ripon,	m & p	7,390
Rochdale,	m & p	68,866
Rochester,	m & p	21,307
Romsey,	m	4,204
Rotherham,	m	34,782
Ruthin,	m	3,033
Ryde,	m	11,461
Rye,	m	4,224
"	p	8,403
Saffron-Walden,	m	6,066
St. Alban's,	m	10,931
St. Helen's,	m	57,403
St. Ives, Cornwall,	m	6,445
" "	p	8,809

		POP.
St. Ives, Hunts.	m	3,002
Salford,	m & p	176,235
Salisbury or New Sarum,	m	14,792
Salisbury City or New Sarum,	p	15,680
Sandwich,	m	2,846
"	p	15,655
Scarborough,	m & p	30,504
Shaftesbury,	m	2,312
"	p	8,479
Sheffield,	m & p	284,508
Shields, South,	m & p	56,875
Shrewsbury,	m & p	26,478
Southampton,	m & p	60,051
South Molton,	m	3,340
Southport,	m	32,206
Southwark,	p	221,946
Southwold,	m	2,107
Stafford,	m	19,977
"	p	18,904
Stalybridge,	m	22,785
"	p	39,671
Stamford,	m	8,773
"	p	8,993
Stockport,	m & p	59,553
Stockton,	m	41,015
"	p	55,457
Stoke-upon-Trent,	m	19,261
" "	p	152,394
Stratford-on-Avon,	m	8,054
Stroud,	p	40,587
Sudbury,	m	6,584
Sunderland,	m	116,542
"	p	124,841
Swansea,	m	65,597
Tamworth,	m	4,891
"	p	14,101
Taunton,	m & p	16,614
Tavistock,	p	6,879
Tenby,	m	4,750
Tenterden,	m	3,620
Tewkesbury,	m & p	5,100
Thetford,	m	4,032
Thirsk,	p	6,312
Tiverton,	m & p	10,462
Torrington,	m	3,445
Totnes,	m	4,089
Tower Hamlets,	p	439,137
Truro,	m & p	10,619
Tynemouth,	m & p	44,118
Wakefield,	m & p	30,854
Wallingford,	m	2,803
"	p	8,194
Walsall,	m	58,795
"	p	59,402
Wareham,	p	6,360
Warrington,	m	41,452
"	p	45,253
Warwick,	m & p	11,800
Wednesbury,	p	124,437
Wells,	m	4,634
Welshpool,	m	7,107
Wenlock,	m	18,442
"	p	20,092
Westbury,	p	6,014
Westminster City,	p	229,238
Weymouth and Melcombe Regis,	m & p	13,715
Whitby,	p	14,621
Whitehaven,	p	19,295
Wigan,	m & p	48,194
Wilton,	p	8,802
Winchester,	m & p	17,780
Wisbech,	m	9,249
Wolverhampton,	m	75,766
"	p	164,332
Woodstock,	p	7,033
Worcester,	m	33,956
Worcester City,	p	40,354
Wrexham,	m	10,978
Yarmouth, Great,	m	46,159
Yeovil,	m	8,479
York,	m	49,530
York City,	p	60,343

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF IRELAND IN 1881.

I. *Leinster.*

	POP.
Carlow County,	46,568
Drogheda, County of Town,	12,297
Dublin City,	249,602
Dublin County,	169,308
Kildare "	75,804
Kilkenny City,	12,299
Kilkenny County,	87,232
King's "	72,852
Longford "	61,009
Louth "	65,387
Meath "	87,469
Queen's "	73,124
Westmeath County,	71,798
Wexford "	123,854
Wicklow "	70,386

II. *Munster.*

Clare County,	141,457
Cork City,	80,124
Cork County,	415,483
Kerry County,	201,039
Limerick City,	38,562
Limerick County,	142,070
Tipperary County,	199,612
Waterford City,	22,457
Waterford County,	90,311

III. *Ulster.*

Antrim County,	227,729
Armagh County,	163,177
Belfast Borough,	208,122
Carrickfergus, Co. of Town,	10,009
Cavan County,	129,476
Donegal County,	206,035
Down County,	248,190
Fermanagh County,	84,879
Londonderry, Co. and City,	164,991
Monaghan County,	102,748
Tyrone County,	197,719

IV. *Connaught.*

Galway County,	222,834
Galway, County of Town,	19,171
Leitrim County,	90,372
Mayo "	245,212
Roscommon "	132,490
Sligo "	111,578

POPULATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGHS AND CIVIC AND MUNICIPAL TOWNS OF IRELAND FROM THE CENSUS RETURNS OF 1881.

NOTE.—The letter *c* in the table denotes Civic towns; *p*, Parliamentary boroughs; *c* and *p*, Civic and Parliamentary, the limits being co-extensive; and *t*, the Municipal towns.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

		POP.
Ardee,	*c*	2,622
Arklow,	*c*	4,777
Athlone (part of),	*c & p*	3,072
Athy,	*c*	4,181
Bagenalstown,	*c*	2,141
Balbriggan,	*c*	2,443
Blackrock,	*c*	8,902
Bray,	*c*	6,535
Callan,	*c*	2,340
Carlow,	*c & p*	7,185
Clontarf,	*c*	4,210
Dalkey,	*c*	3,234
Drogheda,	*c*	12,297
"	*p*	14,662
Drumcondra, Clonliffe, and Glasnevin,	*c*	4,878
Dublin,	*c*	249,602
"	*p*	273,282
Dundalk,	*c*	11,913
"	*p*	11,974
Enniscorthy,	*c*	5,666
Gorey,	*c*	2,450
Kells,	*c*	2,822
Kilkenny,	*c*	12,299
"	*p*	15,278
Killiney and Ballybrack,	*c*	2,607
Kingstown,	*c*	18,586
Longford,	*c*	4,380
Maryborough,	*c*	2,872
Mountmellick,	*c*	3,126
Mullingar,	*c*	4,787
Naas,	*c*	3,808
Navan,	*c*	3,873
Newbridge,	*c*	3,372
New Kilmainham,	*c*	5,391
New Ross,	*c & p*	6,670
Parsonstown,	*c*	4,955
Pembroke,	*c*	23,222
Portarlington,	*c*	2,357
"	*p*	2,477
Rathmines and Rathgar,	*c*	24,370
Skerries,	*c*	2,227
Trim,	*t*	1,586
Tullamore,	*c*	5,098
Wexford,	*c & p*	12,163
Wicklow,	*c*	3,391

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

Bandon,	*c*	3,997
"	*p*	5,949
Bantry,	*c*	2,632
Caher,	*c*	2,469
Cahersiveen,	*c*	2,003
Carrick-on-Suir,	*c*	6,583
Cashel,	*c*	3,961
Charleville,	*c*	2,266
Clonakilty,	*c*	3,676
Clonmel,	*c & p*	9,325
Cork,	*c*	80,124
"	*p*	104,496
Dungarvan,	*c*	6,306
"	*p*	7,391
Dunmanway,	*c*	2,049
Ennis,	*c & p*	6,307
Fermoy,	*c*	6,454
Fethard,	*t*	1,926
Killarney,	*c*	6,651
Kilrush,	*c*	3,805
Kinsale,	*c*	5,386
"	*p*	5,998
Limerick,	*c*	38,562
"	*p*	48,670
Lismore,	*t*	1,860
Listowel,	*c*	2,965
Macroom,	*c*	3,099
Mallow,	*c & p*	4,439
Middleton,	*c*	3,358
Mitchelstown,	*c*	2,467
Nenagh,	*c*	5,422
Newcastle,	*c*	2,186
Passage, West,	*c*	2,440
Queenstown,	*c*	9,755
Rathkeale,	*c*	2,549
Roscrea,	*c*	2,801
Skibbereen,	*c*	3,631
Templemore,	*c*	2,800
Thurles,	*c*	4,850
Tipperary,	*c*	7,274
Tralee,	*c*	9,910
"	*p*	9,396
Tramore,	*c*	2,036
Waterford,	*c*	22,457
"	*p*	29,181
Youghal,	*c*	5,396
"	*p*	5,826

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Antrim,	*t*	1,647
Armagh,	*c & p*	10,070
Aughnacloy,	*t*	1,333
Ballybay,	*t*	1,654
Ballymena,	*c*	8,883
Ballymoney,	*c*	3,049
Ballyshannon,	*c*	2,840
Banbridge,	*c*	5,609
Bangor,	*c*	3,006
Belfast,	*c & p*	208,122
Belturbet,	*t*	1,807
Bess Brook,	*c*	3,126
Carrickfergus,	*c & p*	10,009
Carrickmacross,	*c*	2,002
Castleblayney,	*t*	1,810
Cavan,	*c*	3,050
Clones,	*c*	2,216
Coleraine,	*c*	5,899
"	*p*	6,694
Comber,	*c*	2,165
Cookstown,	*c*	3,870
Cootehill,	*t*	1,789
Downpatrick,	*c*	3,419
"	*p*	3,901
Dromore,	*c*	2,491
Dungannon,	*c & p*	4,084
Enniskillen,	*c & p*	5,712
Gilford,	*t*	1,324
Holywood,	*c*	3,293
Keady,	*t*	1,598
Larne,	*c*	4,716
Legoniel,	*c*	3,497
Letterkenny,	*c*	2,188
Limavady,	*c*	2,954
Lisburn,	*c*	10,755
"	*p*	11,083
Londonderry,	*c & p*	29,162
Lurgan,	*c*	10,135
Monaghan,	*c*	3,369
Newry,	*c*	14,808
"	*p*	15,590
Newtownards,	*c*	8,676
Omagh,	*c*	4,123
Portadown,	*c*	7,850
Strabane,	*c*	4,196
Tanderagee,	*t*	1,592

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Athlone (part of),	*c & p*	3,683
Ballina,	*c*	5,760
Ballinasloe,	*c*	4,772
Ballinrobe,	*c*	2,286
Boyle,	*c*	2,994
Castlebar,	*c*	3,855
Galway,	*p*	19,171
Loughrea,	*c*	3,159
Roscommon,	*c*	2,117
Sligo,	*c*	10,808
Tuam,	*c*	3,567
Westport,	*c*	4,469

POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF SCOTLAND IN 1881.

	POP.
I. *Northern.*	
Shetland,	29,705
Orkney,	32,044
Caithness,	38,865
Sutherland,	23,370
II. *North-Western.*	
Ross and Cromarty,	78,547
Inverness,	90,454
III. *North-Eastern.*	
Nairn,	10,455
Elgin (or Moray),	43,788
Banff,	62,736
Aberdeen,	267,990
Kincardine,	34,464
IV. *East-Midland.*	
Forfar,	266,360
Perth,	129,007
Fife,	171,931
Kinross,	6,697
Clackmannan,	25,680
V. *West-Midland.*	
Stirling,	112,443
Dumbarton,	75,333
Argyll,	76,468
Bute,	17,657
VI. *South-Western.*	
Renfrew,	263,374
Ayr,	217,519
Lanark,	904,412
VII. *South-Eastern.*	
Linlithgow,	43,510
Edinburgh,	389,164
Haddington,	38,502
Berwick,	35,392
Peebles,	13,822
Selkirk,	25,564
VIII. *Southern.*	
Roxburgh,	53,442
Dumfries,	76,140
Kirkcudbright,	42,127
Wigtown,	38,611

POPULATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY AND ROYAL BURGHS OF SCOTLAND IN 1881.

	Parliamentary Burghs. POP.	Royal Burghs. POP.
Aberdeen,	105,003	87,223
Airdrie,	13,363	—
Annan,	3,366	4,523
Anstruther, Easter,	1,349	1,248
Anstruther, Wester,	594	594
Arbroath,	21,758	21,846
Auchtermuchty,	—	824
Ayr,	20,812	8,776
Banff,	7,844	4,203
Brechin,	9,031	5,295
Burntisland,	4,099	3,197
Campbeltown,	7,558	5,070
Crail,	1,145	1,142
Cromarty,	1,352	—
Cullen,	2,033	3,682
Culross,	373	380
Cupar,	5,010	4,964
Dingwall,	1,921	1,921
Dornoch,	497	497
Dumbarton,	13,782	10,898
Dumfries,	17,092	15,713
Dunbar,	3,657	3,745
Dundee,	140,063	140,063
Dunfermline,	17,084	19,915
Dysart,	10,877	2,645
Earlsferry,	—	286
Edinburgh,	228,357	228,357
Elgin,	7,413	6,286
Falkland	—	972
Falkirk,	13,170	—
Forfar,	12,817	13,579
Forres,	4,030	3,110
Fortrose,	869	986
Galashiels,	12,435	—
Glasgow,	487,985	166,078
Greenock,	63,902	—
Haddington,	4,043	4,043
Hamilton,	13,995	—
Hawick,	16,184	—
Inveraray,	864	940
Inverbervie,	1,095	2,114
Inverkeithing,	1,646	1,366
Inverness,	17,365	17,365
Inverurie,	2,931	2,669
Irvine,	8,498	4,508
Jedburgh,	3,402	2,432
Kilmarnock,	24,978	—
Kilrenny,	2,759	2,730
Kinghorn,	1,790	1,439
Kintore,	661	661
Kirkcaldy,	13,320	23,288
Kirkcudbright,	2,571	2,571
Kirkwall,	3,923	2,613
Lanark,	4,910	5,874
Lauder,	964	1,014
Leith,	58,196	—
Linlithgow,	3,913	3,729
Lochmaben,	1,216	1,539
Montrose,	14,973	14,177
Musselburgh,	7,866	—
Nairn,	4,161	4,665
Newburgh,	—	1,852
New Galloway,	422	398
North Berwick,	1,698	1,177
Oban,	3,991	—
Paisley,	55,627	—
Peebles,	—	2,609
Perth,	28,949	27,207
Peterhead,	10,922	—
Pittenweem,	2,087	2,116
Port-Glasgow,	10,802	—
Portobello,	6,794	—
Queensferry,	1,676	1,064
Renfrew,	4,825	5,115
Rothesay,	—	8,291
Rutherglen,	11,265	11,473
St. Andrews,	6,452	6,406
Sanquhar,	1,339	1,299
Selkirk,	6,090	6,090
Stirling,	16,001	12,194
Stranraer	6,342	3,455
Tain,	1,742	2,221
Whithorn,	1,653	1,643
Wick,	8,026	1,416
Wigtown,	1,722	1,789

THE END.

THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON, C.B., R.E.,

INCLUDING THE EVENTS OF THE

SOUDAN CAMPAIGN OF 1885.

BY

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THE LIFE

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL GORDON, C.B., R.E.

CHARLES GEORGE GORDON was the youngest son of Lieutenant-general Henry William Gordon of the Royal Artillery, and was born on the 28th of January, 1833. His mother, Elizabeth Enderby, was the daughter of a London merchant who took a prominent part in opening up the resources of the Southern Hemisphere. Charles Gordon's ancestors were cadets of the family of the Gordons of Park in Banffshire, who were descended from a junior member of the great house of the Gordons of Huntly. His forefathers for several generations, extending over a period of a century and a half, were soldiers. David Gordon, his great-grandfather, fought at the battle of Prestonpans in Lascelles' regiment, under Sir John Cope, and was taken prisoner by the Highlanders, but was released on parole through the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, who six years previously had stood sponsor for his son, General Gordon's grandfather, named William Augustus after the duke. David Gordon died at Halifax in North America, in 1752. His son also entered the army, served successively in the 40th, 72nd, and 11th regiments of infantry, and fought with distinction at Minorca, at the siege of Louisburg, in 1758, and under General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The youngest of his three sons, who all entered the military service of their country, was the father of the illustrious Charles Gordon. Henry William Gordon was a thorough soldier in regard both to theory and practice, was firm in command and in enforcing the performance of duty, yet genial and kind to all under his authority. He had a high sense of honour and a strict regard to duty, combined with an inexhaustible fund of humour, a cheerful demeanour, and great generosity and kindness of heart. He was very proud of his son, but had no satisfaction in his achievements in China. His services he thought should have been given entirely to his own country, and not to men of a different race and faith. His wife, who bore to him five sons and six daughters, was noted for her agreeable and cheerful temper, and her genius for making the best of everything.

Charles Gordon was educated first at Taunton, and next at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. His temper in his boyhood was quick but generous, and though he had plenty of energy he had no great physical strength. On leaving the Royal Academy at Woolwich, in his nineteenth year, he received a commission as Second Lieutenant of Engineers, and in August, 1854, was ordered to Pembroke, where he was employed in making plans for the forts at the entrance of the Haven. In the following November he got orders to proceed to Corfu, much to his disappointment, as he was anxious to be sent to the Crimea, where war was

then raging. But early in December his route was changed for the East, and on New Year's Day, 1855, he landed at Balaclava.

His arrival at the scene of war took place at a very critical period of the struggle. It is now well known that if the allies after their victory at the Alma had attacked the north side of Sebastopol they would have met with little or no opposition. General Todleben has indeed frankly admitted that this was the case. 'Prince Mentschikoff,' he says, 'had not only withdrawn to the south of Sebastopol, but had deliberately given up any intention of encountering the allies on the north of the deep inlet of the sea on which the town was situated.' On the day after the battle of the Alma (21st September), Lord Raglan proposed to the French commander that they should at once advance to the Belbec, cross that river, and then assault the forts which protected Sebastopol on the north; but St. Arnaud refused, on the ground that his troops were tired and that it could not be done. On the following day Lord Raglan renewed his proposal, but again met with a refusal. The Russians, it was alleged, had thrown up strong earthworks on the bank of the Belbec, and great loss would be entailed in forcing them. But for this grievous mistake—one of the evil results of a divided command—the allied troops would have obtained possession of the north side of Sebastopol without serious opposition, and as it commands both the harbour and the town on the south, they could at once have destroyed the Russian fleet and the arsenal, dockyards, and storehouses which stood on the southern side of the creek. But the dogged refusal of the French general to agree to Lord Raglan's proposal made it necessary to adopt the only alternative scheme, and to attack the Russian stronghold on the south side. The allied armies commenced their march towards Sebastopol on the 23rd September, and by a flank movement, which was both fatiguing and hazardous, they succeeded in establishing a base of operations on the heights above Balaclava.

At the time the allies took up their new position, Prince Mentschikoff had withdrawn nearly his whole army (40,000 strong) from the town, and had placed them towards Simpheropol, on the high-road which leads by Baktchi Seräi to the interior of Russia. Only 5000 militiamen and one battalion of sappers had been left by him to assist the garrison in the defence of the town, and scarcely any preparations had been made on the south side to resist an assault. The Malakoff, which played such an important part in the siege, was at that time only a half-ruined tower. A fort had been erected on the shore, and two round stone towers of no great strength covered the approach to the town from the dockyard creek to the sea; but with these exceptions there was on the land side neither wall, ditch, battery, nor other defence. There is every reason to believe that if an immediate assault had been made on the place it would have been taken at once. General Todleben indeed frankly admits that it was impossible to repel the enemy with only the force the garrison consisted of. So there remained to them no alternative but that of seeking to die gloriously at the post committed to their bravery. Lord Raglan earnestly recommended that the place should be attacked at once, and Sir Edward Lyons, the British admiral, who concurred in this view, expressed his conviction that unless an immediate assault was made upon the town its capture would involve a grievous loss, and that the men then composing the army 'would not live to do it.' General Canrobert, however, who had succeeded St. Arnaud in the command of the French army, but was not fit for the post, strenuously resisted this proposal, and was supported by the mass of the French officers. It was necessary, they alleged, that the fire of the enemy should be got down by means

of heavy artillery before an assault could be made with any prospect of success. Lord Raglan's proposal had therefore to be abandoned.

Owing to various obstacles, the preparations for the siege proceeded slowly. The disembarkation of artillery and stores in the harbour of Balaclava was not commenced until the 28th of September, and although every available man was employed in carrying up to the front the siege artillery and ammunition, and in preparing the batteries and trenches for their reception, the works proceeded so slowly, owing to the rocky nature in front of the British position, that the batteries were not completed until three weeks after the allied armies had taken possession of the heights. This delay enabled the garrison, under the command of Admiral Korniloff and General Todleben, to put the town into a complete state of defence, and to erect those extensive earthworks, armed with guns of a heavy calibre, which so long resisted the utmost efforts of the besiegers.

The bombardment of the town at length commenced at half-past six on the morning of the 17th October, and for some time it seemed to be attended with great success. The Flagstaff Battery, the Malakoff Tower, and the fronting walls of the Redan all suffered severely from the cannonade; their stonework was rent, and the bastions were destroyed or greatly injured. But while the contest was proceeding with evident advantage on the side of the assailants, about nine o'clock a powder magazine in the French lines was blown up by a shell from one of the Russian batteries, killing about fifty men and disabling a number of guns. The French troops were so disheartened by this catastrophe that they first slackened and shortly after suspended the fire of their artillery, and thus allowed the Russians to concentrate their fire upon the British works, which in consequence suffered considerable injury, and had several guns dismounted and destroyed.

Meanwhile the allied fleets had made an attack upon the forts by sea. But on either side of the mouth of the harbour there was a long shoal, while the Russians had sunk four men-of-war and two frigates across the entrance of the roadsteads. In consequence the French and British vessels found it impossible to approach near enough to the sea forts of Sebastopol to inflict any material injury on them. Their broadsides indeed damaged the embrasures of Fort Quarantine and the walls of Fort Constantine, but they did not materially impair the strength of the sea-defences of Sebastopol. It thus became evident that the Russian stronghold must be taken by a regular siege.

The position of the allied forces was now exceedingly critical, as they had to contend not only with a garrison of 36,000 men in Sebastopol, who had inexhaustible stores of ammunition and guns at their disposal, but also with a powerful army outside watching every favourable opportunity to attack them. They were soon made to learn the dangerous condition in which they were placed. On the 25th of October their position at Balaclava was attacked by a large body of Russian infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, who carried the redoubts held by the Turks; but one body of them was repulsed by the 93rd Highlanders under Sir Colin Campbell, the other was overthrown by the famous charge of the Scots Greys and Inniskillen Dragoons. On the same day occurred that memorable charge of the Light Brigade, which excited mingled admiration and regret throughout the civilized world. The celebrated battle of Inkerman—the 'soldiers' battle,' as it was called—took place on the 5th of November. It raged for seven hours with almost unparalleled severity. A body of 7460 British soldiers, assisted after five hours' fighting by 6000 French troops, sustained a hand-to-hand fight against 60,000 men, supported by powerful artillery, and ultimately drove them off the field. But the victory was dearly

bought. The British forces lost 2357 in killed and wounded, including 140 officers; while the French lost 1800. Lord Raglan, on good grounds, estimated the Russian losses at 20,000 men.

Nothing remained for the allied armies but to persevere in holding the ground which they occupied, fortifying their position on the Inkerman heights, and firmly defending the advanced trenches. This resolution, however, involved great suffering on the part of the troops, exposed as they were to a rigorous climate and incessant attacks of the enemy, with insufficient food and medical attendance, and without an adequate supply of clothing to protect them against the inclemency of the weather. To add to their privations a dreadful hurricane wrecked the steamship *Prince*, which had arrived only a few days before with an ample stock of warm clothing and other necessary articles for the comfort of the soldiers during the winter. The *Resolute*, another of the vessels wrecked, contained 900 tons of powder. Two French ships of the line, one of them a three-decker, and twenty-four transports were destroyed by the tempest, and a good many more were seriously damaged. Upwards of 1000 lives were lost, and between 400 and 500 of the shipwrecked crews were captured by the Cossacks and carried into Sebastopol. On land the hurricane swept away the tents, inundated the stores, broke up the roads or converted them into swamps, thus immensely increasing the difficulty of conveying supplies from the port at Balaclava.

It was in the midst of the confusion, privations, and sufferings which this catastrophe had greatly intensified, that Gordon appeared upon the scene.

His letters to his relations give a vivid picture of the state of affairs at that critical period—no proper co-operation between the different departments of the service; mismanagement and confusion on every hand; stores miscarried, lost, spoiled, left behind or conveyed to the spot where they were not needed, while men were dying elsewhere for the want of them; the troops, hard-worked, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and never dry, suffering from intense cold and the ravages of cholera and fever. It was not until the 14th of February, six weeks after his arrival, that Gordon, who seems to have been overlooked, was detailed for duty in the trenches before Sebastopol. His first work was to effect a junction, by means of rifle-pits, between the French and English sentries who were stationed in front of the trenches. It was a hazardous as well as a most laborious employment, exposing him almost constantly to the fire of the enemy and occasionally to an accidental bullet from his own side. He ran the risk, too, of being shot down or made prisoner by an unexpected sortie from the beleaguered town, or of being abandoned out in the front in consequence of a sudden panic in the advanced lines.

At the outset he had an example of the dangers he was thus to encounter in the performance of his duties. He was ordered on the night of the 14th to make a communication by rifle-pits from certain caves to a ruined house in which the French had determined to make a lodgment. In a home letter of date 17th February, he writes:—

'I got, after some trouble, eight men with picks and shovels, and asked the captain of the advance trench (Captain —— of the 4th) to give me five double sentries to throw out in advance. It was the first time he had been on duty here; and as for myself I never had, although I kept that to myself. I led forward the sentries, going at the head of the party, and found the sentries of the advance had not held the caves, which they ought to have done, after dark, so there was just a chance of the Russians being in them. I went on, however, and though I did not like it, explored the caves almost alone. We then left two sentries on the hill above the caves, and went back to get round and post two sentries below the caves. However, just as soon as

we showed ourselves outside the caves and below them, bang! bang! went two rifles, the bullets hitting the ground close to us. The sentries with me retired in a rare state of mind, and my working party bolted and were stopped with great difficulty. What had really happened was this: it was not a Russian attack, but the two sentries whom I had placed above the caves *had fired at us*, lost their caps, and bolted to the trench. Nothing after this would induce the sentries to go out, so I got the working party to go forward with me. The Russians had on the report of our shots sent us a shower of bullets, their picket not being more than 150 yards away.'

Gordon continued for two months at this somewhat monotonous, though very perilous work, and must have had innumerable narrow escapes. On one occasion a shot from the lower part of the Russian lines 'as nearly as possible,' he says, 'did for me. The bullet was fired not 180 yards off, and passed an inch above my head into a bank I was passing. They are very good marksmen,' he quietly adds; 'their bullet is large and pointed.' Shortly after this incident one of his captains, named Craigie, was killed by a splinter from the enemy's shells, in the ravine near the picket house; and Gordon, writing home, describes the casualty, and adds this characteristic remark—'I am glad to say he was a serious man. The shell burst above him, and *by what is called chance* struck him on the back, killing him at once.'

During the preparations for the second bombardment in April, Gordon and the other engineer officers were exposed to exceptional danger and severely tasked, for the fourth parallel had to be constructed within six paces of the Russian rifle-pits. The young officer does not seem to have formed a very high opinion of the energy and resolution of the French troops, and he had formed a low, but correct, estimate of the qualifications of their commander. He writes on April 20, eleven days after the bombardment had been resumed:—'I cannot say much for the enterprise of our allies. They are afraid to do anything, and consequently quite cramp our movements, as you will easily understand that if one part of the trenches is pushed on before the other parts the advanced sections will be liable to be attacked and outflanked by the Russians. I think we might have assaulted on Monday, but the French do not seem to care about it. The garrison is 25,000 men, and we heard afterwards that on that day only 800 men were in the place, as the rest had gone to repel an attack (fancied) of ours at Inkerman.' There can be little doubt that if advantage had been taken of this 'golden opportunity,' as Russell calls it, Sebastopol would have fallen at that time into the hands of the allies.

On April 30 Gordon writes: 'We are still pushing batteries forward as much as possible, but cannot advance our trenches until the French take the Mamelon, as it enfilades our advance works. Until that occurs things are at a standstill.' But though active operations ceased until early in the month of June, Gordon, with the other engineer officers, was hard at work preparing for the third bombardment. His letters during this interval contain little of special interest, narrating only a repetition of the sorties on the part of the Russians and their repulse with considerable losses by the allies. One remark is worth quoting and remembering: 'We have a great deal to regret in the want of good working clergymen, there being none here that I know of who interest themselves about the men.'

The third and tremendous bombardment commenced on the 6th of June, and produced an immense effect upon the Russian batteries. The loss on the Russian side was very great, while we had only one man killed and four wounded. Gordon was, of course, in the trenches during the whole time, and 'Old Jones,' he says, 'persisted in returning him among the wounded,' but his injury was merely a contusion from a stone

which had been thrown up by a round shot. Next day the French carried the Mamelon and two redoubts, but they did not succeed in their efforts to storm the Malakoff tower. The British troops failed to carry the Redan, but they were successful in seizing and holding the important position of the Quarries in front of it, although the Russians three times in the course of the night directed all their efforts to regain them. Gordon himself characteristically avoids all notice of the dangers to which he was exposed amidst a terrific shower of grape and shells of every description. But a friend who was in the siege mentions one instance: 'Charley,' he says, 'has had a miraculous escape. The day before yesterday he saw the smoke from an embrasure on his left, and heard a shell coming, but did not see it. It struck the ground about 4 yards in front of him and burst, not touching him. If it had not burst it would have taken his head off.'

During the period which elapsed before the final bombardment, Gordon's letters contain brief but characteristic remarks on the death of Lord Raglan, and on the officers who fell in the various encounters that took place in the trenches. He always expressed contentment with his own position, never uttered a murmur respecting the laborious and perilous work in which he was engaged, or the unequal and sometimes unfair distribution of honours and rewards which he witnessed.

The final bombardment of Sebastopol began on the 5th of September. On the 8th the French captured the Malakoff, but the British troops failed in their attack on the Redan, mainly owing to bad management. It was the old story: 'Superb courage and skill of officers and men, outrageously bad management.' It was arranged that the Highland Brigade was to make another attack on the Redan next day, but when the morrow dawned there was nothing to attack. The loss of the Malakoff rendered the south side of Sebastopol untenable, and the town was evacuated during the night. Gordon was detailed for duty in the trenches on the morning of the 9th, and gave the following account of what he saw at daybreak:—'During the night of the 8th heard terrific explosions, and on going down to the trenches at four the next morning I saw a splendid sight. The whole of Sebastopol in flames, and every now and then terrible explosions took place, while the rising sun, shining on the place, had a most beautiful effect. The Russians were leaving the town by the bridge; all the three-deckers were sunk, the steamers alone remaining. Tons and tons of powder must have been blown up.'

Shortly after the capture of Sebastopol Gordon was sent on the expedition which was despatched to lay siege to Kinburn, and was present at the capture of that fortress. On his return to the Crimea he was employed for four months on the arduous and unpleasant work of destroying the dockyard, forts, quays, barracks, and storehouses of the captured stronghold, on which the Emperor Nicholas had expended enormous sums of money. This work of demolition was completed in February, 1856, and Gordon then left the Crimea. His own letters give no idea either as respects the manner in which he discharged his duties during that protracted siege, or the estimation in which he was held by others. But the striking testimony which has been given by Colonel Chesney shows that he was, even at that early period, regarded as an officer of great professional attainments and of high promise. 'Gordon,' he says, 'had first seen war in the hard school of the "black winter" of the Crimea. In his humble position as an engineer subaltern he attracted the notice of his superiors, not merely by his energy and activity, but by a special aptitude for war, developing itself amid the trench work before Sebastopol in a personal knowledge of the enemy's movements such as no other officer attained. We used to send him to

find out what new move the Russians were making.'

Sir Harry Jones especially mentioned Gordon as an officer who, with some other subalterns of the Royal Engineers, had done gallant service, but from the constitution of the corps, wherein promotion goes by seniority, his advancement was rendered impossible. From the French government he received the Order of the Legion of Honour, a mark of distinction rarely conferred on so young an officer.

An interesting communication, which has lately appeared, from a veteran soldier of the name of Matthew Hudson, will show the estimation in which Gordon was held by the men who served under him in the Crimea:—

'The first time that I saw Gordon,' he says, 'was in the trenches before Sebastopol, but I did not know who he was; yet I felt there was something more than the feeling of an ordinary officer about him as he moved among us. He was wrapped in a large military cloak. We were building a twenty-gun battery, which was afterwards called "Gordon's Battery," and I was swinging a shovel. He had no swagger about him, or what is called "smartness," and sauntered past me and among the men as silent as a statue and as quiet as a civilian, with a stick in his hand, which he waved about in a seemingly lazy manner, and with a look as indifferent as a dandy on the pier at a watering-place. I learned after that he was Major Gordon, afterwards celebrated as "Chinese," and now more so as "Khartoum" Gordon—the greatest of living leaders of men. There was a charm about him that we all felt as distinguishing him from other officers. He was eccentric, but seemed to put his own mind into us, so that at his approach all fear vanished. He never bullied, but put every man, as it were, on his honour or mettle to do his best. "Now, my man," he would say in a mild tone in the greatest danger, "I'm your officer; I lead, you follow, and there is no danger at all. There is the enemy, there is the battery," pointing with his walking-stick, for he never carried a sword in action, "and here is our road; follow me." And he would walk through the hailstorm of lead or iron as quietly as across the room floor. I particularly remember on one occasion when the Russians, having got the range, were harassing us terribly in our trench. Gordon quietly, stick in hand, climbed to the top of the parapet and stood looking round like a boy looking for mushrooms. The storm of rifle-balls, shot, and shell poured on him at once was terrific from all the enemy's rifle-pits. But he stood peeping through a glass in all directions. "Come down, Gordon," shouted the officers; "you'll be killed." Still he stood with steady hand and quiet feet. When he had learnt what he sought he descended as quietly as he went up, as if afraid of a slip. Other officers might be as cool, but none I ever met produced the same impression. He was a strict disciplinarian, absolute in enforcing complete respect from the men to the officers, as much towards the newest made corporal as to the colonel. If ever a look or glance of refusal or want of honour to them was shown by a man his quick eye saw it at once. For earnest men his presence acted on them just in the way that a kind but fond master does on dogs and horses—it filled them with a strong desire to please him and do his will to perfection. Even where he met absolute stupidity he seemed to put his own mind and intelligence into the most idiotic, so that they looked at him, seemed to drink in his idea, and went and did it. In fact I always say he possessed in the highest degree the talents of an engineer and executive officer, which was his own branch of the service, and the qualities of a field officer or commanding general as well, with a power of leading men such as I never knew equalled. As an instance, I specially remember him during the terrible sortie of the Russians on the night of the 21st of November, when Captain Hedley Vickers was killed. We men were all called to our trenches to relieve the French, and on returning found our battery full of the enemy. The trenches were choked by them. We were short of officers, and the men were calling out for one to lead them to drive out the Russians. A voice cried, "I'm your officer, my men," and Captain Cavendish Brown, who had been hurt in coming up to me, asked for the entry into the trench. I showed him it and he entered first, and I followed. He was shot down and I was hit, a ball passing clean through my thigh, but I kept on, and we didn't give the Russians time to load again, but gave 'em the bayonet and skewered their ribs like boiled rabbits. As a corporal I took his place to lead, as in duty bound, and fought on; but when we had skewered the first batch who had filled our battery, loss of blood made me faint, as I perceived my big knee-boots full of it. I staggered, and the men began to call out for an officer, as the Russians kept pouring over the ramparts as fast as we could kill them. Just as I felt done up Major Gordon entered, cane in hand as usual, and speaking in his quiet way, with a twist of his stick, said, "I'm your officer, my men! There is no danger; drive them out." I staggered and reeled against the battlements, and seeing it he asked, "What's the matter, corporal?"

"I'm wounded, sir," I replied. "You've done your duty here, corporal; this is your place no longer. Go to the rear and get your wound dressed," and he offered me his cloak and stick to support and comfort me on the way. And I think he must have spoken well for me at headquarters, for soon after, as I lay in hospital, our Colonel Yea, with Lord Raglan and his staff, came. The gallant old colonel then approached me, and placed on my neck a medal, with the remark before them all, "Now, corporal, all you've got to do is to get well as quick as you can and come to the front again, and I've a sword and belt for you." But I am sorry to say I did not recover fast, so was invalided home, and so lost the commission the belt and sword represented. That was my last adventure with the great Gordon.'

By the treaty of Paris a portion of the territory that had been wrested from Turkey in 1812, and which carried with it a control over the Lower Danube, was to be restored to the principality. A commission consisting of English, French, Russian, and Austrian officers was appointed to lay down the new frontier-line of Russia, Turkey, and Roumania, and Lieutenant Gordon was appointed assistant commissioner under Major (now Lieutenant-General) Sir Edward Stanton. Gordon's special duty was, in company with Lieutenant James, to trace a boundary extending for 100 miles, to compare the English and Russian maps in order to see if they agreed, and when they differed to make a new survey of the ground. At the Paris Congress in 1856 it was determined that the Russians must be excluded from the Danube and its tributary lakes and streams, and it was decided that the frontier should pass south of Bolgrad—in reliance on a map furnished by the Russians that represented Bolgrad as situated to the north of the Lake Yalpukh, which opens into the Danube. But when the commissioners came to the spot they found that the map, in keeping with the usual Russian policy, had given an inaccurate representation of the country; that the place designated Bolgrad on the map was a town called Talck; that Bolgrad was in reality on the Lake Yalpukh; and that if the frontier passed to the south of it the Russians would have access to the river Danube, from which they were to be strictly debarred. The English commissioners reported the real state of the matter, and referred the question to the congress. This disreputable attempt to swindle Turkey was felicitously portrayed in a cartoon which appeared at the time in *Punch* under the designation of the 'Russian Ticket-of-leave-man before the Beaks,' the members of the congress. John Bull, who presided, with Palmerston as clerk of the court, exclaims with an indignant aspect, 'H'm, here again! Well, we must put a stop to this.' And accordingly a stop was put to it, but only for a time.

There was great variety in Gordon's work, visiting Eastern cities and exploring a new and delightful country, and it afforded a pleasant contrast to the toil and privation and dangers of the life he had so long led in the trenches before Sebastopol. His letters give brief but vivid sketches of the places which he visited and the people with whom he came in contact in the performance of his duties. The salt marshes bordering the Black Sea were, no doubt, detestable and noxious, and Kischeneff, the headquarters of the commission, 'was and is one of the most common-place, sordid, and unattractive of the huge villages which in Southern Russia pass for towns.' It was 'dreadfully dull' and had nothing of interest in it. Galatz, Gordon described as 'very dusty and not at all a desirable place of residence.' 'Bolgrad is a largish place, and the headquarters of the Bessarabian army.' 'Kishenau, the capital of Bessarabia, has nothing of interest in it.' But Jassy, the Moldavian capital, a quaint semi-Oriental town, he liked very much, though the society was quite French, and it contained 30,000 Jews, 'who live upon the boyars, asking 200 per cent.' Writing home on the 17th of July he says, 'We have now been over the whole of the frontier, from Katomori on the Pruth to Boma Sola on the Black Sea, a distance of very nearly 200 miles. It is an odd

sort of life going about 20 miles per diem, and camping for the day about ten o'clock; but the country wants trees to make it pretty. It has not been very hot, and as yet we can complain of no want of rain, having had not merely thunderstorms, but Irish rain for whole days at a stretch. The shooting here will be good in the proper season, as there are lots of bustards and other animals. As for its being unhealthy it is a mistake, as we are never nearer the Danube than 80 miles, and it is only the decayed vegetation of that river which causes fever at Galatz, Bucharest, and Giurgevo. We are now finally deciding the frontier on *the maps*, and when this is done we shall mark on the *ground itself* the parts of the new frontier. As far as this place everything has gone on very well, and I like the work extremely.'

He gives some characteristic touches respecting the untruthful and dishonest conduct of the Russians, and their feelings towards the commissioners. On the 10th of November he writes, "You cannot conceive the way in which the Russian merchants pillage us, and, in addition to that, their articles are so bad as to break and come to pieces on using them. I detest the merchants of Russia whom I have seen here, and I do not know any good thing about them. They make a joke of pillaging the commissioners.' Again, on the 18th, he says, 'The Russians are still antipathetic towards the commission, and (although I should not go if there was any society) no one has thought of asking the commissioners to dinner, not even the Governor of Bessarabia. The commissioners went to one public dinner, and that has been all. The Governor-general of Bessarabia asked Colonel Besson, the French commissioner, to tea, and they played whist afterwards, and he had to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* to the governor for the use of the pack of cards. We are assured that 36,000 roubles have been given by the Russian government to entertain us and lodge us well, but the officials put it all in their own pockets instead. I do not say this because I like their acquaintance, but to give you a notion of their perquisites."

The work of verifying or correcting the Russian maps and surveying and fixing the boundary-line was finished in March, 1857, and Gordon was ordered to join the commission under Colonel (now Sir Lintorn) Simmons for settling the frontier in Asia Minor. He was anxious to return home, and sent a telegram inquiring whether he might be permitted to exchange. But the value of his services was known and appreciated at headquarters. 'G——,' he says, 'was as inflexible as usual. I received an answer in four words—'Lieutenant Gordon must go.'

In performance of his duties in Armenia Gordon visited Trebizond, Erzeroum, a busy and prosperous town near the northern source of the Euphrates; Kars, which three years before had held out so long and so bravely against the Russians; Alexandropol, Erivan, and Ani, the ancient capital of Armenia. He studied the strategic points of a country interesting as the scene of many famous battles, and even found time to ascend Little and Great Ararat for the purpose of personally ascertaining their respective heights. But the snow and the intense cold prevented him from reaching the summit of the latter, 16,953 feet high. 'The two together,' he says, 'settled me, and I turned round, although very reluctantly, and sitting down slid over in a very few minutes the distance which had taken me so many hours to clamber up.' He also ascended Mount Alagos, an extinct volcano 13,480 feet above the sea, and after two hours and a half got to the summit. 'Trusting to my Ararat experience,' he says, 'I thought of descending on the snow and started. I was much astonished at finding the slope far steeper than I expected, and consequently went down like a shot, and reached the bottom an hour and a half before the others. A Russian doctor tried it after me, and in trying to change his direction was turned round

and went to the bottom, sometimes head foremost. He was not a bit hurt. The distance we slid down in two minutes or less was upwards of 3000 feet.'

It was in Armenia that Gordon first came in contact with wild uncivilized tribes, respecting whose manners and customs his letters contain brief but interesting notices; and the manner in which he gained the confidence of the Kurds and fraternized with their chiefs foreshadowed the marvellous power which he exercised at a later period over the wild Arabs of the Soudan. The experience which he gained during his sojourn in Armenia proved of great service to him in subsequent and more important spheres of usefulness. He mentions, among other interesting facts, that the army of the Caucasus, consisting of 150,000 men, dies out completely in five years, and that the government of the Caucasus brings in no revenue, but every year receives large sums from St. Petersburg. 'All the *employés* and officers thieve right and left, and the poor soldiers suffer in consequence.' He makes a similar remark respecting the rich plain of Erivan, which also yields no revenue to the government, but annually absorbs large sums sent from St. Petersburg, owing to the same cause—the rascality of the officials, who pillage with impunity.

After spending six months in discharging the duties of the delimitation commission in Asia Minor, Gordon returned to Constantinople to attend at a conference of the commissioners. He was detained there for some time on account of the illness of Colonel Simmons and three others of their party, who had been perfectly well during the whole time they were in Asia, but had been injuriously affected by the change of air at Constantinople; and so had the French commissioner and his servants. This done he returned to England, from which he had been three years absent, and spent six months at home. On the termination of his furlough he was sent back to Armenia in the spring of 1858; not now, however, as an assistant, but as commissioner for the purpose of 'mapping the frontier which he had taken such an active part in laying down, and examining the new road between the Russian and Turkish dominions.' He again returned home about the end of the year, and spent the succeeding twelve-month at Chatham as field-work instructor and adjutant. He attained the rank of captain on April 1, 1859, when he was twenty-six years of age. But a far higher sphere of duty and more important work awaited him. In the month of July, 1866, he received orders to join the army in China.

The war that arose out of the illegal seizure in 1856 by the Chinese authorities of the *Arrow* lorcha, which was trading in Chinese waters under the protection of the British flag, and the injudicious and violent measures resorted to in return by Sir John Bowring, governor of Hong-Kong, had never been satisfactorily settled. The British government despatched to China the Earl of Elgin, 'a man with the ability and resolution to insure success, and the native strength that can afford to be merciful,' and intrusted him with full powers to negotiate with the imperial government. In the month of May, 1857, two successful expeditions were undertaken by Commodore Elliot and Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, which terminated in the complete destruction of the Chinese fleet of war-junks in the Canton waters. But the detention of Lord Elgin at Calcutta for the purpose of assisting the governor-general in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny prevented any progress being made in the settlement of the disputes with the Chinese government. His lordship did not reach Hong-Kong until the end of autumn. In October he was joined by Baron de Gros, who was sent out by the French ministry to demand redress for the murder of some missionaries belonging to their country. The great efforts of the two plenipotentiaries, however, to bring the Emperor of China to

terms were for some time quite ineffectual. The Chinese commissioner, Yeh, persisted in returning evasive and unsatisfactory answers to their claims, and they were at length compelled to take active measures to enforce compliance with their demands. The allied forces commenced operations in the month of December, and before the close of the year they attacked and without difficulty captured the city of Canton, and took prisoners the governor of the city and the commander of the Chinese army. The imperial commissioner, Yeh, was found concealed in some obscure part of a house belonging to one of the lieutenant-governors of Canton, and was sent on board the *Inflexible* man-of-war. He was subsequently carried to Calcutta, where he was retained until a treaty of peace was concluded between Queen Victoria and the Emperor of China.

After the capture of Canton the Earl of Elgin and the Baron de Gros transmitted to the Chinese court at Pekin the demands which they were instructed by their respective governments to make. The ministers of the United States and of Russia employed their utmost efforts to induce the Chinese emperor to embody in a treaty 'those just concessions to foreign commerce which the nations of the world had a right to demand,' but without effect. The Chinese authorities set themselves, according to their usual custom, to protract the negotiations, and by all sorts of subterfuges and pretexts to evade the claims of the British and French plenipotentiaries. At last Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros lost patience with their double-dealing, and resolved to proceed with an armed force to Pekin and to enforce compliance with their demands. They accordingly sailed up the Peiho River as far as the city of Tien-tsin, which stands at the entrance of the Grand Canal. The Emperor, however, was not yet convinced that the usual policy of his government was now of no avail, and two commissioners of high rank were sent to Tien-tsin with full powers, as they asserted, to conclude a satisfactory treaty with the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France; but when their credentials were produced they turned out to be quite insufficient and unsatisfactory. Various other attempts were made at evasion and trickery, but in the end the firm and vigorous attitude assumed by Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros alarmed the Emperor and his ministers, and they consented to conclude a treaty in the terms prescribed. It was stipulated that British and French ministers should be allowed to reside at Pekin, and that the Chinese government should in like manner be represented at London and Paris. Christianity was to be tolerated, and Protestants and Roman Catholics were to be protected in China. British and French merchant vessels were to be permitted to trade at certain specified ports, and subjects of Britain and France were to be permitted to travel for pleasure or trade into all parts of the interior. An indemnity was exacted from the Chinese government to pay the expenses of the war. The conclusion of this treaty was hailed with great satisfaction both in the United Kingdom and in France; but there is good reason to believe that the Chinese government never really intended to keep it—they undoubtedly sought by every means in their power to evade its provisions. In accordance with a clause of the treaty which stipulated that ambassadors and ministers should reside at the British and Chinese courts respectively, the Hon. Frederick Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin, was appointed Her Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at Pekin, where the treaty was to be ratified within a year from the date of the signature. Mr. Bruce was accordingly directed by Lord Malmesbury, the foreign secretary, to proceed by way of the Peiho River to Tien-tsin and thence to Pekin to exchange the ratification of the treaty. Admiral Hope, the naval commander-in-chief in China, was at the same time instructed to send a sufficient force

with Mr. Bruce to the mouth of the Peiho. The plenipotentiary was informed that 'Her Majesty's government are prepared to expect that all the arts at which the Chinese are such adepts will be put in practice to dissuade you from repairing to the capital; but it will be your duty firmly but temperately to resist any propositions to that effect, and to admit of no excuses.' The British government, however, were not aware that the reactionary party, who were now supreme at Pekin, had determined to resist by force any attempt on the part of Mr. Bruce to enter the Peiho. They had repaired and strengthened the Taku forts at the mouth of that river, but had placed matting over the embrasures so as to conceal their strength, and had intrusted the command of these forts to Sankolinsin, the son of a Mongol chief, and a person of remarkable energy, but ignorant of the character and power of the 'foreign devils.'

When Admiral Hope's fleet, with Mr. Bruce and the French envoy on board, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho, the way was found to be barred by an armed force and stakes which had been planted across the river. The Chinese officials, as had been foreseen, put forth all sorts of pleas and pretexts to obtain delay. The patience of the plenipotentiaries was at length completely exhausted, and in the end they somewhat precipitately requested Admiral Hope to clear away the obstructions at the mouth of the Peiho. The admiral, without taking the precaution to ascertain the nature of the defences which the Chinese had erected, brought his gunboats to the barrier and attempted to force a passage up the river. But the Taku forts, whose guns had been carefully concealed, suddenly opened such a tremendous fire upon the boats that four of them were almost immediately disabled, five went aground and fell into the hands of the Chinese, and another sank at her anchors. An attempt which was then made to storm the forts was equally unsuccessful, owing to the difficulty of landing the troops and the galling fire to which they were exposed while struggling through the mud to reach the shore. In this mismanaged and unlucky affair twenty-five men were killed on board the gunboats and ninety-three wounded, while of the storming party sixty-four officers and men were killed and 252 wounded.

The news of this repulse excited a strong feeling of indignation both in France and Britain, and all parties agreed that the treaty of Tien-tsin must be enforced. The Earl of Elgin and Baron de Gros, who negotiated that treaty, were intrusted with the duty of compelling the Chinese authorities to carry it into effect. The command of the French and British forces despatched on this expedition was intrusted to General Cousin de Montauban (afterwards Count Palikao) and Sir Hope Grant. Before their arrival an ultimatum had been presented to the Chinese government by Mr. Bruce demanding an apology for the attack upon the British ships on the Peiho, the payment of an indemnity for the injury inflicted on them through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities, and the ratification at Pekin of the treaty concluded in 1858 at Tien-tsin. As might have been expected, these conditions were contemptuously refused by the imperial government. The plenipotentiaries were therefore obliged to have recourse to arms in order to compel reparation.

Lord Elgin and Baron de Gros arrived at Hong-Kong on the 21st June, 1860, but active operations were not commenced until the middle of August. The Chinese troops made a brave resistance to the attack of the allied forces on the defences of the Peiho, but they were completely defeated. The Taku forts, containing 400 guns, were carried with comparatively little loss on the part of the assailants, who took 2000 of the garrison prisoners. This signal defeat opened the eyes of the Emperor and his advisers to the hopelessness of further resistance, and they professed their willingness to nego-

tiate for peace; but as had been predicted, they employed all the arts at which they are such adepts to delay a settlement and to prevent the advance of the allies to the capital. They were at last, however, constrained to agree to the proposal, that the Chinese commissioners should meet the British and French plenipotentiaries at Tung-Chew, a town 10 or 12 miles from Pekin. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch, Lord Elgin's secretaries, accompanied by Mr. Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times*, Mr. De Norman, *attaché* to the British Legation, and by some British officers and members of the staff of Baron de Gros, went to that place in order to make arrangements for the meeting. On their return they had to pass through the lines of a large body of Chinese troops, who were occupying the ground which the Chinese commissioners themselves had marked out for the use of the allied forces. Suddenly, and without any provocation, some Tartar soldiers attacked and killed a French commissioned officer, and Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch and their companions were seized and carried off prisoners. Not satisfied with this outrage the Chinese opened fire on Colonel Walker and a detachment of dragoons, who were waiting outside the camp the return of Mr. Parkes and his friends.

This attack on men engaged in a peaceful mission, under the protection of a truce, led to a general engagement, in which the Chinese forces were completely defeated. Lord Elgin, probably with good reason, attributed the conduct of the Chinese commander, Sankolinsin, not to deliberate treachery, but to 'that mixture of stupidity, want of straightforwardness, suspicion, and blunder which characterize the conduct of affairs in this country.' But no excuse could be made for the seizure of the French and British subjects (twelve of the former and twenty-six of the latter) by a scandalous breach of faith on the part of the Chinese authorities.

It was at this stage that Gordon joined the allied army. He left England in the middle of July, travelling by Marseilles, Alexandria, Aden, Ceylon, and Singapore. Early in the month of September he reached Hong-Kong, where he received news of the capture of the Taku forts; but as no orders had been given that he should remain at that place, he left on the 11th of September for Shanghai, and thence proceeded direct to Tien-tsin.

Lord Elgin had informed the Chinese authorities that he would enter into no negotiations with them until his secretaries and the other prisoners were released. This most just and reasonable demand, however, was, as usual, evaded by Prince Kung, the brother and plenipotentiary of the Emperor; and Lord Elgin at last declared that he would agree to no terms except within the walls of Pekin. The allied forces accordingly marched on that city, which they reached on the 6th of October, and intimation was made to the Chinese authorities that unless they surrendered a gate by noon of the 13th, hostilities would be commenced. In anticipation of this result, the artillery and the engineers with whom Captain Gordon acted, under cover of the courtyard of a temple close to the Antung gate, busied themselves in getting the siege train ready to bombard the wall, which was 40 feet high and battlemented, but of inferior masonry. Early on the morning of the 12th, however, the Chinese authorities, finding resistance hopeless, surrendered the gate. The city was thus thrown open to the allies, and for the first time the British and the French flags floated side by side on the walls of the capital of China.

Lord Elgin had been assured by Prince Kung that the prisoners had received no serious injury, and he was consequently ignorant until now that his secretaries and the other prisoners had been shockingly maltreated by the Chinese authorities —that they had been tied so tight by the wrists that the flesh mortified, and that thirteen of the number, including Mr. De

Norman, Captain Gordon's companion in Asia, had died in the greatest torture. But when Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and their surviving companions in captivity, reached the allied camp, the truth became known, and Lord Elgin determined to inflict some signal punishment upon the Chinese government. He wrote to Prince Kung, and after upbraiding him with his falsehood and deception, he said—

'Of the total number of twenty-six British subjects seized in defiance of honour and the law of nations, thirteen only have been restored alive, all of whom carry on their persons evidence, more or less distinctly marked, of the indignities and ill-treatment from which they have suffered, and thirteen have been barbarously murdered under circumstances on which the undersigned will not dwell, lest his indignation should find vent in words which are not suitable to a communication of this nature. Until this foul deed shall have been expiated, peace between Great Britain and the existing dynasty of China is impossible.'

Lord Elgin had some difficulty, however, in deciding in what manner adequate and exemplary punishment could be inflicted for the treacherous seizure of British subjects under a flag of truce, the murder of so many of the party, and the diabolical cruelties inflicted on all its members. The destruction of the capital would have been to punish vast multitudes who were innocent of any share in the outrage, and yet it was necessary that vengeance should be exacted for the foul crime in such a way as to make known to the teeming millions of the Chinese Empire the danger of treachery and cruelty. The Emperor and his chief counsellors were undoubtedly accomplices in the deed; on them therefore the chief punishment would appropriately fall. For this reason Lord Elgin resolved that the Summer Palace should be destroyed. The clothing of the victims had been found there, and their horses in the imperial stables.

This celebrated palace was a building of vast extent and extraordinary magnificence. In it was accumulated an enormous collection of artistic treasures—articles of *vertu* of native and foreign workmanship, magnificent china of every description, costly robes embroidered with gold and silver; rooms stored with rolls of manufactured silk, and large amounts of treasure. The throne and the room in which it stood were carved in a marvellous way. 'The contents of this splendid structure,' Gordon says, 'could not have been replaced for £4,000,000 sterling.' The French troops had been allowed to plunder the palace at their pleasure, and had ransacked every apartment, breaking and destroying in the most wanton manner whatever they were unable to carry away.

Lord Elgin resolved, though with manifest reluctance, that the building, or rather the immense collection of buildings which covered an area of many miles, should be completely destroyed. 'What remains of the palace,' was his notification to Prince Kung, 'which appears to be the place at which several of the British captives were subjected to the grossest indignities, will be immediately levelled to the ground; this condition requires no assent on the part of his Highness, because it will at once be carried into effect by the commander-in-chief.' The buildings were accordingly set on fire on the 18th of October, and burned to the ground. 'It made one's heart sore,' said Gordon, 'to burn them; in fact these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could not plunder them carefully. Quantities of gold ornaments were burned, considered as brass. It was wretchedly demoralizing work for an army. Everybody was wild for plunder.'

A monument was erected on the spot where the palace had stood, with an inscription in the Chinese language, setting forth that this act of vengeance had been inflicted as the reward of perfidy and cruelty.

The Chinese authorities had now learned to their cost that their habitual deceit and treachery availed them nothing when brought into collision with the vigour and resolution of European powers, and on the day after the destruction of the Summer Palace they intimated their implicit submission to all the demands of the British and French plenipotentiaries. Four days later a treaty, embodying the prescribed terms, was signed with much pomp in the Hall of Ceremonies, in the very centre of the capital. Gordon did not witness this imposing scene, as 'all officers commanding companies were obliged to remain in camp owing to the ill-treatment the prisoners experienced at the Summer Palace.' An apprehension was not unnaturally entertained by the commander-in-chief that in the excited state of feeling which prevailed, the men could not be prevented from avenging upon the Chinese the outrages perpetrated on their countrymen. The Chinese government agreed to make an apology for the attack on the British gunboats by the garrison of the Taku forts; to pay a war indemnity of 8,000,000 taels (£2,800,000), and a sum of 300,000 taels (£105,000), to pay £10,000 for each Englishman and £500 for each native soldier who died during their captivity, as compensation to their families, and also to those who had suffered bodily injuries. It was also stipulated that the port of Tien-tsin was to be open to trade and to the residence of Europeans and other foreigners; that the representatives of Great Britain and France should in future reside, either permanently or occasionally, in Pekin, according as their respective governments might decide; and that Chinese subjects who might think fit to take service in the British colonies, or in other foreign countries, were to be at perfect liberty to enter into engagements for that purpose. The relations thus at length established between Great Britain and China proved of great importance in promoting the commercial intercourse which subsequently subsisted between the two countries.

The allied forces remained before Pekin till November, 1860, when Gordon, who had been promoted for his services to the brevet rank of major, returned with them to Tien-tsin, where they went into winter-quarters. He remained at this place until the spring of 1862, in the capacity of officer commanding the Royal Engineers. From Tien-tsin he made numerous excursions into parts of the country where no European had ever been seen; he paid occasional visits to the Taku forts, 140 miles distant; and he spent two months, along with Lieutenant Cardew of the 67th Regiment, in exploring a considerable section of the Great Wall of China, during which they met with some perilous adventures, and suffered from cold so intense that 'raw eggs were frozen hard as if they had been boiled.'

Early in May, 1862, Gordon was ordered to Shanghai by Sir Charles Staveley, the commander of the English forces in Shanghai, for the purpose of driving away the Tai-pings, who had become troublesome in the neighbourhood of that port. They came down in small parties close to the settlement and burned several houses, driving in thousands of the inhabitants. Upwards of 15,000 peasants sought refuge in Shanghai in terror of the rebels, who had inflicted the most horrible outrages on the poor defenceless people, and had made an utter desert of the province.

The Tai-ping rebellion originated with a school-master named Hung-Sew-tsuen, who professed to be inspired, and proclaimed himself the 'Heavenly King' and the 'Emperor of the Great Peace.' He said he had seen God, who had called him the Second Celestial Brother. He belonged to a rude hill race termed the Hakkas, 'strangers,' who, as Dr. Wilson puts it, are regarded by the Punti or 'indwellers' of the Kwangtung province much as the Irish of Liverpool are by the English workmen of that city, and are grievously op-

pressed by the Mandarins. Hung-Sew-tsuen gave out to his kinsmen that his mission was to exterminate the hated Manchoo race, and to reinstate the Mings in position and authority. He was a seer of visions, a prophet at once of vengeance and freedom, divinely commissioned to be the champion of the poor and the oppressed. In 1843 he received from a missionary a bundle of tracts, which he appears to have carefully studied, and in 1847 he put himself under the instruction of a Mr. Roberts, an uneducated American missionary, from whom he acquired a certain amount of knowledge of the doctrines of the Christian religion, which he contrived very dexterously to combine with the superstitions of his countrymen. His extraordinary zeal against the dominant race was no doubt stimulated by the repeated failure of his attempts to take a degree, which would have given him a place among the ruling body. The disorganized state of the country after the opium war contributed not a little to the success of his enterprise.

Dr. Wilson holds the Hakka schoolmaster to have been far from a mere cunning impostor. 'To the grossly superstitious Hakka, and to the ardent student of the more ancient Chinese classics, there was now added,' he says, 'a third person, so to speak, imbued with certain Hebrew and Christian beliefs. It is a proof of the extraordinary power of this man's mind and the depth of his convictions, that he could blend these three individuals so completely into one under the transmuting belief in his own mission. These results were far above the power of a mere cunning impostor. From the hour when Hung arose from his sickbed, after his first forty days' trance, and poor and nameless, proclaimed his avatar by fixing on his door-post the proclamation, "The noble principles of the Heavenly King, the sovereign King Tsuen," and through success and defeat and Imperial opposition up to the hour of his death in Nanking, he seems never to have wavered or abated one jot of his claim to supreme rule on earth.' Colonel Chesney, however, is of opinion that Hung was an able, astute, and keen-sighted impostor, and there is reason to believe that this was Gordon's own conviction respecting the Tai-ping leader.

Mr. Archibald Forbes points out, that there is a certain analogy between 'the Heavenly King' of the Tai-ping rebellion and 'the Mahdi' of the Soudan. 'Both are of the people: Hung-Sew-tsuen was "a poor youth of a rude despised race," Mohammed Ahmed is the son of a Dongola carpenter. Both professed, and perhaps felt, religious enthusiasm; both certainly made a weapon of the religious enthusiasm with which they were able to inspire masses. The character of neither displays personal heroism; both schemed and allowed others to fight their battles. Both characters are full of personal licentiousness and cruelty; the Mahdi's indiscriminate executions in Obeid and his eighteen wives, find some parallel in the Heavenly King's exterminating decrees and his harem indulgences in Nanking.'

Hung-Sew-tsuen first raised the standard of rebellion in May, 1850. In the following year he assumed the title of Tien-Wang or Heavenly Prince, and selected five of his kinsmen as subkings, whom he placed over the multitudes that flocked to his standard. He now commenced his predatory advance through the great valley of the Yang-tze, devastating the country and robbing and murdering the inhabitants; and after a march of nearly 700 miles he brought his immense forces to the walls of Nanking, the second capital of the Chinese Empire, which he stormed in 1853, and there established his throne. He put the entire population to the sword and laid waste the city, not sparing even the famous Porcelain Tower, which upwards of four centuries before the Emperor Yung-leh erected in memory of his mother. Under the shadow of this enormous structure Hung-Sew-tsuen established himself in royal state. He con-

ferred on the Wangs whom he had appointed the high-sounding titles of Faithful King, the Eastern King, the Western King, the Warrior King, and the Attendant King, and assigned to each of them a distinct province and army. But they had earned for themselves such sobriquets as the Yellow Tiger, Cock Eye, and the One-eyed Dog. As for the 'Heavenly Prince,' he evidently knew well how to take advantage of the superstitious feelings of his followers. He secluded himself within the walls of his palace at Nanking; no male attendants were allowed to enter beyond the outer court, and he was waited upon in the interior by females alone—consisting of his numerous wives, and still more numerous concubines, to whom additions were frequently made. His brothers and the Kang Wang, his cousin and prime minister, alone were admitted freely into his presence.

This seclusion no doubt strengthened the despotic power which Hung-Sew-tsuen wielded over all his followers, by whom his edicts were implicitly obeyed. He was, in short, not only a superstitious fanatic, but a licentious, cruel, and bloodthirsty tyrant. He put to the sword the peaceable unresisting inhabitants of the districts through which he marched, beheaded any of his chiefs who offended him, and kicked to death his wives and concubines at whom he took umbrage. He was not always successful in his enterprises. The armies which, shortly after he had established himself at Nanking, he despatched against Pekin were defeated and destroyed after having made a long march. Place after place was lost by the rebels. Their troops had neither rations nor gunpowder, and were defeated at every point. In 1853 Nanking, the capital of the Tai-pings, was closely invested by the Imperialist armies (100,000 strong), and by the gunboats. In the words of the Faithful King himself, 'Nanking was now closer besieged than ever. The place was as secure as if an iron band had encircled it.' The besiegers were determined to reduce the garrison by starvation, and that result seemed imminent. 'The prospects of the Tai-pings in the early spring of 1860,' said Commander Brown, 'had become very gloomy. Pressed by want the garrison of Nanking resorted to every possible means of sustaining life short of eating human flesh. The Imperial government were highly elated, and the besieging force looked upon the fall of the city as a mere matter of weeks.' The rebellion was at this time hemmed in within a limited district which it had exhausted and destroyed, and its complete extinction seemed close at hand. At this critical juncture the quarrel between the Chinese authorities and the British and French governments saved the Tai-pings from immediate destruction. The Imperialists had a more pressing matter in hand than the subjugation of the rebellion, and the Tai-pings were in consequence enabled to recover a great deal of their lost ground. Nanking was relieved by the Faithful King; the Imperialist generals retired; the rebels resumed the offensive; and their movement regained its former flourishing condition.

In May, 1860, the Faithful King advanced against Tanyan, and defeated the Imperialist general, Chang Kwo-liang, who was himself drowned in a creek, and 10,000 of his men were 'cut up' or destroyed. The remnant of his troops fled to Chancu, where Chang Yu-liang, another Imperialist commander, had assembled his forces. He, too, was overthrown and the place taken. Chang Yu-liang made another stand at Wusech, having received large reinforcements, but after a contest which lasted twenty-four hours he was obliged again to give way. This victory gave the Tai-pings command of the Grand Canal between the Taiho Lake and the Yangtze, and of all the neighbouring country. There was still indeed a powerful Imperialist army at Soochow under Ho-Ch'un, one of the generals who had invested Nanking,

but he became so terror-stricken when he heard of the death of Chang Kwo-liang, who had been associated with him in that siege, that he committed suicide. Soochow was one of the largest and wealthiest cities in China. Its walls were 10 miles in circumference, and beyond them there were four enormous suburbs, one of which, on the west side of the city, extended 10 miles each way. 'Soochow,' says Mr. Wilson, 'was famous for manufactures of many kinds, but especially for the richness and variety of its silk goods. It was supposed to contain about 2,000,000 inhabitants, and had almost a fabulous reputation throughout China for its ancient and modern marble buildings, its elegant tombs, granite bridges, canals, streets, gardens, quays, intelligent men and beautiful women. It might have been expected that Ho, the viceroy, and Chang Yu-liang, the Imperialist general, would have made energetic efforts to save this magnificent city from becoming the prey of the spoiler; but their troops seem to have been thoroughly demoralized, and Chung Wang was allowed to take possession of the city without opposition. The important city of Hangchow shortly after fell into his hands, and the prospects of the Tai-pings seemed highly encouraging.'

The civil war in China, which had now lasted nearly ten years, had hitherto been waged between the Imperialists and the rebels. Although the prejudice which had at first existed among Europeans and Americans in favour of the 'Heavenly King,' on account of the impression that his system embodied many of the doctrines of Christianity, had now disappeared, a feeling still prevailed that his adherents had good reasons for their opposition to the Imperial government. The British representatives in China had been enjoined to maintain a strict neutrality between the contending parties, and they had carefully abstained from expressing any sympathy with either side in the struggle. But the time had now come when it was impossible to preserve any longer a position of neutrality. The object of the Chinese government was to drive the rebels towards the sea in the hope that the foreign merchants resident in Shanghai and other consular ports would take up arms against the marauders for the protection of their property. The Tai-pings on their side were anxious to obtain access to the wealthy cities along the coast, which contained an abundant supply of war material, and they wished especially to establish communications with Shanghai in order to purchase from the foreigners there a number of steamers to be employed on the Yangtze.

Matters had now become so critical that the governor-general, Ho, who was soon after recalled to Pekin and put to death for his failure to crush the Tai-pings, wrote, as he says, 'trembling beyond measure,' and entreated the Emperor to make peace with the allies and employ all his forces against the rebels. Even at the very time when the allied forces were assembling at Shanghai for the purpose of marching on Pekin, the governor-generals of the empire made earnest application to the British and French authorities for assistance against the Tai-pings, who were everywhere turning the fruitful land into a wilderness. The request was granted, for reasons which Mr. Bruce set forth in his despatch to Lord John Russell of the 30th May, 1860. 'I decided,' he says, 'in concert with M. Bourboulon, that it was expedient, both on grounds of policy and humanity, to prevent, if possible, the scenes of bloodshed and pillage being enacted here which took place at Hangchow when that city was lately assaulted by the insurgents; and it appeared to me that, without taking any part in this civil contest or expressing any opinion on the rights of the parties, we might protect Shanghai from attack, and assist the authorities in preserving tranquillity within its walls, on the ground of its being a port open to trade, and of the intimate connection existing between the interests of the town and of the foreign

settlement, the former of which cannot be attacked without great danger to the latter. We accordingly issued separate proclamations to that effect in identical terms.'

Before this proclamation was issued by the British and French representatives some of the wealthy Shanghai traders provided funds for the enlistment of foreigners to fight against the rebels, and the Chinese governor engaged two American fillibusters, named Ward and Burgovine, to take the command of the mercenary soldiers, which had been enlisted for the defence of Shanghai. Out of this band grew the force which ultimately bore the title of the 'Ever-victorious Army.' These two adventurers, however, were unsuccessful in their efforts to drive back the rebels, and in an attempt to take Singpoo Ward was defeated by the Faithful King with the loss of his gunboats and a good many muskets. The victorious Tai-pings advanced upon Shanghai on the 16th of August, 1860, attacked the Imperialists who were encamped outside, and drove them into the city; the walls, however, were manned by French and British troops, who repulsed the assailants with great loss. The attacks were renewed on the two following days with no greater success, and in the end the rebels were compelled to retreat, and retired to Soochow. The Faithful King was summoned to Nanking in order to oppose the Imperialists of the Yangtze, and Soochow was left in charge of the Hu Wang or Protecting King.

The whole of the rebel chiefs assembled at Nanking in October, 1860, and after consultation it was resolved to send out four powerful armies, under four great Wangs, for the purpose of raising the siege of Nanking by attacking Hankow and driving the Imperialists from the cities immediately north and south of the Yangtze River —a district nearly 400 miles in extent. The war between the allies and the Chinese had by this time terminated, and when the news of these movements reached Admiral Hope, the British naval commander-in-chief, he resolved to visit those ports on the Yangtze River which had been thrown open to foreign trade by the Treaty of Pekin. He sailed up the river on February, 1861, and on reaching Nanking he entered into correspondence with the Tien Wang, who promised that the trade should not be interfered with nor Shanghai molested for the space of a year. The Tai-ping faithfully kept his promise, and during the year 1861 the rebels occupied themselves in attempting to take Hankow and to force their way again into the Yangtze Valley. They were very unsuccessful, however, in their enterprise, and after a series of severe reverses they were driven back into the neighbourhood of Shanghai.

In consequence of rumours that the rebels were about to attack Shanghai, Admiral Hope warned the Tien Wang against such a proceeding as unwise and dangerous; but he was informed, in an insolent manner, that as soon as the year of truce had expired such an attack would certainly be made. Accordingly, in January, 1862, the Faithful King was ordered to march on Shanghai. On putting his troops in motion he issued a proclamation declaring that 'Shanghai is a little place. We have nothing to fear from it; we must take it to complete our dominions.' 'As he advanced,' says Mr. Wilson, 'the horizon round the consular city was obscured for days by the smoke of burning villages, and thousands on thousands of fugitives poured into the foreign settlements, many of them having been plunged from a prosperous condition into utter want and misery in the depth of a severe winter.' In these circumstances Admiral Hope and the French Admiral Protet resolved to act in concert with the force under Ward, which had now been designated 'The Ever-victorious Army.' A division of the allied troops, under the two admirals and General Staveley, stormed Naizean, Rading, Singpoo, Najow, and Cholon, though vigorously defended by the rebels; but Admiral Hope

was wounded in one of these attacks, and in another Admiral Protet was unfortunately killed. This assistance was given on condition that the Imperial authorities should hold the cities taken from the rebels; but this they proved unable to do, and the allies in consequence resolved to restrict their operations to Shanghai and its immediate neighbourhood. Najow, however, continued to be garrisoned by British troops, and Sung-kiang was held by Ward, whose force was now 5000 strong and well armed and disciplined; but their commander was mortally wounded, on the 21st of September, in an attack on Tschi. He was succeeded by Burgovine, who, however, proved to be in various respects unfit for the position, and was dismissed by the Chinese authorities.

Captain Gordon had been summoned from the Peiho to Shanghai by Sir Charles Staveley in the spring of 1862 for the purpose of assisting to drive away the Taipings, who had come close down to the town, and had burned several houses, driving in great numbers of the country people —15,000 at least of both sexes and all ages. The inhabitants of the surrounding district were suffering greatly from the ravages of these marauders, and were, in fact, dying of starvation. 'It is most sad this state of affairs,' wrote Gordon, 'and our government really ought to put the rebellion down. Words could not depict the horrors these people suffer from the rebels, or describe the utter desert they have made of this rich province.'

Gordon, with 700 men of the 31st Regiment and 200 of the 67th Regiment under his orders, took an active part in clearing the district of the rebels. He was in command at the storming of Singpoo, and shortly after he went with the force sent against Kahding, where 5000 of the Tai-pings had taken refuge. The town was taken by storm, as was also Taitsan, an important stronghold to which a number of the rebels had fled, and thus a radius of 30 miles around Shanghai was freed from these cruel marauders. Gordon was under the impression that the neck of the rebellion was now broken. 'The people,' he says, 'have now settled down quiet again, and I do not anticipate the rebels will ever come back.' The revolt, however, was only checked, not suppressed; and the death of Ward and the dismissal of Burgovine having left the 'Ever-victorious Army' without a leader, the new governor-general, Li-Hung-Chang, requested General Staveley to select a British officer to take the command of that force. His choice at once fell upon Gordon, whose character and conduct he admired, and whom he believed to be possessed of very great ability as well as courage. 'What he was before Sebastopol,' he said, 'he has been since—faithful, trusty, and successful. Before Pekin and at Shanghai he has evinced just the qualities that are needed now. Although he has never been in command, he will rise to this occasion, to which he is more fitted than any other man whom I know.' He therefore recommended that Major Gordon should be appointed to command the 'Ever-victorious Army.' With the consent of the British government Gordon accepted the post, though not without some reluctance. He was at this time engaged in the work of surveying the country within the circuit of 30 miles round Shanghai, and was well aware that the survey which he was thus making would be of the utmost service to him in his campaign against the Taipings. He therefore asked that his entrance upon the duties of his command might be delayed until the military survey was finished. His request was granted, and Captain Holland, of the Marine Light Infantry, took the temporary command. This officer at once laid siege to the walled city of Taitsan, respecting whose defences he had received very incorrect information, and believed it to be surrounded by a dry ditch when in reality a deep moat ran round it. He was in consequence repulsed with the loss of 300 men and four officers killed and wounded, and of two

thirty-two pounders which had to be abandoned to the enemy.

The Tai-pings were naturally jubilant over this failure, and especially ridiculed the generalship of the 'foreign Devils.' 'Oh how we laughed on the morning of the assault,' wrote one of their principal Wangs, 'as they advanced nearer to the creek, to cross which they had brought no bridges! How we laughed as we saw the ladder they had thrown over getting weaker and weaker beneath them, and at last falling into the creek, leaving half the party on one side and half on the other. "What general is he," cried our chief, "who sends his men to storm a city without first ascertaining that there is a moat?" "And what general is he," cried another of our leaders, "who allows a storming party to advance without bridges? See, O chief, these unfortunates." So we laughed and so we jested as we saw the slaves of the Tartar usurper advancing to destruction.'

Major Brennan's expedition against Fushan was equally unsuccessful, and the prestige of the 'Ever-victorious Army' was at a very low ebb. In these circumstances Gordon was obliged to leave his survey unfinished, and to take the command of the forces which were to act against the rebels.

In a letter to his mother, 24th March, 1863, Gordon shows the spirit in which he accepted this onerous task. 'I am afraid,' he wrote, 'you will be much vexed at my having taken the command of the Sung-kiang force, and that I am now a Mandarin. I have taken the step on consideration. I think that anyone who contributes to putting down this rebellion fulfils a humane task, and I also think tends a great deal to open China to civilization. I will not act rashly, and I trust to be able soon to return to England; at the same time I will remember your and my father's wishes, and endeavour to remain as short a time as possible. I can say that if I had not accepted the command I believe the force would have been broken up, and the rebellion gone on in its misery for years. I trust this will not now be the case, and that I may soon be able to comfort you on this subject. You must not fret on this matter. I think I am doing a good service.'

When Gordon undertook this arduous task he was in the full vigour of manhood, and though only turned of thirty he had diligently studied military science and art, while his natural genius for war and intuitive power of control over his fellow-men made up for the want of lengthened experience in the management of troops in the field. The Ever-victorious Army, when it was placed under his command, consisted of about 4000 men. The commissioned officers, amounting to about 150, were all foreigners, and, besides Americans, belonged to almost every European nation—Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, and Greeks. They were full of courage and energy, but prone to quarrel with each other, addicted to drinking, and not always disposed to render implicit obedience to the orders of their commander. 'There was no picking and choosing,' says an ex-officer of this motley band, 'the general was too glad to get any foreigners to fill up vacancies, and the result, especially in garrison, was deplorable. They fought well and led their men well, however, and that, after all, was the chief requisite.' 'Among them,' wrote Colonel Chesney, 'were avowed sympathizers with the rebels and avowed defiers of Chinese law; but all classes soon learned to respect a general in whose kindness, valour, skill, and justice they found cause unhesitatingly to confide; who never spared himself personal exposure when personal danger was near, and beneath whose firm touch sank into insignificance the furious quarrels and personal jealousies which had hitherto marred the usefulness of the force.' Gordon's hands were greatly strengthened by the accession of a number of British officers who, at this juncture, obtained leave to enter the Chinese service under his command.

The private soldiers in the Ever-victorious Army, when Gordon assumed the command, appear to have been of an inferior order as regards both physical strength and courage, but in a short space of time it was weeded of its weak and useless members. They were replaced by the picked men of the captured Tai-pings, who were quite willing to fight against the rebel leaders under whom they had previously served, and soon found that they had greatly benefited by the exchange of service. Instead of the hard work and no pay to which they had been accustomed under the Tai-ping generals, they were now well paid and well fed, and though the discipline was firm there were few punishments. They were for the most part armed with smooth-bore English muskets, but one regiment had rifles, and 300 Enfields were distributed to marksmen. 'Every regiment,' said an Englishman who was at one time an officer in the force, 'could go through the manual and platoon and bayonet exercises to English words of command, with a smartness and precision to which not many volunteer regiments can attain, could manœuvre very fairly in companies or as a battalion, and each regiment had been put through a regular course of musketry instruction, the scores and returns being satisfactorily kept, and the good shots rewarded.'

Gordon's artillery consisted of four siege batteries and two field batteries—fifty-two pieces in all. A small steamer was placed at his disposal, and several gunboats, which proved of great service in that land of rivers and canals. He had a pontoon train for the larger rivers, and planks were carried by the force for bridging the numerous creeks which intersected the country. The district of Kiangnan, which was to be the scene of Major Gordon's operations, was indeed a vast network of canals, which are the only means of conveyance; as there are absolutely no roads, wheeled vehicles are never used by the inhabitants. The experience he had acquired in his survey of the province was therefore of inestimable value. 'He knew,' said one of his officers, 'every feature of the country better than any other person, native or foreigner, better even than the rebels, who had been in partial possession for years.'

An Imperialist force was appointed to co-operate with the Ever-victorious Army, but Gordon was too sagacious not to know the evils of a divided command, and he stipulated at the outset for entire freedom of independent action. The Imperial governor, Li, frankly conceded this demand, and it was definitely arranged that the Chinese generals should have no authority to interfere with Gordon's movements. After carefully considering the position of the rebels, Major Gordon came to the conclusion that the operations of the Imperial troops were calculated only to prolong the contest, and he resolved to strike at once at the heart of the rebellion. Taking with him 1000 men and two steamers, he proceeded up the Yangtze estuary towards Fushan, long a haunt of pirates, which lies on its southern bank 70 miles north-west of Shanghai, for the purpose of relieving Chanzu, a loyal city 10 miles inland, which was besieged by the rebels, and was in imminent danger of capture. Planting his guns among the ruins at Fushan, he opened fire upon a strong stockade on the left bank of the creek, and on another on the opposite bank. After three hours' bombardment the position was carried by a storming party, but the rebels received such large reinforcements that Gordon was obliged to withdraw into his stockade for the night. Next morning he saw with much satisfaction the enemy abandoning their positions and retreating towards Soochow, a great rebel centre on the Grand Canal, lying about 30 miles to the south-west. The road to Chanzu was thus left open, and Gordon lost no time in leading his troops to that town, where he was welcomed with great demonstrations of gratitude and joy, and received a state reception from the Mandarins. The commandant of Chanzu

and his soldiers had at one time belonged to the Tai-ping army, but had gone over to the Imperialists, and were well aware that if they had fallen into the hands of the rebels they would have been put to death. 'I saw,' wrote Gordon, 'the young rebel chiefs who had come over; they are very intelligent and splendidly dressed, with big pearls in their caps. The headman is about thirty-four years old, he looked worn to a thread with anxiety. He was so very glad to see me, and chin-chinned most violently, regretting his inability to give me a present, which I told him was not the custom with our people.' Leaving 300 men to assist in protecting the place, Gordon returned to his headquarters at Sung-kiang.

Meanwhile Burgovine had been intriguing at Pekin for re-instatement in his office, and his pretensions had been favourably regarded by Sir Frederick Bruce, the British minister, as well as by the representative of the United States government. But Governor Li refused to listen to the proposal that Gordon should be superseded. 'As the people and the place,' he said, 'are charmed with him, as he has already given me returns of the organization of the force, the formation of each regiment, and the expenses; as he wishes to drill our troops and save our money; as it is evident that he fully comprehends the state of affairs; and as in the expedition he is preparing his men delightfully obey him and preserve the proper order, I cannot therefore remove him without due cause.'

Before proceeding further in his work, Major Gordon set himself to improve the discipline of his little army, which was by no means in a satisfactory state. The success which had attended his first enterprise had brought his men into good heart, and they speedily came to trust and love as well as to fear him. He carefully trained and drilled them after the pattern of the British army. He took care that they were well fed, well clothed, well paid, and well armed. He prepared a flotilla of steamers and Chinese gunboats, which served to cover all his movements and to secure his flank, and provided a heavy force of artillery, with large wooden mantlets to protect the gunners from musket fire, an ample supply of ammunition and of the means of transport, with pontoons, bamboo ladders, and all other equipments required for rapid movement in a country abounding in water. When all requisite preparations had been made, and everything was in perfect readiness, he proceeded again to take the field.

The three rebel centres were Taitsan, Quinsan, and Soochow. Gordon resolved in the first instance to operate against Quinsan, and about the end of April he set out from his headquarters at Sung-kiang for the purpose of reducing that town, where there was an arsenal and shot manufactory, the capture of which would materially weaken the rebel forces at the other centres. But as he was marching towards that place he received intelligence of a cruel and treacherous deed on the part of the Tai-pings, which caused him to turn towards Taitsan. The commander of that town had made proposals of surrender to the Imperialist governor, Li. All the preliminary arrangements having been made, and a day fixed for the surrender, a body of 2000 troops were sent to take possession of the place. As soon as about two-thirds of them were within the walls a gun was fired, the gate was closed, and the men were made prisoners; 200 of them were beheaded, and the rest were compelled to join the Tai-pings. It was necessary that this act of treachery should be punished at once, and though Gordon had only about 3000 men with him and the garrison of Taitsan was 10,000 strong, with several English, French, and American renegades at their head, he proceeded at once to lay siege to the city. Making his arrangements with equal care and skill he took in succession stockades, hedges, and forts, and pushing forward his

artillery, covered by the mantlets, till it was within 100 yards of the walls, he brought every gun and mortar to bear upon them. After two hours' battering, a breach was made, and the storming party advanced to the assault. The defenders, however, fought with desperate courage, and poured such a tremendous fire on the assailants that they were compelled to retire. At this critical moment Major Gordon ordered some 8-inch howitzers to play upon the breach over the heads of the stormers (the manœuvre which was tried with signal success by Sir Thomas Graham at the storming of St. Sebastian), and then the assault was renewed. After a short but bloody conflict, the 5th Regiment succeeded in planting their colours on the top of the wall. The Taipings fled in the utmost confusion, trampling each other to death in their eagerness to escape, leaving the city in the hands of the Imperialists. Seven hundred prisoners were taken, who willingly enlisted into the ranks of the victorious army.

The capture of Taitsan was not effected without severe loss on the part of the assailants. Major Bannon of the 4th Regiment, who gallantly led the storming party, was killed, along with twenty rank and file, while seven officers and 142 privates were wounded, out of a force of 2800 men. An incident followed which gave rise to considerable excitement in England and caused a good deal of annoyance to Major Gordon. Among the prisoners taken by the Imperialist soldiers seven, who were especially implicated in the treacherous seizure and decapitation of the soldiers sent to take possession of Taitsan, were put to death in a protracted and ignominious manner. It was currently reported that they had been tortured in the most shocking way, and Dr. Smith, the bishop of Victoria, instead of applying for information on the subject to General Brown, the commander of the British forces in China, thought proper to write to Earl Russell, expressing his belief in the grossly exaggerated stories which had been circulated respecting the conduct of the Imperialists in this matter. General Gordon had nothing to do with the mode in which the prisoners referred to had been treated, but he generously came forward in defence of the Chinese general, and exposed the falsehoods with which all England was ringing at that time. 'I am of belief,' he said, 'that the Chinese of this force are quite as merciful in action as the soldiers of any Christian nation could be, and in proof of this can point to over 700 prisoners taken in the last engagement who are now in our employ; some even have entered our ranks and done service against the rebels since their capture.'

At the same time he expressed in strong terms his displeasure at the manner in which the seven prisoners had been put to death; and General Brown informed the Imperialist commander that if any similar cases occurred again he would withdraw the British troops and leave the Chinese to fight their own battles.

Major Gordon had troubles with his own soldiers as well as with the Imperialists. He found it difficult to keep troops drawn from various nationalities in a state of strict discipline. Their successes had somewhat demoralized them. He had issued peremptory orders that there was to be no plunder, and Taitsan had been plundered without mercy. They had been accustomed under their former commanders, like the Highlanders in Scotland, to disperse after the capture of any place, for the purpose of disposing of their plunder; but now, much to their dissatisfaction, they were marched off to the siege of Quinsan before an opportunity of selling their spoil had been allowed them. Many of the officers themselves had not shown any proper regard for discipline, and their general had filled the places of those who had fallen at Taitsan, and of others who had resigned, by privates and non-commissioned officers from her Majesty's regiments then

quartered in Shanghai, who had been allowed to volunteer for the service. Major Gordon appointed Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Cocksley, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, to take charge of the commissariat and the military stores. This appointment gave dissatisfaction to the majors in command of the different regiments, who demanded that they should hold the same rank and receive the same pay as the new lieutenant-colonel. To this unreasonable and impudent demand Gordon returned a point-blank refusal, and they soon after sent in their resignations, which were at once accepted. A little reflection, however, made them think better of the matter, and next morning they returned to their duty.

Matters having been arranged to his satisfaction the general set out from Sung-kiang, with 600 artillery and 2300 infantry, in order to attack Quinsan, before which, protected by a stockade, an Imperialist force under General Chang had for some time taken up a position, not without considerable peril. This stronghold was a place of great strategical importance, as it was not only the key to Soochow, but its possession would protect both Sung-kiang and Taitsan. Its reduction, however, was no easy task. No fewer than 12,000 Tai-pings were encamped within the walls, which were 5 miles in circumference. It was protected by a number of stone forts, and by a ditch more than 40 yards wide. An isolated high hill within the walls, crowned with a pagoda, enabled the garrison to observe every movement on the open plain in front of the city, and men were stationed on this eminence to watch the proceedings of the besiegers and make them known at once to the commander, a brave and skilful chief named Moh Wang.

These difficulties, however, served only to exhibit Gordon's mastery of tactical measures. After a careful survey of the surrounding country he resolved to cut the communication between Quinsan and Soochow. The only road which led from the one town to the other ran between Lake Yansing and a chain of large creeks crossing several very long bridges, and following narrow causeways sometimes only 3 or 4 feet wide. After investing the city with his own troops and 7000 Imperialists, to prevent the retreat of the enemy either to Soochow or to Chunye, a village a few miles from Quinsan, which might be called the key of the city, Gordon started on his enterprise on the 30th of May, taking with him 300 men of the 4th Regiment, with his field artillery in boats, and about fifty small gunboats—eighty sail in all—with large white sails, and decorated with variously coloured flags. The Tai-pings were completely taken by surprise, and though in great force, when they saw the approach of this flotilla they fled in all directions, some to Chunye and the remainder towards Soochow. The rebel garrison of Chunye were captured without the loss of a man, and leaving his 300 riflemen there, and the main body of his force at the East Gate of Quinsan, Gordon went on board the *Hyson*, commanded by Captain Davidson, an able and experienced American officer, and steamed slowly up the canal to reconnoitre Soochow, harassing all the way the fugitive Tai-pings. Two stone forts were abandoned on his approach. The *Hyson* met a large body of the enemy marching to reinforce Quinsan, and opened fire upon them with tremendous effect. Retreating along the bank of the canal the flying and confused mass met fresh reinforcements hastening to the city, with whom they became inextricably intermingled, and were completely at the mercy of their pursuers. A party of 400 of the fugitives were overtaken and headed; and Captain Davidson, with almost incredible courage and confidence, took 150 of them prisoners, and carried them off in his small craft. The stockades and fortified posts on the banks of the canal were abandoned one after another, and the *Hyson* steamed up to the very walls of Soochow.

command, and went to Shanghai for that purpose.

At this juncture, however, an incident occurred which, acting as Gordon always did under the influence of duty, induced him to give up his intention of resigning and to resume his command. Burgovine, the American fillibuster who had been dismissed by the Chinese government, was a person of considerable ability, versatility, and experience. He was naturally irritated at his dismissal, and eager to be revenged upon the Imperialists. He had also indulged in some vague notions about establishing an independent principality in China, and with a view to these ends he had collected a band of about 150 dissolute and unscrupulous adventurers, who were willing to engage with him in the service of the Tai-pings, and carrying off a small steamer he suddenly left Shanghai to join the rebels at Soochow. Colonel Hough, who reported on the 6th of August to General Brown respecting the American adventurer's movements, says:—

'Burgovine has gone over to the rebels with some Europeans collected here; the number varies with the different reports, from 100 to 1000, but 300 will probably be nearer the mark. From Captain Strode's information Burgovine's terms with the Europeans are service one month and money paid down; and other information states unrestrained license to pillage every town they take, even Shanghai itself. The latter would be an idle threat, even under the present reduced state of the garrison, but for the alarming defection of Major Gordon's force, who are all, it is said, traitorously inclined to side with Burgovine. Names of the traitors are freely given, being those of Major Gordon's best officers of the land forces, as well as those commanding steamers. This, if true, would virtually be giving our siege-train now with Major Gordon into the rebels' hands, and to oppose which we have not a gun of equal force.'

This state of matters was certainly very alarming, but Major Gordon was every way competent to deal with it. He felt that it was impossible to desert his post at such a crisis. As soon as the news of Burgovine's treachery was fully confirmed, he rode back to Quinsan and at once resumed his command. A body of the Tai-pings, about 40,000 strong, reinforced by a number of the Europeans who had come up with Burgovine, made several strenuous but ineffectual attacks upon Gordon's position at Kahpoo.

For some weeks Gordon remained on the defensive; but on the 29th of September he took Patachow, which was close up to the suburbs of Soochow, without losing a single man, and having only five wounded. A remarkable incident occurred to him at this time. There was a bridge of fifty-three arches at Patachow, twenty six of which fell one day 'like a pack of cards,' Gordon says, killing two men; ten others escaped by running, as the arches fell one after another as fast as a man could run. He was sitting alone on the parapet of the bridge smoking a cigar when the stone on which he sat was struck by two shots in succession that had come accidentally from his own camp. He left his seat and rowed his boat across the creek to inquire into the matter, but he had not proceeded far before that part of the bridge on which he had been sitting gave way with a tremendous noise, and his boat was nearly smashed in the ruins.

There was another bridge between the two opposing armies, forming a sort of neutral ground, on which the European officers in the two forces, many of whom had formerly been comrades, were in the habit of meeting and holding friendly intercourse. It soon became known that the Europeans and Americans who were serving with the Tai-pings were by no means satisfied with their position and prospects, and Burgovine himself expressed a wish, which was readily acceded to,

for an interview with Gordon. At their meeting Burgovine avowed his intention to leave the rebels if he and his followers could receive a guarantee that they would obtain immunity for the acts they had done in the service of the Tai-pings. Major Gordon readily gave his guarantee that the authorities at Shanghai would not institute any proceedings against these men, and he further offered to take as many of them as he could into his own service. At a second interview Burgovine, who totally misunderstood Gordon's character, proposed that they two should unite to seize Soochow, hold it against both Tai-pings and Imperialists, and then organize an army of 20,000 men and march to Pekin. He was at once informed that Gordon 'declined to entertain any such idea.'

These negotiations at length led to an intimation on the part of Burgovine and the other European officers in the service of the rebels, that they intended, under pretence of making a sally, to throw themselves on Gordon's protection. It was arranged that on seeing a signal-rocket from Gordon's lines they were to rush on board the *Hyson* as if they meant to capture it. This they accordingly did, and were immediately followed by thousands of the Tai-pings, who hastened to their assistance in the belief that they were making a *bona fide* attack on the steamer. The rebels were driven back by volleys of shot and shell from the *Hyson's* artillery, and the deserters were carried off and safely landed in Gordon's camp. It was then discovered that Burgovine and several other European officers were not among them. Their leader alleged that as Moh-Wang, their commander, suspected them, they thought it wise to leave as soon as the opportunity offered without waiting for those who were not at hand. The majority of these deserters were seamen who had been crimped from Shanghai with little idea of their destination, and had been starved and badly treated in Soochow. Nearly all of them volunteered to join Gordon's force.

Fearing that on the discovery of the plot Burgovine and his companions might be put to death, Gordon made an earnest appeal to the Moh-Wang on their behalf. After a reference to his own clemency to the Tai-pings, and his endeavour to prevent the Imperialist authorities from acting with inhumanity, he went on to say—

'Having stated the above, I now ask your Excellencies to consider the case of the Europeans in your service. A man made to fight against his will is not only a bad soldier, but he is a positive danger, causing anxiety to his leaders and absorbing a large force to prevent his defection. If there are many Europeans left in Soochow, I would ask your Excellencies if it does not seem much better to you to let these men quietly leave your service if they wish it; you would thereby get rid of a continual source of suspicion, gain the sympathy of the whole of the foreign nations, and feel that your difficulties are all from without. Your Excellencies may think that decapitation would settle the matter, but you would then be guilty of a crime which will bear its fruits sooner or later. In this force of mine officers and men come and go at pleasure, and although it is inconvenient at times I am never apprehensive of treason from within. The men have committed no crime, and what they have tried to do, viz. escape, is nothing more than any man, or even animal, will do when placed in a situation he does not like. . . . As far as I am personally concerned it is a matter of indifference whether the men stay or leave; but as a man who wishes to save these unfortunate men, I intercede. Your Excellencies may depend upon it you will not suffer by letting these men go. You need not fear their communicating information. I knew your force, men and guns, long ago, and therefore care not to get that information from them."

Moh-Wang, the Tai-ping general, returned a very courteous reply, and Burgovine was sent out safely from Soochow and handed over to the American consul at Shanghai. The fillibuster was totally unworthy of the efforts which Gordon made on his behalf, for while these negotiations were going on he proposed to his lieutenant, an Englishman of the name of Jones, a plan for entrapping the man who was striving to succour him and his followers. The American consul consented, at Gordon's request, to waive proceedings against him on condition that he would leave the country. In 1865, however, he imprudently returned to China, and was prevailed upon by some rebel sympathizers to promise that he would assist a remnant of the Taipings who still made a stand at the city of Changchow. But on his way to that place he was arrested by the Chinese authorities. The American consul demanded that Burgovine should be given up to him, but this was positively refused, and he was sent into the interior, where he was drowned, as the Chinese officials reported, by the accidental capsizing of a ferry-boat. 'I have no reason to suppose,' writes Mr. Wilson, 'that the account of his death given by the Chinese authorities was untrue; and if they did drown him purposely they saved themselves and the American authorities a good deal of trouble.'

Gordon mentions that Moh Wang asked the messenger (who brought him Gordon's letter) 'a great deal about me, and if it were possible to buy me over, and was told that it was not. He asked why the Europeans wanted to run away, and was told it was because they saw there was no chance of success. He said, "Do you think Gordon will take the city?" and was told "Yes," which seemed to make him reflect. This defection of the Europeans is an almost extinguishing blow to the rebels, and from the tone of Moh Wang's letter, so different from the one he wrote General Staveley a little time ago, I feel convinced that the rebel chiefs would come to terms if they had fair ones offered. I mean to do my best to bring this about, and am sure that if I do I shall gain a greater victory than any capture of cities would be.'

The plan which Gordon had formed for the capture of Soochow was to encircle it with a chain of strongly fortified posts, and thus to prevent reinforcements being sent in for its relief. The forces under his own immediate command were not sufficient to enable him to invest the city and to watch the motions of a rebel army 40,000 strong, sent from Nanking and stationed at Wusieh, to raise the siege, but the positions which he took were left, one after another, in charge of the Chinese troops, and in this manner the Ever-victorious Army gradually fought its way round the city of Pagodas. The capture of Wulungchiao and Patachow shut it up on the east and south sides; but it was necessary to reduce and occupy the Tai-ping outworks on the north and north-west of the city in order to complete the chain of environing posts. Major Gordon's operations were greatly hindered by the mismanagement and blundering arrogance of Chang, the Chinese general. A letter which Gordon wrote at this juncture from Wulungchiao gives a vivid picture both of his own strategy and his difficulties—

'We started for the Fifty-three Arch Bridge (alas! now only twenty-seven arched), Patachow, and made a great detour by the lakes to Kahpoo to throw the rebels off the scent. We left at 2 p.m. and although the place, Wulungchiao, which I wanted to attack was only 1½ mile to the west of Patachow, I made a detour of 30 miles to confuse them on a side they were not prepared for. It turned out wet, and the night of the 2nd October was miserable enough, cooped up in boats as we were. However it cleared a little before dawn, and about 7 a.m. we came on the stockades. I had asked the Imperialists under General Chang to delay

their attack from Patachow till I had become well engaged; but as usual General Chang must needs begin at 5.30 a.m., and he got a good dressing from the rebels and was forced to retire. His loss was nineteen killed and sixty-seven wounded; while the *Taho* gunboat admiral, who had abetted him in his tomfoolery, lost thirty killed and wounded. We lost none; three were slightly bruised.

Gordon's next step was to attack the position held by the rebels on the north side of the city. Leaving his Imperialist allies to hold the posts on the south, he swept round to the north of Soochow with his siege-train and the *Hyson* steamer. He carried Leeku by assault, a strong position 4 miles from Soochow, and captured the gunboats of the enemy and forty other boats, along with sixty prisoners. Lieutenant Perry, an English officer, fell by his side while leading the forlorn hope. Eleven days later he attacked Wanti, which was so strongly fortified that shell-fire had no effect on it. He was therefore obliged to carry it by storm in three-quarters of an hour, with some loss, which was the greater in consequence of his men having suffered from a cross fire from their own artillery. But of the Tai-pings 350 fell and 600, including all their headmen, were made prisoners. It was a significant fact that his forces were largely recruited from among the prisoners, who readily took service under him, and at Wanti he had men fighting under him who had been in the rebel ranks only a week previously at Leeku. Gordon mentions that Lai-Wang, who was in charge of the northern stockades, had offered to come over with his force, amounting to 20,000 men. Unfortunately he was killed in one of the skirmishes that took place after the capture of Leeku, and thus his defection did not take place. 'The headmen say here,' he adds, 'that the rebels almost despair of holding the city. I hope sincerely they will leave it, as it ruins the soldiers to plunder after the capture. I sent an expedition into the Taho Lake about the time I started for the attack on Leeku, and the steamer has just returned, having captured six gunboats, four high chiefs, and some hundred prisoners and two stockades.'

A place called Mouding, on the Grand Canal, only 4 miles from the lake, still remained in the hands of the rebels; but it was speedily reduced, and the investment of Soochow was made complete. The waterways and roads leading to it were closed, and the outposts occupied by Imperialist forces. All was now ready for the final assault. Gordon had under his own immediate command only between 3000 and 4000 men, but General Chang had with him 25,000 Imperialists. The Tai-ping forces in Soochow and its suburbs numbered 40,000 men, and 38,000 were stationed in Wusieh and Mahtanchiao, whence Chung Wang, the Faithful King, as he was called, could attack on the flank any advance made by the Imperialists on the Grand Canal. He required, however, to be exceedingly cautious in his movements, as the city of Nanking was besieged by the Imperialists, and was in a critical condition, and both the capital of the Heavenly King and Hangchow might have been lost if they had been rashly exposed. Gordon was well aware how matters stood, and his knowledge of the circumstances which paralyzed the action of Chung Wang emboldened him to make a vigorous assault upon Soochow.

The place selected for the attack was the north-east angle of the wall which surrounds the city. His first effort, which was made shortly after midnight, was upon the formidable inner line of the outer defences. He himself took the command of the forlorn hope, accompanied by Majors Howard and Williams. His followers were dressed in white turbans, in order that they might not mistake each other in the dark. The main body of his troops were ordered to wait under arms for a signal to advance. Everything was quiet,

and the surprise seemed complete. The forlorn hope had penetrated through the outer works, and the rest of the troops were advancing to their support, when suddenly a tremendous fire of grape and musketry was opened upon the whole force. Gordon, at the head of the forlorn hope, made a vigorous assault on the breastwork; but the Chinese troops did not relish fighting at night, and hesitated to advance, and Gordon was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Moh-Wang, the leader of the Tai-pings, displayed great gallantry in this fierce conflict, and without shoes or stockings fought in the front stockade like a private soldier, with about twenty Europeans at his side. The loss of the rebels from the fire of twenty guns which played upon them for about three hours with shot and shell, must have been very great. Of Gordon's army fifty rank and file were killed and 130 wounded, besides a considerable number of officers.

Next morning Gordon was informed by General Chang, who had himself been a Tai-ping, that he had had an interview with one of the Tai-ping Wangs, who informed him that all the Wangs in Soochow, with the exception of Moh-Wang and some minor chiefs, were prepared to give up the place and to come over to the Imperialists with 30,000 men, as they felt that its capture was only a question of time. They proposed that Gordon should make another attack upon the city, and that while Moh-Wang was defending it they would shut him out and so be at liberty to agree on a surrender. Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th November, Gordon opened a tremendous fire on the stockades with heavy siege-guns and mortars, and laid them in ruins. The assault followed. It was dangerous and arduous work. Ditches had to be swum, breastworks had to be climbed, and the Faithful King himself, who had arrived that morning from Wusieh by a bridle path still open, with his body-guard of 400 men, was engaged in the defence. During this stubborn conflict Gordon, with a few men under him, was separated from his main body by a large party of the enemy. It was impossible to fall back; he was compelled, therefore, to press forward. Pushing through some stockades which he found almost empty, he gained a stone fort, where his troops came up with him and made good the advantage he had won. This victory secured the surrender of Soochow, but it cost Gordon dear—fifty privates and nine officers were killed, and a great number were wounded, including his adjutant-general, Major Kirkman.

In this engagement, as indeed in all the other conflicts, Gordon was ever in the front exposing himself with a cool daring which was necessary as an example to the motley force under his command. His officers, though not deficient in courage, would sometimes hang back, and he had occasionally to take one by the arm and lead him into the thick of the fight. He never carried any arms, even when foremost in the breach. In China, as in the Crimea, his only weapon was a little cane, with which he used to direct his followers, and which came to be designated 'Gordon's magic wand of victory.' His Chinese soldiers seeing him always foremost in the fight, yet never wounded, concluded that he bore a charmed life, and that it was the magic wand which preserved him in safety. His coolness amid a hailstorm of bullets no doubt contributed not a little to the extraordinary influence which he exercised over his men. It is related that on one occasion, when leading a storming party, his men wavered under the terrific fire to which they were exposed; Gordon turned round, stood still, and calmly lighted a cigar. He then waved his 'magic wand,' and his soldiers came on with a rush and carried the position.

On the morning after the severe conflict which took place on the 30th November, 1863, the following order was issued by the commander of the Ever-victorious Army:—

'The commanding officer congratulates the officers and men of the force on their gallant conduct of yesterday. The tenacity of the enemy, and the great strength of their position, have unfortunately caused many casualties and the loss of many valuable officers and men. The enemy, however, has now felt our strength, and although fully prepared and animated by the presence of their most popular chiefs, have been driven out of a position which surpasses in strength any yet taken from them. The loss of the whole of the stockades on the east side of the city up to the walls has already had its effect, and dissension is now rife in the garrison, who, hemmed in on all sides, are already in fact negotiating defection. The commanding officer feels most deeply for the heavy loss, but is convinced that the same will not be experienced again. The possession of the position of yesterday renders the occupation of the city by the rebels untenable, and thus virtually the city is lost to them.'

The surrender of Soochow did not, however, take place immediately. Moh-Wang, the stout old Tai-ping general, for whose character Gordon had great respect, was determined to hold out to the last. His suspicions were aroused by rumours that negotiations were proceeding between Major Gordon and the other Wangs, and he called a council of war. After partaking of dinner and offering up prayers, the Wangs, arrayed in their robes and crowns, took their seats in the reception hall around the table on a raised daïs, at the head of which sat the indomitable Moh-Wang. The question of capitulation was raised and considered, and the discussion became warm. Moh-Wang still declared against surrender, while the others urged that they were completely surrounded by the 'foreign devils,' and that their only chance of escaping destruction was in capitulation. At last Kang-Wang rose from his throne and took off his robes. Moh-Wang demanded to know what he meant by this act, whereupon Kang stabbed the Tai-ping general with a dagger nine times. The other Wangs assisted him in this foul deed, and bearing the body of their murdered chief into the outer court they cut off his head. It has been alleged in extenuation of this cowardly assassination that Moh-Wang was aware of the intended treachery of the other Wangs, and that they ran great risk of being themselves decapitated by him. But of this there is no evidence, and there is reason to believe that though Moh-Wang resisted in the council their demands for surrender, he was not averse to enter into terms with Gordon.

Soochow surrendered on the night of Moh-Wang's murder, but this brilliant success was stained by acts of combined falsehood, treachery, and cruelty on the part of the Chinese governor Li. To prevent looting Gordon withdrew his forces to a distance, and demanded from Li, the Futai (or governor), two months' extra pay for his men as a reward for their services, as compensation for their abstaining from plunder, and as an inducement for them to push on with him to attack Wusieh. This boon, small as it was, was meanly denied him, but a little later an offer of one month's extra pay was offered. The men were naturally disgusted at this conduct, and were with difficulty prevented from revenging themselves on the niggardly official. Their commander thought it prudent to send them back to Quinsan in order to keep them out of harm's way.

Gordon had expressly stipulated that the lives of the Wangs should be spared, and Li had readily assented to this condition. He never attempted to deny that this was the case, and it was confirmed to the fullest extent by General Chang. The Futai, however, treacherously violated his pledge, and by his perfidious conduct placed Gordon in imminent danger of his life, and roused such a feeling of indignation as ultimately to cause the with-

drawal of the British officers from serving under the Imperial government.

On the afternoon of the 5th of December, the day before the surrender of the city was completed, General Chang informed Gordon, to his great satisfaction, that Governor Li had amnestied the prisoners. The next day Gordon went into Soochow to the house of Nar-Wang, where he found all the Wangs, their horses saddled, about to go out to Governor Li for the meeting at which the city was to be formally given over. He took Nar-Wang aside and asked him if everything was all right, and was informed that everything had been satisfactorily settled, and promised that 1000 of his men should join Gordon's forces. The other Wangs, who were all unarmed, rode off laughing and talking toward the East Gate to their meeting with Li. Shortly after, Gordon, proceeding alone towards the East Gate, noticed a great crowd opposite Governor Li's boat, which was fastened to the bank, and presently a large force of Imperialist soldiers came into the city, yelling according to their custom, and firing off their muskets. Gordon remonstrated with the Mandarins and rioters for making a disturbance. Immediately after this General Chang came through the gate, and on seeing Gordon he became agitated and pale. On being questioned respecting the interview between the Wangs and the Futai, he hesitated, shuffled, and prevaricated so much that Gordon became apprehensive that something had gone seriously wrong.

As no definite information could be obtained from Chang, Gordon suspected what proved to be correct, that the statements made by the Chinese general were false, and proceeding to Nar-Wang's palace he found that it had been ransacked by the Imperialists. Nar-Wang's uncle, himself a Tai-ping leader, begged that Gordon would go to his house for the protection of his women folk. He complied with this request, and accompanied the female household of Nar-Wang and the Tai-ping leader to his house, where he found some thousands of the rebels in arms, who shut the gates on him as he went in. He was now in effect a prisoner in their hands, and in imminent danger. He did not know that the Wangs had been murdered before he met Chang, and that the crowd he had seen on the bank near Li's boat had been standing around their dead bodies. Fortunately for him the Tai-pings were in equal ignorance of the fate that had befallen their leaders. Had they known this they might have revenged on him the treachery of the Chinese governor. In this extremity Gordon resolved to try an experiment to save the Wangs from the fate which, unknown to him, had already befallen them. He prepared to send out his interpreter with orders for the steamers to be brought round and take Li prisoner, and also to bring up his forces from Quinsan; but it was not until two o'clock next morning that the interpreter was allowed to go out. An hour later the guide, who had accompanied him, brought back news that the Imperialist plunderers had seized and wounded the interpreter, and had torn up the orders of which he was the bearer.

Gordon, now apprehensive of a general massacre, at length succeeded in persuading the Tai-pings to let him go, that he might send additional orders and seek for the interpreter. He was detained for an hour at the South Gate by a body of Imperialist troops, who did not know him. Escaping from them he made his way to the East Gate, where his bodyguard was lying, and despatched them to protect the house of Nar-Wang. It was too late, however, for the house had been ransacked before their arrival. He then left the city and met General Chang at the gate, to whom, he says, 'I told what I thought'—no doubt in plain terms—'but refused to hold further intercourse with him, and drove him away.' Gordon was still ignorant, however, of the fate of the Wangs, but while waiting for

the steamers to come up for his intended seizure of Li, Chang sent Major Bailey, an Imperialist artillery officer, to explain matters. He told the incensed general that Chang, after he had spoken so sternly to him, had 'gone into the city and sat down and cried.' He then, 'to alleviate his grief, shot down twenty of his men for looting,' and sent Bailey to tell that 'he had nothing to do with the matter; that the Futai had commanded him to do what he did, and had ordered the city to be looted.' Gordon asked Bailey if the Wangs had been beheaded, but he was evidently afraid to tell what had really occurred, and replied evasively that he had heard so. He then said he had Nar-Wang's son in the boat, and brought him to Gordon. The lad pointed across the canal, and said that his father and the other Wangs had been beheaded on the previous day. Gordon crossed over and found the six bodies gashed, he says, in a frightful way, and cut down the middle. He was completely overcome by the shocking sight, and through sorrow, shame, and fierce indignation he burst into tears. 'It is not to be wondered,' writes Mr. Hake, 'that Gordon was enraged beyond bounds. It is not surprising that for the first time during the war he armed himself and went out to seek the life of an enemy. He took a revolver and sought the governor's quarters, fully resolved to do justice on his body and accept the consequences.' Li, however, had received warning from Chang of Gordon's incensed state of mind, and fled into the city for safety. For some days while search was made for him he kept in close hiding, and thus escaped the punishment which his foul deed deserved. Gordon, after leaving a note in the Futai's boat telling him what his intention had been, and upbraiding him with his treachery, left for Quinsan. He met by the way the troops he had ordered up to assist him in his search for Li, and led them back to their quarters. Next morning he assembled the officers—told them with great agitation what had been done, and declared that no British officer could serve any longer under Governor Li. He says, 'The disgust and abhorrence felt by all of them was, and is, such as to lead me to fear their going over *en masse* to the rebels.'

An official investigation was made, at the demand of Gordon, into the details of the massacre, by Mr. Mayers, the interpreter to the consulate, who discovered that Chang was Li's accomplice in the atrocious crime, influenced by a secret fear that Nar-Wang would eventually supplant him as commander. 'It appears,' Mr. Mayers says, in his despatch of 14th December to Acting-Consul Markham, "that the chiefs, on reaching the camp on the 6th instant, were received with friendly demonstrations by Li, who mentioned to each the elevation and rank he was to expect from the throne, and then handed them over to General Chang, who held them in colloquy until the executioners suddenly rushed upon them.'

General Brown, in a despatch forwarded to Sir Frederick Bruce, says, 'I considered it expedient to have an interview with the Futai, with the view of hearing any explanatory statement he might have to offer. . . . I speedily ascertained that though the Futai was prepared to take on himself the whole responsibility of the murder of the Wangs and sacking of the city, and fully to exonerate Major Gordon from all blame, he was either unable or unwilling to offer any exculpation or explanation of his conduct, and it only remained for me to express my opinion and future intentions. This I did in as few words as possible. I expressed the indignation and grief with which the English people, together with all the civilized nations of the world, would regard his cruelty and perfidy. I concluded by expressing my unhesitating conviction that, after what had occurred, my government would withdraw all assistance hitherto afforded to the Imperialist cause, recall Major Gordon and

all English subjects serving under him, and disband the Anglo-Chinese force.'

General Brown, at Gordon's instance, issued formal instructions that all active assistance to the Imperial cause should be suspended, further than protecting Soochow, pending the inquiry which at his demand was instituted at Pekin into the conduct of Governor Li. Meanwhile, though Li had scarcely ever stirred from Shanghai, he claimed for himself in his despatches the chief credit of the capture of Soochow, and was rewarded with the honour of the Yellow Jacket, which carries with it the highest military rank of the empire. He had, however, made honourable mention of Gordon's services, and an Imperial decree was issued, setting forth that 'Gordon, a Tsung-Ping [a Brigadier-General] in command of Li's auxiliary force, had displayed thorough strategy and skill, and had put forth most distinguished exertions,' and ordaining that 'a medal of distinction of the highest class be conferred upon him, and that he should receive a gift of 10,000 taels (about £3500) in token of imperial approbation.' Li was enjoined to communicate to Gordon 'our decree of approval and praise for the great bravery and exertions which attended the recapture of Soochow,' and to send him the donation. The decree also said, 'Foreign nations already possess orders of merit under the name of "Stars." Let therefore the decoration of the first class, which we have conferred upon Gordon, be arranged in accordance with this system.'

Major Gordon's indignation, however, at the bad faith and treachery of the governor was in no degree abated by these gifts and honours, and he positively declined to accept either decoration or money. His refusal was intimated in the following curt terms:—

'Major Gordon receives the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor with every gratification, but regrets most sincerely that, owing to the circumstances which occurred since the capture of Soochow, he is unable to receive any mark of his Majesty the Emperor's recognition, and therefore respectfully begs his Majesty to receive his thanks for his intended kindness, and to allow him to decline the same.'

Though he refused both the presents sent him and the money, he accepted the extra month's pay for his troops and the sums of money sent for the wounded. But, says Mr. Hake, 'when the treasure-bearers entered his presence with bowls of bullion on their heads—like a train from the Arabian Nights—he flogged them from the chamber with his magic wand.'

'To tell you truly,' he wrote home, 'I do not want anything, either money or honours, from either the Chinese government or our own. As for the honours, I do not value them at all, and never did. I should have refused the 10,000 taels even if everything had gone well and there had been no trouble at Soochow. The rebels are a ruthless lot. Chang-Wang beheaded 2000 unfortunates who ran to him from Soochow, after the execution of the Wangs by the Futai. This was at Wusieh. I have read the Futai a lesson he will not forget.'

The cruel and treacherous conduct of the Chinese governor, Li, had placed Gordon in a very critical and embarrassing position. The forces he had commanded so successfully were lying idle in garrison at Quinsan. The officers held him in high esteem, but they were very jealous of each other, and were constantly quarrelling over the question who should succeed their commander if he should persist in resigning his office. Both the officers and men became discontented at the sudden suspension of hostilities, and no fewer than sixteen of the officers had to be dismissed. The Taipings, though greatly discouraged and weakened by the fall of Soochow, were still formidable. European rowdies appeared on the scene, and were guilty of great excesses, and even of several murders; foreigners were again joining the ranks of

the rebels; their sympathizers were once more at work; and apprehensions were entertained that even a portion of Gordon's forces, disgusted with their compulsory inactivity, might go over to the Tai-pings. These considerations pressed strongly on Gordon's mind. He knew of a certainty, as he said, that Burgovine meditated a return to the rebel standard, and that there were upwards of 3000 Europeans ready to join it. He was persuaded that the rebellion would not last six months longer if he should take the field, and that it might continue six years if he should leave. In the interests of humanity it was most desirable that China should be relieved from the men who had laid waste its fairest provinces and destroyed vast numbers of its inhabitants. He had already, as Sir Frederick Bruce remarked, rendered a service to true humanity, as well as to great material interests, in relieving the province of Kiangsoo from being the battlefield of the insurrection, and in restoring to its suffering inhabitants the enjoyments of their homes and the uninterrupted exercise of their industry. And it would have been a serious calamity and addition to the embarrassments of the British representatives in China if Gordon had been compelled to leave his work incomplete, and should a sudden dissolution or dispersion of the Chinese force have led to the recurrence of that state of danger and anxiety from which, during the two previous years, Shanghai had suffered. Sir Frederick Bruce, however, stipulated that if Gordon should consent to resume his command nothing was to be done without his consent in cases of capitulations where he was present—in other words, that in future the rules of warfare practised among other civilized nations should be strictly observed. Security was thus taken, as he remarked, that scenes like those at Soochow would not be repeated, and that the interests of humanity would have the benefit of Gordon as a protector, instead of being committed to the unchecked mercies of Chinese officials.

Governor Li, in his anxiety to secure a continuance of Gordon's services, issued a proclamation exonerating him from all participation in the murder of the Wangs, and explaining his reasons for that deed, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, were more in accordance with Chinese notions of morality than with integrity and truth. It had indeed become absolutely necessary that Gordon should be cleared of all blame in this matter, for the murder of the chiefs had been avenged in a manner which seemed to indicate that he was regarded by the Tai-pings as, to some extent at least, responsible for that deed. Four European officers, who had charge of the Imperialist steamer the *Firefly*, had been captured by Chang-Wang, the Faithful King, on his retreat from Soochow to Nankin, and had been tortured and burned to death by his men. As foreigners had never before been ill-treated by the rebels, there can be little doubt that this shocking outrage must be attributed to Li-Hung-Chang's murder of the Wangs. On this account general regret was felt that Gordon should again have taken the field in conjunction with an official who had been guilty of such a foul crime.

Gordon was himself aware that he was open 'to very grave censure,' as he said, for the course he had resolved to pursue. Personally his wish was to leave the force as soon as possible. 'If I followed my own desire,' he said, 'I should leave now, as I have escaped unscathed and been wonderfully successful.' After the capture of Soochow he could do nothing more either to add to his own reputation or to retrieve the honour of his countrymen, which had been somewhat tarnished by Holland's defeat at Taitsan. As was remarked by Mr. Hart, an Englishman of high standing who was in China at the time, Gordon had nothing personally to gain from future successes; and as he had himself to lead in all critical moments, and was constantly exposed to danger, he had before him the not very improbable contingency of being

hit sooner or later. But Gordon was never on any occasion actuated by personal feelings or interests. He was well aware of the truth of Mr. Hart's statement that 'the destiny of China is at the present moment in the hands of Gordon more than of any other man, and if he be encouraged to act vigorously the knotty question of Tai-pingdom *versus* "union in the cause of law and order" will be solved before the end of May, and quiet will at length be restored to this unfortunate and sorely tried country.' These considerations induced Gordon to set aside personal feelings and resentments, and to take the field once more against the Tai-pings.

At this juncture there were two districts still occupied by the rebels. One, which lay to the south of the Taiho Lake, included Hangchow, Kashing, and several other towns; the other, to the north, contained Nanking, Tayan, Kintang, and Chuying. The two were about 50 miles distant from each other. Soochow, from which Gordon virtually started on his new campaign, is in the very centre of the Kianguan peninsula, and Nanking, where the Heavenly King, the head of the rebellion, had his residence, stands at the north-west corner of the peninsula. Between the two are the towns of Yesing, Liyang, and Kintang, which were all held in strong force by the Tai-pings. Gordon proposed, as he said, to 'cut through the heart of the rebellion, and divide it into two parts by the capture of Yesing and Liyang,' leaving the south to be dealt with by Captain d'Aiguibelle, a French officer who commanded a Franco-Chinese force, while the reduction of Nanking was intrusted to the Imperialists. Accordingly, on the 19th of February, Gordon quitted Quinsan to carry out this bold strategic scheme. He had to encounter difficulties of no ordinary kind. The weather was bitterly cold and snowy. He was obliged to abandon the base of his operations, and to encumber his force with the carriage of an adequate supply of munitions and stores. He had lost many of his best officers, some of whom had fallen in fight, others had resigned or been dismissed. His troops, too, were not so efficient as they had been, for there had not been time to train the newly-enlisted Tai-pings in discipline and steadiness under fire.

Leaving 200 men under Colonel Morant to garrison Quinsan, Gordon marched by the north of Soochow to Wusieh, near the Grand Canal, which he found in such a ruinous state that no quarters could be obtained there. He thence marched on Yesing through a district which the ravages of the rebels had almost completely depopulated, the few remaining inhabitants being in the last stage of starvation. On approaching Yesing a small reconnoitring party whom Gordon sent out found that it was a walled city, 2 miles in circumference, with a broad ditch and small lakes on its east and west sides. The party were driven away by the accurate fire of a 12-pounder gun at the north gate. Gordon therefore resolved to cross the lake on the east side, the direction from which the *Hyson* was expected, to take possession of a village at the south-east angle, seize the outworks, and thus to cut off communication between Yesing and Liyang, the next Tai-ping city in the line of route. This was accomplished without difficulty, and in the village he beheld the piteous sight of a number of starving wretches who had been compelled to resort to cannibalism. 'The unburied bodies of the dead were in a condition which showed that much of that revolting food had been consumed.' After the stockade in front of the east gate was taken, the mass of the Tai-pings quitted Yesing by night, and it surrendered the next day, 1st March—only eleven days after the Ever-victorious Army had left Quinsan.

Gordon next proceeded to Tajouska, a town on the Taho Lake, tidings having reached him that the great majority of the garrison were willing to surrender, but that the captain, supported by some desperate spirits, had declared that he would hold out to the last. On Gordon's arrival, however, the captain and the entire garrison were

induced to accept of the offered terms, and 2000 of their number accompanied him to Yesing.

At this step Gordon's troops, dissatisfied because they were not allowed to plunder Yesing, showed symptoms of insubordination, which had to be firmly repressed. The starving villagers, however, received permission to enter the city in search of food, and succeeded in obtaining a considerable quantity of rice.

On the 5th of March the Ever-victorious Army advanced against Liyang, a city containing a population of 20,000 and strongly fortified, but the rebels there were so disheartened that they surrendered without a blow. The commandant had, however, intended to offer a strenuous resistance, and on the approach of the assailants he sallied out with a part of his force to meet them; but those who were left behind shut the gates upon him, so that he had no choice but to submit. Gordon firmly refused to allow the Imperialist troops to enter the city, and posted a detachment of his own men at the gate to prevent pillage. A thousand of the Tai-ping soldiers were enlisted into the Ever-victorious Army, and were formed into a separate regiment; and twenty-four gunboats were captured and added to Gordon's flotilla. The country around Liyang was a scene of devastation and wretchedness of the most shocking description. 'Hundreds of dead bodies,' wrote one of Gordon's officers, 'were strewn along the road—people who died from starvation; and even the few who were yet alive watched one of their comrades dying so as to obtain some food off his dead body. Major Gordon gave as much food to these poor creatures as he could spare, but it was not sufficient to satisfy them all.' Fortunately, however, Liyang was well stocked with provisions, and all that Gordon could spare from his own necessities were distributed among the famishing peasantry.

Leaving part of his troops—including the newly raised regiment—in Liyang, Major Gordon (15th March) marched on northwards towards Kintang, with three regiments of infantry and a large force of artillery mounted on gunboats. Before starting he sent a letter to the commandant offering terms of surrender, to which no answer was returned, and on approaching the city (17th March) he renewed his offer to the garrison of their lives and property if they would surrender, but without effect. There is reason to believe, however, that the garrison were preparing to submit, and that they would have carried this purpose into effect if the Imperialists had kept Chancu-fu in check, as they had undertaken to do. But they had been defeated there by the rebels, who on this success had immediately sent a strong reinforcement to Kintang.

On the 20th of March, Gordon's forces had taken up a position within 1200 yards of the walls, which were not protected by stockades, and had stationed a flotilla of heavy boats with artillery near the north-east angle, which had been fixed on as the fittest point of attack. Everything was ready for opening fire on the following day, when at this critical juncture an alarming despatch was received from Governor Li, announcing that 'a body of 7000 Tai-pings, under the command of Chung-Wang's son, had left Chancu-fu, had turned the flank of the Imperialists, were threatening Wusieh, had captured Fushan, and were besieging Chanzu,' the town which Gordon had relieved when he first assumed the command of the Ever-victorious Army, and so were within thirty miles of Quinsan, his head-quarters. To persevere in the attack on Kintang in this state of affairs was undoubtedly attended with great danger. On the other hand, to retire would be to give great encouragement to the rebels, who might regain all they had lost, while the capture of Kintang would enable the troops, by advancing on Chancu, to compel the Hi Wang who commanded there to recall the force sent out under Chung-Wang's son. Gordon resolved therefore to carry out his original plan. He accordingly opened fire

on Kintang, and a bombardment of three hours made a practicable breach in the walls. A storming party crossed the creek in boats, and began to mount the breach; but the Tai-pings suddenly showed themselves in great numbers on the ramparts, and hurled down every kind of missile on the assailants with such persistent determination that they were compelled to retire. The artillery fire a second time cleared the breach, and another storming party renewed the attack, but were also repulsed; and Major Kirkman, who led them, was severely wounded. Gordon himself, who took part in the assault, was shot through the leg. He silenced a soldier who cried out that the commander was wounded, and stood giving orders until he had nearly fainted from loss of blood. Still he refused to retire, and Dr. Moffit, the principal medical officer, caused him to be carried by main force to his boat. Major Brown, Gordon's aid-de-camp, headed a third assault, carrying his commander's flag up the breach; but this attack also failed, and he too was wounded and carried back. As there was no reserve that could be called to the assistance of the baffled stormers and make another effort, Gordon was obliged to withdraw his force, with the loss of 100 killed and wounded, including fifteen officers, two of whom, Major Tait and Captain Bunning, were killed. The rebels were so much encouraged by their unexpected success, that they made frequent attempts during the night to set fire to the boats; they attacked the sentries, and creeping past them, threw powder bags, with slow matches attached, into the tents. The troops were very glad when daylight appeared to retire beyond their reach, and on the 24th they were again concentrated at Liyang.

The news that Gordon had at last been wounded excited great anxiety and alarm. Sir Frederick Bruce wrote entreating him not to look upon his position from a military point of view, reminding him that he had done quite enough for his reputation as a gallant and skilful leader; that he was looked to as the only person fit to deal with 'these perverse Chinese' and to be trusted with the great interests at stake at Shanghai; and that his life and ability to keep the field are more important than the capture of any city in China. The Emperor of China himself was equally anxious about Gordon's recovery from his wound. He issued a proclamation, in which he declared that he was deeply moved with grief and admiration. He ordered Governor Li to visit the wounded general every day, so as to keep his mind at rest, and to 'request him to wait until he should be perfectly restored to health and strength before attempting anything more.'

Gordon's wound was fortunately not a very serious one, for he could not be induced, in the critical position of affairs, to remain long at rest. At Liyang he learned that the Faithful King himself had recovered possession of Fushan, and that the Tai-pings had issued proclamations that their march was on Shanghai, taking Soochow on the way. Disabled as he was by his wound he immediately started for Wusieh, taking with him the light artillery and two infantry regiments 1000 strong, 600 of whom had been Tai-pings who had enlisted in his force only a few days before at Liyang. 'One scarcely knows here,' says Dr. Wilson, 'whether most to admire the pluck or to wonder at the confidence of the wounded commander.' On reaching Wusieh, on the 20th of March, he found that the rebel force threatening that place had been driven back and learned that though they had retaken Fushan, Chanzu continued to hold out, and that the Imperialists still held the stockades at Chancu. After halting a few hours he advanced about 10 miles, driving the rebels before him, and reached a position which enabled him to cut off the retreat of Chung-Wang's son, who was attempting to return to Chancu by the way he had gone. On the 26th he pushed on through a district where the Tai-pings had burned the houses and butchered the people in every direction. His troops halted for the night near a group

of blazing villages, from which the rebels had been driven at dusk, and during the whole night were disturbed by a desultory fire on the sentinels, and the efforts of the enemy to ride through the lines of the little force.

In the morning Gordon, who had to direct operations reclining in his boat, drove the Tai-pings out of a village which they held in front of his position, but was obliged to retire before a larger body which came down on his boats. He managed, however, to cut off and separate about 100 from the rest, who were bayoneted by the Chinese, while another portion were forced across a bridge under fire of a howitzer. He witnessed everywhere in the district through which he moved with such rapidity, sickening proofs of the devastation and misery caused by the rebels. The people were reduced to such a state of starvation that they actually fed on the bodies of the dead. 'No one,' a letter says, 'can eat a meal here without loathing. The poor wretches have a wolfish look that is indescribable, and they haunt one's boat in shoals in the hope of getting some scraps of food. Their lamentations and moans completely take away any appetite which the horrors one has witnessed may have left. The rebels have evidently swept up everything edible, and left the unfortunate inhabitants to die."

Gordon usually marched with the infantry; but at this time, in consequence of his wounded condition, he was obliged to intrust the operations of this arm to officers who proved unequal to the duty. His object was to strike at Waisso, which was the centre of the Tai-ping line, in order to compel the rebels to withdraw their left flank, which stretched to Chanzu and threatened a new district of country, 'causing them,' as Mr. Wilson remarked, 'to contract like a broken backed snake.' For this purpose he divided his forces, sending on the infantry by land, while he conveyed the rest of the force by water, arranging that they were to meet at a place which he pointed out, and make a combined attack on the enemy's position. His plans, however, miscarried owing to the mismanagement of Colonels Rhode and Howard, the officers in command of the infantry. They started on the morning of the 31st March, and advanced confidently without taking any precautions to insure their safety until they came upon a Tai-ping camp strongly intrenched and stockaded. They might have carried it by an immediate and resolute attack at the point of the bayonet; but instead they halted before it for an hour, and set about distributing their men in companies. The Tai-pings, who swarmed about the neighbouring hills, saw how small a force was opposed to them, and rushed down upon them in thousands. A large body of cavalry also issued out of the place in which they had been concealed, and attacked them on both flanks. The newly-raised Liyang regiment was panic-stricken and broke into the other regiment, which they threw into confusion. A rout ensued, in which the Ever-victorious Army lost, either in the fight or the flight, three captains, four lieutenants, and 400 men, and were pursued up to the camp at Lukachow. Meanwhile Gordon, ignorant of this disaster, had proceeded with the flotilla, which carried his artillery up a creek that brought him close to the enemy's position. But there he found neither the infantry to co-operate with him, nor any signs of their appearance. The flotilla in consequence narrowly escaped destruction. The Tai-pings came out in great force and fired down into the boats, and the banks of the creek were too high to allow their fire to be returned. Nothing was left the commander but to retreat on the encampment, which he effected with considerable difficulty.

Gordon was greatly incensed at the officers in command of the infantry for their culpable neglect and mismanagement, which had led to their defeat by a mere rabble, armed for the most part only with spears and knives. In consequence of this disaster—the greatest he had ever experienced—Gordon found it necessary to withdraw his men to

Siangchow, about 13 miles north of Wusieh, where he occupied himself for some time in reorganizing his troops and restoring their discipline and order. Meanwhile his old colleague, General Chang, had been operating successfully in the south, but in storming Kashung-fu —20th March—he was mortally wounded in the head by a bullet. He survived till the 15th April, and, according to Li, though fully aware that his death was near at hand, he passed this interval in earnest thoughts of what was yet to be done. He remarked to Li that although the rebels had been defeated their strength was still not to be despised, and he told him to order the officers to be careful in battle. He also remarked that brave men were not easily obtained, and bitterly regretted his own fate, by which he was prevented from following up his duty to the country in exterminating the rebels. Chang had many good qualities, and although he had repeatedly thwarted Gordon, he had generally seconded his endeavours with great courage and zeal; and Gordon received the tidings of his death with tears of genuine sorrow and regret.

The rebels still held a considerable extent of territory in the south of the Kianguan peninsula, but they were hemmed in on three sides by the Imperialist troops, while on the Yant-ze behind them was the Imperial fleet. Gordon had by this time nearly recovered from his wound, and on the 6th of April he put his augmented force in motion towards Waisso. He advanced with great caution, as his men were rather timid after their recent severe defeat. On the 11th he reached the vicinity of Waisso, and found the place surrounded by strong stockades and breastworks. He opened fire on the south side by way of feint from his 24-pounder howitzers, while he moved the 4th Regiment and two mounted guns to the north of the rebel position, which was its weakest side. The Tai-pings were taken by surprise, as they expected to be attacked only on the south, the direction from which the howitzers were firing. The stockades on the north were in consequence easily and quickly taken, and the rebels instantly vacated the place. They were followed up by the Imperialist soldiers, who drove them over the country towards Tayan, and endeavouring to get away by the bridges which had been broken down past Kongyin, great numbers of them were slain. The villagers, infuriated by the cruelties which the Tai-pings had inflicted on them, turned out against them, armed with rude weapons of every kind, and slaughtered them without mercy.

Chancu-fu had for some time been besieged by the Imperialists under Li, without any progress being made in its reduction. It was garrisoned by a strong body of the most determined rebels—mostly Cantonese—who, being well aware that no mercy would be shown to them, were bent on holding the city at any cost. Gordon advanced with 3000 men to the assistance of the besieging force, and recommended that the place should be invested on all sides. While this was being done Gordon and his artillery officer, Major Tapp, were superintending the construction of a battery at night by a party of the Imperialists, supported by a picket on both sides and by a covering party in the rear. The work was nearly completed, when suddenly the picket on the left fired into the battery. The covering party also opened fire, and the picket party followed with a second volley. The Tai-pings, roused by the noise, directed their guns upon the same point, so that Gordon and his assistants found themselves the centre of a fire both from friends and foes. Many of the sappers were killed and wounded, and along with them Major Tapp, a brave and energetic officer, who received a ball in the stomach, and died in a few minutes. Gordon himself made a narrow escape. There was every reason to believe that this incident was the result

of a preconcerted scheme on the part of the Imperialists, who did not wish to push on the siege, believing that the capture of Chancu would end the campaign, which would have been greatly protracted if Gordon had been killed. His marvellous escape seemed to them to prove that he had a charmed life.

Li was very anxious to take Chancu with his own troops; and after the wall had been breached by the late General Chang's artillery and Gordon's cannon was playing upon the city, in order to distract the attention of the garrison, an assault was made on the 26th of April by the Imperialists alone, and was repulsed with great loss. Next day it was arranged that after a preliminary bombardment by Gordon's batteries, a simultaneous assault should be made at separate points of the breached wall. But when the time came the Imperialists were not there, and the Ever-victorious Army had to bear the brunt of the attack unaided. The Taipings, led by Hu-Wang or 'Cock Eye,' made the most desperate resistance, and brought their whole force to assail the storming party. The officers succeeded in reaching the crest of the breach, but the men were unwilling to follow them: a retreat had in consequence to be sounded, and the pontoons had to be abandoned. The loss of officers was very great—ten were killed and nineteen wounded. Gordon refused to expose his officers any longer to such slaughter, and set about instructing the mandarins to approach the wall by trenches, which they executed very successfully. Li put up proclamations in large letters, so that they could be read from the walls, offering pardon to all who should leave the city, except Hu-Wang. In spite of all the efforts of that chief to prevent desertion, his men went over to the Imperialists at the rate of 300 a day. A letter was written to Gordon by some of the chiefs, proposing a plan by which they would treacherously give up the city; but it appeared too hazardous and was not adopted. Li resolved that an assault should be made upon the city on the 11th of May, the anniversary of the day on which it had been captured by the Faithful King. The Imperialists were to take the lead. After great masses of the wall had been brought down by the artillery, the troops crossed the ditches in perfect silence and crowned the ramparts. Here, however, they met with the most desperate resistance, and began to give way in confusion. At this critical moment Gordon rushed to the support of the column, followed by his first regiment and 200 volunteers from his other corps. The Imperialists were rallied, the breach was cleared at the point of the bayonet, and after a brief but fierce conflict inside the place, resistance ceased. The garrison was found to have consisted of 20,000 men, of whom 1500 were killed at the capture of the city. Hu-Wang fought to the last, and when he was taken in his palace it required ten men to bind him. He and four other Wangs, and all the Cantonese among the prisoners, were executed. The rest of the garrison, consisting of peasants who had been pressed into the service by threats of torture and death, were pardoned.

The Ever-victorious Army had now fought its last battle, and its services were no longer needed to crush the rebellion. In a hasty note to his mother, scratched off in pencil on a small slip of paper two hours after the fall of Chancu-fu, Gordon, after announcing that event, said, 'The rebels are now done; they have only Tayan and Nanking, and the former will probably fall in a day or two, and Nanking in about two months.' Even before this crowning victory, however, Gordon was considering the necessity of disbanding his forces. In a letter to his mother, dated 10th May, the day before the final assault, he said that he would of course make himself quite sure that the rebels were quashed before he broke up the force. The losses he had sustained in this campaign had been very serious.

Out of 100 officers forty-eight, and out of 3500 men nearly 1000 had been killed and wounded; 'but,' he adds, 'I have the satisfaction of knowing that, as far as mortal can see, six months will see the end of this rebellion, while, if I had continued inactive, it might have lingered on for six years. . . . I know I shall leave China as poor as I entered it, but with the knowledge that, through my weak instrumentality, upwards of 80,000 to 100,000 lives have been spared. I want no further satisfaction than this.' He goes on to say that the horrible cruelties everywhere perpetrated by the rebels rendered it impossible to intercede for them. 'They are the runaways of Soochow, Quinsan, Taitsan, Wusieh, Yesing, and many other towns; they cut off the heads of the unfortunate country people inside at the rate of thirty to forty per diem for attempting to run away.'

At this juncture the British government, influenced by the false reports industriously disseminated respecting the alleged execution of Tai-pings at Soochow, recalled the Order in Council which permitted Colonel Gordon to take service under the Chinese government. But fortunately his work was done: the neck of the rebellion was broken, though Nanking continued to hold out for some months longer. It was estimated that no fewer than 100,000 persons died of starvation during the siege. The Faithful King, who commanded the garrison, held out to the last, and when the Imperialists at length captured the city, they found that he had set fire to it, and that it was nearly all in ruins. There were about 20,000 fighting men within the walls. Of these about 1500 escaped and about 7000 were put to death, including the Faithful King, who deserved a better fate. The arch-impostor who had brought so much misery upon the country, and had been guilty of the most shocking cruelties, escaped the punishment of his crimes at the hands of the conquerors. When he knew the end was come he hung all his wives and then committed suicide.

After careful consideration, Gordon, in withdrawing from the service, resolved that the Ever-victorious Army should be disbanded. In his opinion, 'a more turbulent set of men who formed the officers have not often been collected together, or a more dangerous lot, if they had been headed by one of their own style.' If they had not been disbanded the soldiers might have been re-organized under their foreign officers, and have endeavoured to establish an independent position of their own, or they might have gone over to the Tai-pings, and revived the rebellion. Gordon therefore acted wisely in dissolving the force on his own responsibility, though both the British ambassador and the foreign merchants at Shanghai were averse to its dissolution. He stipulated, however, for rewards to both officers and men proportionate to the services they had rendered. The officers who had been wounded received about £900 a-piece, and the others in proportion. A Prussian officer, who had lost both his eyes before Soochow, got £1600. The unwounded rank and file received a month's pay and money to meet the expense of their travelling to their homes. 'And so,' wrote Colonel Chesney, 'parted the Ever-victorious Army from its general, and its brief but useful existence came to an end. During sixteen months' campaigning under his guidance it had taken four cities and a dozen minor strong places, fought innumerable combats, put *hors de combat* numbers of the enemy moderately estimated at fifteen times its own, and finding the rebellion vigorous and aggressive had left it at its last gasp, confined to the ruined capital of the usurper.'

The Imperial government voted Gordon a large sum of money, but he declined to accept it, as he had on a previous occasion refused the smaller donation of 10,000 taels. 'Not only,' wrote Sir Frederick Bruce, 'has he refused any pecuniary reward, but he has spent more than his pay in contributing to the comfort of the officers under him, and in assuaging the distress of the

starving population whom he relieved from the yoke of their oppressors.' He left China, as he said, as poor as when he entered it, but he left it with the admiration and esteem of all with whom he had to do. The British minister wrote, 'Lieutenant-colonel Gordon well deserves her Majesty's favour, for independently of the skill and courage he has shown, his disinterestedness has elevated our national character in the eyes of the Chinese.' The merchants of Shanghai sent him, what he valued very highly, an engrossed and illuminated address, expressing in very laudatory terms their respect and admiration. The Emperor of China conferred upon him the rank of Ti-Tu, the highest ever bestowed upon a subject, and presented to him a banner and the Order of the Star, along with a yellow jacket to be worn upon his person—one of the most coveted marks of Imperial favour. Although Gordon refused to accept the Emperor's money, he did not refuse these honours. 'I do not care twopence about these things,' he wrote to his mother, 'but I know that you and my father like them.' The Chinese government expressed an earnest desire that the British minister should bring the decree of the Emperor conferring these honours, and his reasons for bestowing them, to the notice of her Majesty, the queen of England. 'General Gordon's title, Ti-Tu,' wrote Prince Kung, the regent of China, to Sir Frederick Bruce, 'gave him the highest rank in the Chinese army; but the prince trusts that if on his return home it be possible for the British government to bestow promotion or reward on General Gordon, the British minister will bring the matter forward, that all may know that his achievements and his character are equally deserving of praise.' Prince Kung waited in person on Sir Frederick Bruce with his letter, and said to him, 'You will be surprised to see me again, but I felt I could not allow you to leave without coming to see you about Gordon. We do not know what to do. He will not receive money from us, and we have already given him every honour which it is in the power of the Emperor to bestow; but as these can be of little value in his eyes, I have brought you this letter, and ask you to give it to the Queen of England, that she may bestow on him some reward which would be more valuable in his eyes.'

The British minister did bring Gordon's services (12th July, 1864) under the notice of Earl Russell, then prime minister, but no attention was paid to his despatch, and it probably never got beyond the pigeon-holes of the Foreign Office. All the acknowledgment that Gordon received from the British government was one step in the army; somewhat later he was made a Companion of the Bath.

Gordon's great merits, however, were cordially recognized by his countrymen at home. 'Never,' said the *Times* of August 5, 1864, when reviewing his brilliant career in China, 'did a soldier of fortune deport himself with a nicer sense of military honour, with more gallantry against the resisting, and with more mercy towards the vanquished, with more disinterested neglect of opportunities of personal advantage, or with more entire devotion to the objects and desires of his own government than this officer, who, after his victories, has just laid down his sword. . . . The result of Gordon's operations is this. He found the richest and most fertile districts of China in the hands of the most savage brigands. The silk districts were the scenes of their cruelty and riot, and the great historical cities of Hangchow and Soochow were rapidly following the fate of Nanking, and were becoming desolate ruins in their possession. Gordon has cut the rebellion in half, has recovered the great cities, has isolated and utterly discouraged the fragments of the brigand power, and has left the marauders nothing but a few tracts of devastated country and their stronghold of Nanking. All this he has effected—first by the power of his arms, and afterwards still more rapidly by the terror of his name.'

On his return to England Gordon received the appointment of Commanding Royal Engineer at Gravesend to superintend the construction of the Thames defences. The five great forts which form the first and second line of these defences were the result of Gordon's work from 1865 to 1871. These six years of peace and quiet and beneficent labour were probably the happiest of his life. The house in which he lived during that period stands in the centre of one of the forts. It was 'school, and hospital, and almshouse in turn—was more like the abode of a missionary than of a colonel of Engineers. The troubles of all interested him alike. The poor, the sick, the unfortunate were ever welcome, and never did suppliant knock vainly at his door. He always took a great delight in children, but especially in boys employed on the river or the sea. Many he rescued from the gutter, cleaned them and clothed them, and kept them for weeks in his home. For their benefit he established evening classes, over which he himself presided, reading to and teaching the lads with as much ardour as if he were leading them to victory. He called them his "kings," and for many of them he got berths on board ship. One day a friend asked him why there were so many pins stuck into the map of the world on his mantelpiece; he was told that they marked and followed the course of the boys on their voyages; that they were moved from point to point as his youngsters advanced; and that he prayed for them as they went day by day. The light in which he was held by these lads was shown by inscriptions in chalk on the fences. A favourite legend was "God bless the Kernel." So full did his classes at length become that the house would no longer hold them, and they had to be given up. Then it was that he attended and taught at the ragged schools, and it was a pleasant thing to watch the attention with which his wild scholars listened to his words.'

One who saw much of him at this time wrote—'His benevolence embraced all. The workhouse and the infirmary were his constant haunts, and of pensioners he had a countless number all over the neighbourhood. Many of the dying sent for him in preference to the clergy, and ever ready was he to visit them, no matter in what weather or at what distance.'

Perhaps the spot most directly connected with the story of Gordon's Gravesend life is the dingy corner of the ragged school, where every Sunday, alike in the depth of winter and the broiling heat and stifling atmosphere of summer, he was regularly to be found with his class of sixteen boys, upon whom he shed the light of his singular nature. These boys were 'rough 'uns' when they were first caught, but they soon sobered down, and in every known case became personally indebted to Gordon for a changed life. The colonel would never take the chair, except on one occasion, when 300 of the parents of the boys were entertained at a tea meeting. He carried self-effacement into the smallest details of life. Some of the poorer of these lads he would have to the Fort House, where he would feed and lodge them. Three or four of them had scarlet fever at his house, and the colonel would sit with them far into the night, talking to them and soothing them until they fell asleep. 'He entered,' says Mr. Penman, 'into all their concerns, caring nothing for himself. He cared only to make them happy and industrious, while his chief aim was to lead them to the Saviour.' Regularly once a week he visited the workhouse, and spent an hour or two among its aged and infirm inmates. He was in the habit of taking a bit of tobacco for the old men and a little tea for the old women, and these gifts were kept up after he left Gravesend, to show them that though out of sight they were not out of mind. Nearly the whole of his large garden was cultivated by poor people, to whom he gave permission to plant what they pleased, and to take the proceeds for their own use. His unbounded liberality

not unfrequently left him with an empty purse. On one occasion, after spending a day in London, the drain on his pocket had been so great that he found only three halfpence in his purse when he got to London Bridge Station; it was a fine night, and as he could not travel by rail for want of a ticket, he walked the whole distance to Gravesend. On his visit to Ireland he was so deeply touched with some cases of poverty and distress which he witnessed just before his departure from that country, that he parted with all his money, and he had to borrow the amount of his fare to England.

He had a great number of medals, among others a gold one presented to him by the Empress of China, with an inscription engraved upon it, for which he had a great liking. But it suddenly disappeared; no one appeared to know where or how. Years afterwards it was discovered by a curious accident that Gordon had erased the inscription and sent the medal anonymously to Canon Miller for the relief of the sufferers from the cotton famine at Manchester.

In 1871 Gordon was appointed British commissioner on the European commission of the Danube. Before leaving Gravesend he presented a number of splendid Chinese flags, on one of which his own name was exquisitely worked in Chinese characters, to his 'kings' at the ragged school. These flags are still proudly borne by the present Gravesend boys when they walk in procession on Sunday-school festivals, or on the occasion of school holidays. Universal regret was expressed on his departure from the town, and the following graceful and appreciative tribute to his worth appeared in the local newspaper:—'Our readers will regret the departure of Colonel Gordon from the town, in which he has resided for six years, gaining a name by the most exquisite charity that will long be remembered. Nor will he be less missed than remembered; for in the lowly walks of life, by the bestowal of gifts, by attendance and ministrations on the sick and dying, by the kindly giving of advice, by attendance at the ragged school, workhouse, and infirmary, in fact, by general and continual beneficence to the poor, he has been so unwearied in well-doing that his departure will be felt by many as a personal calamity. There are those who even now are reaping the rewards of his kindness. His charity was essentially charity, and had its root in deep philanthropic feeling and goodness of heart; shunning the light of publicity, but coming even as the rain in the night-time that in the morning is noted not, but only the flowers bloom and give a greater fragrance. . . . Colonel Gordon is eminently fitted for his new post, and there is no doubt but that he will prove as beneficent in his station under the Foreign Office as he was while at Gravesend; for it was evidently with him a natural heart-gift, and not to be eradicated. . . . All will wish him well in his new sphere; and we have less hesitation in penning these lines from the fact that laudatory notice will confer but little pleasure upon him who gave with the heart and cared not for commendation.'

A characteristic incident illustrative of this remark occurred during his residence at Gravesend. The author of a work on the Tai-ping rebellion applied to Gordon for information on the subject, which was readily granted. He was allowed to take up his residence for some time at Fort House, and Gordon not only related to him the details of the suppression of the revolt, but lent him his diary. From something that was said, however, he suspected that the writer was praising him, and asked to see what he had written. The result was that page after page was torn out, to the chagrin of the poor author, who ruefully told him that he had spoiled his book.

At the end of 1871 Gordon returned to the scene of his earlier labours, and took up his residence at Galatz. The duty of the commission, to which each of the great powers sent a member, was to superintend

the improvement of the mouth of the Danube. In consequence of its labours the depth of water in the bar of that river has been increased from 6 to 21 feet, so that vessels of large burden can now load at the Galatz and Braila wharfs. Towards the close of 1873 Gordon exchanged the Lower Danube for a very different and much more responsible and difficult sphere of labour on the Upper Nile.

The Soudan, with which Gordon's name will henceforth be indissolubly associated, is the proper designation of that immense region of Central Africa which is bounded on the north by the Sahara, on the east and west respectively by Darfur and Senegambia. To the south it is separated from Upper Guinea by the Kong Mountains, near the Mandingo and Ashantee territories, and further to the east by the unexplored country which lies north of the Congo. It is a vast lowland territory, bounded on the east and west by table-lands watered by numerous rivers, most of which run either into the Niger or into the great reservoir of Lake Tchad, with its countless islands. It is a well-watered, fertile, and productive region, growing in great abundance cotton, tobacco, and indigo, while the grain crops—wheat, rice, maize, guinea corn, millet, and other cereals—are everywhere plentiful. Gold dust and ironstone are among its mineral treasures; gum-arabic and bees'-wax, dates, ivory, and ostrich feathers abound in the bazaars of its chief towns; but until recently, and indeed partly still, slaves formed its chief staple of commerce.

The Egyptian province which bears the name of Soudan is of much more limited extent. It lies south of Nubia, is bounded on the east by Abyssinia and the Red Sea, on the west by Darfur, with imperfectly defined limits to the southwards on either side of the White Nile. Suakim and Massowah are its only outlets to the sea, except down the Nile to Egypt. Its natural features, its climates, and also its vegetable productions vary greatly. In the northern and eastern districts, from Suakim to New Dongola, vegetation is scanty—indeed it may be regarded as only a desert, its supply of water being mostly furnished, except in the height of the rainy season, by wells. The tropical part of the Soudan commences properly at Khartoum, ascending thence along the course of the White Nile and the Blue Nile. The vegetation there is of extraordinary richness, and so dense and tangled that many parts of the region are almost impenetrable, but constant malaria and fever render it most unhealthy. The capital of the Soudan is Khartoum, which was founded in 1821 on a pestiferous flat at the junction of the White and the Blue Nile. West and south-west from Khartoum lie Kordofan and Darfur. The former is a flat country interspersed with a few hills, having a general elevation of about 2000 feet. In the dry season it is little better than a desert; after the rains it becomes a grassy prairie. El Obeid, which stands in the centre of the country, is almost its only considerable town. Darfur, since its conquest by Egypt, may be included in the Soudan, of which it forms the extreme western fringe. The northern part is flat, waterless, and therefore barren; but the other districts are very productive in the rainy season, the crops resembling those of Negroland. Cattle also abound, and before the war with Egypt the inhabitants drove a brisk trade with that country, the Red Sea, and Negroland.

In 1853 the possessions of the Khedive on the Nile extended only to about 120 miles south of Khartoum, but they steadily and rapidly increased. Under Mehemet Ali, Nubia, Kordofan, and Sennaar were added to the Egyptian territory, and now the Khedive claims authority over the district in the vicinity of Lakes Albert and Victoria Nyanza, little more than two degrees north of the equator. By the subjugation of Darfur the Egyptian western frontier now comes within less than fifteen days' march of Lake Tchad, and its eastern border extends to the lower part of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.

The country south of Khartoum was opened up by a succession of European traders, tempted by the abundance and cheapness of ivory. They soon found that slave-hunting paid better than ivory-trading. They fortified posts, which they garrisoned with armed bands commanded by Arabs, who made raids on the neighbouring tribes, and captured and sold the negroes for slaves. The scandal caused by this infamous traffic at length became so great that the European traders were obliged to withdraw from it; but they sold their stations to their Arab agents, who paid a rental for them to the Egyptian government, and were thus enabled to carry on their cruel and shameless proceedings with impunity. The sufferings of the negro tribes were greatly aggravated by the change, for the new slave-hunters being under no control, and obtaining supplies of arms and ammunition from the government, extended their raids without any restraint. They trained to arms the negro boys whom they had enslaved, and employed them as their instruments in carrying out their schemes of kidnapping and plunder. It is impossible adequately to describe the misery and ruin which were thus caused. Captain Speke says, 'The atrocities committed by these traders are beyond civilized belief. They are constantly fighting, robbing, and capturing slaves and cattle.' As the result of their incessant ravages the entire eastern shore of the Nile degenerated into a forest waste. Sir Samuel Baker lays the guilt of the devastation of the country at the door of men high in office in the Egyptian government. He says the country had been quite depopulated by razzias made for slaves by the former and present governors of Fashoda. He first saw the Victoria Nile in 1864, when it was a perfect garden, thickly populated, and producing all that man could desire. When he saw it again in 1872, all was a wilderness, the population had fled, not a village was to be seen, the Khartoum traders had kidnapped the women and children for slaves, and plundered and destroyed wherever they had set their foot.

The Khedive and his ministers allowed this infamous traffic to proceed unchecked, and the latter shared in the profits of the slave trade; but they were at length induced to interfere, not from a regard to justice or humanity, but out of an apprehension that the slave-dealers were about to set up a rival power which would destroy the existing government. These ruffians were indeed so confident in their own resources that they menaced the authority of the Khedive, and refused in a body to pay taxes. One of them, named Zubair, a man of great ability, experience, and wealth, who had large troops of armed slaves and no less than thirty fortified posts, assumed princely state and set up as the rival of the Khedive himself. In 1869 the Egyptian government tried to restrict his power, and sent out an expedition under a person named Bellal, to bring him to obedience. Zubair, however, defeated him with great slaughter, and became the real chief of the country nominally subject to Egypt, but in reality little short of an independent sovereign. His assumption of authority, followed up by an invasion of Darfur, greatly alarmed the Khedive; but he thought it better to conciliate than to attack the arch-slave-hunter, and he sent a strong force under Ishmael Pasha Yacoob to co-operate with Zubair in this unjustifiable enterprise. Darfur was still free, and was governed by a line of Sultans which had existed for more than 400 years. The reigning Sultan made energetic preparations to defend his country against the invasion of the slave-dealers and their Egyptian allies, but they proved too strong for him. In one of the battles which took place he and his two sons were killed, and Darfur was for the time subdued. Zubair, on whom the rank of Bey had previously been conferred, was now made Pasha, but his ambition was still unsatisfied. He insisted that, as he and his men had done all the fighting, he ought to be appointed governor-general of the new province. 'The fortified camps,'

says Gordon, 'saw that they were stronger than the government, and then came the idea of the independence of the Khedive.' Zubair's bands of armed slaves—his tools in carrying on the slave trade—were, he adds, 'like antelopes, fierce, unsparing, the terror of Central Africa, having a prestige far beyond that of the government.'

The Khedive, who had been deaf to the calls of humanity and had encouraged slave-dealing for the sake of the revenue indirectly derived from it, now that his supremacy was threatened, denounced the traffic as a violation of the laws of justice and humanity. The lesson, he said, must be made clear, 'even in these remote parts, that a mere difference of colour does not make men a commodity, and that life and liberty are sacred things.' To carry out these views the Khedive, after his return from his visit to England in 1869, appointed Sir Samuel Baker governor of the Soudan for a period of four years, with full authority to suppress the slave trade, to introduce a system of regular commerce, to open to navigation the great lakes of the equator, and to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depots distant at intervals of three days' march throughout Central Africa. Absolute and supreme authority was conferred upon Sir Samuel over the expedition and over all those countries belonging to the Nile basin south of Gondokoro.

The labours of the new governor of the Soudan were greatly facilitated by the detention of Zubair at Cairo. In an evil hour for himself, though a fortunate one for the country he had plundered and devastated, the arch-slave-trader paid a visit to Cairo for the purpose of pressing his claim before the Khedive to the office of governor of Darfur, taking with him the sum of £100,000 for the purpose of bribing the pashas; but he was not allowed to leave Cairo, though he contrived to excite a formidable insurrection after Gordon had been appointed governor of the Soudan.

Sir Samuel Baker exerted himself to the utmost to discharge successfully the duties of his responsible and laborious position. In spite of much secret and overt opposition from the Egyptian officials at Khartoum, and several sharp encounters with the slave-dealers, he was able to accomplish much. He opened up the Nile country as far as the lakes, and at the close of his term of office in 1873, he could say with well-earned satisfaction, that 'he had rendered the slave-trade of the White Nile impossible so long as the government is determined that it shall be impossible.' The good work which Baker had been enabled to perform was continued with still greater success by Gordon.

In the summer of 1872, when Baker's term of office was drawing to a close, Nubar Pasha, who had been greatly impressed with Gordon's ability and force of character during the sitting of the Danubian Commission at Constantinople, asked him to recommend some officer of Engineers to fill the post. The next year Gordon expressed his willingness to accept the office on condition that the British government should grant him permission. No objection was raised, and having made the necessary preparations with his characteristic promptitude, he started for Central Africa, calling at Cairo on his way to arrange terms and receive his final instructions.

The Khedive proposed to give him £10,000 a year for his services, but he declined to receive more than £2000—the amount which he had received from his own government as Danubian commissioner. The instructions given him appear to have been moderate and judicious. He was to endeavour to put an end to the slave trade, which was carried on by force of arms in defiance of law. If the men who had been in the pay of the slave-dealers were willing to enter the service of the government, Colonel Gordon was to make all the use of them he could. If, on the other hand, they attempted to follow their old course of life, whether openly or secretly, he was to put in force against

them the utmost severity of martial law. Such men as these were to find in the new Governor neither indulgence nor mercy. Care was to be taken that the troops should be well supplied with provisions, so that the great error should be avoided of taking, as heretofore, their stores of corn from the tribes. The troops were to till the land and raise crops. If Gondokoro should prove to be an ill-chosen position, the seat of government was to be removed to a more suitable and productive spot. The Governor was also to establish a line of posts through all his provinces, so that from one end to the other they might be brought into direct communication with Khartoum. In dealing with the chiefs of the tribes on the shores of the lakes he was, above all, to try to gain their confidence. He must respect their territory and conciliate them by presents, and use his influence to persuade them to put an end to the wars which they so often waged with each other for the purpose of carrying off slaves.

Gordon's sojourn at Cairo was very brief, but before he had been many hours in the place he discovered the real nature and object of the scheme in which he was engaged. Writing home on the 14th of February, 1874, he said, 'I think I can see the true motive now of the expedition, and believe it to be a sham to catch the attention of the English people, as Baker said; I think the Khedive is quite innocent (or nearly so) of it, but Nubar is the chief man.' Gordon was determined, however, to go through with the enterprise which he had undertaken, and to do all in his power to relieve the sufferings of the down-trodden Soudanese.

Gordon proposed to travel by the ordinary steamer down the Red Sea to Suakim, but Nubar Pasha insisted that the Governor of Upper Egypt must go in state. A special train was provided to convey him to Suez, but the engine broke down, and to Gordon's great amusement he had to continue the journey by ordinary train. 'We were shunted into a common train,' he said, 'with a great many people—begun in glory and ended in shame.' The new Governor and his retinue went down the Red Sea in a special steamer to Suakim, which they reached on the 25th of February. They were there put in quarantine for a night, probably, as Gordon surmised, because the governor of that place was not ready to receive them. There were about 220 soldiers on board who were to accompany Gordon across the desert. This journey was performed on camels, and occupied a fortnight. His staff consisted of Romulus Gessi, an Italian whom he had known as an interpreter in the Crimea; Major Campbell, Egyptian staff; Mr. Kemp, engineer; the two Linants; Mr. Russell, son of Dr. W. H. Russell; Mr. Anson; Mr. Long, an American; and Abou Saoud, who had been the greatest slave-hunter of the White Nile—'the incarnation of the slave-trade,' as Baker termed him. He was a prisoner at Cairo when Gordon came into contact with him, and offered to take him on his staff in the belief that he might be reclaimed from his evil ways, and that his knowledge of the country could be turned to good account. The Khedive and Nubar Pasha, who knew that the man was a treacherous villain, refused to sanction the proposal; but as Gordon obstinately adhered to his determination they yielded, and the slave-hunter was released from prison and sent with him into the Soudan. In no long time Gordon discovered that Abou Saoud was utterly irreclaimable. He behaved in the most arrogant manner, disputed Gordon's orders, and deceived him in various ways, stole the government ivory, and even tried to get up a mutiny among his own soldiers. His appointment was therefore cancelled, and he was sent back to Gondokoro, but was significantly reminded that though removed from office he was still a government officer, subject to its laws, which would, without hesitation, be put in force against him if found intriguing.

On the 13th of March Gordon arrived at Khartoum—a place so fatally associated

with the termination of his career. Writing home he thus describes his reception—'The Governor-General met your brother in full uniform, and he landed amid a salute of artillery and a battalion of troops with a band. It was a fine sight. The day before your brother had his trousers off, and was pulling the boat in the Nile in spite of crocodiles, who never touch you when moving. He cannot move now without guards turning out. I have got a good home here, and am very comfortable.' Here he received the good news that a grassy growth, termed the 'sudd,' which from time to time forms in the upper reaches of the Nile and renders it almost impassable, had been cleared away by the soldiers, so that the voyage from Khartoum to Gondokoro, which it had cost Sir Samuel Baker fourteen months to perform, was accomplished by Gordon in twenty-four days.

He remained eight days at Khartoum, which he spent in holding a review and in visiting the hospital and the schools. He also issued a decree declaring the traffic in ivory a monopoly of the government, that no one should enter the provinces without a passport from the Governor-General, and that the importation of fire-arms and gunpowder, and the recruiting of armed bands, were strictly prohibited.

On the 22nd of March Gordon sailed for Gondokoro. His letters home give a graphic and most interesting description of the voyage and the sights—large crocodiles basking in the sun, huge river-horses splashing and blowing, herds of elephants and buffaloes, flocks of migrating birds wheeling through the burning air, storks and pelicans, troops of monkeys with their tails 'stuck up straight over their backs like swords;' the natives, some wearing gourds for head-dresses, 'and also some Shillooks, who wear no head or other dress at all;' others who had rubbed their faces with wood until they looked like slate-pencils, and a tribe of Dinkas, whose chief came on board in full dress—a necklace—and who with his companions sang a hymn of praise and thanks for the presents Gordon gave him. The Governor was greatly moved at the sight of the poverty and wretchedness of the natives—'A life of fear and misery night and day. One does not wonder at their not fearing death. No one can conceive the utter misery of these lands—heat and mosquitoes day and night all the year round. But,' he characteristically adds, 'I like the work, for I believe I can do a great deal to ameliorate the lot of the people.'

He reached Gondokoro on the 16th of April, much to the astonishment of the townsmen, who had not even heard of his nomination. He found the seat of government in a dangerous as well as wretched condition; no official authority was recognized outside the walls of the fort. 'You cannot,' he said, 'go out in any safety half a mile, all because they have been fighting the poor natives and taking their cattle.' He stayed only six days at Gondokoro, and then, finding that he could do nothing until his baggage came, he went back to Khartoum to bring it up; but on arriving there he learned that it had been left at Berber. He had nothing for it but to go down to that place, about the middle of May, to fetch it. An interesting account of what happened to him on the voyage is given by one of his staff:—'Colonel Gordon turned up last Saturday, having run down from Khartoum in three days; but he very nearly came to grief on the way at one of the cataracts. There were two fellows at the wheel, and one wanted to go to the left and the other to the right of the reef, and between them were making straight on it, when Gordon rushed to the helm, and just made a shave of it; but as it was they carried away a lot of paddles, and had rather a smash. When he arrived he put us all to rights at Berber, and was very kind and considerate. He soon put the very troublesome gentleman who was ordering us about in his proper place, and was surprised to find him with us at all.'

The succeeding two months were spent

by Gordon at Saubat River, where the country had been rendered utterly desolate and forlorn by the raids of the slave-hunters. His greatest difficulty was to regain the people's confidence, but he set about it in the right way. To some he gave grain, others he employed to plant maize, an occupation which they had almost ceased to follow, for when they did plant any quantity the harvest was taken from them by force. They therefore planted only enough to keep body and soul together, and even that was sown in small out-of-the-way patches. A number of the poor creatures asked him to buy their children because they could not keep them. His prompt and resolute mode of dealing with the slave-hunters contributed not a little to win him the confidence of the negroes. Some letters which fell into his hands were opened and read by his interpreter, and made known to him the collusion between these villains and the local government. They were sent from a slave-trader's station to the Mudir or governor of the district, intimating to that official that 2000 stolen cows and a large convoy of kidnapped negroes were on their way to him from this gang of man-stealers. Gordon confiscated the cows, as he could not restore them to the far-distant tribes from whom they had been stolen. The slaves he sent back to their homes, and he crowned this deed of benevolence and retribution by punishing the slave-dealers with imprisonment, but afterwards took some of them into his employment and found them useful. Some of the slaves he was obliged to purchase. Their gratitude to him was displayed in a most affecting manner, and he on his part neglected no act, however laborious, that could minister to their comfort. On one occasion he took a poor old worn-out negro woman into his camp, and fed and carefully tended to her for weeks, till she died. 'Yesterday she was quietly taken off,' he wrote, 'and now knows all things. She had her tobacco up to the last, and died quite quietly. What a change from her misery! I suppose she filled her place in life as well as Queen Elizabeth.' 'I prefer life amid sorrows,' he adds, 'if these sorrows are inevitable, to a life spent in inaction.'

On the 20th of August two boats arrived from Gondokoro carrying ivory and wood; but a considerable number of woolly heads, of all ages and sizes, were found stowed away in the wood. Both the ivory, worth £2000, and the slaves were confiscated. Next day a steamer came from Gondokoro, and twenty-four slaves were taken from it, making 121 in all. Two days after his departure from Saubat 1600 slaves and 200 cows, whom the Mudir had allowed to pass in a large boat, were arrested, and the two slave-dealers who were awaiting them were to be sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but the Mudir allowed them to escape.

Towards the end of August Gordon left his camp at Saubat for Gondokoro, where much trouble and anxiety awaited him. Two of his staff had died; three were ill, some of them seriously, one of them died on the day he left Gondokoro, and only two beside himself, who was but a shadow, were well; and he had to do the duty of a sick nurse day and night, for even his servants were helpless. He had in consequence to remove the station, first to Rageef and then to Lardo, to be above the marshes. He was a good deal troubled at this time with the intrigues that prevailed among the Egyptian officials. Raouf Bey, commander of the troops, was hostile to him and jealous of Abou Saoud, and as, notwithstanding his great promises and opportunities, he had done absolutely nothing, Gordon sent him to Cairo with letters to the Khedive. 'My temper,' he wrote, 'is very very short, and it is a bad time for those who come across me the wrong way.' Abou Saoud's knavery and treachery were brought to light shortly after, and on the 21st of September he too had to be got rid of. But three weeks after his dismissal, Gessi and Kemp unwisely entreated Gordon

to reinstate his ex-lieutenant, and he was induced to forgive him. 'One wants some forgiveness one's-self,' he said, 'and it is not a dear article.' But Abou, as Gordon said, 'was an arrant liar, and utterly false.' In a short time he was found at his old tricks, stirring up disaffection among the native chiefs, and had to be finally dismissed.

In 1873 Gordon erected a chain of fortified posts to connect the two stations of Gondokoro and Foweira, which were a six months' march from each other, and thus rendered the journey both more rapid and more safe. He proposed also to open a route to Mombaz Bay, 250 miles north of Zanzibar, but was obliged, first of all, to deal with a troublesome chief named Bedder, who would not be conciliated, and threatened to kill the next ambassador sent him. The seizure of his cattle, however, brought him to his senses. Another chief, named Lococo, had to be dealt with in a similar manner.

Gordon's steamers had stuck fast at Khartoum for five months through mismanagement, and his patience was sorely tried waiting for the Nile to rise, in order that he might get them up, and find whether there was any means of passing the river at Duffli. Meanwhile he explored the country as far as Kerri, and found that the Nile was navigable between that place and Rageef. He provided three boats, called nuggars, made very strong to withstand the attacks of the hippopotami. They had to be hauled up by the Arabs, a service which, owing to the eddies, was both difficult and dangerous, but was accomplished without any serious accident. The tribes along the banks of the river were hostile, and made frequent attacks upon the expedition. Linant, a member of his staff, who went over to the east bank to burn the houses of the hostile natives, was cut off by them; and of his party, forty-one in number, only four made their escape. A red shirt which Gordon had given him had excited their cupidity, and they made a rush at him and killed him with their spears. With a heavy heart Gordon had to communicate the mournful tidings to Linant's father, who had previously lost another son in this expedition.

This catastrophe occurred at Moogie, a new station which Gordon had established on the 28th of August. Three days later he was joined by the Mudir of Fatiko, with 500 men, and he resolved to punish the natives for their persistent attacks upon the station. The first foray brought in 200 cows and 1500 sheep, along with the chief's daughter. Gordon sent a message to her father that she would be sent back if he would promise to submit. There was intense excitement among the people; great numbers collected on the hill-tops and displayed their rage by performing the wildest war-dances, while the magicians were night and day engaged in incantations and pouring forth curses on the intruders. Gordon's difficulties and toils were a good deal relieved by the arrival from Fatiko of Nuehr Agha, a capital officer, who proved a great help to him. After the most provoking delays and difficulties the steamer was got off about the middle of September, and the expedition left Moogie for Labore, which they reached on the 24th. On the 8th of October they started for Duffli, and came to it next day. They camped between two ranges of high mountains, where the Nile is only about 40 yards broad; but they found it impossible to take the steamer or the nuggars further, as the Fola Falls rendered the river impassable for 2 miles. 'I bore it well,' he wrote, 'and for all you could see, it might have been a picnic party to the Fola Falls; but it is rather sad, and will give me a mint of trouble and delay.'

The expedition halted at Duffli for a fortnight. The natives were a quiet race, and kept out of sight. The solitude and silence were oppressive. 'The vast extent of rank jungle-grass, the look-out where you see no living thing,' Gordon said, 'all tends to make a man sombre.' His spirits

became affected, and the news from the other stations deepened his depression. From Labore he learned that his interpreter, a doctor, was dead. A man had been allowed, contrary to his orders, to go alone from his station to another, and had been murdered. The natives near Lardo, it was reported, meditated an attack on that station. In the midst of these troubles Gordon was seized with ague, and found it necessary to cross the river and to take up his residence at Fashelie, a place nine miles from Duffli, on higher ground. He comforted himself with the thought that great advantage would be derived from the line of posts which connected the southern part of the province with the north. The disobedience and misconduct of the Egyptian soldiers caused Gordon a great deal of annoyance; his servant fell sick, and died in a few hours. A grumbling letter from the Khedive irritated him greatly, and he at once wrote three telegrams telling the Khedive that he should be in Cairo in April, and that he had better take measures to send up his successor. But before these telegrams were despatched another missive arrived, which, 'as far as civility went, was fulsome,' stating that his Highness had placed Admiral M'Killop under his command, and had sent him with three men-of-war and 600 men to Juba, and proposing that Gordon should march on that place. Gordon felt that it would be unfair to desert the Khedive at such a pass. He therefore destroyed the telegrams, unpacked his baggage, and resolved to continue his work.

Towards the end of this busy year he resolved that he would not explore the Albert Nyanza. He was aware that the Geographical Society and the world at large expected him to perform this feat, and would be disappointed at his refusal. 'But,' he wrote, 'I declare I do not care whether there are two lakes or a million, or whether the Nile has a source or not. To be boxed up for a phantasy in a 50-feet long steamer for a fortnight would be my death. I am not paid for explorations. I have put everything in the way for any other person to do so, and let him have the honour of history. I am not, after nine months of worry, in a fit state to explore anything but my way out of the province.'

On the 2nd of January, 1876, Colonel Gordon reached Fatiko. He stayed there a week, and then pushed on to Foweira, 100 miles nearer Lake Victoria Nyanza. The country is quite uninhabited, a vast undulating prairie of jungle-grass and scrub trees, and Gordon's clothes were torn to tatters by the thorn bushes. He wanted to push on to the Lake Victoria Nyanza to hoist the Egyptian flag there, and to enable the Khedive to claim its waters. But in the first instance his object was to surprise Mrooli, which is 30 miles south on the river, to establish a post there, to set aside Kaba Rega, a hostile chief, and to put Rionga, a much better man and a favourite with the natives, in his place. On hearing of his approach Kaba Rega fled to Masindi, taking with him his 'magic stool,' on which it was believed that the royal authority depended. Rionga was made king in his stead; but he was in such dread of the deposed monarch, who was only a few miles off, that Gordon found it necessary to set up Anfina, another Unyoro chief at Masindi. Having settled these matters he returned to Fatiko, and joined Gessi at Duffli in February. A month later Gessi started with the two boats for Magungo and the Lake. Gordon meanwhile proceeded with his survey, going again as far down the Nile as Lardo, and back once more to Kerri. He had, as he said, the satisfaction of feeling that he had established stations all along the line from Duffli to Lardo, having between them the important main stations Labore and Kerri, and the four postal stations Rageef, Bedden, Moogie, and Tyoo. In performing this work he had made many journeys, and had encountered not a few adventures and perils. On one occasion, when he was assisting a boatman to pass a rope across the river, the rope

slipped and dragged him into the water. The captain sprang in to rescue him, and got his dress swept over his head, so that when he bobbed up near him, Gordon says he looked 'like the veiled prophet of Khorassan.' The next day Gordon was again endangered by a whip snake. On another occasion, during a heavy thunderstorm, he received at the moment of a flash of lightning a couple of severe shocks similar to what a strong electric machine would give. 'What an escape!' he adds.

On the 29th of April Gessi, about whom Gordon was feeling anxious, returned to Kerri, having sailed round the Victoria Nyanza in nine days. He found it 140 miles long and 50 wide. The west coast is inaccessible, no river flows into the lake, and the south end is very shallow and marshy. The natives were hostile, and in some instances had to be fired on by the soldiers to keep them off. They were very much afraid of Gessi, whom they looked on as a fiend, on account of his colour, and refused to parley with the sailors until he went away.

Gordon grew restless under the inaction which he had to endure at this stage, but he comforted himself with the thought that he was doing the work which Divine Providence had marked out for him. 'I feel that I have a mission here (not taken in its usual sense),' he wrote in July. 'The men and officers like my justice, candour, and outbursts of temper, and they see that I am not a tyrant. Over two years we have lived intimately together, and they watch me closely. I am glad they do so. My wish and desire is that all should be as happy as it rests with me to make them, and though I feel that I am unjust sometimes it is not the rule with me to be so. I care for their marches, for their wants and food, and protect their women and boys if they ill-treat them—and I do nothing of this. I am a chisel which cuts the wood—the Carpenter directs it.'

Though Gordon had said that he did not care to explore the undiscovered country beyond his station, the statements of Dr. Schweinfurth respecting Lake Albert kindled in him a strong desire to ascertain whether or not it belonged to the Nile basin, by exploring the 70 miles which lay between Foweira and that lake. On the 20th of July he left Duffli for Magungo with the steamer and two lifeboats. He found that the river varied in width, from 2 to 4 miles, with no visible current. It is full of endless papyrus isles, and there is a fringe of papyrus for 10 or 12 yards along the banks. The river has dense forests on each side, and the country is thickly peopled. Writing on the 5th of August, Gordon mentions that the party was 3 miles west of Murchison Falls, marching some 15 or 20 miles a day, now through pouring rain, then under a burning sun, through dense jungles and terrific ravines and gullies, stung by mosquitoes and hornets, and exposed to the attacks of the natives, but in spite of difficulties and dangers mapping the river as they went. 'It has been terrible work,' he wrote. Having penetrated the country as far south as Nyamyongo he returned by river to Mrooli in September, having been forced to give up the bit of the Nile between Urundogani and the lake—the only part of the river from Berber to Lake Victoria that he had not traversed.

He was now turning his thoughts homeward. He had been absent three years—'a very long three years without a Sunday.' After visiting Magungo, Murchison Falls, and Chibero, with a view of forming a line of posts from the Victoria Nile to the lake, he returned to Khartoum. He reached Cairo on the 2nd of December, and hastening homeward he arrived in London, in good health and spirits, on the 24th of December, 1876.

Gordon was reluctant to return to the Soudan, and a great desire was expressed in influential quarters that he should be made governor of Bulgaria, where the

most shocking cruelties had been perpetrated by the Turkish troops. But though he was, as he said, 'almost inclined not to go back,' he was not clear that it was duty to refuse. He was determined, however, not to return to his post on the same footing as before. He had been commissioned to abolish slavery in the Soudan, but all his efforts had been thwarted by Ismail Pasha Yacoub, the Governor-General of the province, who had permitted Khartoum, its capital, to remain the headquarters of the slave system. He therefore resolved that he would not resume his duties unless he were armed with full authority to deal with this obstruction. In this frame of mind he went to Cairo in February, 1877, for the purpose of discussing the whole question with the Khedive. His Highness at once acceded to his wishes, and appointed him Governor-General of the Soudan, with Darfur and the provinces of the Equator. He was to have three deputies to assist him in the government of this immense territory, and he was informed by the Khedive that his attention was to be specially directed to the suppression of slavery and the improvement of the means of communication. He was also instructed to look carefully into the state of affairs in Abyssinia, and was empowered to enter into negotiations with the authorities in that kingdom, with a view to the settlement of matters in dispute between them and the Egyptian government. His power was thus greatly extended, but so also were his difficulties and responsibilities. He did not, however, bate one jot of heart or hope, though he was keenly alive to the obstacles he would have to encounter in the discharge of his duties. 'I go up alone,' he said, 'with an infinite, almighty God to direct and guide me, and am glad to so trust Him as to fear nothing, and indeed to feel sure of success.'

He left Cairo for the Soudan on the 18th of February, but he intended on his way to deal with the Abyssinian question. The reigning prince at this time in that country was King John II., better known as Johannis. He did not, however, reign over the whole of Abyssinia, for two of the provinces, Hamaçem and Bogos, were in other hands. They had belonged to Walad El Michael, the hereditary prince, but in 1874 Bogos was seized by the Egyptians, and preparations were made to invade and appropriate Hamaçem also. Walad El Michael, who had been imprisoned by Johannis, was released on condition that he would assist in repelling the Egyptian invasion. The Khedive's forces, owing to the ignorance and mismanagement of their commanders, were defeated with great slaughter. But Walad El Michael, indignant with the king, who had deprived him of his spoils, joined a new Egyptian army, which in 1876 invaded Abyssinia in order to avenge the previous defeats, but they were again beaten, with the loss, it was said, of 9000 men. A second encounter, however, took place, in which the Egyptians were successful. They then asked a truce, which was granted, and they withdrew their forces and returned to Massawa. Walad El Michael, with 7000 of his men, went back to Bogos, and set himself to thwart negotiations for a permanent peace between Abyssinia and Egypt; and making a sudden raid into Hamaçem he plundered the country and killed the governor of the province. Johannis, apprehensive of the power of this turbulent chief, sent an envoy to Cairo, offering to give up Hamaçem if Walad El Michael were surrendered to him. The Khedive was at a loss what answer to return to this proposal, and he first of all detained the envoy and his suite for upwards of three months in a kind of honourable confinement. He was at last induced by the representations of the French and British consuls to receive him, but the audience led to no definite result. The unhappy envoy was mobbed and pelted in the streets of

Cairo, and was sent back to Abyssinia with rich presents from the Khedive, but without any letter. Johannis was naturally very indignant at the insult thus offered him, and especially at the inroad which Walad El Michael, acting as an ally of Egypt, made into his country.

It was in this state of matters that Gordon went to Magdala as the Khedive's ambassador. About the middle of March, 1877, he reached Massawa and pushed across the desert to Keren, the capital of Bogos. Seven miles from that place he was met by 200 cavalry and infantry. 'Henceforth,' he says, 'he was carefully guarded by six or eight sentries—the other men in a circle round them.' 'To me,' he adds, 'it is irksome beyond measure. Eight or ten men help me off my camel, as if I were an invalid. If I walk everyone gets off and walks; so, furious, I get on again.' Outside Keren the troops were drawn up in a line to receive him, and a band of musicians danced and played before him. On the third day after his arrival at the capital, Walad El Michael came in with 200 infantry and 60 horsemen. Gordon informed him that the Khedive, in deference to the wishes of Europe, had determined not to carry on the war, but that he would ask Johannis to give him a government. Walad, urged by the French priests, asked a great deal more. In the end he was made governor of two or three tribes.

Other matters in Abyssinia claimed Gordon's attention, but he could not remain longer there as his presence was urgently required at Khartoum. He started at once, travelling with unusual rapidity, although the heat was overpowering. At the several stations on his route he was beset with applications and complaints, to which he listened attentively, and did all in his power to relieve the wants of the poor people, who, he says, had been much neglected. At one stage of his journey he had to receive and return a visit to a celebrated religious man from Mecca, who traced his descent in an unbroken line from Mahomet. At another he witnessed a village *fête*, at which the men were dressed in long shirts of mail, with helmets of iron, and finger and nose-pieces of chain armour, which it appears had been used by the old Crusaders. Amid incessant toil and weariness he sometimes regretted that he had ever 'gone into this sort of Bedouin life, either in China or here.' He had to contend, as he said, with many vested interests, with fanaticism, with the abolition of hundreds of Arnauts, Turks, &c., now acting as Bashi-Bazouks, with inefficient gunners, with wild independent tribes of Bedouins, and with a large semi-independent province lately under Zubuir, the black pasha at Bahr Gazelle. He was quite alone, too, with not even a respectable assistant with him to relieve him of some portion of his overwhelming labours. But with God on his side he did not fear what man could do to him.

Gordon reached the seat of his government at the beginning of May, and the ceremony of installation took place on the 5th of that month. The firman was read, an address was presented by the Cadi, and a royal salute was fired. The new Governor-General was expected to deliver an address, but all he said was, 'With the help of God I will hold the balance level'—an assurance which greatly delighted the people, who had not been accustomed to see equal weights and measures used by their rulers. It is stated by an eye-witness of the installation that 'the pasha afterwards directed gratuities to be distributed among the deserving poor,' and that in three days he gave away upwards of £3000 of his own money. The palace prepared for his residence was pleasantly situated on the bank of the river, but much to his annoyance it was as large as Marlborough House. He was waited upon by 200 servants. A number of cavasses rode out before him when he went abroad. He was guarded, he said, like an ingot of gold. 'I must not

rise to give a chair to a guest: if I get up every one else does the same. It is misery, and I now feel what work princes must go through.'

His appointment had excited a great deal of ill-feeling among the officials at Khartoum. The sister of the ex-governor Ismael Yacoub was so enraged at his having superseded her brother, that she broke all the windows of the palace—130 in number—in which the Governor was lodged, and cut the divans in pieces. Halid Pasha, the second in command, was hostile from the first. He was very rude and assuming, and tried to bully his superior, but he was speedily obliged to submit and to promise all due obedience. In a few days, however, he broke out again, and tried to thwart the Governor's orders. He was in consequence immediately recalled and sent about his business. 'It is waste of time,' said Gordon, 'to argue with a Turk or Circassian, the only way is to coerce him; you could never convince him.'

The new Governor's mode of administration presented a marked contrast to that of his Egyptian predecessors. The 'reign of the whip,' as he expressed it, 'ceased.' It had hitherto been almost impossible for a poor man or a person who had a grievance to obtain access to the Governor, except by bribing his subordinates. But Gordon soon put an end to that system. He caused a box, with a slit in the lid, to be placed at the door of the palace, into which petitions and letters could be dropped, and every case was carefully noted and considered. He discovered that as much as £600 had frequently been paid to his head clerk merely in the hope of getting a place not worth more than £240 a year. 'So it is evident,' he wrote, 'that the holders get much more than their pay out of the people.' He did not punish the givers, for 'they had been brought up to it,' but he took the money and put it into the treasury.

Gordon had meditated much during his long and silent rides from place to place on the problem of slavery, which he was determined to suppress. He prepared a scheme which he hoped would solve the problem, and submitted the details to her Majesty's consul-general, Mr. Vivian. There was a marked difference, he said, between the abolition of colonial slavery and its suppression in the Soudan. In the one case it affected the colonies only; in the other it was a question of home interests, affecting men of all conditions. Egypt could not compensate slave-owners as Britain did in dealing with her colonies, and could only decree the liberation of the slaves after a certain number of years had elapsed. He therefore proposed to enforce the law which compelled runaway slaves to return to their masters except when cruelly treated; to require masters to register their slaves till the 1st January, 1878; and to stop all registration of slaves after that date, so that no newly acquired slaves would be considered as property or be liable to be reclaimed by their masters. He also meditated an attack upon European holders of slaves in the Soudan. If they professed to be foreign subjects he intended to liberate their slaves; if they called themselves Egyptian subjects he was resolved to tax them heavily. It was a tremendous task to suppress slavery among a people to whom the trade in 'black ivory' was life and fortune, was carried on by powerful and wealthy slave-hunters at the head of large bodies of armed soldiers, and was connived at by corrupt officials supported by 6000 Bashi-Bazouks, who were used as frontier guards, but who made no attempt to stop slave-hunting, and robbed the tribes on their own account; and all this under a deadly climate, with the alternation of overpowering heat by day and bitter cold during the night. Gordon might well say, 'Who that had not the Almighty with him would dare to do that? I can do it with God's help, and I have the conviction He has destined me to do it.'

He went through a great deal of work at Khartoum, and carried out several reforms,

one of the most important of which was pumping the river water up into the town. This was done at a moderate cost and was a great boon, for many of the houses lay far inland, and the labour of supplying them with water from the river was very great. His presence was urgently required at Darfur, the most westerly province of the Soudan, where a revolt had broken out. The Khedive's garrisons at Fascher, Dara, and Kolkol, were besieged by the rebels, and on the 19th of May Gordon set out to their relief. He had ninety-seven days of camel-riding before him, but he was benefitted both bodily and mentally by travelling. 'I am quite comfortable on the camel,' he wrote home, 'and am happier when on the march than in towns with all the ceremonies.'

About the end of May he reached El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, which has attained a painful notoriety in connection with the terrible disaster that there befel General Hicks. Gordon did not stay at Obeid, but hurried on by the frontier of Darfur. Hassan Pasha had been sent in March with a force of 16,000 men to the relief of Fascher, but no news had yet been received of that force. Gordon had only a few men with him, but he confidently expected to make friends of the rebel tribes between Fogia and Fascher, and to march to the latter city with a bodyguard of 200 converted enemies, and escorted by the chiefs who up to that time had been rebels. His was the faith that could remove mountains. 'Praying for the people ahead of me whom I am about to visit,' he says, 'gives me much strength; and it is wonderful how something seems already to have passed between us when I meet a chief (for whom I have prayed) for the first time. On this I base my hopes of a triumphant march to Fascher.' He could not, however, proceed at once to that place, and had to wait a whole fortnight at Oomchanga, five or six days' journey off, for the arrival of the 200 or 300 ragamuffins who formed the whole force at his disposal. This forced inaction under the fearful heat was very hard to bear. 'When I look back,' he wrote, 'on the hours and hours of waiting for this and that during China and later campaigns, and here, I really think few men have had such worries in this way.' A little later, he wrote, he was greatly cheered by the manner in which the people of Darfur came flocking in to tell him their grievances and to ask for pardon. They had been treated so shamefully by the Bashi-Bazouks that the Governor-General told them that he ought rather to ask pardon of them.

Gordon had now made peace with all the tribes around him and half-way to Fascher. On the 30th of June he left Oomchanga for Toashia, accompanied by 500 of the Egyptian soldiers, who had at length arrived. He expected to obtain reinforcements at the other stations and to march on Fascher with 2000 men. But when he reached Toashia he found that 'the wretched nondescript garrison' had been three years without pay, and were in a state of semi-starvation. They were a miserable set, so feeble and spiritless that he determined not to take them with him, and sent them back to Kordofan to be disbanded. Then he expected to be joined by a sheikh whose brother he had released, but he failed to appear. As Toashia was very unhealthy he was obliged to begin his march at once, having with him some 500 men, armed only with flint-lock muskets—a mere set of brigands, on whom no reliance could be placed. They were threatened by thousands of 'determined blacks,' who knew that the Governor-General was with them. 'I prayed heartily for an issue,' he says, 'but it gave me a pain in the heart like that I had when surrounded at Masindi. I do not fear death, but I fear from want of faith the results of my death, for the whole country would have risen. It is indeed most painful to be in such a position. It takes a year's work out of one. However, thank God! it is over, and I hope to reach Dara

to-morrow.' With the bungling and mismanagement of which Gordon had habitually to complain, the troops sent out to meet him went by a different route, and so missed him. Fortunately no attack was made on him by the tribesmen, for he was quite defenceless.

His arrival at Dara took the people completely by surprise. 'They had been six months without news from without,' he says. 'It was like the relief of Lucknow. Everything was at famine prices. The two pashas, the one at Fascher and the other at Kobeyt, have been doing nothing with their 7000 troops —waiting for reinforcements.' Gordon's first step was to send out an expedition against Haroun, the pretender to the throne of Darfur, as nothing could be done until he was put down. While waiting for the result of this effort he received a visit from the chief of the Razagat tribe, one of the most powerful in the country, with 600 of his followers, who had been ill-used and pillaged by Zubair's son, and came to tell Gordon that he was prepared to side with the government against the slave-hunters. But he was at his wits' end how to feed them. Food was also required at this juncture for 210 slaves who had been rescued from their captors, and were so miserable, thin, and starved that he burst into tears at the sight of them. They had been thirty-six hours without food, and had positively been living on grass.

From Dara the Governor-General went on to Wadar to subdue the Leopard tribe, who had attacked Toashia. He was overtaken by a dreadful thunderstorm, which lasted all night, and had to halt under a deluge of rain, which 'took some fifty per cent. of strength' out of his troops. Next day a battle took place. The Masharin tribe, Gordon's auxiliaries (though his own troops as usual had lagged behind), attacked a detachment of the Leopards and routed them with great slaughter. When the 'nondescripts' came up a council of war was held, but while they were deliberating the Leopards advanced boldly in two divisions, each 350 strong. The Masharins went out to meet them, but they kept moving on, and in spite of a steady fire of musketry they came close up to the bushes of Gordon's camp. They nearly won a victory, as the government troops took shelter behind the stockades; but after a severe struggle they were driven back by the Masharins, whose chief was mortally wounded in the conflict. 'No one can conceive,' wrote Gordon, 'what my officers and troops are. I was *sickened* to see twenty brave men in alliance with me ride out to meet the Leopard tribe unsupported by my men, who crowded into the stockade. It was terribly painful!' In order to compel the Leopards to submit Gordon had to cut them off from their watering-places. The heat was overpowering, the sufferings of the insurgent tribe shortly became intolerable, and overcome by thirst they sued for pardon, swore fidelity on the Koran, and gave up their spears, and were then allowed to 'fly down to the water.'

After 'an abominable ride for 30 miles through quagmires' he entered Fascher with 150 men, to the extreme surprise of the beleaguered inhabitants. He found there four times as many soldiers as he had with him, and learned that there were ten times as many with Hassan Pasha Helmi, three days from Fascher; but they had done nothing—had not even kept the enemy at a distance. They did worse than nothing. The commander of a body of soldiers whom Gordon had sent to attack the advanced guard of the slave-hunters' force accepted a heavy bribe from the opposing chief, and had shirked his duty. The same man forbade the Muezzin to call the people to prayers, on the pretext that it disturbed the Governor-general—his object being to rouse the fanaticism of the people. When the trick was discovered, Gordon says, 'I gave the crier £2, and I bundled off my friend the lieutenant-colonel into banishment at Katarif, where he will have time to meditate.

I never hesitate a moment in coming down on such fellows.'

Troubles and perplexities gathered thick around the Governor-General, but his greatest danger arose out of the proceedings of Suleiman, Zubair's son, who was harrying and pillaging the tribes all round. Shaka, the headquarters of this robber chief and king of the slave-dealers, was described by Gordon as a Cave of Adullam, where all robbers and murderers were assembled, and from whence continual raids were made upon the negro tribes for slaves. Suleiman could bring 10,000 men into the field, 'a large army for these parts,' and at this juncture news came that he was preparing with 6000 men to attack the Government at Dara. Gordon, however, was planning to overcome him not by the sword but by the Spirit. He felt that there was not a moment to lose, and he travelled to Dara, a distance of 85 miles, in a day and a half. He came upon the people like a thunderbolt; they could not believe their eyes. There was no dinner for him, but he passed a quiet night, forgetting his miseries. Rising at dawn, he put on the golden armour the Khedive had given him and rode out, with an escort of Bashi-Bazouks, to the camp of the robbers, 3 miles off. On the way he was met by the son of Zubair, 'a nice-looking lad of twenty-two,' and then went into the rebel camp, where he found 3000 men and boys. 'The whole body of chiefs,' he says, 'were dumbfoundered at my coming among them. After a glass of water I went back, telling the son of Zubair to come with his family to my divan. They all came, and setting them in a circle I gave them in choice Arabic my ideas:—That they meditated revolt; that I knew it, and that they should now have my ultimatum, viz., that I would disarm them and break them up. They listened in silence, and then went off to consider in silence what I had said. They have just now sent in a letter stating their submission, and I thank God for it.'

Suleiman was pardoned, but he was not reconciled to his position. He looked daggers at Gordon, and was furious at his own surrender. He asked the Governor-General for some robes, and was informed that he had no robes to give him, and that he had not filled Gordon with over much confidence in his fidelity. Indeed the Governor was for a time in imminent danger, for he was completely at the mercy of the followers of the slave-hunter, who were brave men and trained to war, and he had no confidence in his own officers or men. Gordon was apprehensive that he would be obliged most reluctantly to make Suleiman—the 'Cub' as he called him—a prisoner, as there appeared to be no hope of peace without this step. 'The little chap,' he wrote, 'is very irate with me—in fact furious—and I doubt if he will ever forgive me. I wish he would, for I cannot help feeling for him; and he is a smart little fellow—the terror in which he has kept the mightiest of these freebooters is something wonderful. They are all afraid of their life of him, and he made men of all sorts prisoners.'

In the midst of his troubles in connection with the slave-hunters, Gordon was deeply mortified at discovering that his black secretary—a man whom he had trusted as himself—had taken no less than £3000 backsheesh. He said it was horrible. The man was at once sent to Khartoum to be tried, and in his place Berzati Bey, a clever young Mussulman of high attainments, was appointed secretary.

The slave-dealers were still not inclined to give up the contest. Gordon therefore ordered Suleiman to return to Shaka with a portion of his men, and to leave the remainder at Dara with Nour Bey, one of his commanders, who was now faithful to the Governor. After spending a whole night in discussing the question whether or not they should attack Dara at once, Zubair's son set out for Shaka with four chiefs and 1400 men, while

Nour Bey, with nine chiefs and 1500 men, remained behind and submitted to the Government. Suleiman sent a letter from Shaka, in which he declared himself Gordon's son, and asked for a government. In reply, he was informed that until he either went to Cairo to salute the Khedive, or gave some other proof of fidelity, the Governor-General would never give him a place, even if the refusal cost him his life. 'I had a painful night of it last night,' he wrote, 'for I much feared an attack from Zubair's son, rendered desperate by my last refusal.

In September, Gordon decided to ride to Shaka for the purpose of completing Suleiman's subjection. While making his way over a bad road and through a thorny forest, he received a letter from the slave-hunting chief, inviting him to take up his residence in his house. Gordon accepted the invitation at once. When he approached the place Suleiman and his officers came out to meet him, and gave him a cordial welcome. All were now 'very, very submissive.' Suleiman was especially reverential in his demeanour. He renewed his request for a government, and importuned the Governor-General for hours to appoint him chief of the Seribas. 'This I will not do,' wrote Gordon, 'for it would put things into his hands; as I told him he had not acted hitherto in a way which would justify this confidence. He came last night twice when I was going to sleep and embraced my feet for this boon, and to-day offered me a wedge of gold.' Gordon only stayed two days at the 'Cave of Adullam.' He learned subsequently that he had narrowly escaped being made a prisoner, for before his arrival the slave chief had resolved to seize him. Probably no other person would have been allowed to leave the robbers' den in safety. It was this daring exploit that especially excited the admiration of the Khedive, who constantly referred to it when any of his counsellors endeavoured to prejudice his mind against Gordon.

On quitting Shaka, Gordon set out for Obeid, taking Suleiman with him. He suspected that a caravan of slaves was accompanying him. The merchants declared that they were their wives and children, but he found at last that about eighty men, women, and children were really going with him in chains. He felt greatly disheartened. Slavery met him everywhere, and he was utterly at a loss how to dispose of the slaves. If he released them there was no one to care for them or to feed them and it was hopeless to send them back some forty days' march through hostile tribes to their homes, as they would never have reached them. He therefore allowed them to go on, but insisted that their chains should be removed. 'The only remedy for the slave-trade,' he said, 'was to stop it at its source, by suppressing slave raids on the frontier. Once the slaves have left the source it is useless to try.'

On the way to Obeid he came upon a gang of brigands, whom he made prisoners or dispersed, and rescued their plunder. All through the journey he picked up slaves, some of whom had been left behind unable to keep up with the caravan; others were ill, and lay dying in the sun. The sight of their misery shocked him and made him wretched. Some of them he bought, the others he sent down to a watering-place, and had to interpose his authority to compel the Arabs of the village to give them water. He expressed his determination to suppress the horrible traffic of which they were the victims. He resolved to stop at once the slave markets at Katarif, Galabat, and Shaka, and next to prevent the raids on the black tribes near the Bahr Gazelle. But the people were bent on slave traffic, and he had no one on whom he could rely to enforce his decrees against it. Meanwhile, however, the clearing out of the robbers' den at Shaka had produced a great effect; and the rapidity of his movements, his

firmness, and irresistible energy had convinced not only the slave-hunters, but the mass of the people, that the Governor-General's decrees must be carried into effect.

When Gordon reached Khartoum he found an immense amount of work waiting him, but he cleared it off in a week, and then started for Hellal on a visit to Walad El Michael. He was stopped in his progress northward on the 16th of November, by news that Sennaar and Fazolie were threatened with an invasion from Abyssinia by Ras Arya, one of King Johannis' generals. He was greatly alarmed at this information, and at once turned back towards Khartoum, where, after a long, cold, and tiring journey, he arrived on the 22nd, and found the news false. On the 26th he started once more on a visit to Walad El Michael. On his way near Kasala he received a visit from Shereef Seid Hacom, the 'holy man' whom once before he had met on his road to Khartoum, and who had been greatly scandalized by Gordon's sitting by mistake in European fashion on his sacred divan. This time the governor left the seat of honour for the priest, and presented him with £20. The 'holy man' begged him to become a Mussulman, a request which had been frequently made by others.

On the 16th of December he reached Walad's camp, which was placed on a sort of plateau on the top of a lofty mountain, and contained 7000 men. The chief himself was ill, or pretended to be so, but Gordon was met by his son and a number of priests. Some suspicious circumstances connected with the accommodation provided for him and his attendants made him apprehensive that Michael wanted to make him a prisoner, but all such intentions were earnestly disclaimed. Next day he had an interview with the chief and advised him to ask pardon of Johannis, but this he was told was impossible, and so there was no use discussing it. He asked Gordon to give him more districts—to plunder of course—but this demand was compromised by a payment of £1000 a month. Gordon went on to Massawa, and there waited for a reply to the letter which he had written to Ras Barion, the frontier-general, suggesting that Walad should be seized and sent to Cairo, and that a free pardon should be given to his troops. After waiting for some time without hearing anything, Gordon set out for Khartoum by Suakim and Berber. He was, however, stopped on the road by a telegram from the Khedive, asking him to go down to Cairo to assist in arranging his financial affairs. He was exceedingly unwilling to go, but there was no help for it. He started off at once on the long journey, and reached Cairo on the 7th of March. He was received with every mark of distinction, and was lodged in the palace which had been occupied by the Prince of Wales during his visit. The splendour of the place, the attentions of the courtiers, and the crowds of servants who waited on him troubled him greatly. 'I feel,' he said, 'like a fly in this big place. I wish for my camel.' The Khedive requested him to act as president of the finance inquiry, but it soon became evident that they could not agree as to the course which should be followed, and the Khedive, he says, threw him over completely at the last moment. He was confident that if his Highness had supported him more vigorously, he would have been able to settle the whole affair promptly and satisfactorily.

On the 30th of March Gordon left Cairo for Suez. He was allowed to depart without any honours, and by the ordinary train, paying his passage. He went by Zeila to Harrar, where Raouf Pasha, whom he had deposed four years before, was behaving in a most tyrannical manner. On the route he met a caravan carrying £2000 worth of coffee, which Raouf was sending off on his private account to be sold at Aden. Gordon at once confiscated the coffee and dismissed this 'regular tyrant,' as he termed him, from office.

After a very short stay at Harrar, Gordon returned to Zeila, which he reached at dawn on the 9th of May, 'after a terrible march of eight days.' Tired as he was, he pushed on straight for Massawa. There bad news reached him, for he heard that Walad El Michael had defeated and killed Ras Barion, the general of Johannis. But he was anxious to get back to Khartoum, and on 22nd May he set out for that place by way of Suakim and Berber, suffering dreadfully from the extreme heat, which was greater than he had ever experienced. On reaching the capital he found an immense amount of arrears of work of every kind to be cleared off, questions of finance to be settled, peculations to be traced out and punished, and wrongs to be redressed. To crown all, in July news reached him that Suleiman had revolted, and had again taken possession of the Bahr Gazelle. It was subsequently discovered that he had risen against the Government in obedience to his father's orders. When Zubair was about to go down to Cairo he assembled his officers under a large tree, about two miles from Shaka, and made them swear to obey him. If he sent word to them to attend to the arrangements made under the tree they were to revolt. After Zubair saw Gordon at Cairo, and found that he would give him no assistance, he sent up the command to his officers and his sons, 'Put into effect my orders given under the tree,' and they immediately took up arms.

On receiving news of the revolt Gordon acted with his usual firmness and despatch. He seized and imprisoned all the relatives of Zubair whom he could find, and confiscated their goods. He then sent an expeditionary force to the south, under Romulus Gessi, an Italian who had been interpreter to the British forces in the Crimea. He describes him in brief and pithy terms:—'Aged forty-nine. Short, compact figure; cool, most determined man. Born genius for practical ingenuity in mechanics. Ought to have been born in 1561, not in 1832. Same disposition as Francis Drake.' Gessi set about the work intrusted to him with an alacrity and energy which fully justified Gordon's selection of him for this difficult enterprise. He started at once for the scene of revolt, but all the tributaries of the Bahr Gazelle were overflowing, and incessant rains detained him at Rumbek until November. He was very impatient in this state of enforced inaction, for news came that Suleiman had proclaimed himself lord of the province, and had surprised the Egyptian garrison at Dem Idris, seized the stores of ammunition, and massacred the troops. The chiefs in the district had resisted his ravages, but he had slain the men, and had either butchered or made slaves of the women and children. He had everywhere robbed the people of their stores of grain, and in some places had left nothing for them to eat but leaves and grass. The Arabs of the province, who at first had appeared to be friendly, began to withdraw from Gessi under the impression that Suleiman's was the stronger side, and now the forces of the robber chief numbered 6000 men. Even Gessi's own men began to desert in large bodies, and rigorous measures had to be adopted by him to keep them from going over to the enemy. About the middle of December his forces reached the stronghold of Dem Idris, but they were unable to leave it until the end of April, 1879. Suleiman, who thought he was secure from their attacks for that season, was taken by surprise at their advance, and at the head of a host of 10,000 men made repeated desperate attacks on their position, but was beaten off with great loss. The want of ammunition prevented Gessi from following up his victories, but he succeeded in breaking up the gangs of brigands who on all sides were sweeping off the natives into slavery, and by the beginning of February he had restored more than 10,000 of these unhappy people to their homes. He caused a number of the slave-dealers to be shot in the sight of all his troops, and others he hanged. He hunted Suleiman and his men from

place to place, at every stage discovering marks of the shocking outrages which they had perpetrated, and at last ran them to earth on the night of July 15, at a village called Gara. They still numbered 700, while he had only 290 men in all; but under a mistaken notion as to the strength of his force, they surrendered at discretion. He divided them into three sets. To the common soldiers he granted life and liberty, on condition that they returned to their own country and settled down to a peaceful life, an offer which they willingly accepted. The smaller slave-dealers—157 in number—were next sent off by another road as prisoners. The eleven chiefs, including Suleiman, were shot.

Thus ended the great revolt of Zubair in the person of his son, who had made himself the heir of his father's crimes as well as of his wealth and power, and justly merited the punishment which at length overtook him. But Zubair himself, who had spread desolation and misery over hundreds of miles of public lands which once supported a numerous and happy population, though condemned to death for instigating this rebellion, was allowed to live on in Cairo as the pensioner of the Khedive, with the allowance of £100 a month. 'The Khedive not only pardons but pensions,' wrote Gordon. 'What pensions have the widows and orphans whom Zubair has made by the thousand? What allowance have the poor worn-out bodies of men, strong enough till he dragged them from their homes, who are now draining the last bitter dregs of life in cruel slavery? What recompense has been made to those whose bleached bones mark the track of his trade on many and many a league of ground? His refuge is in the city of princes that have gold, who fill their houses with silver. Theirs is where the prisoners rest together; where they hear not the voice of the oppressor. The small and the great are there; and the servant is free from his master.'

While Gessi was thus busily employed in exterminating the slave-hunters, Gordon was hard at work at Khartoum, but he was grievously annoyed and hampered by the conduct of the Khedive and his advisers at Cairo in regard to slave-dealing. He had, he says, an order signed by the Khedive to put to death all slave-dealers or persons taking slaves, and the convention between the British and the Egyptian governments branded slave-taking as 'robbery with murder.' But the firman of his Highness declared slave-dealing punishable only with imprisonment of from five months to five years' duration; and even this punishment was made void by a despatch from Nubar Pasha, declaring that the sale and purchase of slaves in the Egyptian territory is legal. That arrogant and corrupt functionary had even the effrontery to offer to send up to the Soudan Zubair, who had promised to pay him a revenue of £25,000 a year. Gordon was quite well aware that Zubair could pay this sum only by sending down slaves, and that if he were once permitted to return to the Soudan, all the efforts he had made for the suppression of the slave-trade would be completely counteracted. He therefore quietly declined Nubar's offer, and told him that he wanted no help from Cairo in that way. Gordon was also greatly troubled with the unsatisfactory state of the Soudan finances and the peculations of the Egyptian collectors of the revenue, who contrived to appropriate to their own use at least one-sixth of the sum which they levied from the people. He received no less than three orders to go down to Cairo, but he refused to obey them, and intimated that if he was forced to go he would resign. Nubar's dismissal, however, soon after freed him from one of his most active enemies.

In the middle of March Gordon left Khartoum for Shaka, for the purpose of dislodging the slave-hunters from their hold and giving assistance to Gessi, about whom he was feeling a good deal of anxiety. The road

led over vast tracts of sand, where the heat was intense by day and the nights were bitterly cold. On the way he met many hundreds of slaves, all in a most wretched condition. Between June, 1878, and March, 1879, he captured no less than sixty-three caravans. He says, 'We must have caught 2000 in less than nine months, and I expect we did not catch one-fifth of the caravans.' 'At Edowa,' he writes, 'a party of seven slave-dealers, with twenty-three slaves, were captured and brought to me, together with two camels. Nothing could exceed the misery of these poor wretches. Some were children of not more than three years old; they had come across that torrid zone from Shaka, a journey from which I on my camel shrink. . . When I had just begun this letter another caravan, with two slave-dealers and seventeen slaves, was brought in, and I hear others are on the way. Some of the poor women were quite nude. Both these caravans came from Shaka, where I mean to make a clean sweep of the slave-dealers.' Three Bashi-Bazouks, who were caught with fourteen slaves, were beaten, stripped of everything, even to their clothes, by Gordon's men, and then dismissed. He had every wish to shoot them, he said, and was prevented only by the want of power and legality.

On the 29th of March Gordon crossed the frontier of Kordofan and entered Darfur, suffering dreadfully from the intense heat. During his long night-rides pondering the enormous evils of the slave-trade, he was able to see his way, he thought, to crush it out by decreeing two regulations—1st, All persons residing in Darfur must have a formal permission to remain there. 2nd, All persons travelling to and from Darfur must have passports for themselves and *suite*. 'Thus,' he adds, 'no person can reside in Darfur without an ostensible mode of livelihood; and no one can go to or from Darfur without government permission for himself and his followers.' The violation of these regulations was to be punished with imprisonment and confiscation of property.

He reached Shaka on 7th April, and found there some hundreds of slave-dealers, whom—to their great grief—he immediately cleared out of their den. Here he received a telegram ordering him to send down £12,000 to Cairo. He replied that his troops were from fifteen months to two years in arrears of pay and had no clothes, and requested the authorities to send him at once the £12,000 they unfairly took in customs on goods in transit to the Soudan.

From Shaka Gordon went to Kalaka. All the route was marked by the camping places of the slave-dealers, and there were numerous skulls by the side of the road. Thousands of slaves had passed along this route. Some districts were completely depopulated, all the inhabitants having been captured or starved to death. Slaves were wandering about the country in thousands, and were being 'snapped up,' Gordon said, 'by the native Arabs in all directions, as if they were sheep.' He reckoned there must have been a thousand in Kalaka alone, but owing to the scarcity of food and water and the means of transport, it was impossible to send them back to their own country. There was nothing for it but to divide them among the neighbouring tribes, by whom they would be well used.

On the 1st of May he started from Kalaka for Dara, leaving 100 soldiers behind him, and over a monotonous and sandy plain he travelled from Dara to Fascher and Kebeyt, in the extreme north of Darfur. At Kebeyt he was informed that the route to Kolkel was infested by brigands, though there were 2000 soldiers at that place. He therefore went to see how matters stood. On the journey he was attacked by from 150 to 180 men, and for four or five hours 'had a bad time,' as he expressed it, 'to keep the brigands at bay.' They were

at length driven off, and towards evening Gordon's party, having marched 25 miles that day, 'camped dead beat,' 9 miles from Kolkel, the ultimate post of the Egyptian government, which they reached next day. 'No one had passed along that road for upwards of two years—in fact Kolkel was a prison. Nothing could describe the misery of these utterly useless lands—they have been made perfect deserts by the Government.'

From Kolkel he despatched to Khartoum a band of 400 useless Arab officers, soldiers, women, and children by Dara, a roundabout way to preserve them from danger—'a great deliverance of useless mouths.' Starting for Khartoum by way of Oomchanga and Toashia, at every stage he came upon slave-dealers with bands of slaves—chiefly women and children —most of them mere skeletons. He caused the slavers to be flogged and stripped of everything and then sent into the desert. His plan was to guard the wells until the slave-dealers, unable to endure the thirst, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Some of them had been for four or five days without food or water. The number of skulls along the road was appalling. Gordon caused great piles of them to be heaped up near the wells as monuments of the horrible cruelties of the slave-dealers. He calculated the loss of life in Darfur during the years 1875–79 at 16,000 Egyptians, and 50,000 natives, exclusive of the loss on the Bahr Gazelle, which he estimated at 15,000, and among the slaves, which must be set down at from 80,000 to 100,000. 'I feel revived,' he says, 'when I make these captures. From Oomchanga to Toashia, during say a week, we have caught say from 500 to 600. I suppose we may consider that nearly that number must have been passing every week for the last year and a half or two years along this road.'

On the 25th of June Gordon and his lieutenant Gessi met, the latter looking much older, the effect, no doubt, of the anxieties and dangers he had undergone. To his great gratification Gordon presented him with £2000 and created him a Pasha of the Bahr Gazelle, with the second class of Osmanlie. The rebellion of Suleiman was not yet completely crushed, but the end was near at hand, and the new pasha returned to his district to finish his work, while Gordon made his way to Khartoum. At Fogia he heard of the Khedive Ismail's deposition, and received orders to proclaim Tewfik Khedive throughout the Soudan, which he duly carried into effect. He began to long for home, and on July 21st he wrote, 'I shall (D.V.) leave for Cairo in two days, and I hope to see you soon, but I may have to go to Johannis before I go to Cairo.' This mission, however, was delayed until after his visit to Cairo, which he reached on the 23rd of August. The new Khedive paid him great attention, and placed a palace at his disposal. Though Gordon, as he admits, was 'very cross at the dismissal of Ismail,' Tewfik consulted him on various important points, and requested him to go on a special mission to the King of Abyssinia, which he readily consented to do. The pashas objected to him, on the ground that he was too friendly to the 'incurable.' Gordon declared that if any of the Council of Ministers said anything against him, he would on his return beg the Khedive to make the evil-speaker Governor-General of the Soudan.

On the 11th of September he started for Gura, where Aloula, one of Johannis' generals, was encamped, taking with him only his secretary, Berzati Bey. The heat was overpowering, and he suffered much from the prickly heat-rash. The road, he said, was simply terrible, and he was troubled by palpitation of the heart; he had frequently to dismount from his mule and walk. He had little hope of success in his mission, as Johannis was determined to have Bogos, while the Khedive instructed him to give up nothing, but not to fight; as if, said Gordon, it were in our option to avoid it.

He was going therefore, he said, with empty hands. 'I have steadfastly kept one policy in view,' he added, 'for the whole time I have been in Abyssinia—viz. to get rid, either *with* or *without* Johannis' help, of Walad el Michael and his men, and then to come to terms with Johannis. Now Johannis will not give me his help for nothing when I persist in keeping what we have stolen from him. I do not mean physical help, but moral help, *i.e.* that he should offer a pardon—that is, an asylum to which Walad el Michael's men can go when they leave Bogos. Otherwise they will fight with desperation against us.' Walad himself and his officers had been taken prisoners by Aloula, in obedience to the orders of Johannis. On the 16th of September Gordon reached Gura, overcome with fatigue, and had to climb to the summit of an almost inaccessible mountain on which Aloula was encamped. Gordon gives an amusing account of his interview with this chief, whom he found seated on a couch in a long shed made of branches, and wrapped up like a mummy in white garments, even to his mouth. 'Nearly everyone had his robe to his mouth, as if something poisonous had arrived. The figure at the end never moved, and I got quite distressed, for he was so muffled up that I felt inclined to feel his pulse. He must be ill, I thought.' After a time the chief relaxed a little, though he still maintained an air of great self-importance. The envoy soon found that no definite arrangement could be made with Aloula, and he agreed to visit Johannis himself, the general undertaking not to attack Egypt in his absence.

On the 19th Gordon started for Debra Tabor, near Gondar. The journey, which was both difficult and dangerous, occupied him upwards of four weeks. His route lay over the steepest mountains and along the worst roads in the country. He narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a robber chief who was in revolt against the king, and had 300 men under his command, while Gordon had only six black soldiers with him. On his arrival at Debra Tabor (October 27) the guns fired a salute in his honour, and the king received him in state sitting on a raised dais, his father on one side and the high-priest on the other. Johannis, however, was in no friendly mood, and after giving him audience for a few seconds told the envoy he might retire.

At dawn next morning the king sent for him, and recounted, at great length, his grievances against Egypt. He then asked Gordon why he had come. In reply he was referred to the letters from the Khedive, which, it appeared, had not been read or even translated. After a long search they were found and ordered to be translated. Johannis then stated his claims, which were of the most preposterous character. He wanted, he said, the 'retrocession of Metemma, Changallas, and Bogos, cession of Zeila and Amphilla (ports), an Abouna, and a sum of money from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000.' As alternatives he said he would accept Bogos, Massawa, and the Abouna.* 'I could claim Dongola,' he added, 'Berber, Nubia, and Sennaar, but will not do so. Also, I want certain territory near Harrar.' 'Here,' Gordon remarks, 'his Majesty seemed a little out in his geography, so he added that he would waive that claim for the moment.' It was discovered that Johannis had been induced to make these outrageous demands by the Greek consul and the interpreter, who had persuaded him that he had only to ask in order to obtain. He wished the envoy to accompany him to the baths, 'a hot spring coming up through a bamboo in an old hut,' in order to discuss the subject, but Gordon declined. He gave the king, however, through Berzati Bey, presents to the value of £200, and urged him to state his demands in writing, which he agreed to do,

* Gordon in a letter to the *Times*, 1st January, 1881, says, 'The other question is the demand of the king for an archbishop—an Abouna. The Church of Abyssinia has for centuries taken this Abouna from the Coptic Church at Alexandria. This is important, as it is only the Abouna who can ordain priests; and so, from the difficulties between the governments, the king has been without any ordination for years.'

but failed to keep his promise. On his return from the baths (March 6) Gordon told him that he had positive orders not to cede Bogos, but that he would use his influence to obtain for him an Abouna and the free import of arms and letters for himself at Massawa and Bogos. He said also that he would try to induce the Khedive to cede Bogos, which was useless to Egypt. Johannis, however, continued very sulky and uncivil, and told him to go back to his master and he would send his own envoy with an answer to the Khedive.

An hour after this interview Gordon started on his homeward journey. Just as he was leaving, the interpreter brought him a letter and 1000 dollars. He sent back the money, and at his first halt he opened the letter, which in his official capacity he had a right to do. When translated it was found to be expressed in these insulting terms:—'I have received the letters you sent me by *that man*. I will not make a secret peace with you. If you want peace, ask the Sultans of Europe.' Gordon wrote to the Greek consul demanding an explanation, and was answered that 'the king said he had written as he saw fit, and should write other letters if he judged right.'

Gordon pursued his road to Galabat, and had reached a place called Char Amba, the gate of Abyssinia, where he encamped and was enjoying the splendid view which it commanded of the Soudan plains, when suddenly 120 soldiers commanded by three high officers of Ras Arya, the king's uncle, swooped down upon him and his party, and marched them back to the village of that chief. Gordon, on the way, destroyed his journal, as he was afraid it might fall into the hands of Johannis. Ras Arya, however, who was a cunning selfish fellow, had his own ends in view in bringing the envoy to his village. He abused the king, said everyone was disgusted with him, and even suggested that the Egyptians should take the country, nothing would be more easy. He said Johannis had given orders that Gordon was to go back to Egypt by Massawa, and that every care was to be taken that he sent no letter or person to Galabat; but he was determined not to obey these orders, and for a consideration he would send any telegrams to Galabat the envoy wanted. Gordon eagerly availed himself of the opportunity, and gave him £70 to insure the safe passage of his telegrams. On the 17th of November the party left Ras Arya's village. They were repeatedly arrested and bullied on their homeward journey, and were mobbed at Axum, but were rescued by two little boys, sons of a prince killed at Gura, who took them in. They had to pass over mountains covered with snow, and as they had given up their tents they suffered a good deal from the want of shelter. They had to pay their way throughout with gold, and expended £1400 in bribes to insure their safe-conduct to Massawa, which they reached on the 8th of December, and were delighted to find there the *Seagull*, a British gun-boat. The Khedive, much to his discredit, had taken no notice of Gordon's request that he would send a regiment and a steamboat with two guns to Massawa, and had it not been for the timely arrival of the *Seagull* this fatiguing and fruitless mission might have ended, not merely in failure, but in a serious disaster.

Johannis was a brutal bloodthirsty tyrant, who inflicted the most shocking cruelties on all who offended him. It is matter of surprise that he allowed the Khedive's envoy to escape out of his hands. 'He is a sour ill-favoured looking being,' wrote Gordon. 'He never looks you in the face, but when you look away he glares at you like a tiger. He never smiles; his look, always changing, is one of thorough suspicion. Hated and hating all, I can imagine no more unhappy man.' Accustomed to be most obsequiously spoken to, he was astounded and deeply offended at the frank and uncompromising manner in which Gordon told him his mind. He was evidently afraid, however, to vent his anger

upon the plain-speaking and undaunted envoy. The following amusing but not quite accurate account of an interview between this barbaric 'King of kings' and the Governor-General of the Soudan was told shortly after Gordon's return.

'When Gordon Pasha was lately taken prisoner by the Abyssinians he completely checkmated King John. The king received his prisoner sitting on his throne, or whatever piece of furniture did duty for that exalted seat, a chair being placed for the prisoner considerably lower than the seat on which the king sat. The first thing the pasha did was to seize this chair, place it alongside that of his Majesty, and sit down on it; the next, to inform him that he met him as an equal, and would only treat him as such.* This somewhat disconcerted his sable Majesty, but on recovering himself he said, "Do you know, Gordon Pasha, that I could kill you on the spot if I liked?" "I am perfectly well aware of it, your Majesty," said the pasha. "Do so at once if it is your royal pleasure; I am ready." This discomfited the king still more, and he exclaimed, "What! ready to be killed!" "Certainly," replied the pasha, "I am always ready to die, and so far from fearing your putting me to death, you would confer a favour on me by so doing, for you would be doing for me that which I am precluded by my religious scruples from doing for myself. You would relieve me from all the troubles and misfortunes the future may have in store for me." This completely staggered King John, who gasped out in despair, "Then my power has no terror for you?" "None whatever," was the pasha's laconic reply. His Majesty, it is needless to add, instantly collapsed.'

Gordon returned to Egypt at the end of the year 1879. He had some months before resolved to retire from his post as Governor-General of the Soudan, and he sent in his resignation on his way to Cairo. He had been annoyed and worried by certain of the Khedive's ministers, who insisted that he should make various changes in his government of which he did not approve, and he had not received from the new Khedive himself the support to which he was entitled. But over and above these difficulties, which made him, before he went to Abyssinia, resolve to quit the Soudan, the state of his health made it necessary for him to obtain rest. He had been ill before he had set out on his mission to Johannis, and the toil which he had undergone, and the risks he had run in his Abyssinian journeys, had seriously impaired his health. In 1879 he rode 2230 miles through the deserts on camels and 800 miles in Abyssinia on mules. In the three years, 1877–79, he rode 8490 miles on camels and mules. It need excite no surprise that even his iron frame began to give way under the strain of this incessant toil, and danger, and anxiety.

On his return to Alexandria, Dr. Mackie, surgeon to the British consulate, found that he was 'suffering from symptoms of nervous exhaustion,' and recommended him to retire for several months for complete rest and quiet, and to abstain from all exciting work. In his letters Gordon had repeatedly described the life that he would lead when his retirement should at last come. He would lie in bed till noon, he would only take short strolls, he would never go on a railway journey, and never accept an invitation to dinner. He would have oysters for lunch, and would lead the life of an idle man. He was not permitted, however, to enjoy more than a few weeks' rest at home when his services were once more brought into requisition. But the particular employment offered and accepted by him took everyone by surprise.

The Marquis of Ripon, whose appointment to the governor-generalship of India had excited a great deal of discussion and disapproval, invited Colonel Gordon to become his private secretary, and as Gordon himself expressed it, 'in a moment of

* Gordon stated that this did not occur. 'It would,' he said, 'have been both rude and foolish;' but the conversation which took place between him and Johannis was correctly reported.

weakness I accepted the appointment,' and proceeded to India with the new Viceroy. 'No sooner had I landed at Bombay,' he wrote, 'than I saw that in my irresponsible position I could not hope to do anything really to the purpose in the face of the vested interests out there. Seeing this, and seeing, moreover, that my views were so diametrically opposed to those of the official classes, I resigned. Lord Ripon's position was certainly a great consideration with me. It was assumed by some that my views of the state of affairs were the Viceroy's, and thus I felt that I should do him harm by staying with him. We parted perfect friends. The brusqueness of my leaving was unavoidable, inasmuch as my stay would have put me into the possession of secrets of state that—considering my decision eventually to leave—I ought not to know. Certainly I might have stayed a month or two, had a pain in the hand, and gone quietly; but the whole duties were so distasteful that I felt, being pretty callous as to what the world says, that it was better to go at once.'

As soon as the news of his resignation reached London a telegram was forwarded to him from Mr. Hart, the Chinese commissioner of customs at Pekin, inviting him to go to China. Mr. Hart did not mention by whom he had been directed to take this step, but there can be little doubt that the invitation came from the Imperial Court. At that critical moment war was imminent between Russia and China. Prince Chung and the empress-regent were eager for war, and one of the generals, named Tso, persuaded them that his troops were quite able to cope with the Russian forces. On the other hand, Prince Kung and Gordon's old colleague Li were in favour of peace. In this emergency the counsel of the former commander of the 'Ever-victorious Army' was eagerly sought. 'Please come and see for yourself,' said Hart's telegram. 'This opportunity for doing really useful work on a large scale ought not to be lost. Work, position, conditions, can all be arranged with yourself here to your satisfaction. Do take six months' leave and come.'

Gordon was on the point of setting out for Zanzibar to assist the Sultan, Syed Burghash, in striking another blow at the slave trade when he was invited to Pekin, but he gave up at once his intended journey, and applied to the government for permission to go to China. Leave, however, was refused, as he could not state specifically his purpose in going and the position he was to hold. He therefore sent in the resignation of his commission to the War Office; but on further inquiry it was not accepted, and permission was given him to go to China on condition that he should not accept any military appointment, which he had never intended to do. He said that his counsel, if asked, would be 'peace, not war.' He should give them 'quinine and mixture,' but not ask them to take it. He could not believe that the question at issue between Russia and China could be of such vital importance that an arrangement could not be come to by concessions on both sides. He hastened to Tientsin, and there met his old colleague, Li Hung Chang, whom he had always regarded as the ablest man in China, and who, since the close of the Tai-ping Civil War, had filled the highest positions in the government. Gordon spent several days with his former companion, who was overjoyed at the sight of him, and received from him a full account of the state of affairs. He afterwards conferred with the other great officers of state. When his opinion was asked by these officials he gave it in a memorandum expressed in his characteristic plain-spoken style. He threw his whole weight into the scale of the peace party, pointed out the weakness of the Chinese forts and ships, and the unwieldiness and imperfection of their entire military system. He warned them that 'the outbreak of hostilities at Kuldja would be followed by the invasion of Manchuria from the Amoor,' and that if war were really to break out they might expect

a hostile army within two months before the gates of Pekin. Fortunately his wise and disinterested advice was followed, and the danger of collision between the two courts was averted. Gordon's recommendations respecting the military organization best adapted for China were also adopted, and the Chinese forces have been armed and disciplined in strict accordance with the scheme which he prepared. Shortly after his arrival in China he seems to have felt that his actions would be hampered by his connection with the British service. He therefore sent the following telegram to London:—'I have seen Li Hung Chang, and he wishes me to stay with him. I cannot desert China in her present crisis, and would be free to act as I think fit. I therefore beg to resign my commission in Her Majesty's service.' His resignation was once more refused, but his leave of absence was cancelled. Before, however, this intimation (of 14th August) reached him, he had finished his work, and had already taken his passage for Aden.

After returning from China in the winter of 1881, Colonel Gordon, who was more than ever the object of popular favour and commendation, made a short visit to Ireland, and prepared a scheme to alleviate the troubles of that unhappy country; but it was too novel and thorough-going to meet with general approval at that time. He next went over to Brussels, to discuss with the King of the Belgians an international expedition to the Congo, which his Majesty wished him to head. The only holiday which he enjoyed was during a brief sojourn at Lausanne. In May he was ordered to proceed to the Mauritius as Commanding Royal Engineer. On his way to his destination he visited the grave of his former lieutenant in the Soudan, Romulus Gessi, who died on the 30th April in the French Hospital at Suez, after protracted sufferings caused by the terrible privations which he had undergone during the previous months of November and December, when he was shut in by an impassable barrier of 'sudd' in the Bahr Gazelle River. The death of this indefatigable and trusty fellow-worker, whom Gordon had held in high esteem, was a great blow to the ex-Governor-General, for he was well aware that with it would end all the good that had been done by him in the Soudan, and which Gessi had zealously laboured to perpetuate.

The ten months which Colonel Gordon spent in the Mauritius passed peacefully and happily, but a quiet life was not to be his lot. On the 6th of March, 1882, he was made a Major-General, and on 4th April he left Mauritius for the Cape. On the 23rd of February Sir Hercules Robinson sent a telegram to the Earl of Kimberley, stating that the ministers at the Cape had requested him to inquire whether Her Majesty's Government would permit them to obtain the services of Colonel Gordon, should he be prepared to renew the offer made by him to their predecessors in April, 1881, 'to assist in terminating the war and administering Basutoland.' On the 8th of March a telegram was sent from the Premier at the Cape to Gordon himself, stating that 'the position of matters in Basutoland was grave; and that it was of the utmost importance that the colony should secure the services of some person of proved ability, firmness, and energy. The Government had, therefore, resolved to ask him whether he was disposed to renew his former offer. If he should agree to place his services at the disposal of the Cape Government, they regarded it as very important that he should at once visit the colony. By so doing he would confer a signal favour upon them.' When Gordon proceeded to the Cape, instead of being appointed 'to assist in terminating the war and in administering Basutoland'—the twofold object for which he had placed his services at the disposal of the government—the only post they offered him was that of Commandant-General of the Colonial Forces—an appoint-

ment which he had refused to accept two years before. They said they had no confidence in Mr. Orpen, to whom they had intrusted the Basuto question, but they did not like to remove him, as his removal would be unpopular. As they informed Gordon that the situation which he accepted was only temporary, he was no doubt under the belief that it was intended, at a later period, to employ him in the services which he was engaged to perform; and he set himself with his usual promptitude and energy to discharge the duties of his present office. He drew up an able and exhaustive report on the colonial forces, and showed how they could be maintained in a much more economical, as well as a more efficient manner. At the request of the premier, he prepared a memorandum on the position of the natives and the treatment they had received from the Boers, and showed how they had been driven to take up arms in self-defence by the injustice and inefficiency of the magistrates. He suggested remedies for these evils and for the discontent of the Basutos at the mode in which they had been transferred from the Imperial to the Colonial government. But his reports and suggestions were left entirely unnoticed.

In the month of August Mr. Sauer, the secretary for native affairs, requested Gordon to accompany him into Basutoland, whither he was about to go, for the purpose of seeing Mr. Orpen, the ministerial representative. The policy of that official, which was at least tacitly approved of by his superiors, was to incite one party of the Basutos to attack another. Mr. Sauer was well aware that Gordon entirely disapproved such sinister tactics, but he persisted in urging the General to accompany him, declaring that 'he was free of all engagements.' Gordon reluctantly consented to go, and Sauer ultimately prevailed upon him, at great personal risk, to visit, as a private individual, Masupha, the chief who was in arms against the government. The attempt of the General to induce the refractory chief to submit entirely failed, as we have seen (vol. iv. 321), through the bad faith and folly of the colonial ministry, who had shown both their own unfitness to govern firmly and equitably the native tribes, and their unwillingness to intrust the administration of Basutoland to competent hands. After spending little more than five months in South Africa, Colonel Gordon, feeling, as he said, that he was in a false position, tendered his resignation of his office, which was at once accepted by the ministry, and severed his connection with the only country which had proved unable to appreciate the value and use of the genius he had placed at its disposal.

Shortly after his return to England from South Africa, Gordon set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and took up his residence outside Jerusalem. Here, taking the Bible for his guide, he spent his time in a careful survey of the supposed sites of Calvary, the holy sepulchre, and other famous localities, respecting which he came to conclusions widely different from those usually entertained regarding them. 'In reality,' he said, 'no man in writing on those sites ought to draw on his imagination; he ought to keep to the simple facts and not prophesy to fill up gaps.'

While Gordon was occupied in these peaceful and pleasant avocations he received a request from the King of the Belgians that he would repair at once to Brussels for the purpose of conferring with him respecting a scheme for the administration of a district on the Congo, of which his Majesty wished him to take charge, with the view of assisting in the suppression of the slave trade. He readily accepted this invitation, and after a full discussion of the subject with the Belgian sovereign, he agreed to take the command of the expedition to the Congo. Having settled this matter he passed over to England on the 7th of January, 1884, on a farewell visit to his friends. But

at this juncture he was suddenly and unexpectedly called on to resume his labours in the Soudan.

On Gordon's resignation of the office of Governor-General of the Soudan his policy was entirely reversed. His successor (Raouf Pasha, 'a regular tyrant,' Gordon said) belonged to the school of Egyptian officials whose main object was to enrich themselves by plundering the people whom they had been appointed to govern. He had been exposed as a murderer by Sir Samuel Baker, and in 1877 had been turned out of Harrat by Gordon for acts of oppression. The slave-hunting and slave trade, with all their horrors, were at once revived, and a whole horde of Turks and Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks was once more let loose to harass the unfortunate Soudanese. The misgovernment of the Egyptian officials at length became intolerable. The people had enjoyed for a brief space the blessings of a settled equitable rule under the government of Colonel Gordon. He had treated them with even-handed justice, had 'held the balance level,' as he promised on assuming office, had listened attentively to all their grievances, had punished their oppressors, and mercilessly extirpated the slave-dealers. And now this mild and just system of administration was replaced by the old oppressive and arbitrary mode of government. The people were now more alive than formerly to the evils of Egyptian rule, and less disposed to bear patiently the treatment to which they were again subjected.

When Gordon was about to set out for India in April, 1880, he learned with equal pain and indignation that the Khedive and his subordinate officers had permitted the revival of the slave-trade in Darfur and the other provinces of Central and Equatorial Africa; that fresh parties of slave-hunters were forming at Obeid in Kordofan, ready to start once more upon their detestable trade; and that every order which he had given for the suppression of this abomination had been cancelled. As Gordon had predicted in 1879, these infamous proceedings led to 'a revolt of the whole country,' which was brought about not so much by the religious fanaticism of the native tribes, as by the venality of the Egyptian officials and the oppressive and unjust manner of collecting the taxes, and especially by the efforts to suppress the slave-trade, from which most of the supporters of the Mahdi had derived all their wealth. The insurrection, in short, as Gordon said, was the result of 'a combination between the slave-dealers and the ill-used inhabitants of the country. The former played the part of the professional agitators, and are the Parnells of the Soudan movement. The one furnished the igniting match, the other was the brushwood.' Since he left Khartoum, he said, 'Turkish pashas had come to the Soudan with empty stomachs, and the process of filling them as rapidly as possible meant utter ruin and woe to the much-wronged Soudanese.' The propagandists of slavery, therefore, who were the real authors of the rebellion, addressed themselves to willing hearers. Fanaticism also had come into play, and the force borne of the union of these different interests proved, as might have been expected, exceedingly formidable to the Egyptian administration.

During the crisis through which Egypt was passing in consequence of Arabi's revolt, a pretended prophet appeared in the Soudan, who gave himself out to be the Mahdi, the long-expected Redeemer of Islam. The fanatical impostor who assumed this character was named Mahomet Achmet. He was the son of a carpenter on Naft Island, in the Nubian province of Dongola, who, about 1852, removed with his family to Chindi, a small town on the banks of the Nile, south of Berber. His son, when still very young, was placed as an apprentice under one of his uncles, a shipbuilder of Chabakah, opposite Sennaar. One day he had so misconducted himself that his uncle thought it necessary

to administer to him a smart flogging, and the boy in consequence ran away and ultimately reached Khartoum, where he entered a school or kind of convent of begging dervishes, who had charge of the monument erected over the remains of Cheick Hoghali, patron of the city. Here he became conspicuous for his ascetic life and pretences to remarkable piety, but he made no attempt to acquire even the ordinary elements of education. He was never taught to write or even to read fluently. From the Khartoum convent he went to a similar institution in Berber, then to one in Aradup, on the south of Kana. In this latter place he became the favourite disciple of an eminent fakir, named Cheick Nur-el-daim, and was ordained by him, and then went to the small island of Abba, on the White Nile.

Here Mahomet took up his residence in a kind of pit or subterranean repository for grain, called a *silo*, which he had dug out with his own hands. In this hole he passed his life fasting and praying, burning incense day and night, and repeating the name of Allah for hours at a time until he fell to the ground panting and exhausted. His reputation for great sanctity increased year by year. If any one spoke to him he returned no answer except the repetition of a sentence from the sacred books of Islam. Earthly objects and affairs seemed to inspire him only with pity or disgust. He professed to have made a vow to absorb himself in the contemplation of divine perfections, and to weep all his life for the sins of mankind. But the floods of tears which he shed for the transgressions of his fellowmen by no means impaired his earthly vision, and he was always wide awake to his own interests. When the faithful came to him in great crowds and deposited rich offerings at the mouth of his silo, he never failed to see the gifts or to stow them away carefully for a time of need. At length, in 1878, his wealth had accumulated to such an extent that he felt it necessary to declare that Allah had ordered him to leave his silo and to take to himself a large number of wives, whom, as a shrewd, practical man, he chose from the most influential families of the country, especially from the Bagaras, the most opulent slave-traders on the White Nile.

As the Mahdi's wealth and power increased so did his pretensions. He claimed for himself a position divine and paramount. In his estimation Mahomet, as compared to him, was a very inferior prophet. 'He alone was the great and powerful Messiah predicted by Mahomet himself. The Sultan was no longer to be regarded as the supreme Caliph, the chief of Islamism. It was he, Mahomet Achmet, who now held that office, and he ordered his own name to be invoked in public worship, in place of Mahomet's, immediately after the name of Allah.' His followers styled him El Mahdi, an Arabic word meaning simply a leader or guide. The pretensions of the Mahdi were formally pronounced to be spurious by the Ulema of Khartoum, and they were likewise discredited at Cairo and Constantinople. He was declared to be the 'False Prophet,' for the Redeemer of the world promised in the Koran was to come from the East and not from the West. Unaffected by these hostile decisions the Mahdi persisted in his claims to be the Messiah, and in various proclamations declared that his intentions were to gain over the whole of the Soudan to his cause, then to march on Egypt and overthrow the false-believing Turks, and finally to establish the thousand years' kingdom in Mecca and convert the whole world. The principles of his teaching were universal equality, universal law and religion, and community of goods. All who opposed his mission were to be destroyed, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan.

In 1881 Raouf Pasha, who was commissioned by the Khedive to report on Mahomet's plans and purposes, found him residing in Abba island, guarded by a body of chosen followers, who stood before

him with drawn swords. Colonel Stewart says, 'In person the Mahdi is tall and slim, with a black beard and a light brown complexion. Like most Dongolawis he reads and writes with difficulty. Judging from his conduct of affairs and policy I should say he has considerable natural ability. The manner in which he has managed to merge together the usually discordant tribes denotes great tact.' He refused to comply with the demand of the Governor-General that he should accompany him to Khartoum. An expedition of 200 men was therefore sent up by the Nile to take him prisoner; but they were overpowered by a greatly superior force, and were compelled to retire with the loss of 120 of their party, including two officers. The Mahdi then took up his residence at Gabel Gadir, which became his stronghold, and during several months he was allowed unmolested to extend his influence among the neighbouring tribes. A more numerous body of troops, under Rashid Bey, the Mudir of Fashida, in December, 1881, was despatched to drive him out of Gabel Gadir; but they were nearly all cut off, along with their leader, and a large quantity of rifles, ammunition, and stores fell into the hands of the victors. To add to the difficulties of the Egyptian government, a revolt broke out at this time in the province of Sennaar, on the Blue Nile, headed by a nephew of the Mahdi. The insurgents defeated a body of Egyptian troops who garrisoned Sennaar, and captured and plundered the town. But on the 3rd of May the rebels met with a signal defeat at the hands of Giegler Pasha, an Austrian officer, and Shere Ahmed Talba, their leader, was slain. The Pasha gained another victory over them on the 25th of May, and this insurrection was in consequence prevented from spreading beyond the banks of the Blue Nile.

In the beginning of 1882 another and stronger expedition, consisting of 6000 soldiers, was fitted out by Abd-el-Kader Pasha, the new Governor-General of the Soudan, and placed under the command of Yussuf Pasha. But on the 7th of June of the same year the Mahdi inflicted a crushing defeat on this force at a place called Gabel Geon, and the whole of the officers and the greater part of the soldiers were killed in the battle. This signal victory gave a great impetus to the insurrection; but the Mahdi was not equally successful in his attacks on Oomchanga and Bara, which were repulsed with enormous loss. In the month of September he made no fewer than three desperate assaults on El Obeid, the capital of Kordofan; but, though his followers fought with the greatest fury, they failed to carry the town. Their losses in the three assaults were said to have reached the enormous total of 40,000 men, but as this information was derived from native sources no reliance can be placed upon its accuracy. Two brothers of the Mahdi and several insurgent chiefs were among the slain. On the other hand, a body of Egyptian troops 3000 strong, under Ali Bey Satfi, sent from Duem about the end of September to attempt to raise the siege of Bara, after suffering terrible privations during their march, were attacked near El Kana. Their commander and all the senior officers, together with 1600 rank and file, were killed, and 1150 rifles and a large quantity of stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. One of the junior officers, however, rallied the troops and drove off the enemy, and the remnant of the force succeeded in reaching Bara with the help of the garrison, which had come out to meet them. The sanguinary repulses at El Obeid and Bara so much discouraged the rebels that many of them deserted the standard of the Mahdi, and it was thought that all danger to the government from the revolt was now at an end.

During the military rebellion in Egypt little attention was paid to the affairs of the Soudan, but after Arabi's defeat and capture the Khedive and his counsellors lost no time in taking measures for the

suppression of the Mahdi's insurrection, and it was resolved to enlist for that purpose 10,000 men who had fought under Arabi, and to forward them with all speed to Suakim. Occasional encounters took place meanwhile, with varied success, between the Egyptian troops and the followers of the Mahdi, but the insurrection continued to spread and gain strength, both in the Soudan and in the countries beyond. On the 5th of January, 1883, Bara surrendered to the rebels, and 2000 troops, besides a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into their hands. After the repulse of the assaults on El Obeid in September, 1882, the siege had been converted into a blockade. The garrison and the inhabitants alike suffered severely from lack of food; everything eatable was being sold at fabulous prices, and the people kept themselves alive by chewing raw india-rubber, varied with a small ration of dhoora (a kind of rice). At length the garrison abandoned their commander, Achmet Said Pasha, and refused any longer to continue the defence. On the 17th of January, 1883, the town capitulated, and the greater part of the troops took service under the Mahdi.

Two years and a half after the capture of El Obeid, Luigo Bononi, chief of the Latin mission to Central Africa, who had been all that time in captivity with the Mahdi, succeeded in making his escape, and has given a full and thrilling account of the proceedings of the Arabs before and after the taking of El Obeid.

The missionaries established a church at Gebil Deli, three days' journey from Obeid, where they carefully tilled a large piece of land which they had purchased. They converted thirty liberated slaves to Christianity, and trained them to different trades or to farming. A mission was also established at Obeid, consisting of a priest, several laymen, and five nuns. After the Baggara Arabs resolved to join the Mahdi they made a fierce attack upon the mission, but were repulsed by the soldiers appointed to guard it, with the assistance of the Blacks, who fought bravely in their defence. The mission was environed from the 2nd of April to the end of September, 1882. But on the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's force the Mahdi, who had laid siege to Obeid, sent an emir called Mak Oman to attack the mission, and to put all its members to the sword. As the ranks of the assailants increased day by day and the cordon around them was tightened, their situation became desperate. The Egyptian troops appointed to defend them went over to the enemy, and they felt compelled to surrender on condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to proceed unmolested to Egypt. These terms, however, were not observed. The members of the mission—seven in number—were brought before the Mahdi, who imperatively required them immediately to embrace Islamism. On their firm refusal he ordered them to be put to death, but at the last moment he relented, and directed them to be conducted to his tent and to sit down and eat with him. But their situation became most wretched, and one of the laymen and two of the nuns sickened and died under the privations they were compelled to endure.

Meanwhile the garrison of Obeid, who had gallantly resisted the furious assaults of the rebels, were on the brink of starvation. Their sufferings had been terrific. The little corn there was in the place was sold at an enormous price, and the men had become gaunt-looking walking skeletons. 'If one was killed or died there was none to bury him—the arms of the survivors were too weak to dig a grave. Each day lent new horrors to the scene. Men dug up buried carcases of dogs, donkeys, and camels; others stripped the leather from the angeribs—native bedsteads on which the mattress is supported by thongs of leather—and softened them in water and then eat them. The live donkeys were killed and cut up, dogs were treated in the same way, and carrion crows, vultures, and kites furnished coveted articles of food.

Achmet Said Pasha, the stern old Turk who commanded the garrison, still refused to surrender, though the soldiers were so weak that they were unable to hold their rifles, and prowled about like wolves to find something to eat. On 18th January, 1883, the rebels walked over the trenches and entered the Mudirieh and other houses. On learning that they had entered the town the Pasha tried to blow up the magazine and bury the enemy along with himself and his troops in the ruins of the town, but was prevented by the officers. When the dervishes entered the large hall of the Mudirieh they found the commandant sitting in a high carved arm chair of stained wood bolt upright, with his arms folded, gazing at them defiantly. They rushed at him and would have slain him, but others insisted that he should be brought before the Mahdi. "Back, dogs! touch me not," he cried; "I will go myself before this arch-rebel Mahomet Achmet. Lead on!" They instinctively drew back, startled at his terrible voice and fierce aspect. "Hold his hands and search him!" ordered Mahomet Achmet the moment he saw him; and he was just in time with this precaution. The old man was drawing forth from his breast a revolver, and undoubtedly meant to deal death to his enemy. "Take the cursed dog of a Turk away," cried the Mahdi, "and sell him for a slave by auction in the bazaar. Away with him!" Then was the commandant led forth and exposed for sale, but no man durst buy him at first; but it happened that an emir passed by that way, and out of derision cried out, "O auctioneer, I will surely give 680 piastres for this man." So he was knocked down to the emir. Now when this came to the ears of Mahomet Achmet he sent forth an order that the commandant should be slain with all speed; so some dervishes went from the Mahdi's presence then and there and sought out the commandant. They heard that he was in the house of the emir; they went there and ordered that Achmet Pasha should be brought forth. He presented himself to them with unquailing look and bold bearing as the dervishes drew their swords. "You have come to murder me, have you? Cursed cowardly dogs, I fear you not." . . . They fell upon him, pouring out these maledictions, and he died like a brave man with the utmost fortitude.' The dervishes also put to death Ali Bey Sherif and the other officers, but the Mahdi expressed his strong disapprobation of this bloody deed.

The nuns were taken by force out of the house where they were at first allowed to reside, and were distributed as slaves among the emirs. They were treated in the most shocking manner in order to compel them to embrace Islamism, but for a time they resisted all attempts to make them deny their faith. At last 'their strength of mind as well as of body was gone. Driven to desperation, to avoid greater degradations and insults, they affected to embrace Islamism. They were then taken as wives by three Greeks, who themselves had become Mohammedans. These men declare that they did this only to save the women from a worse fate, and that the marriage is really one in name only.'

The padre gives a terrible description of the extremities to which the people at Obeid were reduced by famine and sickness after the capture of the town by the Arabs. 'Famine,' he says, 'stalked through the town, and it was full of that direst of diseases, small-pox. Men were dying of corruption right and left. As the Egyptian soldiers had done during the siege the Arabs were doing now—actually digging up skeletons of carcases buried years back. It was found that many merchants who had fled from Obeid had buried their gum in the ground. This, though it had become rotten, was now dug up and eaten by hundreds.' Benoni states that the Arabs were terror-stricken by the news of the British victories at Abou Klea and Metammah, and flatly refused to appear in arms against the British troops, whom they regarded as invincible. He asserts that

had the victorious forces advanced at that time the Arabs intended to flee to the mountains and deserts, so that the British troops might have walked into Khartoum without opposition.

The force which had been organized for the suppression of the rebellion was by this time assembled at Khartoum. The nominal command had been given to Suleiman Nyasi, lest the appointment of a foreigner and a Christian should be made use of by the Mahdi to arouse still further the fanaticism of his followers. But the chief command was in reality intrusted to Colonel Hicks, a retired Anglo-Indian officer, who had associated with him Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne, Lieutenant-Colonel de Coëtlogon, Majors Martin and Farquhar, Captains Warner, Massey, Evan, Walker, and Surgeon-Major Rosenberg. On the 26th March Alla-ed-Deen Pasha, an active and energetic officer who had been governor of the Red Sea provinces, was proclaimed at Khartoum as Governor-General of the Soudan, in the room of Abd-el-Kader Pasha.

Major-General Hicks had formed a camp at Omdurman, on the west side of the Nile, opposite to Khartoum, and had collected there, by the end of August, a force of 7000 infantry, 120 cuirassiers, and 300 Bashi-Bazouk cavalry. Several detachments subsequently augmented his troops to upwards of 10,000 men. They had with them thirty guns, along with rockets and howitzers of all sizes.

While on their march for Gebel-Ain, on the 29th of April, the Egyptian forces were furiously assailed by the Arabs, but fortunately they had time to form a square, and in this position to receive the attack of the enemy. The correspondent of the *Daily News* wrote home a vivid description of the fight. 'We opened a tremendous fusilade,' he said, 'from our front face apparently without effect, for still they came on gallantly, but at 500 yards they began to fall fast. Still the chiefs led on their men with all the recklessness and romantic chivalry of the Saracenic knights. One by one they fell dismounted, two or three to rise again and dart forward on foot waving their standards, only to drop and rise no more. After half an hour's continuous rattle of musketry, seeing their chiefs fallen and their banners in the dust, the advancing hordes waver, and are greeted with a tremendous yell from our troops, who stood firmly and unflinchingly, and I may say as steadily as any troops could. Now the enemy move off to the right among the long grass, and our front is cleared. Shells burst among them. Soon all were out of sight, except a few who walked about unconcernedly, and actually singly came up, after the rest had retreated, to within a few yards, brandishing their spears in defiance. One after another these fanatics were shot down. Sheikh after sheikh had gone down with his banner, although the Mahdi had assured each he was invulnerable, and their faithful but misguided followers had fallen in circles around the chiefs they blindly followed. Twelve of the most prominent leaders—nine from Sennaar and three from Kordofan—had left their bones to whiten on the field amidst 300 of their followers.'

Colonel Hicks, who had now received the appointment of commander-in-chief of the expedition, with the rank of General of Division, was compelled by the rainy season to suspend active operations until the autumn. On the 9th of September he began his march up the Nile on El Obeid, keeping as near the western side of the White branch of that river as the inundations would admit. He proposed to leave the river at Berair, and to march through the desert to El Obeid, trusting to the surface posts for a supply of water during the journey. At the request of the Governor-General, Hicks with great reluctance abandoned his intention to establish a line of fortified posts between the Nile and Kordofan, and consented that the whole force should advance together, with fifty days' supply of food only, without attempting to keep up any communication with the rear. The heat was intense, and there was great

loss of life among the camels during the march. The enemy retired before them, sweeping the country bare of cattle.

After twelve days the army reached El Duem, 110 miles from Omdurman, where they rested for four days. On leaving this place they had several skirmishes with the rebels, in which they were victorious. At Alouba they had a successful encounter with the Mahdi's followers, of whom 500 were killed, while General Hicks lost only two of his men. But the further they proceeded from their base of operations their position became more insecure. A telegram received from O'Donovan, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, from 'Sange Hamferid camp,' 45 miles south-west of El Duem, says, 'We are running terrible risk in abandoning our communications and marching 230 miles into an unknown country. But we have burned our ships. The enemy is still retreating, and sweeping the country bare of cattle. The water supply is the cause of intense anxiety. The camels are dropping.' At this stage the curtain closed over this ill-fated expedition, and the full details of its ultimate fate will in all probability never be known. It appears that in order to provide against surprise by the enemy's cavalry, they found it necessary to march in a square, with the baggage, and the camels, horses, and mules, 6000 in number, in the centre. When it was possible a zereba, or dense abattis of thorny bushes, was formed round the square. Their progress in this order, and under the excessive heat, was necessarily slow, extending to only 10 miles a day. They suffered greatly from the want of water, as they found it almost impossible to carry more than a supply for twenty-four hours, and the desert wells were usually four days' march apart. In various instances the enemy had filled the wells with stones and earth and the putrid bodies of men and camels.

In spite of all these privations and sufferings Hicks Pasha pushed on towards Obeid, where the Mahdi had established his headquarters with 3000 men under his command, hoping to crush the rebellion by one decisive blow. But on the 2nd of November his army was led by a treacherous guide into a rocky, wooded, and waterless defile, where an ambuscade had been laid for them by the enemy. The Mahdi's followers were armed both with rifles and artillery, while the Egyptian forces were so situated that they could not use their guns. Though hampered by their position, and suffering severely from thirst, they defended themselves with great gallantry, and for three successive days defeated and drove back the enemy. On the 5th they were again suddenly assailed by the rebels, who had been concealed in the forest. A furious encounter took place, till at length, when their ammunition was completely exhausted, General Hicks ordered bayonets to be fixed, and putting himself at the head of his men made a desperate charge upon the enemy. They were overwhelmed, however, by the multitudes that surrounded them, and were almost annihilated. General Hicks himself fought with conspicuous courage, having his revolver in the one hand and his sword in the other, and cut down a considerable number of his assailants before he was killed. There fell with him Alla-ed-Deen Pasha (Governor-General of the Soudan), several British officers, Mr. O'Donovan, correspondent of the *Daily News*, famous for his adventures in Merv, several Pashas and Beys, and about 1200 officers. Thirty-six Krupp, Nordenfelt, and mountain guns, and all the flags, munitions of war, and camels belonging to the Egyptian army, fell into the hands of the rebels. After the conflict was over, the Mahdi, who had taken care to undergo no personal danger, went over the battlefield, piercing with his spear the dead bodies of the Egyptian soldiers, and exclaiming that it was he who had thus slain them.

For a good many weeks no news had been received respecting the movements of the expeditionary force; and when at length tidings of the terrible disaster which had befallen it reached Khartoum the whole Soudan was in a blaze, and the

Mahdi's divine commission was everywhere credited by the natives. The consternation at Cairo was the greater in consequence of another disaster which befell the Egyptian forces at this time. A body of troops which had been despatched for the relief of the garrison of Tokar, near Suakim —the port on the Red Sea through which intercourse with Khartoum was kept up— had been defeated with the loss of 150 men and a large quantity of ammunition—Captain Moncrieff, the British consul at Suakim, being among those who were killed. The remnants of Hicks Pasha's force were for the most part collected in Khartoum by Colonel Coëtlogon, a British officer in command there, who called in, as far as possible, the outlying garrisons. Some doubts were entertained whether Khartoum itself could hold out against the hordes of insurgents, and the difficulty was increased by the folly of the governor of Suakim, who sacrificed some hundreds of his best soldiers in a mismanaged sortie.

Early in the year Lord Dufferin had pointed out the inutility, and indeed impossibility, of attempting to hold so vast a country as the Soudan in the face of a discontented population, and he had recommended that the Egyptian troops should be withdrawn from the more distant provinces, especially of the Western Soudan. The British government, which on the defeat and massacre of Hicks Pasha's forces had at once countermanded the withdrawal of their troops from Cairo, advised the Khedive not to attempt the reconquest of the Soudan, but to relieve, as quickly as possible, the invested posts, to hold the Red Sea coast and the valley of the Nile as far as Wady Halfa, and to remain on the defensive. It was at the same time intimated to the Khedive that though neither British nor Indian soldiers would be sent out, a fleet would, in case of need, be despatched to Alexandria.

The Khedive and his counsellors were very reluctant to follow the advice of the British government, but they speedily discovered that they had no alternative. The native tribes in the eastern district now broke out into open rebellion. They blockaded the garrisons at Sinkat and Tokar, cut off communication between Berber and Suakim, and even menaced Suakim itself, where they were only kept at bay by the British gunboats in the harbour. The attempt in November to relieve the garrison of Tokar, as we have seen, had completely failed, and a month later a force of 800 men, sent for the relief of Sinkat, was cut to pieces by the Arabs, only forty men having survived the onslaught. No help could be obtained in these circumstances from the new Egyptian forces organized by Sir Evelyn Wood, as they had been enlisted under the distinct condition that they were not to be required to serve in the Soudan. In this extremity the government had recourse to Baker Pasha, who was at the head of a native force—about 3000 in number—which had been raised as a kind of border police. He was despatched to Suakim with strict orders to be cautious in his movements. Osman Digma, an Arab chief, who professed attachment to the Mahdi and had 20,000 men under his command, was at this time pressing hard upon Suakim and the neighbouring posts of Sinkat and Tokar. Baker, though he strangely imagined that his motley and ill-organized army of Egyptians and Nubians was quite able to cope with the far superior force under Osman Digma, fortunately resolved to await the arrival of promised reinforcements before leaving the base of his supplies and the protection of the British gunboats.

Towards the end of January, 1884, the greater part of them came up, and Baker received orders to advance to the relief of Sinkat and Tokar. He had under his command rather more than 3500 men, very imperfectly disciplined, but carrying with them four guns and two Gatlings. They were conveyed by sea to Trinkitat, a small port on the

coast, about 20 miles from Tokar, where they formed a temporary intrenched camp and remained until the 11th of February, when they set out for the relief of Tokar. They had advanced only a few miles into the interior when they were suddenly attacked by the Arabs, who were lying concealed among some rough and broken ground. The cavalry at once took to flight, and all the efforts of the European officers to form the infantry in square to receive the attack of the enemy proved unavailing. As soon as the Arabs came to close quarters the Egyptians threw down their weapons and fled. The panic-stricken fugitives were slaughtered without resistance. Upwards of 2200 were left on the field—the European company being almost entirely cut off; seven British officers and ten other foreign officers were among the slain, and the four guns and the two Gatlings remained in the hands of the victors. The remnant of the force, with such of the European officers as had escaped, found refuge in the intrenched camp, and embarked with all speed for Suakim.

A few days after this disaster the garrison of Sinkat, under their brave governor, Tewfik Pasha, made a desperate effort to cut their way to the coast. After burning everything they could not take with them and destroying the cannon, they marched out, followed by the women and children; but the men were all killed by the Arabs except six, who were taken prisoners along with the women and children. The Bishareen Arabs, enraged at finding nothing in the town, put to death 200 women and nearly 200 children. Some few clerks and women who remained in Sinkat alone were spared. These occurrences made it evident that the native troops could not be relied on to defend the shore of the Red Sea and the valley of the Lower Nile against the insurgent Arabs under Osman Digma, and that the port of Suakim was in imminent danger of falling into his hands.

In this emergency the British government, after some weeks of hesitation and suspense, resolved, immediately after the opening of Parliament, to send a force under General Graham to restore order and to protect Egypt against the spread of insurrection and fanaticism. By the end of February upwards of 4000 men, including 750 cavalry and mounted infantry, 115 men from the Naval Brigade, and 200 artillerymen and engineers, were assembled at Suakim. On the 29th they set out from their camp at Fort Baker to attack the intrenched position of the Arabs at the village of Teb, a few miles inland from Trinkitat. Osman Digma's men fought with desperate courage, but were defeated with the loss of 1500 men in killed and wounded, though the British troops suffered heavily both in officers and men. Four officers and twenty-six non-commissioned officers and men were killed, and twenty-two officers and about 120 men were wounded. Next day the British troops, without further opposition, advanced to Tokar, which they burned, and having recovered Baker Pasha's guns and stores they returned to Suakim.

The Arab sheikhs, however, were in no way intimidated by their defeat, and replied in defiant terms to General Graham's proclamation inviting them to come in and make terms. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to break up another strong encampment which they had formed at Tamai, a place about 16 miles to the south-west of Suakim. On the 13th of March the troops moved out from the place where they had bivouacked for the night, and commenced an attack on the enemy's position. The Arabs rushed out from the valley in which they had lain concealed, and flung themselves with such extraordinary fury and determination upon the leading square that it was forced back level with the second. But after a fierce though brief contest, they were driven back with great loss into the nullah from which they had at first emerged. This was soon cleared, and the village of Tamai was occu-

pied and burned along with Osman Digma's camp and the accumulated stores there which had been taken from the Egyptians. In this fiercely contested fight the British force had seven officers and nearly 100 men killed, while about half that number were wounded. The Arab loss was estimated at about 3000. A third expedition was undertaken against Osman Digma's position at Tamanieb, during which the troops suffered severely from the heat, but met with little opposition from the enemy. After destroying the village the troops returned to Suakim, but the greater part of them were speedily withdrawn, and only a small force was left in garrison there to act in concert with the naval force in the Red Sea.

While these events were taking place in the Soudan great uneasiness was felt both by the British government and people respecting the safety of Egypt itself; and after the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's force a universal and earnest desire was expressed that Colonel Gordon should be sent back to the Soudan. Dr. Schweinfurth, the celebrated African traveller, wrote:—'The Europeans at Khartoum appear to be anxious for the reappointment of His Excellency Gordon Pasha as Governor-General; they believe, rightly or wrongly, that he is the only man capable of crushing the rebellion.' 'A large number of the most influential natives,' he added, 'held the same opinion, and Gordon was the most popular and beloved Governor-General that ever ruled the Soudan.' The public journals, re-echoing the public feeling, earnestly recommended that 'Chinese Gordon,' a man with 'a born genius for command, an unexampled capacity in organizing "Ever-victorious Armies," and a perfect knowledge of the Soudan and its people,' should be sent to Khartoum with full power to assume absolute control of the territory, to treat with the Mahdi, to relieve the garrisons, and to do what could be done to save what could be saved from the wreck in the Soudan. Every one, indeed, felt that Gordon was the man for the hour, and loud and general were the expressions of satisfaction when it was announced, on the 18th of January, that he had undertaken the pacification of the Soudan. It was subsequently stated by Sir Charles Dilke that many months before a suggestion had been made by the ministry to the late Egyptian government that Colonel Gordon should be sent out to the Soudan; but it was not received with favour either by the Khedive and his advisers or by the British representatives at Cairo, and Gordon himself was at that time averse to going. The change of circumstances in the Soudan overcame the reluctance of the Egyptian government to avail themselves of Gordon's aid. and this 'Christian hero,' as the premier termed him, was requested to undertake the difficult task of extricating the Egyptian garrisons and restoring order in the Soudan. He was at Brussels making arrangements with the King of the Belgians to proceed to the Congo, when, on the 17th of January, he was recalled to London by a telegram from the Government, and asked if he was able to go to Egypt, and if so when. He promptly expressed his willingness to go and his readiness to start on the shortest notice.

He was informed that it was the intention of the Government to evacuate the Soudan, and expressed his concurrence in the propriety of adopting that policy. The instructions given him by Lord Granville were that he was to report to Her Majesty's Government on the military situation in the Soudan, and on the measures which it might be advisable to take for the security of the Egyptian garrisons still holding positions in that country, and for the safety of the European population in Khartoum. He was also instructed to consider and report upon the manner in which the safety and the good administration by the Egyptian government of the ports on the sea-coast could best be secured. He was to give special consideration to the question

of the steps that might be usefully taken to counteract the stimulus which it was feared would be given to the slave-trade by the insurrectionary movement of the Mahdi, and by the withdrawal of the Egyptian authority from the interior. Gordon had submitted to the Government a scheme which Mr. Gladstone said in any other man's hands would have been presumptuous and fanatical, but it was not presumptuous nor fanatical in the case of a man with the gifts and powers of General Gordon. He proposed to reconstitute the country by giving back to the different petty sultans of the Soudan their ancestral powers, which had been withdrawn or suspended during the period of Egyptian occupation, and to endeavour to form a confederation of these sultans. By adopting this plan he felt confident that he would be able to extricate the Egyptian garrisons and civil officials with their families, and to remove them to Lower Egypt without much difficulty.

A few hours sufficed to complete Gordon's personal arrangements, and on the evening of the 18th January he left Charing Cross station by the Indian mail, accompanied by Colonel Stewart of the 11th Hussars, who was to act as the chief of his staff and his confidential assistant. So quietly were General Gordon's arrangements made that the only persons who met at the station to wish him God-speed were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Wolseley, Colonel Brocklehurst, and Mr. Robert Gordon, his nephew, and Lord Hartington's private secretary. The duke procured the gallant officer's ticket, Lord Wolseley insisted on carrying his portmanteau, and Colonel Brocklehurst opened the carriage door for the man who was followed in his perilous enterprise by the good wishes and prayers of millions of his fellow countrymen.

General Gordon reached Port Saïd on the 24th, and he and Colonel Stewart proceeded at once to Cairo, where he received, as he was told to expect, his final instructions from Sir Evelyn Baring, her Majesty's agent and consul-general at Cairo. He was informed that a credit of £100,000 had been opened for him at the finance department, and that further funds would be supplied to him on his requisition when this sum was exhausted. He drew up a memorandum commenting on the instructions which he had received, reiterating his approval of the resolution of the Government to evacuate the Soudan, which he declared to be 'a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so;' but at the same time declaring that it 'would be an iniquity to reconquer these people, and then hand them back to the Egyptians without guarantees of future good government.' It is evident that this could not be secured them without an inordinate expenditure of men and money, and the attempt ought not to be made; indeed it was impracticable at any cost. He proposed, therefore, that the country should be restored to the ancient families whose territories had been seized by the Egyptian authorities at the time of Mehemet Ali's conquest, and thus a rival power would be raised up to that of the Mahdi.

On the morning after his arrival at Cairo General Gordon called on the Khedive, by whom he was most courteously received, and was reappointed by him Governor-General of the Soudan, with full powers, civil and military. His arrival restored confidence among all classes, European and native, to a most wonderful extent, and no doubt was entertained that under his powerful control the Soudan would be restored to peace and order. On 3rd February Dr. Schweinfurth wrote from Cairo, 'General Gordon flashed through Cairo like a meteor. I feel sure that he will have a complete success in the Soudan. His policy there will astonish the world.'

Gordon's last words to Nubar Pasha were, 'I will save the honour of Egypt.' He left Cairo about the middle of February, and hastened onward with all possible speed. 'History records no more heroic

figure than that of this simple-minded, God-fearing Christian officer riding forth with only one English friend and companion, the gallant Colonel Stewart, and a few Arab attendants, to confront the wild and barbarous hordes of the Mahdi. The eyes of the whole civilized world followed with eager but anxious gaze the progress of that little cavalcade.' The most dangerous part of his journey was that from Korosko to Berber, across the Nubian desert, on his camel ride of 240 miles to Abou Hamid; but he passed it in safety, and reached Berber in high spirits and very sanguine as to the success of his mission. To provide for the administration and defence of the district he appointed a council of twelve Notables, presided over by the governor of the province, Hussein Pasha Khalifa. He forwarded to Khartoum a proclamation informing the people that the Soudan was now independent to govern itself without any interference on the part of the Egyptian government; that their old privileges would be renewed; that one-half of the taxes would be remitted; and that 'whoever had slaves in his service should have full right to their services and full control over them.' Hussein Pasha Cheri, vice-governor of Khartoum, had been guilty of the most shocking acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, and Gordon sent forward orders removing him from his office and appointing Colonel de Coëtlogon in his room. Before leaving Berber he telegraphed to the Egyptian premier that he need give himself no further anxiety about this part of the Soudan. The people, great and small, were heartily glad to be free of a union which had only caused them sorrow.

The late Frank Power, Her Majesty's acting-consul and the correspondent for the *Times*, resided at Khartoum from the 1st August, 1883, until 10th September, 1884. It was almost exclusively from his despatches that the country and the government first of all heard of the disaster which befell Hicks Pasha's army, the triumph of the Mahdi, and the gradual closing of the enemy around Khartoum. Associated with him was the late Edmund O'Donovan, the celebrated correspondent of the *Daily News*. Their object was to accompany Hicks Pasha in his march on the strongholds of the Mahdi in Kordofan. Travelling together they crossed the desert route from Suakim to Berber in twelve days, and pushed on thence with all speed to Khartoum. There they found Hicks Pasha's army, and after a short interval accompanied its march towards Kordofan. O'Donovan shared the privations and perils of the soldiers, and fell with them at El Obeid. But on the third day's march Power was attacked with dysentery, and was so ill that his life was despaired of. On reaching Duem, a port on the Nile, the Surgeon-General ordered him to be sent back to Khartoum, which he reached in two days on board the Governor-General's steamer. His recovery, though slow, was complete, and by the end of October he was once more fit for duty.

Power's home letters, which have since been published, though brief, are exceedingly interesting, and to them and to his telegrams we are indebted for a graphic and stirring account of General Gordon's arrival at Khartoum, of his energetic efforts to establish order and to keep the hostile tribes around him at bay; of his victories and misfortunes; of the valour of his Arab assailants, and the treachery and cowardice of his Turkish and Egyptian troops. He corroborates in very striking terms all that Gordon has said respecting the misgovernment of the Soudan by the Egyptian officials, and the manner in which they oppressed and plundered the natives. 'The Soudani and the Arabs,' he said, 'are splendid fellows; ground down and robbed by every ruffian who has money enough (ill-gotten) to buy himself a position of Pasha or free license to rob, they are quite right to rebel and hurl the nest of robbers to the other side of Siout. For years it has been *Kourbash, kourbash, et toujours kourbash.* This gets monotonous, and the poor devils rebel. . . . Every Arab must

pay a tax—for himself, children, and wife or wives. This he has to pay three times over—once for the Khedive, once for the tax-collector or local Beys, and once for the Governor-General. The last two are illegal, but still scrupulously collected to the piastre. To pay this he must grow some corn, and for the privilege of growing corn he must pay £3 per annum. To grow corn the desert must have water; the means of irrigation is a sakeh, a wheel like a mill-wheel, with buckets on it which raise the water into a trough, and then it flows in little streams over the land. A sakeh is turned by two oxen. Every man who uses a sakeh must pay £7; if he doesn't use it he must go into prison for life and have his hut burned. Every one must pay for the right of working to earn money; every one must pay if they are idle; in any case every one must pay to make the officials rich. If you have a merkib, or trading-boat, you are fined £4 if you don't continually fly the Egyptian flag, and you must pay £4 for the privilege of flying it. It is this system, and not the Mahdi, that has brought about this rebellion. The rebels are in the right, and God and chance seem to be fighting for them; and, as long as I live to see you once more, I hope they will hunt every Egyptian, neck and crop, out of the Soudan. Better a thousand times the barbarities of slavery than the detestable barbarities and crimes of the Egyptian rulers.'

The native merchants, some of whom possessed great wealth, though they lived in what outside looked like a mud hut, were mercilessly robbed and oppressed by the Egyptian officials. If one of them showed any outward signs of wealth the Pasha let him know quietly that he would at once be charged with treason, or accused of some other heinous offence, if he did not make him a present, generally of from £300 to £1000. One of these Pashas who quitted the Soudan in 1883 admitted that he had made £60,000. He came there as a clerk at £2 a month. The Governor took a fancy to him and made him chief of the tax-gatherers; in three years he gained the rank of Pasha and £60,000—'meaning,' says Mr. Power, '5000 ruined homes, several million strokes of the bastinado, rapine, robbery, and men driven to desperation and shot down at their doors.'

Gordon so thoroughly sympathized with these views of the English consul, that he repeatedly expressed his conviction that the Arabs ought to be regarded as patriots and not rebels; and he gave the people distinctly to understand that he had come to deliver them from the oppression of the Egyptian rulers. 'It should be proclaimed,' he said, 'in the hearing of all the Soudanese, and engraved on tablets of brass, that no Turk or Circassian would ever be allowed to plunder its inhabitants to fill his own pockets.' On this principle he acted the moment he entered Khartoum.

Gordon's recognition of the Mahdi as the Sultan of Kordofan excited some surprise at home, accompanied by expressions of dissatisfaction; but the impostor was already the virtual ruler of that province, holding El Obeid with a victorious army, and the official recognition of the fact might have had some effect in preventing his advance upon Khartoum. He received Gordon's letter formally appointing him Sultan of Kordofan with apparent delight, and gave a robe of honour to the General's messenger; but after long discussions with his chief supporters, and after various replies to the letter had been written and condemned, he appears to have been induced to decline the offer.

On the morning of February 18 Gordon made his entry into Khartoum, where he was welcomed by the people with every demonstration of enthusiastic delight. 'I come without soldiers,' he said to them, 'but with God on my side to redress the evils of the Soudan. I will not fight with any weapons but justice. There shall be no more Bashi-Bazouks.' These, the first words which their new deliverer addressed to them, promising them relief from extortionate officials

and from plundering oppressors, were both in harmony with his character and exactly suited to the critical situation. Immediately on his arrival Gordon summoned the officials to meet him, thus preparing the people for some salutary changes. He next held a levee at the Mudirieh, to which the entire population, even the poorest Arabs, were admitted. On his way from the Palace to the Mudirieh, Mr. Power says, about 1000 persons pressed forward, kissing his hands and his feet, and calling him 'Sultan,' 'Father,' and 'Saviour of Kordofan.'

Gordon at once set himself vigorously to reform the numerous abuses that had sprung up since he had resigned his office of Governor-General. He made the market free from tolls and taxes. He opened offices in the Palace, and invited the people to come and tell their grievances to him and Colonel Stewart. At each of the gates into the Palace grounds he caused boxes to be placed, into which petitions and complaints might be dropped, as was done during his previous term of office. The burden of taxation had pressed very heavily upon the people, and many of them were in terror lest payment of their arrears of taxes should be demanded of them. To relieve in the most effectual way their apprehensions the governor caused a great fire to be made in front of the Palace, and the government books, containing an account of their debts, were burned in their presence. The kourbashes, whips, and implements for administering the bastinado were brought from the Government House and heaped on the blazing pile, and thus, as Mr. Power remarked, the evidence of debt and the emblems of oppression perished together.

In the afternoon General Gordon created a council of the local Notables — all Arabs. He then, along with Colonel Stewart and Colonel Coëtlogon, visited the prison, the hospital, and the arsenal. In the prison—a dreadful den of misery—they found no fewer than 200 persons loaded with chains and subjected to the greatest privations and wretchedness. They were of all ages, old men and women, and even boys. Some had been confined for months and even years without being brought to trial. Some had been tried and proved innocent, but forgotten for six months; some had been detained long after their sentences had expired. Some had been arrested on mere suspicion, and imprisoned more than three years. In not a few cases no offence known to the gaolers was imputed to them, and many were merely prisoners of war. One, a woman, who had been fifteen years in prison, said, 'All the best of my life has been spent in this place. I was only a child when I committed the crime. May I not now go free?' Before it was dark scores of wretches had had their chains struck off. Only those who on careful examination were found deserving of imprisonment were detained. Colonel Stewart was intrusted with the duty of examining into the case of each prisoner and reporting on them, in order that justice tempered with clemency might be dealt out to them all. These much-needed reforms were hailed with the most lively satisfaction.

At night the town was in a blaze of illumination, the bazaar being hung with cloth and coloured lamps, and the private houses beautifully decorated. There was even a fine display of fireworks by the negro population, who indulged in great rejoicings till midnight. 'In that distant city of the Nile, where a few days before all was misery, despondency, and confusion, the coming of one noble-hearted Englishman, resolute, right, and fearless, had changed despair into hope and turned mourning into joy. The people of Khartoum instantly recognized that their protector and deliverer had once more come among them, and that his word was to be trusted when he told them they were no longer to be oppressed by the Circassians, Kurds, and Anatolians, who represented all they ever knew of their distant rulers in Cairo.'

The first steps Gordon took on assuming the government showed his determination to do justice without respect of persons. Sheikh Belad of Khartoum was carried into Gordon's presence with his feet fearfully mutilated, six weeks after Hussein Pasha Cheri, the late Vice-Governor, had bastinadoed the old man till the sinews of his feet were exposed. General Gordon telegraphed to Cairo that £50 was to be stopped out of Hussein's pay for the benefit of the Sheikh, and if he objected he was to be returned to Khartoum for trial. Another Sheikh complained that the ex-Vice-Governor had caused his brother to be flogged to death. Instances of Hussein's perfidy were discovered daily, and information was received that on his way down to Cairo he was busily spreading evil reports against the new Governor. Gordon was not inclined to allow such conduct to pass with impunity, and he immediately sent orders by telegraph that two large boxes of money belonging to Hussein should be seized on his arrival at Korosko.

A proclamation from the new Governor-General to the people of Khartoum, which preceded his arrival, excited great surprise at home, and led to a good deal of discussion both in Parliament and throughout the country; but it probably did more than anything else towards enabling Gordon to win Khartoum. After assuring the people that the Soudan and its government had now become independent, and would look after their own affairs without any interference on the part of the Egyptian government, he proceeded to say that he was well aware of the discontent which had been felt on account of the decrees that had been issued abolishing the trade in slaves and punishing those concerned in it; but 'henceforward nobody would interfere with them in the matter, and everyone for himself might take a man into his service; he was at liberty to do as he pleased in the matter.' As might have been expected, from the intense hatred of slavery which prevailed in the United Kingdom, this proclamation elicited strong expressions of dissatisfaction, and in the House of Commons the Opposition demanded in indignant terms to know whether Britain was about to be untrue to her principles, and to reverse her policy in dealing with the infamous traffic in human beings. The ministers, however, resolutely stood by the man who at their request had, at the risk of his life, gone to the Soudan on the understanding that he was to act according to his own judgment in regard to the measures which should be adopted to restore peace and order in the province. They called attention to the distinction between domestic slavery and the slave-trade carried on by foreigners in the adjoining countries, and to the fact that the right of holding slaves is recognized by Egyptian law, and argued that if anyone was endeavouring to put it into the minds of the people of Khartoum that their property would be confiscated without notice and without compensation, General Gordon's proclamation would be necessary to insure them that they would not be disturbed in their rights, and that what had been legal before would be legal still.

Mr. Gladstone, who vigorously repelled the attack made on the proclamation, referred to the book entitled 'Colonel Gordon in Central Africa,' where it was set forth by the Governor-General of the Soudan himself that slavery is so interwoven with the texture of life in the Soudan, that it would be impossible to put an end to it by any summary proclamation, that seven-eighths of the population of the Soudan are in a state of slavery, that this condition has a term of existence fixed by Egyptian law, and until the expiry of that term, in 1889, it is under the distinct guarantee of that law. Gordon himself, in his home letters, had pointed out the enormous difficulties connected with the settlement of the slave-trade in the Soudan, and how absurd it was for people to imagine that he had only to say the word and slavery would cease. 'Slavery abolition,' he said,

'touches everyone. How can you deal with it so as to avoid a civil war or a rising of the people? You must either pay compensation, or you must allow a term of years, in order that slavery may die out.' The confidence universally felt in the integrity and judgment of the man whose life was devoted to the extinction of the slave trade, and who had declared 'Would to God, by laying down my life, I could put an end to it,' speedily silenced this outburst of mistaken feeling.

Immediate emancipation, Gordon said, was denounced in England in 1833 as confiscation, and it was no less confiscation in the Soudan to-day; and it was simply impossible to carry such a measure into effect. No person acquainted with the condition of the Soudan, a country 'larger than Germany, France, and Spain together,' or the habits and feelings of its inhabitants, could imagine that they would be willing to relinquish their property in slaves—property of which they themselves did not recognize the iniquity—without compensation, at the mere bidding of a Governor who had no power to compel compliance with his mandates.

No man hated slavery more than General Gordon, but no man knew better what he could do and could not do, and what he must do in order to accomplish the task he had undertaken. He was well aware that the attempt to destroy the slave-trade by operations in the Soudan would have only two effects—it would render that trade more difficult, and therefore more cruel to the victims, and it would lead to constant wars in the Soudan, which could not fail to be productive of confusion and anarchy, and great suffering to the people. He was therefore of opinion that the slave-trade must be suppressed not in the Soudan itself, but in the districts where its roots are fixed, in Egypt Proper and on the Red Sea.

All classes were in favour of slavery. The Mahdi was fighting as much for the slave-trade as for his religious pretensions. General Gordon, indeed, regarded him as a mere puppet put forward by Ilyas, Zubair's father-in-law and the largest slaveholder in Obeid, and that he had assumed his religious title to give colour to his defence of the popular demands. This being the case, and Gordon well knowing that the influential classes throughout the Soudan entertained this view, he appears in his proclamation to have simply put before them the new position of affairs in the way most likely to attract their attention and to secure their approbation. He was charged to arrange for the evacuation of the Soudan. He informed the chiefs that Egypt was going to withdraw her garrisons, and that in future they were to be independent. 'Your grievance,' he says, 'has been that we interfered with what you call your property—your slaves. Very well; in future we shall not interfere with your slaves or with any other of your institutions, bad or good.' It is evident indeed that Gordon's instructions implied that he had no authority to attempt the suppression of slavery in the Soudan. He was not only to make arrangements for the evacuation of the country, but he was to hand it over to the native Sultans who governed it before the Egyptian invasion and conquest, and this step necessarily included the renunciation of any right to interfere with their internal institutions or administration.

General Gordon did not, however, abate his earnest desire or abandon his efforts to suppress the vile slave-trade. He was of opinion that much might be done for that purpose by limiting the market in Egypt itself, where the roots of the trade were fixed, and by carrying out the plan which he had formed during his first Governor-Generalship. A heavy tax on existing slaves and the prohibition of future sales would, he believed, have an immense effect in stopping the demand, and consequently in making it less worth while for the Soudanese tribes to give themselves up to the traffic.

Another recommendation which Gordon made at this time excited, if possible, even

stronger disapprobation. On the day of his arrival at Khartoum he telegraphed to Cairo that the co-operation of Zubair Pasha would be invaluable in uniting the local tribes against the Mahdi, and establishing a settled form of government after the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops. He pointed out the difficulties that surrounded him, showed that when the garrisons and officials were removed all form of government would disappear, and urged in the strongest terms he could employ that supreme power should be placed in the hands of Zubair Pasha. This man, who had been chief of the slave-hunters, and was a direct descendant of the Abbasides, had accumulated enormous wealth, lived in princely state, and possessed almost independent authority in the Bahr Gazelle province. Gordon said he had devastated hundreds of miles of fertile land, and had spread desolation and sorrow among a once happy population. Though he had been created a Pasha of Egypt, he had raised a fierce revolt against the government, and had treacherously surprised and massacred their troops. His son had been executed by Gordon's orders, and he had himself been condemned to death, but had been pensioned by the Khedive, and retained in a species of honourable captivity. Nubar Pasha, to whom Zubair had promised a very large bribe, had offered to send him to the assistance of the Governor-General in 1879, but the offer was peremptorily declined. Yet, strange to say, Gordon now earnestly recommended that the government of the Soudan should be intrusted to this 'king of the slave-hunters.' The choice, he said, lay between Zubair and the Mahdi. The moment Khartoum was evacuated the Mahdi would walk in, and as for the slave-trade he would be ten times worse than Zubair; and the payment of the subsidy to the latter might, he said, be made contingent on his not carrying on the slave-trade on a large scale. It would be necessary to give Zubair £200,000 or £300,000 a year, in addition to a donation 'down on the nail' of £150,000 to £200 000 to replenish his magazines and stores, to make over to him the expedition's boats and steamers, &c., and to aid him for two months in small expeditions. Gordon anticipated that there would be 'a fearful row' if his proposals were agreed to. He knew one man who would write, 'Better, my dear Gordon, *far* better, to have died than have so very far departed from the right path.'

If his friend had made this statement it would not have been without good reason, for it is evident that Gordon had no great faith in the stability of any Government that Zubair might set up. He defends the startling recommendation that Zubair should be sent up by this still more startling argument, 'If Zubair fails after some time, what is it to you? You did your best and saved your honour.' If Gordon had reflected seriously on this statement, instead of writing, as he evidently did, on the impulse of the moment, he would have seen the fallacy of the advice which he here gives. He did not expect that permanent tranquillity would be restored to the Soudan by placing it under the authority of a man who was his own bitter personal enemy, but merely that the honour of the British Government would be saved. Probably, however, the immediate prospect of saving the lives of the troops and officials committed to his care, most of whom he expected to be able to withdraw to Egypt, outweighed other considerations, of which his own safety would be the last.

The British government, however, declined to adopt this recommendation, though it was strongly supported both by Lord Wolseley and by Sir Evelyn Baring, who said, on the 8th of March, 'I believe that Zubair Pasha may be made a bulwark against the approach of the Mahdi. Of course there is a certain risk that he will constitute a danger to Egypt, but this risk is, I think, a small one; and it is in any case preferable to incur it rather than to face the certain disadvantages of withdrawing without making any provision for the

future government of the country, which would thus be sure to fall under the power of the Mahdi.'

Gordon himself, however, was at one time of a very different opinion. On his way to Khartoum he heard that the Egyptian Government had an idea of employing Zubair at Suakim, and he immediately protested as follows:—'My objection to Zubair is this: he is a first-rate general and a man of great capacity, and he would in no time eat up all the petty Sultans and consolidate a vast State, as his ambition is boundless. I would therefore wish him kept away, as his restoration would be not alone unjust, but might open up the Turco-Arabic question. Left independent the Sultans will doubtless fight among themselves, and one will try to annex the other; but with Zubair it would be an easy task to overcome these different States and form a large independent one.' Colonel Stewart, who knew the Soudan and Zubair well, confirmed Gordon's opinion: 'Zubair's return,' he said, 'would undoubtedly be a misfortune to the Soudanese, and also a direct encouragement to the slave trade. As he would be by far the ablest leader in the Soudan he would easily overturn the newly-erected political edifice and become a formidable power.'

Though the Government rejected this proposal General Gordon renewed it over and over again on their declining to take any other steps for his relief, especially when he learned that he was supported by Sir Evelyn Baring, as it was an enormous assistance, he said, to have his approbation. The Soudan was a useless possession; we could not govern it, neither could Egypt, and since it was to be abandoned and left to its own devices, 'what difference could it possibly make whether Zubair or the Mahdi carried on slave-hunting, for, according to all accounts, the Mahdi was the most active in that direction.' The point at issue was how we could get out of the Soudan with honour, for it would be a palpable dishonour to abandon the garrisons. The only way to do this was either by some sort of provisional government under Zubair, or by giving the country to the Turks. The Turks were the best solution, though most expensive. They would keep the Soudan if they got a donation of £2,000,000. The next best was Zubair with £500,000 and £100,000 a year for two years; he would keep the Soudan for a time. In both cases the slave-trade would flourish, but quiet would be maintained in Egypt, and the Soudan garrisons could be withdrawn by January, 1885. If one or other of these plans were not adopted, the government might lay their account with a great deal of worry and danger, and with an unprofitable and not creditable termination of their campaign.

It was no doubt most desirable, on grounds of expediency and humanity, to attempt the relief of the Egyptian garrisons, but assuredly not as a point of national honour. The British government did not place these garrisons in the Soudan, and could not be held responsible for their extrication, which the Khedive, if left to his own resources, would have been utterly powerless to effect. With respect to the recommendation that the Soudan should be handed over to the tender mercies of the Turks, a people notorious for their misgovernment and oppression of the countries subject to their rule—if it had been carried into effect it would neither have promoted the welfare of the Soudanese nor have relieved the British government of any responsibility they had incurred in connection with this unfortunate enterprise. With regard to the alternative proposal, that Zubair should be appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, the Government, in declining to accede to it, seem to have been greatly influenced by the considerations—that apart from his infamous character it was not unlikely that he might ally himself with the Mahdi, one of whose chief supporters was Zubair's father-in-law, and thus become a source of increased danger to Egypt, instead of a security

against the False Prophet and his followers; that his appointment would give increased impetus to the slave-trade; and that from his deep-rooted hatred to General Gordon, on account of the execution of his son, the life of the Governor-General would be in imminent danger if he were in the Soudan at a time when Zubair had the supreme control there. All competent authorities, indeed, including General Gordon's own brother Sir Henry, declared that if Zubair were allowed to go to Khartoum, he would find means of taking the great soldier's life.

Gordon, however, had no time to spend in discussing the opinions which were expressed respecting his policy. An important work was laid to his hand, which he required to do at once with all his might. Such was his influence that there was no longer any fears of disturbance within the town, or apprehensions of danger from the rebels without. His personal popularity was unbounded. 'Gordon is a most lovable character,' wrote Power; 'quiet, mild, gentle, and strong; he is so humble too. The way he pats you on the shoulder when he says, "Look here, dear fellow, now what do you advise?" would make you love him. When he goes out of doors there are always crowds of Arab men and women to kiss his feet. He is dictator here. The Mahdi has gone down before him, and to-day sent him a salaam, a messenger of welcome. It is wonderful that one man should have such an influence on 200,000 people. Numbers of women flock here every day to ask him to touch their children to cure them; they call him the "Father and the Saviour of the Soudan." He is, indeed, I believe, the greatest and best man of this century. He is glad if you show the smallest desire to help him in his great trouble. How one man could have dared to attempt this task I wonder. One day of his work and bother would kill another man. Yet he is so cheerful at breakfast, lunch, and dinner; but I know he suffers fearfully from low spirits. I hear him walking up and down his room all night. It is only his great piety carries him through.'

Over the whole of the Southern Soudan, however, the feeling of the people was decidedly hostile to the Khedive, and to all who held authority in his name. The Arabs began their attacks on Khartoum by surprising a party of 300 men, who, through the negligence of the black troops, had been left unprotected, and killing 100 of them.

In less than a month after Gordon's arrival at Khartoum the Mahdi and his lieutenants succeeded in spreading the insurrection throughout most of the Nile districts between Khartoum and Berber. Halfiyeh, a small town some miles north of Khartoum, containing a garrison of 800 men, was surrounded by a body of the enemy 4000 strong, and the communication between it and Khartoum was completely cut off. Though now unimportant it was formerly a place of great consequence. It was once the seat of a native Soudani dynasty, which was defeated and expelled at the time of the Egyptian conquest in 1819–20. General Gordon resolved to make a strenuous effort to relieve the beleaguered garrison, and set out for that purpose with 1200 men and three steamers armoured with boiler plates, and carrying mountain guns with wooden mantlets. The Arabs were entrenched on the banks of the Nile, and had command of that river. But Gordon caused the troops to be stowed below and in large iron barges, so that they were protected from the fire of the enemy. He lost only two men in the conflict, and in a day or two the Arabs were compelled to raise the siege. Not only was the garrison rescued, but a great store of camels and horses, arms and ammunition, was captured.

This success, however, was followed by a serious reverse. The Arabs continued to assemble in great numbers on the banks of the Nile, and to fire on the Palace. Gordon therefore sent a body of Egyptian troops and Bashi-Bazouks, about 2000 strong, commanded by their own officers, to drive

them back. Their lines, running parallel to the Blue Nile, extended for the space of 2 miles from Halfiyeh to a group of wooded sandhills about 8 miles from Khartoum. As the Egyptian troops advanced the Arabs began to retreat, and soon disappeared behind the sandhills, their retreat being covered by about sixty horsemen. The Egyptian force advanced steadily, but as they entered the woods at the foot of the sandhills the officers who were in command, and had been riding a little ahead, suddenly wheeled round on their own men and broke through their ranks. At that moment the Arab horsemen galloped out from behind the sandhills and rode in at the gap which had been opened to admit the officers. The Egyptian forces were at once thrown into confusion and ran for their lives towards Khartoum. Mr. Power, who with Gordon witnessed the whole scene from the roof of the Palace, says, 'The sixty horsemen, who were only armed with lances and swords, dashed about, cutting down the flying men. One Arab lancer killed seven Egyptians in as many minutes. He then jumped off his horse to secure a rifle and ammunition, when a mounted Bashi-Bazouk officer cut him down. The rebel infantry now appeared, and rushed about in all directions, hacking at the men disabled by the cavalry charge. This slaughter continued for nearly 2 miles, the Egyptians not stopping to fire a shot. Then the Arabs halted, and an officer rallied some of the troops, and they commenced a dropping but harmless fire at the enemy. This continued till midday, some of the men dropping from stray bullets fired by the Arabs. The rebels then drew off to their old position, carrying a lot of rifles and cartridges and one mountain piece. The irregulars, instead of returning into camp, coolly adjourned to a neighbouring friendly village opposite the Palace. When they had completely looted this and killed some of the inhabitants, they stalked into the camp.' The Egyptian loss was about 200 killed, while the Arabs lost only four. All the bodies brought into the camp were wounded in the back, for such was the panic that until the Arabs halted none of the Egyptian troops turned to fire a shot. The two Egyptian commanders, Said and Hassan Pashas, whose treachery had caused this defeat, had the hardihood to return to Khartoum after the battle was over. They even ventured into Gordon's tent. Coffee was offered them, but suspecting poison they refused to accept it, until Gordon's secretary, who divined their reason, drank first; they then partook of it. During the remainder of that day they concealed themselves in their houses, dreading the vengeance of the soldiers, who cried out that the pashas had betrayed them, and would have put them to death at once had they appeared in the streets. The next day they were tried by court-martial, and after a long and patient examination they were found guilty of holding communication with the enemy, and of having treacherously caused the defeat and death of their own men. It was proved that the two traitors had appropriated the two months' pay given to the troops on account of six months' arrears. In Hassan's house a great store of rifles and ammunition was discovered, and it appeared that he and his colleague had taken into the field with them seventy rounds of cannon ammunition instead of eight, the usual number, in order that their capture might supply the guns of the rebels for future attacks upon Khartoum. It was also proved that one of them had cut down the sergeant in charge of a gun as he was about to lay his piece, while the other had killed two artillerymen. They were both found guilty, and were shot on the same evening by the men whom they had betrayed.

Shortly after this disaster three armed dervishes arrived at Khartoum sent by the Mahdi to return the robes of honour sent to him by Gordon, which he had at first received with apparent delight, and to intimate his refusal of the office of Sultan of

Kordofan. They brought with them a dervish's dress and a letter calling upon Gordon to become a Mussulman and to embrace the cause of the Mahdi. When the Governor-General declined to accept the dress they behaved with great insolence, but were quietly dismissed with a reply from Gordon, of which the address indicated that the Mahdi's appointment as Sultan of Kordofan was cancelled.

This announcement made it evident that the Mahdi was not to be conciliated, and the only hope of 'smashing' him, as Gordon expressed it, was by force of arms. The General lost no time in preparing for the impending struggle. From 8000 to 10,000 men left Khartoum and joined the rebels, thereby diminishing the danger from treachery. A considerable number of officials and women and children were sent down the river to Berber, and had thence made their way to Korosko. The ammunition was removed to a safe position near the river, where it could not be reached by an artillery attack on the fortifications. The bottom of the ditch and sides of the fortifications were paved with spear heads, and the ground for 100 yards in front was strewn with iron crows' feet (things that have a short spike up however they are thrown), then beyond for 500 yards with broken bottles to wound the naked feet of the Mahdi's men. At intervals there were placed tin biscuit-boxes full of powder, nails, and bullets, at 2 feet under ground, with electric wires to them; and finally, there were three lines of land torpedoes or percussion mines arranged, which proved peculiarly destructive to the enemy.

Gordon's feelings at this juncture were shown by the oft-quoted telegram which he despatched to Sir E. Baring on the 16th of April—'As far as I understand, the situation is this: you state your intention of not sending any relief up here or to Berber, and you refuse me Zubair. I consider myself free to act according to circumstances. I shall hold on here as long as I can, and if I can suppress the rebellion I will do so. If I cannot I shall retire to the equator, and leave you the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons of Sennaar, Kassala, Berber, and Dongola, with the certainty that you will eventually be compelled to smash up the Mahdi under great difficulties if you would retain peace in Egypt.' It had now become evident to Gordon that the rebellion was not likely to be suppressed by peaceful means, though he had not lost all hope of being able to 'smash the Mahdi' by his own unaided resources. He was aware, however, that the insurrection was spreading, and that multitudes of the disaffected were repairing to the standard of the False Prophet. The insurgents had surrounded Berber, Shendy, and Kassala, and were hemming him in at Khartoum; while, as he was well aware, there were traitors in his own camp ready to betray him to the enemy. But his confidence was unshaken, and his exertions to repel the assaults of the rebels were unremitting and successful.

He was not, however, content to remain on the defensive. He sent a steamer up the Blue Nile with a Krupp gun on a barge, which shelled the Arabs on the bank and killed forty of them. A mutiny of the Bashi-Bazouks was suppressed, and 250 of them were disarmed. Repeated successful attacks were made upon the Arabs, in one of which sixteen horses were captured, and forty of their men were killed and eight wounded. Gordon's steamers, which he had protected with bullet-proof armour made of soft wood and iron, and his barges, defended in the same way, with a turret 20 feet in height erected on each of them, cleared the banks of the Nile by day, though the enemy returned at night and kept up a fire on the Palace until daybreak. On the 28th of April Mr. Power mentions that for a week past the garrison had been almost daily engaged with the rebels, who now thoroughly surround Khartoum. General Gordon is busily engaged laying out mines in front of the works in all directions. Yesterday and to-day the rebels came down

to a village opposite and fired heavily on the Palace. We returned the fire with artillery and musketry, and on both occasions the Arabs soon retreated. There was no loss on our side. The town is quiet. Over half the population before the siege went over to the rebels, thus weeding out all bad characters.

'General Gordon is issuing rations to the poor. Food is very dear. We have corn and biscuits for about four months. General Gordon has issued paper money, as our treasure is still at Berber. The merchants accept it as money, and all the arrears to the soldiers can thus be paid off. General Gordon has sent emissaries to offer to all the slaves of the rebels their freedom if they abandon their masters and come in. If they do this it will be a fearful blow to the rebels.

'A messenger from Seyid Mahomet Osman of Kassala, who is an emir of Mecca and chief among the Mussulmans in the Soudan, has come in bringing a letter. The Seyid says he has beaten the rebels around Kassala, and he tells General Gordon to be of good heart and he and all his men will come to his relief. In such respect is this man held that the rebels did not dare to stop the bearer of the letter. One of General Hicks's bandsmen came in last night from El Obeid. The Mahdi has sent two guns, forty boxes of shells, and sixty Remingtons to be used against Saleh Bey, who is still holding out against the rebels at Mesalimieh. This soldier states that Slatin Bey at Darfur has not surrendered to the Mahdi. The Blue Nile is slowly rising, and we hope that in ten or fifteen days the steamers will be able to smite the rebels hip and thigh. The health of the town is excellent, and we three Englishmen in here are well and hopeful.'

By the beginning of May the Arabs, crossing the Blue Nile, had established themselves at Buri, at a distance of about a mile from the eastern corner of the intrenchments. But at this spot the besiegers suffered severely from the mines which General Gordon had laid down as early as the middle of April. Mr. Power mentions in his diary on 7th May that nine mines were exploded in one attack, and nearly 115 of the Mahdi's troops were blown to pieces. 'The Arabs,' he continues, 'kept up a fire all day. Colonel Stewart, with two splendidly-directed shots from a Krupp 20-pounder at the Palace, drove them out of their principal position. During the night the Arabs loopholed the walls (of their village on the opposite bank), but on the 9th we drove them out. They held the place for three days.'

During May and June steamer expeditions were made daily up the White Nile under Saati Bey, who, with slight loss, captured great numbers of cattle and large quantities of corn. In one of the expeditions a shell thrown into an Arab magazine caused a great explosion; in another 200 of the rebels were killed. But on the 20th of July, after burning Kalakla and three villages, Saati Bey attacked Gatarneb, and was unfortunately killed along with three of his officers. Colonel Stewart, who accompanied the expedition, had a narrow escape. This disaster was counterbalanced by a victory gained by the besieged on the 29th of July, when the rebels were driven out of Buri on the Blue Nile, with heavy loss both of men and munitions and rifles. The steamers advanced to El Efan, clearing thirteen rebel forts and breaking two cannon.

Mr. Power notes in his diary under 30th and 31st July that for the last four months the siege had been very close. The enemy had strong forts along the river, and were pushing the siege as closely as ever, the Arab bullets on all sides being able to fall into the Palace. 'Since 17th March,' he says, 'no day has passed without firing, yet our losses in all at the very outside are not 700 killed. We have had a good many wounded, but as a rule the wounds are slight. Since the siege General Gordon has caused biscuit and corn to be distributed to the poor, and up to this time there has

been no case of any one seriously wanting food. Everything has gone up about 3000 per cent. in price, and meat is, when you get it, 8*s.* or 9*s.* an oben. The classes who cannot accept relief suffer most.

'Since the despatch which arrived the day before yesterday all hope of relief by our Government is at an end, so when our provisions are eaten we must fall, nor is there any chance with the soldiers we have, and the great crowd of women, children, &c., of our being able to cut our way through the Arabs. We have not steamers for all, and it is only from the steamers we can meet the rebels.

'One Arab horseman is enough to put 200 of the bulk of our men to flight. The day Saati Bey was killed, eight men with spears charged 200 of our men armed with Remingtons. The soldiers fled at once, leaving Saati and his Vakeel to be killed. A black officer cut down three of the Arabs and the other five charged our men. A horseman coming up rode through the flying mass, cutting down seven. Colonel Stewart, who was unarmed, got off by a fluke, the Arabs not having seen him. With such men as these we can do nothing. The negroes are the only men we can depend upon.

'The attack made by the Soudani troops under Mehemet Ali Pasha on the 28th of this month was most successful; the Arab loss must have been very heavy. As General Gordon has forbidden the soldiers to bring in the heads of rebels they kill, it is now hard to know the exact number. We captured that day sixteen shells and cartouches for mountain guns, a quantity of rifle ammunition, seventy-eight Remingtons, a number of elephant and other rifles, nearly 200 lances, sixty swords, and some horses. Our loss was four killed and some slightly wounded. This action has cleared away the rebels who day and night have been firing into our lines at Buri on the Blue Nile.

'The following day (29th July) a flotilla of four armoured steamers and four armoured barges, with forecastles on them, went up to Gareff on the Blue Nile. I went with them. On the way up we cleared thirteen small forts, but at Gareff found two large strong forts—earthworks riveted with trunks of palm trees. There were two cannons in one. For eight hours we engaged these forts, and with the Krupp 20-pounder disabled their two cannons. The Arab fire was terrific, but owing to the bullet-proof armour on all the vessels our loss was only three killed and twelve or thirteen wounded. Towards the evening we drove the rebels, who were in great numbers, out of the forts.

'In three days General Gordon will send two steamers towards Sennaar. It is to be hoped they will retake the steamer *Mehemet Ali*, which the rebels took from Saleh Bey. General Gordon is quite well, and Colonel Stewart is quite recovered from his wound. I am quite well and happy.'

These diaries of Mr. Power were not received in England until the 29th of September, and as the time the provisions of the besieged garrison were expected to last expired at the end of that month, great anxiety was felt for their safety. But it turned out that either the writer must have been misinformed as to the resources of the troops, or means had been found of supplying their stores, for on the 8th of November a letter was received from Gordon stating that he had sufficient provisions to hold out till the arrival of the expedition sent out for his relief, and Khartoum at last fell into the enemy's hands, not through starvation, but by treachery.

The telegrams which came from Gordon himself about the beginning of October strengthen the impression which Mr. Power's letters produce of the indomitable courage, the noble self-sacrifice, and the unwavering and unmurmuring devotion to duty of the three heroic Englishmen amid privations and perils and treason, keeping at bay for many months the savage hordes of the Mahdi thirsting for their blood. Towards the end of April he notes with satisfaction the rising of the Nile in advance of the

usual period, which would enable the steamers to act with more effect against the enemy. A report had reached him on the 24th of April that an expedition had been despatched with seventy of his captured soldiers, rockets, and guns against Saleh Pasha, that the regular soldiers feigned an attack against Saleh and turned on the rebels, going over to Saleh with their guns and ammunition. This, he remarks, if true, will effectually prevent the Mahdi trying this again. Two days later he notes that one of the soldiers who formed part of the expedition had escaped, and made his way to Khartoum. He informed the General that the expedition consisted of 1000 men, 100 of whom were his soldiers of the Soudan, who sent to say they would turn on the rebels when a battle took place.

'We are making,' writes Gordon to Sir E. Baring, 'decorations for defence of Khartoum, a crescent and a star, with words from the Koran and date, so we count on victory.' These decorations were of three degrees—silver-gilt, silver, and copper—with the inscription 'Siege of Khartoum,' and a grenade in the centre. 'School children and women,' he says, 'have also received one; consequently, I am very popular with the black ladies of Khartoum.' On the 27th he mentions that on the previous day the steamers had gone up the White Nile and captured a number of cows, donkeys, and sheep—taking three of the rebels prisoners and killing seven. To show that the Arabs shoot well he notes that two of his steamers received 970 and 860 shots in their hulls respectively. 'We are sending out negroes,' he says, 'to entice the slaves of rebels to come to us on promise of freedom. The general opinion is that all the slaves will desert by degrees, and that the rebels will leave this dangerous vicinity, not for fear of bullets, but for fear of losing their live chattels. We will take the slaves into Government service, giving them their freedom, clothes, and pay; they get nothing from the rebels. It may be the beginning of the end of slave-holding up here.'

Gordon was a good deal hampered in his operations by the want of money, the remittance sent to him from Cairo having fallen into the hands of the enemy when Berber surrendered. Khartoum cost £500 a day, and the expenses of the other garrisons having to be met, he issued paper notes to the amount of £26,000 and borrowed £50,000 from the merchants. He sent in addition £8000 paper notes to Sennaar. The troops and the people were full of heart, but he could not say the same for all the Europeans. The great body of the Arabs, on the other hand, were spiritless. About 2000 determined men alone kept them in the field. If there was any possible way of avoiding this wretched fighting he should adopt it, for the whole war was hateful to him. The people refused to let him go out on expeditions owing to the bother which would arise if anything happened. 'So,' he says, 'I sit on tenter hooks of anxiety.' He was asked by Sir Evelyn Baring 'to state cause and intention in staying at Khartoum, knowing Government means to abandon Soudan.' He replied somewhat sharply, and no wonder—that he stayed at Khartoum because the Arabs had shut him up and would not let him out. But even if the road was opened the people would not let him go unless he gave them some government or took them with him, which he could not do. No one would leave more willingly than he if it were possible. His sole desire was to restore the prestige of the Government in order to get out the garrisons and to put some ephemeral government in position in order to get away. 'We must fight it out,' he wrote, 'with our own means; if blessed by God we shall succeed—if not his will, so be it.' He was determined, however, to defend Khartoum to the last; he would try and persuade all Europeans to escape, and was still sanguine that by some means God would give him a successful issue.

On the 24th of August General Gordon addressed two interesting letters to the officer commanding the Royal Navy at

Massowah, which showed that he was in much better spirits, and was more hopeful than he was in the spring. After a series of petty fights with the Arabs he had driven them back and opened the road to Sennaar, and was thus relieved from their immediate pressure. He intended to attack them next day, and meditated a raid on Berber in order to open the road to Dongola for a convoy which was to accompany Colonel Stewart and the French and English consuls. 'We shall destroy Berber,' he said, 'and return to our pirate nest here. Our steamers are armoured and bullet-proof and do splendid work, for you see when you have steam on the men cannot run away and must go into action. We are going to hold on here for ever, and are pretty evenly matched with the Mahdi. He has cavalry and we have steamers. We have provisions for five months and hope to get in more.'

Two days later Gordon wrote again to the same officer, and mentions that the attack which he had meditated on the Arabs had been completely successful; the Arab camp had been taken and their commander-in-chief had been killed. This victory had cleared the vicinity of Khartoum on three parts of a circle. The Arab defeat might be put down to the defection of a part of their forces, who came over to Gordon at the moment of attack. The naval forces behaved splendidly. 'You would all delight to be here,' he adds, 'and I wish you were if it was possible. There is one bond of union between us and our troops; they know that if the town is taken they will be sold as slaves, and we must deny our Lord if we would save our lives. I think we hate the latter more than they do the former. D.V. we will defeat them without any help from outside. Spies from Kordofan report advance of Mahdi with twenty-six guns towards Khartoum. I have always thought this probable, and that the question will be solved here; but I trust he will not succeed, for we have made the place very strong; if he fails he is done for.'

The defeat of the Arabs on the 25th of August having cleared the way, Gordon resolved to send a military force from Khartoum, composed of 2000 men, by steamers to Berber, to retake it if possible from the rebels, with provisions for two months. His despatching this expedition indicates that General Gordon could not at this time have been in very desperate straits, and there is no evidence, as has been asserted by Mr. Hake, that in sending Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power along with it he 'wanted to give his comrades a chance of life and freedom.' His own message to Nubar Pasha, dated 23rd August, states, 'We will send with this force his Excellency Stewart Pasha, sub-governor, and all the consuls here existing. After the recapture of Berber the troops and consuls will remain there, while his Excellency Stewart Pasha will proceed to Dongola by a small boat expressly prepared for his voyage in that direction, to parley with the Soudan question and what the situation of Berber will come to.'

On the 10th of September these three noble-minded Englishmen parted never more to meet in this world. Gordon remained alone in Khartoum to confront the hordes of the Mahdi, while Stewart and Power started on the expedition which, in little more than a week, came to a disastrous termination. Early in October the news reached this country that the steamer *Abbas*, in which they had sailed, had run aground, and that the whole party had been killed. Towards the end of the month two messengers sent by Lord Wolseley to make inquiry respecting the fate of Stewart and Power sent a telegram to Sir E. Baring, intimating that they had discovered that the steamer had struck on a rock, and that the whole party, except two natives, had been killed by Sheikh Suleiman. It was not, however, until four months later that full particulars of this sad catastrophe were received. Hussein, the stoker of Colonel Stewart's steamer, escaped from the enemy, and related the melancholy story of the fate of the party.

'The steamer *Abbas*,' he said, 'left Khartoum in September with Colonel Stewart, two European consuls, twelve Greeks, and several natives on board. Two other steamers accompanied her beyond Berber ['past any place,' wrote Gordon, 'where danger could be apprehended'], and four nuggars sailed with us, which were towed as far as Berber by these two steamers. We shelled the forts at Berber, and our steamer having safely passed them the others returned, we proceeding with the nuggars, which we also left behind before reaching Abu Ahmed.

'On 18th September the steamer struck on a rock near a small island in the Wad Gamr country. We had previously seen many of the people running away to the hills on both banks of the river. Everything was landed on the island by means of a small boat. Colonel Stewart drove a nail into the steamer's gun, filed off the projecting end, and then threw the gun and its ammunition overboard. Meanwhile several people came down to the bank shouting, "Give us peace and grain." We told them we had brought peace. Suleiman Wad Gamr, living in a house on the bank of the river, being asked for camels to take the party to Merawi, said that he would provide them, and invited Colonel Stewart and the two consuls to the house of a blind man named Fakrietman, telling them to come unarmed lest the people should be frightened. The camels were not given us. We all went unarmed, except Colonel Stewart, who had a small revolver in his belt. Presently I saw Suleiman come out and make a sign to the people standing about the village armed with swords and spears. These immediately divided into two parties, one running to the house of the blind man, the other to where the rest of Colonel Stewart's party were assembled. I was with the latter. When the natives charged we threw ourselves into the river. The natives fired and killed many of us, and others were drowned. I landed on an island and remained there until it was dark, when I swam over to the left bank. . . . I heard that when the natives entered Fakrietman's house they fell upon Colonel Stewart and the consuls and killed all three. Hassan Bey held the blind man in front of him, thus escaping with a knife wound only, and he afterwards went to Berber. . . . The money found was divided among the natives who murdered the party, everything else being sent to Berber. The bodies were thrown into the river.'

Stewart and Power were men after Gordon's own heart, and their death was widely lamented. Noticing their death Gordon wrote in his Journal, 'Stewart was a brave, just, upright gentleman. Can one say more? Power was a chivalrous, brave, honest gentleman. Can one say more?'

Under the date of November 5 Gordon wrote in his Journal, 'I cannot get out of my head the *Abbas* catastrophe; that the *Abbas* could be captured by force seems impossible; that she ran upon a rock seems unlikely, for she had her sides defended by buffers sunk one foot in water. I also had warned them against even anchoring by the bank; also to take wood from isolated spots; in fact, as far as human foresight goes, I did all my possible. Why did you let them go? The matter was thus. I determined to send the *Abbas* down with an Arab captain: Herbin [the French consul] asked to be allowed to go. I jumped at his offer. Then Stewart said he would go if I would exonerate him for deserting me. I said, "You do not desert me; *I* cannot go, but if you go you do great service." I then wrote him an official; he wanted me to write him an order. I said, "No; for though I fear not responsibility, I will not put you in any danger in which I am not myself." I wrote them a letter couched thus: "*Abbas* is going down; you say you are willing to go in her if I think you can do so in honour; you can go in honour, for you can do nothing here, and if you go you do me service in telegraphing my views." . . . I feel somehow convinced they

were captured by treachery—the Arabs pretending to be friendly and surprising them at night. I will own that without reason (apparently), for the chorus was *that the trip was safe*, I have never been comfortable since they left. Stewart was a man who did not chew the cud; he never thought of danger in prospective; *he was not a bit suspicious*, while I am made up of it.' It was no doubt this total absence of suspicion in Stewart's character that led to the destruction of the whole party, as Gordon correctly surmised.

For some time an urgent demand had been made by a large portion of the people of the United Kingdom, supported by most of the leading journals, that an expedition should be sent for the relief of General Gordon and the Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan as soon as the rise of the Nile would permit the navigation of the river from Cairo to Dongola and southward to Berber and Khartoum. The Government, however, hesitated and delayed on various grounds taking any active measures for that purpose. Military men were of opinion that no effective aid could be rendered to the beleaguered garrison in less time than two months by the quickest route, or in less than four by the river. But about the beginning of May the British military authorities in Cairo were ordered to prepare for the despatch in October of an expeditionary force for the relief of General Gordon and the beleaguered garrisons. Twelve thousand camels were ordered to be purchased, and active preparations were commenced in England. On the 10th of June information was received that Berber had surrendered about the end of May, and that 3500 persons had been put to death by the Arabs. This news gave additional force to the complaints that had been made respecting the dilatory policy of the Government, and helped to quicken their movements.

Shortly before the close of the session in August the Government obtained a vote of credit for £300,000 in order to make preparations for the despatch of an expedition to Khartoum should this be resolved on, and Lord Wolseley proceeded to Egypt for the purpose of examining and reporting respecting the military operations. It was decided that an expedition should be despatched, and that it must be sent by the Nile instead of by the Suakim-Berber route. The preparations for the advance were of the most elaborate and costly character. Portable river steamers and a large fleet of whale-boats were forwarded from England, and 400 Canadian boatmen were engaged for conveying them through the rapids. The difficulties of the river route at a season when the Nile had begun to fall proved even more serious than was anticipated. But the Mudir of Dongola, concerning whose fidelity great doubts had been entertained, not only acted as a barrier against the advance of the Mahdi's troops, but rendered important assistance in providing stores, purchasing camels, and hiring natives to assist in towing the boats of the expedition through the cataracts. Strenuous efforts were made by the British commanders to complete their preparations with all possible speed, and Lord Wolseley offered a reward of £100 to the regiment that should make the quickest passage from Sarras to Debbeh, 40 miles from Dongola, and with least damage to the boats. The advance practically commenced on the 2nd of November. Sir Herbert Stewart reached Korti on the 15th of December, and Lord Wolseley arrived next day and established there a large camp. From this point the commander-in-chief, in order to avoid a wide bend of the river, despatched a strong column under Sir Herbert Stewart across the desert—a march of 176 miles—to the town of Metammeh on the Nile, whence it was hoped communication could be opened up with General Gordon, while another body of the troops was slowly ascending the river. General Stewart was directed to secure the Gakdul Wells, to establish and provision a post there, and to prepare the way for the

advance of a larger body of troops. The force appointed for this difficult and dangerous enterprise numbered about 2000 men in all, consisting of a troop of 19th Hussars, one battery Royal Artillery, three divisions of Camel Corps, Mounted Infantry, Naval Brigade, and portions of the Royal Sussex and Essex Regiments. Of this force the first half set out on the 29th December.

This terrible march has been described by Mr. Cameron, the lamented correspondent of the *Standard*, in the last letter he wrote:—

'We were now in grim earnest,' he said, 'bound on a dash straight across, to plunge unsupported into the heart of the enemy's country, and amidst a population all of them avowed disciples of the Crescentade against infidels everywhere, inaugurated by Mahomed Achmet, the Mahdi of the Soudan. No wonder that the natives who watched looked upon us as men doomed to destruction, for had not three large armies, more numerous than ours, and as well equipped, already passed over the same road, bound on a similar errand to ours, and had they not all perished to a man? . . . In the desert water is the great thing. Food we can do without for a period and not suffer much, but never water. And so the first thing to do on halting was to examine the skins that contained our precious supply, and then, by the friendly bivouac of the Mounted Infantry detachment on rear ground, we lay on the sand to try and snatch some sleep ere the bugle sounded, for the waning moon would rise at half-past one, and at that hour General Stewart had ordered the start to be made. Apparently the last fire to remain alight had only flickered out, and silence had but reigned for a few minutes, when the beautiful but weird-like reveille of the British army started us unwillingly into life again. Once or twice only during my campaigning experiences have I heard the reveille sound with feelings of satisfaction. . . . With very different disposition do we listen here in the desert to the morning call, for it is the signal to jump up with unwilling energy and load our moaning camels, and prepare to jog on wearily in the dark. . . . The last rope had hardly been fastened when the "fall in" sounded, and then for an hour men and camels grouped into their places in the dark; and at half-past two we moved off our ground, the pebble-strewed desert glistening in the dim moonlight as if it were covered with a coat of yellow shining varnish. Frequently would the bugles sound the halt in rear to allow time for stragglers to close up, for the officer commanding the rearguard had the usual orders to leave nothing behind. With him were the spare camels, and if a loaded one tumbled or lay down to die, as they frequently did, a fresh beast at once took his place, and so wearily until morning we silently marched. Few cared to converse, gliding across the desert like one long shadow. At half-past five, what looked like the reflection of a huge conflagration, appeared on the horizon. It signalled the approach of day; and when it was light the bugles sounded a merry march, the men shouted and talked cheerily, and even the camels looked mildly contented. At ten we halted for breakfast and tried to get a little sleep until two, when we were away again striding on, sometimes across stretches of sand, sometimes over stony ground, and again through mimosa country; but ever the sun shone fiercely overhead. A peculiarity of the deserts that border the Nile is that the mouths of men and beasts who traverse them are always parched. Those who have experienced it know that it is no use to drink continuously. That only increases the torture, but it is difficult to resist the temptation. . . .

'Again early in the morning we started, but there was no unwillingness to get on; for with many delay meant torture, perhaps death, while progress meant water and life. The Wells of Hambak, 47 miles out from Korti, were found empty. Only a bucketful of the precious fluid was there, and that was given to a couple of horses that otherwise

would have died. The column did not even halt at Hambak, but pushed on to El Howeyet, 8 miles further, where a better supply was expected; but there too ill-luck waited us. The convoy that started from Korti had only left El Howeyet half an hour previous to our arrival, so quickly had we travelled, and they had drunk all the water. But we halted at El Howeyet until evening, and by that time enough water—if that name may be given to a fluid of the colour and consistency of pea-soup—had accumulated to allow every man to have a slight drink. So wild were all the soldiers with thirst that for some time it seemed as if a tumult might set in, but Major Wardroper ordered all to fall in as they stood, and so, one by one and in order, were they supplied with their share.

'On again we went until dark, the camels striding at their quickest pace, as anxious as their riders that water in plenty should be reached; and on again in the morning, too, we went, making for the Well of Abu Halfa, which, although some distance off the main track, was 8 or 10 miles nearer than Gakdul. There, the guides assured us, would water be found in plenty. In front a squadron of the 19th Hussars pushed on, for the horses had only drunk a quart apiece during the previous twenty-four hours. They were much distressed, of course, and if not watered that day would many of them assuredly die. At first the Well of Abu Halfa looked anything but promising. A shallow pool of water, green on the top, we saw, which was well-nigh emptied before even the horses had satisfied their thirst. But then a clear bubbling spring was discovered at the bottom, which, when cleared, afforded sufficient for everybody; only the wretched camels went without.

'For a period the scene at the Abu Halfa Well was exciting in the extreme. Chattering Somalies, wild with thirst, barred from the main pool until the fighting men had drunk their full, grubbed frantically in the sand, and in an inconceivably short period dug holes, at the bottom of which a little water collected, and was promptly lapped up. The soldiers, too, could hardly be restrained from throwing discipline aside, and thronged in on all sides, while in the background were plunging horses and camels broken loose and fighting desperately with their human masters for a place.

'Yesterday, at noon, we reached Gakdul, and until to-day have been busy watering our exhausted animals and preparing ourselves for the march to Metammeh, which begins to-morrow. What the result of that march may be the wire will have told ere this letter reaches England. At present we know not whether our road is to be barred by thousands, or whether we shall reach the Nile without firing a shot; in camp parlance it is even betting on either contingency. We only know that if we fight at all it will not be for victory, but for very existence, for behind us there will be no retreat.'

The troops reached their destination in safety on the 2nd of January, 1885, and secured the wells without any opposition. Stewart, leaving the Guards at Gakdul in a strongly fortified position, returned to Korti on the 5th, with a satisfactory report as to supplies. A strong convoy was sent to Gakdul, and then General Stewart started on the 14th for Metammeh.

About 53 miles from Gakdul and 24 from Metammeh are the Abu Klea Wells, which furnish the last place for an important halt for the caravans going to Khartoum before reaching Metammeh. Though the wells are of a very rude order, consisting merely of holes 3 or 4 feet deep, the water they contain is excellent, and the supply during upwards of thirty years has failed only once. Abu Klea may almost be said to be the termination of the strictly desert portion of the march of Sir Herbert Stewart's troops. Up to this point they had passed through many varieties of stony and shady plains, with here

and there poor vegetation, occasionally even grass and trees, but more commonly the scant brush of sabas grass and scrub mimosa. The most striking feature was the drift sand, which covers a large portion of the surface of the country, and which the subtropical winds had driven into regular waves or mounds, sloping on the windward, but precipitous on the leeward side. The last day's march of our troops before approaching Abu Klea was through a stretch of 12 or 13 miles, covered to a large extent with broken sandstone and loose rock. Then followed 3 or 4 miles of sand, and next a district in which trees and grass are plentiful.

On the afternoon of the 16th, as General Stewart approached Abu Klea, the Hussars, who were out reconnoitring, reported that they had discovered the enemy in force occupying a position in front of the Wells. The General immediately made his dispositions for attack, and the brigade, in compact square of column, moved forward as steadily as on parade. They halted 400 yards from the foot of a black and ragged ridge in front of the great plain through which they had marched, while the General and his staff went forward to reconnoitre.

'As I followed them,' wrote an eye-witness, 'and looked back at the serried mass of our men, it seemed but a mere speck on the vast plain. From the hill where General Stewart stood one could see forward over the extensive stretch of level country, comparatively fertile, bounded miles away by a silver strip that was either a mirage or the Nile. At the neck of this valley, where it narrows into the hills on which we stood, and among the mass of mimosas, the enemy's force could be discerned with at least twenty banners in the sunlight.'

It was by this time late in the afternoon, and General Stewart, not knowing the actual strength of the enemy, judiciously resolved to rest his troops and to allow them time to prepare for the serious conflict before them. He ordered them, therefore, to bivouac for the night, roughly protecting his position with earth and brushwood. The grass was cleared away in front of the column. An abattis was formed around the baggage, and a stone breastwork with a frontage of about 150 yards was thrown up as an additional protection some hundred yards further to the front. As before Tamai, the Arabs did not attack, but contented themselves with keeping up what Lord Wolseley called 'a harmless fire' as soon as darkness came on, at the same time moving a force to their left and throwing up works threatening the British right flank.

Next morning General Stewart delayed for some time to march, hoping to induce the enemy to attack him, but, as it appeared that they were hesitating to make an onset, though they were creeping round the British flank, he resolved to take the offensive. Leaving his baggage and camels behind in the hastily-formed zereba, guarded by a detachment drawn from the Sussex Regiment of the Mounted Infantry, he advanced to the attack with his remaining force drawn up in square. The Mounted Infantry formed the left front angle, the Guards the right. The Sussex Regiment and Guards formed the right face, the Heavy Camel Regiment and Mounted Infantry the left. The Heavy Camel Regiment and the Blue Jackets closed the rear face. The Artillery and the Gardner gun were in the centre.

Following Sir G. Graham's tactics at El Teb, General Stewart passed round the left flank of the enemy's position, thus forcing the Arabs to attack or be enfiladed. By a cleverly executed manœuvre they almost disappeared from view, leaving their standards only visible, and then on a sudden a large body reappeared and made a headlong charge on the British square, driving in the skirmishers, whom they followed so closely that the fire of the British was partly masked. Unable to stand

the deadly fire poured on them, the Arabs turned and furiously attacked the left rear of the square, where the Heavy Cavalry stood fighting as infantry. They were borne down by the sheer weight of numbers, but the admirable steadiness of the soldiers enabled them quickly to rally and to maintain a hand-to-hand fight with the Arabs who had penetrated their ranks. In this encounter the gallant Colonel Burnaby was unfortunately killed by a spear-thrust. Meanwhile a withering fire was poured upon the assailants from the other faces of the square. But though they fell by hundreds on all sides they continued to fight with the most reckless courage. The Emir of Berber, who commanded the left, was wounded, and retired early, but Abou Saleb, the Emir of Metammeh, who led the Arab right, came on desperately at the head of a hundred followers, marvellously escaping the destructive fire of the martinis till he was shot down inside the square. At last the headlong fury of the assailants gave way before the steady bravery of our troops, and they drew back, leaving 800 dead around the square, while the number of the wounded was exceptionally great.

The British army had nine officers and sixty-five non-commissioned officers and men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded. General Stewart himself had a narrow escape—his horse was killed under him, and his orderly fell beside him. Special regret was felt for the death of Colonel Burnaby, who was conspicuous no less for his kindness of heart than for his courage and his adventurous spirit. His notable ride to Khiva had brought him more prominently before the public than any of the other officers who lost their lives in this battle. Lord St. Vincent, who was descended from a nephew of the famous Admiral Jervis, died of wounds received in the engagement.

General Stewart concludes his report of the battle thus:—'It has been my duty to command a force from which exceptional work, exceptional hardships, and, it may be added, exceptional fighting has been called for. It would be impossible for me adequately to describe the admirable support that has been given to me by every officer and man of the force. I regret to say our loss has been severe; but the success is so complete, and the enemy's loss so very heavy, that they may be disheartened, so that all future fighting will be of a less obstinate character. The nation has every reason to be proud of the gallantry and splendid spirit displayed by Her Majesty's soldiers on this occasion.'

It must not be forgotten that General Stewart's men were called upon to fight after a trying desert march of 53 miles, and a night broken by the enemy's fire. To some of them, little accustomed to camel riding, the ordeal must have been severe indeed, while all had to undergo for two days the privations involved in a limited water supply, under circumstances where the craving for water becomes almost intolerable. Their position was perilous in the extreme. They had to encounter an army probably several times their own number, in a strong position, well armed, courageous, and inured to desert warfare. They had no reserves to support them in extremity, and no place of safety where they could take refuge in case of defeat. The alternative before them was either victory or total destruction. The Mahdi's forces, whose numbers have been variously estimated at from 4000 to as many as 10,000, appear to have been his picked men, and had been trained more or less on the European system. It was known that, in addition to several ex-Austrian soldiers who had served in Hicks Pasha's army, the Mahdi had with him a considerable number of Egyptian officers, including at least one of Arabi Pasha's famous colonels who commanded the Nubian regiment quartered at Damietta in 1882.

At the close of the battle the cavalry were sent on at once, and seized and occupied the wells. The whole of the force, includ-

ing the camels and baggage, was brought from the last bivouac next morning.

General Stewart, after establishing a strong post at Abu Klea, left that place on the afternoon of the 18th, and continued his march during the night. After diverging from the direct route in order to avoid the wells at Shebacat, where the Arabs were posted to intercept or hinder its advance, the column moved to the right, as the instructions of Lord Wolseley were, that if Metammeh were held by the enemy in force the column should not attempt to attack it, but establish itself between that place and Khartoum. In accordance with these directions the force proceeded onwards towards the Nile. Silence was enjoined upon all on the march; smoking likewise was forbidden. The first part of the march was orderly, steady, and silent; but towards morning the route lay through dense jungle and groves of mimosa, where the confusion and uproar of the native drivers delayed progress for an hour or two. Watch-fires of the Arabs had been seen on the left flank of the column during the night; silence therefore was essential to complete success; but the shouts of the native servants and the groans and cries of the camels had no doubt put the enemy on the alert, and the probability is that they were prevented from attacking the British force during the confusion of the darkness only by uncertainty about its strength. Daylight broke, finding the column six miles from the Nile and about the same distance south of Metammeh. At 7 o'clock, when about 3 or 4 miles from the river, the enemy showed in force, and streams of men on horseback and on foot interposed between the column and the water they so longed to gain. A halt was made for breakfast in a strong zereba, which was constructed under a brisk fire from sharpshooters hidden among the sandhills and behind bushes and tall grass on all sides. It was while superintending these operations that General Stewart was severely wounded by a ball in the groin, and the command in consequence devolved upon Colonel Wilson, the officer next in seniority. Mr. Cameron, correspondent of the *Standard*, and Mr. St. Leger Herbert, who represented the *Morning Post*, fell victims at this time to the zeal which prompted them to share the dangers of the march.

As the fire grew hotter and hotter, in the afternoon the force, leaving the wounded in the zereba under a strong guard commanded by Lord Charles Beresford, moved forward in square towards the river bank, along a gravelly ridge on which the enemy were posted in great numbers. The square moved, says an eye-witness, with a slow march across the open, protected by the fire of the Gardner gun in the zereba and by flanking skirmishers, threaded their way through the scattered mimosas, and halted to close ranks in the open. They then changed their direction, to take the enemy's main position in flank, all the while exposed to a galling fire. As the square halted the men lay down to deliver volley after volley with superb steadiness. At last the critical moment came, when the rebel spearmen advanced to hurl themselves against the little square, who cheered lustily when they saw their foes coming. Bearing banners lettered with verses from the Koran, the fanatic Arabs came on with all their wonted dash and fury. The column wheeled to receive them, and the men, by their officers' directions, fired by volleys in companies. The wild dervishes who led the charge went down in scores before the deadly fire of the Marines and Mounted Infantry, which was opened upon them at 700 yards, and none of the enemy got within thirty yards of the square.

Meanwhile another dense column, advancing from the south, was stopped by Norton's three screw guns, which pitched shell and case-shot, at ranges varying from 1500 to 2300 yards, into the dense groups of Arabs gathered around the Mahdi's standards. The practice made was excellent, and not only did it prevent the Arabs from forming their attacking columns as formerly, but the exploding shells indi-

cated to the square the points where the enemy was mustering in force to attack. The charges attempted by the Arabs at other points along the line of the square's advance were met and repelled in succession by the steady and withering fire of our troops. At half-past four, after nearly two hours' incessant fighting, as the column approached the south-easterly edge of the valley to pass out of it, the enemy's redoubtable reserve of horsemen, standard-bearers, and fanatical followers made their final grand rush. Nearly 10,000 of them swept down from three sides towards the square, their main body, numbering not fewer than 5000, coming upon its left face. They came from behind the ridge at a trot, and not at the top of their speed, as the Hadendowas charged. The Emirs on horseback and wild dervishes who led them, shouted to their followers to rush on in Allah's name and destroy the infidels. It was a critical moment, but the square stood firm and steady, and deliberately poured volley after volley into the yelling hordes as they streamed down towards our men, with such effect that the fleetest dervishes did not get within 30 yards before they were laid prostrate, while the bulk of the enemy were still 100 yards distant. At last they hesitated, stopped, turned, and ran back, leaving five Emirs and heaps of their followers on the ground. Their loss in killed and wounded amounted to at least 2000.

While the main body of the enemy was thus unsuccessfully attacking the square, another body, mostly composed of horsemen, assailed the zereba, which was defended with conspicuous gallantry by a small garrison, made up of detachments from every corps, under the command of Lord Charles Beresford. After a contest which lasted two hours the enemy were compelled to retreat before the well-sustained fire kept up by the garrison both from the guns and rifles. During the night they had two alarms, but altogether there was little firing, and the dark hours passed quietly, though great anxiety was felt respecting the fate of the square, of which they were still entirely ignorant. It has been justly remarked that when we remember that our troops had practically undergone continuous exertion for twenty hours before the fight began, that they had been exposed for seven or eight hours to the demoralizing effect of rifle fire from concealed enemies, and that a detachment small at the best, in comparison with the number of its foes, was divided into a garrison and an attacking party, we shall find ample ground for just pride in the endurance, the courage, and the discipline of our soldiers.

At sunset the square reached the Nile and then encamped. Next morning (Tuesday, the 20th), the square returned to the zereba, leaving a small garrison to guard their wounded in a deserted village near the river.

The return of the square was greeted with loud cheers from the troops in the zereba, some of whom were moved to tears at the sight of their comrades, from whom they had been separated in such critical circumstances. In a few hours the camels left alive were repacked and the dead were reverentially buried. 'We, the correspondents,' wrote Mr. Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph*, 'carried poor Cameron to his grave, where he was laid with St. Leger Herbert, Lima, and Quartermaster Jewill. It was but a quiet soldier's funeral. Lord Charles Beresford read the burial service, which the circumstances rendered most impressive, and we turned away sorrowfully, each of us to help in the task of bearing our wounded men to a safe shelter on the banks of the Nile.'

The advanced guard of the expedition was thus firmly placed upon the Nile about 100 miles from Khartoum, while Lord Wolseley had a complete grip of the desert route from Korti to Metammeh, with an unlimited supply of water at both ends and at Gakdul, less than two-thirds of the distance across.

The British loss was twenty killed (including one officer) and sixty wounded. Deep and wide regret was felt for the loss of the two war correspondents, Mr. Cameron of the *Standard* and Mr. Herbert of the *Morning Post*. Mr. Cameron was a native of Inverness, and was engaged in mercantile pursuits in India when, at the outbreak of the Afghan War in 1875, he applied for and obtained the post of special correspondent for the *Bombay Gazette*. The brilliancy and accuracy of his writings attracted attention, and he obtained a similar appointment on the staff of the *Standard*. He greatly distinguished himself by the manner in which he discharged his duties in Afghanistan, in South Africa (where he was taken prisoner by the Boers at Majuba Hill), in Egypt, at Tonquin, and finally with the British expeditionary force, with which he witnessed the battles of El Teb and Tamanieb. He was only thirty-three years of age when he died a hero's death in the Soudan. Mr. St. Leger Herbert was private secretary to Lord Dufferin when Governor-general of Canada, and afterwards to Sir Garnet Wolseley in Cyprus and South Africa. He was present at the engagements at Tel-el-Kebir, El Teb, and Tamai, where he was severely wounded.

On Tuesday, the 20th, the troops drove the enemy out of the villages of Abu Kru and Gubat, and partly burned those places. Next day a reconnaissance in force was made of Metammeh, a town of mud-huts, containing some 3000 inhabitants. The walls had been loopholed, and it was garrisoned by a large body of the Mahdi's troops, protected by newly-erected works and three Krupp guns, which began to play upon our men as they approached and poured shot and shell into the town. At this moment aid of a peculiarly welcome kind was afforded in the attack by the appearance on the scene of four steamers, with Krupp guns and a force under Nuzzi Khan, sent down from Khartoum by General Gordon. The pasha at once landed men and guns and took part in the operations. With their assistance the cannonade was continued for several hours, but not much impression was made on the mud walls, and at three o'clock the entire force was withdrawn. Sir Charles Wilson reported that he could have carried the village, but he did not think it worth the loss that would have been inevitable in an attack on an enemy fighting behind loopholed walls and possessing artillery.

'Our Egyptian friends,' wrote the *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent, 'appeared overjoyed to see us. They told us that Khartoum and Gordon were safe and well, and produced the following letter:—"Khartoum all right. Can hold out for years. C. G. Gordon, 29/12/84." We further learned that all was safe six days ago, and that the Mahdi had sent 2000 men on the 17th inst. to reinforce Metammeh, within which were 1000 riflemen and 10,000 spearmen. [This must have been a great exaggeration.] Ollivier Pain, the French renegade, was in command there. The Mahdi himself was said to be at Omdurman with 12,000 troops.' It was a new evidence of General Gordon's untiring energy and inexhaustible resources, that as soon as the relieving expedition touched the Nile he was thus ready to offer it substantial assistance.

'The steamers had not been at Khartoum for a month, but had been awaiting us at an island above Metammeh. The vessels, or three of them at any rate, are rather larger than Greenwich steamers. They are covered with heavy boards of hardwood, and inside with thin iron plates. The hulls are of iron, and the general appearance of the craft is a very battered one, resembling nothing so much as an old hoarding in a shabby London street. Bullet marks have pitted them from the funnel down to the water-line, just as a virulent attack of small-pox disfigures a man's face. On board there are several hundreds of plucky blacks, led by a few Turks. As usual they have their wives and families with them. They are more like floating houses than war-ships.'

At this critical juncture an interesting communication came to hand from Cairo. 'On the 16th of January the following telegram was received by the Khedive from the Mudir of Dongola:—"The messenger to General Gordon has returned. He says, On leaving Dongola I went by the desert to the village of Zezerit Nocat, where I met a steamer, in which I went to Khartoum. During the journey the crew of the vessel frequently fired on the rebels, who returned the fire. On approaching Khartoum the rebels fired from both sides of the river, but General Gordon sent two steamers to assist us to disperse the rebels. Thus we entered safely into Khartoum. General Gordon immediately questioned us as to the state of Dongola. During my stay in Khartoum the Mahdi sent a letter to General Gordon asking permission to enter Khartoum. General Gordon replied he could come; he was willing to go to Omdurman to receive him. Orders were given that the troops should be ready. General Gordon, with four steamers carrying cannons, crossed the river to Omdurman. On his arrival a considerable number of the rebels attacked them. A sharp fight took place, and the rebels sunk one steamer with a shell. The other steamers rescued the crew and continued the fight, eventually dispersing the enemy. I visited the Mahdi's camp. Several men were in chains, among whom were Saleh Bey and Slatin Bey. It was not General Gordon's habit, however, to accompany expeditions against the Arabs. The people, he said, would not allow him to do so, in case some disaster should befall him. He was in the habit of passing a great part of the day and of the night on the roof of his palace. "I flatter myself," he says, "that I keep a good look-out." His doing so kept his troops on the alert, much against their own inclination. "The North Fort hate my telescope," he says; "day and night I work them."'

Sir Charles Wilson, after intrenching and provisioning the camp at Gubat, sent Gordon's steamers to make a demonstration at Shendy. They shelled the place, but as the garrison showed no disposition to evacuate it, the steamers were withdrawn. On the 24th of January Sir Charles, taking with him most of the black troops that had come from Khartoum and a detachment of the Sussex Regiment, set off up the Nile to get into communication with Gordon.* It would appear that the river navigation was slow, and the ascent was delayed for a good many hours by one of the steamers having run upon a rock. It was not until the 28th that Wilson came in sight of Khartoum—only to find that it was in the occupation of the hostile Arabs. A tremendous and well-directed fire was opened upon the steamers from both banks and from Tuti Island, two guns at Khartoum also opened upon them, as well as artillery and musketry fire from Omdurman, and Sir Charles Wilson found the vessels in so perilous a position that he was compelled at once to withdraw and return down the river with all speed. 'We could not land under such opposition,' says Lieutenant-colonel Stewart Wortley in his report to Lord Wolseley, 'so turned round and ran down stream. No flags flying from government house in Khartoum, and the house appeared wrecked.' Large bodies of the enemy, with many banners, were plainly visible in the town. On the way down the two steamers slipped past

* Sir Charles Wilson has been severely censured for his delay in not proceeding to Khartoum on the 22nd. Sir Henry Gordon, however, is of opinion that no blame attaches to Sir Charles Wilson in this matter. 'Early in the morning of the 21st,' he says, General Gordon's steamers appeared and took part in the operations of that day. At this stage reports reached Sir Charles that large numbers of Arabs were advancing from the north and from the south. It therefore became imperatively necessary for him to secure the safety of those who were under his orders before he could proceed on his mission. Accordingly, on the morning of the 22nd, he made a reconnaissance towards the north, and, finding no enemy, he turned his attention to the south. The whole of the 23rd was occupied in making arrangements for the proper protection of his force, and he could not have left before the morning of the 24th.'

In addition to these statements it must be added that Sir Charles Wilson had no reason to suppose that General Gordon's position was in imminent danger at that moment, as the latest intelligence from him was distinctly hopeful.

the rebels during the night, shot the rapids, and were within 60 miles of Gubat when one boat went aground on the 29th. The other, on the 31st of January, stranded at the Shabluka Cataract, about 20 miles further down and 50 miles north of Khartoum. The crews and the troops they carried were all safely landed on a small island below the cataract, where they intrenched themselves. As soon as the news of their disaster reached Gubat a steamer was despatched under Lord Charles Beresford to bring them off, which was accomplished with conspicuous bravery and success, in spite of the boiler of his steamer being pierced by a round shot and having to be repaired under fire. Sir Charles Wilson and his party were brought back safely to Gubat at a cost of one man killed and about half a dozen wounded, while there is good reason to believe that the guns of Lord Charles Beresford's little steamer inflicted heavy loss on the Arabs.

The disappointment experienced by the relieving expedition was bitter and mortifying. Their success seemed certain, as they had virtually joined hands with Gordon, and had every reason to suppose that they would yet be in time for his relief at Khartoum. They had therefore cherished the conviction that the toils of the long Nile journey, the heat, and thirst, and privations of the desert, the furious onslaught of the Arab spearmen at Abu Klea and Metammeh, with its loss of precious lives, had not been endured in vain. Yet just when the success of the relief expedition seemed to be assured, they found that its main object had failed.

The fall of Khartoum was regarded as a national misfortune, and excited the deepest sorrow throughout the whole British dominions at home and abroad, involving, as from the first it was seen would in all probability be the case, the death of General Gordon, and the massacre of the garrison of Khartoum.

At first hopes were entertained that though the town had fallen Gordon might still be alive. Colonel Stewart Wortley, in his report to Lord Wolseley says, 'Messengers from the Mahdi reached Sir Charles Wilson when in steamer on 29th January, telling him Gordon had adopted Mahdi's uniform, and calling upon us to surrender; that he would not write again, but if we did not become Mohammedans he would wipe us off the face of the earth.' It was asserted that Gordon had, in order to provide for an emergency, placed his stores and ammunition in the Roman Catholic mission-house, which he had fortified and surrounded with an intrenchment, and some faint hope was cherished that he might have found refuge there, and was still holding out against the enemy. But in no long time information was received which left no doubt as to his fate. A despatch from General Brackenbury, which arrived on the 13th of February, mentioned that a private soldier had found in a donkey's saddle-bag on the battlefield of Kirbehan a document which stated that General Gordon had been killed. This assertion was confirmed by a cavass, a native of Wady Halfa, who had been taken prisoner at the capture of Kirbehan, but was released in a few days, and made his way across the desert to Debbeh. He said Farag (or Ferratch) Pasha, a black slave who was liberated and made military commandant by General Gordon, opened the gates on the south wall to the Niami men (of the great slave tribe) who were besieging it on that side. 'General Gordon hearing the confusion in the town went out armed with a sword and axe. He was accompanied by Ibrahim Bey, the chief clerk, and twenty men. He went towards the house of the Austrian consul. On his way he met a party of the Mahdi's men, who fired a volley. General Gordon was shot dead. The Arabs then rushed on with their spears and killed the chief clerk and nine of the men; the rest escaped.' The most reliable account, however, that will probably ever be obtained of the circumstances which brought about the fall of Khartoum is contained in the official report of Major H. H. Kitchener, of the

British intelligence department in the Soudan, which was made public in October, 1885, and is as follows:—

The last accurate information received about Khartoum is contained in General Gordon's Diary, and dated 14th December, 1884.

The state of the town was then very critical, and General Gordon states, 'the town may fall in ten days.' The fort of Omdurman had been cut off from communication with Khartoum since 3rd November; it was at that date provisioned for one and a-half months, and the commandant, Farag Allah Bey, had requested further supplies of ammunition. The garrison may therefore be considered to have been in great difficulties for food and necessaries after 20th December. General Gordon had so weakened himself by sending away five steamers (four to meet the English expedition and one with Colonel Stewart), that he found it impossible to check the Arabs on the White Nile, and therefore to keep open communication with the fort of Omdurman.

According to General Gordon's statement, there were in the stores at Khartoum on 14th December, 83,525 okes of biscuit and 546 ardebs of dhourra. From the almost weekly statement of the amounts in store, it is calculated that, although General Gordon was able to reduce considerably the issue of dhourra, the biscuit ration to the troops had not been reduced up to 14th December. The amount in store would represent approximately eighteen days' rations for the garrison alone. Gordon had already, on 22nd November, found it necessary to issue 9600 lbs. of biscuit to the poor, and he then says: 'I am determined if the town does fall the Mahdi shall find precious little to eat in it.'

There is little doubt that as the siege progressed it was found necessary to issue a considerable amount of provisions to the poorer native inhabitants of Khartoum. It may, therefore, be considered that even on reduced rations the supply in store must have been almost, if not quite exhausted, about 1st January, 1885. The town was then closely encircled by the rebels, who doubtless increased the intensity of their attack as they approached nearer and nearer to the works. The Mahdi was fully aware from deserters of the straits to which the garrison were reduced for want of food; and it was his intention that the town should fall into his hands without fighting, being obliged by famine to surrender.

About 6th January, General Gordon, seeing that the garrison were reduced to great want for food, and that existence for many of the inhabitants was almost impossible, issued a proclamation, offering to any of the inhabitants who liked free permission to leave the town and go to the Mahdi. Great numbers availed themselves of this permission, and General Gordon wrote letters to the Mahdi requesting him to protect and feed these poor Muslim people as he had done for the last nine months. It has been estimated that only about 14,000 remained in the town out of the total of 34,000 inhabitants, the number obtained by a census of the town in September.

General Gordon kept heart in the garrison by proclamations announcing the near approach of the English relief expedition, and praising them for the resistance they had made, as well as by the example of his unshaken determination never to surrender the town to the rebels.

It appears probable, though the precise date cannot be exactly verified, that the fort of Omdurman fell into the hands of the rebels on or about 13th January. The garrison were not injured, and Farag Allah Bey, the commander, was well treated in the rebel camp, as an inducement for any waverers in the Khartoum garrison to join the Mahdi's cause. The fall of Omdurman must have been a great blow to the garrison of Khartoum, who thus lost their only position on the west bank of the White Nile. The Arabs were able then, by the construction of batteries along the river bank, to entirely close the White Nile to Gordon's steamers. Having accomplished this they could establish ferries on the White Nile (south of Khartoum), and have constant and rapid communication from Omdurman village and camp to their positions along the south front.

About 18th January the rebel works having approached the south front, a sortie was made by the troops, which led to desperate fighting. About 200 of the garrison were killed, and although large numbers of the rebels were said to have been slain, it does not appear that any great or permanent advantage was obtained by the besieged garrison. On the return of the troops to Khartoum after this sortie, General Gordon personally addressed them, praising them for the splendid resistance they had made up to that time, and urging then still to do their utmost to hold out, as relief was near; indeed that the English might arrive any day, and all would then be well. The state of the garrison was then desperate from want of food, all the donkeys, dogs, cats, rats, &c., had been eaten; a small ration of gum was issued daily to the troops, and a sort of bread was made from pounded palm tree fibres. Gordon held several councils of the leading inhabitants, and on one occasion had the town most rigorously searched for provisions; the result, however, was very poor, only yielding four ardebs of grain through the whole town; this was issued to the troops. Gordon continually visited the posts, and personally encouraged the soldiers to stand firm; it was said during this period that he never slept.

On 20th January the news of the defeat of the Mahdi's picked troops at Abu Klea created consternation in the Mahdi's camp. A council of the

leaders was held, and it is said a considerable amount of resistance to the Mahdi's will and want of discipline was shown. On the 22nd the news of the arrival of the English on the Nile at Metammeh, which was thought to have been taken, led the Mahdi to decide to make at once a desperate attack upon Khartoum before reinforcements could enter the town. It is probable that next day the Madhi sent letters to Farag Pasha, commanding the black troops, who had been previously in communication with him, offering terms for the surrender of the town, and stating that the English had been defeated on the Nile. Rumours were also prevalent in Khartoum of the fighting at Abu Klea and the arrival of the English at Metammeh.

It has been said that helmets were exposed by the Mahdi's troops in front of their works to induce the garrison to believe that the English had been defeated, but this has been distinctly denied by some who could hardly have failed to observe anything of the sort.

On the 23rd General Gordon had a stormy interview with Farag Pasha. An eye-witness states that it was owing to Gordon having passed a fort on the White Nile, which was under Farag Pasha's charge and found to be inadequately protected. Gordon is said to have struck Farag Pasha on this occasion. It seems probable to me that at this interview, Farag Pasha proposed to Gordon to surrender the town, and stated the terms the Mahdi had offered, declaring in his opinion that they should be accepted. Farag Pasha left the palace in a great rage, refusing the repeated attempts of other officers to effect a reconciliation between him and Gordon.

On the following day General Gordon held a council of the notables at the palace. The question of the surrender of the town was then discussed, and General Gordon declared whatever the council decided he would never surrender the town. I think it very probable that on this occasion General Gordon brought Farag Pasha's action and proposals before the council; and it appears that some in the council were of Farag Pasha's opinion, that the town could resist no longer, and should be surrendered on the terms offered by the Mahdi. General Gordon would not, however, listen to this proposal.

On the 25th Gordon was slightly ill, and as it was Sunday he did not appear in public. He had, however, several interviews with leading men of the town, and evidently knew that the end was near. It has been said that Gordon went out in the evening, and crossed the river to Tuti Island on board the *Ismailia*, to settle some dispute among the garrison there. This statement has not been verified by other witnesses, but owing to it the rumour subsequently arose among the black troops in Omdurman that Gordon had escaped that night on board the *Ismailia*. The facts, however, that both steamers were captured by the rebels, that the *Ismailia* was afterwards used by Mahommed Ahmed when he visited Khartoum, and the very full and complete evidence that General Gordon was killed at or near the palace, entirely dispels any doubt on the matter. If he crossed the river to Tuti, there is no doubt he returned later to his palace in Khartoum.

On the night of the 25th many of the famished troops left their posts on the fortifications in search of food in the town. Some of the troops were also too weak, from want of nourishment, to go to their posts. This state of things was known in the town, and caused some alarm; many of the principal inhabitants armed themselves and their slaves, and went to the fortifications in place of the soldiers. This was not an unusual occurrence, only on this night more of the inhabitants went as volunteers than had done on previous occasions.

At about half-past three a.m. on the morning of Monday the 26th, a determined attack was made by the rebels on the south front. The principal points of attack were the Boori Gate, at the extreme east end of the line of defence on the Blue Nile; and the Mesalamieh Gate, on the west side, near the White Nile. The defence of the former post held out against the attack, but at the Mesalamieh Gate, the rebels having filled the ditch with bundles of straw, brushwood, beds, &c., brought up in their arms, penetrated the fortifications, led by their Emir, Wad-en-Nejumi. The defenders of the Boori Gate, seeing the rebels inside the fortifications in their rear, retired, and the town was then at the mercy of the rebels.

General Gordon had a complete system of telegraphic communication with all the posts along the line of fortifications, and there must have been great irregularity in the telegraph stations to account for his being left entirely unwarned of the attack and entry of the rebels. Doubtless Farag Pasha was responsible to some extent for this.

Farag Pasha has been very generally accused of having either opened the gates of Khartoum himself, or having connived at the entrance of the rebels; but this has been distinctly denied by Abdullah Bey Ismail, who commanded a battalion of irregular troops at the fall of the town, as well as by about thirty refugee soldiers, who lately escaped and came in during the last days of the English occupation of Dongola. The accusations of treachery have all been vague, and are, to my mind, the outcome of mere supposition.

Hassan Bey Balmasawy, who commanded at the Mesalamieh Gate, certainly did not make a proper defence, and failed to warn General Gordon of the danger the town was in. He afterwards appears to have taken a commission under the Mahdi, and to have gone to Kordofan with the Emir Abu-Anga. In my opinion Khartoum fell from sudden assault when the garrison were too exhausted by

privations to make proper resistance. Having entered the town, the rebels rushed through the streets, shouting and murdering everyone they met, thus increasing the panic and destroying any opposition.

It is difficult, from the confused accounts, to make out exactly how General Gordon was killed. All the evidence tends to prove that it happened at or near the palace, where his body was subsequently seen by several witnesses.

It appears that there was one company of black troops in the palace besides General Gordon's cavasses; some resistance was made when the rebels appeared, but I think this was after General Gordon had left the palace. The only account, by a person claiming to be an eye-witness, of the scene of General Gordon's death relates:—'On hearing the noise I got my master's donkey and went with him to the palace; we met Gordon Pasha at the outer door of the palace. Mohammed Bey Mustapha, with my master, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, and about twenty cavasses, then went with Gordon towards the house of the Austrian Consul Hansel, near the church, when we met some rebels in an open place near the outer gate of the palace. Gordon Pasha was walking in front leading the party. The rebels fired a volley, and Gordon was killed at once; nine of the cavasses, Ibrahim Bey Rushdi, and Mohammed Bey Mustapha were killed, the rest ran away.'

A large number of witnesses state that Gordon was killed near the gate of the palace, and various accounts have been related from hearsay of the exact manner in which he met his end. Several reliable witnesses saw and recognized Gordon's body at the gate of the palace; one describes it as being dressed in light clothes.

The Soudan custom of beheading and exposing the heads of adversaries slain in battle was apparently carried out, as was done by the Mudir of Dongola after the battle at Korti. The Bagara savages seem to have had some doubt which was Gordon's body, and great confusion occurred in the Mahdi's camp at Omdurman, where the heads were exposed, as to which was Gordon's head; some recognizing, others denying the identity of Gordon's head. One apparently reliable witness relates that he saw the rebels cut off Gordon's head at the palace gate after the town was in their hands.

The massacre in the town lasted some six hours, and about 4000 persons, at least, were killed. The black troops were spared, except those who resisted at the Boori Gate and elsewhere; large numbers of the townspeople and slaves were killed and wounded. The Bashi-Bazouks and white regulars, numbering 3327, and the Shaigia irregulars, numbering 2330, were mostly all killed in cold blood after they had surrendered and been disarmed. Consul Hansel was killed in his own house; Consul Nicola, a doctor, and Ibrahim Bey Fauzi, who was Gordon's secretary, were taken prisoners; the latter was wounded.

At about ten a.m., the Mahdi sent over orders to stop the massacre, which then ceased. The rebels fell to looting the town, and ordered all the inhabitants out of it; they were searched at the gate as they passed, and were taken over to Omdurman, where the women were distributed as slaves among the rebel chiefs. The men, after being kept as prisoners under a guard for three days, were stripped and allowed to get their living as best they could.

It has been stated that the Mahdi was angry when he heard of General Gordon's death; but, though he may have simulated such a feeling on account of the black troops, there is very little doubt in my opinion that, had he expressed the wish, Gordon would not have been killed. The presence of Gordon as a prisoner in his camp would have been a source of great danger to the Mahdi, for the black troops from Kordofan and Khartoum all loved and venerated Gordon, and many other influential men knew him to be a wonderfully good man. The want of discipline in the Mahdi's camp made it dangerous for him to keep as a prisoner a man whom all the black troops liked better than himself, and in favour of whom, on a revulsion of feeling, a successful revolt might take place in his own camp. Moreover, if Gordon was dead, he calculated the English would retire and leave him in peace.

The Mahdi had promised his followers as much gold and silver as they could carry when Khartoum fell, and immense disappointment was expressed at the failure to find the Government treasury. Three days after the fall of the town Farag Pasha was brought up to show where the Government money was hid. As he was naturally unable to do this owing to there not being any, he was killed on the public market-place at Omdurman. Many others were put to torture to disclose where their wealth was hid, with varying results. On the third day after the fall of Khartoum, many of the prisoners saw Sir Charles Wilson's steamers off Tuti Island, with the English on board; some were present in the batteries at Omdurman when the rebels opened fire on the steamers.

The number of white prisoners in the Mahdi's camp has been variously stated; a Greek, escaped from Khartoum, reports when the place fell there were forty-two Greeks, five Greek women, one Jewess, six European nuns, and two priests; of these thirty-four Greeks were murdered. The survivors are all at liberty, but in extreme poverty. Abdullah Bey Ismail relates that 'all the European ladies are at Omdurman, living in a zereba, where they form a little colony, guarded by the European men. They earn a meagre sustenance by sewing, washing, &c. Not a single one was taken by the

dervishes; they all wear Moslem dress.' A letter from the Mahdi was received relative to the white prisoners, who he declared preferred to remain with him. The document bears ninety-six signatures of Europeans; but some of them are undoubtedly spurious, as that of Father Luigi Bonomi, who has since escaped from El Obeid, never having been at Khartoum.

A large number of the Bagara Arabs left the Mahdi shortly after the fall of Khartoum, much disgusted at their failure to obtain a larger amount of loot. On the Mahdi attempting to bring them back by force, they joined the party in Kordofan, who are now fighting against the Mahdi's cause.

The memorable siege of Khartoum lasted 317 days, and it is not too much to say that such a noble resistance was due to the indomitable resolution and resource of one Englishman. Never was a garrison so nearly rescued, never was a commander so sincerely lamented.—*H. H. Kitchener, Major.*

The sad news was received with the greatest sorrow, not only by all classes and parties in the United Kingdom, but throughout the civilized world Gordon's death was regarded as a great calamity. The people of America, India, and China,* vied with European nations in expressing deep grief for the loss of the noble Christian hero—the great soldier—and in doing honour to his memory. He himself could have wished for no nobler termination to his career. After a life spent in adventures of the most marvellous and beneficial nature, he died at the post of duty, having for nearly a year upheld the flag of his country against swarming hosts of enemies, fighting not only with hereditary valour, but with fanatical enthusiasm. His defence of Khartoum is one of the most wonderful feats recorded in military annals. Indeed it is a marvel that he should ever have been able to hold the town at all. Its defences on the land side were 4 miles of crumbling fortifications, which Colonel Coëtlogon declared could not stand a serious assault. The great majority of the garrison consisted of wretched cowards, in whom he could have no confidence, and of whom, under his own eye, several hundreds fled without striking a stroke before a handful of Arabs. He had to contend against their disaffection and treachery, as well as against their want of heart in the struggle, and the encouragement which they received from many of the inhabitants who were well known to be favourable to the Mahdi's cause. The only troops on whom he could rely were a few hundred Soudanese blacks; and yet with such scanty resources and the aid of a few river steamers, he contrived during a protracted siege to hold the town against many thousands of courageous assailants, provided with the implements of modern warfare, and aided by trained soldiers from Hicks' army.

With regard to Gordon's policy, however, it seems to have been often the result of impulse rather than of judgment. At the outset he declared that the Government were 'fully justified' in insisting on the abandonment of the country by Egypt, 'inasmuch as the sacrifices necessary towards securing a good Government would be far too enormous to admit of such an attempt being made. Indeed, one may say it is impracticable. At any cost Her Majesty's Government will now leave them as God has placed them; they are not bound to fight among themselves, and they will no longer be oppressed by men coming from lands so remote as Circassia, Kurdis-

* The following letter has been addressed by the Marquis Tseng, Chinese Envoy-Extraordinary in England, to General Sir Henry Gordon, K.C.B., as the representative of the family of his lamented brother:—

'Chinese Legation, *March* 5, 1885.

'Sir—On behalf of the Chinese government, the civil and military authorities of China, more especially the Viceroys of the provinces of Chihli, Nankin, and Canton, and of the whole Chinese people, I beg to offer you and the other members of your family my sympathetic condolence on the occasion of the death of your brother, the heroic General Gordon. I should have done so sooner had it not not been that, hoping against hope, I have up to the present been reluctant to believe that one so brave, so fertile in resource, and so nobly disinterested as your brother had at last perished. Even when the fall of Khartoum could no longer be doubted, I still refused to believe in the death of its brave defender, or that by the rude besieging hordes the life of the soldier of so many virtues should not have been held sacred. I offer you the tribute of sympathy, sorrow, and admiration as the Minister of a country for which your brother fought and bled, and in which his name will be for ever honoured.'

tan, and Anatolia.' He expressed his entire concurrence in the instructions given to him when about to start for the Soudan, which indeed were drawn up under his own direction, and requested that the words should be added, that he thought this policy should on no account be changed. But he subsequently changed his opinion, for on reaching Khartoum he published a 'Notice' to the inhabitants in which he said, 'Formerly the Government had decided to transport the Egyptians down to Cairo and abandon the Soudan, and in fact some of them had been sent down during the time of Hussein Pasha Yussi, as you yourselves saw. On our arrival at Khartoum we, on account of pity for you, and in order not to let your country be destroyed, communicated with the Khedive of Egypt, our Effendi, concerning the importance and the inexpediency of abandoning it. Whereupon the orders for abandoning the Soudan were cancelled, and serious attention was directed towards smothering the disturbances and driving away the disturbers.' And he proceeds to say, 'If Mohammed Achmet should call upon me for three years to surrender Khartoum I will not listen to him, but will protect your lives, and families, and possessions, with all energy and steadfastness.'

There can be little doubt that General Gordon's acceptance of the office of Governor-General from the Khedive was a mistake, and that his consequent change of policy added immensely to the difficulties which he had to encounter. On his journey to Khartoum he declared that 'there would be no idea of asserting the Khedive's authority over the Soudan,' but he had no sooner reached that place than he adopted the policy of maintaining for the Khedive a 'suzerain authority' in the Soudan. He began to appoint Mudirs, to 'name men,' as he says, 'to different places,' and to administer in other respects the affairs of the Soudan as if that country were still an integral part of Egypt. In the end of February, 1884, he declared that the withdrawal of the garrisons was still possible, but undesirable, till some quiet government had been established in the Soudan, and this for the sake of Egypt as well as the Soudan. 'If Egypt is to be quiet,' he said, 'the Mahdi must be smashed up. . . . If you decide on smashing the Mahdi then send up another £100,000 and 200 Indian troops to Wadi Halfa.' It need excite no surprise that this policy should have made the Soudanese distrust Gordon's proclamation of their independence, and suspect that the result of his policy would be the imposition upon them again of the hated yoke of the Turko-Egyptian rule. He could scarcely have failed himself to see that his proposals had placed serious obstacles in the way of the pacification of the country. So early as the beginning of March, 1884, he admitted that he saw 'no probability of the people rallying round him.' In September he mentioned in his Journal, 'The people are all against us.' And he recognized the main cause. 'The defect I laboured under has been that I presented no rallying point to the people, not being of their religion or nation.' 'It can easily be understood how hateful to any people is the occupation of high places by strangers, however good or honest they may be.' He had evidently misgivings in regard to his policy on another ground, to which he repeatedly refers. He had been instructed to give back the country to its ancient sultans, and yet he was now holding it against its own people for the avowed purpose of restoring it to Egyptian or Turkish rule. It need excite no surprise that he should have said, 'It is a vexed question whether we are not rebels, seeing that I hold the firman restoring the Soudan to its chiefs.' These expressions of his feelings make it evident that General Gordon felt that he was in a false position, and show how it came to pass that the inhabitants of the Soudan rallied round the Mahdi against him.

It is a significant fact that Colonel Stewart did not approve of at least part of Gordon's policy. In his Journal, under date

November 5, Gordon says, 'We [Stewart and he] often discussed the nuisance we must have been to Her Majesty's Government in being shut up here; and I think he was in some degree actuated by a desire to aid Her Majesty's Government when he went down, for then it only left one nuisance (myself), and I had so completely exonerated Her Majesty's Government by my letters that they might, as far as I was concerned, have let the garrison fall. On my part, I do not think I could have done Her Majesty's Government a better service than to have at any rate tried to send Stewart down with Power and Herbin, for certainly it only left a small remnant here of Europeans (*one of whom is mad*), and the French Government could no longer say a word. Next, Stewart knew everything, and could tell Her Majesty's Government the *pros* and *cons from their point of view, and with feelings akin to theirs*, which they would accept from Stewart, and never without suspicion from me (in which they are justified, for I do not look on things from their point of view). I told Stewart also, "I know you will act conscientiously and honourably; but I know your opinions, and therefore, as you have all my views on the Soudan in your Journal, I beg you will, in answering queries of Her Majesty's Government, make extracts from the Journal, and write, 'General Gordon says this or that,' while you are at full liberty to give your opinion, even if it differs from mine, but let Her Majesty's Government know *when I answer and when you answer.*"'

Zealous and persistent efforts have been made to lay upon Mr. Gladstone's government the whole blame of the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. The policy of Mr. Gladstone's government in regard to Egypt and the Soudan is by no means faultless, but their greatest mistake in regard to the latter was in sending General Gordon there at all. No doubt they may plead that the blame of this step is shared both by the public and the press, whose clamour compelled them to adopt this course. But the result has shown that it was a fatal mistake, and could scarcely under any conditions have been successful.

General Gordon's biographer, and various writers in the periodicals of the day, have made passionate complaints that the Government failed in their duty to their envoy —that he was deceived and betrayed by them—that their 'schemes of policy were dictated by stupid selfishness'—that they were 'guilty of one of those blunders which are more criminal than crime,' and that they were solely responsible for Gordon's death. General Gordon in one of his last telegrams before he was shut up in Khartoum, declared that he 'considered himself free to act according to circumstances,' and would retire to the equator if he failed to 'suppress the rebellion.' And down to the departure of the relief expedition, General Gordon's own brother, an experienced soldier, declared his belief that the General was quite safe and could retreat to the equator whenever he liked.

The Journal which Colonel Stewart kept doubtless contained a full account of the proceedings at Khartoum, from the 1st March down to the time of his leaving that place for Dongola, on the 10th of September, 1884; Gordon describes it as 'a perfect gem.' 'There are lots of nice things in it,' he says, 'for really it is my Journal as much as Stewart's, though he wrote it.' It fell into the hands of the Arabs at the time of Stewart's murder. It appears to have ultimately passed into the possession of the Mahdi, and unfortunately has not been recovered. General Gordon commenced a Journal immediately after Stewart's departure from Khartoum, and continued it to the 14th of December. It is in six parts, which were sent down at different times by steamers to Shendy and Metammeh. The Journals were handed over to Sir Charles Wilson on the 22nd of January, 1885, at Metammeh, by the officer commanding General Gordon's steamers. On the outside of each part of the Journal there is the same inscription, sometimes

repeated three times, 'It will require pruning down if published.' The Government, however, intimated that 'so far as they had a desire in the matter, it was for the publication of the whole diary, but they did not wish to interfere with the discretion of the editor.' It has accordingly been published without any omissions of importance, and forms a bulky volume of upwards of 500 pages. The entries in the Journal throw a beautiful light on General Gordon's personal character, and strikingly display the indomitable valour, the chivalry, the strong religious convictions and self-sacrificing saintly life of one of the most generous, pious, gallant, and commanding spirits that ever shed lustre on the human race. His complete ascendency over the baser forms of ambition, his systematic suppression of self until self ceased to be an operative force in his life, his incongruous union of asceticism with the warmest sympathy for the desires and tastes of other people—all this is brought out incidentally, and on his part quite unconsciously.

Equally conspicuous is the heroism of his defence of a place which a high military authority declared to be indefensible, garrisoned by disaffected poltroons, intermingled with traitors. Even in the brilliant annals of British courage and fortitude there is nothing to equal Gordon's defence of Khartoum, which he held for eleven months, in spite of mutiny, cowardice, and treachery within, and the constant attacks from without of a brave and fanatical host well provided with the most improved rifles and artillery. Nothing is more striking in his Journal and letters than his anxiety for the safety of the garrison and the inhabitants of Khartoum, and his entire disregard of himself. 'You must see,' he wrote Sir E. Baring, 3rd March, 'that you could not recall me, nor could I possibly obey, until the Cairo employés get out from all the places. I have named men to different places, thus involving them with the Mahdi; how could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman, could you advise this course? It may have been a mistake to send me up, but having been done I have no option but to see evacuation through.' And in his Journal, under the date of 30th September, he says, 'I say what any gentleman in Her Majesty's army would agree to, that it would be *mean* to leave men who, though they may not come up to our ideas as heroes, have stuck to me, though a *Christian dog in their eyes*, through great difficulties, and thus force them to surrender to those who have not conquered them, and to do that at the bidding of a foreign power, to save one's own skin.' Again, under date of 27th October, he writes:—'It is not from any feeling of respect to the people up here that I urge their relief, but it is because they are such a weak selfish lot, and because their qualities do not affect the question of our duties to them. The Redemption would never have taken place if it had depended on our merits.'

It has been remarked that in his Khartoum diary there is less said about his religious life than in the former journals from Africa, and it is conjectured that the reason may be that Gordon in the one case was writing to the most sympathetic of correspondents; in the other to a vague and general audience, the public. But all his references to his spiritual feelings and principles are quite in keeping with the opinions which he had always professed. 'I am quite alone, and like it,' he wrote; 'I have become what people call a great fatalist, viz. I trust God will pull me through every difficulty. The solitary grandeur of the desert makes one feel how vain is the effort of man. This carries me through my troubles and enables me to look on death as a coming relief when it is His will. . . . It is only my firm conviction that I am only an instrument put in use for a time that enables me to bear up.' Again, 'It is a delightful thing to be a fatalist, not as that word is generally employed, but to accept it that

when things happen, and not before, God has for some wise reason so ordained them to happen—all things, not only the great things, but all the circumstances of life; that is what is meant to me by the words "you are dead" in St. Paul to Colossians.' Again, 'We have nothing further to do when the result of events is unrolled than to accept them as being for the best. Before it is unrolled it is another matter; and you could not say I sat still and let things happen with this belief. All I can say is, that amidst troubles and worries no one can have peace till he thus stays upon his God; it gives a man a superhuman strength.' And elsewhere, 'If we would take all things as ordained, and for the best, we should indeed be conquerors of the world. Nothing has ever happened to man so bad as he has anticipated it to be. If we would be quiet under our troubles they would not be so painful to bear. I cannot separate the existence of a God from this preordination and direction of all things good and evil; the latter He permits but still controls. . . . Happiness is to be obtained by submission to the will of God, whatever that will may be. He who can say he realizes this has overcome the world and its trials. Everything that happens to-day, good or evil, is settled and fixed, and it is no use fretting over it. The great peaceful life of our Lord was solely due to His submission to God's will. There will be times when a strain will come on one; and as the strain so will your strength be.'

General Gordon's whole life was strictly in keeping with this principle. 'I toss up in my mind,' he writes in his Journal under date 14th September, 1884, 'whether, if the place is taken, to blow up the Palace and all in it, or else to be taken, and with God's help to maintain the faith, and if necessary to suffer for it (which is most probable). The blowing up of the Palace is the simplest, while the other means long and weary suffering and humiliation of all sorts. I think I shall elect for the last, not from fear of death, but because the former has more or less the taint of suicide, as it can do no good to any one, and is in a way taking things out of God's hands.'

CLOSING EVENTS

OF THE

SOUDAN CAMPAIGN.

WHILE Sir Herbert Stewart and the troops under his command were marching through the desert, and fighting their way to Matammeh, the left column of the army of the Soudan, under the command of General Earle, was working its way from Korti up the Nile towards Berber. Their first brush with the enemy was at Kebd-el-Abd, on the 27th of January. One object of the expedition was to punish the murderers of Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power. On 1st February they occupied Birti without resistance, and seized some of the natives concerned in that cruel and treacherous deed. They halted here for a day or two and destroyed the houses and date palms. On the 10th of February, General Earle's column reached Kirbehan, six miles beyond Birti, and found the enemy strongly posted upon rocky hills, with their right resting upon the Nile and a high ridge flanking their left. On approaching this position, as the Arabs were known to be in force, our troops were directed to form a zereba. While engaged in this work the enemy opened fire upon them, but were driven back by our pickets. Strong guards were posted when it became dark, and all was in readiness to repulse an attack should the enemy venture to come down from their strong position on the hills in front; the night, however, passed off quietly. Next morning our troops formed up and advanced towards the enemy's position, marching in two parallel columns, two companies of the Staffordshire Regiment, with two guns, taking up ground directly in front of the enemy to occupy their attention. While a desultory fire was kept up between them and the Arabs, General Earle, with the remainder of the South Staffordshire, the Black Watch, a squadron of Hussars, the Camel Corps, and two guns, advanced along the enemy's left flank over some very difficult ground, driving the Mahdi's troops before them, and seizing each successive ridge by short determined rushes. The South Staffordshire attacked their centre, and the Black Watch wheeling to the left took them in the rear, which rested on the river. They were thus completely surrounded.

The position occupied by the Arabs was very strong, consisting of rocky and broken ground, strengthened by loopholed walls, from behind which they kept up a heavy and well-directed fire. Our men advanced from ridge to ridge over the rocky hills, but finding it impossible to dislodge the enemy from their strong position by our musketry fire, General Earle gave orders to the Black Watch to carry the hill with the bayonet. The pipers struck up, and with a loud cheer the Highlanders moved forward steadily to execute their orders. The enemy poured out a continuous fire from the loopholed walls, but the Black Watch advanced without a check, scaled the

rocks, and at the point of the bayonet drove the Arabs from their intrenchments. At this juncture the Egyptian troops coming from the zereba met the enemy with a destructive cross fire. Some of them swam the river, others fled inland; scarcely any of them escaped. About this time General Earle was killed on the summit of the ridge while gallantly leading his troops forward to the attack, and the command was assumed by General Brackenbury.

While the main attack was being delivered two companies of the Staffordshire Regiment were directed to seize a high and rocky hill which was stoutly defended by the Arab riflemen. They charged up the hill at the point of the bayonet, sweeping the enemy before them, but they suffered severely from the fire which the Arabs maintained from a strong loopholed fort, as well as from a heavy flank fire from the main position of the enemy by the river. At this point the gallant Colonel Eyre, who had rendered admirable service in connection with the expedition, was killed by a musket ball. In the meantime Colonel Butler, with the Hussars, had pushed on 3 miles up the bank and captured the Arab camp. The battle altogether lasted between five and six hours. The victory was as complete as it was gallantly won, but it was dearly bought with the loss of General Earle, Colonel Eyre, Colonel Coveney of the Black Watch, and other two officers and eight men killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope and other three officers and thirty-eight non-commissioned officers and men wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been very heavy, and four of their principal leaders were among the slain.

After the battle of Kirbehan the 'River Column,' as it was termed, proceeded on its march, and had arrived within 26 miles of Abu Ahmed when it was recalled, in consequence of the news of the fall of Khartoum. The difficulties they had to encounter on their return to Korti were even more formidable than those they had to overcome on their upward voyage. The 300 whalers with their soldier crews, mostly in scarlet coats, swept down the river in a seemingly endless line at the rate of 7 miles an hour, sometimes gliding easily with the current in comparatively smooth water, and then rushing down a rapid, with a fall of several feet, at a terrific speed. 'In one place,' says General Brackenbury, 'the channel was full of sunken rocks, and nine boats had to be unloaded, hauled up, and repaired.' At another part of the river 'two small shoots or rapids had to be tracked up; then came three-quarters of a mile of swift broken rapids, with four shoots or rushes of water; arms, ammunition, and accoutrements had to be portaged for three-quarters of a mile, and the crew of three boats had to be employed to haul one boat through.' In one cataract, 7 miles in length, the Black Watch spent four days, working from dawn to dusk. The cataracts became more difficult as they became more numerous, and 'from Ooli to Birti the river was but a succession of rapids as bad as it was possible for the boats to pass.' General Brackenbury says that 'without the aid of the skilled Canadian boatmen the ascent of the river, if not impossible, would have been far slower and attended with greater loss of life;' and that 'without them the descent of the river would have been impossible.' The steering of the boats between the countless rocks and islands was admirable. After making its way through 100 miles of cataracts and rapids flanked by nothing but black rocks and sand, the 'River Column' returned to Korti early in March. Only one serious mishap occurred. A whaler of the Staffordshire Regiment, with wounded, as it approached the Gerendid Cataract swung round, by some accident, and came to the fall broadside on. The boat capsized in a moment, and three of the men on board were swept away before they could be rescued; the rest were saved. Their experience made it evident that the expedition was a mistake. Even if the

'Desert Column' had arrived in time to relieve Khartoum, the 'River Column' could not have reached Berber until at least two months later to co-operate in the intended attack upon the fortress of the Mahdi.

On the death of General Sir Herbert Stewart the command of the right or desert column had devolved at first upon Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, by whom it was transferred to Colonel Boscawen; but on the 11th February General Sir Redvers Buller arrived from Korti and took over the command, reinforced by the Royal Irish Regiment, which had crossed the desert on foot. It was confidently expected that he would immediately assault Matammeh, which he would no doubt have carried; but as the fall of Khartoum had frustrated the main object of sending forward the desert column in advance, its remaining at Matammeh had become not only useless but dangerous. Intelligence was received that the Mahdi was on his way to Matammeh, at the head of an army of forty or fifty thousand men. The rumours as to this force were no doubt greatly exaggerated, but even if the False Prophet could have mustered only a fourth of that number, it would not have been prudent for General Buller, who had only 1600 men under his command, to risk an encounter with the Mahdi's army in the open field. Nothing was to be gained, while everything might be lost, by waiting at Gubat till the hordes of fanatical Arabs had surrounded the place. The stores of supplies there were necessarily limited, and the position itself had been rendered by the fall of Khartoum quite useless, except as a base for an immediate advance on that town—an enterprise which it was hopeless for General Buller, with the troops at his command, to attempt. When a forward movement threatened destruction, and standing still siege and starvation, it was evident that retreat was the safe and sure course. A recent attack made on the convoy of the wounded men under Major Talbot plainly indicated that the enemy were gaining both in strength and boldness Having received positive orders from Lord Wolseley to retire, General Buller took his measures with great promptitude. Early on the morning of the 14th of February, having dismantled the two steamers by removing essential parts of their machinery, the entire force marched out of Gubat, and the Abu Klea Wells were reached on the following day, no opposition whatever having been encountered on the way. Two days later, however, the enemy showed their increased boldness and aggressiveness by hanging round the camp, and keeping up a desultory long-range fire, which continued all night. But they disappeared when General Buller despatched a party to disperse them.

On that day (16th February), Sir Herbert Stewart died of the wound which he received at the battle of Matammeh. His untimely death (he was only forty-two) cast a great gloom over the whole British force in the Soudan, and was deeply and universally lamented. Though one of the youngest, he was one of the ablest generals in the British army. 'No braver soldier or more brilliant leader,' said Colonel Talbot in reporting his death, 'ever wore the Queen's uniform.' 'Only those,' wrote a war correspondent, 'who were with him through the march across the desert can fully appreciate his many rare qualities, his ceaseless energy, his care for the men, his readiness of resource in an emergency, and his merits as a leader.' Lord Wolseley said he was one of the best staff-officers he had ever known. It was he who, after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, led 'the splendid march,' as Mr. Gladstone termed it, 'of thirty-nine miles under the burning sun of Egypt, of the gallant body of cavalry by which Cairo was seized'—'the march,' Lord Granville said in the House of Lords, 'which crowned the operations, and especially excited the admiration of the German military authorities.' 'The burial of the remains of the beloved General' (at the

entrance of the Gakdul Valley), wrote a special correspondent, 'was a most impressive ceremony.' From Abu Klea, after filling the wells, General Buller retired without molestation upon Gakdul, and thence to Korti, which the column reached about the middle of March.

As might have been expected, the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon caused great excitement throughout the United Kingdom, which extended to its colonial possessions. The metropolitan press seem to have been panic-stricken by the intelligence. 'The fall of Khartoum,' said one journal, 'and the capture or death of the great Englishman, whose name sums up for millions of civilized and uncivilized men the whole Egyptian question, will reverberate through every bazaar from Cairo to Calcutta.' 'We must first and foremost,' said another, 'reinforce our garrisons everywhere—India included.' The prestige of Great Britain, not merely in the Soudan, but in Asia, was being upheld, it was said, by 'that solitary figure holding aloft the flag of England in the face of the hordes of Islam, and all Islam, especially the Mohammedans of India, will now regard our prestige as gone or seriously weakened.' Loud demands were made that 'Khartoum should be retaken and adequately garrisoned, and the whole country north of Khartoum, and between the Nile and the Red Sea, reduced to perfect order.' In marked contrast to these inflated statements and preposterous recommendations were the sympathetic and judicious remarks of Lord Rosebery. 'We must realize what our loss really is,' he said. 'It is not a loss of territory; it is not a defeat in battle; it is not an insurrection; it is not—what is more important than anything—it is not the remotest shadow of dishonour. It is no doubt the loss of a fortress which never was ours. It is the rendering of a long series of arduous and costly operations abortive for the moment. It is the fate of a hero wrapped in mystery.' It very soon became apparent that the fears expressed respecting the sinister influence which the fall of Khartoum would exercise on the Mohammedan population of India were entirely groundless; and a contingent of Indian troops was despatched to assist in carrying out Lord Wolseley's operations in the Soudan.

The Government were evidently a good deal at a loss as to the course which they should pursue at this crisis. To have withdrawn our troops at once from the Soudan would have been attended both with dishonour and danger. The capture of Khartoum had undoubtedly strengthened the cause of the Mahdi, and had induced the Shaggiehs — a powerful Arab tribe — to declare in his favour. As Mr. Chamberlain justly remarked to the Peace Society, 'The policy of running away from the fanatical leader who now occupies Khartoum would not further the cause of peace, or prevent the effusion of blood.' Such a retreat indeed could not have been conducted without tremendous losses, and would have involved very serious consequences. The retreating force, harassed by the enemy, joined by tribes hitherto friendly or neutral, would have lost men at every step, and might have been entirely cut off, and a war on a much larger scale, and much more costly, would have had to be undertaken at no distant day against the victorious Mahdi. It was necessary to adopt measures to prevent the False Prophet from either making an irruption into Egypt with his hordes of fanatical followers, or from seizing a port on the Red Sea. The Government held it to be impossible, consistently with a proper regard for the interests of Great Britain and of Egypt, to withdraw their troops from the Soudan without decisively checking the movement of the Mahdi. In order, therefore, to arrest his progress they considered the recapture of Khartoum absolutely necessary. For the attainment of this object they agreed on Lord Wolseley's advice to send out a force of 8000 men to Suakim, at the

same time giving him discretionary power in respect of 'the measures he might think it necessary to take.' In addition, the Ministry decided to construct a railway from Suakim to Berber. This project was very sharply criticised by the Liberal party, who affirmed that it was impossible that a railway could be constructed in time to be of service to Lord Wolseley in his advance upon Khartoum, and asked what our country had to do with making railways in a country where the Ministry declared that it was not intended either to remain in permanent occupation ourselves, or to restore the Egyptian authority. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, in short, went too far to please the party who contended that we should never have gone to the Soudan, and should leave it as speedily as possible; and not far enough to gratify the Conservatives, supported by the metropolitan press, who insisted that Khartoum should be regularly fortified and garrisoned by British troops, or that at least we should retain possession of the Soudan to the north of that town until a stable government had been established in the country. The Government in consequence narrowly escaped a vote of censure in the House of Commons.

Lord Wolseley was of opinion that it would be necessary for him to delay active operations against the Mahdi until he had collected all the forces that were to be placed at his command; and that it was impossible to enter upon the campaign until autumn, as the British troops could not bear the intense heat of summer in the Soudan. Before he was ready to take the field the British commander confidently relied on being joined by the contingents which the colonies of New South Wales, Canada, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, had spontaneously, and in the most gratifying manner, offered to send fully equipped to the assistance of the mother country in this contest. The noble offer was cordially accepted, and was acknowledged in glowing terms in both Houses of Parliament as at once highly creditable to the colonists and gratifying to the whole nation. Her Majesty also, in an autograph letter, expressed her warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid. The preparations for the despatch of large reinforcements to Suakim were pressed forward with the utmost activity, and no pains was spared to provide all requisite equipment for the arduous services which the army was to undertake. The construction of the railway between Suakim and Berber was commenced at once, and pushed forward with all possible speed. Meanwhile arrangements were made for the disposition of the troops during the summer. The headquarters were to be at Dongola; the main body of the troops were to remain in camp at Korti. The troops of the Mudir of Dongola, a valuable and trusty ally, were to be stationed at Merawi along with the Black Watch, a troop of the 19th Hussars, and two guns; and two movable columns were to be formed ready to take the field at any moment. Huts constructed of mud and reeds were erected for the troops, for the heat in tents during the summer months is absolutely insupportable.

The reinforcements sent out from home began to reach their destination about the beginning of March, and on the 12th of that month Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, the commander of the new expedition, arrived at Suakim. Contrary to general expectation, the Mahdi was found to have made no attempt to follow up the success he had obtained by the capture of Khartoum, but had remained there or at Omdurman. He appears to have afterwards gone to Abbas Island, where he began his saintly career, leaving it to his lieutenant, Osman Digna, to carry on hostilities against the 'infidels' near Suakim. This noted leader of the Arab tribes was described by those who had seen him as 'a short, spare man, getting on for fifty, and who can only be recognized from

others by wearing the dirtiest clothes of the lot. He begins the morning by reading some portion of the Koran to a circle of his followers, who sit round about him. He then expounds it, and afterwards reads letters he pretends to have received from the Mahdi. Then he tells of some dreams he considers as divine inspiration, and again repeats his promises, that all his followers shall become invulnerable so long as they pay proper attention to the Mahdi; that those who are killed in action have committed some sin, and even they are forgiven, and go straight to Paradise. In every way he shows himself to be a leader most dangerous to the Government, as the goal he aims at is undoubtedly power. He is a thin, middle-sized man, somewhat past the prime of life, but full of energy, and quite up to the events of the day. He knows his countrymen well, and in spite of reverses thoroughly understands how to excite their spirit of fanaticism and keep up their courage. His mode of life is the simplest. The taxes he collects are all devoted to the use of the people about him, whom he feeds gratis as long as he has anything. He then interviews all who wish it, and discusses projects to drive the infidels and Turks out of the country. He prides himself in wearing the dirtiest clothes and in eating the simplest food, as he declares he cares for nothing on earth but the will of God transmitted to him through the Mahdi.'

This redoubtable Arab chief set himself with great vigour and dexterity to harass the British troops encamped at Suakim. Night after night sentries and patrols were surprised and cut off or wounded, and numerous parties of the enemy hovered round the camps, and at times kept up a heavy fire upon them. The completion, however, of the outer line of defences, and the services of friendly tribes, ultimately checked these attacks. Two of these natives were posted at night in each redoubt, and their keen sight enabled them to detect men creeping up in the darkness who would not have been made out by the less accustomed eyes of the British sentries. The principal camps were placed beyond the risk of surprise by any large force, as they were surrounded by trenches, hedges of thorn bushes, and wire entanglements. These precautions, however, did not prevent Osman Digna's followers from making numerous attempts to surprise the British troops. On some nights considerable numbers of them crawled about the camps on their hands and knees in the hope of finding some overlooked entrance. On one occasion they tried to penetrate the Indian camp, but found the preparations for their reception complete.

General Graham resolved to put an end to these desultory and troublesome attacks, and after making a reconnaissance in force the troops moved out from the camp on the morning of 20th March, and advanced to the village of Hasheen. The hills beyond were occupied by a strong body of the enemy, who, it afterwards appeared, had been reinforced during the previous night by 1000 men despatched to their aid by Osman Digna, so that the force amounted to 4000. The Berkshire Regiment and the Marines were sent forward to clear an isolated hill which was held by the Arabs. Notwithstanding the strength of their position they were quickly dislodged by these gallant troops, but fell back slowly, contesting the ground inch by inch. A large body moved off to the left with the evident intention of turning the hill stormed and held by the Marines and the Berkshire men. In order to checkmate this manœuvre the Bengal cavalry charged them with great gallantry and effect. After their charge the Indian horsemen fell back to give the infantry an opportunity of sending a volley among the scattered but still thronging foe. The Arabs speedily closed up, however, and starting forward in pursuit of the retiring cavalry they rounded the hill, and there all at once came upon the brigade of the Guards drawn up in a square. With a loud yell they rushed upon it without a

moment's hesitation, but in the face of the withering fire which met them they never succeeded in getting nearer than fifteen or twenty yards from the line of bayonets. Meanwhile the cavalry having reformed were again ready for the enemy, who, after the failure of their attack upon the phalanx of the Guards, had passed along the face of the hill. This second charge scattered them and made them beat a hasty and disorderly retreat. They were at this time reinforced by another body of the Mahdi's soldiers, but our troops quickly followed them up as they circled round the crests of the hills, pouring in a very hot fire at every point, and never permitting them time to halt and concentrate. At this period our field-guns were brought into play, and notwithstanding the disadvantage of the position and the rough nature of the ground, they did excellent service. In the end, after five hours' hard fighting, the British troops obtained possession of all the positions which the Arabs had held at the commencement of the battle. All the special correspondents who were present wrote in high terms of the reckless and splendid bravery displayed by the enemy. 'As skirmishers,' said one eye-witness, 'no force I have ever seen in action is their equal. They cover ground as if by magic, and moreover do not understand the meaning of being beaten.' Their losses in this prolonged and severe conflict must have been very heavy. Of the British force nine were killed and forty wounded—some of them severely.

On the 22nd of March another fierce but much more deadly attack was made by Osman Digna's Arabs on General Graham's forces. The second brigade under Sir John M'Neill, supported by the Indian brigade under General Hudson, with four Gardner guns, moved out from Suakim at seven in the morning in the direction of Tamaai. A number of camels and transport animals were inside the Indian brigade square. The detachment was instructed to form a zereba, which was to be garrisoned by the Berkshire Regiment, the Marines, and the Naval Brigade, the other troops returning to the camp at Suakim. Six miles from the Suakim intrenchments they commenced the construction of the zereba. No attack was apprehended, and the men were busily engaged in this work. The Marines had piled their arms, and had commenced to dig their trench. Dinner and water had been served out to the men; the camels were outside the zereba, and all seemed perfectly quiet. The Indian contingent was drawn up in marching order ready to start for Suakim, and behind it was a mob of camels, mules, and camp-followers, when all at once some men of the Indian contingent came rushing in, with shouts that the enemy were at hand, and suddenly from the bushes all along the face of the zereba fronting Tamaai burst out a clamour of savage cries. The air was filled with murderous yells, and the next instant, as if driven forward by some blinding instinct of disorder, the whole assemblage of transport animals plunged forward upon the zereba. The scene was indescribable. There was a multitude of roaring camels apparently heaped one upon another, with a string of kicking and screaming mules entangled in one moving mass. Crowds of camp-followers were carried along by the huge animal mass, crying, shouting, and fighting. All these surged out on the zereba, any assistance being utterly hopeless. The mass of brutes and terrified natives swept all before it.

In the meantime the Arabs had glided and crept in all directions among the legs of the camels, and within about a minute and a half they were on our men. The Hadendowas, as if by magic, swarmed out of the bush upon the zereba. Unfortunately our own Soudanese coolies were undistinguishable from the enemy, and thus a number of our men lost their lives, ignorant of any danger, by mistaking foes for friends. Cries, shouts, yells, and deafening shrieks, combined with a furious rifle fire and a rush

of stampeded camels, made a bewildering din. The soldiers, however, stood promptly and firmly to their arms. A small number of the Berkshires, finding themselves unable to reach the zereba in time, formed a rallying square about a hundred yards distant, in a hollow which protected them from the fire of their comrades in the zereba. The enemy made a fierce rush from all directions at this gallant little band, but were met by a steady and withering fire, which prostrated hundreds of the assailants. The men were well in hand, and coolly reserved their fire until the Arabs were within thirty yards. After keeping them at bay for half an hour the square fell slowly back upon the zereba.

While this was going on the Marines courageously repelled the Arab charge on their zereba, and inflicted heavy loss on their assailants; and the Naval Brigade, after great difficulties, owing to the rush of animals through their zereba, got the Gardner guns into action, and poured most destructive volleys upon the enemy. The Indian Native Infantry, after they succeeded in extricating themselves from the flying stream of baggage-mules and camels, held their own with a gallantry which entitled them to the cordial eulogiums of their British fellow-soldiers. On the other side, the colonel commanding the Berkshire Regiment was in their own zereba with four companies of his men, who had just turned out in their shirt-sleeves to complete the construction of the fence, when an alarm was given. All the working parties rushed into the zereba and seized their arms and accoutrements. Meanwhile the Arabs had leaped the zereba and captured the sand-bag redoubt at the corner, hewing and slashing with their cross-hilted swords and stabbing right and left with their spears. The four companies of the Berkshire Regiment, rallied by their colonel, poured a steady fire into the still advancing force outside the zereba and bayoneted those who had already got inside. The scene is described as terrible. A hand-to-hand combat raged fiercely, the Arab swordsmen slashing and cutting at soldiers, camels, and horses alike; bullets were whirling from all points, and there is reason to believe that many of our men and camp followers in the confusion were killed by the fire of our own force. The battle lasted two hours and a half, and in the end, as usual, discipline and military skill prevailed over numbers.

'There was,' wrote a special correspondent, 'a terrible scene after the fight at the corner of the zereba near the sand-bag redoubt. Ten of the Naval Brigade, some Indians, and Lieutenant Seymour of the *Dolphin*, with dead mules and horses and wounded camels were seen in one terrible heap. The whole of the ground was studded with the enemy's dead. The moon has just come out, and is now shining brightly. A walk round the zereba by its light makes the battlefield become more ghastly and impressive. Here, within the zereba, the ground is encumbered with dead and wounded camels and horses, and is littered with clothing and portions of the kits of the dead and living. In the centre of the zereba a few water-barrels, arranged in line, form a rendezvous for the officers. All over the ground are patches of blood and brains. In one corner of the zereba lie the two rows of our dead. Looking up from our zereba over the plain, which is nearly free from bushes, for a distance of 100 yards, the moonlight reveals a fearful spectacle. The bodies of the enemy lie thick over the plain in every imaginable attitude. Immediately beneath the zereba hedge they are most numerous—a proof of the desperate gallantry with which they came on with spear and shield, knobkerry and camel-stick. But there were others still more brave; for from one zereba alone seventy or eighty bodies were dragged out into the plain by our men before nightfall. The dead animals it was impossible to move.'

The attacking force was not composed solely of Hadendowa tribesmen, as had been expected, but of regular soldiers of

the Mahdi. The great majority of the slain wore the Mahdi's so-called uniform, and had their hair cropped short. Of the three banners that were brought in one was blue, with a red circle within, on which were the words, 'From the Mahdi, the true prophet of God;' and also, 'Whoever shall fight under this banner shall obtain victory.' Faggiah, the most celebrated of Osman Digna's chiefs, was killed in the engagement.

Numerous acts of heroic bravery are recorded of the British officers in their efforts to rescue their men and brother-officers from imminent danger. General M'Neill himself made a narrow escape. He was outside the zereba when the alarm was raised. As soon as he saw the enemy he gave the necessary orders, and then attempted to leap the brushwood barrier—an easy enough feat—but his horse shied and backed from the zereba. It was a critical moment, for the Arabs were rushing down at full speed and were close upon him. Fortunately the general's aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Charteris, a son of the Earl of Wemyss, saw the peril of his chief and gallantly rushed to his rescue. He succeeded, at considerable personal risk, in saving the general's life, but was himself wounded by the spear of an Arab boy, which pierced his arm.

General Graham, in his despatch giving an account of the battle, says, 'I am of opinion that M'Neill did everything possible under the circumstances. The cavalry, 5th Lancers, did their best to give information, but the ground being covered with brushwood it was impossible to see any distance.' Those who were on the spot held and expressed a different opinion. 'The success of the enemy,' wrote a special correspondent, 'in their stealthy advance towards our position, and the suddenness of the attack, were due to the neglect to send out sufficient cavalry scouts. The nature of the country is certainly only too favourable to the enemy's tactics, but that fact in itself should have induced extra precautions on our part; 4000 men, even Soudanese, could not have sprung upon us from the very bowels of the earth as they did had our immediate vicinity been properly explored and kept properly patrolled.' But for the extraordinary bravery displayed by all sections of the British forces our arms must have met with a serious reverse.

According to the official return the British losses in the engagement, exclusive of camp followers, were six officers and ninety-four men killed, six officers and 136 men wounded, and one officer and seventy men missing. These casualties include those of the Indian contingent, which had three officers and fifty-two men killed, four officers and seventy-one men wounded, and thirty-eight men missing. The losses of the enemy must have been very heavy, but their precise amount could not be ascertained. It is inexpressibly sad to think of the loss of so many valuable lives, to say nothing of the slaughter of many thousands of the natives, including a number of women, and even boys, in a sanguinary war which led to no result.

The total number of sick and wounded in the British force at this time was 500, including forty cases of sunstroke, and other effects of excessive heat and exhaustion. The strain on the troops, who had had to accompany convoys by day and to perform sentry duty by night, was very severe. They had to face clouds of smothering dust, to march under the glare of a fierce sun and over heavy sand. Their progress was in consequence very slow, and they had frequently to halt in order to drive off the enemy and to clear the bush.

At this stage the Australian auxiliaries landed at Suakim, and received a most enthusiastic welcome. They consisted of men belonging to all classes of society—prosperous citizens as well as artisans and labourers, retired soldiers and sailors—men strong, straight, and well set up. Their average height was in excess of that of any British infantry regiments, and their average age was over thirty years. They

were admirably equipped and provided for —money, horses, and supplies having been poured in without stint by their colonial fellow-citizens. The first question asked by one and all was, 'Are we too late?' and they cheered heartily when told that they were amply in time to support the Regulars when the next encounter with the enemy should take place. General Graham, in welcoming the contingent in the name of the British army as comrades and brothers-in-arms, who had left their hearths and homes to share the perils and toils of their fellow-soldiers of the mother country, made a feeling allusion to the effect which this most gratifying display of the 'noble loyalty of Australia' would have in welding together the widely-divided parts of the British Empire. The Australian commandant affirmed that every man in the contingent had his whole heart in his work, and was thoroughly aware what important bearings this patriotic outburst was bound to have upon the question of colonial confederation. 'But the first and chief reason,' he said, 'for the enthusiasm of his fellow-colonists was their burning love for the old country and passionate loyalty to the crown, seeking no higher reward than the approbation of their Queen and of the British people—no greater honour than to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Imperial troops.'

Strengthened by these reinforcements, General Graham pushed forward a strong body of soldiers to Tamaai, which they found in flames and abandoned by the enemy. Hasheen also was evacuated. But operations in the Soudan were now virtually suspended in consequence of the quarrel with Russia, which was on the very verge of open war; and ultimately the British forces were withdrawn, and the Soudanese have now been left to settle their own affairs without any interference on the part either of Egypt or of Britain. Zubair Pasha, however, was not allowed to return to the Soudan. In consequence of certain papers which showed that he had been holding treasonable intercourse with the Mahdi he was arrested and conveyed to Gibraltar. The death of the Mahdi himself dispelled the apprehensions that the Mohammedan insurrection would imperil the safety of Egypt. He was taken ill at Omdurman on the 19th of June, 1885, and by his own desire was at once conveyed to a tent outside the camp. No doctors were at hand, but two of the captive missionaries, who had some medical knowledge, were summoned to his sick-bed, and pronounced the disease under which the Mahdi was suffering to be small-pox, which had for some time been raging in Khartoum; but doubts have since been raised as to the accuracy of their opinion. In the course of a few hours the attack assumed its most virulent form, and the patient was told that he must prepare for the worst. The Mahdi thereupon called his nephew, Abdulla, to his bed-side, named him his successor, and gave him his sword. On the evening of next day (the 20th) his condition was past hope. He then bade a solemn farewell to his family, and adjured his successor to continue the war against the Christians. He expired on the morning of 21st June, and was buried at sunset in a grave within his tent, which was afterwards burnt. Bishop Sagara, who appears to have been well acquainted with the False Prophet, says he was a hypocrite and atrociously cruel. He had made a multitude of enemies among the friends of those whom he had cruelly maimed or put to death; and during the last months of his life his rule had come to be execrated. The bishop thinks there is little doubt that the Mahdi was poisoned by one of his favourite wives, acting either at the instigation of his enemies or from personal jealousy; for he was a man of most profligate habits, and the reign of his favourites was never a long one.

Osman Digna, who seems to have been a much better man than his superior, was killed in October in a battle with the garrison of Kassala.